



Opportunities for the Productive Poor:  
perspectives on agriculture and rural  
livelihoods in Sri Lanka

Edited by

Ishara Rathnayake  
Priyanthi Fernando

December 2009

cepa  
centre for poverty analysis

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**Ishara Rathnayake**  
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**The Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA)** was established in 2001 as an independent institute providing professional services on poverty related development issues. CEPA provides services in the areas of applied research, advisory services, training and dialogue and exchange to development organisations and professionals. These services are concentrated within the core programme areas that currently include: Poverty Impact Monitoring, Poverty and Conflict, and Poverty Assessment & Knowledge Management.

**The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)**, a specialised agency of the United Nations established as an international financial institution in 1977 as one of the major outcomes of the 1974 World Food Conference. IFAD is dedicated to eradicating rural poverty in developing countries. Working with rural poor people, governments, donors, non-governmental organisations and many other partners, IFAD focuses on country-specific solutions, which can involve increasing rural poor peoples' access to financial services, markets, technology, land and other natural resources.



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## හැඳින්වීම

මෙම ප්‍රකාශනය කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය සඳහා වන ජාත්‍යන්තර අරමුදල (IFAD) විසින් සම්පාදනය කෙරෙන රටේ ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා (COSOP) 2010 - 2015 නැමැති ලේඛනයට අවශ්‍ය වන පසුබිම් දැනුම සකස් කිරීමට දර්දනා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය (CEPA) විසින් කරන ලද කටයුතුවල ප්‍රතිඵලයකි.

කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය සඳහා වන ජාත්‍යන්තර අරමුදල වනාහි "චලදායී දිලීන්දන්" හට ජීවනෝපායයන් සම්පාදනය කිරීම ඉලක්ක කරගත් සමස්ථ උපායමාර්ගික නැඹුරුවකින් සමන්විත වන සහ ශක්තිමත් වෙළඳපොළ පෙළගැස්මකින් යුක්ත සංවිධානයකි. යටති අර්ථයෙන් යුක්තව 'කෘෂිකර්මය' පිළිබඳව සාම්ප්‍රදායික නිර්වචනවලින් ඔබ්බට ගොස් ග්‍රාමීය ව්‍යවසායකත්වයට හා කුඩා ව්‍යපාරයන්ට ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා සැපයීම සැලකිල්ලට නැගෙන IFAD දැක්ම මෙම අධ්‍යයනයට පාදක විය. මෙම සංවිධානයේ වැඩසටහන් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයේ වර්ධනය වෙමින් පවතින (ග්‍රාමීය කර්මාන්ත සහ සේවා) ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් මත පිහිටා ශ්‍රම වෙළඳපොළ උත්තේජනය කිරීමට උත්සහ කරයි.

මෙම ප්‍රකාශනය IFAD හි ජාතික සාකච්ඡාවලදී සහභාගීවූවන්ගේ පාඨග්‍රන්ථයක් වශයෙන් ප්‍රයෝජනයට ගැනීමට පුළුවන. ඒ හැරුණු විට ශිෂ්‍යයින්ට, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පවතින දර්දනාවය ගැඹුරින් අවබෝධ කර ගැනීමේ උවමනාවක් ඇති රාජ්‍ය හා රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳ කටයුතු සඳහා යෙදෙන අයට හා ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදකයන්ට, කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය හා ග්‍රාමීය කටයුතුවල නිරත වන අයට, මෙකී අවබෝධය ඇතිව කටයුතු කිරීමට ශක්තිය ඇති අන්‍යයන්ට මෙම ප්‍රකාශනය ප්‍රයෝජනවත් වෙතැයි අපගේ අපේක්ෂාවයි.

මෙම ප්‍රකාශනයට පහත සඳහන් තේමා මූලික කරගත් පත්‍රකා 6ක් අඩංගු වේ. ඒවා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථික ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා (2 වන පරිච්ඡේදය), ග්‍රාමීය සාධක වෙළඳපොළ (3 වන පරිච්ඡේදය), සංක්‍රමණය හා සංක්‍රමණ ප්‍රේෂණ (4 වන පරිච්ඡේදය), ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණය (5 වන පරිච්ඡේදය), ග්‍රාමීය ආයතන (6 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) සහ පරිසරය සහ දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන් (7 වන පරිච්ඡේදය). මීට අමතරව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල පවතින ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා යන මැයි 2009 අගෝස්තු මාසයේදී කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනය අතිරේක ලියවිල්ලක් ලෙස ඉදිරියේදී ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කිරීමට නියමිතය. මේ සෑම ලියවිල්ලක්ම විශේෂයෙන් IFAD සංවිධානයටද, සෞඝ්‍ය සංවර්ධන ආයතන සඳහාද මැදිහත්වීම් කිරීමට හා ආධාර සැපයීමට අවශ්‍ය වන නිර්දේශ ඉදිරිපත් කරයි. තවද, මෙම අධ්‍යයනයෙන් රජයට හා රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල වැඩසටහන් සඳහාද අවශ්‍ය මාර්ගෝපදේශකත්වය සපයා දෙයි.

මෙම ප්‍රකාශනයේ තේමා පත්‍රිකා ලියන ලද්දේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දේශපාලන තත්වය අදට වඩා වෙනස් අයුරින් පැවති 2008 වසරේ අවසන් භාගයේදීය. ඒ කාලය අතරතුර අප වෙත මධ්‍යම ආණ්ඩුවෙන් හා පළාත් ආණ්ඩුවල පර්යේෂකවන්ගෙන් ලැබුණු ප්‍රතිපෝෂණවලට අනුකූලව සමාජ සන්දර්භයේ ඇතිවූ වෙනස්කම් සැලකිල්ලට ගනිමින් මෙම ප්‍රකාශනය යළි යළිත් සකස් කරන ලදී. වමනිසා ලේඛනයේ අන්තර්ගතය සහ අධ්‍යයනයට ලක් කෙරෙන වත්මන් යථාර්ථය අතර

යම් යම් නොගැලපීම් තිබෙන්නට පුළුවන. මෙම හැදින්වීමේ පරිච්ඡේදයේ අරමුණ අධ්‍යයනයේ සන්දර්භය, CEPA හි ප්‍රවේශය හා ක්‍රමවේදය පැහැදිලි කිරීමයි.

### රටේ සන්දර්භය

දකුණු ආසියාවේ අසල්වැසි රටවල් සමග සසඳන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව 85%ක ග්‍රාමීය ජනගහනයකින් යුක්ත මිලියන 19.8 (2006) ජනගහනයකින් සමන්විත සාපේක්ෂ වශයෙන් කුඩා රටකි. මෙහි ජනගහත්වය වර්ග කිලෝමීටරයකට 300ක් වන අතර වාර්ෂික ජනගහන වර්ධන වේගය 0.8%ට සීමාවී තිබේ. තවද, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඔහු වාර්ගික, ඔහු ආගමික රටකි. රටේ ජනගහනයෙන් ඔහුතරය වාර්ගික වශයෙන් සිංහල හා ආගමික වශයෙන් බෞද්ධ වේ. රටේ සමස්ථ ජනගහනය විශාල දුමිල ජනකායකගෙන් (සාමාන්‍යයෙන් හින්දු) මුස්ලිම් හා ක්‍රිස්තියානු භක්තික ජනසමූහයකින් යුක්ත වේ. අවුරුදු 25ක් මුළුල්ලේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සංවර්ධනයට බාධාවක් වූ දෙමළ බෙදුම්වාදී විමුක්ති කොටි සංවිධානය (LTTE) හා ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජය අතර පැවති යුද්ධය මේ වන විට අවසන් වී ඇත.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ භූමි භාගය අක්‍රමික හා ඛණ්ඩනය වූවකි. වෙරළ තීරය(මීටර් 1000 වඩා අඩු උසකින් යුක්ත) අතර විවිධ පළලින් යුක්ත තැනිතලා බිම් (මීටර් 100-500) මුහුදු වෙරළේ සිට මධ්‍යම කඳු පාමුල දක්වා දිව යයි. දේශගුණික වශයෙන් ගත් කළ රටේ පවතින්නේ සමක, නිවර්තන දේශගුණයකි. රට හැමතැනම පැතිරී යන ඒකාකාරී නොවන වර්ෂාපතනය හේතු කොටගෙන ශ්‍රී ලංකාව දේශගුණික කලාප දෙකකට බෙදයි. වනම් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නිරිතදිග පිහිටා ඇති තෙත් කලාපය සහ භූමියේ ඉතිරි ප්‍රදේශවල ඇති වියළි කලාපය යනුවෙනි. තෙත් කලාපයට මි.ලී. 2500ක වර්ෂාපතනයක් ලැබෙන අතර වියළි කලාපයේදී වස මි.ලී. 1200-1900 ක් අතර වෙයි. 2004 දී ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වෙරළබඩට කඩා වැදුණු සුනාමි රළපහරක් පුද්ගලයින් 380000ට වැඩි පිරිසක් මියගිය අතර, ඊට වඩා වැඩි සංඛ්‍යාවකට සිය ජීවනෝපායයන් අහිමි වී අසරණ තත්වයකට පත්වූහ.

ඒ සියල්ල මධ්‍යයේ රටේ මානව සංවර්ධන දුර්වලතාවය දෙස බලනවිට පෙනී යන්නේ සෑම කෙනෙකුටම ප්‍රාථමික අධ්‍යාපනය, ප්‍රාථමික හා ද්විතීක අධ්‍යාපනයේ ස්ත්‍රී - පුරුෂ සමානාත්මතාවය, ප්‍රජනන සෞඛ්‍ය සේවාවන් සැපයීම<sup>1</sup> යනාදිය අතින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සහශ්‍රක සංවර්ධන ඉලක්කයන් ළඟාකර ගැනීමට ආසන්නව සිටින බවයි. තවද, මෙරට වැඩිහිටි සාක්ෂරතාවය 90.7 කි. (2001 අම්පාර හැර උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත් බැහැර කළ විට)<sup>2</sup> පිරිමින්ගේ සාමාන්‍ය ජීවිත අපේක්ෂාව අවුරුදු 71.7ක් වන විට කාතාවන්ට අවුරුදු 77ක්ද වේ.

LTTE සංවිධානය සහ ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජය අතර පැවැති වසර 25ක ගැටුම ශ්‍රී ලාංකීය ජන ජීවිතයේ සෑම අංශයකටම තදින් බලපෑවේය. ඉන් පුද්ගලයින් 65000 ට අධික ප්‍රමාණයක් මිය ගොස් 800,000 ක් පමණ උන්හිටිතැන් අහිමිව පසුවෙති.

<sup>1</sup> World Bank(2007) Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment: engendering growth with equity, opportunities and challenge.  
<sup>2</sup> Department of Census and Statistics; Social Conditions of Sri Lanka <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/social/social%20conditions.pdf>

මෙම ගැටුම පැවති කාලය පුරා රටේ ආණ්ඩුකරණයටත් සංවර්ධනයටත් බාධා වීලදවුනි. සෑම ජනවර්ගයකම හා ආගමික ප්‍රජාවකගේම මානව හිමිකම් දැඩි ලෙස උල්ලංඝනය විය. අදහස් ප්‍රකාශනයට තහනම් වැටෙන. සමාජ, ආර්ථික යටිතල පහසුකම් විනාශ වූහ. ඒ සමගම ජාතික සම්පත්වලින් සැලකිය යුතු ප්‍රමාණයක් යුධ අවශ්‍යතාවයන් වෙනුවෙන් වැයකෙරිණි. යුධ ජයග්‍රහණයෙන් අනතුරුව උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත් සහ දකුණු අතර හිදුනසේ ගමන් කිරීමට විනාචරණයක් සැකසී තිබුණද ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී හිදුනස තවමත් ස්ථාපිත වී නොමැත. එමෙන්ම රට අභ්‍යන්තරයේ අවතැන් වී සිටින අතිවිශාල ජනකාය යළි පදිංචි කිරීමද තවමත් සම්පූර්ණ වී නොමැත.

### රටේ ආර්ථික පසුබිම

යුද්ධයෙන් හා ගෝලීය ආර්ථිකයෙන් වීලද වුණු බාහිර කම්පනයන් මධ්‍යයේ වුවද, වර්ෂ 1977 සිටම ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සිය දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයේ වර්ධන වේගය 4.9% ක් වශයෙන් පවත්වාගෙන යාමට සමත් වුණි. වසර 2007දී එය 6.8%ක් වී 2008 වන විට යළි 6.0% දක්වා අඩු විය. ජනගහන වර්ධන වේගය අඩුවීමත් සමගම පසුගිය දශක 3 ඇතුළත ඒක පුද්ගල ආදායම දෙගුණ වී 2008දී<sup>3</sup> ඇමරිකන් ඩොලර් 200කට වැඩි අගයක් ගත්තේය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ශ්‍රම බලකායේ සහභාගීත්වය 49.5%ක් විය. 2008 වසර වන විට රටේ කාන්තා ශ්‍රම සහභාගීත්වය පිරිමින්ගෙන් භාගයක් වශයෙන් 33.2%ක අගයක් ගත්තේය. (පිරිමි සහභාගීත්වය 67.8%කි.) ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රැකියා නියුක්තිකයන්ගේ සංඛ්‍යාව මිලියන 7.6කි. ඉන් 60%ක් අවිධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියා කරති. සමස්ත රැකියා නියුක්තික සංඛ්‍යාවෙන් 33%ක් කෘෂිකර්මයේ නියුක්ත වෙති. 2008 වසරේ විරැකියාව 5.4%ක් විය. ජාතික මට්ටමෙන් බලතව්ව කාන්තාවන්ගේ විරැකියාව පිරිමින්ට වඩා දෙගුණයකින් වැඩි වේ (පිළිවෙලින් 8.4% සහ 3.7%)<sup>4</sup>.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථික වෘද්ධියට හේතු වූයේ පරිභෝජනය සහ ආයෝජනය සඳහා වූ දේශීය ඉල්ලුම, අපනයනයන්, විදේශීය මුදල් රට තුළට ප්‍රේෂණය වීම, පහිවිඩි හුවමාරු සේවාවන් රටේ වැඩි දෙනෙකුට දරා ගැනීමට පුළුවන් වීම යනාදියයි. තේ, රබර්, කුරුඳු, කරාඩු, පළතුරු, වළවළු සහ බුලත් යන අපනයන බෝගවලට වැඩි මිලක් ලැබීම ද මේ සඳහා බලපෑම් කරන ලදී. 2007 වසරේදී දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් 7.2%ක් වූ ශ්‍රමික ප්‍රේෂණය 2008 වන විට සැලකිය යුතු ප්‍රමාණයකින් ඉහළ ගොස් 2008 වසරේ පළමු මාස 8දී වෙළඳ හිඟයෙන් අඩක් පියවීමට රජය සමත් වූයේය. මේ ලියන මොහොත වන විට (2009 අගෝස්තු) ලෝක තේ හා රබර් මිල පහත වැටී ගෝලීය මූල්‍ය අර්බුදය හමුවේ අපනයන කෘෂිකර්මය අභියෝග යට ලක් වී කලින් පැවති තත්වය භයානක ලෙස වෙනස් වූයේය. මෙකී ගෝලීය අර්බුදය විදේශීය විගමණයන්ටත්, ඉන් ලැබෙන ප්‍රේෂණවලටත් ස්ථිර ලෙසම බලපානු ඇත.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.lankabusinessonline.com/fullstory.php?nid=188595336>  
<sup>4</sup> Department of Census and Statistics (2009) Annual Report of the Labour Force Survey 2008, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/2008%20annual%20report%20English.pdf>

මේ අතර, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උද්දමනය සීඝ්‍ර ලෙස ඉහළ ගොස් 2008 වසරේ ජූනි මාසය වන විට 28.2%ක් වූ අතර වසර අවසන් වන විට විය මදක් පහළ බැස ඇති බවේ පෙනේ. මෙසේ උද්දමනය ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් වැඩි වූයේ භූමිතෙල්, පෙට්‍රල් සහ ඩීසල් වලට ලබාදී තිබූ සහනාධාරය ඉවත් කිරීම නිසාය. මේ අනුව 2006 වසරේ අප්‍රේල් මාසය වන විට පෙට්‍රල් සහ ඩීසල් මිල ගණන් 60%න්ද, භූමිතෙල් (බහුල වශයෙන් දුප්පතුන් පරිභෝජනය කරන) 40%න්ද ඉහළ යන ලදී. ඒ හැරුණු විට ලෝක වෙළඳ පොළේ ආහාර හා වෙනත් භාණ්ඩ මිල ගණන් ඉහළ යාම ආනයනික ද්‍රව්‍යවල මිලට බලපෑවේය. ශ්‍රී ලංකා පාරිභෝගික මිල දර්ශකය (CPI) පෙන්නුම් කරන භාණ්ඩ මල්ලෙන් 46% වන දේශීය ආහාරවල මිල ගණන් ජාත්‍යන්තර ප්‍රවණතා අනුව වැඩිවී ශ්‍රී ලංකා පාරිභෝගික මිල දර්ශකයේ සීඝ්‍ර ඉහළ නැගීමකට මූලික වශයෙන් හේතු විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකා මහ බැංකුවේ මූල්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති හේතු කොටගෙන 2008 අවසන් වන විට උද්දමය ක්‍රමයෙන් පහළ බැස ගොස් තිබේ.

අසමානතාවයන් හා බෙදාහැරීමේ අඩුලුහුඬුකම් තවමත් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දේශපාලන දේහයට බලපාන ආකාරය පෙනේ. 1970 සහ 1980 දශකවලදී ශ්‍රී ලංකාව නිදහස් ආර්ථික පිළිවෙතකට මාරුවීම නිසා ආර්ථිකය වක තැන අණහිටි තත්වයෙන් මුදා ගැනීමට පුළුවන් විය. හුදෙක් ආදායම් අසමානතා දෘෂ්ඨි කෝණයෙන් බැලූ විට පෙනී යන්නේ විවිධ සමාජ ස්ථරයන් අතර ආදායම් ඉහළ යාමක් දක්නට ලැබුණද දිළිඳු ජන කණ්ඩායම්වල ආදායමට වඩා සීඝ්‍රයෙන් පොහොසතුන් වඩා වඩාත් පොහොසත් වූ බවයි.

ඇතැම් විශ්ලේෂකයින්<sup>5</sup> මේ තත්වය දකින්නේ අසමානතාවලට හේතු යටිතල පහසුකම් - අධ්‍යාපනය හා රැකියාවලට පිවිසීමට සමාන අවස්ථා ජනතාවට නොමැති වීම බවයි. මෙම අසමානතාවලට ජනගහන සාධක, වාර්ගිකත්වය, හෝ අවකාශය වතරම් බලනොපෑ බවද ඔවුන්ගේ අදහසයි.<sup>6</sup> ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සංවර්ධනය දෙස දේශපාලන ආර්ථික දෘෂ්ඨි කෝණයකින් බලන්නන් තර්ක කරන්නේ සමාජයේ පවතින තිරස් අසමානතා (සංස්කෘතිය කණ්ඩායම් අතර පවතින අර්ථික, සමාජ හා දේශපාලන අසමානතා) දිළිඳු කණ්ඩායම්වල සුබසිද්ධියට බාධා කරන බවත් ඉන් මතු විය හැකි ප්‍රාදේශීය අසමානතා හේතුවෙන් ප්‍රවණ්ඩ ගැටුම් පවා ඇතිවිය හැකි බවයි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථිකය පිළිබඳව සාකච්ඡා කළ යුත්තේ රටේ දේශපාලන තත්වයට සමගාමීවය. පසුගිය වසර පහ තුළදී රටේ දේශපාලන පසුබිමෙහි දැඩි වෙනස්කම් සිදු වී තිබේ. ගැටුමට දේශපාලන විසඳුමක් ලබාදීමේ බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් 2002 වසරේ අත්සන් කරන ලද සටන් විරාම ගිවිසුමෙන් බලාපොරොත්තු වූ පරිදි සාමකාමී තත්වයක් උද්ගත නොවූ නිසා වසර 2005 වනවිට ප්‍රවණ්ඩ ගැටුම් යළි ඉස්මතු වී රජය ඒකපාර්ශ්වික සටන් විරාම ගිවිසුම බිඳ දමා උදාකර ගන්නා ලද මහා පරිමාණ

<sup>5</sup> Ramani Gunatilaka and Duangkamon Chotikapanich (2005) Inequality trends and determinants in Sri Lanka 1980-2002 A Shapley approach to Decomposition , Monash University, Melbourne

<sup>6</sup> This is also brought out in the statistical analysis by Thankom Arun and Van BOrooah (2004) Earnings inequality in Sri Lanka IDPM Working Paper Series no 10. University of Manchester

යුද්ධය හේතුවෙන් ජීවිත, ජීවනෝපායයන් හා යටිතල පහසුකම් විනාශයට පත්වූහ. මේ අතර රජය දෙයාකාරයක ප්‍රවේශයකින් ගැටුම් නිරාකරණයට ඉදිරිපත් වූයේය. එනම් ත්‍රස්තවාදයට යුධමය විසඳුමක්ද එහි අන්තර්ගත වූ වාර්ගික ප්‍රශ්නයට දේශපාලන විසඳුමක්ද ලබාදීමයි. දැනට දුර්මුඛ වී ඇති සර්වපාර්ශ්වික නියෝජිත කමිටුවේ කාර්යය වූයේ බලය බෙදාහැරීමේ ව්‍යවස්ථාමය කටයුත්තකින් දේශපාලන විසඳුමක් ලබාදීමයි. කෙසේවුවද, වර්ෂයක් මුළුල්ලේ ගෙනගිය යුධමය ක්‍රියාදාමය නිසා 2007 වසරේ ජූලි මාසය වන විට ජීවිත විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් විනාශ වී තවත් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් අවතැන්වීමෙන් අනතුරුව රජය නැගෙනහිර පළාතේ සිය බලය තහවුරු කර ගත්තේය. ඉන්පසුව නැගෙනහිර පළාතේ මැතිවරණ පැවැත්වූවද, ජනතාවගේ ගමන් බිමන් වලට මෙන්ම භාණ්ඩ ප්‍රවාහනයටත් හමුදාමය ආරක්ෂිත පියවරවල් බාධා එල්ල කළහ. තවද, අවිගත් විවිධ කණ්ඩායම් අතර අඛණ්ඩව සිදු කෙරෙන ප්‍රචණ්ඩ ක්‍රියා හේතු කොට ගෙන පළාතේ ජන ජීවිතය තවමත් යථා තත්වයට පත් වී නොමැත.

මේ ලිපිය ලියන අවස්ථාව වන විට (2009 අගෝස්තු) LTTE සංවිධානය යුධමය වශයෙන් පරාජය කොට එහි නායක වේලුපිල්ලෙයි ප්‍රභාකරන් මරාදමා ත්‍රස්තවාදය පැරද යුද ප්‍රමෝදයෙන් සාමය දෙසට පියමං කිරීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව උත්සහ දරමින් සිටියි. පශ්චාත් යුද සමයේ යාපනය මහ නගර සභාවට හා වවිනියා නගර සභාවට මැතිවරණ පවත්වා ඇත. තත්වය එසේ වුවද අභ්‍යන්තර අවතැන් වූවන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් යළි පදිංචි කිරීමට සිදු වී තිබේ. පශ්චාත් ගැටුම් තත්වයන් ඉතා සංකීර්ණ සහ අස්ථිර බවත් ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය අවම කළ යුතු බවත්, ප්‍රාදේශීය අසමානතා සහ සමාජයේ පවතින තිරස් අසමානතා අඩු කරගත යුතු බවත් නැගෙනහිර පළාතෙන් උගත් පාඩම් අපට ප්‍රකාශ කරයි.

මී ළඟට හඳුනාගත යුතු වැදගත් කරුණ වන්නේ ඉදිරි වසර කිහිපය තුළ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථික, සමාජීය, දේශපාලන පරිසරය අස්ථිර එකක් වීමට ඉඩ තිබෙන බවය. රටේ සාමකාමී තත්වයක් පැවතීමත්, ජාත්‍යන්තර මූල්‍ය අරමුදලෙන් ඇමරිකානු ඩොලර් මිලියන 3.9 ක ණය ආධාර ලැබීමත් හේතුකොටගෙන සිදුවීමට ගිය ආර්ථික විනාශය වළක්වා ගැනීමට පුළුවන් විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකා ආර්ථිකයේ කොදුනාරටිය වන අපනයන වෙළඳපොළ සබඳතා හා ශ්‍රමිකයින්ගෙන් ලැබෙන විදේශ ජේෂ්ණයන් ගෝලීය මූල්‍ය අර්බුදය හමුවේ අස්ථාවර වී ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පිළිබඳ සාර්ව විශ්ලේෂණයක් සිදුකොට ඵලදායී සම්පත් තිරසාර ලෙස හසුරුවාගැනීම කාලෝචිත වේ. අනෙක් අස්ථාවරතාවය පෙන්නුම් කරන්නේ පශ්චාත් යුද ආර්ථිකය කෙසේ හැසිරේද, රටේ සමාජ ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලන සන්දර්භය මත විශේෂයෙන් උතුර හා නැගෙනහිර පළාත් මත සාමය කුමන බලපෑමක් ඇති කරයිද යන්නයි.

**කෘෂිකර්මය, ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය සහ දරිද්‍රතාවය**

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කෘෂිකර්මය සම්ප්‍රදායික වශයෙන් රඳා ඇත්තේ සහල් නිෂ්පාදනය සහ තේ, රබර්, පොල් යන වැවිලි බෝග මතය. කෘෂිකාර්මික බෝග, විශේෂයෙන් වැවිලි බෝග රටේ අපනයන ආදායමෙන් 20%ට දායක වෙති. 2007 දී රටේ දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදිතයෙන් 11.8%ක් ලැබුණේ කෘෂිකර්මයෙනි. නමුත් වය පෙර වසරේ තිබූ 12.3%ට වඩා පසුබෑමකි.



පසුගිය දශක දෙක තුළදී කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශය විවිධාංගීකරණය වී ප්‍රධාන වැවිලි බෝග ගණයට අයත් නොවන කොකෝවා, කජු, බුලත්, ගම්මිරිස්, කුරුඳු, කරාබු හැටි, පුවක් සහ කෝපි වැවීම අරඹා තිබේ. මෙම බෝග අද වන විට කෘෂිකාර්මික දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් ආසන්න වශයෙන් 2/3ට වග කියති. පශු සම්පත (චළදෙනුන්, මී දෙනුන්, ඌරන්, වළවන්, බැටළුවන්, කුකුළුන්) දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් 1.2%ක්ද කෘෂිකාර්මික දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් 5.6% ක්ද වන අතර 2005 වන විට දේශීය කිරි නිෂ්පාදන අවශ්‍යතාවලින් 20%ක්ද පශු සම්පත්වලින් ලැබුණි.

2007 වසර වන විට රබර් සහ පශු නිෂ්පාදනවල වර්ධනයත්, 2004 දෙසැම්බර් සුනාමියෙන් පසු ධීවර කර්මාන්තයේ සිදුවූ පිබිදීමත් හේතුකොටගෙන කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය 3.3%න් වර්ධනය විය. 2007 වන විට ධීවර අංශය වාර්තාගත නිෂ්පාදනයක් සිදු කළේය. ඒ අනුව පෙනී යන්නේ ගැටුම් නොපවතින ප්‍රදේශවල සුනාමියෙන් 80% විනාශ වූ ධීවර කර්මාන්තය යළි හිස ඔසවා ඇති බවයි. ඒ තත්වය වසේ වුවද, රටේ ප්‍රධාන දේශීය කෘෂි නිපැයුම වන වී නිෂ්පාදනය පහළ වැටී තිබේ. නැගෙනහිර පළාතේ අනාරක්ෂිත තත්වය නිසා ගොවීන් අවතැන් වීම සහ කාලගුණික විපර්යාසයන් ඊට ආසන්නම හේතු බව සොයාගෙන ඇත (ශ්‍රී ලංකා මහ බැංකුව 2007).

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජාතික ආදායමට කෘෂිකර්මය ලබාදෙන දායකත්වය අඩුවීම සහ ඒ කෙරෙහි රැකියා උත්පාදනය අඩුවීම විශ්ලේෂකයින් දකින ආකාරයට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථික වර්ධනය කෘෂි ක්ෂේත්‍රය මගහැර ගොස් ඇති බව පෙන්නුම් කරයි. ඒ හා පෙනෙන අනෙක් වැදගත් කරුණ වන්නේ කෘෂි ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ ශ්‍රම බලකාය ඉවතට ඇදෙන ව්‍යුහාත්මක වෙනසක්ද අඩුවී නැති බවයි. වසර 2002 වන විට කෘෂි ක්ෂේත්‍රය සමස්ත ශ්‍රම බලකායෙන් 1/3ට වඩා (ග්‍රාමීය පෙදෙස්වල මීට වඩා වැඩි විය හැකිය) වැඩි පිරිසක් රඳවා ගත්ත. 1991 වසර සමග සසඳන විට එය සුළු වැඩිවීමකි. යටකි විශ්ලේෂණයෙන් කියැවෙන්නේ තවමත් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජනගහණයෙන් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් කෘෂිකර්මය සිය ජීවනෝපාය කරගෙන සිටින බවත් ඉන් ලබාගන්නා ආදායම වැඩි නොවීම ග්‍රාමීය/ වතු ප්‍රදේශවල දිගින් දිගටම පවතින දරිද්‍රතාවයට පාදක වන ප්‍රධාන හේතුව බවයි (භාරායන් සහ යොෂිඩා 2005).

නිෂ්පාදන සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන පදනම් කරගත් විකල්ප අදහසක් වන්නේ කෘෂි නිපැයුම් ඒකතැන රැඳී නොතිබුණ බවත්, වැඩි වූ නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් ප්‍රමාණවත් ධනයක් ගොවීන්ට නොලැබීම මේ අර්බුදයට මූලික හේතුව බවයි.

ග්‍රාමීය ජීවනෝපායයන් සහ කෘෂිකර්මය පිළිබඳ කතා කරන විට අමතක නොකළ හැකි මිළුන ප්‍රශ්නය රටේ සිදුවන දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයයි. අධික වශයෙන් රසායනික යෙදවුම් මත පදනම් වී ඇති කෘෂිකාර්මාන්තය දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන්ට දායක වන බව පෙනී ගොස් තිබේ. මෙම දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන් වර්ෂාපතනය අඩු වැඩි කිරීමට මුල්වන අතර වැඩි වර්ෂාව හා නියගය බෝග ප්‍රමාණයෙන් හා ගුණාත්මක බවින් හීන කරයි. (විශේෂයෙන් වර්ෂා ජලයෙන් කෙරෙන වී ගොවිතැන) මේ තත්වය ග්‍රාමීය ශාඛයන්ගෙන් ආදායමට හා ආහාර සුරක්ෂිත භාවයට බලපෑම් ඇති කරයි.

කෘෂි අංශය ග්‍රාමීය ජීවනෝපායයන් අර්ථවත් කරයි යන විශ්ලේෂණයේදී, කෘෂිකර්මය වනාහි බෝග නිෂ්පාදනය, පශු සම්පත්, ධීවර හා වන සම්පත් යන ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වලින් ඔබ්බට ගොස් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ සිදු කෙරෙන සෞඛ්‍ය කටයුතු දෙස බැලීම වටී. ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ සිදු කෙරෙන ආහාර සැකසීම හෝ කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාර වැනි අගය එකතු කෙරෙන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් කෘෂිකර්මය සමගම වෙලි පවතින නිසා එය කෘෂිකර්මාන්තයේ නිපැයුම් වටිනාකමට දායක වෙයි.

### රටේ පවතින දරිද්‍රතා තත්වය

1977න් පසුව සිදුවූ වෙළඳපොළ ප්‍රතිසංවිධානයෙන් විපුල ඵල නෙලා ගැනීමට හෝ විවිධ සංවර්ධන යෝජනා ක්‍රමවලින් ඵල ප්‍රයෝජන ලබා ගැනීමට හෝ අපොහොසත් වූ ජන කණ්ඩායම් දරිද්‍රතාවයේ ගැලී සිටින බව සංඛ්‍යාලේඛණ හා ආනුෂංගික දත්ත පෙන්නුම් කරති. මෙවැනි දිළිඳුන් පදිංචි වී සිටින ස්ථාන හා ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපායයන් හඳුනාගැනීමෙන් පසුව ඔවුන් ඉලක්ක කරගත් කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රතිසංවිධාන වැඩසටහන් ඉදිරියට ගෙනයාමට හැකි වනු ඇත.

2002 වසරේදී කරන ලද ගෘහස්ථ ආදායම හා වියදම පාදක කරගත් සමීක්ෂණයකින් (HIES) අනතුරුව නිශ්චිත සුභ සාධක මට්ටමකින් සිදු කෙරෙන පරිභෝජනය හා වියදම සන්සන්දනය කරගත හැකි නිල දරිද්‍රතා රේඛාවක් (OPL) ස්ථාපිත කරන ලදී. යම් කාලවකවානුවක් තුළ සිදු කෙරෙන ආහාර සහ ආහාර නොවන ද්‍රව්‍ය පරිභෝජනය හා වියදම් මේ මගින් සන්සන්දනය කළ හැකි වේ. මේ රේඛාව යොදා ගනිමින් 'පරිභෝජනයේ දිළිඳු බව' මැන බලන පුද්ගලයෙකුට අත්‍යවශ්‍යයෙන් චුම්බනා කරන ද්‍රව්‍ය මොනවාදැයි මේ සූත්‍රය යොදා ගණනය කරයි. 2002 දී (OPL) අනුව මාසයකට වත් පුද්ගලයෙකුට ගිය වියදම රු. 1423ක් ලෙසද 2006/07 දී එය රු. 2233ක් වූ බවද සොයා ගන්නා ලදී.

ඉහතින් දැක්වූ සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන පාදක කරගත්මින් 2006/07 ගෘහස්ථ ආදායම හා වියදම් සමීක්ෂණයෙන් (HIES) ජාතික දරිද්‍රතාවය මැන බැලූ විට පෙනී ගියේ 2002ට සාපේක්ෂව (22.7%) 2006/07 වන විට ජාතික දරිද්‍රතා ශීර්ෂ දර්ශකය 15.2% දක්වා අඩුවීමක් පෙන්නුම් කරන බවයි. සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන වලින් තවදුරටත් සනාථ වන්නේ නාගරික හා ග්‍රාමීය දරිද්‍රතාවයේ අඩුවීමක් දක්නට ලැබුණද 2002 සිට වතුකරයේ දරිද්‍රතාවය ඉහළ ගොස් ඇති බවයි. කෙසේ වුවද, දරිද්‍රතා ශීර්ෂ දර්ශකය පළාත් සහ දිස්ත්‍රික්ක පුරා සමාන බවක් නොපෙන්වයි. 2002 වසරේ සිට ඇතැම් දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල දරිද්‍රතාවය<sup>7</sup> බොහෝ සෙයින් අඩු වුවද තවත් තැනක එය අඩුවී ඇත්තේ ඉතාම අවම<sup>8</sup> වශයෙනි.

මෙම දර්ශකයෙන් දිළිඳුන් ජීවත්වන ප්‍රදේශය හඳුනාගත්තද, ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපාය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හඳුනාගැනීම එකසේ වැදගත් වේ. සමස්තයක් වශයෙන් ගෙන බැලූ කල්හි පෙනී යන්නේ මොවුන් කුලී වැඩ, කෘෂිකාර්මික කුලී වැඩ සහ කුඩා පරිමාණ කෘෂිකර්මයෙන් ආදායම් සොයා ගන්නා බවයි<sup>9</sup>. තවද, ගෘහස්ථ ආදායම වැඩිකර

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/poverty/PovertyIndicators.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 2

<sup>9</sup> See chapter 2

ගැහිම සදහා මෙන්ම විකල්ප ජීවනෝපායයන් සොයා ගැහිම සදහාත් මොවුන් තැනින් තැනට ගමන් කරන බවද පෙනී යයි.

**ප්‍රතිපත්ති, උපාය මාර්ග සහ ආයතනික සන්දර්භය**

**මහින්ද චින්තනය සහ කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රතිපත්තිය.**

ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති රාමුවට පාදක වන්නේ මහින්ද චින්තන - ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දැක්ම: 10 අවුරුදු සංවර්ධනය සැලැස්මයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රජයේ සහ විදේශීය දාන ප්‍රජාව සිදුකරන සියළුම සංවර්ධන සැලසුම්වල මූලික පදනම මහින්ද චින්තනයයි. දාන ප්‍රජාවන්ගේ සම්පත් දායකත්වයෙන් හා රජයේ හිලධාරීන් සමග කරන ලද දීර්ඝ සාකච්ඡා පදනම් කරගනිමින් මෙම සැලැස්ම සකස් කර ඇත්තේ මුදල් සහ ක්‍රම සම්පාදන අමාත්‍යාංශය විසිනි. සැලැස්මේ අරමුණ වන්නේ 2015 වන විට දර්ශනා ශීර්ෂ ඒකකය 12% දක්වා අඩු කිරීමටත් 2006-2016 කාලය තුළ 8% ක ආර්ථික වර්ධන වේගයක් පවත්වාගෙන යාමයි. 2006 වසරේදී මෙය සැලසුම් කරද්දී සැලකිල්ලට ගත් උපකල්පනයන් වර්තමානයේ වෙනස් වන ගෝලීය හා දේශීය පසුබිමේහි තබා යළි සිතා බැලීමට සිදු වේ. කෙසේ වුවද මහින්ද චින්තන සැලැස්ම, ජාතික ප්‍රතිපත්ති රාමුවක් ලෙස සියළු දෙනාම පිළිගෙන සිටිති.

මෙම සැලැස්ම අවධාරණ කර සිටින්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථිකය ගොඩනැංවීමට පෞද්ගලික හා රාජ්‍ය අංශවල ප්‍රගතිගාමී සහභාගීත්ව ක්‍රියාදාමයන් භාවිතා කළ යුතු බවයි. ඒ අතරතුර රජයේ වගකීම වන්නේ අවශ්‍ය යටිතල පහසුකම් සැපයීම, තරගකාරීත්වය ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීම, සංවර්ධන කාර්යයේදී පසුගාමී තත්වයේ පසුවන ප්‍රදේශ සොයා බලා ප්‍රාදේශීය සම්බලිත භාවය රැකෙන පරිදි වර්ධනය වේගවත් කිරීම, මහජන සේවා කාර්යක්ෂම කිරීම, පෞද්ගලික ආයෝජන දිරිගැන්වීම, උතුරු නැගෙනහිර දෙපළාතේ සංවර්ධන ගැටළු ආමන්ත්‍රණය කිරීම යනාදියයි.

කෘෂිකර්මය සම්බන්ධයෙන් මෙම සැලැස්මේ දැක්ම වූකලී, 'පළාත්බදුව සමාන සංවර්ධනයක් ළඟා කරගැනීම, ග්‍රාමීය ජීවනෝපායයන් වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම සහ පාරිභෝගික භාණ්ඩ නිෂ්පාදනය කාර්යක්ෂම කොට ආහාර සුරක්ෂිත භාවය රැකගනිමින් කෘෂි පාදක කර්මාන්තවලට සහ ලෝක වෙළඳපොළට තරගකාරී බවෙන් යුතුව පාරිභෝගික භාණ්ඩ සැපයීමයි.'<sup>10</sup> කෙටියෙන් කිවහොත් මෙම ප්‍රතිපත්තියේ හරය වන්නේ දැනට පවතින යැපුම් කෘෂිකර්මය ඉතා ඵලදායී වාණිජ කෘෂිකර්මයක් බවට පරිවර්තනය කිරීමයි.

- ඒ සදහා: අඩු ඵලදායීතාවයෙන් යුතු යැපුම් කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය ඵලදායීතාවයෙන් ඉහළ කෘෂිකර්මයක් බවට පරිවර්තනය කිරීම සහ කෘෂි පාදක කර්මාන්තවලට නැඹුරුවීම.
- වතුකරය ඇතුළු සෙසු අපනයන කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශවල ඵලදායීතාවය, නිෂ්පාදනය හා තරගකාරීත්වය වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම.

<sup>10</sup> Department of National Planning(2006) Mahinda Chintana: Vision for a New Sri Lanka, a 10 year Horizon Development Framework, p 3

- සෘජුවම දර්ශනාවය අවම කර ගැනීමට හැකිවන පරිදි ශ්‍රමයට හා අනෙකුත් නිෂ්පාදන සාධකවලට ලැබෙන ප්‍රතිලාභ වැඩි කිරීම.
- තාක්ෂණය භාවිතා කොට යන්ත්‍රානුසාරයෙන් කෘෂිකාර්මික ඵලදායීතාවය කාර්යක්ෂම කිරීම, ගොවිපලින් පරිබාහිර රැකියා අවස්ථාවලට මෙසේ ඉවත්වන අතිරික්ත ශ්‍රමය වැඩිදියුණු ජීවනෝපායයන් සඳහා යොදා ගැනීම.
- වෙළඳපොළ යාන්ත්‍රණය වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම, හා ගොවිතැනට හිතකර වන පරිදි වෙළඳ නීති සම්පාදනය.<sup>11</sup>

මහින්ද චින්තන දස අවුරුදු සැලැස්ම රටේ දර්ශනාවය හා සමාජ අසමානතාවයන් අවම කරගත හැකි අංශයක් ලෙස කෘෂිකර්මය හඳුනාගෙන ඇත. සංවර්ධනය සඳහා මුදල් වෙන් කිරීමේදී ප්‍රාදේශීය සමානතාවය<sup>12</sup> රැකෙන පරිදි විය කළ යුතු බැවින් මෙම සැලැස්ම නිර්දේශ කරයි. තවද, දැනට කෙරෙන කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා පොදුවේ මුදල් වෙන් කරනු වෙනුවට දර්ශනාවය උග්‍ර පළාත්වලට වැඩි සැලකිල්ලක් දැක්විය යුතු බවද නිර්දේශිතය. එමනිසා දර්ශනාවය මූලිකව දැමීම අරමුණු කොටගෙන කෘෂිකර්මය දිරිමත් කිරීමට උචිත සහ සබරගමුව යන පළාත්වලට (ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වැඩියෙන් දිළිණ්දන් ජීවත්වන පළාත්) හා වතුකරයේ වැඩි ආයෝජනයක් ලබාදීමට නිර්දේශිතය. මේ සඳහා කෘෂිකර්ම අමාත්‍යාංශයේ කෘෂිකර්ම ප්‍රතිපත්තිය මහින්ද චින්තන දස අවුරුදු සැලැස්ම පෝෂණය කරමින් තිරසාර කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වැඩි දියුණු කිරීමට කැපවී සිටියි.

**ආයතනික සන්දර්භය**

රටේ කෘෂිකර්මය කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු කරන ආයතන රාශියක් රාජ්‍ය හා පෞද්ගලික අංශවල දක්නට ලැබෙයි. රාජ්‍ය මට්ටමින් කෘෂිකර්මය පිළිබඳ සමස්ත වගකීම දරන්නේ කෘෂිකර්ම සංවර්ධන හා ගොවිපන සේවා අමාත්‍යාංශය (MADAS) වුවද, කෘෂි සංවර්ධනය ආවරණය කරන අතිරේක අමාත්‍යාංශ ගණනාවක් දක්නට ලැබේ. කෘෂිකර්ම සංවර්ධන හා කෘෂිසේවා අමාත්‍යාංශය යටතේ පවතින කෘෂිකර්ම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවට (DOA) පළාත්වලට සේවා සැපයීමට අවශ්‍ය යටිතල පහසුකම් තිබේ. ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් පර්යේෂණ සහ ව්‍යාපෘති කටයුතු, කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාරවලට සහාය වීම, බීජ සහ පැළ නිෂ්පාදනය, පැල නිරෝධායන, පාංශු සංරක්ෂණය සහ කෘෂිනාශක ද්‍රව්‍ය ලියාපදිංචි කිරීම වැනි නියාමන කටයුතු ඊට අයත් වගකීම්ය. මෙකී කාර්යයන් ඉටු කිරීමට තාක්ෂණික සහ ව්‍යවස්ථාපිත ආයතන රාශියක් තිබේ.

මිලගට පශු සම්පත් සංවර්ධන අමාත්‍යාංශය (MLD) ගතහොත් එහි මූලික වගකීම පශු පාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රය පිළිබඳවය. වැවිලි කර්මාන්ත අමාත්‍යාංශය වැවිලි කර්මාන්තයේ ඵලදායීතාවය, ලාභදායී බව හා තිරසාර බව පිළිබඳ වගකීම දරයි.

<sup>11</sup> Department of National Planning(2006) Mahinda Chintana:Vision for a New Sri Lanka, a 10 year Horizon Development Framework, p 13  
<sup>12</sup> Ibid p 14

පෞද්ගලික අංශය ගත්විට පෙනෙන්නේ කෘෂි පාදක ව්‍යාපාර පිළිබඳව ජාතික කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාර කවුන්සලය වගකීම දරණ බවය. මෙහි අරමුණ වන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ලාභදායී, ශක්තිමත් කෘෂි පාදක කරගත් ව්‍යාපාර ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයක් පවත්වාගෙන යාමට අවශ්‍ය පරිසරය සකස් කිරීමයි. දැනටමත් පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ සිල්ලර ආහාර වෙළෙන්දන් (හිඳසුන් - කාගිල්ස්, කීල්ස් ආදී) විවිධ පළාත්වල ගොවිත්ගේ නිපැයුම් සම්බන්ධීරණය කරමින් වෙළඳපොළක් නිර්මාණය කරමින් සිටිති.

විමෝම සී. අයි. සී. සහ හේකෙම් වැනි කෘෂි සේවා සැපයුම්කරුවෝ ග්‍රාමීය නිෂ්පාදකයින්ට අවශ්‍ය සේවා සපයමින් රසායනික ද්‍රව්‍ය වෙළඳාමේ යෙදෙති. මේ හැරුණු විට නිෂ්පාදක අයිතීන් ආරක්‍ෂා කරන කුඩා හෝ වතු හිමියන්ගේ සංවිධානය වැනි ස්වාධීන සංවිධාන කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයේ දක්නට ලැබේ.

මහ බැංකුවේ නියාමනය යටතේ රටේ ග්‍රාමීය මූල්‍ය අවශ්‍යතාවයන් සම්පාදනය කිරීමට වාණිජ බැංකු, ප්‍රාදේශීය සංවර්ධන බැංකු, ඉතිරි කිරීමේ හා සංවර්ධන බැංකු සමුපකාර දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ නියාමනය යටතේ සමුපකාර සංගම්පද, සංගම් ආඥා පනත, ස්වේච්ඡා සමාජ සේවා සංවිධාන පනත, ශ්‍රී ලංකා සමෘද්ධි අධිකාරි පනත යනාදිය යටතේ විධිමත් ආයතනද මූල්‍ය සැපයුම් සිදු කෙරේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ක්‍ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය සැපයුම් අංශය ඉතා කුඩා වීකඩ්. රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන ලාභදායී ලෙස ක්‍ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය සැපයුමද වීම කටයුතු දිගුකල් නොපවතී. වාණිජ බැංකු ක්‍ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය සැපයුමෙහි යෙදී සිටියත් ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් කෙරෙන විශදම හා අවදානම වැඩි නිසා මේ ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයට අවතීර්ණ වීමට වාණිජ බැංකු පසුබට වෙති.

ක්‍ෂුද්‍ර රක්‍ෂණය වූ කලි ක්‍ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය සේවා තරම්වත් දියුණු වී නොමැති මූල්‍ය සේවයකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රක්‍ෂණ වෙළඳපොළ පවතින්නේ ඉතා නොදියුණු මට්ටමකය. තත්වය එසේ වුවත් ග්‍රාමීය දරිද්‍රතාවය පිටුදැකීමට ඇති උචිත මෙවලමක් ලෙස ක්‍ෂුද්‍ර රක්‍ෂණ සේවාව පිළිගැනීමක් ලබා ඇත.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට ග්‍රාමීය සමීනි සහ ආයතන සම්බන්ධයෙන් දිගු සම්ප්‍රදායක් තිබේ. ඒවා විවිධාකාරයෙන් ආරම්භ කොට ඇත. මේවා අතර පුද්ගලයන් ස්වේච්ඡාවෙන් ගොඩනගාගත් සංගම්, සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය විසින් ඇති කරන ලද සංගම්, නොයෙකුත් ව්‍යාපෘති සහ ආධාර මගින් ඇති කරන ලද සංගම්, රජයට අනුග්‍රහය දක්වන සංවිධානවලට ප්‍රවේශ වීමට ඇති කර ගන්නා ලද සංගම්, රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන ගොඩනැගූ සංගම් හා මෑතකදී පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ මගපෙන්වීමෙන් ඇති කරන ලද සංගම් යනාදියයි.

**ග්‍රාමීය දරිද්‍රතාවය ආමන්ත්‍රණය කරන ප්‍රතිපත්ති රාමුව**

මෙම කෘතියේ ඉතිරි පරිච්ඡේද වලින් සමන්විත වන පසුබිම් තේමා පත්‍රිකා හා එහි (අවසන් පරිච්ඡේදයෙන්) ගෙනහැර දක්වන මූලික කරුණු ලබා ගත්තේ පාර්ශ්වකරුවන්, විශේෂඥයන් හා පර්යේෂකයින්ගේ ඥාණ සම්භාරයෙන් නිර්මාණය කෙරුණු විශ්ලේෂණ රාමුවකිනි. එම රාමුවට IFAD ආයතනයේ 'වලදායී දුප්පතුන්' වෙත ඇති යොමුව හා කෘෂි ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයේ මැදිහත්වීම් යන කරුණු සැලකිල්ලට ගෙන ඇත. මීට අමතරව ජනලේඛන හා සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව මගින් ප්‍රකාශයට පත්කෙරෙන දත්ත මත පදනම්ව දුප්පතුන් යනු කවීරැන්ද, ඔවුන් ජීවත් වන ප්‍රදේශ ඔවුන්ගේ විවිධ ජීවනෝපායයන් යන කරුණු සැලකිල්ලට ගෙන ඇත.

මෙසේ සැකසූ රාමුව දර්ශනාවයට ගොදුරුවීමට ඉඩකඩ ඇති පුද්ගලයින් ජීවත්වන ප්‍රදේශ හා කුඩා කණ්ඩායම් ඉලක්ක කරගනිමින් කටයුතු කිරීමට පෙළඹේ. මේ සඳහා මිනුම් දඩු දෙකක්, එනම් පරිභෝජනයේ දුගී බව හා කෘෂිකර්මයේ යෙදී සිටින ජනගහන ප්‍රතිශතය භාවිත කරයි. මෙසේ හඳුනාගත් උග්‍ර වශයෙන් දිළිඳු පළාත් හැටියට උච්ච පළාත (මොණරාගල සහ බදුල්ල දිස්ත්‍රික්ක), සබරගමුව පළාත (රත්නපුරය සහ කෑගල්ල දිස්ත්‍රික්ක) සහ මධ්‍යම පළාත (නුවර එළිය, මාතලේ, මහනුවර දිස්ත්‍රික්ක) සැලකිය හැකිය.

වගු අංක 1 : තෝරාගත් දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල දර්ශනා ශීර්ෂ දර්ශකයේ ප්‍රවණතා ප්‍රතිශතයක් වශයෙන්.

දිස්ත්‍රික්කය	1990/91	1995/96	2002	2006
නුවර එළිය	20	32	23	34
මොණරාගල	34	56	37	33
රත්නපුර	31	46	34	27
බදුල්ල	31	41	37	24
කෑගල්ල	31	36	32	21
මාතලේ	29	42	30	19
මහනුවර	36	37	25	17

මූලාශ්‍රය: ජන ලේඛන හා සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව, 2006

රැකියා නියුක්ති ජනසංඛ්‍යාවේ බෙදීයාම දෙස බලන කල්හි පෙනී යන්නේ දුප්පතුන් වැඩිම ප්‍රමාණයක් ජීවත්වන නුවර එළිය, බදුල්ල සහ මොණරාගල යන දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල වැඩි කෘෂි කර්මාන්තයේ නියුතු ජන සංඛ්‍යාවක් සිටින බවයි. මේ අනුව බලන විට දිස්ත්‍රික්ක වශයෙන් ප්‍රමුඛත්වය ලැබිය යුත්තේ නුවර එළිය, බදුල්ල, මොණරාගල, රත්නපුරය සහ කෑගල්ල යන දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන්ය.

මධ්‍යම, උච්ච සහ සබරගමුව යන පළාත්වලට අයත් දුගී බවින් යුත් දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල ජීවනෝපායයන් වන්නේ කුඩා තේ වතු වගාව, කුඩා පර්මාණු චිලවළු වගාව, පළතුරු, කුළුබඩු, මාංශ භෝග, වී සහ කිරි නිෂ්පාදනයයි. මෙම ගොවීන්ගෙන් බහුතරය යැපුම් ගොවිතැන් තත්වයේ පසුවෙති. මේ තත්වය යටතේ වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමුවිය යුත්තේ කුඩා පර්මාණු ගොවීන්, පශු නිෂ්පාදකයින් හා ග්‍රාමීය කුලී ශ්‍රමිකයන් වෙත බැව් දර්ශනා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය (CEPA) යෝජනා කරයි.

දුප්පතුන් කවරේද? ඔවුන් කුමන ස්ථානවල ජීවත්වේද? ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපායයන් මොනවාද? යන කාරණාවන් හඳුනාගෙන ආරම්භ කරන ප්‍රවේශය, කෘෂි අංශය හෝ බෝග සංවර්ධනය පදනම් කරගත් ප්‍රවේශයන් සමග කොතරම් දුරට ගැලපේද යන්න CEPA හඳුනාගෙන ඇත. මධ්‍යම රජයේ කේන්ද්‍රීය ආයතනවල සිටින පාර්ශ්වකරුවන් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනය සහ කෘෂි සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳව සාර්ව පෙළඹුමකින් බැලීමට නැඹුරුවක් දක්වයි. නමුත් දර්ශනාව කේන්ද්‍ර කරගත් ප්‍රවේශය දෙස වඩා සංවේදීතාවයෙන් යුතුව බලන්නේ ගැටළුවට සම්පව කටයුතු කරන පළාත් සභාවල නිලධාරීන්ය.

මෙම රාමුව වුවමනාවෙන්ම උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල පවතින දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ ධීවර අංශයන් මගහැර ඇති බැව් පෙනේ. මෙය ලියන අවස්ථාවේදී උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල පැවති ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය නිසා IFAD (ගැටුම් මධ්‍යයේ කටයුතු කිරීමට අත්දැකීම් නොමැතිවීම, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පුළුල් ලෙස පැතිරී නොමැතිවීම) වැනි සංවිධාන වීම පළාත්වලින් අයිති කොට කටයුතු කරන ලදී. එම පළාතේ ප්‍රමුඛත්වය ලැබිය යුතු දරිද්‍රතාවය හා අනිමි කිරීම සහිත තත්වයක් උපකල්පනය කළ හැකි වුවද, ඊට සාක්ෂි දරණ සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන දත්ත සොයා ගැනීම පවා දුෂ්කර වී ඇත. මේ පළාතේ ධීවර ප්‍රජාව ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් ලැබිය යුතු පිරිසක් ලෙස නොසලකා හරින ලද්දේ පශ්චාත් සුනාමි ධීවර කර්මාන්තය දියුණුවෙන් ධීවරයින් මුදාගැනීමට විවිධ පියවර ගෙන තිබූ බැවිනි. ඔවුන් අතරින් අතිශයින් දියුණු වූ ධීවර පවුල් ජීවත් වූයේ ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය පැවති ප්‍රදේශවලය. පශ්චාත් යුද වතාවරණය තුළ මේ පළාත්වල සංවර්ධනයට මැදිහත්වීමේ ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා දැන් වළඹී තිබේ. එමනිසා මේ පළාත් ආශ්‍රයෙන් සිදුකෙරෙන ආර්ථික අධ්‍යයන වාර්තා වෙනම මුද්‍රණය කිරීමට නියමිතය.

ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථික ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථාවන් සහ ග්‍රාමීය සාධක වෙළඳපොළ යන පරිච්ඡේද අපගේ ප්‍රවේශයට පක්ෂ තර්ක ගොඩනගනු ඇත. මෙම තර්ක විතර්ක ඉදිරියේදී ගැඹුරින් සලකා බලනු ලැබේ. පරිසරය හා දේශගුණික විපර්යාස යන පරිච්ඡේදය සුළු ඉඩම් හිමියන් සිදුවේගෙන යන දේශගුණික විපර්යාසවල අවදානම් සන්දර්භය තුළ පිහිටුවාලයි. ග්‍රාමීය ආයතන සහ ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණය යන පරිච්ඡේදය සුළු ඉඩම් හිමියන්ට සැපයෙන සේවා සඳහා පසුබිම සපයයි. තමන්ට ලැබෙන ආදායම ජීවත්වීමට ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවීම නිසා එම හිගය පියවා ගැනීමට දියුණු කාන්තා, පුරුෂ දෙපක්ෂයම විගමණයේ යෙදෙති. මේ තත්වය හතරවන පරිච්ඡේදයෙන් සලකා බැලේ. මෙම කෘතිය අවසන් කරන්නේ කෘෂිකර්මික අංශයේ මැදිහත්කරණයට අවශ්‍ය විකල්ප සොයා බැලීමෙනි.

# ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය හා කෘෂිකාර්මික නොවන අංශය: ගැටළු හා ද්‍රව්‍යස්ථාවන්

## ක්‍රියාත්මක සාරාංශය

ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය වඩාත් සංකීර්ණ සහ එකිනෙකට බැඳී පවත්නා ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සමූහයකින් සමන්විත, භාණ්ඩ හා සේවා නිෂ්පාදනය, බෙදාහැරීම, හුවමාරුකර ගැනීම හා පාරිභෝජන යන අංශ අන්තර්ගත ක්‍රියාදාමයකි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථිකය ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වලින් සමන්විත වන අතර කර්මාන්ත හා සේවා අංශයද අඩංගුය. ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ එක් අංශයක් හඳුනාගෙන විය විග්‍රහ කිරීම සාමාන්‍යයෙන් සිදු කරනු ලබයි. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස: කෘෂිකාර්මික කාර්යයන් ලෙස හඳුනාගන්නා එක් ක්‍රියාකාරකමක් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ වෙනත් බොහෝ කාර්යයන් හා ඉතා තීක්ෂණ ලෙස බැඳී පවත්නා බව පෙනේ. ඒ අනුව එක් පවුලක් විවැනි කාර්යයන් එකක හෝ කිහිපයක නිරත විය හැකිය. මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් IFAD වැනි සංවර්ධන ආයතන සඳහා මැදිහත්විය හැකි අවස්ථාවන් හඳුනා ගැනීමට උත්සාහ කරයි. එනිදී, හ්‍යායාත්මක රාමුවක් හරහා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ පවත්නා විකල්ප ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග පිළිබඳවද දැන්ව, තොරතුරු, මෙන්ම ස්වභාවය සහ ගති ලක්ෂණ හඳුනාගැනීම සිදුකරයි.

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයෙහි අවස්ථාවන් හඳුනා ගැනීම සඳහා එහි දැනට පවත්නා සුදුසු ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග විදහා දැක්වෙන රාමුවක් භාවිත කරයි. මේ යටතේ වේතිහාසික ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් ඇති කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය ආරම්භක අවස්ථාව ලෙස සලකා ඇති අතර, ඊට අමතරව ගොවිපොල කටයුතු, ධීවර කර්මාන්තය, සත්ව පාලනය හා වන වගාව, ස්වයං රැකියා හා වේතන සහිත රැකියා යන අංශ අන්තර්ගත කර ඇත. මේ සියල්ල එක්ව ගත් විට "ගොවිපොල පදනම් කරගත් ජීවනෝපායන්" ලෙස හැඳින්විය හැකිය. මෙම කාර්යයන්, අනෙකුත් ගොවිපොල නොවන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වූ, යෙදවුම් සැපයීම. නිමවුම් සැකසීම හා සහාය සේවාවන් සමග ඉතා සමීප සම්බන්ධතාවයෙන් මෙන්ම උපකාරයෙන් යුතුව පවතී. කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතු සහ සම්බන්ධ කර්මාන්ත හා සේවාවන්වලට අමතරව, ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයට නිෂ්පාදන කර්මාන්ත, වැලිගොඩ දැමීමේ කාර්යය සහ සංචාරක කර්මාන්ත යන කාර්යයන් ද අයත් වේ. විවැනි කාර්යයන් "ගොවිපොල නොවන ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග" ලෙස හැඳින්වේ. ගොවිපොල පදනම් කරගත් ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග මෙන්ම, මෙම කාර්යයන් ද යෙදවුම් සැපයීම, නිමවුම් සකස් කිරීම සහ සහාය සේවාවන් මගින් සහාය වනු ලබයි. ඉහත සඳහන් ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග අංශ දෙක සහ ඒවාට සම්බන්ධ ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වලට අමතරව ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවල ජන ජීවිතය, එහි ජනතාවගේ අවශ්‍යතා සඳහා ගෘහ උපකරණ වැනි පාරිභෝජන ද්‍රව්‍ය, බැංකු සේවා, පණිවුඩ හුවමාරු සේවා, සහ වෙළඳාම වැනි භාණ්ඩ හා සේවා නිපදවීම මත රඳා පවතී. අවසාන වශයෙන් සලකන විට ඉහත සඳහන් සියලු ක්‍රියාකාරකම් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයෙහි අන්තර්ගත වන අතර, ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවලින් සංක්‍රමණය වීමද, ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාවට තිබෙන විකල්ප ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ගයක් ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය.



දැනට පවත්නා දත්ත හා තොරතුරුවලට අනුව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථික කටයුතුවලින් ඔහුතරය අන්තර්ගත වන්නේ ග්‍රාමීය අංශය තුළට වේ. රටේ ජනගහනයෙන් 85% ක් ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ ජීවත්වන අතර රටේ රැකියා අවශ්‍යතාවයෙන් 89%ක් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළින් සපයයි. තවත් ලෙසකින් ගත්විට විධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියා උත්පාදනයෙන් 85%ක් සහ අවිධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියාවලින් 92%ක් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයට ඇතුළත්ය. අපේක්ෂා කළ හැකි පරිදි ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය විසින් කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශයේ සියළුම රැකියා අවස්ථා උත්පාදනය කරයි. එමෙන්ම කර්මාන්ත හා සේවා අංශය ද එහි අන්තර්ගතය. ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයෙහි, අවිධිමත් අංශය තුළ ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ "ස්වයං රැකියා උත්පාදනයෙන්" තුනෙන් දෙකක්ම අන්තර්ගත වේ. මෙම ස්වයං රැකියා නියුක්තියන් අතර සුළු පරමාණු ගොවීන් සහ ස්වයං රැකියාවන්හි නියුතු සුළු ව්‍යවසායකයින් අන්තර්ගතය. ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ මිලියන 3.6ක සුළු පරමාණු ගොවිපවුල් සහ ලක්ෂ හයක් (600,000) පමණ වූ සුළු පරමාණු ව්‍යවසායකයින් සිටින බව ඇස්තමේන්තු කර ඇත. ග්‍රාමීය ව්‍යවසායකයන් බොහොමයක් නිෂ්පාදනය හෝ කර්මාන්තකරුවන් වන අතර ඊට අමතරව වෙළඳුම සහ සේවා යන අංශයන්ගෙන් සමන්විත වේ. "රැකියා ලාභීන්" යන ගණයට අයත්වන්නේ ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ රැකියා නියුක්තියන්ගෙන් 50%ට මදක් වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් වන අතර ඔවුන් වැටුප් ලබන සේවාලාභීන් සහ දෛනික වේතන ලබන ශ්‍රමිකයින් වේ. විධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියා නියුක්තවුවන්ගෙන් 1/3ක් පමණ මූලික මට්ටමේ රැකියාවල නියුතුවන අතර තවත් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් ඒ හා සමාන අවිධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියාවන්හි නියුක්ත වේ. වේතනයන් අනුව බලන විට විධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියාවන්හි නියුතු අය අවිධිමත් අංශයේ නියුක්ත වුවන් මෙන් දෙගුණයක පමණ වේතන ලබති. ග්‍රාමීය ස්වයං රැකියා අංශයේ නියුක්ත වුවන්ගේ සංඛ්‍යාව වාර්ෂිකව 19%කින් පමණ වර්ධනය වන බව පෙනේ. ඒ අතර වේතනලාභී රැකියාවන්ගේ වර්ධනය වසරකට 4%කි. තවද, ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය තුළ "වේතන නොලබන පවුලේ කාර්යයන්හි නියුතු අය" විශාල වශයෙන් අඩංගු වන අතර ඔවුන් බොහෝවිට කාන්තාවන් වේ.

රටෙහි දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවගෙන් 82% ක්ම ඇතුළත් වන්නේ ග්‍රාමීය අංශයටයි. දරිද්‍රතාවය හා සම්බන්ධ දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණයන් තුළින් පෙනී යන්නේ, දරිද්‍රතාවය භෞමික තත්ත්වයන් හා සෘජු සම්බන්ධතාවයන් පවතින බවයි. සමහර ප්‍රදේශයන් සහ ඒවා තුළ හුදකලා වූ ස්ථානයන් දරිද්‍රතාවයට වඩාත් ගොදුරුව ඇති ස්ථාන ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය. එමෙන්ම වෛතිභාසික දත්ත අනුව පෙනී යන්නේ සමහර ස්ථාන සහ ප්‍රදේශයන්හි දරිද්‍රතාවය ඉතා ඉහළ මට්ටමකින් පසුගිය වසර 20ක් පුරාවට අඛණ්ඩව පවතින බවයි.

සමස්තයක් ලෙස ගත්විට, සාර්ව දරිද්‍රතා දත්තවලට අනුව දැනට හඳුනාගෙන ඇති ඉතාම දිළිඳු සහ දිගුකල් පවත්නා දරිද්‍රතාවය සහිත දිස්ත්‍රික්ක පිහිටා තිබෙන්නේ උගුව, සබරගමුව හා මධ්‍යම පළාත් තුළයි. දරිද්‍රතාවය සහිත ජනතාව ජීවත්වන ප්‍රදේශයන්හි රැකියා කටයුතු පිළිබඳව විමසා බැලීමේ දී පෙනී යන්නේ, දරිද්‍රතාවය හා කෘෂිකර්මය අතර සහසම්බන්ධතාවයක් පවතින බවයි. ඒ අනුව දිළිඳු ජනතාව ඉතා ඉහළ ප්‍රතිශතයක් සහිත ප්‍රදේශයන්හි නිරායාසයන්ම ජනගහනයෙන් ඉතා ඉහළ ප්‍රමාණයක් කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතුවල නියැලී සිටිති. කෙසේ නමුත්, අනුරාධපුරය හා පොළොන්නරුව වැනි දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන්ගේ තත්ත්වය සලකා බලනවිට ඒවායේ ජනගහනයෙන් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් කෘෂිකර්මයෙහි නිරතවී සිටියත් දරිද්‍රතා මට්ටමින් ඔවුන් එතරම් පහළ මට්ටමක නොසිටී. එමෙන්ම දරිද්‍රතාවයේ අඩුවක් ද දක්නට

ලැබේ. ඒ අනුව පෙනී යන්නේ කෘෂි අංශයේ රැකියා නියුක්තිය හා දර්ශනාවය අතර සෘජු සහසම්බන්ධතාවයක් පැවතීම නිරතුරුවම දැකගත හැකි කරුණක් නොවන බවය.

කෘෂිකර්මයෙන් සහ කෘෂිකාර්මික නොවන කාර්යයන්ගෙන් ලබන ආදායම සමස්ත කුටුම්භ ආදායමට කොතෙක් දුරට වැදගත් දැයි යන්න විවිධ ආදායම් කාණ්ඩ අතර වෙනස්ව පවතින සාධකයක් වන අතර ඉතාම දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාව දෙස බලනවිට ඔවුන්ගේ කුටුම්භ ආදායම රැඳී ඇත්තේ කෘෂිකර්මය මත බව පෙනේ. ඒ අතරම දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාව ගොවිපොල ආර්ථික කටයුතුවලින් ගොවිපොල නොවන ආර්ථික කටයුතුවලට මාරුවීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියක් ද හඳුනා ගත හැකිය. ඒ සඳහා කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතුවලින් ලැබෙන ආදායම හීනවීම සහ ඉපයීම් සඳහා යොදාගත හැකි කෘෂි ඉඩම් නොමැතිවීම ආදී කරුණු බලපා ඇත. ඉතා දිළිඳු පවුල් ගොවිපොල නොවන තාවකාලික රැකියා මත විශාල වශයෙන් යැපෙන බව පෙනේ. දර්ශනාවය සඳහා රැකියා නොමැතිකමට වඩා උෟන මට්ටමේ සේවා නියුක්තිය ද බලපා ඇතිබව පෙනේ. එවැනි තත්ත්වයන් බොහෝවිට දැකගත හැක්කේ, පවුලේ මූලිකයා ධීවර කර්මාන්තය හෝ කෘෂිකර්මය වැනි අවිධිමත් අංශයේ රැකියාවක නියුක්ත වී සිටින විටදීය. එවැනි කාර්යයන්හි යෙදීම බොහෝවිට වසරේ නිශ්චිත කාලයකට සීමාවන බැවින් උෟන සේවා නියුක්තිය තවත් උග්‍ර තත්ත්වයට පමුණුවයි.

මෙම නිබන්ධනය තුළින් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයේ වර්ධනය උදෙසා ගොවිපල නොවන කාර්යයන්හි තිබෙන අවස්ථාවන් පිළිබඳව විමසීමක් කරයි. සමස්තයක් ලෙස ගත්විට දැනට සීමාන්තික වශයෙන් ප්‍රයෝජනයට ගෙන තිබෙන එහෙත් අනාගතයේ දී පුළුල් ලෙස ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග සාදා ගත හැකි කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාර, කාර්මික නිෂ්පාදන සහ සේවාවන් යන අංශයන් ප්‍රධානකොට සැලකිය හැකිය. ගොවිපොල නොවන අංශයේ වර්ධනය සඳහා ප්‍රධාන බාධකයක්ව පවතිනුයේ ඉතාම පහළ මට්ටමක පවතින යටිතල පහසුකම් වේ. එමගින් ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ සහ ග්‍රාමීය මධ්‍යස්ථාන අතර තිබිය යුතු සම්බන්ධතාවය හා ප්‍රවේශකත්වය සීමාවීම, කෘෂි නිෂ්පාදනය වර්ධනය ඇහැනිවීම හා එමනිසා කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා යෙදවුම් හීනවීම, ප්‍රාග්ධනය හා ව්‍යවසායකත්වය හීනවීම, විශේෂයෙන්ම නිපුණතා සහ තාක්ෂණය නොමැතිවීම යන තත්ත්වයන් මතුවී ඇත. එමෙන්ම සෞඛ්‍ය සේවා, අධ්‍යාපනය හා තාක්ෂණික සේවාවන් දුර්වල වී යාම නිසා ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවලින් ජනතාව සංක්‍රමණය වීමත් ග්‍රාමීය දර්ශනාවය අඛණ්ඩව පැවතීමට හේතු වේ.

වර්තමානයේ රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සමස්ත ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය නංවාලීම අරමුණු කරගෙන ක්‍රියාත්මක වන අතර මේ යටතේ ප්‍රධාන වැඩසටහනක් ලෙස "ගමනැගුම" හැඳින්විය හැකිය. එය ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ මූලික කරගෙන ක්‍රියාවට නැංවෙන අතර ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ සංවර්ධනයට ඇති බාධක නිරාකරණය කිරීම සිදුකරයි. ඒ හා සමාන්තරව විශාල යටිතල පහසුකම් වැඩි දියුණු කිරීමේ වැඩසටහනක් දියත්කර ඇති අතර ඒ තුළට ග්‍රාමීය මාර්ග සංවර්ධනය ද ඇතුළත්ය. තවද රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති තුළින් උෟන සේවා නියුක්තිය අවම කරලීම සඳහා මෙන්ම ග්‍රාමීය දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවට බලපාන අවිධිමත් අංශයේ ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ගවලට අනුග්‍රහය දැක්වීම සඳහා ද කටයුතු කරයි.

සමස්තයක් ලෙස මෙම නිබන්ධනයේ විශ්ලේෂණය තුළින් ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයේ අවස්ථාවන් වර්ධනය කිරීම සඳහා ක්‍රියාවට නැංවිය හැකි උපාය මාර්ග තුනක් යෝජනා කර ඇත.

1. වේතනලාභී සේවා නියුක්තිකයන් සඳහා වඩා වැඩි අවස්ථා හා සුදුසු අංශයන් ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීම.
2. ගොවිපොල නොවන ස්වයං රැකියා සහ ග්‍රාමීය ව්‍යවසායකත්ව අවස්ථා ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීම.
3. යටිතල පහසුකම් හා සේවා අංශයන්හි ආයෝජන වර්ධනය කිරීම තුළින් ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශයන්හි සංවර්ධනය සහ ජනතාවගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය නංවාලීමට උදව් කිරීම.

# ග්‍රාමීය සාධක වෙළඳපොළ

## ක්‍රියාත්මක සාරාංශය

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජනගහනයෙන් 80%ක් පමණ ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ජීවත්වන අතර, රටෙහි දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවගෙන් 95%ක්ම අයත් වන්නේ ග්‍රාමීය අංශයට වේ. ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ පවුල්වලින් 65%ක්ම තම ජීවනෝපාය වශයෙන් යෙදී ඇත්තේ කෘෂිකර්මයෙහි වන අතර ඔවුන්ගෙන් වැඩිදෙනා කුඩා ඉඩම් හිමියන් වේ. පසුගිය රජයන් විසින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කෘෂිකර්මාන්ත අංශයේ සංවර්ධනයට මෙන් දිළිඳුබව තුරන් කිරීම සඳහා කරනු ලැබූ මහා පරිමාණ ආයෝජනයන් මෙන්ම විවිධාකාර වූ ව්‍යාපෘතීන්ගේ ප්‍රතිඵල කෙසේ වුවත්, විවිධ හේතූන් නිසා දේශීය කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශය ලාභ නොලබන නොදියුණු තත්ත්වයෙන් පවත්නා බවක් දැකගත හැකිය. මෑතකදී සිදුකරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයන්ගෙන් පෙනී ගිය පරිදි ග්‍රාමීය දිළිඳු බව තුරන් කිරීම සඳහා ප්‍රධාන බාධකයක් ලෙස හඳුනාගෙන තිබෙන්නේ ග්‍රාමීය සාධක වෙළඳපොලෙහි පවත්නා, ඉඩම් සහ ජලය, ශ්‍රමය, ප්‍රාග්ධනය මෙන්ම ව්‍යවසායකත්වය යන ගැටලු වේ. මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් උත්සාහ ගනු ලබන්නේ ග්‍රාමීය සාධක වෙළඳපොල හා සම්බන්ධ අවස්ථාවන් හා සීමාවන් හඳුනා ගැනීමටත්, වෙළඳපොල ඉල්ලුම් ප්‍රතිචාර සඳහා බලපාන සාධක තුළින් ග්‍රාමීය දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය නගා සිටුවීමේ ක්‍රම උපායන් හඳුනා ගැනීමත්ය.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා ආදායම් දර්ද්‍රතාවය සහ කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශයේ රැකියාවේ නියුතු ජනගහනයේ ප්‍රතිශතය යන නිර්ණායක දෙක භාවිත කරමින්, අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා ප්‍රමුඛ අංශයන් හඳුනා ගැනීමට උත්සාහ දරයි. මෙම නිර්ණායකයන්ට අනුව, ෭9ව, සබරගමුව හා මධ්‍යම පළාත් තුළ, දර්ද්‍රතාවය සාපේක්ෂ වශයෙන් ඉහළ මට්ටමක පවතින සහ අධිමධ දර්ද්‍රතාවයෙන් යුතු කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශයේ රැකියා නියුක්තිය සහිත ජනගහනයක් ජීවත්වන ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ හඳුනා ගෙන ඇත. ඒ අනුව මෙම අධ්‍යයනය මගින් මෙම පළාත්වල දිළිඳු ජනතාවගේ ප්‍රධාන හෝග, සත්ව පාලනය, සහ ගොවිපල පදනම් කරගත් ක්‍රියාකාරකම් විශ්ලේෂණයට යොමුකර ඇති අතර, ඒ අනුව හේ වගාව, චිලවළු වගාව, ධාන්‍ය වගාව, පළතුරු, කුළුබඩු, කිරි ගවපාලනය හා ඒ වගාව අධ්‍යයනයට භාජනය වී ඇත.

හේ වගාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ හෝග වගාවන් අතර ප්‍රධාන තැනක් ගනී. කුඩා හේවතු සහ පුද්ගලික සමාගම් සතු හේ වගා ඉඩම්වලින් ලැබෙන නිෂ්පාදනය, රටේ මුළු නිෂ්පාදනයේ 56% කට දායකත්වයක් දරන අතර මුළු හේ අපනයන ආදායමෙන් 70% ක් උපයයි. කුඩා හේවතු අංශය දළ වශයෙන් ගෘහ කුටුම්භ 239,000 (දළ වශයෙන් හෙක්ටයාර් 100,000) කින් යුක්ත වේ. එමගින් ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ මිලියන 1.5 ජනගහනයකට රැකියා සපයා ඇත. කුඩා හේ වතු වගාව පුළුල් ලෙස කොටස් තුනකට බෙදිය හැකිය. පළමු කාණ්ඩය ඉතා ඉහළ ඵලදාවක් සහිත වගාවන් වන අතර, එහි නිෂ්පාදනය හෙක්ටයාර් එකකට කි.ගුණ. 2,000 ඉක්මවයි. මෙවැනි ඉහළ නිෂ්පාදනයක් ඇති කුඩා හේ වතු පිහිටා ඇත්තේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දකුණු පළාතේ ගාල්ල හා මාතර යන දිස්ත්‍රික්ක දෙක තුළය. පසුගිය අවුරුදු 12ක කාලය තුළ දී ඒ යටතේ අලුතින් හෙක්ටයාර් 10,000 පමණ එකතුවී ඇත. මෙම පහතරට කුඩා හේ වතු තුළ වෙනත් කිසිදු වගාවක් දැකගත නොහැක. දෙවැනි කාණ්ඩයට අයත් කුඩා හේ වතු ඉතා පහළ ඵලදායිතාවක් සහිත ඒවා වේ. එහි සාමාන්‍ය නිෂ්පාදනය හෙක්ටයාර්

විකකට හේ කි.ගුෂ. 600කට අඩුය. මෙම වර්ගයේ කුඩා හේ වතු දැකගත හැක්කේ රට අභ්‍යන්තරයේ පිහිටි මහනුවර හා මාතලේ යන දිස්ත්‍රික්ක දෙක තුළය. පසුගිය වර්ෂ 12 තුළදී එම හේ වතු හෙක්ටයාර් 12,000කින් පමණ අඩුවී තිබේ. තුන්වැනි කාණ්ඩයට අයත්වන කුඩා හේ වතු වල ඵලදාව මධ්‍යම මට්ටමක පවතින අතර ඒවා මිශ්‍ර වගා ඒකක ලෙස යොදා ගනී. එහෙත් ප්‍රධාන ආදායම හේ වලින් ලැබේ. මෙම තුන්වැනි කාණ්ඩයේ කුඩා හේ වතු පිහිටා ඇත්තේ නුවරඑළිය හා බදුල්ල යන දිස්ත්‍රික්කවලයි. ඉහත සඳහන් දෙවැනි හා තෙවැනි කාණ්ඩවලට අයත් කුඩා පරිමාණ හේ වගාවන්වල යෙදී සිටිනා පවුල් අතර දර්දතා මට්ටම ඉතා ඉහළ අය සිටින අතර අධ්‍යාපනය වැනි අනෙකුත් සමාජ ආර්ථික අංශයන්ගේ අසතුටුදායක තත්ත්වයක් දැකගත හැකිය.

හේ වගා අංශය සමස්තයක් ලෙස ගත්විට වර්තමානයේ දී අභියෝගයන් රැසකට මුහුණ දී ඇත. ඒවා අතර, ඵලදායීතාව හීනවීම, හිෂ්පාදන වියදම ඉහළ යෑම සහ පුහුණු කම්කරුවන්ගේ හිඟය ප්‍රධාන තැනක් ගනී. හේ වගා අංශයට පොදු ඉහත අභියෝගයන්ට අමතරව කුඩා හේ වතු අංශය ගත්විට වගා වැඩි දියුණුව සඳහා අවශ්‍ය ප්‍රාග්ධනය හා කළමනාකරණ හැකියාව නොමැතිකම හා විශේෂයෙන්ම අධිණ්ඩව ඉහළ ඵලදාවක් ලැබීම සඳහා හැවත වගා කිරීම නිසිපරිදි නොකිරීම දැකගත හැකිය. හැවත වගා කිරීම කළවිට ඵලදාව හෙලීම සඳහා අවුරුදු 05ක කාලයක් ගතවන අතර එම කාලය තුළ වගා හිමියන්ගේ යැපීමට ආදායමක් නොමැතිකම ගැටළුවකි. එම කාලය තුළ වෙනත් ආදායම් මාර්ග සහ ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග නොමැතිකම මෙන්ම ණය පහසුකම්වල හිඟකම හේතුවෙන් බොහෝ කුඩා හේ වතු හිමියන් හැවත වගා කිරීම සඳහා අකමැත්තක් දක්වයි. තවද දුෂ්කර ප්‍රදේශයන්හි පවත්නා අසතුටුදායක මාර්ග පහසුකම් නිසා, කර්මාන්ත ශාලාවෙත හේ දළ ප්‍රවාහනය කිරීම අපහසු කාර්යයක්ව පවතී. මෙය හේ දළවල ගුණාත්මකභාවය කෙරෙහි බලපාන අතර එය වගා හිමියන්ගේ ආදායම පහළ යෑමට බලපායි. එමෙන්ම හේ වගාව සඳහා ඇති ව්‍යාප්ති සේවාව ඉතා දුර්වල මට්ටමක පවතී. එයට හේතුව පුහුණු හා කැපවීමක් ඇති ව්‍යාප්ති හිලධාරීන්ගේ හිඟය වේ. ඒ සඳහා ආයතනික අංශයේ හැකියා වර්ධනය කිරීම අත්‍යවශ්‍ය බව පෙනේ.

ඌව, සබරගමු හා මධ්‍යම යන පළාත් තුළ එළවළු වගාව, කුළුබඩු හා වෙනත් වාණිජ හෝග වගා කිරීම සඳහා ඉහළ හැකියාවක් පවතී. මෙම පළාත් තුළ පවත්නා විවිධාකාර වූ වගාවන්ට හිතකර පාරිසරික තත්ත්වයන් නිසා විවිධ හෝග වගාවන් කරගෙන යාමේ හැකියාව පවතී. එමනිසා බොහෝ සුළු පරිමාණ ගොවීන් විසින් උඩරට හා පහතරට එළවළු වගා කිරීම, ඒ වගාව, කුළුබඩු (කුරුදු හා ගම්මිරිස්), ධාන්‍ය (මුං, කවිපි, බඩ ඉරිඟු හා කුරක්කන්) වැනි වගාවන් කරති. ඊට අමතරව, මඤ්ඤෝක්කා, මිරිස් හා රටකපු වැනි වගාවන් ද ප්‍රධාන තැනක් ගනී. ඌව පළාතේ වියළි දේශගුණයක් සහිත ප්‍රදේශයන්හි අඹ, රඹුටන්, කෙසෙල්, අන්නාසි, දෙහි, දොඩම් වැනි පළතුරු ඉතාමත් ක්‍රමවත් වගාවන් ලෙස කරගෙන යනු ලැබේ. තවද, මෙම පළාත්වල වාසය කරන ගොවීන් බොහොමයක් මිශ්‍ර වගා කටයුතුවල යෙදෙන කුඩා වගා ඉඩම් හිමියන් ලෙස හේන් වගාවෙහිද නිරත වේ.

ඌව පළාතේ වියළි දේශගුණික ප්‍රදේශවල වෙසෙන සුළු පරිමාණ වගා ඉඩම් හිමියන් මුහුණදෙන ප්‍රධාන ගැටලුවක් වන්නේ ඉතා පහළ මට්ටමේ ඵලදායීතාවයි. එයට මූලිකව බලපා ඇත්තේ නිසි වාර්මාර්ග පහසුකම් නොමැතිකමයි. එමනිසා ඔවුන්ගේ

වගා කටයුතු වැසි ජලය මත යැපෙන අතර නවීන ජල කළමනාකරණ ක්‍රමවේදයන් භාවිතා නොකරයි. වගා ජල පහසුකම් නොමැති නිසා වගා කළ හැකි බිම් ප්‍රමාණය සීමිත වන අතරම සමස්තයක් ලෙස ගත්විට භූමියේ ඵලදායිතාවයන් ද පහළ මට්ටමක පවතී. අවිධිමත් ඉඩම් කළමනාකරණ විධි සහ අවිධිමත් ලෙස රසායනික පොහොර භාවිතය නිසා වසර ගණනාවක් යනවිට වගා බිම් නිසරු වීමට බලපා ඇති බව පෙනේ. ඊට අමතරව, ගුණාත්මක බවින් අඩු රෝපණ ද්‍රව්‍ය භාවිතය, නුපුහුණු ශ්‍රමය නිසා සිදුවන දුර්වල වගා කළමනාකරණය, අස්වනු හෙලීමේ දී සහ පසු අස්වනු සැකසීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියේ දී සිදුවන අපතේ යෑම ආදී කරුණු හේතුවෙන් මෙම ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ගොවීන්ගේ තරඟකාරී බව ඉතා පහළ මට්ටමක පවතී. දැනට වළවළ වගාව සඳහා ආනයනය කරන ලද උසස් තත්ත්වයේ බීජ තිබෙන අතර ධාන්‍ය වගාව සඳහා වවැනි උසස් තත්ත්වයේ බීජ සඳහා වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමුවී නොමැත. වීමනිසා ඉහළ ගුණාත්මක තත්ත්වයෙන් යුත් ධාන්‍ය බීජ ආනයනය කර ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ අත්හදා බැලීම කළ යුතුව ඇත.

අස්වනු හෙලීමේ දී භාවිතාකරන නොදියුණු තාක්ෂණික ක්‍රමයන්, ගබඩා කිරීමේ දී හා ප්‍රවාහනයේ අසතුටුදායක තත්ත්වයන් නිසා සිදුවන පසු අස්වනු හානිය ඉතා බැරෑරුම් ප්‍රශ්නයක් බව පෙනේ. කන්න පදනම් කරගෙන අස්වනු ලැබීමේ හේතුවෙන් වවැනි කෘෂිකාර්මික නිෂ්පාදන කාර්යයන් සඳහා විශේෂයෙන්ම ආයෝජනය, සැකසීම හෝ අගය වැඩි කිරීම වැනි දේ සඳහා පුද්ගලික අංශයේ මැදිහත්වීම පහළ මට්ටමකින් සිදුවේ. වලෙසම සුදුසු වගා ඉඩම් සහ සේවා පහසුකම් සීමිත බැවින් විශාල පරිමාණයේ වාණිජ වගා කටයුතු අවම මට්ටමකින් පවතී. වඩවැනි වගා කරුවන්හට වගා විවිධාංගීකරණය සඳහා පවත්නා ඉඩකඩ ඉතා සීමිත වේ. අපනයනය සහ සැකසීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය සඳහා සුදුසු උසස් තත්ත්වයේ වළවළ නොමැතිකම වීම අංශයේ අපනයන වර්ධනය සීමා වීමට බලපා ඇත. තවද, ඵලදායී වෙළඳපොළ ජාලයක් නොමැතිකම මෙම වගාවන්ගේ ව්‍යාප්තියට ප්‍රධාන ගැටලුවක් ලෙස පවතී. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස බදුල්ල දිස්ත්‍රික්කය තුළ උඩරට වළවළ සඳහා හොඳ වෙළඳපොළ ජාලයක් පැවතියද, මහියංගනය සහ මොණරාගල වැනි වියළි දේශගුණික ප්‍රදේශවල වගාවන් සඳහා චිතරම් සාර්ථක වෙළඳපොළ ජාලයක් නොමැති වවැනි වියළි දේශගුණික ප්‍රදේශවල වැවෙන වගාවන් සඳහා අඩු ඉල්ලුමක් පැවතීම, අධික මිල උච්චාවචනය සහ රජයේ වෙළඳ ප්‍රතිපත්ති මේ තත්ත්වය තවත් අසතුටුදායක මට්ටමකට ඇද දමා ඇත.

සත්ව පාලන අංශය ගත් විට, කිරි නිෂ්පාදන ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකයේ ඉතා වැදගත් කාර්යභාරයක් ඉටුකරයි. සත්ව පාලනයේ යෙදෙන ගොවිපවුල් සංඛ්‍යාව 17.9%ක් වන අතර ඔවුන්ගෙන් 70%ක්ම ගවයින් ඇති කිරිම කරයි. කිරි ගොවීන් බොහෝ ප්‍රමාණයක් කුඩා පරිමාණ සත්ව පාලකයින් වේ. ඔවුන් වැඩි දෙනෙකු සත්ව පාලනය සමග මිශ්‍ර වගා කටයුතුවල නියැලී සිටිති. බොහෝ විට ඔවුහු ගවයින් 2-5ක් පමණ ඇති කරති. පවත්නා කිරි මිල ගණන් අනුව, කුඩා සත්ව පාලන හිමියකුගේ දෛනික අවශ්‍යතාවයන් සඳහා දිනකට කිරි ලීටර 15ක් ප්‍රමාණවත්ව නිපදවිය යුතුයි. සුළු පරිමාණ සත්වපාලන ගොවියකුහට ආර්ථික වශයෙන් ලාභදායී මට්ටමක විය පවත්වා ගෙන යෑමට නම් කිරි ගවයින් 03 දෙනෙකු, හොඳ ගව මඩුවක් සහ ඔවුන්ට අවශ්‍ය තණකොළ සඳහා පර්චස් 20ක පමණ බිම් කොටසක් ද තිබිය යුතුය. එනමුත් සුළු පරිමාණ කිරි ගොවීන් බොහොමයකට ඉහත සඳහන් අවම අවශ්‍යතා නොමැති බව පෙනී ගොස් ඇත.

ඉහත සඳහන් ප්‍රදේශයන්හි කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය සඳහා භූමියේ ඉඩකඩ සීමාවීම මෙන්ම ගවයින් සඳහා තණකොළ වැවීමේ ඉඩකඩ නොමැති වීම, විකී කර්මාන්තය පුළුල් කිරීමට බාධකයක් වී ඇත. බොහෝ ප්‍රදේශවල සුළු පරමාණු කිරි ගොවීන් සඳහා තණබිම් නොමැති වීමත් තමාගේ ඉඩමේ තණකොළ වැවීමට ඉඩකඩ නොමැති වීමත් බරපතල ප්‍රශ්නයක් වී ඇත. තවද කිරි ගොවීන් බොහෝ දෙනෙකුගට වී සඳහා අවශ්‍ය තාක්ෂණික දැනුම නොමැතිකමින්, ගවයින්ගේ පෝෂණ තත්ත්වය, ඔවුන්ට අවශ්‍ය ජලය නිසිපරිදි ලබාදීම, වැනි කටයුතු දුර්වල වීම නිසා කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය අඩුවී තිබේ. සත්ව පාලනය සඳහා වූ ව්‍යාප්ති සේවය සඳහා බොහෝ ගොවීන්ගට ප්‍රවේශකත්වය නොමැතිවීමත් ඔවුන්ගේ නිෂ්පාදනයට පහළ යෑමට හේතු වී තිබේ. කෘෂි උපදේශක සේවාවට සහ සෞඛ්‍ය සේවා සඳහා ප්‍රමාණවත් ප්‍රවේශකත්වයක් තිබුණත් බොහෝ විට භූගෝලීය පිහිටීමේ විවිධත්වය සහ පාරවල් වැනි යටිතල පහසුකම් නොමැති නිසා සමහර ප්‍රදේශවල ජනතාවට එම සේවාවන් නිසිපරිදි නොලැබේ. තවද, සමහර ක්ෂේත්‍ර හිලධාරීන්ගේ සේවයට ඇති අවම කැපවීම, ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවන තාක්ෂණික දැනුම හා ප්‍රායෝගික දැනුම, විශේෂයෙන්ම සත්ව පාලනය සඳහා වූ දැනුමේ අඩුකම, කිරි ගොවීන්ගේ සෞඛ්‍ය ගැටලු පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් නැතිකම ආදී විවිධ බාධක මෙම ක්ෂේත්‍රය තුළ දැකගත හැකිය.

කිරි නිෂ්පාදන අලෙවි කිරීම සඳහා පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ විශාල දායකත්වයක් ලැබුණ ද තවමත් බොහෝ ගැටලු විසඳී නොමැත. මේ අතර, වෙළඳපොල විකල්පයන්ගේ හිඟකම, මිකිරි මිදවීම හා සම්බන්ධ පහසුකම් ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවීම, භාවිතකරන තාක්ෂණික ක්‍රම වැඩිදියුණු නොකිරීම, සහ නිෂ්පාදන වකතු කිරීමේ හා බෙදා හැරීමේ ජාලය නිසිපරිදි සංවර්ධනය නොවීම යනාදී දේ ප්‍රධානය. යටිතල පහසුකම් දියුණු නොවීම හේතුවෙන්, වෙළඳපොල විකල්පයන් සහ ගොවිපොල පදනම් කරගත් සැකසුම් ක්‍රියාවලියේ සංවර්ධනය ද සීමා වී ඇත. නොදියුණු යටිතල පහසුකම් සහ නවීන තාක්ෂණය සඳහා ප්‍රවේශකත්වය නොමැතිකම නිසා සමහර ප්‍රදේශයන්හි කිරි නිෂ්පාදන සඳහා අගය වකතු කිරීමේ කාර්යයන් ඉටු නොවේ. තවත් ප්‍රදේශයන්හි මුදවන ලද කිරි වෙළඳාම සාර්ථකව සිදුකරන නමුත් ශිතකරණ ගබඩා පහසුකම් නිසිපරිදි නොමැති නිසා නිෂ්පාදන අපතේ යෑම සිදුවේ. පශු සම්පත් නිෂ්පාදන සැකසුම් ක්‍රියාවලිය දියුණු නොවීමට හේතු වශයෙන් රජයේ සහාය හා මූල්‍යමය සේවා ප්‍රමාණවත් පරිදි නොලැබීම දැක්විය හැකිය.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය යටතේ සිදුකරන ලද ග්‍රාමීය සාධක වෙළඳපොල විශ්ලේෂණයට අනුව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දිළිඳු ග්‍රාමීය ගොවීන් විසින් මුහුණ දෙන බාධක රාශියක් හඳුනාගෙන තිබේ. ඒවා ඔවුන්ගේ දියුණුව අඩාල කරයි. මෙකී බාධක පළාත් අනුව මෙන්ම, භෝග වර්ග අනුවද, පාරිසරික කලාප අනුවද, පසේ සාරවත් බව සහ ජලමූලාශ්‍ර ආදී කරුණු අනුව වෙනස් වේ. කෙසේ නමුත්, සියළුම සුළු පරමාණු ගොවීන් දිළිඳු අය නොවන අතර, මෙම නිබන්ධනයෙහි විස්තර කර ඇති පරිදි, දිළිඳු ගොවීන්ගේ අවශ්‍යතාවලට සරිලන පරිදි විසඳුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කළ යුතුය. සමස්තයක් ලෙස මෙම අධ්‍යයනය යටතේ සුළු පරමාණු ගොවීන්ගේ හඳුනාගත් අවශ්‍යතා සහ ඒ හා සම්බන්ධ සුදුසු මැදිහත්වීම් ප්‍රමුඛතා පළාත් අනුව පහත සඳහන් කර ඇත.

## ඉඩම් හා ජලය

උභව පළාතේ සමහර කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ඉඩම් හා ජලය සම්බන්ධ ගැටලු පවතී. එමනිසා එලදායි ලෙස ඉඩම් භාවිතය සහ ජලසම්පාදනය සඳහා විහිදුම් ජල පද්ධති සැපයීම, කෘෂි ළිං ඉදිකිරීම, වැසි ජලය ගබඩා කිරීම සහ අඛණ්ඩව ඇති වැව් පිළිසකර කිරීම ආදිය යොදා ගත හැකියි.

## ප්‍රාග්ධන සැපයීම

1. කුඩා තේ වතු හිමියන් සඳහා සුළු මූල්‍ය (ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය) වැඩසටහන් හඳුන්වා දී, නැවත වගාව, අලුත් වගාවන් ඇරඹීම සහ වගා විවිධාංගීකරණය සඳහා සහාය වීම.
2. තේ වගාව, එළවළු කුළුබඩු සහ වෙනත් වෙළඳ හෝග වගාවන්හි යෙදී සිටින සුළු පරිමාණ ගොවීන් විසින් මුහුණදෙන වගා පාළුව සහ වෙළඳපොල අහිමිවීම වැනි අවස්ථාවන්හි දී අවදානම පියවා ගැනීම සඳහා රක්ෂණ ක්‍රමයක් හඳුන්වා දීම.
3. එළවළු, කුළුබඩු සහ වෙළඳ හෝග සඳහා ගුණාත්මක හා තත්ත්වයෙන් උසස් බීජ, සහ පැල හඳුන්වා දීම සහ ඒවා ප්‍රමාණවත් පරිදි සැපයීමට කටයුතු කිරීම.
4. පසු අස්වනු හෙලිම් කාලයේ දී සිදුවන නාස්තිය අවම කිරීමට සහ අවාරයේ දී හොඳ මිලක් ලබා ගැනීමට හැකිවන පරිදි ප්‍රමාණවත් ගබඩා පහසුකම් සැපයීම්.
5. මිල උච්චාවචනයන්හි දී ඒවාට මුහුණදීමට ආනයන සැලසුම් පොරොන්දු මත පෞද්ගලික අංශය සමග කටයුතු කිරීම සහ සුළු පරිමාණ රක්ෂණ ක්‍රම හඳුන්වා දීම.
6. දෙමුහුන් ගවයින් ඇති කිරීම සහ ගුණාත්මක බවින් ඉහළ ගවයින් ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම.  
උදා: "ගව බැංකුවක්" හඳුන්වා දීම.

## කළමනාකරණය

1. මධ්‍යම හා ඉහළ කඳුරට ප්‍රදේශවල පිහිටි කුඩා තේ වතු විවිධාංගීකරණය කිරීම, එමගින් ඩෙන්ඩ්‍රෝ බලශක්තිය සඳහා අමුද්‍රව්‍ය හිපදවීම, සත්ව පාලනය සඳහා තණකොළ වගාව, එළවළු, ගම්මිරිස් සහ අනෙකුත් බහුවාර්ෂික හෝගවගාවන්ට උනන්දු කරවීම.
2. ගොවි සංවිධාන ශක්තිමත් කිරීම, විශේෂයෙන්ම එළවළු ගොවීන්ගේ සහ අනෙකුත් වෙළඳ හෝග නිෂ්පාදකයින් මෙලෙස සංවිධානගත කිරීම. එලෙස සංවිධානය වූ ගොවීන්ගේ අත්දැකීම් හුවමාරු කර ගැනීමේ වාර්තා, තාක්ෂණ හුවමාරු වැඩසටහන් සහ ව්‍යවසායකත්ව පුහුණුව තුළින් ඔවුන් දැනුම හා කුසලතා වර්ධන කිරීම.



3. ව්‍යවසායකත්ව කණ්ඩායම් පිහිටුවා ඒවා තුළින් කළමනාකරණයට අදාල තීරණ ගැනීම, ජල කළමනාකරණය හා හදිස්තුව, වගා කටයුතු කළමනාකරණය, අස්වනු නිෂ්පාදනය හා සැපයීම ආදියෙහි වගකීම දැරීමට සැලැස්ම.
4. නිෂ්පාදනයන්හි අගය වකතු කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් තාක්ෂණික දැනුම හා පුහුණුව, පොහොර භාවිතය සහ තාක්ෂණික උපකරණ භාවිතය ආදී දැනුම ලබා ගැනීම තුළින් හෝග විවිධාංගීකරණය වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම.
5. තම ප්‍රදේශයේ පවත්නා ගව ආහාර ප්‍රභවයන් වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම හා නාස්තිය අවම කර ගැනීමට අවශ්‍ය දැනුම සහ කුසලතාවය කිරී ගොවීන් වෙත ලබාදීම.
6. හිසි පරිදි කිරී ගවයින් පාලනය කර ගැනීමට අවශ්‍ය දැනුම අදාල ගොවීන් තුළ වර්ධනය කර ඉහළ කිරී අස්වැන්නක් ලබා ගැනීමට උනන්දු කරවීම.

### වෙළඳපොල

1. සුළු පරිමාණ තේ වගාකරුවන් සහ තේ කර්මාන්තශාලා හිමියන් වීක් නිෂ්පාදන ක්‍රියාවලියකට සහ වක අරමුණකට යොමු කිරීම. වමගින් නිෂ්පාදනයන්ගේ ගුණාත්මකභාවය වර්ධනය කිරීම, වඩාත් සුදුසු හෝග තෝරා ගැනීම ආදිය දිරිමත් කිරීම.
2. පුද්ගලික අංශය සමග වෙළඳපොල තොරතුරු සහ සම්බන්ධතා ගොඩනගා ගනිමින් කුඩා තේවතු හිමියන්ගේ පසු නිෂ්පාදන සම්බන්ධතා වර්ධනය කර ගැනීම.
3. වෙළඳපොල තොරතුරු, සම්බන්ධතා තාක්ෂණය සහ යටිතල පහසුකම් සපයමින් ගොවීන්හට දේශීය මෙන් විදේශීය වෙළඳපොලෙහි, චලවළු, ධාන්‍ය සහ පළතුරු සඳහා ඇති ඉල්ලුමට යහපත් ලෙස ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වීමට සැලැස්වීම.
4. කිරී නිෂ්පාදන ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීම සඳහා කිරී වකතු කිරීමේ ජාලයන් දියුණු කිරීම, වෙළඳපොල හඳුන්වාදීම හා දිරිගන්නා සුළු මිලක් ලබාදීම.

# සංක්‍රමණය හා සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේමණයන්: දර්ශනාවයට ඇති බලපෑම උපරිම කිරීම සඳහා ඇති විභවයන් තක්සේරු කිරීම

## ක්‍රියාත්මක සාරාංශය

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් සංක්‍රමණික ශ්‍රමිකයින් හා ඔවුන් විසින් මෙරටට ගෙනෙනු ලබන විදේශ විනිමය සහ වමගින් දර්ශනාවය අවම කිරීම සඳහා සිදුවන බලපෑම විවරණය කරනු ලබයි. තවද, සංක්‍රමණික ශ්‍රමිකයින් විදේශ ගතවීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය වඩාත් ඵලදායී ලෙස කළමනාකරණය කර ගැනීම සහ ඔවුන් විසින් මෙරටට වචනු ලබන විදේශ විනිමය වඩා ශ්‍රමිකයින්ගේ, ඔවුන්ගේ පවුලේ අයගේ සහ අදාල ප්‍රජාවගේ සමස්ත ජීවන තත්ත්වය නංවාලීම සඳහා යොදවා ගන්නා ආකාරය පිළිබඳව විශ්ලේෂණය කරයි. එමෙන්ම මෙම නිබන්ධනය තුළින් දැනට ක්‍රියාත්මක සංක්‍රමණික ශ්‍රමිකයින් සහ ඔවුන් උපයන විදේශ විනිමයට අදාල ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය සංදර්භයද විග්‍රහයට ලක් කරයි.

## සංක්‍රමණිකයින්ගේ නැඹුරුතාවය සහ ඊට බලපාන සාධක

ශ්‍රමික සංක්‍රමණය විවිධාකාරයෙන් සිදුවේ. සමහර සංක්‍රමණිකයින් තම මවර්ටින් බැහැරව විදේශ රටකට යති. තවත් අය තම රට තුළම වෙනත් පළාතකට හෝ ප්‍රදේශයකට යති (අන්‍යන්තර සංක්‍රමණය). ඉහත කුමන ආකාරයකට සිදුවුවත් විය නාවකාලික හෝ ස්ථිර තීරණයක් මත විය හැකිය. එමෙන්ම එහි අරමුණ රැකියා අපේක්ෂාව හෝ ආරක්ෂාව සඳහා සුදානමක් විය හැකිය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තත්ත්වය සලකා බලන විට ඉහත සඳහන් සියළුම ආකාරයේ සංක්‍රමණික තත්ත්වයන් ක්‍රියාවට නැංවී ඇති නිසා එහි සංදර්භය පහසුවෙන් අවබෝධ කරගත නොහැකිය.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ශ්‍රමික සංක්‍රමණය සැලකිය යුතු මට්ටමකින් ආරම්භ වීම 1960 හා 1970 දශකයේ මුල් කාලයේ දී සිදුවූ වෘත්තිකයින් විදේශ ගතවීමේ නැඹුරුව (බුද්ධිගලනය) සමග ආරම්භ විය. වසර 1977 දී හඳුන්වා දෙන ලද විවෘත ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් සමග කෙටිකාලීන විදේශ රැකියා සඳහා සංක්‍රමණිකයින් පිටත්ව යෑම ආරම්භ වී පසුව වය වඩාත් තීව්‍ර විය.

- 1991 - 1999 කාලය තුළදී හුපුහුණු ශ්‍රමිකයින් වැඩිම සංක්‍රමණයකට දායක වී ඇත.
- විශේෂයෙන්ම කාන්තා මෙහෙකරුවන් ලෙස සංක්‍රමණිකයින් බාරගැනීම සෞඳී අරාබි රාජ්‍යය විසින් සිදුකර ඇත.
- පිරිමි සංක්‍රමණික ශ්‍රමිකයන් සඳහා විශාල ඉල්ලුමක් දකුණු කොරියාව, මැලේසියාව, කටාර්, ඕමානය සහ මාලදිවයින වැනි රටවලින් මතු වී තිබේ.
- සංක්‍රමණිකයන්ගෙන් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් අවුරුදු 25-29 අතර වයස් කාණ්ඩයට අයත් බව පෙනේ.
- වතු සහ ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ සිදු වූ බාහිර සංක්‍රමණය 1996/1997 කාලය තුළදී ගෘහ කුටුම්භ 1000කට 42 හා 56ක් වූ අතර 2003/2004 කාලය තුළදී වය 1000ට 49 හා 60ක් ලෙස වැඩිවී ඇත.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ අභ්‍යන්තර ජනගහන සංක්‍රමණය මුළු ජනගහනයෙන් 20%ක් පමණ වේ. කාලයක් තිස්සේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ අභ්‍යන්තර සංක්‍රමණය සඳහා, ජනගහනය තල්ලුකිරීමේ සාධක ලෙස ජනපදකරණය, නාගරීකරණය හා නගර කේන්ද්‍රකරගත් සංවර්ධන ප්‍රතිපත්තීන්, නැවත පදිංචි කරවීමේ වැඩසටහන්, පාරිසරික හා දේශගුණික තත්ත්වයන් සහ ගැටුම් සහ ආපදා තත්ත්වයන් යනාදී හේතුසාධක බලපා ඇති බව පෙනේ.

1. වසර 2001 දී බස්නාහිර පළාත විසින් අභ්‍යන්තර සංක්‍රමණිකයින්ගෙන් 45% ක් පමණ අන්තර්ග්‍රහණය කරගෙන ඇති අතර, කුරුණෑගල, රත්නපුර හා පුත්තලම විලෙස අභ්‍යන්තර සංක්‍රමණිකයින් ඇදගන්නා මධ්‍යස්ථාන බවට පත්ව ඇත.
2. තෙත් කලාපීය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන් දිගින් දිගටම අධික ජනඝනත්වයකින් යුතුව වර්ධනය වන අතර වියළි කලාපීය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන් අඩු ජනගහනයකින් යුතුව පවතී.
3. අභ්‍යන්තර සංක්‍රමණය සඳහා බොහෝ විට පෙළඹී ඇත්තේ තරුණ වයසේ කණ්ඩායම් වන අතර ඔවුන් තනිවම හෝ විවාහයට පෙර විලෙස සංක්‍රමණය වේ.

සංක්‍රමණය විවිධාකාර වූ තල්ලු කිරීමේ හා ඇද ගැනීමේ සාධක මත සිදුවේ. තල්ලු කිරීමේ සාධක ලෙස අඩු ආදායම් මට්ටම්, ඉහළ ජීවන වියදම, විරැකියාව, දූෂිත පාරිසරික තත්ත්වයන්, ස්වභාවික ආපදාවන්, අනාරක්ෂිතබව, අධික ජනඝනත්වය, සීමිත අවස්ථාවන්, සහ ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවන යටිතල පහසුකම් යනාදිය හඳුනාගෙන තිබේ. එමෙන්ම ඇද ගැනීමේ සාධක ලෙස ඉහළ ආදායම් සහ ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග අවස්ථාවන්, හොඳ අධ්‍යාපනික අවස්ථා, ඉහළ මට්ටමේ ආරක්ෂාව සහ උසස් ජීවන මට්ටම හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

විවිධාකාර සංක්‍රමණික තත්ත්වයන් යටතේ ග්‍රාමීය ජීවන තත්ත්වය කෙරෙහි සිදුවන බලපෑම සුභවාදී හෝ අසුභවාදී විය හැකිය. ස්ථාවර සංක්‍රමණික තත්ත්වයන් යටතේ ඔවුන් තම ප්‍රජාවන් සමග පවත්නා සම්බන්ධතා ඉතා සීමිත වන බැවින් ඔවුන්ට ලැබෙන ප්‍රයෝජනයන් ද සීමා සහිත වේ.

**සංක්‍රමණික උපුළුඬු**

සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ රට තුළට එවීම තුළින් රටේ සංවර්ධන අපේක්ෂා වර්ධනය කර ගැනීමට මෙන්ම, සාර්ව ආර්ථික ස්ථාවරත්වයක් පවත්වා ගෙන යෑම, අහිතකර බලපෑම් හිසා ඇතිවන අනපේක්ෂිත තත්ත්වයන් සමනය කර ගැනීම සහ දරිද්‍රතාවය අවම කර ගැනීමට හැකිවනු ඇත. වසර 2004 අවසානය වනවිට සංක්‍රමණිකයින් විසින් මෙරටට එවන ලද විදේශීය මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය ඇමරිකන් ඩොලර් බිලියන 1.3ක් වූ අතර, එහි ඒක පුද්ගල අගය දකුණු ආසියාතික රටවල් අතර ඉහළම තැනක් ගෙන ඇත. වසර 2006 දී රැකියාවල හියුතුවන්නන්ගෙන් සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ එම වසරේ දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් 8.7%ක් විය. රටේ පවුල් සංඛ්‍යාවේ 10% පමණ විදේශීය සහ දේශීය සංක්‍රමණිකයින්ගෙන් මුදල් ලබන්නන්ය. මැදපෙරදිග රටවලින් ලැබෙන විදේශීය ඉපයීම් ප්‍රමාණය 1990 සිට සාමාන්‍යයෙන් මුළු ලැබීම්වලින් 50%

කටත් අධික විය. එය වසර 2002 දක්වාම එලෙස පැවති අතර ඉන් අනතුරුව තරමක පසුබෑමක් පෙන්නුම් කරයි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ගෘහ කුටුම්භ සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ තුළින් දර්ශනාවය අඩුකර ගත හැකි අතර කුටුම්භ ඉතිරි කිරීම් සහ ආයෝජන හැකියාව වර්ධනය කරයි. සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ පුද්ගලයින්ගේ සහ කුටුම්භයන්ගේ සවලතාවය වර්ධනයට බලපාන වැදගත් සාධකයකි. එමගින් අදාළ කුටුම්භ සාමාජිකයින්හට දිගුකල් පවත්නා භාණ්ඩ මිලදී ගැනීමේ හැකියාව මෙන්ම විදුලිය වැනි පහසුකම් සඳහා ප්‍රවේශකත්වය ඇතිකර ගත හැකිය. එකී මුදල් ප්‍රමුඛයේ අධ්‍යාපනික කටයුතු මෙන්ම අමතර පන්ති වියදම් පියවා ගැනීමට ද යොදා ගැනේ. විශේෂයෙන් ගැටුම්කාරී කාලවකවානුව තුළ තම ජීවන වෘත්තීන් අවහිර වී ගිය තත්ත්වයට මුහුණදුන් දිළිඳු පවුල් සඳහා සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ මගින් පිරිවහලක් වී ඇත.

සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයින්හට ප්‍රාග්ධනයක් ලෙස උපකාරවන අතරම ණය ලබා ගැනීමට තිබෙන බාධක අවම වීම තුළින් ව්‍යවසායකත්ව අවස්ථා වර්ධනය කර ගත හැකිය. මෙවැනි මුදල්වලින් ලබාගත හැකි බොහෝ ප්‍රයෝජන තවමත් ලබාගෙන නොමැති බව ද පෙනේ. කෙසේ නමුත් සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ තිරසාර ලෙස භාවිත නොකළහොත් බොහෝ විට ඒවා දිගු කාලීන ආර්ථික ආරක්ෂණයක් ලෙස නොපවතී.

**අනාගත ප්‍රවණතා**

1948 අංක 20 දරණ ආගමන හා විගමන පනත මගින් විගමනිකයින් හා සම්බන්ධ ජාතික ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් පෙන්වා දී ඇත. ඉන් අනතුරුව මෑතකදී ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කරන ලද “මහින්ද වින්තනය වැඩසටහන” යටතේ, දස අවුරුදු සංවර්ධන දැක්ම මගින් නුපුරුණු ශ්‍රමිකයින් විදේශගත වීම සහ අනවසරයෙන් විදේශගත වීමට අදාළ ගැටලු හා ඒවාට විසඳුම් නිසියාකාර ප්‍රතිපත්ති හා උපාය මාර්ග හරහා සකස් කළයුතු බවට අවධාරණය කර ඇත. රට අභ්‍යන්තරයේ සිදුවන සංක්‍රමණික තත්ත්වය කළමනාකරණය කිරීම සඳහා වූ ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය රාමුවක් පිළිබඳව තවමත් පැහැදිලි අදහසක් නැත. එයට හේතුව එය වඩාත් සංකීර්ණ වූ එකක් මෙන්ම එවැනි සංක්‍රමණිකයින් හඳුනා ගැනීමේ ක්‍රමවේදයක් නොතිබීමත්ය.

සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ ආයෝජනය කිරීම පිළිබඳව සලකා බලන විට, ඒ හා සම්බන්ධව සැලසුම් සහ ක්‍රියාත්මක ක්‍රමවේදයන් පිළිබඳව බොහෝ දේ කළ යුතුව ඇත. මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් රාජ්‍ය අංශයේ මෙන්ම රාජ්‍ය නොවන අංශයේ ක්‍රියාකාරීන් විසින් එවැනි සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ වඩාත් ඵලදායී ලෙස භාවිත කළ හැකි බවත් ඒ සඳහා මෙතෙක් නිසි පියවර ගෙන නොමැති බවත් හඳුනාගෙන තිබේ. විදේශවල සිටින ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයින්හට රටතුළ ආයෝජනය කළ හැකි බව රජය විසින් මෑතකදී ප්‍රකාශ කර ඇතත් ඔවුන් විසින් විවිධ ලබන මුදල් රටේ සංවර්ධනය සඳහා කෙසේ ආයෝජනය කළ හැකි ද යන්න පිළිබඳව මෙතෙක් පැහැදිලි සැලැස්මක් නැත. එමනිසා ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් තවත් බොහෝ සාකච්ඡා සහ ගවේෂණයන් කිරීම අවශ්‍ය බව පෙනේ. අනෙකුත් රටවල අත්දැකීම් හරහා යම් මග පෙන්වීමක් සකසාගත හැකිය.

ආගන්තුක රටවලදී තම රටේ සංක්‍රමණිකයින්ගේ ආරක්ෂාව තහවුරු කිරීම වැදගත් වන්නායේම, වඩාත් පුළුල් දැක්මකින් යුතුව ආවරණ රාමුවක් තුළ සංක්‍රමණිකයින් මෙන්ම ඔවුන්ගේ පවුල්වල යැපෙන්නන් ද ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම වැදගත්ය.

මෙම හිඛන්ධනය විසින් අත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් මෙන්ම බාහිරව සිදුවන සංක්‍රමණයන්ට අදාල හිචැරදි දත්ත රැස් කිරීමේ හා ජනනය කිරීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය වඩාත් ඉස්මතු කර පෙන්වයි.

**විභව උපාය මාර්ග**

**ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්‍රියාදාමයක නිරතවීම :**

සංක්‍රමණිකයින් සඳහා වූ පරිසමාප්ත ප්‍රතිපත්ති පරිසරයක් ඇති කිරීම සඳහා බලපෑම් කිරීම හා වමඟින් සංක්‍රමණිකයින් සහ ඔවුන්ගේ යැපෙන්නන්ගේ සුභසාධනය, ඔවුන්ගේ ඉපැයීම් වලදායී ආයෝජනයන්ට යොමු කිරීම, අත්‍යන්තර සංක්‍රමණය ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය සාකච්ඡාවකට බදුන් කිරීම, සංක්‍රමණිකයින්ගේ අදහස් හා යෝජනා ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලට අන්තර්ගත කිරීම සහ සංක්‍රමණිකයින් පිළිබඳව දත්ත තොරතුරු හා පර්යේෂණ කාර්යයන් වර්ධනය සඳහා ආයෝජනය කිරීම වැනි අංශ ආමන්ත්‍රණය කළ හැකිය.

**සංක්‍රමණික ප්‍රේෂණ සංවර්ධනය සඳහා භාවිත කිරීම :**

මේ යටතේ, පුද්ගලයින් විසින් විවිධ ලබන විදේශීය ඉපැයීම් වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කිරීම, එක් මුදල් ප්‍රජාවගේ සුභ සිද්ධිය සඳහා ආයෝජනය කිරීම පිළිබඳව අවධානය මෙන්ම, සංක්‍රමණිකයින් සඳහා කාර්යක්ෂම තොරතුරු සේවාවක් සැපයීම යන අංශ කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු කිරීම සිදුකල හැකිය.

**සංක්‍රමණිකයින් හා ඔවුන්ගේ පවුල් ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම :**

සංක්‍රමණිකයින් ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීමේ යාන්ත්‍රණය තුළ රැකියා ඒජන්තවරුන් සහ සේවාවලාභියා වගකිව යුතු අය බවට පත්කිරීම; සියළුම සංක්‍රමණිකයන් හා ඔවුන්ගේ ප්‍රදේශ ආවරණය වන පරිදි දැනට පවතින සංක්‍රමණිකයින්ගේ ආරක්ෂාව තහවුරු කිරීමේ ක්‍රමවේදයන් වඩාත් ශක්තිමත් කිරීම; ඔවුන් හැවත පැමිණි පසු ඔවුන් අයත් ප්‍රදේශවලින් බැහැර කිරීමේ / අමතක කිරීමේ වාතාවරණයක් නොතිබීම වැනි අංශ සැලකිය හැකිය.

## ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණය

### ක්‍රියාත්මක සාරාංශය

මෙම නිබන්ධනය ආරම්භයේ දී, ග්‍රාමීය මූල්‍යකරණය සහ ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණය යන්නෙහි වෙනස පැහැදිලි කරයි. ඒ අනුව ග්‍රාමීය මූල්‍යකරණය යටතේ ග්‍රාමීය අංශය සඳහා සපයනු ලබන මූල්‍ය සේවා විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් ආවරණය කරන අතර, ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණය යන්න මූලික වශයෙන් ඇපකර රහිත කණ්ඩායම් ඇප මත ක්‍රියාත්මක වන සුළු ණය මුදල් ක්‍රමයක් පෙන්වයි.

ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණයේ අංගයන් වන ඉතිරිකිරීම්, ණය ලබාදීම් සහ සුළු පරිමාණ රක්ෂණ ක්‍රම හරහා දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවට ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම, මූල්‍ය ප්‍රවේශකත්ව හරහා ඇති කරන අතර එමගින් ඔවුන්ගේ මූලික අවශ්‍යතා සපුරා ගැනීමට මෙන්ම අවදානම් තත්ත්වයට මුහුණදීමට ඇති සුරක්ෂිත බව තහවුරු කරයි. ක්ෂුද්‍ර ණය පහසුකම් පිළිබඳව මෂතකදී කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයන් තුළින් සොයාගෙන ඇති පරිදි මධ්‍යම හා ඉහළ ආදායම් පංචමකවලට අයත් පවුල් විසින් ඔවුන්ගේ ආදායම්, වත්කම් සහ නිවාස ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය පහසුකම් යටතේ වර්ධනය කරගෙන ඇති බව පෙනේ. එහෙත් අතිශය දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවට එහි ඇති ප්‍රධානතම බලපෑම ලෙස ඔවුන්ගේ පාරිභෝජන මට්ටම් වර්ධනය වී ඇති බව හඳුනාගත හැකිය.

ආරම්භයේ දී ග්‍රාමීය මූල්‍යකරණය සපයන ලද්දේ වාර්මාර්ග යෝජනාක්‍රම යටතේ ගොවිතැන් කටයුතු කරන ගොවීන්ටය. පසුව එකී පහසුකම් වාර්මාර්ග යෝජනාක්‍රමවලින් බැහැරව කෙරෙන වගා කටයුතු මෙන්ම කෘෂිකාර්මික නොවන ව්‍යවසායික කටයුතු සඳහා ද ලබා දී ඇත. ග්‍රාමීය මූල්‍යකරණයට අදාලව සිදුකරන ලද බොහෝ අධ්‍යයනයන්ගෙන් පෙනීගොස් ඇත්තේ, දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාව ද ඇතුළත් බොහෝ ග්‍රාමීය වැසියන්හට ඔවුන් විසින් මීට පෙර ණය ලබා නොගෙන තිබුණත්, ග්‍රාමීය සුළු මූල්‍යකරණය යටතේ පහසුවෙන් ණයක් ලබා ගත හැකි බවයි. කෙසේ නමුත් ඔවුන්හට ඇපකර සොයා ගැනීම සහ බොහෝ ලිපිකටයුතුවල නියැලීමට සිදුවීම අපහසුවක් බව හඳුනාගෙන ඇත. අවම පොලී අනුපාතය මෙන්ම ණය නිකුත් කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියෙහි දීර්ඝකම යන කරුණු ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාව ඉතිරි කිරීම් සඳහා පෙළඹවීමට බාධා පමුණුවා ඇත.

ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාව සඳහා ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ප්‍රභවයන් ලෙස රාජ්‍ය බැංකු, දේශීය හා ජාත්‍යන්තර රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන, සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය සහ සමෘද්ධි වැඩසටහන වැනි රජයේ විශේෂිත වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක වී ඇත. ඊට අමතරව රජය විසින් ග්‍රාමීය අංශය ඉලක්ක කරගත් විධිමත් ණය ආධාර වැඩසටහන් රාශියක් ක්‍රියාවට නංවා ඇත. කෙසේ නමුත් මෙම නිබන්ධනය විසින් පෙන්වා දී ඇත්තේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය වැඩසටහන් තුළ මූල්‍යමය තිරසාර බවක් නොමැති බව සහ වෙළඳපොල විසින් මෙහෙයවනු ලබන මිල ව්‍යුහයක් පැවතීම එහි ප්‍රධාන දුර්වලතාවයන් බවත්ය. ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ආයතන සඳහා තාක්ෂණික සහාය මෙන්ම හැකියා වර්ධන සහාය සපයන සංවිධාන විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් පවතී. කෙසේ නමුත් ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ආයතන සඳහා ප්‍රාග්ධන මූල්‍ය සැපයීම දැඩි සීමාවන් යටතේ සිදුවෙයි.

මෙම නිබන්ධනයෙන් පෙන්වා දී ඇති පරිදි ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ආයතන විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වුවද තවමත් බොහෝ ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවලට එම පහසුකම් ළඟාවී නැති බව පෙනේ. මෙකී ප්‍රදේශ යටතට අයත් වන්නේ උතුරු සහ නැගෙනහිර පළාත් මෙන්ම වතු අංශයන්ය. තුරන්දිය වශයෙන් ගත්විට ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය පහසුකම් සඳහා ප්‍රවේශකත්වය අඩුම ප්‍රදේශ පිහිටා ඇත්තේ වයඹ, ඌව සහ නැගෙනහිර යන පළාත් තුළය.

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ආයතනයන්හි සීමිත නිපැයුම් විවිධත්වය පිළිබඳව විචාරණය කරන අතරම, ආදායම් උත්පාදන ණය ආධාර සැපයීම පිළිබඳ ඇති හැඟුරුව ද විචාරණය කරයි. බංගලාදේශයේ ක්‍රියාත්මක ග්‍රාමීන් බැංකුව සහ වෙනත් බැංකු විසින් මුල් අවධියේ දී කරන ලද අත්හදා බැලීම් පදනම් කරගෙන ආරම්භ කළ ආදායම් උත්පාදන ණය ආධාර සැපයීම පිළිබඳ ඇති හැඟුරුව ද විචාරණය කරයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය යටතේ බොහෝ දිළිඳු පවුල්වලට තමන්ගේ අවශ්‍යතාවන් වන හදිසි අවශ්‍යතා, සෞඛ්‍ය අවශ්‍යතා, නිවසට අවශ්‍ය භාණ්ඩ සහ ඔවුන්ගේ නිවාස වැඩිදියුණු කර ගැනීම වැනි කාර්යයන් සඳහා ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ආයතනවලින් ණය ලබා ගැනීමට නොහැකි වී තිබේ. ආදායම් උත්පාදන කාර්යයන් සඳහා ණය දීම කෙරෙහි වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමුවීම නිසා, බොහෝ ණය ඉල්ලුම්කරුවන් සුළු පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයින් වන අතර තාවකාලිකව වැටුප් ලබන කම්කරුවන්ට එවැනි ණය මුදල් සඳහා ඇති ප්‍රවේශකත්වය ඉතා සීමිත වේ. තවත් බාධකයක් වන්නේ ණය හා බැඳුණු සේවා පද්ධතියක් නොමැති බවයි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය පහසුකම් සැපයීම සමාජගත මාදිලියක් මත පදනම්ව සිදුකරන අතර ඒ සඳහා සමාජයීය හා ආර්ථික වශයෙන් ජනතාව බලගැන්වීම යන කාරණය ගෙනහැර දැක්වූවත්, එයම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ක්‍රියාවලියේ අඩු ගුණාත්මක බවෙන් යුතු වීමට ප්‍රධානතම හේතුව බවට පත්ව ඇත. එමනිසා බොහෝ ක්ෂුද්‍ර සංවිධාන අක්‍රීය භාවයට පත්වේ. නමුත් බංග්ලාදේශය හා පකිස්තානය වැනි රටවල ක්‍රියාත්මකවන සරල කුඩා කණ්ඩායම් ක්‍රමවේදයන් මේ සඳහා වඩාත් සුදුසු බව පෙනේ.

ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණය යටතේ ක්‍රියාත්මක සුළු රක්ෂණ ක්‍රම මගින් විශේෂයෙන්ම සෞඛ්‍ය රක්ෂණය, ජීවිත හා කෘෂි රක්ෂණය යන අංශයන්ගෙන් දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාවට බොහෝ ප්‍රතිලාභ ලබාගත හැකිය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රක්ෂණ වෙළඳපොල ද ඉතාමත් නොදියුණු මට්ටමක පවතී. එය ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය වෙළඳපොල මීට වසර 25කට පෙර පැවති තත්ත්වයේ පවතී යැයි කිවහොත් නිවැරදිය. සීමිත ජනකොටසක් ආවරණය කිරීම, රක්ෂණ වෙළඳපොලෙහි ලිපි ලේඛණ ගාස්තු ඉතා ඉහලවීම, දුබල ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය, විශාල පරිමාණයේ වාණිජ ආයතන කිහිපයක පමණක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වීම, අසීමිත රාජ්‍ය මැදිහත්වී සහ අනාගතය පිළිබඳව විශාල අස්ථිරභාවයකින් යුතුව කටයුතු කිරීම වැනි දුර්වලතා දැකගත හැකිය. ඉතා සීමිත ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ආයතන කිහිපයක් ණය සහ ජීවිත රක්ෂණ ආවරණ සපයන අතර ඒවායේ ප්‍රධාන රක්ෂණකරුවන් වන්නේ කෘෂිකාර්මික හා ගොවිජනසේවා රක්ෂණ මණ්ඩලය (AAIB) වේ.

කෘෂිකාර්මික හා ගොවිජනසේවා රක්ෂණ මණ්ඩලය විසින් සියළුම වගාවන් සඳහා, සියළුම සත්ව පාලන කටයුතු සඳහා මෙන්ම සියළුම ගොවිපොල යන්ත්‍ර සූත්‍ර හා උපකරණ සඳහා රක්ෂණ ආවරණය සපයනු ලැබේ. අස්වනු ආරක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහා මෙම රක්ෂණ මණ්ඩලය විසින් ඒ ගබඩා පහසුකම් සඳහා ද රක්ෂණ ආවරණ ලබා

දී ඇත. තවද මෙම මණ්ඩලය විසින් ගොවිජනතාව සඳහා මෙතෙක් හඳුන්වා දී ඇති එකම ගොවි විශ්‍රාම වැටුප් ක්‍රමය ආරම්භ කර ඇත.

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් IFAD වැනි සංවර්ධන ආයතනයන්ට නිර්දේශයන් ලෙස දැක්වා ඇත්තේ ණය පහසුකම් සපයනවාට වඩා ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය සාකච්ඡා මගින් ආයතනයන්ගේ හැකියා වර්ධනය සහ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පුළුල්කිරීම වැදගත් බවයි.



# ග්‍රාමීය ආයතන

## ක්‍රියාත්මක සාරාංශය

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින්, රජයේ, පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ සහ රාජ්‍ය නොවන අංශයේ විවිධ මට්ටම්වල ආයතන විසින් ග්‍රාමීය දිළිඳු ජනතාවගේ ජීවිත කෙරෙහි බලපෑම් කරන ආකාරය විස්තර කරයි.

රාජ්‍ය අංශයේ ආයතන ඉතාමත් සැලකිය යුතු ආකාරයට ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාවට සමීපව කටයුතු කරයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම ගොවිජන සේවා දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව විසින් පවත්වා ගෙන යනු ලබන “ගොවිජන කේන්ද්‍රය” ගොවි ජනතාවට වකම ස්ථානයකදී විවිධ සේවාවන් රාශියක් ලබා ගත හැකි, සහ ජනතාවට ඉතාමත් සමීප ආයතනයක් ලෙස සේවා සපයයි. කෙසේ නමුත් මෙවැනි ආයතන විසින් දිළිඳු ගොවි ජනතාවට කාර්යක්ෂම සේවයක් සැපයීම සඳහා විවිධ බාධක තිබේ. ඒවා අතර මූල්‍යාධාර නොමැතිකම, සුදුසුකම් සහිත පුහුණු නිලධාරීන් නොමැතිකම සහ දේශපාලනීකරණය වීම යනාදී කරුණු වැදගත්ය. කෘෂිකර්මය විමධ්‍යගත කෙරුණකි. පළාත් කෘෂිකර්ම දෙපාර්තමේන්තු නීත්‍යානුකූලව ශක්තිමත් ආයතන ලෙස පවතී. වනමුත් පළාත් මට්ටමේ අනෙකුත් ආයතන සමග ඇති දුර්වල සම්බන්ධීකරණය, පළාත් සභාව සහ මධ්‍යම රජය අතර පවතින අසතුටුදායක තරඟය යනාදී හේතූන් නිසා වම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව විසින් උපරිම සේවයක් සැපයීමට ඇති ඉඩකඩ සීමා වී ඇත.

සත්ව පාලනය හා සම්බන්ධ ව්‍යාප්ති සේවාවන් ප්‍රජාවට හිසි පරිදි ලැබෙන බව පෙනේ. වියට හේතුව වම සේවය අවිධිමත් ආකාරයට පෞද්ගලිකරණය වී ඇති බැවින්, ගොවීන් විසින් ව්‍යාප්ති නිලධාරීන් සඳහා ගෙවීම් කිරීම නිසාය. ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ තුළ සුළු මූල්‍යකරණ වැඩ පිළිවෙල ව්‍යාප්ත කිරීමේ ගෞරවය මත සමෘද්ධි වැඩසටහන ඇගයීමට ලක්විය යුතුය. කෙසේ නමුත් වහි අපේක්ෂිත සුභසාධන ප්‍රතිලාභ දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාව වෙත අත්කර දීම හිසි ලෙස ක්‍රියාත්මක නොවේ. ඉතාම අඩුවෙන් ප්‍රසිද්ධියට පත්ව ඇති රාජ්‍ය අංශයේ ආයතනයක් වුවද කෘෂිකාර්මික හා ගොවිජන රක්ෂණ මණ්ඩලය විසින් ගොවි ජනතාවට වැදගත් සේවයක් ඉටුකරයි. කෘෂිකාර්මික හා ගොවිජන රක්ෂණ මණ්ඩලය විසින් මුළු රටම ආවරණය කරනු ලබන අතර 2007 වසරේ දී ගොවීන් 950,000ක් විසින් ගොවි විශ්‍රාම වාරික මුදල් ගෙවා ඇත. තවද ගොවීන් 55,125 විසින් වගා සහ අස්වනු සඳහා රක්ෂණ ආවරණය ලබාගෙන තිබේ. දැනට රජයේ සහනාධාර මත පවත්වාගෙන යන මෙම ආයතන ඉදිරි අවුරුදු දෙකක කාලය තුළදී ස්වයං මූල්‍ය ස්ථාවරත්වයකට පත් කිරීමට අපේක්ෂා කරයි. ඒ සඳහා ගොවීන් වෙනුවෙන් නව රක්ෂණ ආවරණ කිහිපයක් හඳුන්වා දීමට කටයුතු කරයි.

තවද මෙම නිබන්ධනය විසින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ ග්‍රාමීය කාන්තාවන් සහ පිරිමින් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් සම්බන්ධව සිටින ප්‍රජාමූල සංවිධානයන්ගේ ඉස්මතු වීම පිළිබඳව විස්තර කරයි. බොහෝ විට මෙම සංවිධානවල නායකත්වය දරන්නේ ගමේ ප්‍රධානීන් වන අතර ඔවුන් දැනටමත් ගම් මට්ටමේ ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙමින් පවත්නා විවිධ සංවිධානයන්හි ද නිලතල දරති. මෙම සංවිධාන බොහොමයක් (මරණාධාර සමිති සහ සමෘද්ධි සමිති හැරුණු විට) විසින් ඉතාමත් දිළිඳු පුද්ගලයින් බැහැර කරනු ලබයි. ප්‍රජාමූල සංවිධාන විසින් ගොවිජනපදයන්හි ජල කළමනාකරණය සම්බන්ධයෙන් සහ ඉතිරිකිරීම් හා ණය ගණුදෙනු සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඉතා වැදගත්

සේවයක් ඉටු කරයි. මෙම සංවිධාන විසින් දැනට ක්‍රියාත්මක සංවර්ධන සහායක වැඩසටහන් ඊට පෙර ආරම්භ කර ඇති අතර, ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ ජනතාවට එකී සංවිධානයන්ගේ වැදගත්කම තහවුරු වී තිබේ. සුළු මූල්‍ය ආයතන ක්‍රියාකාරීව තිබියදීත්, සීටිටු ක්‍රමය ග්‍රාමීය සමාජය තුළ ඉතිරි කිරීම් ක්‍රමයක් ලෙස තවමත් ක්‍රියාත්මක වීම සාම්ප්‍රදායික සුළු මූල්‍ය ක්‍රම සඳහා හොඳ හිඳසුනකි. මේ යටතේ සාමාජිකයින් විසින් එකඟ වූ ස්ථීර මුදලක් දායක කර ලොතරැයි ක්‍රමයට ණය මුදල් ලාභියා තෝරා ගැනීම සිදු කරයි.

ග්‍රාමීය අංශය තුළ පුද්ගලික අංශය ක්‍රියාත්මක වීම මූලික වශයෙන්ම සම්බන්ධ වනුයේ ඔවුන් විසින් සපයනු ලබන සේවා සහ නිෂ්පාදන මෙන්ම ඔවුන් විසින් මිලදී ගැනීමට කැමති නිෂ්පාදන සම්බන්ධයෙනි. පුද්ගලික අංශය විසින් කරනු ලබන සාමාන්‍ය ව්‍යාප්ති සේවා සඳහා ඉල්ලුමක් නොමැත. වියට හේතුව වචනි සේවා සියල්ලම රජය විසින් සහනාධාර පදනමකින් සැපයීමේ වගකීම භාරගෙන තිබීමයි. නමුත් ඉහතින් සඳහන් කරන ලද විවිධ හේතූන් හිසා රජයට පමණක් වඩා සැපයීමට නොහැකි වී තිබේ.

කෘෂි අංශයට බලපාන වෙළඳපොල ගැටළු විසඳීම සඳහා නව ආයතන සහ ආයතනික වැඩපිළිවෙලවල් දියුණුකර තිබේ. මේ යටතේ නව අත්හදා බැලීම් ලෙස, ඉදිරි නිපැයුම් සඳහා ගිවිසුම් ගත වීම, සිල්ලර වෙළඳාමේ යෙදී සිටින කාර්ගිල්ස් සහ කීල්ස් වැනි ආයතන විසින් ගොවි නිපැයුම් මිලදී ගැනීමේ මධ්‍යස්ථාන පිහිටුවීම, බාහිර ගැනුම්කරුවකු විසින් කරනු ලබන ඇණවුම් සඳහා විශේෂිත නිපැයුම් කිරීම සහ අපනයනකරුවන් සහ වෙළඳුන්ගෙන් මිලදී ගැනීම් සඳහා වූ බැඳුම්කරයන් අනුව නිෂ්පාදනය කිරීම වැනි දේ සඳහන් කළ හැකිය.

ආධාර ආයතන විසින් ආරම්භ කරන ලද ව්‍යාපෘති යටතේ ග්‍රාමීය දේශපාලනික සහ කාර්මික ආයතනවල හැකියා වර්ධනය සඳහා සහ සහභාගීත්ව ක්‍රමවේදයන් ශක්තිමත් කරමින් ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ ආයතන ව්‍යුහයන් ශක්තිමත් කිරීමට කටයුතු කර ඇත. නමුත් ඒවායේ බලපෑම ව්‍යාපෘතියේ කාලරාමුවෙන් පසුව පැවැත්මක් නොමැතිව පෙනී ගොස් ඇත.

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ ආයතන යළි පනගැන්වීම සඳහා වැදගත් උපාය මාර්ග කිහිපයක් විස්තර කරනු ලබයි. ඒ අතර කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය සඳහා වූ ජාත්‍යන්තර අරමුදල (IFAD) විසින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උතුරු නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල ආරම්භ කර ඇති ආයතන ශක්තිමත් කිරීමේ වැඩසටහන යටතේ, විවිධ සේවා සමූපකාර සමිති ගොඩනැගීම, කෘෂිකාර්මික හා ගොවිපනසේවා රක්ෂණ මණ්ඩලය, සහ සමාදේධි වැඩසටහන වැනි ග්‍රාමීය දියුණු ජනතාවට සැලකිය යුතු සේවාවන් ඉටුකරන ආයතන ශක්තිමත් කිරීම වැදගත් බව අවධාරණය කරයි.

# පරිසරය හා දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන්: කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රජාවන්ගේ නමහතාවය වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම

## ක්‍රියාත්මක සාරාංශය

මෙම නිබන්ධනය මගින් පරිසරය, කෘෂිකර්මය හා දිළිඳුබව අතර පවත්නා සම්බන්ධතාවය සංකල්පමය රාමුවක් තුළින් විග්‍රහ කරන අතර ඒ තුළින් පරිසරයේ සහ මානව යහ පැවැත්ම අතර සම්බන්ධතාවයන් හඳුනා ගනී. මෙම රාමුව තුළ මානව යහ පැවැත්ම යන්න නිර්වචනය කර ඇත්තේ, මූලික අවශ්‍යතා, ආරක්ෂාව, පරිසරය හා පාරිසරික සමතුලිත පද්ධතිය තුළින් ලබා ගත හැකි ආහාර, භූමිය, ජලය, පෝෂණ වක්‍රීයකරණය හා විනෝදාශ්වාදය සඳහා ඉඩකඩ යන ද්‍රව්‍යමය හා සේවා අංශ සමූහයකින් සමන්විත ක්‍රියාදාමයක් ලෙසයි. වර්තමානයේ දිස්වෙන තත්ත්වය වනුයේ අඛණ්ඩව සිදුකරනු ලබන භාණ්ඩ හා සේවා නිෂ්පාදනය තුළින් ස්වභාවික පරිසරය හායනය වීම සිදුවන අතර එම නිසා ස්ථිරසාර මානව යහපැවැත්මට අවශ්‍ය භාණ්ඩ හා සේවා සැපයීම සඳහා ස්වභාවික පරිසර පද්ධතියට ඇති හැකියාව තර්ජනයට ලක්වෙමින් පවතින බවයි.

මානව යහ පැවැත්ම සහ පාරිසරික පද්ධති සේවා අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය මානව සමාජයේ පවත්නා සමාජයීය, ආර්ථික සහ ධනය සමාජ සම්බන්ධතා, හා බලය යනාදී දේශපාලනික කරුණු රාශියක් නිසා ඉතාමත් සංකීර්ණ තත්ත්වයකට පත්ව ඇත. ඉහත තත්ත්වයන් නිසා ස්වභාවික සම්පත් සඳහා ඇති ප්‍රවේශකත්වය මෙන්ම ඒවා පාලනය කිරීමට හැකි බලය පුද්ගලයින් අතර අසමාන ආකාරයට බෙදී යයි. මෙම තත්ත්වය දර්ශනවය වඩාත් උත්සන්න කිරීමට මෙන්ම ස්වභාවික සම්පත් තවදුරටත් හායනය වීමට බලපා තිබේ.

කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රියාදාමය අනුව බලනවිට අපගේ ආහාර නිෂ්පාදනයට අවශ්‍ය වන්නා වූ මූලික අමුද්‍රව්‍ය වූ ඉඩම් (පස), ජලය, දේශගුණික තත්ත්වයන් වැනිදේ සඳහා පරිසරය කෙරෙහි විශ්වාසය තබා ඇත. කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතු සඳහා ස්වභාවික සම්පත් භාවිතයේ දී නිරතුරුවම පාරිසරික සහ කෘෂිකාර්මික පද්ධති අතර හුවමාරුවක් පවතී. එනමුත්, වර්තමානයේ සිදුවන කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රියාදාමය තුළ එක් ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා විශාල යෙදවුම් ප්‍රමාණයක් යොදවා විශාල හිමවුම් ප්‍රමාණයක් අපේක්ෂා කරන බැවින් පරිසරය හායනයට ලක්වී ඇති අතර, කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතුවල නියුතු බොහෝ ප්‍රජාවන්ගේ දර්ශනවය ද දිගුකාලීනව පවත්නා සාධකයක් බවට පත්ව තිබේ. මෙම තත්ත්වය තුළ අනාගතයේදී අපේක්ෂිත ගෝලීය දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන් මගින් තවදුරටත් ස්වභාවික පාරිසරික සම්පත් හායනයට ගොදුරු වියහැකි අතර එමගින් මානවයාගේ යහපැවැත්ම තහවුරු කිරීමේ හැකියාව තවදුරටත් හීනවීමට ඉඩ ඇති බව පෙනේ. දැනටමත් දර්ශන මට්ටමේ පසුවන ජනතාවට ඉහත සඳහන් වෙනස්වීම්වල බලපෑම්වලට මුහුණ පෑමට සිදුව ඇත. විශේෂයෙන්ම තමාගේ ජීවිකාව සඳහා කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතු මත පමණක් යැපෙන අය සහ ඔවුන් අතරින් කුඩා පරිමානයේ කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතුවල නියැලී සිටින අයට මෙවැනි බාහිර සාධකයන්ගේ බලපෑම් හමුවේ හැඟී සිටීමට නොහැකි වී ඇත.

ඉහත කී තත්ත්වය යටතේ මෙම නිබන්ධනය තුළින් විමසීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ, දර්ශනවය තුරන් කිරීම සඳහා වැඩසටහන් සැලසුම් කිරීමේ දී ඒවායේ

තිරසාර පැවැත්ම උදෙසා සැලකිලිමත් විය යුතු පරිසරය හා මානව යහ පැවැත්ම අතර තිබෙන සහ සම්බන්ධතාවය ඉස්මතුකර පෙන්වීමයි. ඒ අනුව, කෘෂිකර්මය මත යැපෙන ග්‍රාමීය දිළිඳු ජනතාවගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය උසස් කිරීම සඳහා ක්‍රියාත්මක කරනු ලබන වැඩසටහන් සහ ව්‍යාපෘතීන් සඳහා යෝග්‍ය වන්නා වූ නිර්දේශයන් සහ නිගමනයන් පහත සඳහන් කර ඇත.

1. කෘෂිකාර්මික පද්ධති කෙරෙහි අභිතකර ලෙස බලපානු ලබන දැනට පවත්නා පාරිසරික හානියන් සහ දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන් නිසා මතු විය හැකි අවදානම් තත්ත්වයන් පිළිබඳව නිසිපරිදි සැලකිලිමත් වීම අවශ්‍ය වන අතර, ඊට හේතුව විය ආහාර සුරක්ෂිතතාව සහ දිළිඳුබව අවම කිරීම කෙරෙහි බලපෑම් ඇති කිරීමයි.

තවද අපට හුරුපුරුදු ආකාරයට එකී කටයුතු කරගෙන යෑමට නොහැකි තරමට බාහිර බලපෑම් සිදුවිය හැකි නිසා තිරසාර සංවර්ධනයට එකඟවූ මැදිහත්වීමේ ක්‍රියාදාමයන් කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු කිරීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් පවතී. එබැවින් අනාගතයේ දී අපේක්ෂිත අවදානම් තත්ත්වයන් සඳහා වූ මැදිහත්වීම් පාරිසරික හිතවාදී ලෙසට සකසා ගැනීම තුළින් අනාගතයේ දී මුහුණ දියහැකි අවදානම් සඳහා වඩාත් ගැලපෙන මාදිලි හඳුනා ගැනීම සහ ඒවා ප්‍රවලිත කිරීම පහසු කරවනු ලබයි. මෙම මැදිහත්වීම් ක්‍රියාදාමයන් තවදුරටත් පමා නොකර තිරසාර සංවර්ධනය සමග ගැලපීම අනුවර්තනය වීම සඳහා මෙන්ම ගැලපෙන මාදිලි ප්‍රවලිත කිරීම සඳහා ද මහත් පිටිවහලක් සපයයි.

2. දිළිඳු ගොවීන් බොහෝ විට හානියට භාජනය වෙමින් පවත්නා ස්වභාවික සම්පත් මත යැපෙන අතර, පාරිසරික ව්‍යාසනයන්ට ගොදුරුවීමේ ඉහළ අවදානම් තත්ත්වයක සිටිති. එනමුත් ඔවුන් සතු අවදානමට මුහුණදීමේ අවම හැකියාව නිසා ඔවුන්ගේම යහපත සඳහා වුවද තිරසාර කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රමවේදයන් භාවිත කිරීමේ හැකියාවක් ඔවුන් සතුව නොමැත. එමනිසා යෝජිත ව්‍යාපෘතීන් මගින් දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාව දිරිමත් කරවීමේ සහ අවදානම් කළමනාකරණය කිරීමේ ක්‍රම උපායන් නියාමක ව්‍යාපෘතීන් ලෙස ආරම්භ කර, දිළිඳු ප්‍රජාව අවදානම් තත්ත්වයන්ට මුහුණ දීමේ ක්‍රම උපායන්ගේ යෝග්‍ය බව තහවුරු කරගත යුතුව ඇත.

3. පාරිසරික සුරක්ෂිතතාවය පදනම් කරගත් සාධනීය ව්‍යාපෘතීන් සහ යෝජනා ක්‍රම බොහොමයක් හඳුනාගෙන තිබෙන නමුදු ඒවා තුළින් ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිලාභ තහවුරු කිරීමක් නිරායාසයෙන් අපේක්ෂා කළ නොහැකිය. එමනිසා තිරසාර කෘෂිකාර්මික ක්‍රියාදාමයක් සඳහා ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිලාභ තහවුරු කළ හැකි වෙළඳ පොළ සහ අනෙකුත් සහායක පද්ධතීන් නිර්මාණය කිරීම කළයුතුව ඇත.

4. තිරසාර සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හා සම්බන්ධ බොහෝ පාර්ශවකරුවන් සහ උනන්දුවක් දක්වන කණ්ඩායම් හඳුනාගත හැකිය. එවැනි පාර්ශවකරුවන් සහ උනන්දුකරුවන් අතර හැකියා වර්ධනය කිරීම සහ සැමට ප්‍රතිලාභ ලබා ගැනීමේ අවකාශ නිර්මාණය කිරීම තුළින් වඩාත් ඵලදායී ලෙස වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ සහ සම්පත් භාවිතයට අවස්ථාවක් උදාකර ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් පවතී.

5. තිරසාර කෘෂිකාර්මික කටයුතු බොහෝවිට ස්ථානීය විශේෂිත හා භෞග විශේෂිත තත්ත්වයන් යටතේ ක්‍රියාත්මක වේ. එමනිසා වඩාත් ඵලදායී ක්‍රමවේදයන් පිළිබඳව නිගමනය කිරීමේ දී දැනට පවත්නා බිම් මට්ටමේ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් ඇගයීම, දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන් හා සම්බන්ධ අවදානම් සඳහා මුහුණදීමට අවශ්‍ය පර්යේෂණ හා සංවර්ධන කටයුතු ක්‍රියාවට නැංවීම සහ එවැනි තත්ත්වයන්ට සුදුසු විකල්ප ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයන්ගේ ඵලදායීතාව පිළිබඳව ක්ෂේත්‍ර පරීක්ෂණ සිදු කළයුතුව ඇත. ඉහත ක්‍රියාමාර්ග තුළින් වඩාත් යෝග්‍ය සංවර්ධන මැදිහත්වීම් තෝරා ගැනීමට අවශ්‍යවන්නා වූ දැනුවත්තාවය ඇතිකර ගත හැකිය.

පාරිසරික සංරක්ෂණ කාර්යයන් සඳහා සහාය වීම සහ දේශගුණික විපර්යාස බලපෑම්වලට මුහුණදීම සඳහා කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රජාව දැනුවත් කර මෙහෙයවීම තුළින් තිරසාර සංවර්ධන අරමුණු සවල කර ගැනීමේ සංවර්ධන මාදිලි සහ සාර්ථක අත්දැකීම් නිර්මාණය කිරීමත් ඒ හා සම්බන්ධව නිමවුම් සහ වෙළඳපොල නිර්මාණය කර ගැනීමට ද හැකියාව උදාවනු ඇත.

## ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා සහ අභියෝග

මෙම කෘතියේ මුල් පරිච්ඡේද කිහිපය, ග්‍රාමීය දිළින්දුන්ට උපකාර කිරීමට ඇති ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා සහ විසේ කිරීමේදී මතුවන අභියෝග රාශියක් තේමා කිහිපයක් යටතේ හදුනාගන්නා ලදී. සමස්ථයක් වශයෙන් ගත් කළ මෙම ලේඛන කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශයන් මුල්කර ගන්නවා වෙනුවට ග්‍රාමීය දිළින්දුන් කේන්ද්‍ර කරගත් මගක් ගන්නා ලදී. ඒ අනුව ග්‍රාමීය දරිද්‍රතාවය අවම කිරීමට උපයෝගී කරගත හැකි පුළුල් උපායමාර්ග තුනක් පෙන්වාදෙයි. මේ අනුව “ඵලදායී දුප්පතුන්” (Productive Poor) කණ්ඩායම් දෙසට හැඹුරු වී ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපායයන්ට අතදීමට තිබෙන ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා හා විහිදී මතුවන අභියෝග සොයා බලයි.

දිළින්දුන් කේන්ද්‍රකරගත් මෙම ප්‍රවේශය, දරිද්‍රතාවය අවම කිරීම හා පවතින අසමානතාවයන් දුරුකිරීම සඳහා දිළිඳු පළාත්වල කෘෂිකාර්මික වර්ධනයට ආයෝජන ඉලක්ක කරගත යුතුය යන මහින්ද චිත්තන දස අවුරුදු සංවර්ධන සැලැස්මට අනුකූල වේ. පවතින ගෝලීය තත්ත්වයන් සැලකිල්ලට ගෙන ඇති මෙම සැලැස්ම, අපනයන කෘෂිකර්මය හා පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ හවුල්කාරීත්වයට ඇති හැඹුරුව, හා ආහාර සුරක්ෂිතතාවය හා දේශීය වෙළඳපොළට නිෂ්පාදනය කිරීම යන කාරණයන් සමබරව තබා ගැනීම අරමුණු කරගෙන ඇත.

ඉහත ලිපිවලින් දැක් වූ තර්කවල සාරාංශයක් මෙම කොටසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවල ජීවත් වන ඵලදායී දුප්පතුන්ට ආධාර කිරීමට හැඹුරුවක් දක්වන කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය සඳහා වන පාතැන්තර අරමුදල වැනි සංවිධානවලට මෙම තොරතුරු කොතෙක් දුරට ගම්‍ය වේදැයි සැලකිලිමක් වෙමිනි.

### 1. සුළු ඉඩමිහිමි ගොවීන්ගේ ජීවනෝපායයන් වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කෘෂිකර්ම ක්‍රියාකාරකම් බොහෝමයක් ඉටු කරන්නේ කුඩා ඉඩම් හිමි ගොවීන් විසිනි. ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපායයන් දියුණු කිරීමට ඇති ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා බොහෝය. ඉන් ප්‍රධාන වන්නේ දැනට වගා කරන බෝග වර්ග වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම සහ/හෝ බෝග විවිධාංගීකරණය, සහ වෙළඳපොළට ඇති සම්බන්ධකම් වැඩි කරමින් බෝග වාණිජකරණයට ලක් කිරීමෙනි.

කෘෂිකර්මය ප්‍රධාන ආදායම් මාර්ගය කරගත් නමුත් වෙළඳපොළට අවතීර්ණවීමට නොහැකිව ජීවත්වන කුඩා ඉඩම් හිමි ගොවීන් රාශියක් දක්නට ලැබේ. මොවුන් අතර මධ්‍යම සහ ඉහල කදුකරයේ ජීවත් වන කුඩා තේ වතු හිමියන්, කුළු බඩු වගාකරන්නන්, උඩරට විළුවළු වගාකරන්නන්, සාම්ප්‍රදායිකවම උස්බිම්වල හේන් ගොවිතැන්, පළතුරු හා වී වගාකරන්නන් යනාදීන් වෙති.

#### කුඩා තේවතු හිමියන්

උච්ච, සබරගමුව පළාත්වල සහ නුවර විලිය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ ජීවත් වන කුඩා තේ වතු හිමියෝ තම තේ වතු වල ඵලදායීතාවය අඩුවීමෙන් පීඩා විදින අතර ලෝක වෙළඳපොළේ තේ මිල පහත වැටීම, තේ කම්හල් තේ දළ මිලට ගැනීම අඩුවීම යනාදී කාරණා හේතුකොට ගෙන තවත් අසරණ වී සිටිති. ඇතැම් තේවතු හිමියන්

තේ වැවීම පසෙකලා චලවළ වගා කිරීමට පෙළඹී සිටිති. ධෛර්‍ය සහිත ඉඩම්වල වගා කිරීමට තේ වඩාත් උචිත බෝගයක් වන්නේ විය බිම් සැකසීම අඩුවෙන් අවශ්‍යවන සහ පාංශුබාදනය වලක්වන ධනු වාර්ෂික හෝගයක් වන නිසාය. මේ නිසා වෙනත් බෝග වගාවකට මාරුවීමේදී පාංශු බාදනයට ඇති ඉඩකඩ වැඩිවනු ඇත. කුඩා තේ වතු හිමියන්ට ආධාර සැපයිය යුත්තේ ගෝලීය තේ වෙළඳපොළේ අස්ථාවරත්වය හා තනි බෝග මත යැපීමේ ප්‍රවණතාවය තුලනය කිරීම සදහා වේ.

තේ වතු වල ඵලදායිතාවය වැඩි කරගත හැකි වන්නේ තේ නැවත වගා කිරීම හෝ බෝග විවිධාංගීකරණය යන දෙයාකාරයෙනි. තේ නැවත වගා කිරීමේ වේගය 2% ක්ව පවත්වා ගතයුතු ධව රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය වුවද විය විසේ සිදු නොවේ. තේ වතු ප්‍රසාරණයවීම වැළැක්වීමට ද රජය පියවර ගෙන තිබේ. තේ නිෂ්පාදනය ඉදිරියට ගෙනයාමට හැකි වන්නේ ලෝක වෙළඳපොළේ මිල උච්චාවචනයන් පවතිද්දී තේ නිෂ්පාදකයින්ට ගොවීන්ගේ තේ දළ මිලට ගැනීමට හැකි නම් පමණි. වෙළඳපොළ කඩා වැටෙද්දී හෝ බෝග පාලුවකදී හෝ රක්ෂණ වන්දි ගෙවීම; මධ්‍යම හා ඉහළ කළුකරයේ කුඩා තේ වතු හිමියන් සමග “තේ ශක්ති” ආකෘතිය<sup>1</sup> යොදා ගැනීම, තේ ඉල්ලුම අඩු වන විට තේ කම්හල් සතු අතිරික්ත මිනිස් ශ්‍රමය සහ සම්පත් වෙනත් ව්‍යාපාරවලට යොදවා කුඩා තේවතු හිමියන්ට සහ ආන්තික ගොවීන්ට සහන සැලැස්වීමට තේ කම්හල්කරුවන්ට ආධාර සැපයීම තේ කර්මාන්තය ඉදිරියට ගෙන යාමට කළයුතු දේවල්ය.

මධ්‍යම හා ඉහළ කළුකරයේ කුඩා තේවතු විවිධාංගීකරණයට හසුකොට, දැව බලශක්තිය නිපදවීම, සත්ව ආහාර, චලවළ, ගම්මිරිස් සහ අනෙකුත් වාර්ෂික බෝග වගා කිරීම අවදානම් අඩු තත්ත්වයක් වන්නේ වෙළඳපොළ පාලනය කිරීමට වඩා ගෘහස්ථ ආදායම ස්ථාවරව තබා ගැනීම ඉන් පහසු වන බැවිනි. මෙවැනි පෙළඹුමක ස්ථාවරතාවය රදා පවතින්නේ කෘෂි ව්‍යාප්ති සේවා ශක්තිමත් කොට වෙළඳපොළ ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා සැලසුවහොත් පමණි.

**කුළු බඩු සහ ඵලවළ වගාකරුවන්**

මධ්‍යම සහ උග්‍රව (විශේෂයෙන් උග්‍රව) පළාත්වල කුළු බඩු සහ ඵලවළ වගාකරුවන්ගේ ඵලදායිතාවයට බාධා වල්ලවන්නේ රෝපන ද්‍රව්‍ය (පැල) සහ වෙළඳපොළ ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා සීමිත හෙයිනි. මේ හැරුණු විට උග්‍රව පළාතේ වියළි ප්‍රදේශවල ජීවත් වන තේන් ගොවීන්ටද සීමිත වෙළඳපොළ බාධාවක් වේ. මෙකී කුඩා ගොවීන්ට බාධාවකින් තොරව වෙළඳපොළට අවතීර්ණවීමටත් අගය වකතු වන නිෂ්පාදන සකස් කිරීමටත් ධනුචිධ උපායමාර්ග යොදා ගැනීම අත්‍යවශ්‍ය කාරණයකි.

නිෂ්පාදනයේ ගුණාත්මක ධව වැඩි කිරීම, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නාගරික වෙළඳපොළට යැවිය යුතු නිපැයුම් හදුනාගැනීම, ගබඩා පහසුකම් ලබාදීම, ප්‍රවාහනයේදී අපතේ

<sup>1</sup> 2000 අංක 17 දරණ පනත යටතේ 2000දී තේ ශක්ති පදනම ස්ථාපිත කළේය. මෙහි අරමුණ වන්නේ කුඩා තේ වතු හිමියන්ගේ ආර්ථික හා සමාජ දියුණුව වැඩි කිරීමයි. තේ ශක්ති පදනමේ ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය, තේ කර්මාන්ත ශාලාවල කළමනාකරණය, පොහොර නිෂ්පාදනය හා බෙදා හැරීම, තේවල දේශීය පරිමාව සහ තේ ශක්ති රක්ෂණ යෝජනා ක්‍රමය ද මීට ඇතුළත් වේ.

යාම වැළැක්වීමට තාක්ෂණ ක්‍රම හඳුන්වාදීම යනාදිය විවේකී උපාය මාර්ගයකට ඇතුළත් කරගත යුතුය. අදාළ ගොවි නිෂ්පාදන සඳහා ඉල්ලුමක් ඇති කිරීමේ හා වෙළඳපොළ සබඳතාවලට ප්‍රවේශය ලබාදෙන ඉඩප්‍රස්තාවන් ලෙස දැමුල්ල ආර්ථික වෙළඳ මධ්‍යස්ථානය වැන්නක් මහියංගනයේ (උච්ච පළාතේ පැමිණෙන නිෂ්පාදන) ඉදිකිරීම, පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ සිල්ලර වෙළදාමට, (කාග්ල්ස්) අපනයනයට, කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාරවලට ගොවීන් සම්බන්ධ කෙරෙන පුරුක් ඇති කිරීම, ඉදිරි ගිවිසුම් ක්‍රම ආරක්ෂා කර දීමට යාන්ත්‍රණයක් ස්ථාපිත කිරීම, දේශීය සහ විදේශීය වෙළඳපොළේ හැසිරීම පිළිබඳ තොරතුරු සැපයීම, දිස්ත්‍රික්ක මට්ටමින් ග්‍රාමීය කර්මාන්තවල අගය එකතු කිරීම සඳහා සහාය වීම ඉහතින් දැක්වූ උපායමාර්ගයේ සෙසු කාරණා ලෙස සැලකිල්ලට ගැනීම වැදගත් වේ.

කෘෂි නිපැයුම් අපනයනය කිරීම, ඊට අවශ්‍ය යෙදවුම සැපයීම, කෘෂි නිපැයුම් එක්රැස් කිරීම, කෘෂි ව්‍යාප්ති සේවා සැපයීම, කෘෂි පර්යේෂණ කිරීම යනාදී විශාල සේවා පරාසයක් සපයා දෙමින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය දිරිගැන්වීමේ මහඟු දායකත්වයක් පෞද්ගලික අංශයෙන් සහ රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවලින් ලැබෙන බව කිව යුතුය. උසස් වර්ගයේ ධීප, සුක්ෂම වාර්මාර්ග තාක්ෂණය, කෘෂි රසායන ද්‍රව්‍ය, ඇසුරුම් ද්‍රව්‍ය, කෘෂි ආම්පන්න ලබා දෙමින් කෘෂි ආහාර සැකසීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය ශක්තිමත්ව ඉදිරියට ගෙන යන්නේ වැඩි වශයෙන් පෞද්ගලික අංශය මගිනි. IFAD ආධාර වලින් යැපෙන ව්‍යාපෘති සහ සෙසු ව්‍යාපෘතිවලින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ඉදිරි ගිවිසුම්නී (Forward Contracting) අත්දැකීම් ලබාගෙන ඇත. මේවා ඇගයීමට ලක්කිරීමෙන් යහපත් භාවිතයන් ප්‍රවලිත කළ හැකිවේ. මෙවැනි උපායමාර්ගික පියවරවල් සාර්ථක කරගැනීමට අතදිය හැකි සංවිධාන වශයෙන් කුඩා හෝ වතු සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය (TSHDA), ජාතික කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාරික කවුන්සිලයේ සාමාජික සංවිධානය, අපනයන කෘෂිකර්ම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව හා විවිධ වාණිජ මණ්ඩල හඳුන්වාදීමට පුළුවන.

පරිසරයට හානි නොපමුණුවන අන්දමට හා ඛාහිර වෙළඳ බලවේගයන්වලට ගොවීන් ඔරොත්තු දෙන පරිදි කෘෂිකර්මය වාණිජකරණය කළ යුතුව ඇත. එනම් වාණිජකරණය ප්‍රවේසමෙන් හැසිරිය යුතුය. අවදානම් අඩු දේශීය වෙළඳපොළ ඉලක්ක කරගැනීම සහ අගය එකතු කළ කෘෂිකාර්මික අපනයනය සඳහා නිපදවීම යන අංශ දෙක මනාව තුලනය කර ගැනීම වැදගත් වේ. තවද, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රතිපත්තියේ අවධානයට යොමු වී ඇති පරිසර හිතකාමී කෘෂි භාවිතයන් ප්‍රයෝජනයට ගනිමින් අධික රසායනික ද්‍රව්‍ය භාවිතයෙන් තොරව ඵලදායී නිපදවීම, කාබනික කෘෂි නිෂ්පාදනවලට ඇති ඉහළ කෙලවරේ වෙළඳපොළ ඉලක්ක කර ගනිමින් කාබනික ගොවිතැනට නැඹුරුවීම සඳහා ගොවීන්ට අනුබල අවශ්‍ය වේ. ලෝක වෙළඳපොළේ බෝග සඳහා වූ ඉල්ලුම කඩා වැටීම විදදරා ගැනීමටත්, සහශ්‍රක නොවන ධීප සඳහා ප්‍රවේශ වීමට අවස්ථා ලබාදීම බෝග අසාර්ථකවීම වළක්වා ගැනීමටත් බෝග රක්ෂණ ක්‍රමය වැදගත් වේ.

## 2. තරගකාරීත්වය වැඩි කිරීම හා සුළු පරිමාණ පශු ගොවීන්ට වෙළඳපොළට ප්‍රවේශවීම

දරිද්‍රතාවය මුලිනුපුටා දැමීමේ උපායමාර්ගයට හතුවිය යුතු දෙවන වලදායී දුප්පතුන් වර්ගයට සුළු පරිමාණ පශු ගොවීන්, විශේෂයෙන් දිළිඳු යයි හඳුනාගත්



දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල කෘෂිකර්මය මුල්කරගත් කිරිගොවිත්ය. මොවුන් වෙත අවධානය යොමු කිරීම වනාහි කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය ඉහළ දැමීමේ රජයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තියට අනුකූලතාවය දැක්වීමක් වේ. මධ්‍යම හා ඉහළ කදුකරයේ සිදු කෙරෙන ඵලදායී වගාව වැනි ජීවනෝපාය ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වල නිරත අය කිරි නිෂ්පාදනයේ යෙදී සිටිති. කිරි පට්ටි පාලනයට වඩා නැඹුරුවන්නේ කාන්තාවන්ය. සාපේක්ෂ වශයෙන් බලහ කළ මෙම ප්‍රදේශවල කිරි රැස් කිරීම, කෘත්‍රීම සිංවන කටයුතු යනාදිය සදහා අවශ්‍ය යටිතල පහසුකම් දක්නට ලැබේ. තම ප්‍රදේශවල පරිසරයට ගැළපෙන වැඩි කිරි ප්‍රමාණයක් ලබාගත හැකි දෙනුත් ලබාගැනීමට ගොවීන්ට පුළුවන. පශු පාලනය ගොවිතැනට සම්බන්ධ කෙරෙන තවත් ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාවකි. එනම් ඵලදායී පොහොර වශයෙන් ගොම භාවිතා කළ හැකිය. ඒ කෙසේ වෙතත් ගොවීන් සතු සීමිත සම්පත් වලින් උපරිම ඵල ලබා ගැනීමේ ගැටළුවට ඔවුහු මුහුණ දෙති. එමනිසා රටේ කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය ඒ සදහා ඇති විභවතාවයට වඩා නොසෑහෙන සේ පහළ මට්ටමක පවතී.

මහා තරගකාරීත්වයකින් වෙළඳපොළට පිවිසීමට කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය ප්‍රමාණාත්මකව හා ගුණාත්මකව ඉහළ දැමීම අවශ්‍ය වේ. ඒ සදහා පශු සම්පත් කළමනාකරණ භාවිතයන් හැරවීමට අවශ්‍ය කුසලතා, තාක්ෂණය සහ මූල්‍ය අනුග්‍රහය ගොවීන්ට ලැබිය යුතු වේ. කිරි නිෂ්පාදන ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ පවතින අකාර්යක්ෂම ව්‍යාප්ති සේවාවන් පිටුදැකීමට (හෙස්ට්) වැනි පෞද්ගලික සමාගම් සහ (මිල්කෝ, ප්‍රීමා) වැනි රජයේ සමාගම් සමග හවුල්කාරීත්වයක් ගොඩනගා ගැනීමට ගොවීන්ට සිදු වේ. සුළු පරිමාණ කෘෂිකාර්මිකයින්ට පශු පාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රයට දැව සත්ව ආහාර සැපයිය හැකි වේ. ඒ සදහා ඔවුන් දැනටම දිරිමත් කර ඇත. දැව සත්ව ආහාර වූ කලී තෘණ වලට වඩා පරිසර හිතකාමී විකල්පයක් පමණක් නොවන දැව ඉන්ධන සදහාද යොදවා ගත හැකි ද්‍රව්‍යයකි. ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශයක ඉහළ වර්ගයේ කිරිදෙනුන් සොයා ගැනීමේ දුෂ්කරතාවයන් පවතී. මේ ගැටළුව නිරාකරණය සදහා පශුපාලන සංවර්ධනයට උරුම රාජ්‍ය හා රාජ්‍ය නොවන ආයතනවල හවුල්කාරීත්වය අවශ්‍ය වේ. සුළු පරිමාණ කිරි පට්ටි පාලනය සදහා ජාතික ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් සහ වැඩසටහන් රාශියක් දක්නට ලැබේ. දැවට සාර්ථකව පවත්වාගෙන යන 'කිරි ගම්මාන ව්‍යාපෘතිය', ලෝක බැංකු ආධාර ඇතිව ආරම්භ කොට ඇති 'ගැමි දිරිය' වැඩසටහනෙන් සමහරෙකි. පශු සම්පත් සංවර්ධනයට අවශ්‍ය වන ප්‍රතිපත්ති රාමුව සැකසෙන්නේ පශු සංවර්ධන ප්‍රතිපත්තිය, වෙළඳ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය සහ ගවයින් බෝ කිරීමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිය තුළින්ය. 1989 සිට අද වන තෙක් බලපැවැත්වෙන ගවයින් බෝ කිරීමේ පනතේ විධිවිධාන වෙනස් වී නොමැති හෙයින් ණය යාවත්කාලීන කළ යුතුය. කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය සම්බන්ධව බැඳී ඇති වෙළඳ රටාව දේශපාලන කටයුතුට මුල්වී තිබේ. ආනයනික කිරි නිපැයුම අඩු කොට දේශීය කිරි නිෂ්පාදනය හා පරිභෝජනය දිරිගැන්වීම එම කටයුතු මගින් අවධාරණය කරයි. පශු සම්පත් සංවර්ධන මණ්ඩලය සහ කෘෂි සේවා දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව වැනි රජයේ සංවිධාන, පශු පාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රය තුළ සහයෝගයෙන් කටයුතු කරන බව පෙනේ.

**3. දේශීය ශ්‍රමිකයින්ගේ ආදායම් ඉපයීමේ ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා වැඩි කිරීමට ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය උත්තේජනය කිරීම**

කෘෂිකර්මාන්තයේ හා ධීවර කර්මාන්තයේ විශාල වශයෙන් නිරතව සිටින ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාව, ග්‍රාමීය කර්මාන්ත, කෘෂි ව්‍යාපාර, කෘෂි සේවා සැපයුම, කෘෂි පාදක

භාණ්ඩ නිපදවීම යන කෙරෙහිවලට යොමු කොට ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය සමස්තයක් වශයෙන් පුබුදුවාලීම අපගේ අධ්‍යයනයේ තුන්වැනි ඉලක්කයයි. දිළිඳු නිවැසියන් බොහෝසෙයින් නිරතව සිටින්නේ කුලී වැඩ සහ කෘෂිකාර්මික නොවන කටයුතුවල හෙයින් ඔවුන් පුබුදුවාලිය යුතුය. විවෘතව විරැකියාවෙන් පෙළෙන තරුණ තරුණියන්ට, එක් කාලයකට පමණක් රැකියා කෙරෙන (ධීවර ප්‍රජාව), විගමණික ශ්‍රමිකයින් හට ගොවිතැනට පරිබාහිරව රැකියා අවස්ථා ඇති කළ යුතු වේ.

ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථිකය දියුණු කිරීම දිළිඳුන්ගේ සඳහා වූ වලදායී උපායමාර්ගයක් බවට සාධක ආසියාවේ වෙනත් රටවලින් සහ විශේෂයෙන් චීනයෙන් උගත හැකි වේ. ව්‍යවස්ථාපිත උපායමාර්ග අනුගමනය කොට එම රටවල දර්ශනවේදී හා අසමානතා අඩු කොට තිබේ. රටේ ආර්ථික පසුගාමී තත්වයේ ප්‍රදේශවල යටිතල පහසුකම් දියුණු කිරීමට රජයේ ආයෝජන වැඩි කරන්නේ නම් එම පළාත්වලට ප්‍රවේශ වීමට තිබූ බාධා ඉවත් වී කොළඹ හා බස්නාහිර පළාතෙන් ඔබ්බට ආයෝජන ගෙන යාමේ දුෂ්කරතාව මගහැරී යනු ඇත. ඒ ආකාරයෙන් එම පළාත්වලට කාර්මාන්ත ගෙනයාමට පුද්ගලික අංශය ධෛර්යමත් කිරීමටද පහසුවක් වන්නේය. මේ සියල්ල එසේ සිදුවන විට බලාපොරොත්තු වන පරිදි ශ්‍රම ඉල්ලුම වැඩි විය හැකිය. එම තත්වයට මුහුණ දී මානව ප්‍රාග්ධනය ඉහළ දැමීමට කුලී ශ්‍රමිකයින්ගේ කුසලතා වැඩි දියුණු කිරීමේ වැඩසටහන් අවශ්‍ය වේ. මේ සඳහා ප්‍රදේශයේ ශ්‍රමය නියෝජනය කරන ප්‍රජා සංවිධාන ශක්තිමත් කිරීම වැදගත් වේ.

දිළිඳු දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල ග්‍රාමීය ව්‍යවසායයන් ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීමට ක්ෂුද්‍ර මූල්‍යකරණ සේවාවන් ශක්තිමත් කළ යුතුව ඇත. ඒ හා සමගාමීව විධිමත් ශ්‍රම වෙළඳපොළට ප්‍රදේශයේ ශ්‍රමිකයින් සම්බන්ධ කළ හැකි වන පරිදි රැකියා බැංකු වැනි නිර්මාණශීලී වැඩසටහන් අවශ්‍ය වේ. ඒ අතරතුර ගමට ලැබෙන ප්‍රේෂණ ග්‍රාමීය ව්‍යවසායයන්හි ආයෝජනය කිරීම ධෛර්යමත් කෙරෙන ක්‍රම සොයා බැලීම වටී. මෙවැන්නක් තුළින් විදේශීය ශ්‍රම වෙළඳපොළේ බහුතරය වන විගමණික කාන්තාවට වැඩි වාසි අත්වීමට ඉඩ තිබේ.

යටකි යහපත් ප්‍රවණතාවයන් උදාකර ගැනීමට සුළු හා මධ්‍යම පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයින්ට අතදෙන රාජ්‍ය හා රාජ්‍ය නොවන ආයතන, ව්‍යවසාය සංවර්ධන හා ආයෝජන ප්‍රවර්ධන අමාත්‍යාංශය, කාර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධන මණ්ඩලය, ජාත්‍යන්තර කමිකරු සංවිධානය වැනි සංවර්ධන ආයතන සහ සුළු ණය සපයමින් ව්‍යවසාය ප්‍රවර්ධන ආධාර ලබාදෙන ජාත්‍යන්තර හා දේශීය රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන අත්වැල් බැඳගත යුතු වේ. ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවලට පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ ආයෝජන යොමු කිරීම සඳහා මුදල් හා ක්‍රම සම්පාදන අමාත්‍යාංශය සහ වාණිජ මණ්ඩල අතර නිරන්තර සාකච්ඡා පවත්වාගෙන යා යුතුය.

### නිගමනය

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාමීය අංශය, රටේ සෞඛ්‍ය ප්‍රදේශවල සිදු කෙරෙන නාගරීකරණය හා සංවර්ධන බලවේගවල බලපෑම්වලට හසුව ඇත. තත්වය එසේ වුවද, රජයේ සංවර්ධන න්‍යාය පත්‍රය ඒ සඳහා වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු වී තිබීම එහි විශේෂතාවකි. ග්‍රාමීය අංශයේ ගැටළු සංකීර්ණ බැවින් දිළිඳු ජන කණ්ඩායම් සහ දිළිඳු ප්‍රදේශවලට දර්ශනා තත්වයෙන් මිදීමට මැදිහත්වීම් හා සහාය අවශ්‍ය

වේ. ග්‍රාමීය දර්ශනාවය මුලිනුපුටා දැමීමට ඉදිරිපත් කළ උපායමාර්ග අතුරින් ආංශික විධිකුම යන උපායමාර්ගය අතීතයේදී ප්‍රධාන තැනක් ගන්නා ලදී. මෙම ලේඛනයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන විශ්ලේෂණය දිළින්දන් කේන්ද්‍ර කරගත් පෙළඹුමකින් යුක්ත වන්නේය.

මෙම කෘතියේ එන පරිච්ඡේද IFAD ආයතන සඳහා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ උපායමාර්ගික ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා පිළිබඳ ලේඛනය සකස් කිරීමට පසුබිම සපයන පරිදි ලියවී ඇත. මෙම සංවිධානයේ අරමුණ වන්නේ ඵලදායී දිළින්දන් ඉලක්ක කරගනිමින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දර්ශනාවය අවම කරගැනීම සඳහා කල්පවන්නා බලපෑම් කිරීමට සුළු මූලාසාධාරයක් ලබාදීමයි. එමනිසා මෙම ලේඛනය දුප්පතුන් හඳුනා ගැනීමත් ඔවුන්ගේ අවශ්‍යතාවයන් හඳුනා ගැනීමත් පෙරදැරි කරගෙන ලියන ලද්දකි. මේ ලේඛනයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ඵලදායී දුප්පතුන් වන්නේ (i) සුළු පරිමාණ ගොවීන් (ii) සුළු පරිමාණ පශු ගොවීන් (iii) ග්‍රාමීය කුලි ශ්‍රමිකයින්ය. ඔවුන් මුහුණපාන ගැටළු හා ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවනෝපායයන් වැඩි දියුණු කරගැනීමට අවශ්‍ය සහාය හා ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා මේ ලේඛනයෙන් සාකච්ඡා වේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාමීය දර්ශනාවය අවම කරගැනීමට අවශ්‍යව තිබෙන කාර්යක්ෂම වන්නාවූද නිර්මාණශීලී වන්නාවූද උපායමාර්ගික සෙවීමට හොඳ පදනමක් මෙම ලිපිවලින් ලැබෙනු ඇතැයි අපි උදක්ම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමු.

அறிமுகம்	LIII
கட்டுரைகளின் நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கங்கள்	LXVII
வாய்ப்புகளும் சவால்களும்	XCI



## அறிமுகம்

இப்பிரசுரமானது விவசாய அபிவிருத்திக்கான சர்வதேச நிதி (IFAD) இனது நாட்டின் உத்திகளிலான வாய்ப்புக்கள் கட்டுரை, 2010 – 2015 இனைத் தெளிவாக உருவாக்குவதற்கான பிண்ணனியாக IFAD இற்காக வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையத்தினால் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட செயற்பாடுகளின் விளைவானதாகும்.

IFAD உறுதியான ஒரு சந்தைப் பொருளாதார நோக்கையும் ஜீவனோபாய வாய்ப்புக்களில் கவனம் செலுத்தும் ஒரு முழு உத்தியையும் கொண்டுள்ளது. எனவே இது மிக வறிய மக்களையன்றி **உற்பத்தித் திறன் கொண்ட கிராம வறிய மக்களை** இலக்காகக் கொண்டு செயற்பட விளைகின்றது. ஆய்வுகள் இப்புரிந்துணர்வினதும், IFAD இன் கவனம் மரபு ரீதியான விவசாயத்தைப் பற்றிய எண்ணத்திலிருந்து அப்பால் சென்று கிராமிய தொழில் முயற்சியான்மை மற்றும் சிறு தொழில் முயற்சிகளுக்கான வாய்ப்புக்களையும் கருத்தில் கொள்கின்றது என்பதன் இனங்காணலினதும் அடிப்படையிலானது. IFAD இன் நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்களால் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தின் வளர்ச்சிக்கூரிய பகுதிகளை (கிராமியக் கைத்தொழில் மற்றும் சேவைகள்) கட்டியெழுப்பவும் தொழிற் சந்தைகளைத் தூண்டவும் முடியுமாகவுள்ளது.

இப்பிரசுரமானது IFAD இன் தேசிய ஆலோசனைகளில் பங்குபற்றியவர்களுக்கு ஒரு வாசகனாக அமையும். மேலும் இது மாணவர்களுக்கு, அபிவிருத்தி செயற்படுத்துபவர்களுக்கும், இலங்கையில் காணப்படுகின்ற வறுமையினை உணர்ந்து கொள்ளும் விருப்பத்துடனுள்ள அரச மற்றும் அரச சார்பற்ற துறைகளிலான கொள்கை உருவாக்குபவர்களுக்கு, விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் கிராமத் துறைகளில் வேலை செய்பவர்களுக்கு மற்றும் இப்புரிந்துணர்வில் செயற்பட வேண்டிய நிலையில் உள்ளவர்களுக்கும் பயன்தரக் கூடியதாக இருக்கும் என எதிர்பார்க்கின்றோம்.

இப்பிரசுரமானது இலங்கையில் கிராமியப் பொருளாதார வாய்ப்புக்கள் (அத்தியாயம் - 2), கிராமியக் காரணிச் சந்தைகள் (அத்தியாயம் - 3), புலம்பெயர்வும் வெளிவருவாயும் (அத்தியாயம் - 4), நுண் நிதி (அத்தியாயம் - 5), கிராமிய நிறுவனங்கள் (அத்தியாயம் - 6), மற்றும் சூழலும் காலநிலை மாற்றமும் (அத்தியாயம் -7) என்பவற்றிலான ஆறு கட்டுரைகளை கொண்டுள்ளது. மேலதிகமான ஒரு கட்டுரை இலங்கையின் வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கிலான வாய்ப்புக்கள் எனும் தலைப்பில் 2009 இல் எழுதுவதற்கான வேலை ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதுடன் இது தனியாக பின்னர் பிரசுரிக்கப்படும். ஒவ்வொரு கட்டுரையும் அபிவிருத்தி முகவர் நிலையங்களால் குறிப்பாக IFAD இனாலான தலையீடுகள் மற்றும் உதவிகளுக்கான சிபாரிசுகளை வழங்குகின்றது. ஆனால் இக்கட்டுரைகள் அரச மற்றும் அரச சார்பற்ற நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்களுக்கும் வழிகாட்டல்களை வழங்கலாம்.

இப்பகுதியிலான கட்டுரைகள் இலங்கையில் அரசியல் சூழ்நிலை மிகவும் வித்தியாசமாக மாறியுள்ள நிலையில் 2008 இன் இறுதிப் பகுதியில் எழுதப்பட்டன. இக்கட்டுரைகள் மத்திய மற்றும் மாகாண அரசுகளின்

பங்குதாரர்களிடமிருந்து பெறப்பட்ட பல பின்னூட்டல்களைத் தொடர்ந்து பலதடவை திருத்தங்களுக்குட்பட்டது. மேலும் அவை நிகழ்ந்துள்ள சில சூழ்நிலை மாற்றங்களை தம்முட்கொள்ள முயற்சிகளை எடுத்திருந்தாலும் இதனை வாசிக்கும் நேரமுள்ள சூழ்நிலைக்கும் எழுதும் போது இருந்த நிலைக்குமிடையில் மாற்றான கருத்துக்கள் இருப்பது தவிர்க்க முடியாததாகும். இவ்வறிமுக அத்தியாயம் ஆய்வுகளுக்கான அமைப்பை உருவாக்கவும் வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையத்தின் அணுகுமுறை மற்றும் செயன்முறைகளை விபரிப்பதையும் குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது.

## நாட்டின் அமைப்பு

ஏனைய தெற்காசிய அயல் நாடுகளுடன் ஒப்பிடும் போது இலங்கையானது 19.8 மில்லியன் (2006) கணக்கிடப்பட்ட குடித்தொகையைக் கொண்ட சார்பளவில் ஒரு சிறிய நாடாகும். இதன் குடித்தொகையில் 85% பகுதி கிராமப் புறங்களாகும். குடித்தொகை அடர்த்தி ஏறத்தாழ சதுர கிலோ மீற்றருக்கு 300 ஆகவும் குடித்தொகை வளர்ச்சி வருடத்திற்கு 1.8% ஆகவும் உள்ளது. இலங்கை பல்லின, பல மதங்களுடனான ஒரு சமூகமாகும். பெரும்பான்மையாக சிங்கள இனமும், மதத்தில் பௌத்த மதமும் உள்ளது. இத்துடன் பெருமளவு தமிழர்களும் பொதுவாக இந்துக்களும் முஸ்லிம்களும் மற்றும் கிறிஸ்தவ சமுதாயங்களும் வாழ்கின்றன. கடந்த 25 வருடங்களாக நாட்டினை அழிவுக்கு உட்படுத்திய தமிழ் பிரிவினவாதிகள், தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகள் மற்றும் இலங்கை அரசிடையான சிவில் யுத்தம் இறுதியாக முடிவுற்றுள்ளது.

இந்நாடு ஒரு சீரற்ற, பகுதிகளாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்ட தரைத்தோற்றத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. 100 மீற்றரிலும் குறைவான உயரத்தையுடைய கடற்கரையோரம், இதனைத் தொடர்ந்து வித்தியாசமான அகலங்களுடன் அலை வடிவில் தொடரும் சமதரைகள் மத்திய நாட்டின் மலைத் தொடர்களின் அடிவாரம் வரை செல்கின்றன. காலநிலையானது புவிமத்திய கோட்டுக்குரிய வெப்ப மண்டலத்துக்கு உரியதாகும். மழைவீழ்ச்சி சமனில்லாத பரம்பலைக் காட்டுவதுடன் இதனைக் கொண்டு நாட்டின் தென்மேற்குப் பகுதியினை ஈர நிலம் என்றும் ஏனைய பகுதிகளை உலர் நிலம் என்றும் பரந்தளவில் இரு காலநிலை வலயங்களாகப் பிரிக்கலாம். ஈரவலயத்தில் வருடாந்த மழைவீழ்ச்சி சராசரியாக 2500mm ஆகவும் இது உலர் வலயத்தில் 1200 – 1900mm ஆகவும் உள்ளது. 2004இல் இலங்கையின் கரையோரத்தைத் தாக்கிய சுனாமி அலைகள் 38,000 இலும் கூடுதலான மக்களை இழக்க வைத்ததுடன் பலர் தமது ஜீவனோபாயங்களையும் இழந்து பலவீனமான நிலைக்குள்ளானார்கள்.

இந்நாடு சிறந்த மனித அபிவிருத்தி சுட்டிகளைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. மேலும் உலக ரீதியான பாடசாலையில் முதலாம் தரத்திற்கான ஆட்சேர்ப்பின் மற்றும் துணைத் தர பாடசாலை ஆட்சேர்ப்பில் பாலிடையிலான சமத்துவம் மற்றும் இனப்பெருக்க சுகாதாரக் கல்வியின் அறிவு வழங்கள் என்பவற்றின் அபிவிருத்தி இலக்குகளை

ஏலவே அடைந்து அல்லது அடைய அண்மிய நிலையில் உள்ளது.<sup>1</sup> வயது வந்தோர் எழுத்தறிவு வீதம் 90.7% (2001 இல் அம்பாறை தவிர்ந்த வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களை விடுத்து),<sup>2</sup> சராசரி ஆயுட்காலம் ஆண்களுக்கு 71.7 வருடங்களாகவும் பெண்களுக்கு 77 வருடங்களாகவும் உள்ளன.

தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகளுக்கும் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்குமிடையிலான 25 வருட மோதல் இலங்கை வாழ் மக்களின் வாழ்க்கையின் எல்லா முகங்களிலும் பாரிய தாக்கத்தை ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ளது. 65,000 இலும் கூடுதலான மக்கள் உயிர்களை இழந்துள்ளதடன் ஏறக்குறைய 800,000 ஆணோர் தம் சொந்த இடங்களை விட்டு வெளியேற்றப்பட்டுள்ளனர். மோதல் நிலவிய காலங்களில் அரசும், இலங்கையின் அபிவிருத்தியும், எல்லா இன மதங்களிலிருந்தும் மக்களின் மனித உரிமைகள் தீவிரமாக மீறப்பட்டமை தொடர்பான குற்றச்சாட்டுக்கள், தம் அபிப்பிராயங்களை வெளிப்படுத்துவதற்கான சுதந்திரத்தில் தடைகள், பொருளாதார மற்றும் சமூக உட்கட்டமைப்புக்களின் பாரிய அழிவு இன்னும் கருதத்தக்க அளவு வளங்கள் இராணுவத் தேவைகளுக்காக பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டமை போன்ற குற்றச்சாட்டுக்களால் பெரிதும் தடைகளுக்குள்ளாயின. இராணுவ வெற்றியானது வடக்கு, கிழக்கிலும் மற்றும் தெற்கிலும் நடமாடுவதற்கு பெரிய சுதந்திரத்தை வழங்கியுள்ளது எனினும் ஜனநாயக சுதந்திரம் இன்னும் மீள நிலைப்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டியுள்ளதுடன் உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் பெரும் பகுதியினரின் குடியமர்த்தலும் இன்னும் முற்றுப் பெறவில்லை.

## பொருளாதாரப் பிண்ணனி.

யுத்தம் மற்றும் உலகப் பொருளாதாரத்தாலான பல வெளி அதிர்ச்சிகளுடனும் இலங்கையானது 1977 இலிருந்து சராசரியாக வருடாந்த மொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தியில் (GDP) 4.9% வளர்ச்சி வீதத்தைப் பேணி வருகின்றது. 2007இல் பொருளாதாரம் 6.8% ஆக வளர்ந்து 2008இல் பொருளாதாரம் 6% இற்கு வீழ்ச்சியடைந்தது. சனத்தொகை வளர்ச்சி வீதம் குறைவாக உள்ளபோதும் இது கடந்த மூன்று வருடங்களுக்கு மேலாக தனக்குரிய வருமானத்தை இரட்டிப்பாக்கி உள்ளதுடன் இது 2008இல் 2000 அமெரிக்க டொலர்களிலும் அதிகமாகும்.<sup>3</sup> தொழிலாளர்களின் பங்களிப்பானது ஏறத்தாழ 49.5% ஆக இருப்பதுடன் இதில் 2008 இல் பெண்களின் பங்களிப்பு வீதம் 33.2% ஆக ஆண்களின் வீதத்திற்கு அரைவாசியாக இருந்தது (ஆண்களின் வீதம் 67.8%). இலங்கையில் ஏறத்தாழ 7.6 மில்லியன் மக்கள் தொழில் புரிவதுடன் இவர்களின் 60% ஆணோர் முறை சாரா துறையில் உள்ளனர். தொழில் புரிகின்ற குடித்தொகையின் 33% ஐ

<sup>1</sup> உலக வங்கி (2007) இலங்கை வறுமை மதிப்பீடு: சமத்துவம், வாய்ப்புக்கள் மற்றும் சவால்களுடன் வளர்ச்சியை உருவாக்குதல்

<sup>2</sup> குடித்தொகை மற்றும் புள்ளிவிபரவியல் திணைக்களம்: இலங்கையின் சமூக நிலைமைகள் <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/social/social%20conditions.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.lankabusinessonline.com/fullstory.php?nid=188595356>



விவசாயம் பெறுகின்றது. 2008 இல் வேலையில்லாதோர் 5.4% ஆவர். தேசிய மட்டத்தில் பெண்களின் வேலையில்லாத வீதம் ஆண்களின் வீதத்திலும் இருமடங்கிலும் அதிகமாகும். (முறையே 8.45% மற்றும் 3.7%).<sup>4</sup>

இலங்கையின் பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சியானது நுகர்வு மற்றும் முதலீட்டுக்கான உள்நாட்டுக் கேள்வி, உற்சாகமான ஏற்றுமதி, கணிசமானளவு வெளிநாட்டு வருவாய் உள்வருகை மற்றும் தொலைத்தொடர்பு சேவைகளிலான விருத்தி என்பவற்றால் தூண்டப்பட்டு ஆர்முடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. விவசாயத் துறையானது தேயிலை, இறப்பர் மற்றும் கறுவா, கரம்பு, பழங்கள், காய்கறிகள், வெற்றிலை போன்ற ஏற்றுமதி விவசாயப் பயிர்களினை நல்ல விலைகளைப் பெறச் செய்து பெரிய உந்துசக்தியைத் தந்துள்ளது. 2007ல் வேலை செய்வோரிடமிருந்து பெரும் வெளிவருவாய் 7.2% ஆக இருந்ததுடன், இது 2008இல் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு அதிகரித்ததுடன் 2008 இன் முதல் 8 மாதங்களிலும் வர்த்தகப் பற்றாக்குறைகளின் ஏறத்தாழ அரைவாசிக்கு நிதியுதவி அளிக்கக் கூடியதாக இருந்தது. இந்நிலைமையானது இதனை எழுதும் நேரம் (ஆகஸ்ட் - 2009) பெரிதும் மாற்றமடைந்துள்ளது. உலக தேயிலை மற்றும் இறப்பர் விலைகளில் வீழ்ச்சி ஏற்பட்டுள்ளதுடன் உலக நிதி நெருக்கடியினால் விளைவான ஏற்றுமதி விவசாயத்திலான சவால்களுக்கும் முகம் கொடுத்து வருகின்றது. உலக நிதி நிலைமையானது பெரும்பாலும் வெளிநாட்டு புலம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் வெளிவருவாயிலும் தாக்கத்தை ஏற்படுத்தும்.

இலங்கையில் பண வீக்கமானது அதிகரித்து வந்து 2008 ஜூன் இல் 28.2% ஐ அடைந்தது. பின்னர் வருட முடிவினை நோக்கி வீழ்ச்சியடையத் தொடங்கியது. 2006 ஏப்ரலில் இருந்து ஏறத்தாழ 60% ஆல் பெற்றோல், மற்றும் டீசலின் சில்லறை விலை மற்றும் ஏறத்தாழ 40% இலான மண்ணெண்ணெயின் விலை (பெரும்பாலும் ஏழைகளின் பாவனைக்குரியது) என்பவற்றை அதிகரிக்கச் செய்த மண்ணெண்ணெய் பெற்றோல் மற்றும் டீசலிலான மானியங்களை நீக்கியமையே பணவீக்கத்திற்கு பெரிதும் காரணமானது. இதற்கு மேலதிகமாக உணவு மற்றும் ஏனைய சில நுகர்வுப் பொருட்களுக்கு தொடர்ந்தும் அதிகரித்து வரும் சர்வதேச சந்தைகளும் இறக்குமதி செய்யப்பட்ட நுகர்வுப் பொருட்களில் தாக்கம் செலுத்தியது. இலங்கை நுகர்வோர் விலைச் சுட்டியின் (CPI) கூடையில் ஏறத்தாழ 46% ஐ ஆக்குகின்ற உள்நாட்டு உணவு விலைகள் சர்வதேச போக்குகளுடன் இணைந்ததாக அதிகரித்துள்ளதுடன் CPI இன் மொத்த ஏற்றத்திற்கு காரணமான பிரதான பொருள் இதுவாகும். மத்திய வங்கியின் பணம் சம்பந்தமான கொள்கைகள் 2008 இல் பண வீக்கத்தின் வீழ்ச்சிக்கு இட்டுச் சென்றது.

சமரின்மை மற்றும் பகிர்வு தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகள் இன்னும் இலங்கையின் அரசியலைத் தொந்தரவு செய்கின்றன. 1970 களின் இறுதிப்பகுதியில் மற்றும் 1980 களின் ஆரம்பத்தில் இலங்கையானது பொருளாதாரத்தை

<sup>4</sup> குடித்தொகை மற்றும் புள்ளிவிபரவியல் திணைக்களம் (2009) 2008 ஆம் வருட வேலைப்படையிலான ஆய்வின் வருடாந்த அறிக்கை,

<http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/2008%20annual%20report%20English.pdf>

சுதந்திரமயப்படுத்தியது. மேலும் இச்சுதந்திரமயப்படுத்தல் அதனது முன்னைய தத்தளித்துக் கொண்டிருந்த பொருளாதார நிலையை முன்னேற்ற உதவியது. எனினும் சமமின்மையைக் குறைப்பதற்கு எதுவும் செய்யவில்லை. வருமானம் தொடர்பான சமமின்மையின் தோற்றத்திலிருந்து மாத்திரம் நோக்கும் போது பல்வேறு மட்டங்களிலான சராசரி வருமானம் அதிகரித்தாலும் ஏழைக் குழுக்களையும் விட பணக்காரர்கள் இன்னும் செல்வந்தர்களாக விரைவாக வளர்கின்றனர்.

சில ஆய்வாளர்கள்<sup>5</sup> உட்கட்டமைப்பு, கல்வி மற்றும் தொழில் நிலைகளுக்கான வித்தியாசமான வழிகளுக்கான காரணமாக சமமின்மை மாற்றத்தை காட்டுகின்றனர். மேலும் இனம் மற்றும் இடம் தொடர்பான காரணிகள் உட்பட குடித்தொகை சம்பந்தமான காரணிகள் குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவு பங்குவகிக்கவில்லை எனவும் விவாதிக்கின்றனர்.<sup>6</sup> இலங்கையில் ஒரு அரசியல் பொருளாதார தோற்றத்திலான அபிவிருத்தி எவ்வாறெனினும் கிடையான சமமின்மைகள், (பல்வேறு கலாச்சாரங்களைத் தொடரும் குழுக்களிடையில் பொருளாதார சமூக மற்றும் அரசியல் சமமின்மைகளாக வரைவிலக்கணப்படுத்தப்பட்டவை) வறிய குழுக்களின் அங்கத்தவர்களின் நலனில் எவ்வாறு தாக்கம் செலுத்துகின்றன, பிராந்திய சமமின்மைகளை எவ்வாறு மோசமடையச் செய்கின்றன மற்றும் தீவிரமான மோதலுக்கான சாத்தியங்களை எவ்வாறு அதிகரிக்கின்றன என்பதிலான ஒரு நெருங்கிய சோதனைக்காக வாதிடுகின்றது.

இலங்கையின் பொருளாதாரம் நாட்டின் நிலைமைகளுடன் இணைந்ததாகவே கலந்துரையாடப்பட வேண்டும். கடந்த ஐந்து வருடங்களில் அரசியல் அரங்கு பெரும் மாற்றங்களைக் கண்டுள்ளது. 2002இலான யுத்த நிறுத்த உடன்படிக்கை அரசியல் பேச்சுவார்த்தைகளாலான முரண்பாடொன்றுக்கே இடமளிக்க வேண்டும் எனும் குறிக்கோளைக் கொண்டிருந்தது. ஆனால் ஒரு சமாதான முடிவு உருவாகவில்லை என்பதுடன் 2005 அளவில் வன்முறைகள் மீண்டும் தோற்றமெடுத்ததுடன் இவை இறுதியில் அரசினால் ஒருதலைப்பட்சமாக யுத்த நிறுத்த உடன்படிக்கை இரத்துச் செய்யப்படவும் இட்டுச் சென்றது. எல்லாவற்றிலும் மேலாக உயிர்கள், ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் மற்றும் உட்கட்டமைப்புக்களில் அழிவுகளைத் தந்த ஆயுத யுத்தத்திற்கு இட்டுச் சென்றது. அரசாங்கம் பயங்கரவாதத்தை ஒழிப்பதற்கான இராணுவத் தீர்வு மற்றும் முரண்பாட்டின் இனம் சம்பந்தமான மூலகங்களை விளக்குவதற்கு ஒரு அரசியல் தீர்வு என இரு முனையான அணுகுமுறையை முன்னெடுத்தது. ஒரு சகல கட்சிச் செயற்குழுவானது பலம் பகிர்ந்தளித்தல் மற்றும் ஒரு பேச்சுவார்த்தையினூடான முடிவுக்கு பாதை வகுப்பதற்கு உத்தேசித்துள்ளது. 2007 ஜூலையில் ஏறத்தாழ ஒரு வருட கடுமையான எதிர்ப்பின் பின் பல்லாயிரமான உயிர்கள் இழக்கப்பட்டு

<sup>5</sup> Ramani Gunatilaka and Duangkamon Chotikapanich (2005), Inequality trends and determinants in Sri Lanka 1980-2002: A Shapley approach to Decomposition, Monash University, Melbourne

<sup>6</sup> இது தன்கொம் அருண் மற்றும் வான் போரூவ் (2004) இலங்கையின் ஈட்டல்கள் சமமின்மை IDPM செயற்பாட்டுக் கட்டுரைத் தொடர் இல. 10. மன்செஸ்டர் பல்கலைக்கழகம் இனது புள்ளிவிபரவியல் ஆய்வுகளிலும் வெளிக்கொணரப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இன்னும் சிலர் தம்மிடங்களை விட்டும் வெளியேற்றப்பட்டதன் பின்னர் அரசாங்கம் அதன் ஆதிக்கத்தை கிழக்கு மாகாணத்தில் நிலைநாட்டியுள்ளது. கிழக்கு மாகாண சபைக்கான தேர்தல்கள் நடந்தாலும் மக்களின் மற்றும் பொருட்களின் இயக்கத்திற்கு பாதுகாப்புத் தொடர்பான தடைகள் மற்றும் வேறுபட்ட ஆயுதமேந்திய குழுக்களிடையே தொடரும் வன்முறைகள் என்பன பொது மக்களின் வாழ்க்கை இன்னும் வழமைக்குத் திரும்பவில்லை என்பதைக் காட்டுகின்றன.

இதனை எழுதும் நேரம் (ஆகஸ்ட் 2009) தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகள் இராணுவ முறையில் தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்டு அதன் தலைவர் வேலுப்பிள்ளை பிரபாகரன் கொல்லப்பட்டு நாடு பயங்கரவாதத்திற்கு எதிரான வெற்றியின் சுபீட்ச மனநிலையிலிருந்து சமாதானத்தை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ள முன்னிற்கின்றனர். யுத்தத்தின் பின்னான தேர்தல்கள் யாழ்ப்பாண மாநகர சபை மற்றும் வவுனியா நகர சபைகளில் நடந்துள்ளன. எனினும் உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களின் பெரும்பாலானோர் இன்னும் மீள் குடியமர்த்தப்படவில்லை என்பதுடன் மோதலின் பின்னான நிலைமைகள் சிக்கலானவை மற்றும் நிச்சயமற்றவை. மேலும் வன்முறை மற்றும் பிராந்திய, கிடையான சமமின்மை நிலைமைகள் என்பவற்றின் வீழ்ச்சிக்கு இட்டுச் செல்லும் வழிகளுக்கான தேவைகளுள்ளன.

அடுத்த சில வருடங்களில் இலங்கையின் பொருளாதார சமூக மற்றும் அரசியல் சூழல் நிச்சயமற்றதாக இருக்கும் என்பதை இனங்கண்டு கொள்ளுதல் முக்கியமாகும். சர்வதேச நாணய நிதியத்தினால் வழங்கப்பட்ட 3.9 மில்லியன் கடனுதவி மற்றும் சமாதானத்தின் பிறப்பு என்பவற்றால் ஒரு பொருளாதார வீழ்ச்சி தவிர்ந்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ளது. சந்தைத் தொடர்புகள் மற்றும் தொழிலாளர் வெளிவருவாயில் உலக நிதி நெருக்கடியின் தாக்கம் நிச்சயமற்றதாகும். இது இலங்கையின் உற்பத்தித் திறனுடைய வளங்களை இன்னும் கூடிய நிலைபேரடையக்கூடிய விதத்தில் மீள் ஒழுங்குபடுத்துவதற்கான தற்போதைய பெரிய அளவிலான ஆய்வுக்கு ஒரு வாய்ப்பாகவும் இருக்கலாம். யுத்தத்திற்கு பின்னான ஒரு பொருளாதார நிலை மற்றும் நாட்டில் விசேடமாக வடக்கு கிழக்கு சமாதானம், சமூக, பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் கூறுகளில் எவ்வாறு தாக்கம் செலுத்தும் என்பவை ஏனைய நிச்சயமற்ற நிலைமைகளாகும்.

## விவசாயம், கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரம் மற்றும் வறுமை

இலங்கையின் விவசாயத் துறையானது அரிசி மற்றும் தேயிலை, இறப்பர் இன்னும் தென்னை போன்ற பெருந்தோட்டப் பயிர்களின் உற்பத்தியால் ஆட்சி செய்யப்படுகின்றது. விவசாயப் பொருட்கள் பிரதானமாக பெருந்தோட்டப் பயிர்கள் நாட்டின் ஏற்றுமதி வருமானத்தில் ஏறத்தாழ 20% இற்கு பங்களிப்புச் செய்கின்றன. நாட்டின் GDP இல் விவசாயத் துறையின் பங்கு 2007 இல் 11.8% ஆக இருந்தது. இது முன்னையவருடத்தின் 12.3% இலிருந்து வீழ்ச்சியடைந்துள்ளதாகும்.

கடந்த பத்து வருடங்களில் இத்துறையானது கொக்கோ, மரமுந்திரிகை, வெற்றிலை, மிளகு, கறுவா, கரம்பு, பாக்கு, மற்றும் கோப்பி போன்ற

ஏனைய பெருந்தோட்டத்துறை அல்லாத பயிர்களுக்கும் படிப்படியாக பல்வகைமையடைந்துள்ளது. இவை இப்போது விவசாய GDP இல் கிட்டத்தட்ட மூன்றில் இரண்டு பங்கை வகிக்கின்றன. விலங்கு வேளாண்மை (மந்தை, எருமை, ஆடு, பன்றி, செம்மறியாடு மற்றும் கோழி, வாத்து போன்ற பறவைகள் உள்ளடக்கிய) மொத்த GDP இல் 1.2% ஐயும் விவசாய GDP இல் 5.6% ஐயும் பெறுகின்றதுடன் 2005இன் உள்நாட்டு பால் தேவைகளின் 20% ஐ வழங்கியுள்ளது.

2007 இல் இறப்பர் மற்றும் விலங்கு வேளாண்மைத் துறையின் அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் 2004 டிசம்பர் சுனாமியைத் தொடர்ந்து பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மீன்பிடித்துறை மறுசீரமைக்கப்பட்டதன் விளைவாக விவசாயம் 3.3% இனால் வளர்ந்தது. இவ்வருடத்தில் மீன் பிடித்துறை முன்னெப்பொழுதும் இல்லாத அதன் உயர் உற்பத்தியை பதிவு செய்தமையானது ஏறத்தாழ 80% ஆலான மீன்பிடிக்கலங்களை அழித்த 2004 சுனாமியிலிருந்து குறைந்தது மோதல்களில்லாத பிரதேசங்களிலேனும் மீன்பிடித் துறையானது முழுதாக மறுசீரமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது என்பதைக் காட்டுகிறது. இருந்தாலும் உள்நாட்டு விவசாய உற்பத்தியின் பிரதான கூறான நெற்செய்கையின் விளைவு குறைந்துள்ளது. கிழக்கு மாகாணத்தில் நிகழும் உறுதியற்ற பாதுகாப்பு சூழ்நிலைகளால் விவசாயிகள் இடம்பெயர்தல் மற்றும் காலநிலை மாற்றங்கள் என்பன பிரதான காரணங்களாக கருதப்படுகின்றன (உலக வங்கி 2007).

ஆய்வாளர்கள் இலங்கையின் பொருளாதாரத்திலான வளர்ச்சியானது பெருமளவில் விவசாயத் துறையை புறக்கணித்து, தேசிய வருமானத்தில் அதன் பங்களிப்பையும், தொழில் வாய்ப்பில் அதன் பங்களிப்பையும் குறைத்துள்ளது. அதே நேரம் விவசாயத் துறையிலிருந்து வெளியே தொழிலாளர் படையிலான அமைப்பு மாற்றங்களுக்கான எந்தச் சான்றுகளும் காணப்படுவதற்கில்லை. 2002இல் மொத்த தொழிலாளர் படையில் மூன்றில் ஒரு பகுதிக்கும் மேலானவர்களை விவசாயத்துறை வேலைக்கமர்த்தியது (கிராமப் புறங்களில் இது மிக அதிகம்). இன்னும் உண்மையில் 1991 உடன் ஒப்பிடும் போது வேலையிலீடுபடுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள மக்களின் எண்ணிக்கையில் ஒரு புதிய அதிகாரிப்பையும் பதிவு செய்துள்ளது. இவ்வாய்வின் அடிப்படையில் இலங்கை குடித்தொகையின் பெரியதொரு பகுதி ஜீவனோபாயத்திற்கு விவசாயத்தில் தங்கியுள்ளவர்களாக காணப்படுவதுடன் கிராமிய தோட்டப்புற வறுமை நிலைப்பதற்கு விவசாயத்துறையிலிருந்தான வருமானம் மந்தமான நிலைமையிலுள்ளமை ஒரு முக்கிய பங்களிப்பு செய்யும் காரணியாகும் (நாராயன் மற்றும் யோசிதா 2005).

என்றாலும் உற்பத்தித் தரவுகளின் அடிப்படையிலான ஒரு மாற்று நோக்கானது விவசாய உற்பத்தி மந்தமான நிலைக்கு மிகத் தூரமெனவும் இப் பெரிய உற்பத்தி உற்பத்தியாளர்களுக்குரிய பெறுமதியை உருவாக்க முடியாமலிருப்பதே பிரச்சினையின் உண்மையான காரணம் எனவும் யோசனை தெரிவிக்கிறது.

கிராமிய ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் மற்றும் விவசாயம் பற்றிய கலந்துரையாடலில் புறக்கணிக்கப்பட முடியாத மாற்றுமொரு விடயம் காலநிலை மாற்றமாகும். செறிவான இரசாயனப் பதார்த்தங்களின் பாவனை அடிப்படையிலான விவசாயம்

காலநிலை மாற்றத்திற்கு குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவு பங்களிப்புச் செய்ய முடியும். இதே நேரம் மாற்றமடைந்த காலநிலையால் தூண்டப்பட்ட மழைவீழ்ச்சி கூடுதல் மற்றும் குறைதல் இன்னும் கூடுதலான மழைவீழ்ச்சி அல்லது வரட்சி பயிர்களின் (விசேடமாக மழைவீழ்ச்சியில் தங்கியுள்ள நெற்செய்கை) விளைச்சல் மற்றும் தரத்தின் இழப்புக்கு இட்டுச்செல்ல அது கிராமியக் குடும்பங்களின் வருமானம் மற்றும் உணவுப் பாதுகாப்பினைப் பாதிக்கின்றது.

கிராமிய ஜீவனோபாயங்களைக் கருத்திற் கொண்டு விவசாயத் துறையில் மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் ஆய்வுகள் அர்த்தமுள்ளதாக அமைவதற்கு பயிர் உற்பத்தி மற்றும் விலங்கு வேளாண்மை, மீன் பிடி மற்றும் காட்டுத் தொழில் என விவசாய வரைவிலக்கணத்திலிருந்தும் அப்பால் சென்று கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தின் ஏனைய செயற்பாடுகளையும் கவனத்தில் கொள்ள வேண்டும். உணவு பதனிடல் அல்லது விவசாய வர்த்தகம் போன்ற பெறுமதி கூட்டல் செயற்பாடுகள் கூடுதலாக கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றது. மேலும் இது விவசாயத்துடன் இணைந்ததாகவும் கைத்தொழில் வெளியீட்டுப் பெறுமதியில் பிரதானமாக பங்களிப்புச் செய்வதுமாகும்.

## நாட்டின் வறுமை நிலை

புள்ளிவிபரவியல் மற்றும் அனுபவரீதியான தரவுகள் 1977 இலிருந்து மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட சந்தை சீர்திருத்தங்கள் எதனையும் நன்றாக பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்ள முடியாது அல்லது அமுல்படுத்தப்பட்டு வருகின்ற பல்வேறுபட்ட அபிவிருத்தி நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்களிலிருந்து நன்மைகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ள முடியாது இன்னும் வறுமையிலேயே வாழ்கின்ற மக்கள் குழுக்களைச் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றது. இவ்வறிய மக்கள் இவர்களது இடம் மற்றும் ஜீவனோபாய செயற்பாடுகளைக் கொண்டு அடையாளம் காணப்படலாம் என்பதுடன் விவசாயத் துறையிலான சீர்திருத்தங்களும் மாற்றங்களும் இவர்களையும் இலக்காகக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

2002 இன் குடும்ப வருமானம் மற்றும் செலவு ஆய்விலிருந்தான தரவுகளின் அடிப்படையில் 2002 இல் இலங்கை உத்தியோகபூர்வ வறுமைக் கோடு (OPL) ஒன்றினை நிறுவியதுடன் இதற்கு குடும்பங்களின் உணவு மற்றும் உணவல்லாத நுகர்வு, செலவுகளை காலத்தினூடு ஒப்பிடக்கூடியதாக ஒரு குறித்த நலன்பரி மட்டத்தையும் நிச்சயித்துள்ளது. இது நுகர்வு வறுமையை அளப்பதுடன் இதன் பெறுமானத்தை தீர்மானிப்பதற்காக அடிப்படைத் தேவைகளின் செலவு எனும் அணுகுமுறையைப் பயன்படுத்துகின்றது.<sup>7</sup> 2002 இல் உத்தியோகபூர்வ வறுமைக் கோடு ஒரு மாதத்திற்கு ஒரு மனிதனுக்கு உண்மையான மொத்த செலவு ரூ. 1423 ஆகும். 2006-2007 இல் இது ஒரு மாதத்திற்கு ஒரு மனிதனுக்கு உண்மையான மொத்த செலவு ரூ. 2233 எனக் கணக்கிடப்பட்டது.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/poverty/PovertyIndicators.pdf>

இத்தரவுகளின் அடிப்படையில் 2006-2007 குடும்ப வருமான மற்றும் செலவு ஆய்வானது தேசிய தலைக்கணிப்பு சார் வறுமைக் குறிகாட்டி 15.2% எனக் கணிப்பிட்டது. இது 2002 இன் தேசிய தலைக் கணிப்பு சார் வறுமை குறிகாட்டி 22.7% இலும் குறைவாகும். தரவுகள் மேலும் 2002 இலிருந்து நகர்ப்புற மற்றும் கிராமப்பற வறுமை குறைந்துள்ளதாகவும் அதே நேரம் தோட்டத்துறையில் வறுமை அதிகரித்துள்ளதெனவும் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றது. இருந்தாலும் வெவ்வேறு மாகாணங்கள் மற்றும் மாவட்டங்களில் வறுமைத் தலைக் கணிப்பு சார் குறிகாட்டி சீரற்றதாக இருப்பதுடன் சில மாவட்டங்களில் 2002 இலிருந்து பெரியளவு வீழ்ச்சியைக் காட்டுகின்ற அதே வேளை வறுமையிலான வீழ்ச்சியானது மிகக் குறைந்ததாக உள்ள கிராமங்களும் உள்ளன.<sup>8</sup>

வறுமை தலைக் கணிப்பு சார் குறிகாட்டி புள்ளிவிபரவியலால் வறியோர் வாழும் இடங்களை அறிய முடியுமெனினும் இப்பிரதேசங்களில் வறியோர் என்ன செய்கின்றனர் என்பதை அடையாளம் காண்பதற்கு அவர்களின் தொழிற் செயற்பாடுகளை நோக்க வேண்டியதும் அவசியமாகும். முழுமையான நோக்கில் வறியோர் விவசாயம் சாராத கூலி வேலைகள், விவசாயக் கூலிகள் மற்றும் சிறியளவு விவசாயத்திலிருந்தான வருவாயில் அதிக நம்பிக்கை கொண்டுள்ளனர்.<sup>9</sup> வறிய மக்கள் தம் குடும்ப வருமானம் மற்றும் ஜீவனோபாயத் தெரிவுகளை அதிகரிக்கும் ஒரு வழியாக புலம்பெயர்வினை பயன்படுத்த விளைகின்றனர்.

## கொள்கை உத்தி மற்றும் நிறுவன அமைப்பு

### மகிந்த சிந்தனையும் விவசாயக் கொள்கையும்

இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்தின் (GOSL) கொள்கைத் திட்ட அமைப்பானது மகிந்த சிந்தனையினால் செயற்படுத்தப்படுகின்ற இலங்கையை நோக்கிய பார்வை 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டமான மகிந்த சிந்தனையின் அடிப்படையில் அமைந்ததாகும். இலங்கையில் அரசு மற்றும் உதவி வழங்கும் சமுதாயங்கள் அனைத்துக்கும் மகிந்த சிந்தனையின் 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டவமைப்பே அடிப்படையாகும். இது பல உதவி வழங்குநர்களின்னை வளவவாளர்களாகக் கொண்டு அரசு சிரேஷ்ட அதிகாரிகள் ஆலோசனைகளினூடு நிதி மற்றும் திட்டமிடல் அமைச்சினால் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டதாகும். இது 2015ஆம் வருடத்தில் வறுமைத் தலைக் கணிப்பு சார் குறிகாட்டியை 12 % இற்கு குறைக்கவும் இது செயற்படும் காலப்பகுதியில் (2006 இலிருந்து 2016 வரை) வளர்ச்சியை 8% இற்கு உயர்த்தவுமான குறிக்கோளைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. 2006 இல் இதன் முறைப்படுத்தலைத் தூண்டிய சில கருதுகோள்கள் உலகளாவிய மற்றும் உள்நாட்டு சூழ்நிலைகளின் மாற்றத்திற்கு ஏற்ப புனராலோசனை செயற்பட வேண்டும் என்றாலும் இலங்கையில் இக்கொள்கைத் திட்டவமைப்பு ஏகமனதாக ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ளது.

<sup>8</sup> இன்னும் விபரமான கலந்துரையாடல்களிற்கு 2 ஆம் அத்தியாயத்தைப் பார்க்கவும்

<sup>9</sup> 2 ஆம் அத்தியாயத்தைப் பார்க்கவும்

இத்திட்டமானது இலங்கையின் பொருளாதாரம் தனியார் துறை மற்றும் அரசு துறையின் ஈடுபாட்டுடன் ஒரு முற்சிந்தனையுடனான, பங்களிப்புடனான ஒரு செயல் முறையினூடாக கட்டியெழுப்பப்பட வேண்டும் என்பதை வலியுறுத்துகின்றது. உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளை வழங்குவதற்கு போட்டி நிலையை முன்னேற்றி பின்தங்கிய பிரதேசங்களின் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்க்கும் பொருட்டு பிரதேசங்களிடையே சமமான விதத்தில் வளர்ச்சி வீதத்தைக் கூட்டுவதற்கு, பொது மக்களுக்கான சேவைகள் மற்றும் வளங்களை முன்னேற்றுவதற்கு, தனியார் துறையின் முதலீடுகளுக்கு உதவுவதற்கு மற்றும் வடக்கு கிழக்கின் அபிவிருத்தி விடயங்களை முன்வைப்பதற்கு அரசாங்கம் கடமைப்பட்டுள்ளது.

இத்திட்டத்தில் விவசாயத்திற்கான நோக்கமானது நுகர்வுக்கான நுகர்வுப் பொருட்களின் வினைத்திறனான உற்பத்தியினூடாக பிரதேசங்களிடையில் சமனான வளர்ச்சி, கிராமிய ஜீவனோபாய முன்னேற்றம் மற்றும் உணவுப் பாதுகாப்பு, விவசாயம் சார் கைத்தொழில்கள் மற்றும் உலகச் சந்தைக்கு போட்டியான விதத்தில் ஏற்றுமதி என்பவற்றிற்கு பங்களிப்புச் செய்வதாகும்.<sup>10</sup> இக்கொள்கைத் தாக்கமானது வாழ்வதற்கு அத்தியவசியமானதாக மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் விவசாயத்தினை பின்வருவனவற்றினூடு வர்த்தக மையப்படுத்தப்பட்ட உயர் வினைத்திறனான துறையாக நிலை மாற்றுவதற்கு வேண்டுவதாகும்.

- உயிர் வாழ்வதற்கு தேவையான விதத்திலான வினைத்திறன் குறைந்த விவசாயத்தை விவசாயம் சார் கைத்தொழில் உட்பட உயர் வினைத்திறனான முன்னேற்றமடைந்த விவசாயத்திற்கு நிலை மாற்றுதல்.
- பெருந்தோட்டத்துறை உட்பட ஏற்றுமதி அடிப்படையிலான விவசாயத்துறையின் உற்பத்தித் திறன், உற்பத்தி மற்றும் போட்டியைக் கூட்டுதல்.
- தொழிலுக்கான திரும்புதல் மற்றும் கிராமிய வறுமைக் குறைப்பிற்கு நேரடியாக பங்களிக்கக் கூடிய விவசாயத் துறையின் ஏனைய உற்பத்திக் காரணிகளைக் கூட்டுதல்.
- விவசாய உற்பத்தித் திறனின் வினைத்திறனை இயந்திரமயமாக்கல் மற்றும் தொழில் நுட்ப நிலை மாற்றத்திற்கு உயர்த்துதல். இது விவசாயத்தில ஈடுபட்டுள்ள தொழிலாளர்களை அதிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றி ஒரு முன்னேற்றமடைந்த ஜீவனோபாய உத்தியாக பயிர்நிலத்திற்கு வெளியேயான தொழில்களில் ஈடுபடுத்தப்படலாம்.
- சந்தை நுட்பங்களை விருத்தி செய்தல் மற்றும் சாதகமான வர்த்தக விதிகளை விருத்தி செய்தல்<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> தேசியத் திட்டமிடல் திணைக்களம் (2006) மகிந்த சிந்தனை: ஒரு புதிய இலங்கைக்கான நோக்கு, 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் தட்டவமைப்பு, பக்கம் 3

<sup>11</sup> தேசியத் திட்டமிடல் திணைக்களம் (2006) மகிந்த சிந்தனை: ஒரு புதிய இலங்கைக்கான நோக்கு, 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் தட்டவமைப்பு, பக்கம் 13

மகிந்த சிந்தனையின் 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டமானது விவசாயத்தை வறுமை மற்றும் சமயின்மையைக் குறைக்க கூடிய ஒரு துறையாக நோக்குகிறது. இது பிரதேச நியாய அடிப்படையில்<sup>12</sup> விவசாயத்திற்கு நிதி ஒதுக்கீடு செய்யக் கேட்டுக் கொள்வதுடன் தற்போது நிலவும் விவசாய செயற்பாடு அடிப்படையிலான ஒதுக்கீடுகளுக்கான மாற்றத்தைப் பிரேரிக்கின்றது. இது (இலங்கையின் மிகவும் வறிய இரு பிரதேசங்களான) ஊவா மற்றும் சப்ரகமுவ மற்றும் பெருந்தோட்டத் துறையிலான முதலீடுகளைக் கூட்டுமாறும் இதனால் விவசாயத் தொழிற்பாடுகளுக்கு ஊக்கமளிக்கப்பட்டு வறுமை ஒழிக்கப்படலாம் எனவும் யோசனை தெரிவிக்கின்றது. விவசாய அமைப்பின் விவசாய கொள்கை 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தின் நோக்கத்தினை நிலைபேறான விவசாயச் செயன்முறைகளை விருத்தி செய்வதனை நோக்கிய அர்ப்பணிப்புடன் நிறைவு செய்கிறது.

### நிறுவன அமைப்பு

விவசாயத்துடன் தொடர்பான பொது மற்றும் தனியார் துறையின் பல நிறுவனங்கள் உள்ளன. அரசு மட்டத்தில் விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் விவசாயத் சேவைகள் அமைச்சு விவசாயம் தொடர்பான செயற்பாடுகளில் முழுப் பொறுப்பையும் கொண்டுள்ள அதே நேரம் இன்னும் பல அமைச்சுக்களும் விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி சார்ந்த பொறுப்புக்கள் வழங்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் விவசாய சேவைகள் அமைச்சின் கீழான விவசாயத் திணைக்களம் (DOA) பல்வேறு மாகாணங்களுக்கு சேவைகளை வழங்குவதற்கான உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. இங்கு ஆராய்ச்சிகள் மற்றும் விரிவாக்கல், விவசாய வர்த்தக ஒத்துழைப்பு, விதை மற்றும் தாவர இனப்பெருக்கப் பகுதி உற்பத்தி, தாவர தொற்று நோய்கள் பரவலைத் தடுப்பதற்கான சேவைகள், மண் பாதுகாப்பு, கிருமிநாசினிகள் பதிவு செய்யப்படல் போன்ற சட்ட ஒழுங்கமைப்பு சேவைகள் எனும் பொறுப்புக்களை ஏற்கின்றன. இச்சொயற்பாடுகள் பல தொழில் நுட்ப சட்ட நிறுவனங்களால் ஒத்துழைக்கப்படுகின்றன.

விலங்கு வேளாண்மைத் துறையின் பிரதான பொறுப்பு விலங்கு வேளாண்மை அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சிடம் உள்ளதுடன் பெருந்தோட்டக் கைத்தொழிலில் உற்பத்தித் திறன், இலாபம் மற்றும் நிலைபேற்றுத் தன்மையை உயர்த்துவதற்காக பெருந்தோட்டக் கைத்தொழில் அமைச்சு அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

தனியார் துறையில் தேசிய விவசாய வர்த்தக சபையானது (NAC) பல விவசாய வர்த்தகம் தொடர்பான நிறுவனங்களை ஒரு குடையின் கீழ் கொண்டுள்ள ஒரு அமைப்பாகும். NAC இன் பிரதான குறிக்கோளானது இலங்கையில் ஒரு உயிர்ப்பான மற்றும் இலாபகரமான விவசாயத் துறைக்கான ஒரு குழுவை உருவாக்குவதாகும். தனியார் துறை உணவுச் சில்லரை நிலையங்கள் (உதாரணமாக : காகில்ஸ், கீல்ஸ்) போன்றன உற்பத்திகளுக்கு உடனடியாகக் கிடைக்கக் கூடிய சந்தைகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளும் வண்ணம் நாட்டின் பல்வேறு பாகங்களிலுள்ள விவசாயிகளுடன் உற்பத்திக் கொள்வனவு இணைப்புக்களை

<sup>12</sup> Ibid பக்கம் 14



உருவாக்குகின்றன. கிராம உற்பத்தியாளர்களுக்கு சேவைகளை வழங்கும் CIC, ஹேய்கெம் போன்ற சேவைகள் வழங்கும் கம்பனிகளும் உள்ளன. ஆனால் இவை இரசாயன உள்ளீட்டுப் பொருட்களை சந்தைப்படுத்துவாராவர். உற்பத்தியாளர்களின் விருப்பத்தை பிரதிநிதித்துவப்படுத்துகின்ற, உதாரணமாக தேயிலை சிறு உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் சங்கம் போன்ற சுதந்திரமான சங்கங்களும் உள்ளன.

நாட்டின் கிராமிய நிதிச் சேவைகள் மத்திய வங்கியால் ஒழுங்கமைக்கப்படுகின்ற வர்த்தக வங்கிகள், பிராந்திய அபிவிருத்தி வங்கிகள் மற்றும் சேமிப்பு மற்றும் அபிவிருத்தி வங்கிகளினூடாக, கூட்டுறவுத் திணைக்களத்தால் நடாத்தப்படுகின்ற கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்களினூடாக மற்றும் சமூகங்களின் சட்டம், தொண்டர் சமூக சேவைகள் ஒழுங்கமைப்புச் சட்டம் அல்லது இலங்கையில் சமூகத்தி அதிகார சபை என்பவற்றால் நடாத்தப்படுகின்ற ஏனைய முறையான நிறுவனங்களினூடாக வழங்கப்படுகின்றன. இலங்கையில் நுண் நிதித் துறையானது இன்னும் சிறிய அளவிலேயே உள்ளது. அரசு சார்பற்ற அமைப்புக்களின் நுண் நிதி நிறுவனங்கள் இலாபகரமாக இயங்கினாலும் நீண்ட காலம் நிலைத்திருப்பதில்லை. நுண் நிதித் துறையில் உள்ள செலவு மற்றும் ஆபத்துக்கள் காரணமாக பெரும்பாலானோர் இத்துறையில் நுழைய விரும்பாவிடினும் வர்த்தக வங்கி களும் இத்துறையில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளது.

நுண் காப்புறுதியானது நுண் கடனிலும் மிகவும் குறைவாக விருத்தியடைந்துள்ள ஒரு நிதிச் சேவையாகும். இலங்கையில் காப்புறுதிச் சந்தையானது மிகவும் விருத்தி குன்றிய நிலையிலேயே உள்ளது. எனினும் வறுமையை ஒழிப்பதற்கான ஒரு கருவியாக நுண் காப்புறுதியின் முக்கியத்துவத்தை ஏற்றுக் கொள்ளும் போக்கு அதிகரித்து வருகின்றது.

இலங்கை, கிராம அடிப்படையிலான சங்கங்கள் மற்றும் அமைப்புக்கள் தொடர்பான ஒரு நீண்ட பாரம்பரியத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. இவ்வமைப்புக்களின் தோற்றங்கள் வேறுபடுகின்றன. இவற்றில் மக்கள் மனமுவந்து உருவாக்கிய அமைப்புக்கள், கூட்டுறவு அமைப்பினால் உருவாக்கப்பட்ட அரசு ஆதரவு அமைப்புக்களை அடைந்து கொள்வதற்காக உருவாக்கிய அமைப்புக்கள், நன்கொடைச் செயற்திட்டங்கள் மற்றும் நிதியுதவிகளால் தூண்டப்பட்ட அமைப்புக்கள், அரசு சார்பற்ற அமைப்புக்களால் தோற்றுவிக்கப்பட்ட ஒழுங்கமைப்புக்கள் மற்றும் மிக அண்மைக் காலத்தில் தனியார் கம்பனிகளால் உருவாக்கப்பட்ட அமைப்புக்கள் என்பவை உள்ளடங்குகின்றன.

## கிராம வறுமையை விளக்குவதற்கான திட்டவமைப்பு

இப்புத்தகத்தின் ஏனைய அத்தியாயங்களை மற்றும் அவற்றிலிருந்து உருவாகின்ற பிரதானமான விடயங்களை (இறுதி அத்தியாயத்தில் இணைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன) ஆக்குகின்ற பின்னணிக் கட்டுரைகளை எழுதுவதற்கான திட்டவமைப்பானது ஆய்வாளர்கள், நிபுணர்களின் கருத்துக்களிலான மற்றும் பங்குதாரர்களிலிருந்தான உள்ளீடுகளுடன் இணைந்ததாக விருத்தியாக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு பகுத்து ஆராயப்பட்ட திட்டவமைப்பிலிருந்து பெறப்பட்டது. இது உற்பத்தித்

திறனுடைய வழியேர் மற்றும் விவசாயத் துறையிலான தலையீடுகளை நோக்கிய IFAD இன் நோக்கத்தினால் தருவிக்கப்பட்டதாகும். மேலும் இது குடித்தொகை புள்ளிவிபரவியல் திணைக்களத்தின் துணைத் தரவுகளிலிருந்து ஏழைகள் என்போர் யார், அவர்கள் எங்கு வாழ்கின்றனர் மற்றும் அவர்கள் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள வித்தியாசமான ஜீவனோபாய செயற்பாடுகள் என்பன பற்றிய சந்தர்ப்பங்களிலான தகவல்களையும் கருத்தில் கொள்கின்றது. இத்திட்டவமைப்பு மகிந்த சிந்தனையின் நோக்கத்தினுள் தெளிவாக அமைந்துள்ளது.

இது வறுமைக்குக் கூடுதலாக உள்ளாகக் கூடிய பிரதேசங்களுள் அமைந்துள்ள புவியியற் பிரதேசங்களிலும் சிறு சிறு பகுதிகளிலுமான தலையீடுகளை இலக்காகக் கொண்டு வாதாடுகின்றது. இது முன்னுரிமை வழங்கப்பட வேண்டிய இவ்விடங்களை அடையாளம் காண்பதற்காக நுகர்வு வறுமை மற்றும் விவசாயத்திலான குடித்தொகையின் சதவீதம் எனும் இரு பிரமாணங்களை பயன்படுத்துகிறது. மிக மிக வறிய நிலையிலுள்ள மாவட்டங்கள் பின்வரும் மூன்று மாகாணங்களில் செறிவடைந்துள்ளன. அவையாவன, ஊவா (மொனராகலை, பதுளை மாவட்டங்கள்), சப்ரகமுவ (இரத்தினபுரி மற்றும் கேகாலை மாவட்டங்கள்), மற்றும் மத்திய (நுவரெலியா, மாத்தளை மற்றும் கண்டி) மாகாணங்களாகும்.

**அட்டவணை 1: தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்ட மாவட்டங்களில் வறுமை தலை கணிப்பு சார் கட்டியின் போக்கு**

மாவட்டம்	1990/91	1995/96	2002	2006
நுவரெலியா	20	32	23	34
மொனராகலை	34	56	37	33
இரத்தினபுரி	31	46	34	27
பதுளை	31	41	37	24
கேகாலை	31	36	32	21
மாத்தளை	29	42	30	19
கண்டி	36	37	25	17

தொழில் செய்யும் குடித்தொகையின் பரம்பலானது வறிய நிலையிலுள்ள மக்களை கூடுதலாக கொண்டுள்ள நுவரெலியா, பதுளை மற்றும் மொனராகலை மாவட்டங்களில் அதிகமான குடித்தொகை விவசாயத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள உண்மையை வெளிக்காட்டுகின்றது. எனவே இவ்வணுகுமுறையானது தலையீடுகள் நுவரெலியா, பதுளை, மொனராகலை, இரத்தினபுரி மற்றும் கேகாலை மாவட்டங்களை முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தப்பட்டு மேற்கொள்ளப்பட வேண்டும் என வாதிக்கிறது.

மிகவும் வறிய நிலையிலுள்ள மாவட்டங்களைக் கொண்டுள்ள மத்திய, ஊவா மற்றும் சப்ரகமுவ மாகாணங்களின் பெரும்பாலான ஏழைகளின் விவசாய ஜீவனோபாயச் செயற்பாடுகள் தேயிலைச் சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கை மற்றும் காய்கறிகள், தானிய விதைகள், பழங்கள், வாசனைத் திரவியங்கள், நெல்

மற்றும் பாற்பண்ணையிலான சிறியளவு விவசாயத்தை உள்ளடக்குகின்றன. இவர்களுள் பெரும்பாலானோர் வாழ்க்கை தேவைகளிற்காக மாத்திரம் வேண்டிய விவசாயத்தையே மேற்கொள்கின்றனர். இச்சிறியளவு விவசாயிகள், விலங்கு வேளாண்மை உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் மற்றும் கிராம கூலி வேலையாட்களில் கவனம் செலுத்துவதை வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம் பிரேரிக்கின்றது.

ஏழைகள் யார் அவர்கள் எங்கு வாழ்கின்றனர் மற்றும் அவர்களது ஜீவனோபாய செயற்பாடுகளை இனங்காண்பதுடன் ஆரம்பிக்கின்ற ஒரு அணுகுமுறையானது ஒரு துறையில் அல்லது பயிரின் விருத்திக்கான அணுகுமுறையிலிருந்து வித்தியாசமாக இருக்கக் கூடுமென்பதை வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம் இனங்காண்கிறது. மத்திய நிறுவனங்களிலுள்ள பங்குதாரர்கள் விவசாயம் மற்றும் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தின் விருத்திக்காக ஒரு பெரிய அணுகுமுறையை எடுக்க விளைகின்றனர். பிரச்சினைகளுடன் மிக நெருங்கியவர்களாலான மாகாண சபை அதிகாரிகளிடையில் வறுமை மையப்படுத்திய அணுகுமுறைக்கே சிறந்த இடம் கிடைத்துள்ளது.

திட்டவமைப்பானது தன்னினைவுடனேயே வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களிலான வறுமை மற்றும் மீள் பிடித் துறையைப் பற்றி கருதுவதை நீக்கிக்கொண்டது. இதனை எழுதும் நேரம் வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கிலான மோதல் இப்பிரதேசங்களில் செயற்படுகின்ற IFAD (மோதல் நிலைமைகளில் செயற்பட்ட அனுபவமற்ற மற்றும் இலங்கையில் மட்டுப்பட்ட அளவில் உள்ள) போன்ற ஒழுங்கமைப்புக்களின் ஈடுபாட்டையும் தடுத்துள்ளது. வறுமை மற்றும் இழப்புக்களுக்கான சூழ்நிலையொன்று காணப்பட்டது எனக் கருதக் கூடியதாக இருப்பினும் இம்மாகாணங்களிலிருந்து மிகவும் சிறியளவு புள்ளிவிபரவியல் தரவுகளே காணப்படுகின்றன. சுனாமியின் பின்னர் வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கிற்கு வெளியான மீள்பிடிச் சமுதாயங்கள் வறுமை எனும் காரணத்தைக் கொண்டு குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு நன்மைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொண்டதாகக் கருதப்படுவதால் மீள் பிடிச் சமுதாயம் முன்னுரிமை பெறவில்லை. ஆனால் வன்முறை தொடர்ந்தும் உள்ள பிரதேசங்களில் வாழும் மீள்பிடிச் குடும்பங்கள் மிகவும் வறிய நிலையில் உள்ளன. புத்தத்தின் பின்னான அமைப்பில் வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கில் தலையிடுவதற்கான வாய்ப்புக்கள் உள்ளன. மேலும் இவ்விரு மாகாணங்களிலுமான மேலதிக ஆய்வொன்று மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டு வருகின்றதுடன் தனியாக பின்னர் பிரசுரிக்கப்படும்.

கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரம் மற்றும் கிராமியச் சந்தைகளிலான அத்தியாயங்கள் இவ்வணுகுமுறையிலான விவாதங்களை வழங்குவதுடன் கருத்துக்களை விரிவாக ஆராய்கின்றது. குழலும் காலநிலை மாற்றங்களிலுமான அத்தியாயம் சிறியளவு விவசாயிகளிற்கு காலநிலை மாற்றத்தினாலான ஆபத்துக்களை பரந்த விதத்தில் முன்வைக்கின்றது. மேலும் கிராமிய நிறுவனங்கள் மற்றும் கிராம நிதியிலான அத்தியாயங்கள் சிறியளவு விவசாயத்திற்கு கிடைக்கக் கூடிய சேவைகளின் பின்னையொன்றை வழங்குகின்றது. வருமான இழப்பிலான சூழ்நிலைகளை எதிர்கொள்வதற்காக வறிய ஆண், பெண்கள் முன்யோசனையுடன் பயன்படுத்தும் ஓர் உத்தி புலம்பெயர்வாகும். இது அத்தியாயம் 4 இல் ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளது. இத்துறையில் தலையிடுவதற்கான தெரிவுகளின் ஒரு சிறிய வர்ணனையுடன் புத்தகம் நிறைவுறுகிறது.

**கிராமியப் பொருளாதார வாய்ப்புக்கள்: இலங்கையில் கிராமிய  
பொருளாதாரமும் விவசாயம் சாராத துறையும்: இது தொடர்பான  
விவகாரங்களுக்கும் வாய்ப்புக்களும்**

**நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்**

கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரமானது பொருட்கள், சேவைகளின் உற்பத்தி, பகிர்வு, பரிமாற்றம் மற்றும் நுகர்வுடன் தொடர்பான பல ஒன்றுடனொன்று இணைந்த, சிக்கலான செயற்பாடுகளைக் கொண்டதாகும். இப்பொருளாதாரம் பெரும்பாலும் விவசாய செயற்பாடுகளையே உள்ளடக்குகின்றது. எனினும் கைத்தொழில் துறை மற்றும் சேவைகளும் பொருளாதாரத்தில் பங்கு வகிக்கின்றன. கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் உதாரணத்திற்கு விவசாயத்துறை போன்ற ஏதோ ஒரு துறை உடைத்து ஆராயப்படும் அதேநேரம் இப்பொருளாதாரத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் ஒரே குடும்பம் இத்துறைகள் பலவற்றில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளதன் காரணமாகவேனும் ஒரு துறையின் வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் விருத்தி என்பன பொதுவாக பொருளாதாரத்தின் ஏனைய துறைகளுடன் பின்னிப்பிணைந்துள்ளது. இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரை இலங்கையில் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தின் தன்மை மற்றும் பண்புகள் பற்றிய இலக்கிய ஆய்வு மற்றும் தரவுகளுடன் இணைந்து கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் ஜீவனோபாய வாய்ப்புக்களின் தெரிவுகளிலான சித்தாந்தங்களின் அடிப்படையிலான ஒரு திட்டவமைப்பினைப் பயன்படுத்தி IFAD இனால் முடியுமான தலையீடுகளிற்கான வாய்ப்புக்களை அடையாளம் காண விளைகின்றது.

கிராமியப் பொருளாதார வாய்ப்புக்களை புரிந்து கொள்ளும் நோக்கில் இக்கட்டுரை கிராமப்புறங்களில் கிடைக்கக்கூடிய ஜீவனோபாயத் தெரிவுகளை வெளிக்கொணரும் ஒரு திட்டவமைப்பை பயன்படுத்துகிறது. விவசாயம் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் அதன் வரலாற்று முக்கியத்துவம் காரணமாக முதன்மை பெறுவதுடன் மேலும் இது மீன்பிடி, பண்ணை வளர்ப்பு, காட்டுத்தொழில் என்பவற்றுக்கு மேலதிகமாக சுய தொழில் இன்னும் கூலித் தொழில்களையும் உள்ளடக்குகின்றது. இவை அனைத்தும் கூட்டாக 'விவசாய அடிப்படையிலான ஜீவனோபாயங்கள்' எனப்படலாம். இச்செயற்பாடுகள் தேவையான பொருட்கள் வழங்கல், விளைச்சல்களை பதனிடல் மற்றும் ஒத்தாசையான சேவைகள் போன்ற விவசாயம் சாராத செயற்பாடுகளுடன் நெருக்கமாக இணைந்துள்ளதுடன் இவற்றால் உதவியும் செய்யப்படுகின்றன. விவசாயம் மற்றும் அதனுடன் இணைந்த கைத்தொழில், சேவைகள் என்பவற்றுக்கு மேலதிகமாக கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரம் உற்பத்திச் செயன்முறைகள், மண் அகழ்தல் மற்றும் உல்லாசத்துறை போன்ற விவசாயத் செயற்பாடுகளுடன் நேரடித் தொடர்பற்ற செயற்பாடுகளையும் உள்ளடக்குகின்றது. இவை 'விவசாயம் சாராத தொழில்கள் அடிப்படையிலான ஜீவனோபாயங்கள்' எனப்படலாம். விவசாயம் அடிப்படையிலான ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் போன்றே இவையும் தேவையான பொருட்கள் வழங்கல், விளைச்சல்களை பதனிடல் மற்றும் ஒத்தாசையான சேவைகள் என்பவற்றால் உதவி செய்யப்படுகின்றன. இப்பிரதான இரு ஜீவனோபாயச் செயற்பாடுகளிற்கான துறைகளையும் அவை சார்ந்த செயற்பாடுகளையும் விடுத்து கிராமப்புற வாழ்க்கையானது குடித்தொகைக்குத் தேவையான தளபாடம் போன்ற நுகர்வுப்

பொருட்களையும், வங்கி, தொடர்பாடல் மற்றும் வர்த்தகம் போன்ற சேவைகளையும் உள்ளடக்கிய பொருட்கள், சேவைகள் உற்பத்தியிலும் தங்கியுள்ளது. இறுதியாக மேற்கூறப்பட்ட செயற்பாடுகள் கிராமப் பொருளாதாரத்துள் உள்ள அதேநேரம், கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்திலிருந்து புலம்பெயர்வதும் இம்மக்கள் தொகைக்கான ஒரு ஜீவனோபாயத் தெரிவாக உள்ளது.

இலங்கையின் கிராமப்புறங்கள் நாட்டின் அபிவிருத்திச் செயற்பாடுகளில் மிகவும் ஈடுபடுகின்றன என கிடைக்கப்பெற்றுள்ள இலக்கிய ஆய்வும் தரவுகளும் சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றன. கிராமப்புறங்களில் 85% ஆன குடித்தொகை வசிக்கும் அதேநேரம் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரம் நாட்டின் தொழில்களில் 89% ஐ வழங்குகின்றது. மேலும் இது முறைமையான துறையில் ஏறத்தாழ 85% ஆன தொழில்களை உருவாக்கியுள்ளதுடன் முறைசாரா துறையில் 92% இற்கு கிட்டிய அளவிலான தொழில் வாய்ப்புக்களை தோற்றுவித்துள்ளது. எமது எதிர்பார்ப்பின்படி இது எல்லா தொழில்களையும் விவசாயத்துறையில் உருவாக்குவதுடன் கைத்தொழிற்றுறை மற்றும் சேவைகள் துறையிலும் அதிகமான தொழில்களை வழங்குகின்றது. கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத் தொழில்களின் 1/3 பங்கினை 'சுயமாகத் தொழில் செய்வோர்' எனும் பிரிவினர் ஆக்குகின்றனர். இவர்களில் பெரும்பாலானோர் முறைசாரா துறையிலேயே உள்ளனர். இப்பிரிவினரில் சிறியளவு விவசாயிகள் அதேபோல் கிராமியத் தொழில் முயற்சிகளிலான சுய தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோர் உள்ளடங்குகின்றனர். 3.6 மில்லியன் விவசாயக் குடும்பங்களும் 600,000 இற்கும் அதிகமான கிராமியத் தொழில் முயற்சிகளும் உள்ளதாக கணிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. கிராமியத் தொழில் முயற்சிகள் பெரும்பாலும் உற்பத்தி மற்றும் தயாரிப்புகளையும் இதனைத் தொடர்ந்து வர்த்தகம் மற்றும் சேவைகளையும் கொண்டுள்ளது. கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் அரைப் பங்கிலும் கூடுதலான பகுதியை 'தொழிலாளர்' எனும் பிரிவினர் ஆக்குவதுடன் இதில் சம்பளம் வாங்கும் தொழிலாளர்களும் தற்காலிகமான கூலி வேலையாளர்களும் உள்ளடங்குகின்றனர். முறையான துறையிலுள்ள 1/3 பகுதியினர் மூலாதாரமான தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளதுடன் முறைசாரா துறையிலுள்ள தொழிலாளர்களில் ஒரு பெரும் பகுதியினரும் இத்தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளனர். சம்பளத்தை கருதும் போது முறைமையான துறையிலுள்ள தொழிலாளர்கள் முறைசாரா துறைகளில் உள்ளவர்களிலும் சராசரியாக இருமடங்கு சம்பளம் பெறுகின்றனர். சுய தொழில் செயற்பாடுகளில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோர் தொகை வருடத்திற்கு 1% ஆல் வளர்ந்து வரும் அதே நேரம் கூலி வேலையாட்களின் எண்ணிக்கை வருடத்திற்கு 4% இல் அதிகரிக்கிறது. மேலும் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரம் கணிசமான அளவு கூலி வழங்கப்படாத குடும்பத் தொழிலாளர்களையும் கொண்டுள்ளது. இவர்களில் பெரும்பாலானோர் பெண்களாகவே காணப்படுகின்றனர்.

நாட்டிலுள்ள 82% ஆன வறியோரை கிராமத்துறை கொண்டுள்ளது. வறுமையிலான தரவுகளின் ஆய்வானது கிராமிய வறுமை இடத்தின் தன்மைகளுடன் இணைந்துள்ளதாகவும் இங்கு பல கிராமங்களும் இவற்றுள் உள்ள குக்கிராமங்களும் வறுமையில் மிகவும் பலவீனமான நிலையிலுள்ளதாகவும் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றது. மேலும் வறுமையிலான வரலாற்றுத் தரவுகள் இப்பிரதேசங்கள் கடந்த 20 வருடங்களாகத் தொடர்ந்தும் மிகவும் வறுமையான நிலையிலேயே உள்ளதாகச் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றது. முழுமையாகப் பார்க்கும் போது வறுமையிலான பெரும் தரவுகள் இவ்வயர் வறுமை மட்டத்தைத் தொடர்ந்தும் கொண்டுள்ள பிரதேசங்கள் உட்பட மிகவும் வறுமையான மாவட்டங்கள் ஊவா, சப்ரகமுவா

மற்றும் மத்திய மாகாணங்களில் செறிவடைந்துள்ளதாக காட்டுகின்றது. வறியோர் வாழும் பிரதேசங்களிலுள்ள தொழிற் செயற்பாடுகளிலான நோக்கானது அதிக வறியோர் வாழும் பிரதேசங்களில் அதிக மக்கள் விவசாயத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளனர் என்பது வறுமைக்கும் விவசாயத்திற்கும் இடையில் தொடர்புண்டு எனச் சுட்டிக்காட்டுகிறது. இருந்தாலும் அதிக எண்ணிக்கையானோர் விவசாயத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள அனாதாபுரம் மற்றும் பொலன்னறுவை போன்ற மாவட்டங்களில் சார்பளவில் குறைந்த மற்றும் குறையும் வீதத்திலான வறுமை நிலை, விவசாயத்திலான தொழில்கள் எப்போதும் கட்டாயமாக வறுமையுடன் தொடர்புற்றிருக்க வேண்டியதில்லை என்பதைக் காட்டுகின்றது.

குடும்ப வருமானத்திற்கு விவசாயம் மற்றும் விவசாயம் சாராத செயற்பாடுகளின் முக்கியத்துவம் பல்வேறு வருமானமீட்டும் குழுக்களிடையே வேறுபடுகின்றதுடன் வறிய குடும்பங்கள் கூடுதலாக விவசாயத்தில் தங்கியுள்ளனர். வறிய மக்கள் தம்மை விவசாயம் சார் துறையிலிருந்து விவசாயம் சாரா துறைக்கு பெருமளவில் மாற்றிக் கொண்டுள்ளதுடன் இம்மாற்றம் குறைந்த விளைச்சல் மட்டம் மற்றும் வாழ்தகவற்ற விவசாய அலகுகள் காரணமாக குடும்பங்கள் விவசாயத்திலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்பட்டமையாலேயே தூண்டப்பட்டது. மிகவும் வறிய குடும்பங்கள் கூடுதலாக விவசாயம் சாராத தற்காலிகமான வேலைகளில் தங்கியுள்ளனர். வறுமையானது தொழிலின்மையிலும் பார்க்க குறைவான தரங்களில் மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்ற தொழில்களுடனேயே தொடர்புற்றுள்ளது. மற்றும் இது விவசாயம், மீன்பிடி தொடர்பான தொழில்கள் போன்ற முறைமையில்லா தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள குடும்பத் தலைவர்களிடையே பொதுவாகக் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. இச்செயற்பாடுகள் அதிகம் பருவத்துடன் இணைந்ததாக இருப்பதானது குறைவான தரங்களில் மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்ற தொழில்களுடனான பிரச்சினையை இன்னும் அதிகப்படுத்துகிறது.

கிராமியப் பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சிக்காக கிராமிய விவசாயம் சாராத துறையிலான வாய்ப்புக்களையும் இக்கட்டுரை நோக்குகிறது. முழுமையாக நோக்கும் போது தற்போது மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட செயற்பாடுகளே நடைபெறுகின்ற மற்றும் ஜீவனோபாயங்களினை உயர்த்துவதற்கு எடுக்கப்படுகின்ற தலைப்புகளுக்கான கணிசமான வாய்ப்புக்கள் உள்ள விவசாய வர்த்தகம், தயாரிப்பு மற்றும் சேவைகள் என்பவையே பிரதான துறைகளாகும். விவசாயம் சாராத துறையின் வளர்ச்சியானது கிராமப்புறப் பிரதேசங்களிற்குள்ளான அதேபோல் கிராமிய மத்திய நிலையங்களுடனான வழிகளை மற்றும் இணைப்புக்களை மட்டுப்படுத்துகின்ற உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளின் குறைவு, விவசாய வர்த்தகத்திற்கான உள்ளீடுகளை மட்டுப்படுத்துகின்ற விவசாய வளர்ச்சியின் மந்த நிலை மற்றும் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட முதலீடு இன்னும் தொழில் முயற்சிகளின் கிடைக்கற்றகவு, குறிப்பாக விடே திறன்கள் மற்றும் தொழிநுட்பத்தின் குறைவு என்பவற்றால் கணிசமான அளவு தடைப்படுத்தப்படுகின்றன. கிராமப் பிரதேசங்களிற்கான அழிவடைந்து வரும் சுகாதாரம், கல்வி மற்றும் தொழிநுட்ப சேவைகளும் மக்களை இப்பிரதேசங்களிலிருந்தும் புலம்பெயர வைத்து தொடர்ந்தும் இங்கு வறுமை நிலை நிலவ ஏதுவாக்கலாம்.

அரசாங்கக் கொள்கைகள் கிராமிய அபிவிருத்தியில் ஒரு முழுமையான நோக்கைக் கொண்டுள்ளதுடன் தனித்துவமான நிகழ்ச்சித்திட்டம் 'கம நெகும்' கிராம மட்டத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டுள்ளதுடன் அபிவிருத்திக்கு

கிராம மட்டத்திலான தடைகளை முன்னோக்குவதையும் குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது. மேலும் கிராமப்புற வீதிகளையும் உட்படுத்தியதான வீதி அபிவிருத்தியை மையப்படுத்திய ஒரு பலமான உட்கட்டமைப்பு அபிவிருத்தியில் ஒரு உந்துதலும் உள்ளது. அரசாங்கக் கொள்கைகள் குறைந்த தரத்திலான தொழில்களை குறைப்பதையும் மேலும் கிராமப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் வறுமையுடன் இணைந்ததான முறைமையற்ற துறையிலான ஜீவனோபாயங்களை ஆதரிப்பதையும் நோக்கியுள்ளன.

முழுமையாக நோக்கும்போது கட்டுரையிலான ஆய்வு கிராமப்புற பொருளாதார வாய்ப்புக்களை முன்னேற்றுவதற்கு மூன்று சாத்தியமான உத்திகளுள்ளதாக யோசனை தெரிவிக்கிறது. அவையாவன 1. கூலித் தொழிலாளர்களிற்கு சிறந்த வாய்ப்புக்களை இன்னும் அதிகப்படுத்தல் 2. விவசாயம் சாராத சுய தொழில்களையும் கிராமியத் தொழில் முயற்சி அபிவிருத்தியையும் ஆதரித்தல் 3. உட்கட்டமைப்பு மற்றும் சேவைகளிலான முதலீடுகளினூடு கிராமப்புறப்பிரதேசங்களின் அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் வாழ்க்கைத் தரங்களை நேரடியாக ஆதரித்தல் என்பவையாகும்.

## கிராமியக் காரணிச் சந்தைகள்

### நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்

இலங்கையின் தொடர்ந்து வரும் அரசாங்கங்கள் அமுல்படுத்தினாலும் பல காரணங்களால் உள்நாட்டு விவசாயத்துறையானது பெரிதும் இலாபம் தராத ஒரு நிலையில் தத்தளிக்கிறது. கிராமப்புறங்களில் வறுமை ஒழிப்புக்கான பல தடைகள் நிலம் மற்றும் நீர், உழைப்பு, முதல் மற்றும் தொழில்முயற்சியான்மை எனும் கிராமியக் காரண சந்தைகளிலுள்ள பிரச்சினைகளிலிருந்தே உருவாவதாக அண்மைய ஆய்வுகள் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றன. இக்கட்டுரை சந்தைக் கேள்விக்கான துலங்கலையும் கிராம வறிய மக்களின் வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்தை இலங்கையின் சனத்தொகையின் ஏறத்தாழ 80% ஆனோர் கிராமப்புறங்களில் வாழ்வதுடன் நாட்டின் வறியோர் எண்ணிக்கையில் 95% ஆனோர் கிராமப்புற வறியோர்களாகவே உள்ளனர். கிராமங்களிலுள்ள 65% இற்கும் மேலான குடும்பங்கள் தமது ஜீவனோபாயத்தை விவசாயத்திலிருந்தே தேடிக் கொள்வதுடன் இவர்களுள் பெரும்பாலானோர் சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கைகளில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோராவர். விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் வறுமையில் பாரிய முதலீடுகள் இன்னும் பல்வேறுபட்ட செயற்றிட்டங்களை முன்னேற்றுவதிலான அடைவுகளையும் பாதிக்கின்ற கிராமியக் காரணிச் சந்தையிலுள்ள வாய்ப்புக்களையும் தடைகளையும் விளங்கிக் கொள்ள முயல்கிறது.

இவ்வாய்வுக்காக முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டிய பகுதிகளை அடையாளம் கண்டுகொள்வதற்காக வருமான வறுமை மற்றும் விவசாயத்துறையிலான தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள குடித்தொகையின் சதவீதம் எனும் இரு அளவைகளை இக்கட்டுரை பயன்படுத்துகிறது. ஊவா, சப்ரகமுவா மற்றும் மத்திய மாகாணங்களில் சார்பளவில் உயர் வறுமை தொடர்ந்தும் இருந்து வருகின்ற கிராமப் பிரதேசங்கள் உள்ளதெனவும் அதேபோல் விவசாயத்துறையில் தொழில் புரிவோர் விகிதமும் இங்கு உயர்வு எனவும் இவ்வளவைகள் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றன. இதற்கேற்ப ஆய்வானது இம்மாகாணங்களில் வறியோரின் பிரதான பயிர்கள் மற்றும் விலங்கு வேளாண்மை இன்னும் விவசாயம் சார் செயற்பாடுகள் என்பவற்றை பிரதான நோக்காகக் கொண்டுள்ளது. இதில் தேயிலை, காய்கறி, தானிய விதைகள், பழங்கள், வாசனைத் திரவியங்கள், நெல் மற்றும் பாற்பண்ணை என்பன உட்படுகின்றன.

இலங்கையின் மிக முக்கியமான மரப் பயிர் தேயிலையாகும். தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களும் தனியார் தோட்டங்களும் மொத்த தேயிலை உற்பத்தியில் 56% ஆகவும் தேயிலை ஏற்றுமதி வருமானத்தில் கணக்கிடப்பட்ட ஒரு 70% ஆகவும் பங்களிப்பு செய்கிறது. தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் உப துறையானது 239,000 குடும்பங்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளதுடன் (100,000 ஹெக்டெயர்), கிராமப்புறங்களில் சுமார் 1.5 மில்லியன் மக்களை தொழில்களில் ஈடுபடுத்தியுள்ளது. தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் பரந்த நோக்கில் மூன்று வகையாகப் பிரிக்கப்படலாம். முதலாம் பிரிவினர் உயர் உற்பத்தித் திறனைக் கொண்டுள்ளோர். இவர்கள் பெரும்பாலும் முளைத் தேயிலையை உற்பத்தி செய்வதுடன்



ஹெக்டொயாருக்கு 2,000kg இற்கும் மேற்பட்ட விளைச்சலையும் பெறுகின்றனர். இவ்வலகுகள் தென்பகுதி மாவட்டங்களான காலி மற்றும் மாத்தறையிலே பெரும்பாலும் காணப்படுவதுடன் இங்கு தேயிலைப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையானது 10,000 ஹெக்டொயாரிற்கு மேற்பட்ட பரப்பளவினால் கடந்த 12 வருடங்களில் அதிகரித்துள்ளது. இவ்வகைக்குரிய தன்மையொன்றாக தேயிலைச் செய்கையுடன் வேறு எந்த பயிரும் வளர்க்கப்படாமையைக் கூறலாம். இரண்டாவது வகை ஹெக்டொயாருக்கு 600kg இலும் குறைவான விளைச்சலைத் தருகின்ற தாழ்மட்ட உற்பத்தித்திறனைக் கொண்ட அலகுகளைக் குறிக்கின்றது. இவை இக்காலப்பகுதியில் தேயிலைச் செய்கையின் பரப்பு 12,000 ஹெக்டொயாரினால் குறைந்துள்ள தேயிலைச் செய்கையில் முன்னோடியான மத்திய நாட்டு மாவட்டங்களான கண்டி மற்றும் மாத்தளை மாவட்டங்களில் காணப்படுகின்றன. முன்றாவது வகையின் உற்பத்தித்திறன் முதல் இரண்டுக்கும் இடையில் அமைந்துள்ளதுடன் தேயிலையுடனான கலப்புப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையே குடும்ப வருமானத்திற்கான பிரதான முதலாக உள்ளது. நுவரெலியா மற்றும் ஊவா மாகாண சிறிய தேயிலை பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களும் இப்பிரிவில் அடங்குகின்றனர். பின்னர் குறிப்பிடப்பட்ட இரு வகையினரிலும் அதிக வறுமை நிலவுவதுடன் கல்வி மட்டம் போன்ற ஏனைய சமூக - பொருளாதார தேவைகளும் குறைந்த அளவே பூர்த்தி செய்யப்படுகின்றன.

தேயிலைப் பயிர்ச்செய்கைத்துறையானது பயிர் நிலத்தின் உற்பத்தித்திறன் குறைதல், உற்பத்திக்கான உயர் செலவு மற்றும் திறனான தொழிலாளர் பற்றாக்குறை என்பவற்றுடன் தொடர்பான பல சவால்களிற்கு தற்போது முகம் கொடுத்துள்ளது. தேயிலைப் பயிர்ச்செய்கைத்துறை முகம் கொடுக்கும் பொதுவான பிரச்சினைகளிற்கு மேலதிகமாக தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் முதல் மற்றும் முன்கொண்டு செல்வதற்குத் தேவையான முகாமைத்துவத் திறன்கள் பற்றாக்குறை, பிரதானமாக தொடர்ச்சியான உயர் விளைச்சலை உறுதிப்படுத்துவதற்குத் தேவையான மீள் பயிரிடலிற்கான திறன்களின்மை போன்ற பல தடைகளையும் சந்திக்கின்றனர். மீள்பயிரிடலின் போது அது விளைச்சலைத் தந்து வருமானமொன்றை ஈட்டுவதற்கு ஐந்து வருட காலத்தை விவசாயிகள் காத்திருக்க வேண்டும். இவ்வாறான காலப்பகுதியில் வருமானமீட்டும் வழிகள் இல்லாமையாலும் ஜீவனோபாய வாய்ப்புக்களிற்கான பற்றாக்குறையாலும் அவர்களை ஆதரிப்பதற்கான கடனுதவிகளின்மையாலும் தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் மீள்பயிரிடலில் விருப்பம் காட்டுவதில்லை. மேலும் பின்தங்கிய பிரதேசங்களில் தொழிற்சாலைக்குத் தேயிலைப் பசுங்கொழுந்துகளை கொண்டுசெல்வதற்கான போக்குவரத்தும் ஒரு பிரதான பிரச்சினையாகும். இது இலையின் தரத்தைக் குறைக்கின்றதால் விவசாயி பெறும் வருமானத்தைப் பாதிக்கின்றது. திறனான மற்றும் அர்ப்பணிப்புடனான விரிவாக்கல் அதிகாரிகளின் குறைவு காரணமாக போதுமானளவு விரிவாக்கற் சேவைகளின்மையும் ஒரு பொதுவான பிரச்சினையாக இருப்பதுடன் இந்நிலை நிறுவன ஆற்றல் விருத்தியை வேண்டி நிற்கின்றது.

ஊவா, சப்ரகமுவா மற்றும் மத்திய மாகாணங்களில் **காய்கறி, வாசனைத் திரவியம் மற்றும் ஏனைய பணப் பயிர்களிலான பயிர்ச்செய்கைக்கான**

வாய்ப்புக்கள் அதிகமாகும். பரந்த புவியியல் தன்மைகள், வித்தியாசமான விவசாய - குழற்றொகுதி வலயங்கள் காரணமாக இம்மாகாணங்களில் பல்வேறுபட்ட பயிர் வகைகளைப் பயிரிடுவதற்கான அதிக சாத்தியங்கள் நிலவுகின்றன. பெரும்பாலான சிறிய பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் உயர் நாட்டு மற்றும் தாழ் நாட்டு காய்கறிகள், நெல், வாசனைத் திரவியங்கள் ( கறுவா, மிளகு), தானிய விதைகள் (பாசிப்பயறு, கௌபி, எள்ளு) மற்றும் தானியங்கள் (சோளம், குரக்கன்) என்பவற்றைப் பயிரிடுகின்றனர். இதற்கு மேலதிகமாக மரவள்ளிக் கிழங்கு, மிளகாய் மற்றும் நிலக்கடலை என்பவையும் முக்கியமான பயிர்களாகும் (அட்டவணை A5). ஊவா மாகாண உலர் பகுதிகளில் மா, ரம்புட்டான், வாழை, அன்னாசி, எலுமிச்சை மற்றும் தோடம் போன்ற பழங்கள் உயர் அளவில் முறையான திட்டத்துடன் பயிர் செய்யப்படுகின்றன (DCS 2002). பெரும்பாலும் விவசாயிகள் கலப்புப் பயிர்ச்செய்கை செய்யும் இன்னும் சேனைப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களாக உள்ளனர்.

ஊவா மாகாணத்தின், குறிப்பாக நீர்ப்பாசன வசதிகளற்ற உலர்ந்த பகுதிகளிலான பிரதான தடைகளுள் ஒன்று பயிர் நிலத்தின் உற்பத்தித்திறன் குறைவாக உள்ளமையாகும். மழை நீரினால் வளமுட்டப்படுகின்ற திட்டத்தில் கூடியளவு தங்கியிருப்பதும் போதியளவு நவீன நீர்ப்பாசன தொழிநுட்பத்தின் பயன்பாடின்றமையும் பொதுவான பிரச்சினையாகும். இவை விவசாயம் செய்யக்கூடிய நிலத்தின் அளவைக் குறைத்துள்ளதுடன் நிலத்தின் மொத்த உற்பத்தித்திறனையும் பாதித்துள்ளது. தவறான உரமிடல் உட்பட தவறான நில முகாமைத்துவ செயன்முறைகள் காலத்தினூடு மண்ணின் நுண்போசனை உள்ளடக்கம் குறைவதில் பங்களிப்புச் செய்துள்ளன. குறைந்த தர தாவர இனப்பெருக்க பகுதிகளின் பாவனை, திறனின்மை காரணமான தவறான பயிர் முகாமைத்துவ செயன்முறைகள் மற்றும் அறுவடையின் போதும் அறுவடைக்குப் பின்னான கட்டங்களிலும் விளைச்சலின் தர மற்றும் அளவிலான இழப்பு என்பன விவசாயிகளிடையான போட்டியைக் குறைத்துள்ளன. இங்கு காய்கறிகளின் இறக்குமதி செய்யப்பட்ட தரமான விதைகள் இருப்பினும் தானிய விதைகளிலான கவனம் குறைவாக உள்ளதுடன் விதைகளை இறக்குமதி செய்து அவற்றை களங்களில் சோதனை செய்யவேண்டிய தேவையும் இங்குள்ளது.

அறுவடையின் பின்னான கையாளுகை, சேமிப்பு மற்றும் போக்குவரத்து என்பவற்றிலான மோசமான நிலை காரணமாக ஏற்படுகின்ற உயர் சதவீத அறுவடையின் பின்னான இழப்பு ஒரு பிரதான பிரச்சினையாகும். பதனிடல் அல்லது பெறுமதி கூட்டலில் முதலீடுகள் செய்வதற்கு தனியார் துறையின் ஈடுபாடு போதாமைக்கு பிரதான காரணம் விவசாய உற்பத்திகளின் பருவத்துடன் இணைந்த தன்மையாகும். பெரியளவு வர்த்தக உற்பத்திகளிலான நில மற்றும் ஒத்துழைப்புச் சேவைகள் பற்றாக்குறையாக உள்ளதால் விவசாயிகள் பல்வகையான செயற்பாடுகளில் ஈடுபடுவதற்கு மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட வாய்ப்புக்களே உள்ளன. காய்கறிப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையில் பதனிடல் மற்றும் ஏற்றுமதிக்க கைத்தொழில் தேவைகளை ஈடுசெய்வதற்குப் பொருத்தமான பயிர் வகைகள் பொதுவாக கிடைக்கப்பெறுவதில்லை.

சிறந்த சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்கள் பற்றாக்குறை மற்றும் மொரு பிரதான பிரச்சினையாகும். பதுள்ளையில் உயர் நாட்டுக் காய்கறிகளிற்கான மிகவும் விருத்தியடைந்த ஒரு சந்தைத்தொகுதி இருந்தாலும் ஊவா மாகாணத்தின் உலர்ந்த பகுதிகளில் (மகியங்களை மற்றும் மொனராகலை) இவ்வாறான விருத்தியடைந்த சந்தைத் தொகுதிகள் எதுவுமில்லை. விலை ஏற்ற இறக்கங்களுடன் இணைந்த உலர் வலயங்களில் வளரும் பயிர்களிற்கான குறைந்த கள்வி மற்றும் அரச வர்த்தகக் கொள்கைகள் பிரச்சினையை இன்னும் அதிகப்படுத்தியுள்ளன.

விலங்கு வேளாண்மைத் துறையில், **பாற்பண்ணை** மிகவும் முக்கியத்துவம் பெறுவதுடன் கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தில் ஒரு தீர்க்கமான இடத்தையும் பெறுகின்றது. விலங்கு வேளாண்மையை சொந்தமாகப் புகின்ற 17.9% ஆன குடும்பங்களில் ஏறத்தாழ 70% ஆனோர் மந்தைகளைக் கொண்டுள்ளனர். பெரும்பாலான பாற்பண்ணையாளர்கள் சிறியளவு வேளாண்மையில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோராவர். பெரும்பாலான விவசாய - சூழ்நொகுதி வலயங்களில் பாற்பண்ணைகளைக் கொண்டுள்ளோர் 2-5 மாடுகளைக் கொண்டு கலப்புப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையுடனான விலங்கு வேளாண்மை நடவடிக்கைகளில் ஈடுபடுகின்றனர். பாலுற்பத்திக்கான செலவின் அடிப்படையில் சிறியளவு வேளாண்மையாளர் மட்டத்தில் பாற்பண்ணையிலிருந்து ஒரு நியாயமான வருமானத்தை ஈடுவதற்கு பால் உற்பத்தி குறைந்தது 1.5! ஏனும் தேவையாகும். இந்நிலையில் இலாபமீட்டுவதற்கு சிறியளவு வேளாண்மையாளர்களுக்கு மூன்று மாடுகள், போதுமான அளவிலான மாட்டுக் கொட்டில் மற்றும் 20 பேர்ச்சல் இற்கு மேற்பட்ட அளவிலான விலங்குத் தீனுக்கான நிலப்பகுதி என்பன வேண்டும். ஆனால் பெரும்பாலான சிறியளவு வேளாண்மையாளர்கள் இக்குறைந்த தேவைகளையேனும் நிவேற்றிக்கொள்ள இயலாதவர்களாயுள்ளனர்.

இப்பிரதேசங்களில் உணவு மற்றும் நிலம் தொடர்பான தடைகள் காரணமாக பாலுற்பத்தியை கூட்டுவதற்கு மிகவும் குறைவான இடமேயுள்ளது. பல பிரதேசங்களில் சிறிய பாற்பண்ணையாளர்களிடம் புல் வளர்ப்பதற்கு போதுமான நிலம் காணப்படுவதில்லை அல்லது உள்ள புல்நிலங்களை பயன்படுத்துவதற்குரிய பாதுகாப்பான வழிகளோ/உரிமைகளோ இல்லை. மாடுகளின் நீர் உட்பட போசணைத் தேவைகளைப் பற்றி விவசாயிகளின் அறிவின்மை குறைந்த விளைச்சல்களைத் தந்துள்ளதுடன் இது குறைந்த பாலுற்பத்தியையும் தருகின்றது. விலங்கு வேளாண்மையிலான விரிவாக்கற் சேவையைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதிலான பற்றாக்குறைகள் சிறந்த உற்பத்திக்கான ஒரு தடையாகும். அர்ப்பணிப்புடனான அதிகாரிகள் குழாமின்மையும் ஒரு விரிவாக்கல் அதிகாரியின் கவனத்திற்குள்ளான இடப்பரப்பும் பிரதான பிரச்சினைகளாகும். விவசாய போதனையாளர்களின் சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதும் சுகாதார சேவைகளும் பொதுவாக நல்ல நிலையிலுள்ளவெனினும் இந்நிலை மாறுபடுகின்றது. சில பிரதேசங்களில் நிலப்பகுதி, உட்கட்டமைப்பு மற்றும் தூரங்கள், அதிகாரிகள் குழாமின் பற்றாக்குறை மற்றும் உள்ள அதிகாரிகளிடமுள்ள அர்ப்பணிப்பு, திறன்கள் போதாமையினால் விளைவான விரிவாக்கற் சேவையின் குறைந்த தரம், பாற்பண்ணையாளர்களிடையே விலங்குணவுத் தேவைகள் மற்றும் சுகாதாரம் பற்றிய போதிய அறிவின்மை என்பவற்றால் இவை தடைப்படுகின்றன.

சந்தை நிலை தொடர்பாகப் பார்க்கும் போது கணிசமான அளவு தனியார் துறையினரின் ஈடுபாட்டையும் விடுத்து அங்கு பல தடைகள் ஏற்படுகின்றன. இவை சந்தைகளிலான மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட தெரிவு, பாற் பதனிடல் வசதிகள் போதாமே, இத்துறையில் முறையான சேகரிப்பு மற்றும் பகிர்விலான ஒரு வலையமைப்பை விருத்தி செய்தல் உட்பட தொழிநுட்பத்துடன் நாளுக்கு நாள் முன்னேறாமே என்பவற்றை உள்ளடக்குகின்றன. குறைந்த உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளும் மாற்றீட்டு சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்கள் மற்றும் பண்ணை சார்பு பதனிடல் தெரிவுகளின் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட விருத்திக்கு பங்களிப்புச் செய்துள்ளன. சில பிரதேசங்களில் ஒழுங்கான உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதியின்மையாலும் தொழிநுட்ப அறிவு பற்றாக்குறையாலும் பெறுமதி கூட்டலிற்கு மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட வாய்ப்புக்களே உள்ளன. சில பிரதேசங்களில் தயிர் சந்தையானது மிகவும் ஒழுங்கமைக்கப்பட்டதாக உள்ளது. ஆனால் குளிர்நிலை வசதி குறைவு காரணமாக பால் பழுதடைதல் சார்பளவில் உயர்வாக உள்ளது. விலங்கு வேளாண்மைத் துறையில் பதனிடலிற்கான புதிய முதலீடுகள் எதுவுமின்மைக்கு பிரதானமாக அரசு ஆதரவு மற்றும் நிதிச் சேவைகளின்மையே காரணமாகும்.

கிராமிய காரணச் சந்தைகளில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஆய்விலான இக்கட்டுரையானது இலங்கையின் வறிய கிராமிய விவசாயிகள் முகம் கொடுக்கும், அவர்களை அபிவிருத்தியில் பின்தங்கிய நிலையில் வைத்துள்ள பல தடைகள் உள்ளதாக சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றது. பல பிரதேசங்களிடையில் பயிரின் தன்மை, சூழற்றொகுதி வலயம், நிலத்தின் வளம் மற்றும் நீர் முதல்கள் போன்ற இன்னும் பல காரணங்களின் அடிப்படையில் இது வேறுபடுகின்றது. இக்கட்டுரையின் கலந்துரையாடல்கள் காட்டியவாறு எல்லா சிறியளவு விவசாயிகளும் வறிய நிலையில் இல்லை. ஆனால் வறிய சிறியளவு விவசாயிகளின் தேவைகளை நோக்கி தலையீடுகள் முடுக்கப்படவேண்டும். முழுமையான நோக்கில் இக்கட்டுரையில் முன்னுரிமை வழங்கப்பட்ட பிரதேசங்களிலான சிறியளவு விவசாயிகளில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஆய்வின் அடிப்படையில் தலையீடுகளிற்கான வாய்ப்புக்கள் பின்வருமாறு:

நிலம் மற்றும் நீர் தொடர்பானது

- ஊவா போன்ற சில விவசாயப் பிரதேசங்களில் நில மற்றும் நீரின் கிடைக்கற்றகவிலான பிரச்சினை முக்கியமாக உள்ளதுடன் சிறந்த நிலப் பயன்பாட்டினை முன்னேற்றுதல் மற்றும் நீர் தெளிக்கும் நீர்ப்பாசன முறையின் பாவனை, விவசாயக் கிணறுகள், மழை நீர் சேகரிப்பு முறைகளைக் கூட்டுவதற்கும் கைவிடப்பட்ட குளங்களைப் புதுப்பிப்பதற்கான தேவை உள்ளது.

முதல்

- மீள் பயிரிடல், புதிதாக பயிரிடல் மற்றும் பல்வகைமையடைதல் என்பவற்றை முன்னெடுப்பதற்கு சிறியளவு விவசாயிகளை ஆதரிப்பதற்காக நுண்ணிதி தயாரிப்புகளை அறிமுகப்படுத்தி அதனைப் பலப்படுத்தல்

- சிறியளவு உற்பத்தியாளர்களுக்கு, குறிப்பாக தேயிலை அதேபோல் காய்கறி, வாசனைத் திரவியம் மற்றும் ஏனைய பணப் பயிர்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோருக்கு சந்தையிலான தடர் வீழ்ச்சிகளின் போதும் பயிர்ச் சேதங்களின் போதும் காப்புறுதி வழங்கல்
- விஷேடமாக காய்கறிகள், வாசனைத் திரவியங்கள் இன்னும் ஏனைய பணப் பயிர்களில் தரமான விதைகள் மற்றும் இனப்பெருக்க பகுதிகளின் கிடைக்கற்றகவினை அதிகரித்தல்.
- அறுவடையின் பின்னான இழப்புக்களை குறைப்பதற்கு களஞ்சியப்படுத்தல் வசதிகளை வழங்கி பருவமில்லாத காலங்களில் ஒரு வருமானத்தைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளல்
- விலை ஏற்ற இறக்கங்களை தாங்கிக்கொள்வதற்கு நுண் காப்புறுதித் திட்டங்கள் மற்றும் தனியார் துறையுடனான 'முன்னோக்கிய ஒப்பந்தங்கள்' இனூடு விவசாயிகளிற்கு உதவி செய்தல்
- உதாரணமாக 'மந்தை வங்கிகளை' நிறுவுவதினூடு மந்தைகளின் இனப்பெருக்கத்திலான தரமுயர்த்தலை ஆதரித்தல் மற்றும் தரமான மந்தைகளை பாதுகாக்க உதவுதல்

#### முகாமைத்துவம்

- டென்ட்ரோ சக்தி, விலங்குத்தீன், காய்கறி, மிளகு மற்றும் ஏனைய ஆண்டுத் தாவரங்களுக்காக கலப்புப் பயிர்ச் செய்கையினூடு இடை மற்றும் உயர் நாட்டுப் பிரதேசங்களில் சிறிய தேயிலைப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களின் பல்வகைமைப்படுத்தல்
- விஷேடமாக காய்கறி மற்றும் ஏனைய பணப்பயிர்களை உற்பத்தி செய்வோரின் ஆற்றல்களை வெளிக்கள விஜயங்கள், தொழிநுட்ப பரிமாற்று நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்கள் மற்றும் தொழில்முயற்சியான்மை பயிற்சி நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்கள் என்பவற்றினூடு முன்னேற்றுவதற்காக, விவசாய அமைப்புக்களைப் பலப்படுத்தல்
- முகாமைத்துவ தீர்மானங்களை எடுக்கக்கூடிய மற்றும் நீர் முகாமைத்துவம், பராமரிப்பிற்கு பொறுப்பாக இருக்கக்கூடிய இன்னும் பயிர்களின் உற்பத்தி, விநியோகம் என்பவற்றைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தி முகாமைத்துவம் செய்யக்கூடிய தொழில்முயற்சியான்மையாளர் குழுக்களை உருவாக்கல்
- சரியான பெறுமதி கூட்டல் முறைகள், உரப் பயன்பாடு மற்றும் உபகரணங்களின் பாவனையில் தொழிநுட்ப அறிவு, திறன்களை வழங்கி பயிர் பல்வகைமைப்படுத்தல், பெறுமதி கூட்டலை முன்னேற்றுதல்
- உள்ளூரில் கிடைக்கக்கூடிய உணவு முதல்களின் பாவனையை உயர்த்தவும், வீணாகுமளவைக் குறைக்கவும் பாற்பண்ணை விவசாயிகளின் அறிவு மற்றும் திறன்களை விருத்திசெய்தல்
- உயர்மட்ட விளைச்சலைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்காக மாடுகளை முறையாக முகாமைத்துவம் செய்வதிலான அறிவை விவசாயிகளிடையே கூட்டுதல்

## சந்தைகள்

- சிறிய பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களையும் தோட்டக் கைத்தொழிற்சாலைகளையும் ஒரே செயன்முறை மற்றும் ஒரு பொது இலக்கினை நோக்கி கொண்டுவரல்: உற்பத்தியின் தர உயர்வு மற்றும் பெறுமதி கூட்டல், ஏனைய பொருத்தமான பயிர்களை வளர்த்தல் போன்ற பல்வகைமைப்படுத்தல்
- சந்தை பற்றிய தகவல்கள் மற்றும் தனியார் துறையுடனான தொடர்புகள் என்பன தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களுக்கு பின்னோக்கிய தொடர்புகளை நிறுவுவதற்காக பயன்படுத்தப்படலாம்
- தகவல் தொழிநுட்ப வழிகள் அதேபோல் சந்தை உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளை வழங்குவதன் மூலம் உள்நாட்டு மற்றும் கடல் கடந்த சந்தைகளிற்கான காய்கறி, தானிய விதைகள் மற்றும் பழங்களுக்கான கேள்விக்குரிய துலங்கலைக் காட்டுவதற்கு விவசாயிகளிற்கு உதவுதல்
- உயர் பாலுற்பத்தியை ஊக்கப்படுத்துவதற்காக பால் சேகரிப்பு வலையமைப்புக்கள், சந்தைத் தொகுதிகள் மற்றும் விலை ஊக்கங்களை முன்னேற்றுதல்

**புலம்பெயர்வும் வெளிவருவாயும்: வறுமை மீதான தாக்கங்களை உயர்த்துவதற்கான சாத்தியக் கூறுகளை மதிப்பிடல்.**

### **நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்**

இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரை இலங்கையில் புலம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் வெளி வருவாய் பற்றிய ஒரு மேலோட்டத்தை அவை வறுமைக் குறைப்பில் ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ள தாக்கத்தை காட்டி வழங்குகின்றது. இக்கட்டுரை புலம்பெயர்வின் போக்கு சிறந்த அபிவிருத்திக்காக எவ்வாறு நல்ல முறையில் முகாமைத்துவம் செய்யப்படலாம் என்றும் வெளி வருவாய் புலம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களின், அவர்கள் குடும்பங்களின் மற்றும் சமுதாயங்களின் மொத்த வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்தையும் முன்னேற்றுவதற்கு எவ்வாறு வழி வகுக்கின்றது என்பதனையும் ஆராய்கின்றது. மேலும் இன்றைய நிலையிலான புலம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் வெளி வருவாயின் கொள்கை அமைப்புக்கள் பற்றிய ஓர் ஆழமான அறிவையும் இக்கட்டுரை தருகின்றது.

### **புலம்பெயர்வின் போக்குகளும் ஏற்படுத்திய காரணங்களும்**

புலம்பெயர்வானது பல வழிகளில் கொள்ளப்படுகின்றது. புலம்பெயர்வோர் தமது சொந்த நாட்டிலிருந்து வெளியேறுதல் வெளிவாரியான புலம்பெயர்வு எனவும் தமது நாட்டிற்குள்ளேயே சொந்த பிரதேசத்திலிருந்து வேறு இடங்களிற்கு குடிபெயர்தல் உள்வாரியான புலம்பெயர்வு எனவும் குறிக்கப்படுகின்றன. எவ்வகையாயினும் இது தொழிலுக்காக அல்லது பாதுகாப்பு முன்னோக்கிய காரணங்களிற்காக மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஒரு நிரந்தரமான அல்லது தற்காலிகமான உபாயமாக இருக்கலாம். இலங்கையில் இவ்வெல்லாவகை புலம்பெயர்வையும் காணக்கூடியதாக இருப்பது இவ்விடயத்தில் வாதாடுவதை இன்னும் சிக்கலான ஒரு அமைப்பாக ஆக்கியுள்ளது.

குடியகல்வானது முதலில் இலங்கையில் 1960 இன் பிற்பகுதிகளிலும் 1970 இன் முற்பகுதிகளிலுமான மூளைசாலிகளின் வெளியேற்றத்துடன் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு அவதானத்திற்குள்ளானது. குறுகிய கால தொழில் வாய்ப்புக்களிற்காக வெளிநாடு செல்லல் பிரதானமாக 1977 இல் பொருளாதார சுதந்திர மயமாக்கலுடன் ஆரம்பித்து பின்னர் விரைவாக வளர்ந்தது.

- 1991 – 1999 களில் புலம்பெயர்வோரின் அதிக சதவீதம் திறனற்ற பணியாளர்களாக இருந்தது.
- சவுதி அரேபிய அரசு புலம்பெயரும் மக்களை, விஷேடமாக பெண் வீட்டுப் பணியாட்களைப் பெறும் பிரதான நாடாக தொடர்ந்தும் இருந்து வருகிறது.
- ஆண் புலம்பெயரும் பணியாட்களிற்கான கேள்வி தென்கொரியா, மலேசியா, கடார், ஓமான் மற்றும் மாலத்தீவு போன்ற நாடுகளில் அதிகமாக உள்ளது.
- அதிகூடிய எண்ணிக்கையான புலம்பெயர்வோர் 25 - 29 வயதிற்கு இடைப்பட்டோராயுள்ளனர்.

- தோட்டப்பூறம் மற்றும் கிராமப் புறங்களில் வெளிவாரியான புலம்பெயர்வு 1996-97 இல் 1000 குடும்பங்களிற்கு முறையே 42 மற்றும் 56 இலிருந்து 2003-04 இல் 49 மற்றும் 60 இற்கு அதிகரித்துள்ளது.

இலங்கையின் உள்வாரியாக புலம்பெயர்ந்த சனத்தொகை மொத்த சனத்தொகையின் 20%ஐ ஆக்குகின்றது. ஆண்டுகளினூடாக உள்வாரியான புலம்பெயர்வானது குடியேற்றவாதம், நகரமயமாக்கல் மற்றும் நகரை மையப்படுத்திய அபிவிருத்திக் கொள்கைகள், காணி மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் திட்டங்கள், சூழல் மற்றும் காலநிலை நிலைவரங்கள் இன்னும் மோதல்கள் மற்றும் இயற்கை அழிவுகள் போன்ற பிரச்சினையான இன்னும் அவசரமான சூழ்நிலைகள் உட்பட பல காரணங்களின் விளைவாக ஏற்பட்டதாகும்.

- 2001 இல் மேல் மாகாணம் நாட்டின் உள்வாரியாக புலம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களின் 45% ஐ உள்வாங்கியுள்ளது. மேலும் குருணாகலை, புத்தளம், இரத்தினபுரி ஆகிய நகர மையங்களும் புலம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் செறிவாக உள்ள இடங்களாக மாறி வருகின்றன.
- ஈர வலய மாவட்டங்கள் சனத்தொகை செறிவில் அதிகரிக்கும் அதேநேரம் உலர் வலயம் சனத்தொகை குறைந்ததாக தொடர்ந்தும் இருந்து வருகின்றது.
- உள்வாரியான புலம்பெயர்வு பிரதானமாக தனியாக அல்லது திருமணத்திற்கு முன்பு புலம்பெயர் நினைக்கும் இளவயது குழுக்களாலேயே மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றது.

புலம்பெயர்வானது சில உட்தள்ளக்கூடிய மற்றும் கவரப்படக்கூடிய காரணங்களால் தூண்டப்படுகிறது. உட்தள்ளக்கூடிய காரணங்கள் குறைந்த வருமானம், உயர் வாழ்க்கைச் செலவு, தொழில்வாய்ப்பின்மை, மாசடைந்த சூழல் நிலைமைகள், இயற்கை அழிவுகள், பாதுகாப்பின்மை, உயர் சனத்தொகைச் செறிவு, மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட வாய்ப்புக்கள் மற்றும் எல்லைப்படுத்தப்பட்ட உட்கட்டமைப்பு ஒத்துழைப்புக்கள் என்பவற்றை உள்ளடக்குகிறது. கவரப்படக்கூடிய காரணங்களாக உயர் வருமான மற்றும் ஜீவனோபாய வாய்ப்புக்கள். சிறந்த கல்வி வாய்ப்புக்கள், உயர் பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் விருத்தியடைந்த வாழ்க்கைத் தரம் என்பவை உள்ளடங்குகின்றன.

கிராம மக்களின் ஜீவனோபாயத்தில் புலம்பெயர்வின் தாக்கமானது உடன்படானதாக இன்னும் எதிர்மறையானதாக இருக்கலாம் என்பதுடன் இது புலம்பெயர்வின் வகையைப் பொறுத்து பெரிதும் வேறுபடுகின்றது. நிரந்தரமான புலம்பெயர்வானது புலம்பெயரும் மக்களின் வெளியேற்றத்தின் பின்னர் அவர்கள் தாம் விட்டுப் போனவர்களுடன் குறைந்த தொடர்புகளையே பேணுவதனால் இங்குள்ளவர்களுக்கு பொதுவாக குறைந்த நன்மைகளே அவர்களிடமிருந்து கிடைக்கிறது.



## வெளிவருவாய் (Remittances)

வெளிவருவாய் ஒரு நாட்டின் எதிர்கால அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டங்களை முன்னேற்றுவதற்கு, பெரும் பொருளாதாரத்தின் உறுதியைப் பேணுவதற்கு, திடீர் அதிர்ச்சிகளின் தாக்கத்தை சீர செய்வதற்கு மற்றும் வறுமையைக் குறைப்பதற்கு உதவ முடியும். 2004 இன் முடிவில் பதியப்பட்ட வெளிவருவாய் 1.3 பில்லியன் அமெரிக்க டொலர்கள் எனக் கணிக்கப்பட்டதுடன் தென்னாசியாவிலேயே உயர்ந்த தலைக்குரிய வெளிவருவாயை இலங்கை கொண்டிருந்தது. 2006 இல் பணியாட்களின் வெளிவருவாய் மொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தியின் (GDP) 8.7% ஆக இருந்தது. நாட்டின் ஏறத்தாழ 10% ஆன குடும்பங்கள் வெளிநாட்டிலிருந்தான மற்றும் உள்நாட்டிற்குள்ளான வெளிவருவாய் பெறுபவர்களாயுள்ளனர். 1990 களிலிருந்து மத்திய கிழக்கிலிருந்து பெறும் வெளிவருவாய் 50% இலும் கூடுதலாகத் தொடர்ந்தும் இருந்து வருகின்றது. இது 2002 வரை அதிகரித்து அதன் பின்னர் குறையும் போக்கினைக் காட்டுகின்றது.

வெளிவருவாய் வறுமையைக் குறைக்க முடியும் என்பதுடன் குடும்பங்களின் சேமிப்புக்கள் மற்றும் முதலீடுகளையும் உயர் வீதத்தில் கூட்ட உதவ முடியும். குடும்பங்களின் மற்றும் தனி நபர்களின் முன்னேற்றத்தில் வெளிவருவாய் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு பங்களிப்புச் செய்யும் ஒரு காரணியாகவுள்ளது. நீண்ட காலப் பாவனையைத் தரக்கூடிய நுகர்வோர் பொருட்களைக் குடும்பங்கள் பெறக்கூடியதாக இருப்பதுடன் மின்சாரம் போன்ற வசதிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்காக பணம் செலுத்தக்கூடியதாகவும் உள்ளன. இப்பணம் மேலும் குழந்தைகளிற்கு சிறந்த பாடசாலை மற்றும் தனியார் வகுப்புக்களை வழங்குவதிலும் செலவழிக்கப்படுகின்றது. குறிப்பாக வறிய குடும்பங்களிற்கு, மோதல் காலங்களில் அவர்களின் ஜீவனோபாய முதல்கள் அழிக்கப்பட்ட போது அவர்களை வாழவைப்பதில் வெளிவருவாய் குறிப்பாக முக்கியத்துவம் பெறுகின்றது.

வெளிவருவாய் சிறிய தொழில் முயற்சியாளர்களுக்கு மூலதனம் வழங்குவதுடன் பணம் தொடர்பான தடைகளைக் குறைத்து தொழில்களை முன்னேற்றுகின்றது. இந்நிதியின் உள்வருகையானது வளர்ச்சிக்கான பல சாத்தியக் கூறுகளைக் கொண்டிருந்தாலும் தற்போதைய நிலையில் இது இன்னும் சரியாக பயன்படுத்தப்படவில்லை. இருந்தாலும் வெளியிலிருந்தான இவ்வருவாய் நிலைபேறாகப் பயன்தரக்கூடிய விதத்தில் பயன்படத்தப்படாவிடில் நீண்ட கால பொருளாதார பாதுகாப்பினை எப்போதும் தராது.

## எதிர்கால வழிகாட்டல்கள்

1948 இல் குடிவரவு மற்றும் குடியகல்வு 20ம் இலக்க சட்டத்தை அனுமதிப்பதிலூடாக குடியகல்வில் ஒரு தேசிய கொள்கை அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்டது. மிக அண்மைக் காலத்தில் மகிந்த சிந்தனையின் பத்து வருட அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டம் உயர் திறனற்ற தொழிலாளர் புலம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் சட்ட விரோத புலம்பெயர்வு என்பன தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகளை அடையாளம் கண்டுள்ளதுடன் இவை

ஆரோக்கியமான கொள்கைகள் மற்றும் யுத்திகளினூடு நோக்கப்படவேண்டும் எனவும் யோசனை தெரிவிக்கிறது. கொள்கை திட்டவமைப்பினூடாக உள்வாரியான புலம்பெயர்வினை முகாமைத்துவம் செய்வதற்கான முயற்சிகள் தெளிவற்றதாக உள்ளன. மேலும் இவ்வாறான புலம்பெயர்வினை இயக்கப்பாட்டினை அடையாளம் கண்டுகொள்ள முடியாதவிடத்து இதனைக் கண்காணிப்பதும் இன்னும் சிக்கலானதாகும்.

வெளிவருவாயை முதலீடு செய்யும் விடயத்தில் திட்டமிடல் மற்றும் செயற்படுத்தலில் இன்னும் கவனம் தேவையாயுள்ளது. அரச மற்றும் அரச சார்பற்ற பாத்திரங்களினால் வெளிவருவாய் மிகவும் வினைத்திறனான விதத்தில் பயன்படுத்தப்படலாம் என்பது இனங்காணப்பட்டுள்ளதெனினும் இதன் நடைமுறைப்படுத்தப்படல் மிகவும் குறைவாகவே உள்ளது. புலம்பெயர் மக்களுக்கு முதலீடுகளை மேற்கொள்ள வேண்டி அரசிடமிருந்து அண்மைக்காலங்களில் வரும் ஊக்கங்களை விடுத்து நாட்டின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு வெளிவருவாய் எவ்வாறு பயன்படுத்தப்படலாம் என்பது பற்றிய தெளிவான திட்டமேதுமில்லை. இன்னும் அதிகமான கலந்துரையாடல்களும் ஆய்வுகளும் இவ்விடயத்தில் தேவை என்பது தெளிவாகும். ஏனைய நாடுகளிலிருந்தான பாடங்களிலிருந்தும் சில சிந்தனைகளை பெற்றுக் கொள்ளலாம்.

தொழில் வழங்கும் நாடுகளில் புலம்பெயர் மக்களின் பாதுகாப்பை உறுதிப்படுத்துவதற்கு மேலதிகமாக புலம்பெயர் மக்களையும் அவர்களில் தங்கியிருப்போரையும் உள்ளடக்கியதான ஒரு முழுமையான பாதுகாப்புத் திட்டவமைப்பு நன்மை பயக்கக்கூடியதாகும்.

இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரை உள்வாரியான மற்றும் வெளிவாரியான புலம்பெயர்விலான திருத்தமான தரவுகளை உருவாக்குவதற்கும் உறுதிப்படுத்துவதற்குமான தேவையை அழுத்தக் கூறுகிறது.

## சாத்தியமான சில உத்திகள்

கொள்கை செயன்முறைகளில் ஈடுபடல்: புலம்பெயர் மக்களின் மற்றும் அவர்களில் தங்கியிருப்போரின் நலனை இன்னும் அவர்களது ஈட்டல்களின் முதலீட்டினை பேணுகின்ற ஒரு முழுமையான கொள்கை சூழலுக்காக வாதாடுதல் கொள்கை விவாதங்களில் உள்வாரியான புலம்பெயர்வையும் உள்ளடக்குதல் கொள்கை விவாதங்களிற்கு புலம்பெயர் மக்களின் குரல்களையும் கொண்டு வரல் புலம்பெயர்வில் தற்போது கிடைக்கக்கூடிய தகவல்கள் மற்றும் ஆய்வுகளை முன்னேற்றுவதில் முதலீடு செய்தல்.

வெளிவருவாய்களை அபிவிருத்திக்காக பயன்படுத்தல்: தனிநபர் வெளிவருவாயின் உள்வருகையை கூட்டுவதில் கவனம் செலுத்தல் சமுதாய நன்மைக்காக வெளிவருவாயினை முதலீடு செய்வதில் கவனமெடுத்தல் புலம்பெயர் மக்களுக்கு தகவல் வழங்கும் சேவைகளை முன்னேற்றுவதல்.

புலம்பெயர் மக்களையும் அவர்களின் குடும்பங்களையும் பாதுகாத்தல்: தொழில் வழங்குநர்கள் மற்றும் தொழில் செய்வோரை பொறுப்பள்ளவர்களாக்குவதற்கு புலம்பெயர் மக்களிற்கான பாதுகாப்பு நடவடிக்கை முன்னேற்றதல் எடுக்கப்படுகின்ற பாதுகாப்புத் தொகுதிகள் எல்லா புலம்பெயர் மக்களையும் அவர்களை அனுப்பும் பிரதேசங்களையும் கருத்திற் கொள்ளக்கூடியதாக பலப்படுத்தப்படவேண்டும் மற்றும் திரும்பி வரும் புலம்பெயர் மக்களை மறந்துவிடாமலிருப்பதும் உறுதிப்படுத்தப்படவேண்டும்.

## நுண்ணிதி

### நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்

இக்கட்டுரை கிராமநிதி மற்றும் நுண்ணிதி இடையிலான வித்தியாசத்தை விளக்குவதுடன் ஆரம்பிக்கிறது. கிராம நிதி என்பது கிராமப்புற மக்களுக்கு பல்வேறு விதமான நிதிச் சேவைகளை வழங்குகின்ற அதேநேரம் நுண்ணிதியானிது குழு உத்தரவாதமளிப்பவர்களைத் தவிர வேறு எவ்வித பிணையுமின்றிய சிறு கடன்களை நோக்குகிறது.

நுண்ணிதியின் சேமிப்பு, கடன் மற்றும் நுண் காப்புறுதி எனும் மூன்று மூலகங்களும் வழிய மக்களின் அடிப்படைத்தேவைகளை நிறைவேற்றிக் கொள்வதற்காக பணத்தைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளச் செய்தும், அவர்களது அழுத்தமான நேரங்களில் பெரும் பாதுகாப்பினை வழங்கியும் அவர்களது வாழ்க்கைத் தரங்களை முன்னேற்றுவதில் பங்கு வகிக்கிறது. நுண்கடனின் தாக்கங்கள் மீதான அண்மைய ஆய்வுகள், நுண் கடன் மத்திய மற்றும் உயர் வருமானம் பெறும் பகுதியினர் அவர்களது வருமான, சொத்து மற்றும் வீடமைப்பு மட்டங்களில் நுண்கடனினூடாக முன்னேறியுள்ளனர் என்றும் ஆனால் மிகவும் வழிய நிலையிலுள்ள குடும்பங்களில் நுண்கடனின் தாக்கம் பிரதானமாக அவர்களது நுகர்வு மட்டத்தை அதிகரிப்பதாக உள்ளது என்றும் கண்டறிந்துள்ளது.

கிராம நிதியானது ஆரம்பத்தில் நீர்ப்பாசன நிலத்தில் உள்ள விவசாயிகளிற்கு வழங்கப்பட்டது. பின்னர் இதனைத் தொடர்ந்து நீர்ப்பாசனமற்ற விவசாயிகளையும் விவசாயமற்ற சிறிய தொழில் முயற்சிகளையும் உள்ளடக்கியதாக விருத்தியாகியது. கிராம நிதியிலான பெரிய ஆய்வொன்று வழியோர் உட்பட மக்களிற்கு அவர்கள் ஏற்கெனவே கடன் வாங்குவதற்கு உதவிகள் பெற்றில்லாவிடினும் கடனுதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் எவ்வித சிரமமூலில்லை எனக் காட்டுகிறது. இருந்தாலும் அவர்கள் பிணையாக வைப்பதற்கு எதையேனும் தேடிக் கொள்வதிலும், பதிவுகளை மேற்கொள்ளல் தொடர்பாகவும் கட்டங்களிற்கு முகம் கொடுக்கின்றனர். சிறிய வட்டி வீதங்களும் நீண்ட காலச் செயல்முறைகளும் கூட கிராம மக்களை சேமிப்பிலிருந்து தடுக்கின்றன.

கிராம மக்களிற்கான நுண்ணிதி முதல்களாவன அரசு வங்கிகள், உள்ளூர் மற்றும் அரசு சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்கள், கூட்டுறவு அமைப்பு மற்றும் சமுர்த்தி போன்ற விசேட அரசு முகவர் நிறுவனங்கள் என்பனவாகும். அரசாங்கமும் கிராமப்புறத்தை இலக்காகக் கொண்ட பல்வேறு விதமான முறையான கடன் வழிகளைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. இருந்தாலும் இக்கட்டுரையில் இலங்கையின் நுண்ணிதி ஆரம்ப முயற்சிகளின் பிரதான பலவீனங்களாக நிதி நிலைபெறுத் தன்மையின்மை மற்றும் சந்தை மையப்படுத்திய செலவுக் கட்டமைப்புக்கள் என்பன சுட்டிக் காட்டப்படுகின்றன. நுண்ணிதி நிறுவனங்களிற்கு தொழினுட்பம் மற்றும் ஆற்றல் விருத்தி (capacity building) என்பவற்றை வழங்குகின்ற பல முகவர் நிறுவனங்களுள்ளன. எவ்வாறாயினும் நுண்ணிதி நிறுவனங்களிற்கு முதலீடுகளை வழங்குதல் கடுமையாகத் தடுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு அடைவுகளைக் கொண்டுள்ள அதிக எண்ணிக்கையான நுண்நிதி முகவர் நிலையங்கள் இருந்தாலும் நாட்டின் பல பிரதேசங்களை இந்நிதி அடையவில்லை என இக்கட்டுரை கூறுகிறது. இப்பிரதேசங்களில் வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கு மாகாணங்கள் மற்றும் பெருந்தோட்டத்துறை என்பவையும் உள்ளடங்குகின்றன. கடன்களைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு மிகவும் கடினமான புவியியற் பிரதேசங்கள் வடமேற்கு, ஊவா மற்றும் கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களையும் உள்ளடக்குகின்றன.

இக்கட்டுரை நுண்நிதி நிறுவனங்களிலான தயாரிப்புகளின் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட ஒழுங்குகளை விமர்சிப்பதுடன் கிராமின் வங்கி மற்றும் ஏனையவற்றின் முன்னைய சோதனைகளில் ஆய்வு செய்யப்படாது தொக்கி நின்ற வருமான வருவாய்க்கான கடன்கள் என்பதையும் நோக்குகிறது. விளைவாக பல வறிய குடும்பங்கள் தமது அவசரத் தேவைகளிற்காக, சுகாதாரம் தொடர்பான விடயங்களிற்காக, வீட்டுப்பொருட்களை வாங்குவதற்காக மற்றும் தமது வீடுகளை முன்னேற்றிக் கொள்வதற்காக நுண்நிதி நிறுவனங்களிலிருந்து கடன் பெற்றுக் கொள்ள முடியாதிருக்கின்றனர். வருமான தோற்றத்திற்குரிய கடனுதவியிலான அழுத்தமானது பல கடன் வாங்குவோர் சிறிய தொழில் முயற்சிகளில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோர் என்பதையும், அன்றாடக் கூலி வேலை செய்வோர் கடனுதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள குறைவான வழிகளையே கொண்டுள்ளனர் என்பதையும் குறிக்கின்றது. மற்றுமொரு தடையாக கடனுதவிகளுடன் தேவையான சேவைகள் இல்லாமை குறிப்பிடப்படுகிறது.

இலங்கையில் நுண்நிதியானது சமூக, பெருளாதார வலுவூட்டலைக் கொண்டுள்ளதாக நியாயப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள ஒரு சமூக அடிப்படையிலான மாதிரியினூடாகவே பெருமளவில் வழங்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் இலங்கையின் நுண்நிதிச் சேவைகளின் குறைந்த தரத்திற்கு முக்கியமான ஒரு தனிக் காரணமாக இவ்வணுகுமுறையே காட்டப்படுகின்றது. பெரும்பாலான சமூகங்கள் செயற்பாடுகளின்றி முடிவடைகின்றன. பங்களாதேஷ், பாகிஸ்தான் போன்ற நாடுகளில் உள்ள நுண்நிதி நிறுவனங்கள் கையாளுகின்ற எளிய குழு மாதிரி இதனிலும் பொருத்தமானதாகும்.

நுண்நிதியிலிருந்து வறிய மக்கள் விசேடமாக சுகாதாரம், வாழ்க்கை மற்றும் விவசாயக் காப்புறுதிகளில் மிகவும் பயனடைவர். இலங்கையின் காப்புறுதிச் சந்தையானது 25 வருடங்களிற்கு முன்னர் நுண் கடன் இருந்த அதே நிலையில் மிகவும் விருத்தி குன்றியதாக உள்ளது. மேலும் இது வரையறுக்கப்பட்ட அடைவு, அதி உயர் கொடுக்கல் - வாங்கல் செலவு, உயிர்ப்பான செயன்முறைகளின்மை, பெரியளவு வர்த்தக செயற்பாட்டாளர்கள் குறைவாக உள்ளமை, அதிகப்படியான அரசு தலையீடு மற்றும் எதிர்காலத்தைப் பற்றிய கூடிய சந்தேகம் எனும் இயல்புகளால் இனங்காணப்படுகிறது. ஒரு சில நுண்நிதி நிறுவனங்கள் வாழ்க்கை கடன் காப்புறுதிகளை வழங்குகின்றன. ஆனால் பிரதான காப்புறுதியாளர் விவசாயம் மற்றும் விவசாய அபிவிருத்திச் சபையாகும் (AAIB). AAIB எல்லா பயிர்களுக்கும், எல்லா வகையான பண்ணை விலங்குகள் மற்றும் விவசாய இயந்திரங்கள், உபகரணங்களுக்கும் காப்புறுதி வழங்குகின்றது. விளைச்சலைப் பாதுகாத்துக் கொள்வதற்காக AAIB நெற்களஞ்சியத்திற்கான ஒரு காப்புறுதித்

திட்டத்தை அறிமுகப்படுத்தியுள்ளது. விவசாயிகளிற்கான நடைமுறையிலுள்ள ஒரேயொரு ஓய்வூதியத் திட்டத்தையும் இவ்வமைப்பே நிறுவிியுள்ளது.

இக்கட்டுரை IFAD இற்கு தனியே கடன்களை வழங்குவதையும் விட கொள்கை விவாதங்களில் கவனம் செலுத்தவும், நுண்நிதி நிறுவனங்களின் ஆற்றல்களைக் கட்டியெழுப்பவும், நுண்நிதி செயற்பாடுகளின் பரிமாணத்தினைக் கூட்டவும் யோசனைகளை வழங்கி முடிவுறுகிறது.

## கிராமிய நிறுவனங்கள்

### நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்

இக்கட்டுரை கிராம மக்களின் ஜீவனோபாயத்தில் தாக்கமேற்படுத்தும் அரசு, தனியார் மற்றும் அரசு சார்பற்ற பல்வேறுபட்ட மட்டங்களிலான நிறுவனங்களை விபரிக்கிறது.

அரசு நிறுவனங்கள் கிராமப்புறங்களை அடைவதில் மிக முக்கியமானவையாகும். விஷேடமாக இலங்கையின் பல பிரிவுகளிலான விவசாயிகளிற்கு ஒரே நிறுத்தத்திலான கடையாக சேவை செய்யும் விவசாய மத்திய நிலையத்தை (கொவி ஜன கேந்திரம்) கொண்டுசெல்கின்றதும் விவசாயிகளுடன் மிகவும் கூடிய தொடர்புகளைக் கொண்டதுமான விவசாய சேவைகள் திணைக்களத்தைக் குறிப்பிடலாம். இருந்தாலும் விவசாயிகளிற்கு இந்நிறுவனங்களால் வழங்கக்கூடிய ஆதரவு நிதிப் பற்றாக்குறை, திறமான அல்லது தரமான நிபுணர்கள் பற்றாக்குறை இன்னும் அரசியல் தாக்கங்கள் போன்ற பல காரணங்களால் தடைப்படுகின்றன. விவசாயமானது ஒரு மரபாக வரும் விடயமாகும். விவசாய மாகாணத் திணைக்களங்கள் தொழிறுட்பத்தில் பலமாக இருப்பினும், ஒருங்கமைப்பின்மை, இவர்கள் மற்றும் மத்திய அரசு முகவர்களிடையான ஆரோக்கியமற்ற போட்டி என்பன காரணமாக தமது திறன்களை அதிகரித்துக்கொள்ள மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட வழிகளையே கொண்டுள்ளனர். விலங்கு வேளாண்மையிலான விரிவாக்கலானது பிரதானமாக விவசாயிகள் அவர்களது சேவைகளிற்கு பணம் வழங்குகின்ற ஒரு முறைமையற்ற தனியார் துறையாக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதால் இது மக்களை சென்றடைவது அதிகமாகும். சமுர்த்தி திட்டத்தின் இலக்குக்குரிய சில நலன்புரி நன்மைகள் தவறினாலும் கிராம மட்டத்தில் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க விதத்தில் நுண்ணிதி சென்றடைய முடியாமலாகச் செய்வதால் இதற்கு உரிய இடம் வழங்கப்படலாம். மிகவும் குறைவாகப் பிரபல்யம் பெற்றுள்ள ஆனால் விவசாயிகளிற்கு முக்கியமான சேவையை வழங்குகின்ற ஒரு நிறுவனம் விவசாய மற்றும் விவசாயம் சார்ந்த காப்புறுதி சபையாகும் (AAIB). 2007 இல் AAIB நாடு முழுவதற்கும் சேவைகளை வழங்குவதுடன், 950,000 விவசாயிகள் ஓய்வூதியத்திற்கான காப்புறுதித் தவணைப் பணம் செலுத்துபவர்களாகவும் 55,125 விவசாயிகள் பயிர் மற்றும் உற்பத்திக் காப்புறுதிகளைப் பெற்றவர்களாகவும் இருந்தனர். தற்போது அரசினால் மானிய உதவி வழங்கப்படுகின்ற AAIB இன்னும் இரண்டு ஆண்டுகளில் சுயமாக இயங்குவதற்கான இலக்கைக் கொண்டுள்ளதால் விவசாயக் காப்புறுதிக்காக பல புதிய தயாரிப்புக்களை விருத்தி செய்து வருகின்றது.

இக்கட்டுரை அதிக எண்ணிக்கையான கிராமப் பெண்கள் மற்றும் ஆண்களுக்குரியதான மக்கள் அமைப்புக்களின் எண்ணிக்கை இலங்கையில் பெருகுவதை கலந்துரையாடுகிறது. இவ்வமைப்புக்கள் பொதுவாக சமுதாயத்தில் சிறந்த நிலையிலுள்ளவர்களால் ஆட்சி செய்யப்படுவதுடன் ஒரு கிராமத்தின் பல சங்கங்களில் அதிகாரம் கொண்டவர்களாக ஒரு சில மக்களே தொடர்ந்தும் இருப்பது வழமையான ஒரு காட்சியாகும் இவற்றில் மரண நன்கொடை சங்கம், சமுர்த்தி அமைப்புக்கள் தவிர்ந்த பல சமூக அமைப்புக்கள் வறியோரை விலத்தி

மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன. நீர்ப்பாசனத் திட்டங்களிலான நீர் முகாமைத்துவம் மற்றும் சேமிப்பு, கடனிலும் சமுதாய மட்ட அமைப்புக்கள் முக்கியமான இடம் வகிக்கின்றன. இலங்கையின் வரலாற்றின் இற்றைக்கு முன்னான மற்றும் தற்போதைய அபிவிருத்தி உதவிக் கட்டடங்களை இவ்வமைப்புக்களே ஆக்குகின்றதானது மக்களுக்கு இவ்வமைப்பின் பயனை பிரதிபலிக்கின்றது. நுண்ணிதி நிறுவனங்களின் வளர்ச்சியையும் விடுத்து அங்கத்தவர்கள் ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட தொகையை ஒவ்வொரு முறையும் வழங்கி சேரும் மொத்த தொகையினை ஒவ்வொருவரும் தமக்குரிய முறையில் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளும் 'சீட்டு' திட்டமும் ஒரு சேமிப்பு மற்றும் கடன் பெறும் பொறிமுறையாக தொடர்ந்தும் பிரபல்யமாக உள்ளது.

கிராமப்புறத்தில் தனியார் துறையின் ஈடுபாடானது பிரதானமாக அவர்களின் விற்பனை மற்றும் அவர்களுக்குத் தேவையான பொருட்களை வாங்குவதுமான சேவைகள்/உற்பத்திகளுடன் தொடர்புபட்டதாகும். அரசாங்கம் விரிவாக்கற் சேவைகளிற்கு மானிய உதவி வழங்கும் அதே நேரம் ஒரு தனியார் மயப்படுத்தப்பட்ட விரிவாக்கற் சேவைக்கு எந்தவொரு இடமுமில்லை. ஆனால் மேற்குறிப்பிடப்பட்ட பல்வேறுபட்ட காரணங்களால் இச்சேவைகளை போதுமானளவு வழங்குவதற்கு அரசாங்கத்தால் முடியவில்லை.

விவசாயத்துறை முகம் கொடுக்கும் சில சந்தைப் பிரச்சினைகளை தீர்ப்பதற்காக புதிய நிறுவனங்களும் நிறுவன ஏற்பாடுகளும் விருத்தி செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவை முன்னோக்கிய ஒப்பந்தம், காகில்ஸ் மற்றும் கீல்ஸ் போன்ற உணவு சில்லறை வர்த்தகர்களால் அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள சேகரிப்பு நிலையங்கள், ஒரு குறித்த சந்தைக்கு தெளிவான விவரணங்களுடனான உற்பத்திகளை விவசாயிகள் வளர்க்க உதவும் கள வெளியிலான தொடர்புகள் மற்றும் சந்தைபடுத்துவோர் அல்லது ஏற்றுமதியாளர்களிடமிருந்து வாங்குவதற்கான உத்தரவாதத்தினை நுகர்தலிலான சோதனைகளை உள்ளடக்குகின்றன.

நன்கொடையாளரால் உதவி வழங்கப்படுகின்ற செயற்திட்டங்கள் பங்குகொள்ளும் தன்மையை பலப்படுத்தியும், கிராமிய அரசியல் மற்றும் அறிவு சார் நிறுவனங்களின் ஆற்றலை விருத்திசெய்தும் நிறுவனங்களைக் கட்டியெழுப்ப முயற்சி செய்துள்ளது. ஆனால் இதன் தாக்கம் வழமையாக செயற்திட்டம் முடியும் வரையே காணப்படுகின்றது.

இக்கட்டுரை கிராம நிறுவனங்களின் மீள்உயிப்புட்டலிற்கான சில முக்கிய யுத்திகளை விபரிக்கின்றதுடன் ஐகுயுனு இற்கு வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கில் நிறுவனங்களை உருவாக்குதல், பல்நோக்கு கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்கள், விவசாய மற்றும் விவசாயம் சார்ந்த காப்புறுதி சபை மற்றும் சமுர்த்தி போன்ற கிராம வறிய மக்களுக்கு கருத்தக்க அளவு ஆதரவு வழங்கக்கூடிய ஆற்றலுள்ள அமைப்புக்களை பலப்படுத்துதல் போன்றவற்றிலான ஆய்வுகளில் ஈடுபடுமாறு யோசனை வழங்குகின்றது.



## குழல் மற்றும் காலநிலை மாற்றம்: விவசாய சமூகங்களின் இடர்களுக்கு முகம்கொடுக்கும் தன்னமயினை அதிகரித்தல்

### நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்

குழல், விவசாயம் மற்றும் வறியோரிடையான இணைப்புகள் குழல் மேம்பாடு மற்றும் மனித நல்வாழ்வு இடையான இணைப்புகளை ஆராயும் எண்ணக்கரு திட்டவமைப்பினுள்ளே அடக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இத்திட்டவமைப்பினுள் மனித நல்வாழ்வு என்பது அடிப்படைத் தேவைகள், பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் உணவு, நிலம் போன்ற பொருட்கள் இன்னும் நீர் மற்றும் போசனை வட்டம், அழகியப் பெறுமானம் போன்ற பல சேவைகளை வழங்கக்கூடிய குழற்றொகுதியின் சேவைகளில் தங்கியிருக்கக்கூடிய தெரிவுகள் என்பவை உள்ளடங்கலாக பல கூறுகளால் ஆக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதாக வரையறுக்கப்படுகிறது. தற்போதைய குழ்நிலை நிலைவரம் என்னவென்றால் தொடர்ச்சியான பொருட்கள் மற்றும் சேவைகளின் நுகர்வு குழலை அழிவடையச் செய்வதுடன் மக்களின் நீண்ட கால நிலைப்பேறான நல்வாழ்விற்கான பொருட்கள் மற்றும் சேவைகளை இயற்கைத் தொகுதியிலிருந்து பெற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடிய தகவினை இல்லாமற் செய்யும் அபாய நிலை தோன்றியுள்ளமையாகும்.

குழற்றொகுதியின் சேவை, மனித நல்வாழ்வு இடையான உறவு பணம், சமூக இடைத்தொடர்புகள், பலம் போன்ற இன்னும் பல மனித சமூகங்களில் நிலவுகின்ற சமூக, பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் காரணிகளால் இன்னும் சிக்கலாக்கப்படுகிறது. இந்நிலைமைகள் இயற்கை வளங்களின் மீது ஒரு சமனில்லாத கட்டுப்பாட்டு நிலைக்கு இட்டுச்செல்வதால் இது வறுமையை அதிகப்படுத்துவதுடன் குழல் அழிவிற்கும் பாதை வகுக்கிறது.

விவசாயத் தொகுதிகளைப் பொறுத்தவரையில், அது எமது அடிப்படை உணவு உற்பத்திக்காக நிலம் (மண்), நீர் மற்றும் காலநிலை போன்ற அடிப்படைத் தேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு குழலையே நம்பியுள்ளது. இயற்கை வளங்கள் மாற்றப்பட்டு விவசாயத் தேவைகளிற்காக பயன்படுத்தப்படும் போது குழலிற்கும் விவசாயத் தொகுதிகளிற்குமிடையில் ஒரு கொடுக்கல் - வாங்கல் தொடர்பு நிலவுகின்றதெனலாம். தற்போதுள்ள விவசாயச் செயல்முறைகள் அதிக உள்ளீடு மற்றும் அதிக விளைச்சல் என்பவற்றையே நோக்காகக் கொண்டுள்ளதால் விவசாயக் சமூகங்களிடையே வறுமை தொடர்ந்தும் நிலவி வரும் அதேவேளை இவை குழல் அழிவிற்கும் இட்டுச்செல்கின்றன. தற்போதைய இந்நிலைவரங்களில் எதிர்வுகூறப்பட்டுள்ள பூகோள காலநிலை மாற்றத்தின் விளைவுகளும் இயற்கைத் தொகுதியின் அழிவையும் இதனால் மனித நல்வாழ்வைப் பேணுவதற்கான இயற்கைத் தொகுதியின் தகவு குறைவதையும் சுட்டிக் காட்டுகிறது. இவ்விளைவுகளின் தீவிரம் ஏலவே வறிய நிலையிலுள்ள மக்களால், விசேடமாக தமது ஜீவனோபாயத்திற்காக விவசாயத்தில் தங்கியுள்ள மக்களாலும், திடீர் வெளித்தாக்கங்களை தாங்கிக்கொள்வதற்கான வலுக் குறைந்த சிறியளவு உற்பத்தியாளர்களாலும் அதிகம் உணரப்படுகிறது.

இந்நிலைமைகளின் காரணமாக இக்கட்டுரை முன்னெடுக்கப்படும் வறுமை ஒழிப்பு நிகழ்ச்சித்திட்டங்கள் நீண்ட கால நிலைபேறுத்தன்மையுடையவையாக அமைவதற்காக அவை திட்டமிடப்படும்போது சூழல் மற்றும் மனித நல்வாழ்விற்கிடையான உறவுகளை முன்னிறுத்த வேண்டும் என்பதை நோக்காகக் கொண்டுள்ளது.

விவசாயத்தில் தங்கியுள்ள கிராம வறிய மக்களின் வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்தினைக் கூட்டுவதற்காக மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் நிகழ்ச்சித்திட்டங்கள் மற்றும் செயற்றிட்டங்களுக்கு தேவையானதாக பின்வரும் சிபாரிசுகளும் முடிவுகளும் முன்வைக்கப்படுகின்றன.

- தற்போது நிலவுகின்ற சூழல் அழிவடைதல் மற்றும் விவசாயத் தொகுதிகளில் காலநிலை மாற்றம் தோற்றுவித்துள்ள அச்சுறுத்தல்கள் போன்றன உணவுப் பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் வறுமைக் குறைப்பில் ஒரு அபாய நிலையை உருவாக்கியுள்ளதால் இவற்றுக்கு உரிய கவனம் வழங்கப்பட வேண்டியது அவசியமாகும். இவ்வச்சுறுத்தல்கள் வர்த்தகங்கள் வழமையான விதத்தில் தொடரப்பட முடியாது எனவும் அவை நிலைபேறான அபிவிருத்திக்கு உரிய வழியிலான தலையீடுகளையும் நோக்க வேண்டும் என்பதனையும் வலியுறுத்துகின்றன. இத்தலையீடுகளை இயலுமான வரையில் தாமதமின்றி விரைவாகத் தொடர்வதானது சூழ்நிலைகளிற்கு இசைவாக்கமடைந்து, தேவையான பிரதியீட்டு மாதிரிகளை அமைத்துக்கொள்வதற்கு கூடிய ஆற்றலைத் தரும்.
- வறிய விவசாயிகள் அழிவடைந்த வளங்களிலேயே அதிகம் நம்பிக்கை வைப்பதுடன் இன்னுமின்னும் சூழல் தாக்கங்களுக்கு உள்ளாகும் பலவீனமான நிலைக்கு ஆளாகின்றனர். இருந்தாலும் அவர்களுக்கு மிகவும் விருப்பமாக இருப்பினும் அவர்களது ஆபத்துக்களை எதிர்கொள்ளும் ஆற்றல் குறைவாகையால் நிலைபேறான விவசாயத் தொகுதிகளிலான சவால்களை (ஒத்துழைப்புகளின்றி) முன்னெடுக்க முடியாதவர்களாய் உள்ளனர். எனவே செயற்றிட்டங்கள், ஊக்கத்திட்டங்கள் மற்றும் ஆபத்து முகாமைத்துவ திட்டங்கள் போன்ற இவர்களுக்கு ஒத்துழைப்பு வழங்கக்கூடிய கட்டமைப்புக்களை வழங்குதல் தூண்டப்பட வேண்டும். இத்திட்டங்கள் செயற்பாட்டாளர்களின் பொருத்தப்பாட்டிற்கு ஏற்ப வறிய குடும்பங்களின் வாழ்க்கையை கொண்டு செல்வதற்கான யுக்திகளை அதிகரிக்கும் விதத்தில் முற்சோதனை செய்யப்பட்டு மேற்கொள்ளப்படலாம்.
- சூழல் பாதுகாப்பினை கருத்திற் கொண்டுள்ள பல நல்ல செயன்முறைகள் பிரயோகிக்கப்படும் சிபாரிசு செய்யப்பட்டுமுள்ளன. எனினும் அவை பொருளாதார நன்மைகளிற்கு கட்டாயமாக உத்தரவாதமளிக்கவில்லை. எனவே நிலைபேறான விவசாய செயன்முறைகளிற்கு பொருளாதார இலாபங்களை ஊக்கப்படுத்தும் சந்தைகள், நிலைமைகள் உருவாகுவது தேவையாயுள்ளது.
- நிலைபேறான அபிவிருத்திச் செயன்முறைகளில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள பல பங்குதாரர்களும் விருப்புடன் செயற்படும் குழுக்களும் உள்ளன. இவர்களிடையே ஒன்றுபட்ட செயற்பாட்டினைக் கட்டியெழுப்புவதும், வெற்றி

– வெற்றி எனும் போட்டி நிலையை உருவாக்குவதும் இத்திட்டங்களின் வினைத்திறனான அமுலாக்கத்திற்கும் மற்றும் வளப்பயன்பாட்டிற்கும் இன்றியமையாததாகும்.

- நிலைபேறான விவசாய செயன்முறைகள் இடம் மற்றும் பயிர் சார்ந்தது. எனவே தெரிவு செய்யப்படும் செயன்முறைகள் தொடர்பான தீர்மானங்கள், தற்போது மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்ற அடிப்படை செயன்முறைகளை மதிப்பிடுதல், காலநிலை மாற்றங்களால் ஏற்படக்கூடிய அச்சுறுத்தல்களிலான உருவகக் காட்சிகளை உருவாக்கல் உட்பட இன்னும் ஆராய்ச்சிகளையும் அபிவிருத்தியையும் மற்றும் இச்செயன்முறைகளின் செயற்றிறனை உறுதிப்படுத்துவதற்கான கள நிலைச் சோதனைகளை மேற்கொள்ளல் என்பவற்றினூடு வினைத்திறனானவையாக எடுக்கப்படவேண்டும்.

குழல் தொடர்பான கூறுகளிற்கு ஒத்துழைப்புதும் விவசாயிகளிற்கு காலநிலை மாற்றங்களால் ஏற்படும் அச்சுறுத்தல்களிற்கு முகம் கொடுப்பதற்குத் தூண்டுவதும், நிலைபேறான அபிவிருத்தியின் குறிக்கோள்கள் மற்றும் பெறுமதிகளை மதிக்கும் வகையில் உற்பத்திகளை மேற்கொள்ளவும் சந்தைப்படுத்தவும் தேவையான மாதிரி அல்லது சிறந்த செயன்முறைகளை உருவாக்குவதற்கான வாய்ப்புகளை வழங்கும்.

## வாய்ப்புகளும் சவால்களும்

இப்புத்தகத்தில் தொடரும் அத்தியாயங்கள் அடையாளப்படுத்தப்பட்ட கருப்பொருள் பிரதேசங்களில், கிராம மக்களுக்கு ஒத்துழைப்பு வழங்கக்கூடிய பல வாய்ப்புக்களையும் சவால்களையும் அடையாளம் காண்கிறது. முழுமையான நோக்கில் இக்கட்டுரைகள் வெறும் பிரதேச வாரியானதாக அல்லாது கிராமப்புறங்களில் வறுமையைக் குறைப்பதில் உதவக் கூடிய மூன்று பரந்த யுத்திகளுக்கூறிய தெரிவுகளைக் குறித்துக் காட்டும் வறுமை மையப்படுத்திய அணுகுமுறையை எடுக்கின்றது. இத்தெரிவுகள் உற்பத்தித்திறன் கொண்ட வறியோர் எனும் குழுக்களிலும் அவர்களது ஜீவனோபாய செயற்பாடுகளுக்கு ஆதரவு வழங்கக் கூடிய வாய்ப்புகளிலும், சவால்களிலும் முக்கிய கவனம் செலுத்துகின்றன.

வறியோரை கவனத்தில் கொண்டுள்ள இவ்வணுகுமுறை வறிய பிராந்தியங்களுக்கு விவசாய முதலீடுகளை வழங்கும் இலக்கினூடு வறுமை மற்றும் சமனிம்மையைக் குறைப்பதை நோக்காகக் கொண்டுள்ள மகிந்த சிந்தனையின் 10 வருட அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தின் மொத்த கொள்கை அமைப்புகளுடன் இணைந்து செல்கின்றது. தற்போதைய உலக நிலைமைகளின் கீழ் இது உள்ளூர் சந்தைகளுக்கான உணவுப் பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் உற்பத்தியைக் கருத்திற் கொண்டு ஏற்றுமதி விவசாயம் மற்றும் தனியார் துறை கூட்டுச் செயற்பாடுகளை நோக்கி ஒரு நிலைப்படுத்துவதை குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது.

இப்பகுதி இலங்கையில் கிராமப்புறங்களான உற்பத்தித்திறன்கொண்ட வறியோருக்கு ஆதரவு வழங்குவதை கவனத்திற் கொண்டுள்ள IFAD போன்ற முகவர் நிறுவனங்கள் தலையிடக்கூடிய யுத்திகளை விருத்தி செய்வதற்காக தொடரும் கட்டுரைகளின் விவாதங்களில் முன்மொழியப்பட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்களை கவனத்தில் கொண்டு இவ்விவாதங்களின் சுருக்கத்தினை வழங்குகின்றது.

### 1. சிறியளவு பயிர்செய்கையாளர்களின் ஜீவனோபாயத் தெரிவுகளை உயர்த்துதல்.

இலங்கையின் பெரும்பாலான விவசாயச் செயற்பாடுகள் சிறியளவு பயிர்ச் செய்கையாளர்களாலேயே மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன. தற்போது பயன்படுத்தப்படுகின்ற பயிர்கள் மற்றும்/அல்லது பல்வகைமையடைதலில் விருத்தி, வர்த்தகமயமாக்கல் இன்னும் சந்தைகளுக்கான விருத்தியடைந்த இணைப்புக்கள் என்பவற்றினூடு இவர்களின் ஜீவனோபாய விளைவுகளை முன்னேற்றுவதற்கான பல வாய்ப்புக்கள் உள்ளன.

பெரும்பாலும் சந்தை விளிம்புகளில் உள்ள, பல குடும்பங்களின் பிரதான வருவாய் முதலாக விவசாயத்தையே கொண்டுள்ளவராக உள்ள சிறியளவு பயிர்ச் செய்கையாளர்களும் உள்ளனர். இவை இடை மற்றும் உயர் நாட்டினுள்ள தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்செய்கையாளர்கள், வாசனைத் திரவியங்கள் பயிரிடுவோர், காய்கறி பயிரிடுவோர் மற்றும் மேட்டுநில (சேனை) பயிர்செய்கை, பழப்பயிர்செய்கை மற்றும் மழை நீரால் வளமூட்டப்படுகின்ற

நெற் பயிர்ச்செய்கை என்பவற்றில் பாரம்பரியமாக ஈடுபட்டுள்ள சிறிய விவசாயிகளையும் உள்ளடக்குகின்றன.

### தேயிலை சிறு பயிர்ச் செய்கையாளர்கள்.

ஊவா, சப்ரகமுவ மாகாணங்கள் மற்றும் நுவரெலியா மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள சிறு தேயிலை பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் வீழ்ச்சியடைகின்ற உற்பத்தித்திறன், உலகில் அண்மைக்காலத்தில் தேயிலை விலையிலான வீழ்ச்சியாலான மோசமான நிலை மற்றும் தேயிலைத் தொழிற்சாலைகளிலிருந்து தேயிலைக் கொழுந்துகளின் கொள்வனவிலான வீழ்ச்சி என்பவற்றுக்கு முகம்கொடுக்கின்றனர். சில சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் ஏலவே காய்கறிப் பயிர்ச்செய்கைகளை விரும்பி தேயிலைச் செய்கையை கைவிட்டுள்ளனர். என்றாலும் பலமான சரிவுகளையுடைய ஓரப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு தேயிலை மிகவும் பொருத்தமாக இருப்பதுடன் இது ஒரு பல்லாண்டுத் தாவரமாதலால் குறைந்தளவு நிலப்பண்படுத்தலையே வேண்டி உள்ளதுடன் இது மண்ணரிப்பையும் தடுக்கின்றது. மேலும் தேயிலைச் செய்கையிலிருந்து ஏனைய குறுகிய காலப் பயிர்களைப் பயிரிடுவது மண்ணரிப்பைக் கூட்டலாம். தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களுக்கான ஆதரவானது சாத்தியமான, ஸ்திரமில்லாத உலகத் தேயிலைச் சந்தையினை மற்றும் ஒரு தனிப் பயிரில் தங்கியிருக்கும் தன்மையிலான சாத்தியங்களை சரிக்கட்டுவதாக அமைய வேண்டும்.

தேயிலை நிலங்களின் உற்பத்தித் திறனானது மீள் பயிரிடல் அல்லது பயிர் பல்வகைமைப்படுத்தலினூடு முன்னேற்றப்படலாம். அரசாங்கக் கொள்கையானது இன்னும் அடையப்படாத வருடாந்த 2% ஐ மீள் பயிரிடலுக்கு வழங்குகின்றது. தற்போது அரசாங்கத்தேயிலைப்பயிர்ச்செய்கை விருத்தியையும் முன்னெடுத்துள்ளது. தேயிலை உற்பத்தியைத் தொடர்வதன் நிலையான தன்மையானது உலக சந்தையில் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகள் ஏற்படும் போதும் தேயிலை உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் தேயிலைக் கொழுந்துகளை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களிடமிருந்து கொள்வனவு செய்யக் காட்டும் விருப்பத்தையும் குறிக்கின்றது. பயிர்ச்சேதங்கள் மற்றும் சந்தை விலைத் தளம்பல்களின் போது காப்புறுதி வழங்கக்கூடியதாக இருத்தல், இடை மற்றும் உயர் நாட்டு சிறு தேயிலை பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களுடன் "தே சக்தி" மாதிரியை<sup>1</sup> மீண்டும் நடைமுறைப்படுத்தல் மற்றும் வேறு துறைகளில் கேள்வி குறையும் நேரங்களில் தேயிலைத் தொழிற்சாலை உரிமையாளர்களுக்கு தேயிலைத் தொழிற்சாலையில் உள்ள மேலதிக மனித வலு மற்றும் வளங்களை ஈடுபடுத்துவதற்கான ஆதரவினை வழங்கும் போன்றன தேயிலைசிறு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்கள் மற்றும் பின்தங்கிய நிலையிலுள்ள விவசாயிகளிற்கு பின்னோக்கிய தொடர்புகளை வழங்கக்கூடும்.

<sup>1</sup> தே சக்தி நிதியானது தேயிலைச் சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையாளர்களின் பொருளாதார, சமூக நல்வாழ்வின் முன்னேற்றத்தினை குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டு 2000 ஆம் ஆண்டில் 2000 ஆம் ஆண்டின் 17 ஆம் இலக்க சட்டத்தின் கீழ் நிறுவப்பட்டது. இது தே சக்தி நிதியின் செயற்பாடு, தேயிலைத் தொழிற்சாலைகளின் முகாமைத்துவம், உர உற்பத்தி மற்றும் பகிர்வு, தேயிலை உள்ளூர் விற்பனை மற்றும் தே சக்தி காப்புறுதி திட்டம் என்பவற்றை உள்ளடக்குகிறது.

இடை மற்றும் உயர் நாட்டில் டென்ட்ரோ சக்தி, விலங்குத்தீன், காய்கறி, மிளகு அல்லது ஏனைய பல்லாண்டு பயிர்களினூடான கலப்புச்செய்கையினூடாக சிறு தேயிலை பயிர்செய்கையிலான பல்வகைமையடைதலானது சந்தைகளைக் கட்டுப்படுத்துவதிலும் குடும்ப வருமானத்தை நிலை நிறுத்த இலகுவாக அமைவதால் குறைந்த அடித்துள்ள தெரிவாகும். இதன் நிலையானதன்மை (வாழ்தகவானது) விரிவாக்கற் சேவைகளை வழங்கள் மற்றும் சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்களிலேயே பெரிதும் தங்கியிருக்கும்.

## வாசனைத் திரவியம் மற்றும் காய்கறி பயிரிடுவோர்.

மத்திய மற்றும் ஊவா மாகாணங்களில் (விஷேடமாக ஊவா) வாசனைத் திரவியம் மற்றும் காய்கறி உற்பத்தியாளர்களின் உற்பத்தித் திறனிற்கான தடைகள் தாவர இனப் பெருக்கப் பகுதிகளின் பற்றாக்குறை மற்றும் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்களிலிருந்தே தோன்றுகின்றன. ஊவா மாகாணத்தின் உலர் பகுதிகளிலான சிறியளவு சேனைப் பயிர்செய்கையாளர்களையும் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்கள் தடை போடுகின்றன. இச்சிறியளவு விவசாயிகள் சந்தை மற்றும் பெறுமதி கூட்டல் வாய்ப்புக்களை பெற்றுக் கொள்வதற்காக பல முனையுள்ள உத்தியோன்று செயற்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டியது அவசியமாகும்.

இவ்வாறான ஒரு உத்தி உற்பத்தியின் தரத்தை மேம்படுத்தல், இலங்கையின் நகர்ப்புற சந்தைகளுக்கான உற்பத்திகளை இனங்காணுதல், களஞ்சியப்படுத்தலுக்கான வழிகளை முன்னேற்றுதல், போக்குவரத்தின் போது ஏற்படும் வீண்விரயங்களை குறைப்பதற்காக தொழில்நுட்பங்களை அறிமுகப்படுத்தல் போன்ற விநியோகத்துக்கான பிரச்சினைகளையும் உள்ளடக்கலாம். இவ்வுற்பத்திக்கான கேள்வியைத் தூண்டவும் சந்தை வழிகளின் வழங்குவதற்குமான வாய்ப்புக்கள், தனியார் துறை சில்லறை வியாபாரிகள் (உதாரணம்: காகில்ஸ்), ஏற்றுமதியாளர்கள் மற்றும் விவசாய வர்த்தகங்களுடன் தொடர்புகளை ஏற்படுத்தி, முன்னோக்கிய உடன்படிக்கைத் திட்டங்களை பாதுகாப்பதற்கு நுட்பங்களை நிறுவி உள்ளூர்/உலக சந்தை அறிவினை முன்னேற்றி இன்னும் மாவட்ட மட்டத்தில் பெறுமதி கூட்டல் கிராமக் கைத்தொழில்களுக்கு ஆதரவு வழங்கி மஹியங்களை போன்ற ஒரு இடத்தில் (ஊவா மாகாணத்திலிருந்து வரும் உற்பத்திகளுக்கு) தம்புள்ளையில் உள்ளதைப் போன்ற கொள்வனவு மையங்களை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதினூடாக உருவாக்கப்படலாம்.

ஆய்வுகள், விரிவாக்கல், உள்ளீட்டுப் பொருட்களின் விநியோகம், பதப்படுத்தல் மற்றும் விவசாய உற்பத்திகளின் ஏற்றுமதி போன்ற பல சேவைகளை வழங்கி விவசாய வர்த்தகம் மற்றும் விவசாய கைத்தொழிற் துறையில் தனியார் துறையினரும் அரசு சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களும் ஒரு முக்கியமான இடத்தை வகிக்கின்றன. பெரும்பாலும் தனியார் துறையினரே கலப்பின விதைகள், நுண் - நீர்ப்பாசனத் தொழில்நுட்பம், விவசாய இரசாயனப் பதார்த்தங்கள், பொதி செய்யும் பொருட்கள் மற்றும் விவசாய உபகரணங்களை வழங்குகின்றன. மேலும் பெரும்பாலான உணவு பதனிடல் செயற்பாடுகளும் இத்துறையினராலேயே

மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன. IFAD மற்றும் ஏனையவர்களின் ஆதரவுடனான செயற்திட்டங்களினூடாக இலங்கையில் முன்னோக்கிய உடன்படிக்கையிடலில் சிறிது அனுபவமுள்ளது. இது மதிப்பிடப்பட்டு நல்ல செயன்முறைகள் பிரதியிடப்பட வேண்டும். இன்னும் விவசாய வர்த்தகத்திற்கு சார்பான ஒரு கொள்கைச் சூழல், தொழிற்பாடுள்ள பொது மற்றும்/அல்லது தனியார் விரிவாக்கத் தொகுதி, போக்குவரத்து, களஞ்சிய வசதிகள் போன்ற இன்னும் பல சந்தை உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகள் என்பனவும் தேவைப்படுகின்றன. இவ்வாறான யுக்திகளை வழங்குவதில் முக்கிய பங்கு வகிக்கின்ற நிறுவனங்கள் சிறு தேயிலை சிறியளவு பயிர்ச் செய்கையாளர் சங்கம் (TSHA) மற்றும் தேசிய விவசாய வர்த்தக சபையின் (NAC) ஏனைய அங்கத்தவர்கள், ஏற்றுமதி விவசாயத் திணைக்களம் (DEA), இதே போல் கூடுதலாக பெண்களுக்கு உரிமையான பெண்களால் முகாமைத்துவம் செய்யப்படுகின்ற தொழில் முயற்சிகளில் கவனம் கொண்டுள்ள பெண்கள் வர்த்தக சபை உட்பட பல்வேறு வர்த்தக சபைகள் என்பனவாகும்.

வர்த்தக மையப்படுத்தலானது சூழல் அதே போல் வெளிச் சந்தை விசைகளால் தூண்டப்படக்கூடிய அதிர்ச்சிகளைத் தாங்குவதற்கான விவசாயிகளின் ஆற்றல் எனும் இரண்டையும் கவனத்தில் கொண்டே மேற்கொள்ளப்பட வேண்டும். உள்ளூர் சந்தைகளை இலக்காகக் கொண்ட குறைந்த ஆபத்துக்களை கொண்ட உத்திகள் ஏற்றுமதிகளினூடாக அதிகரித்து வரும் பெறுமதி கூட்டல்களுக்கு எதிராக சமப்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டும். சேதன உணவுப் பொருட்களுக்கான உயர் சந்தைகளை இலக்காகக் கொண்டு இரசாயனப் பதார்த்தங்கள் கூடுதலாகப் பயன்படுத்தப்படாது காய்கறிகளை உற்பத்தி செய்தல் மற்றும் சேதன விவசாயத்தின் ஏனைய துறைகளில் ஊக்கங்களைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதற்கு இலங்கைக்கான விவசாயக் கொள்கையில் சூழலில் நிலைபேற்றுத் தன்மையுடனான செயற்பாடுகளுக்கான விவகாரங்களை பயன்படுத்தவும் வாய்ப்புண்டு. பயிர் காப்புறுதித் திட்டங்கள் விவசாயிகளை சர்வதேச சந்தை வீழ்ச்சிகளின் போது தாங்குவதுடன் பருவ முடிவின்போது விதைகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதற்கான வழிகளை வழங்கி, பயிர் அழிவுகளுக்கான ஆபத்துக்களையும் குறைக்கும்.

## 2. அதிகரித்த போட்டியும் சிறியளவு விலங்கு வேளாண்மைப் பண்ணையாளர்களுக்கு சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்களினைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதற்கான வழிகளும்.

வறுமை ஒழிப்பு யுக்திகள் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டிய இரண்டாவது உற்பத்தித்திறனுடைய வறியோர் சிறியளவு விலங்கு வேளாண்மைப் பண்ணையாளர்கள், குறிப்பாக வறியோர் என இனங் காணப்பட்ட மற்றும் விவசாயத்தில் தங்கியுள்ள மாவட்டங்களில் பாலுற்பத்தியில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள விவசாயிகளாவர். இக்குழுவினரின் மேலான கவனமானது தேசிய பாலுற்பத்தியைக் கூடுதலாக அரசாங்கக் கொள்கையுடன் நேரடியாக ஒன்றுபட்டதாகும். மத்திய மற்றும் உயர் நாட்டில் பாலுற்பத்தியானது காய்கறி பயிர்ச்செய்கை போன்ற மேலும் ஜீவனோபாயச் செயற்பாடுகளுடன் இணைந்ததாக

மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றது. பொதுவாக மந்தைகளை இக்குடும்பங்களிலுள்ள பெண்களே பராமரிக்கின்றனர். அங்கு பால் சேகரிப்புக்கு சார்பளவில் நல்ல உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகள் உள்ளதுடன் செயற்கையான கருத்தரிப்பு முறைகள் காணப்படுவதுடன் விவசாயிகளுக்கு உள்ளூர் நிலைமைகளுக்குப் பொருத்தமான உயர் விளைச்சலைத் தரக் கூடிய கலப்பினத்துக்குரிய மந்தைகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளக் கூடியதுமாகவுள்ளது. காய்கறிப் பயிர்செய்கையின் போது மாட்டுச் சாணத்தை உரமாகப் பயன்படுத்தும் ஒன்றிணைந்த விவசாய - விலங்கு வேளாண்மை செயற்பாடுகளும் காணப்படுகின்றன. இருந்தாலும் இச்சிறியளவு பண்ணையாளர்கள் தமது மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட வளங்களை தேவையானளவு உயர்த்திக் கொள்வதில் சில பாரிய தடைகளுக்கு முகம் கொடுப்பதுடன் பாலுற்பத்தியும் உயர் சாத்தியமான உற்பத்தியிலும் மிகக் குறைவாகும்.

போட்டியிடும் ஆற்றலைக் கூட்டவும், சந்தை வாய்ப்புக்களைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளவும் சிறியளவு பண்ணையாளர்கள் தாம் உற்பத்தி செய்யும் பாலின் தரத்தையும் அளவையும் முன்னேற்ற வேண்டும். தமது விலங்கு வேளாண்மை முகாமைத்துவச் செயன்முறைகளை விருத்தி செய்து கொள்ள விவசாயிகளிற்கு சிறந்த திறன்கள், தொழில்நுட்பம் மற்றும் நிதி உதவிகள் என்பன தேவைப்படுகின்றன. பலவீனமான நிலையிலுள்ள விரிவாக்கற் சேவையினால் ஏற்பட்ட இடைவெளிகளை நிரப்புவதற்கு தனியார் துறை (உதாரணம் : நெஸ்லே) மற்றும் பாலுற்பத்தி, விளங்கு வேளாண்மைப் பண்ணையாளர்களுக்கு ஆதரவு வழங்கும் அரசு கம்பனிகளினுடனான கூட்டுறவு தேவைப்படுகின்றது. சிறியளவு விவசாய உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் விலங்கு வேளாண்மைத் துறைக்காக உயரமான மரப் புல் (விலங்குத் தீனை) உற்பத்தி செய்வதற்கு ஊக்குவிக்கப்படுகின்றனர். உயரமான மரப் புல் (விலங்குத் தீன்) ஆனது புல்லிலும் குழலிற்கு உகந்ததான தெரிவாக காணப்படுவதுடன் இது டென்ட்ரோ சக்தியை உற்பத்தி செய்வதிலும் பங்களிக்கிறது. சில பிரதேசங்களில் நல்ல தரத்திலான பால் தரும் பசுக்களுக்கான பற்றாக்குறை இருக்கக் கூடுமெனினும் இது விலங்கு வேளாண்மை அபிவிருத்தியில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள அரசு மற்றும் அரசு சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களுடன் இணைந்து ஆராயப்பட வேண்டும்.

சிறியளவு பாற்பண்ணை விவசாயத்துடன் இணைந்த பல தேசியக் கொள்கைகளும் நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்களும் உள்ளன. இவற்றுள் வெற்றிகரமான (கிரி கம்மான) பாற்கிராமம் செயற்றிட்டம், கெமிதிரிய (உலக வங்கியால் உதவி வழங்கப்பட்டது), ஜப்பானிய நிதியுதவியுடனான PEACE நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டம் என்பன பெயர் குறிப்பிடக்கூடிய சிலவாகும். விலங்கு வேளாண்மை அபிவிருத்திக் கொள்கை, வர்த்தகக் கொள்கைகள் மற்றும் மந்தைகளை பெருக்குதலிலான கொள்கைகள் விலங்கு வேளாண்மை அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் பால் உற்பத்திக்கான திட்டவமைப்பை வழங்குகின்றன. 1989 இலிருந்து மந்தைகளுக்கான பெருக்குதல் கொள்கை மாற்றப்படவில்லை. இதனை மீளாய்வு செய்யவும் தேவையேற்படின் திருத்தவும் வேண்டிய தேவையுள்ளது. வணிகத்திலான அரசியல் வாக்குவண்மை இறக்குமதி செய்யும் பாலுணவுகளைக் குறைப்பதை மற்றும் உள்ளூர் திரவ பால் உற்பத்தி மற்றும் நுகர்வினை அதிகரிப்பதற்கான தூண்டுதல்களை ஆதரிக்கின்றன. விலங்கு வேளாண்மை அபிவிருத்திச் சபை மற்றும் விவசாயச் சேவைகள் திணைக்களம் என்பன இக்கைத்தொழில் துறைக்கு ஒத்துழைப்பதற்குரிய வேலையில் ஈடுபடுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன.



### 3. உள்ளூர் தொழிலுக்காக வருமானம் உருவாக்கும் வாய்ப்புகளை அதிகரிப்பதற்கு கிராமிய பொருளாதாரத்தை தூண்டுதல்.

கவனத்தில் கொள்ளப்பட வேண்டிய முன்றாவது பகுதி பிரதானமாக விவசாயத்தில் மற்றும்/அல்லது மீன் பிடித்துறையில் பெரிதும் தங்கியுள்ள கிராமக் குடும்பங்களுள்ள பிரதேசங்களிலான கிராமியக் கைத்தொழில், விவசாய வர்த்தகம், உற்பத்தி மற்றும் கிராமிய மக்களுக்கான சேவைகள் வழங்கல் என்பவற்றை உள்ளடக்குகின்ற பொதுவாக கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தை தூண்டுவதற்கான தேவையாகும். இது மிகவும் வறிய நிலையில் உள்ள குடும்பங்கள் பெரிதும் அவ்வப்போதான விவசாயம் சாராத தொழில்களில் தங்கியுள்ளதாலாகும். தொழில்களில் ஈடுபட்டில்லாத இளைஞர்கள், பருவத்தில் மட்டும் வேலை செய்வோர் (விசேடமாக மீன் பிடிச் சமுதாயங்கள்) மற்றும் இடம்பெயரும் வேலையாட்களுக்கான விவசாயம் சாராத தொழில் வாய்ப்புக்கள் உருவாக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

கிராமியப் பொருளாதாரத்தை விருத்தி செய்வதானது ஆசியாவின் ஏனைய பகுதிகளில் ஒரு சிறந்த வறுமையை இலக்காக்கொண்ட உத்தியாக நிரூபிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. குறிப்பாக சீனாவில் இது வறுமை மற்றும் சமமின்மை இரண்டையும் குறைப்பதில் உதவியுள்ளது. பின்தங்கிய பிரதேசங்களிலான உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளில் அரசாங்கத்தின் முதலீடுகள் அதிகரிக்க ஒவ்வொன்றையும் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதற்கான வழிகள் விருத்தியடையும். மேலும் கொழும்பு மற்றும் மேல் மாகாணத்துக்கு வெளியில் முதலீடு செய்வதற்கான பிரதான முட்டுக்கட்டைகளுள் ஒன்று நீக்கப்படும் தனியார் துறைக் கைத்தொழில்கள் இப்பிரதேசங்களுக்குச் செல்வதற்கான தூண்டுதல்களை வழங்குவதற்கு இலகுவாகும். தொழிலுக்கான கேள்வி அதிகரிக்க தற்காலிகமான வேலைகளில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள இக்குழுக்களின் திறன்களை உயர்த்துவதற்கு திட்டங்கள் நிறுவப்படுவதும் முக்கியமாகும். இதனால் இவ்வாய்ப்புக்களை சிறந்த முறையில் பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்ள மனித வலு முதலீடும் இவர்களிடம் இருக்கும். இது உள்ளூர் தொழிலாளர்கள், இளம் மக்கள் பிரதிநிதித்துவப்படுகின்ற சமுதாய ஒழுங்கமைப்புக்களை பயன்படுத்துவதையும் பலப்படுத்துகின்றது.

உள்ளூர் கிராமிய தொழில் முயற்சிகள் விசேடமாக மிகவும் வறிய மாவட்டங்களில் நுண்ணிதிச் சேவைகளை பலப்படுத்துதல், தொழில் வங்கிகள் போன்ற உள்ளூர் தொழில்களை முறைசார் தொழிற் துறையுடன் இணைக்கும் புதுமையான திட்டங்களை விருத்தி செய்தல் மற்றும் உள்ளூர் கிராமிய தொழில் முயற்சிகளில் வெளிநாட்டு வருவாய்களை முதலீடு செய்வதை தூண்டும் வழிகளைக் கண்டறிதல் என்பவற்றினூடு முன்னேற்றப்படலாம். வெளிநாடுகளில் புலம்பெயர்ந்துள்ள வேலைப்படையில் பெரும் பகுதியை ஆக்குகின்ற பெண்களிற்கும் இது நன்மையளிக்கும்.

இதனை அடைவதற்கு தொழில் முயற்சிகள் அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் முதலீட்டு விருத்தி அமைச்சு, கைத்தொழில் அபிவிருத்தி சபை, சர்வதேச தொழிலாளர் அமைப்பு போன்ற சர்வதேச முகவர் நிலையங்கள் மற்றும் நுண்ணிதி இன்னும்

தொழில் முயற்சி விருத்தியில் ஒத்துழைப்புக்களை வழங்குகின்ற உள்ளூர் மற்றும் சர்வதேச அரசு சார்பற்ற அமைப்புகள் உட்பட சிறிய மற்றும் மத்திய தர தொழில் முயற்சிகளின் முன்னேற்றத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள அரசு, அரசு சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்கள் இயக்கப்பட வேண்டும். கிராமப் பிரதேசங்களில் முதலீடுகள் செய்வதற்கு தனியார் துறையினரைத் தூண்டுவதற்காக நிதி மற்றும் திட்டமிடல் அமைப்பு, வர்த்தக சபைகள் போன்றவற்றுடன் கொள்கைக் கலந்துரையாடல்கள் மேற்கொள்வதும் மிகவும் அவசியமாகும்.

## முடிவுரை

இலங்கையின் கிராமியத் துறையானது நாட்டின் ஏனைய பகுதிகளிலான நகரமயமாக்கல் மற்றும் அபிவிருத்தியின் தாக்கத்தால் பாதிக்கப்படுகின்றது. இதுவும் அரசின் பெரும்பாலான அபிவிருத்தி நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல்களின் கவனத்தில் உள்ளதாகும். கிராமியத் துறையின் பிரச்சினைகள் சிக்கலானதாகும். இவர்களின் வறுமையை ஒழிப்பதில் பல குழுக்கள் மற்றும் பிராந்தியங்களிற்கு ஆதரவும் தலையீடுகளும் தேவைப்படுகின்றன. கிராமிய வறுமை ஒழிப்பை முன்னேற்றுவதற்கான உத்திகளை விருத்தி செய்து கொள்ள பல வழிகள் உள்ளன. மேலும் பகுதிவாரியான அணுகுமுறையே கடந்த காலங்களிலான ஆட்சியான அணுகுமுறையாகும். இப்பிரசுரத்தில் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள ஆய்வானது கூடுதலாக வறுமை மையப்படுத்திய அணுகுமுறையை வழங்குகின்றது.

இப்புத்தகத்தின் அத்தியாயங்கள் IFAD இன் தேசிய உத்திகளிலான வாய்ப்புக்கள் கட்டுரையை விருத்திசெய்வதனை நோக்கிய ஆலோசனைகளிற்கு பிண்ணனியாக எழுதப்பட்டன. IFAD உற்பத்தித்திறனுள்ள வறியோரில் கவனத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ளதடன் வறுமையில் நிலைபேறான தாக்கத்தை அடைவதற்கு ஓரளவு சிறிய அளவான நிதியினை முடக்குவதற்கு நாடுகின்றது. எனவே கட்டுரைகள் வறியோரையும் அவர்களது தேவைகளையும் இனங்காணும் தோற்றத்திலிருந்தே பெரும்பாலும் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளன. இக்கட்டுரை அடையாளம் காணும் உற்பத்தித்திறனுள்ள வறியோரின் பிரதான பிரிவுகளாவன: (i) சிறியளவு பயிர்ச்செய்கையில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள விவசாயிகள் (ii) சிறியளவு விலங்கு வேளாண்மைப் பண்ணையாளர்கள் (iii) கிராமிய கூலித் தொழிலாளர்கள் என்பனவாகும். இப்பிரிவினர்களின் ஜீவனோபாயங்களின் அபிவிருத்தியையும், அதேபோல் இவர்கள் முகம் கொடுக்கும் சவால்களிற்கும் ஆதரவு வழங்குவதற்கு உள்ள பல வாய்ப்புக்கள் கலந்துரையாடப்பட்டுள்ளன. இப்பகுதியில் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள ஆய்வுகள் இலங்கையின் கிராமிய வறுமை ஒழிப்பில் உதவக்கூடிய வினைத்திறான மற்றும் புதுமை புகுத்தப்பட்ட உத்திகளை விருத்தி செய்து கொள்வதற்கு ஓர் ஆரோக்கியமான அடிப்படையை வழங்கும் என எதிர்பார்க்கப்படுகின்றது.



# 1

## **INTRODUCTION**

***Ishara Rathnayake  
Priyanthi Fernando***



## **Introduction**

This publication is a result of work carried out by the Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA) for the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) as background to the formulation of their Country Strategic Opportunities Paper (COSOP) 2010 – 2015.

IFAD has a strong market economy orientation and an overall strategy of focusing on the provision of livelihood opportunities that lends itself to target not the poorest, but the productive rural poor. The studies were based on this understanding, and the recognition that IFAD's focus on livelihood opportunities goes beyond the conventional boxed in thinking about 'agriculture' and takes into account opportunities for rural entrepreneurship and small enterprise. IFAD programmes are able to build on the growth areas of the rural economy (rural industry and services) and stimulate labour markets.

The publication will act as a reader for participants in IFAD's national consultations. We expect it will also be useful to students, development practitioners, and policy makers in the government and non-governmental sectors who have an interest in understanding poverty in Sri Lanka, work in the agriculture development and rural sectors, and who are in a position to act on this understanding.

The publication comprises six papers on Rural Economic Opportunities in Sri Lanka (Chapter 2); Rural Factor Markets (Chapter 3); Migration and Remittances (Chapter 4); Microfinance (Chapter 5); Rural Institutions (Chapter 6) and Environment and Climate Change (Chapter 7). An additional paper on Opportunities in the North and East of Sri Lanka was commissioned in August 2009, and will be published separately. Each paper makes recommendations for interventions and support by development agencies, more specifically IFAD but which can provide guidance for other government and non-government programmes.

The papers in this volume were written in late 2008, when the Sri Lankan political situation was very different. The papers have gone through several iterations following feedback from stakeholders in the central and provincial governments, and while they have attempted to absorb some of the contextual changes that have taken place there will inevitably be a disjunct between what has been written and the situation on the ground at the time of reading. This introductory chapter aims to set the context for the studies and describe CEPA's approach and methodology.

## Country Context

Sri Lanka is a relatively small country compared to its South Asian neighbours with an estimated population of Sri Lanka is around 19.8 million (2006), of which 85% is rural. Population density is about 300 per sq.km and population growth is contained to about 0.8% per annum. Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious society. The majority of Sri Lankans are Sinhalese by ethnicity and Buddhist by religion, with large Tamil (generally Hindu), Muslim and Christian communities. A civil war between the Tamil separatists, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and the Sri Lankan government that disrupted the country for the last 25 years, has finally ended.

The country has an irregular, dissected topography. A coastal belt (of less than 100 m elevation), succeeded by rolling plains (of 100-500 m elevation) of varying widths extend to the foothills of the central hills. The climate is equatorial and tropical. Rainfall is uneven and broadly divides the country into two climatic zones, namely, a so-called wet zone in the southwest of the country and a dry zone that covers the remainder of it. Annual precipitation in the wet zone averages 2 500 mm and 1 200-1 900 mm in the dry zone. In 2004, the tsunami that hit the coast of Sri Lanka killed more than 38,000 people and left many more vulnerable from the loss of livelihood.

The country has good human development indicators and has already attained or is close to attaining the Millennium Development Goals of universal primary school enrollment, gender parity in primary and secondary school enrollment, and universal provision of reproductive health services.<sup>1</sup> Adult literacy rates are 90.7% (2001, excluding districts in the North and the East, except Ampara)<sup>2</sup>, and average life expectancy is 71.7 years for men and 77 years for women.

The 25-year conflict between LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka has had a major impact on all facets of life in Sri Lanka. More than 65 000 people were killed and as many as 800 000 displaced. During the conflict the governance and development of Sri Lanka was marred by allegations of serious violations of human rights for people from all ethnic and religious groups, restrictions on the freedom of expression, large scale destruction of economic and social infrastructure and diversion of

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<sup>1</sup> World Bank (2007), Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment: engendering growth with equity, opportunities and challenge.

<sup>2</sup> Department of Census and Statistics Social Conditions of Sri Lanka  
<http://www.statistics.gov.lk/social/social%20conditions.pdf>

considerable resources for military purposes. The military victory has resulted in greater freedom of movement in both the North and East and in the South, but democratic freedoms are yet to be fully restored, and the resettlement of the large number of internally displaced people is not yet completed.

## **Economic Background**

Despite the war and several external shocks from the global economy, Sri Lanka managed to maintain an average annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of 4.9% since 1977. In 2007, the economy grew at 6.8%, and decelerated to 6.0 percent in 2008. Given the low population growth rate, this has led to a doubling of per capita incomes over the past three decades to over US\$ 2000 in 2008.<sup>3</sup> Labour Force Participation rates remain around 49.5%, with the female participation rate being half that of males at 33.2% in 2008 (male rate being 67.8%). There are about 7.6 million people employed in Sri Lanka of whom 60% are in the informal sector. Agriculture accounts for 33% of the total employed population. Unemployment in 2008 was 5.4%. At the national level the unemployment rate for females is more than double that of males (8.4% and 3.7% respectively)<sup>4</sup>.

Growth in the Sri Lankan economy has been driven by domestic demand for consumption and investment, buoyant exports, a substantial inflow of foreign remittances and the increased affordability of services such as telecommunications. The agricultural sector provided the major impetus for export growth with tea, rubber and export agriculture crops such as cinnamon, cloves, fruits and vegetables and betel leaves attracting good prices. Workers remittances, 7.2% of the GDP in 2007, increased significantly in 2008 and in the first eight months of 2008, helped finance almost half of the trade deficit. This situation has changed dramatically at the time of writing (August 2009) with falls in global tea and rubber prices and with the challenges that export agriculture is facing in the light of the global financial crisis. The global financial situation will also most certainly impact on overseas migration and remittances.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.lankabusinessonline.com/fullstory.php?nid=188595356>

<sup>4</sup> Department of Census and Statistics (2009). Annual Report of the Labour Force Survey 2008, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/2008%20annual%20report%20English.pdf>



Inflation in Sri Lanka accelerated, reached 28.2 % in June 2008 and began to decline towards the end of the year. Inflation was largely due to the removal of subsidies on kerosene, petrol and diesel which increased the retail prices of petrol and diesel increased by about 60 percent since April 2006, and the price of kerosene (used mostly by the poor) by about 40%. In addition the continued increase in international markets for food and certain commodities has had an impact on the prices of imported commodities. Domestic food prices, which make up about 46 percent of the basket in the Sri Lankan Consumer Price Index (CPI), have increased in line with international trends and was the item predominantly responsible for the rise in the overall CPI. Central Bank monetary policies led to a deceleration of inflation in 2008.

Inequality and distributional issues still plague the body politic of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka liberalized its economy in the late 1970s and early 1980, and while this enabled the economy to emerge from its previous stagnant phase, the liberalization did nothing to reduce existing inequality. From a purely income inequality perspective, the rich groups grew richer faster than the poorer groups, even though average incomes across the different strata did increase as well.

Some analysts<sup>5</sup> ascribe the inequality change to differential access to infrastructure, education and occupational status and argue that demographic factors including ethnicity and spatial factors did not contribute significantly.<sup>6</sup> A political economy perspective of development in Sri Lanka would, however, argue for a closer examination of how horizontal inequalities (defined as economic, social and political inequalities between culturally defined groups) impacts on the welfare of members of poorer groups, exacerbates regional inequalities and increases also the likelihood of violent conflict.

Sri Lanka's economy must be discussed alongside the political situation in the country. The political scenario has changed dramatically in the last five years. The Ceasefire of 2002 aimed to create a space for a politically negotiated conflict, but a peace settlement did not materialize and by 2005 violence had re-emerged leading eventually to the unilateral abrogation of the Ceasefire Agreement by the Government, and all out

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<sup>5</sup> Ramani Gunatilaka and Duangkamon Chotikapanich (2005), *Inequality trends and determinants in Sri Lanka 1980-2002: A Shapley approach to Decomposition*, Monash University, Melbourne

<sup>6</sup> This is also brought out in the statistical analysis by Thankom Arun and Van Borooah (2004), *Earnings inequality in Sri Lanka: IDPM Working Paper Series No 10*, University of Manchester

warfare bringing in destruction to lives, livelihoods and infrastructure. The Government adopted a two pronged approach: a military solution to eradicate terrorism, and a political solution to address the ethnic elements of the conflict. The beleaguered All Party Representative Committee is intended to pave the way devolution of power and a negotiated settlement. In July 2007, after an intense confrontation of about an year, several thousands of lives lost and many more displaced, the Government restored its authority in the Eastern Province. Elections were held to the Eastern Provincial Council, but security related restrictions on people's and goods' movement, and a continued level of violence between different armed groups, has meant that civilian life has yet to come back to normal.

At the time of writing (August 2009), the LTTE has been militarily defeated, its leader Velupillai Piripaharan is dead and the country is emerging from the euphoria of victory against terrorism to the acceptance of peace. Post war, elections have been held to the Jaffna Municipal Council and the Vavuniya Urban council. However, a large number of internally displaced people have yet to be resettled, and the lessons from the Eastern province indicates that post-conflict situations are complicated and uncertain, and require measures that lead to reduction of violence, and of the conditions of regional and horizontal inequality.

It is important to recognize that the economic, social and political environment in Sri Lanka in the next few years will be very uncertain. An economic meltdown has been avoided by the provision of a 3.9 billion loan from the IMF and from the advent of peace. The impact of the global financial crisis on the export oriented market linkages that is the backbone of the Sri Lankan economy and on the worker remittances is uncertain. It could also be an opportunity to review the current macro level analysis and to reorient Sri Lanka's productive resources in a more sustainable manner. The other uncertainty is how the post-war economy will play out and what impact peace will have on the social, economic and political context of the country, but especially in the North and East.

## **Agriculture, the Rural Economy and Poverty**

Sri Lankan agriculture has traditionally been dominated by the production of rice and plantation crops such as tea, rubber, and coconuts. Agricultural commodities, primarily plantation or estate crops, contribute to about 20% of the country's export earnings. The agricultural share of the country's GDP was 11.8% in 2007, a decline from 12.3% in the previous year.

In the last two decades, the sector has gradually diversified into other non-plantation crops for export, such as cocoa, cashew, betel leaves, pepper, cinnamon, clove, arecanut and coffee. These now account for nearly two thirds of the agricultural GDP. Livestock (comprising cattle, buffalo, swine, goat, sheep, and poultry) accounted for 1.2% of the total GDP, 5.6% of the agricultural GDP and supplied 20% of the domestic milk requirements in 2005.

In 2007, as a result of increases in rubber and livestock production, and the recovery of the fisheries sector following the December 2004 tsunami, agriculture managed to grow by 3.3%. The fishing sector recorded its highest ever production in the year which indicates that the sector, at least in the non-conflict areas, has almost fully recovered from the 2004 tsunami which destroyed nearly 80% of the fishing vessels. However, paddy, which is the main domestic agricultural product decreased in output. Farmer displacement due to the volatile security situation in the Eastern Province and changes in weather have been considered the main reasons (Central Bank 2007).

Analysts have observed that the growth that occurred in the Sri Lankan economy largely bypassed the agricultural sector, resulting in its declining share of national income and the reduction of its share in employment. At the same time, there appears to be no evidence of a structural shift in the labour force away from the agricultural sector. In 2002, agriculture employed more than one third of the total workforce (probably far higher in rural areas), and had in fact registered a modest increase in the number of people employed compared to 1991. Based on this analysis, it would seem that a large part of the population of Sri Lanka relied on agriculture for livelihood, and that the stagnation in income from agriculture is an important contributing factor to the persistence of poverty in rural/estate areas (Narayan and Yoshida 2005).

An alternate view based on production figures would suggest however, that agricultural production was far from stagnant, and that the inability

of this greater output to generate sufficient value for producers has been the crux of the problem.

Another issue that cannot be ignored in the discussion on rural livelihoods and agriculture is the issue of climate change. Intensive chemical input based agriculture can contribute significantly to climate change, while climate change induced increases and decreases in rainfall, and too much rain or drought can lead to losses in the quantity and quality of crops (especially rainfed paddy) affecting the incomes and food security of rural households.

For the analysis of the agricultural sector to be meaningful in terms of rural livelihoods it is important to go beyond the definition of agriculture as crop production and livestock rearing, fisheries and forestry take into account other activities in the rural economy. Value added activity such as food processing or agribusiness much of which is carried out within the rural economy, is closely linked to agriculture and is the primary contributor to industry output value.

## **Country Poverty Situation**

Statistical and empirical data point to certain groups of people that have persisted in poverty, unable to make the best use of the market reforms that have taken place since 1977 or take advantage of the various development programmes being implemented. These poor people can be identified by their location and their livelihood activity, and reform and change in the agriculture sector needs to target them.

In 2002 Sri Lanka established an official poverty line (OPL), based on data from the Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) of 2002, and fixed at a specific welfare level which enables comparisons overtime with household food and non-food consumption and expenditure. It measures 'consumption' poverty and uses a cost of basic needs approach to determine its value.<sup>7</sup> In the year 2002, the OPL was Rs 1423 real total expenditure per person per month, and in 2006/07 it was calculated to be Rs 2233 real total expenditure per person per month.

Based on these figures the HIES 2006/07 estimated the national poverty head count index to be 15.2% which is a drop from a national poverty head count index of 22.7% in 2002. The data also indicates that urban and rural poverty has decreased while poverty on the estates has

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/poverty/PovertyIndicators.pdf>

increased since 2002. However, the poverty head count index is not uniform across provinces and districts and while certain districts have shown dramatic decreases since 2002, there are others in which poverty reduction has been marginal<sup>8</sup>.

While the poverty head count index statistics are able to locate the areas in which the poor live, it is also necessary to look at the employment activities in these areas to identify what the poor do. Overall, the poor are more reliant on income from non-agricultural wage labour, agricultural wages and small scale agriculture<sup>9</sup>. Poor households tend to use migration as a means to increase household income and livelihood options.

## **Policy, Strategy and Institutional Context**

### **The Mahinda Chintana and agricultural policy**

The Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL)'s policy framework is based on the "Mahinda Chintana" – Vision Towards Sri Lanka which in turn is operationalised in the Mahinda Chintana: 10 year development plan. The Mahinda Chintana (MC) 10 Year Development Framework is the base for all development plans by both Government and the donor community in Sri Lanka. It was prepared by the Ministry of Finance and Planning, resourced by a number of donors and through consultation with senior government officials. It aims to reduce the poverty head count index to 12% in the year 2015, and to increase growth to 8% percent over the period of its operation (2006 to 2016). Some of the assumptions that drove its formulation in 2006, may have to be reconsidered in the light of changing global and domestic circumstances, but its acceptance as a policy framework is near universal in Sri Lanka.

The Plan emphasises building the Sri Lankan economy through a proactive participatory process involving both the private and public sectors. The Government is committed to provide necessary infrastructure, promote competition and accelerate growth in a regionally balanced manner in order to overcome the problem of lagging regions, improve public service delivery, facilitate private investment and address the development issues in the North and East.

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<sup>8</sup> For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 2

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 2

The Plan's vision for agriculture is to contribute to "*regionally equitable growth, rural livelihood improvement and food security through efficient production of commodities for consumption, for agro-based industries and for exporting competitively to the world market*"<sup>10</sup>. The policy thrust is to call for the transformation of subsistence agriculture to a commercially oriented and highly productive sector through:

- Transforming low productive subsistence farming to high productive advanced agriculture including agro-based industry
- Increasing productivity, production and competitiveness of the export based agriculture sectors, including plantations
- Increasing the return to labour and other factors of production in the agriculture sector which would directly contribute to rural poverty reduction
- Enhancing agricultural productive efficiency through mechanization and technological transformation where agricultural labour could be released for off-farm employment as an improved livelihood strategy
- Developing market mechanisms and developing favourable trade rules<sup>11</sup>.

The MC 10 year development plan views agriculture as a sector that can reduce poverty and inequality. It calls for allocating funds to agriculture on a regionally equitable basis<sup>12</sup> and proposes a shift from the current allocations on the basis of prevailing agricultural activity to allocations based on the incidence of poverty. It suggests increasing investments to Uva and Sabaragamuwa (two of Sri Lanka's poorest regions) and to the plantation sector, so that agricultural activities can be stimulated and poverty can be eradicated. The Ministry of Agriculture's Agricultural Policy complements the orientation of the 10 year development plan with a commitment towards developing sustainable agricultural practices.

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<sup>10</sup> Department of National Planning(2006) Mahinda Chintana:Vision for a New Sri Lanka, a 10 year Horizon Development Framework, p 3

<sup>11</sup> Department of National Planning(2006) Mahinda Chintana:Vision for a New Sri Lanka, a 10 year Horizon Development Framework, p 13

<sup>12</sup> Ibid p 14

## **Institutional context**

There are a number of institutions, both in the public and private sectors concerned with agriculture. Whilst, at Government level, the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Services (MADAS) has overall responsibility for agricultural related activities a number of other ministries have mandates that cover agricultural development.. The Department of Agriculture (DOA) under the Ministry of Agriculture Development and Agrarian Services has the infrastructure to provide services for the different provinces. It is tasked with research and extension; agribusiness support; seed and planting material production; and regulatory services, viz, plant quarantine, soil conservation and registration of pesticides. These functions are supported by a range of technical and statutory institutions.

The Ministry of Livestock Development (MLD) has primary responsibility for the livestock sector, and the Ministry of Plantation Industries exists to enhance the productivity, profitability and sustainability of the plantation industry.

In the private sector, the National Agribusiness Council is an umbrella organisation of several agribusiness related institutions. The NAC's main overall aim is to create an enabling environment for a viable and profitable agribusiness sector in Sri Lanka. Private Sector Food Retailers (e.g. Cargills, Keells etc) are setting up product purchasing links with farmers in different parts of the country, allowing for a ready market for the produce. There are also services provided by companies such as CIC, Haychem, that provide services to rural producers, but who are also marketers of chemical inputs. There are also independent associations, e.g. the Tea Small Holders Association that represent the interest of the producers.

Rural Financial Services in the country are delivered through: commercial banks, Regional Development Banks, and savings and development banks all regulated by the Central Bank; through the Co-operatives regulated by the Department of Co-operatives; and through other formal institutions regulated by either the Societies Ordinance Act, the Voluntary Social Services Organisation Act or the Samurdhi Authority of Sri Lanka Act. The microfinance sector in Sri Lanka is still very small, with the NGO microfinance institutions operationally profitable but not very sustainable in the long run. The commercial banking sector has also engaged in microfinance, though the majority are reluctant to enter this area of lending due to the costs and risks involved.

Micro insurance, is a financial service that is much less developed than micro-credit. The insurance market is extremely under developed in Sri Lanka, however, there is increasing acceptance of the importance of micro insurance as a tool to combat poverty.

Sri Lanka has a long tradition of village based societies and organisations. The origins of these organizations vary. They include organisations that people have voluntarily formed, organisations formed to access government support organisations formed by the cooperative movement, organisations stimulated by donor projects and funding, organisations created by NGOs and more recently organisations formed by private companies.

### **Framework for addressing rural poverty**

The framework for writing the background papers that form the remaining chapters of this book, and the key issues that arise from them (articulated in final chapter), is derived from an analytical framework that was developed in conjunction with the researchers, with inputs from expert opinion and from the stakeholders. It was informed by IFAD's orientation towards the productive poor and interventions in the agricultural sector, and takes into account contextual information about who the poor are, where they live and how they engage in different livelihood activity, drawn from secondary data produced by the Department of Census and Statistics. The framework is clearly situated within the orientation of the Mahinda Chintana.

It advocates targeting interventions in the geographic areas and pockets within those areas which are **more prone to poverty**. It uses two criteria i.e. consumption poverty and percentage of population in the agriculture to identify those locations that need to be prioritised. The poorest districts are concentrated in the three provinces - Uva (Moneragala and Badulla districts), Sabaragamuwa (Ratnapura and Kegalle Districts) and Central (Nuwara Eliya, Matale and Kandy).



**Table 1 Trend of Poverty Head Count Index in selected districts (%)**

<b>District</b>	<b>1990/91</b>	<b>1995/96</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2006</b>
Nuwara Eliya	20	32	23	34
Moneragala	34	56	37	33
Ratnapura	31	46	34	27
Badulla	31	41	37	24
Kegalle	31	36	32	21
Matale	29	42	30	19
Kandy	36	37	25	17

Source: DCS 2006

The distribution of the employed population highlights the fact that the districts with the highest proportion of the poor, namely Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Moneragala, are also the districts with the highest proportion of population engaged in agriculture. The approach therefore argues that interventions should prioritise the districts of Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Moneragala, Ratnapura and Kegalle.

In the provinces of Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa where the poorest districts are, the major agricultural livelihood activities of the poor include small holder tea, and small scale farming of vegetables, pulses, fruits, spices, paddy and dairy. Most of these farmers are subsistence oriented. CEPA proposes focusing on these small holder farmers, livestock producers and rural wage labour.

CEPA recognises that an approach that begins with recognition of who the poor are, where they are located, and what their livelihood activities are, is very likely to be at odds with a sector or crop development approach. Stakeholders in the central institutions tend to take a more macro approach to the development of agriculture and the rural economy. The poverty-centric approach has greater resonance among officers in the Provincial Councils, who are close to the problem.

The framework has consciously excluded consideration of poverty in the Northern and Eastern provinces, and the fishing sector. At the point of writing, the violence in the North and East precluded any consideration of an organization like IFAD (with no experience of working in conflict situations, and a limited presence in Sri Lanka) working in those areas. There was also very little statistical data from the provinces, even though a priori a situation of poverty and deprivation could have been assumed. Fishing communities did not emerge as a priority community because

it was considered that post-tsunami the fishing communities outside of the North and East had made significant gains out of poverty, and that poorest were fishing families in areas where there was continued violence. In the post-war context there are opportunities to intervene in the North and East, and so an additional study on the two provinces is being done and will be published separately.

The Chapters on the Rural Economic Opportunities and Rural Factor Markets provide the arguments for this approach, and explore the ideas in depth. The Chapter on Environment and Climate Change situates small holders in the wider context of risk from climate change, and the Chapters on Rural Institutions and Microfinance provide a background of services available to small holders. Migration is one strategy that poor women and men proactively use to overcome situations of income deprivation. This is explored in Chapter 4. The book concludes with a brief description of the options for intervening in the sector.

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# 2

## **THE RURAL ECONOMY AND THE NON FARM SECTOR IN SRI LANKA: ISSUES AND OPPORTUNITIES**

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## Executive Summary

The rural economy consists of a complex, interlinked set of activities that relate to production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. The economy consists, often largely, of agricultural activities, but also industry and services. While it is often broken down and analysed in relation to one sector within the rural economy – for example, agricultural activities – the growth and development of one sector within the rural economy is often inextricably linked with other sectors in the economy, not least because the same households engage in many, if not all, of these activities. This paper seeks to identify opportunities for possible interventions by using a theory-based framework of livelihood options in the rural economy together with literature and data about the nature and characteristics of the rural economy in Sri Lanka.

For the purpose of understanding rural economic opportunities, the paper uses a framework setting out the potential livelihood options available in rural areas. Agriculture is the starting point due to its historical prominence in the rural economy and in addition to farming, fishing, livestock rearing and forestry, it includes self employment as well as wage employment. Together these can be termed as "*farm-based livelihoods*". These activities are closely linked to, and supported by, other non-farm based activities such as input supply, output processing and support services. In addition to agriculture and its related activities in industry and services, the rural economy also includes activities which have no direct link to agricultural activities, such as manufacturing, sand mining and tourism. These can be termed as "*non farm-based livelihoods*". Similar to farm-based livelihoods, these activities are also supported by input supply, output processing and support services. Outside of these two main strands of livelihood activities and their related activities, life in rural areas is also dependent on goods and services produced for the rural population, including consumer items such as furniture, and services such as banking, communication, and trade. Finally, while the activities discussed above are within the rural economy, migration out of the rural economy is also a livelihood option available to the rural population.

Available literature and data indicate that the rural sector in Sri Lanka contains much of the economic activity in the country. While about 85% of the population lives in rural areas, the rural economy provides 89% of employment in the country. It also accounts for almost 85% of the jobs created in the formal sector and close to 92% of the employment



generated in the informal sector. As can be expected, it generates all the employment in agriculture, but also much of employment in industry and services. "Own account workers" comprise about one-third of employment in the rural economy, most of them in the informal sector. This group includes small holder farmers as well as self employment in rural enterprises. It is estimated that there are 3.6 million small holder farming households and over 600,000 small rural enterprises. Rural enterprises are mostly involved in production and/or manufacturing, followed by trade and services. The "employee" category accounts for just over half of the employment in the rural economy, and includes salaried workers and casual wage workers. About a third of formal employees work in elementary occupations while a larger proportion of informal employees work in similar occupations. In terms of wages, the formal sector employees receive on average almost twice what is paid to informal sector workers. While the number engaged in self-employment activities is estimated to be growing at 1% per annum, the number of wage workers is increasing at the rate of 4% per annum. The rural economy also contains a substantial number of "unpaid family workers" who tend to be mostly women.

The rural sector contains 82% of the poor in the country. Analysis of poverty data indicates that rural poverty is linked to spatial characteristics, and that there are areas, and pockets within areas, which are more prone to poverty. Also historical poverty data indicates that some of these areas have seen persistently high levels of poverty during the past 20 years. Overall, macro-poverty data indicates that the poorest districts, including those with persistently high levels of poverty, are concentrated in three provinces - Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central. Looking at employment activities in areas where the poor live indicates that there may be a correlation between poverty and agriculture since areas with the highest proportion of poverty are also the areas with the highest proportion of people engaged in agriculture. However, districts such as Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, which have large numbers engaged in agriculture but relatively low and declining rates of poverty, indicate that employment in agriculture is not necessarily or inevitably linked to poverty.

The importance of agriculture and non agricultural activities to household income varies across income groups, with the poorer households more dependent on agriculture. While the poor have diversified from farm to non-farm sector to a great extent, the transition has been driven by households being squeezed out of agriculture due to low productivity levels and non-viable agricultural units. The poorest households depend heavily on casual non-agricultural labour. Poverty is also associated with

under-, rather than un-employment, and is common among household heads engaged in the informal sector in occupations related to, for example, agriculture and fisheries. These activities are also highly seasonal, which further aggravate the problem of under-employment.

The paper also looks at the opportunities in the rural non-farm sector to drive growth in the rural economy. Overall, the main areas are agribusiness, manufacturing and services, where limited activities are currently taking place and consequently substantial opportunities exist for interventions to promote livelihoods. The growth of the non-farm sector is substantially constrained by poor infrastructure which limits access and connectivity within rural areas as well as to rural centres, sluggish growth in agriculture which limits inputs for agribusiness, and limited availability of capital and entrepreneurship, particularly skills and technology. Deteriorating health, educational and technology services to rural areas can also spur migration out of rural areas, resulting in persistent rural poverty.

Government policies take a holistic view of rural development, and the flagship programme, Gama Neguma, is based at the level of the village and aims to address village level constraints to development. There is also a strong infrastructure development thrust which focuses on road development, including rural roads. The government policies also aim to reduce under-employment and support livelihoods in the informal sector, which are very relevant to the poor within the rural economy.

Overall, the analysis presented in the paper suggests that there are three potential strategies to improve rural economic opportunities. They are (i) promote more and better opportunities for wage employees; (ii) support non farm self-employment and rural enterprise development; and (iii) support development and living standards in rural areas directly, through investments in infrastructure and services.

## **1 Introduction**

### **1.1 Why look at rural economic opportunities**

The rural economy consists of a complex, interlinked set of activities that relate to production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. The economy consists, often largely, of agricultural activities, but also industry and services. While it is often broken down and analysed in relation to one sector within the rural economy – for example, agricultural activities – the growth and development of one sector within the rural economy is often inextricably linked with other sectors in the economy, not least because the same households engage in many, if not all, of these activities.

### **1.2 Thematic paper overview**

The objective of this paper is to examine the nature and characteristics of the rural economy in Sri Lanka in order to identify opportunities for possible interventions for IFAD. The overall rationale driving the discussion is that interventions should contribute to a qualitative improvement in the living standards of rural households, especially those with an agricultural component in the household livelihood portfolio. The interventions should also help to orient the rural sector to have a greater responsiveness to market/demand signals. The paper is based on a desk review of international and national materials, including journal and newspaper articles, documents and information issued by the GOSL, including the Department of Census and Statistics and the Central Bank, multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, key person interviews and small group discussions carried out during the country strategy preparation process.

The paper begins by setting out a framework to understand and unravel the many activities and sectors which comprise the rural economy in developing countries such as Sri Lanka. Part 3 provides a discussion of the rural economy in Sri Lanka in relation to its size, composition and characteristics, and part 4 focuses on the characteristics of the rural poor within the rural economy, focusing in particular on their livelihood activities. Part 5 focuses on the rural non farm sector<sup>1</sup>, to understand the

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is closely linked to the thematic paper on rural factor markets which is the complementary discussion to part 5 of this paper, as it focuses on the rural farming sector.

potential opportunities for interventions to increase livelihood options for the productive poor. It also provides an overview of relevant government policies and programmes to promote rural economic development. Part 6 concludes by synthesising the opportunities available to address the constraints to rural economic development discussed in this paper.

## **2 Framework for Understanding Rural Economic Opportunities**

### **2.1 What is the rural economy?**

The rural economy is defined in relation to the location where economic activities take place, as well as in relation to the nature of the activities themselves. While in many parts of the world the rural sector is defined in relation to population density, in Sri Lanka it is defined as the residual category, and covers all areas excluding urban areas (defined as those areas which are governed by municipal and town councils) and the estate sector (defined as plantations with more than 20 acres, 10 resident labourers, with a single administration body) areas<sup>2</sup>. Following this definition, the paper also takes a broad view of the rural sector as encompassing both dispersed rural settlements as well as rural towns where many of the ancillary nonfarm service and commercial activities are typically concentrated. This broad view of the rural economy follows a long tradition, from Chuta and Liedholm (1979) to Haggblade (2006).

### **2.2 Understanding livelihood opportunities in the rural economy**

Initial settlements in rural areas depend, almost always, on agriculture, which is unique among economic activities in that it requires a physically dispersed production. In most parts of the world, agriculture is the largest employer in rural areas, the largest income generator and the largest user of raw materials, and clearly plays a predominant role in influencing the size and structure of the rural economy.

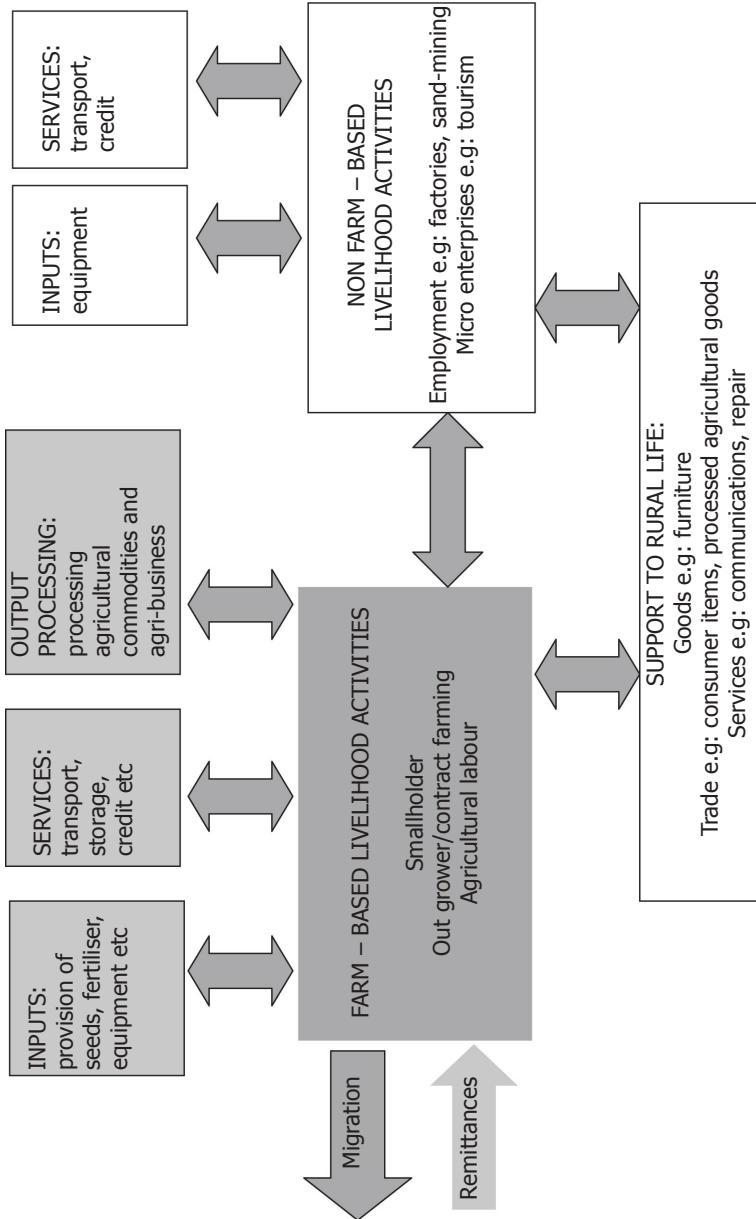
As the rural economy develops and expands, productivity gains allow the release of labour and capital to other sectors. As urbanisation accelerates, the linkages between rural and urban areas also increases

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<sup>2</sup> Department of Census and Statistics (DCS). With the shift towards bringing the estate sector into the mainstream, the rural sector is increasingly shown inclusive of estate sector data, for example in the Labour Force Survey data provided by the DCS.

and a broader range of economic forces begin to influence incentives and opportunities for the rural economy. In prosperous agricultural settings where improved farm technologies become available, a growing agriculture sector stimulates the growth of the rural economy through a number of key linkages. Rising labour productivity on the farm increases per capita food supplies and releases farm family workers to undertake nonfarm activities. Equally important, increases in farm incomes, together with high rural savings rates, make capital available for investment in nonfarm activities. Input requirements in agriculture increase demand for repair, transport and input delivery services. Increasing production of agricultural raw materials requires additional transport, processing and trade. Consumer demand from increasingly prosperous farm households likewise boosts demand for rural services of all kinds, particularly transport, prepared foods, education, medical services, housing and education (Haggblade *et al.* 2002).

**Box 2.1 The rural economy and livelihood opportunities available to the productive rural poor**



The framework shown in Box 2.1 is a simplified depiction of these diverse rural economic opportunities and linkages. As discussed above, agriculture is usually the starting point due its historical prominence in the rural economy. According to standard national accounting definitions, the agricultural sector includes the primary production of all unprocessed plant and animal products: crops, aquaculture, livestock husbandry, woodlot production, hunting, fishing and forestry. Also included in agriculture is off-farm income or employment which refers to "off the owner's own farm" and consequently, includes wage employment in agriculture, earned on other peoples' farms. Together these can be termed "farm-based livelihoods" (see Box 2.1). These agricultural activities are closely linked to, and supported by, other, non-farm based activities such as input supply (such as seeds, fertiliser, equipment etc), services (such as transport, storage, credit etc) and output processing (such as milling, packaging etc). Agro-processing, which is the transformation of raw agricultural products by milling, packaging, bulking or transporting, includes aspects of output processing and services.

In addition to agriculture and its related activities in industry and services, the rural economy also includes activities which have no direct link to agricultural activities, such as manufacturing, sand mining and tourism. These can be termed "non farm-based livelihoods" (see Box 2.1). Similar to farm-based livelihoods, these activities are in turn supported by input supply, support services and output processing.

Outside of these two main strands of livelihood activities and their related activities, life in rural areas is also dependent on goods and services produced for the rural population, including consumer items such as furniture, services such as banking, communication, and trade. Finally, while the activities discussed above are within the rural economy, migration out of the rural economy is also a livelihood option available to the rural population.

While the framework shown in Box 2.1 is useful to understanding the main livelihood opportunities available in the rural economy, it has a number of limitations. It does not show all the many ways in which these different types of activities are linked with each other (for example, services such as transport, are linked to all aspects of rural life and all activities in the rural economy). Also, it does not capture the historical development, nor the dynamism, of rural economic activity.

Experiences from other countries indicate that the composition of rural economic activity changes perceptibly over time, particularly in buoyant agricultural settings. Increases in real wages raise the opportunity cost of labour, thereby making low-return activities uneconomic. This leads

to households moving away from low-return agricultural, as well as craft and household manufacturing, activities and to the growth of higher-return nonfarm activities such as mechanical milling, transport, commerce, health and educational services. However, in regions without a dynamic economic base, patterns of growth in the rural economy can unfold very differently. Where population growth continues unabated for many generations, land availability diminishes and ultimately, in the absence of careful land management, so does soil fertility. Without technological advances in agriculture, labour productivity and per capita farm production fall. In such settings, growing landlessness pushes labour force increments into nonfarm activity by default. While in both scenarios, a growth in non-farm activity is the end result, this may be driven by opportunity or default.

### 3 Rural Economy in Sri Lanka

#### 3.1 Size

The size of an economy can be estimated in terms of the value of its production. There are no precise calculations of the contribution of the rural economy to GDP and the classification of national accounts is not conducive to assessing this easily as there is no breakdown by location of value addition. Therefore, the contribution of the rural economy has to be imputed by looking at how much of agriculture, industry and services takes place in rural areas.

The contribution of the rural economy is often underestimated because it is often equated with the agricultural sector. Agriculture is mainly a rural activity and in Sri Lanka, despite steady growth in value added terms, its contribution to GDP has been in decline, and presently stands at above 12%, compared to 28% from industry and 60% from services (see Box 3.1). However, this picture is misleading as it is derived from the definition of agriculture; only crop production, fishing and livestock rearing is shown under agriculture while food

#### **Box 3.1** Sectoral contribution to GDP

**Agriculture** (12% of GDP): *Major products* - rice, tea, rubber, coconut, and spices.

**Industry** (28% of GDP): *Major products*- garments and leather goods, rubber products, food processing, chemicals, refined petroleum, gems and jewellery, non-metallic mineral-based products, and construction.

**Services** (60% of GDP): *Major types* - tourism, wholesale and retail trade, transport, telecom, financial services.

*Source:* Department of Census and Statistics, 2009



processing is part of industry. In fact food processing, or agribusiness, much of which is carried out within the rural economy and is closely linked to agriculture, is the primary contributor to industry output value. In 2002, 46% of value addition by industry was derived from the processing of food, beverages and tobacco products (Table 3.1). The contribution of food, beverages and tobacco products is twice as much as the contribution from textile, apparel and leather products.

**Table 3.1 Value-addition in industry (2002 constant prices)**

<b>Category</b>	<b>2007</b>
Food, beverages and tobacco products	46.5%
Textile, wearing apparel and leather products	24.0%
Wood and wood products	0.3%
Paper products, publishing and printing	0.4%
Chemical, petroleum, coal, rubber and plastic products	15.5%
Non-metallic mineral products	4.1%
Basic metal products	0.3%
Fabricated metal products, machinery and transport equipment	8.4%
Manufactured products not elsewhere specified	0.5%

Source: Central Bank 2007

In the absence of production data, the total employment provided can indicate the size and importance of the rural economy. While about 85% of the population lives in rural areas, the rural economy provides 89% of employment in the country (Table 3.2). It accounts for almost 85% of the jobs created in the formal sector and close to 92% of the employment generated in the informal sector.

**Table 3.2 Employment provided by sector (2007)**

	<b>Formal</b>		<b>Informal</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Rural</b>	2,273,766	84.7%	3,999,081	91.8%	6,272,847	89.1%
<b>Urban</b>	412,082	15.3%	356,928	8.2%	769,010	10.9%
<b>Total</b>	2,685,848	100.0%	4,356,009	100.0%	7,041,857	100.0%

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2007

Contrary to popular belief which equates rural with agricultural activity, agriculture is the main source of household income for just 32% of the population. This indicates that a substantial number of households in rural areas are engaged outside the agriculture sector, in industry

and services. Table 3.3 shows employment data by sector and area for 2006<sup>3</sup>, when rural areas generated 88% of employment in industry and 79% of employment in services. Industry and services therefore are already accounting for the substantial value addition and economic opportunities in the rural economy and in 2003, an estimated 67% of total employment was provided in the rural economy, in non-agricultural activities (World Bank 2007).

**Table 3.3 Employed persons by major industry groups by sector – Q1, 2006**

Sector	Major sectors in the economy					
	Agriculture	%	Industry	%	Services	%
Rural	2.3 mn	99%	1.6 mn	88%	2.2 mn	79%
Urban	0.03 mn	1%	0.2 mn	12%	0.6 mn	21%
Total	2.3 mn	100%	1.8 mn	100%	2.8 mn	100%

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2006

### 3.2 Composition

About two thirds of the employment provided in rural areas is in the informal sector (Table 3.4). This trend is seen irrespective of gender. The informal sector in the rural economy also contains a substantial number of unpaid family workers (close to 700,000 workers), who also tend to be mostly women. Employment in agriculture is estimated to account for about one-third of all employment in the informal sector, while non-agricultural employment accounts for the rest (Gunatilaka 2008).

**Table 3.4 Employment in the rural economy by status of employment (2007)**

Status of employment	Rural Economy		
	Formal	Informal	Total
Employee	32.4%	22.7%	55.2%
Employer	1.0%	1.4%	2.5%
Own account worker	1.9%	29.4%	31.3%
Unpaid family worker	0.9%	10.2%	11.1%
Total	36.2%	63.8%	100.0%

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2007

<sup>3</sup> This desegregation is not available for 2007 or 2008 as yet.

Own account workers comprise about 31% of employment in the rural economy, most of them in the informal sector. This group includes smallholder farmers as well as self employment in rural enterprises. It is estimated that about 92% of the agricultural land area held and operated by families is in smallholdings of below two hectares. These smallholdings are distributed over 3.5 million distinct land parcels held by about 3.6 million rural households under a wide range of tenure forms and transactional relationships which have developed over time (CEPA 2006). Smallholder farmers in Sri Lanka are said to be semi-subsistence oriented and mainly grow tea and paddy, other field crops and fruit and vegetables (IPS 2004)<sup>4</sup>. The smaller subgroup, within the category of own account worker, is self employment in rural enterprises. A World Bank study (Jin *et al.* 2005) estimated that there are over 600,000 small rural enterprises throughout the country. They are mostly involved in production and/or manufacturing, followed by trade and services<sup>5</sup>.

The category of "Employee" accounts for 55% of employment in the rural economy, with 32% being salaried workers and 22% being casual wage workers. About a third of formal employees work in elementary occupations while a larger proportion of informal employees in similar occupations. Nearly half of all informal employees work in enterprises employing less than 5 workers. In terms of wages, formal sector employees receive on average almost twice of what is paid to informal sector workers. Given the low wages received by informal sector workers, it is important to note that, while the number engaged in self-employment activities is estimated to be growing at 1% per annum, the number of wage workers is increasing at the rate of 4% per annum (World Bank 2007:131).

As noted above, about two-thirds of those employed in the rural economy are working in the informal sector – and this is true irrespective of gender. Among women however, this is in contrast to the urban economy where more women are working in the formal sector than in the informal sector. More men are employed in the informal sector, irrespective of whether they are in urban or rural areas (Table 3.5).

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<sup>4</sup> See thematic paper on factor markets for a more focused discussion on smallholder farmers

<sup>5</sup> See chapter 4: non farm rural economy in this paper for a more detailed discussion of rural enterprises.

**Table 3.5 Employment in the rural economy by gender (2007)**

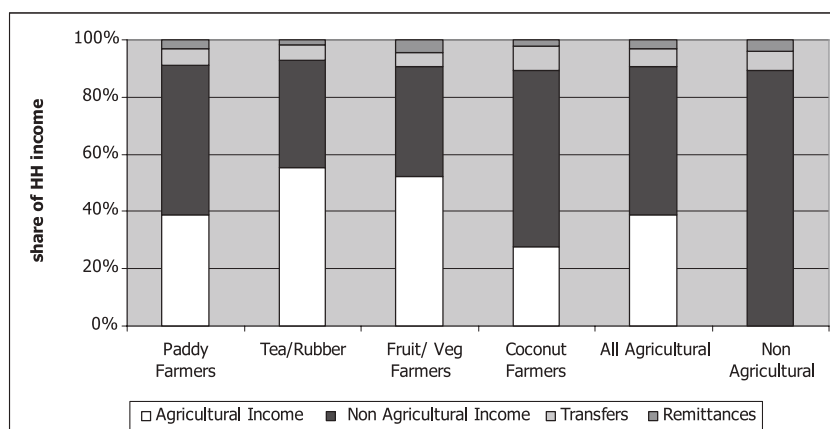
Number of persons Employed in the Rural Economy						
Gender	Formal		Informal		Total	
Male	1,365,065	33.1%	2,754,492	66.9%	4,119,556	100.0%
Female	908,702	42.2%	1,244,607	57.8%	2,153,309	100.0%
Total	2,273,767		3,999,099		6,272,865	

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Quarterly Labour Force Survey 2007

### 3.3 Characteristics

In an average rural household, about half of the per capita income comes from non-farm earnings (Chart 3.1). Agricultural households<sup>6</sup> are also highly dependent on non-farm income and the share of their income from non-farm activities (41%) exceeds their income from agricultural activities (32%). Among agricultural households there is a variance in the role of non-farm incomes across crop types. For example, 43% of monthly income of paddy farmers comes from non-farm activities (and, in fact, exceeds the value of their agricultural income), compared to 30% for higher value crop farmers such as fruit and vegetable growers.

**Chart 3.1 Share of monthly HH income by type of household**



Source: World Bank 2007

<sup>6</sup> Defined as households engaged in agriculture, that is, deriving any income from crop production, livestock raising and agricultural wage labour

Despite the contribution of non-farm income sources however, analysis of change in rural incomes over time has also highlighted the slow rate of growth in rural incomes, particularly among agricultural households. The poorest 7% among rural households and poorest 10% of agricultural households saw a decline in their income between 1995/96 to 2001/02. While most rural households saw at least an increase of 10% in their income, less than 20% of agricultural households saw an increase in their income greater than 10%. These figures indicate that households dependent on agriculture, which account for more than 60% of the population in rural areas, are also the majority of the rural poor.

### **3.4 The private sector and its role in the rural economy<sup>7</sup>**

The involvement of the formal private sector (understood here as registered businesses) in the rural economy in Sri Lanka, particularly agriculture, is somewhat limited. This is evidenced by the fact that more than two-thirds of employment in the rural economy is provided by the informal sector. Rural enterprises are mostly small scale (a 1995 survey of rural industries showed that 97% employed fewer than 15 workers), informal businesses while registered private companies mainly tend to be based in urban areas, particularly the Western Province. This is despite several years of active policies and programmes to promote private sector engagement in the rural economy (World Bank 2003).

There are, however, a number of private companies active in the rural economy, many of which are large enterprises engaged in a gamut of activities. These include input supply and other support services to agriculture, commercial-scale cultivation, processing and marketing.

Private sector companies that provide services to the rural sector include those organisations that supply seed and other inputs, supply farm machinery, equipment and farm machinery, transporters, and credit suppliers. CIC, for example, is dominant in the seed supply business, having acquired two state-owned seed paddy farms and has also ventured into the importation of vegetable seeds. In particular the Pelwehera R&D programme focuses on developing seed paddy including traditional rice varieties targeting a high-value, export market (CIC 2009).

Limited extension, advice and training services are also supplied by the private sector, but this is usually only in relation to the inputs they

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<sup>7</sup> This section was included at the request of the Country Programme Management Team (CPMT) to consolidate the information on private sector presented in the thematic papers such as the papers on Rural Institutions, Microfinance and Rural Factor Markets, as well as elsewhere in this paper.

market or the outputs they buy (such as through out grower schemes). Private sector institutions are also active in the provision of financial services to the rural economy, such as Ceylinco Grameen Credit, and LakJaya which have widespread outreach in populated areas.

Private sector companies engaged in cultivation include regional plantation companies, which are mainly engaged in tea, rubber and coconut cultivation, as well as companies such as CIC and Hayleys which focus mainly on vegetables and fruits. While a few companies have their own farms, limited availability of farm lands has resulted in private sector engagement via outgrower schemes. CIC, for example, estimates that they support 3,000 paddy farmers and 5,000 vegetable and livestock farmers through their outgrower schemes (CIC 2009).

Agricultural processing or the agribusiness sector, is an area which contains a number of private companies. The prevalent model, used notably by both CIC and Hayleys, is a privately owned factory surrounded by outgrower farmers who sell their produce to the factory. A similar system is used by private companies such as Nestle to collect milk from livestock farmers in the dairy sector. In addition to buying the farmers' produce, the private company also provides capacity building to the farmers, usually through demonstration plots for crops, and also some extension services.

As with agribusiness, the private sector is playing an increasingly important role in the marketing of agricultural output. While most farmers sell to the middleman and only about 10% sell direct to private companies, there is an increased interest among private sector companies, for example Cargills, to buy direct from the farmers. Forward contracting has been experimented with in a number of cases, including in IFAD supported projects, with varying degrees of success<sup>8</sup>.

## **4. The Poor within the Rural Economy**

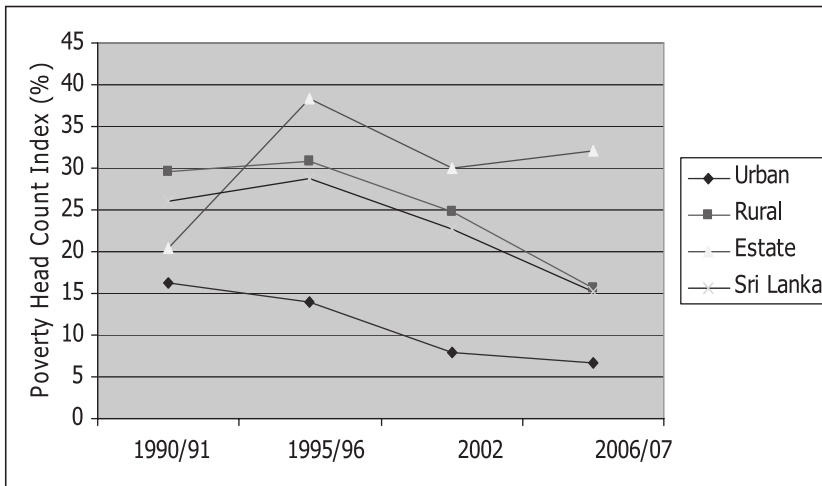
### **4.1 Prevalence of rural poverty**

Data on consumption poverty in Sri Lanka shows that it is on a generally declining trend. Rural poverty has declined from 29.5% in 1990/91 to 15.7% in 2006/07. Nevertheless, rural areas still account for 82% of the poor in the country or 2.3 million people, and the decline in rural poverty is slower than that seen in the urban sector (Chart 4.1).

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<sup>8</sup> See also Box 5.1 for a discussion on private sector views on challenges and opportunities facing the rural economy.

**Chart 4.1 Poverty headcount by sector (1990/91 – 2006/07)**



Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2008

In terms of dietary energy consumption however, 49% of the rural population is below the 2030kcal level, compared to 65% of the urban population and 37% of the estate population. In terms of the depth of poverty<sup>9</sup>, the poor in the rural sector are poorer than those in both the urban and estate sectors; on average the rural poor required Rs.452 in additional monthly income in 2006/07 to escape poverty, compared to Rs.423 for urban and Rs.434 for estate poor.

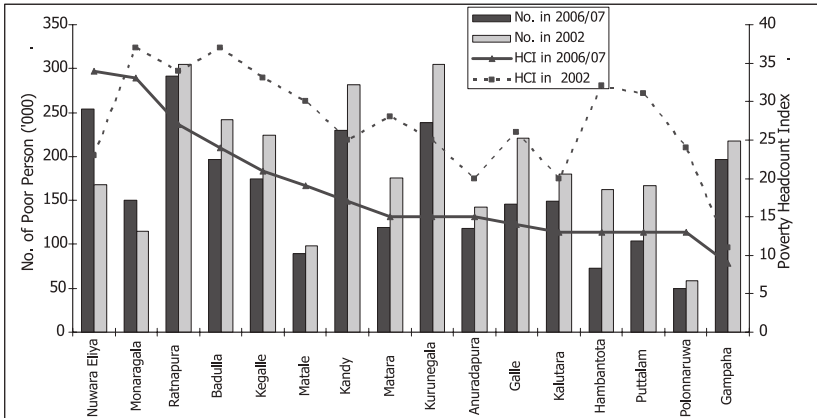
## 4.2 Spatial spread of rural poverty

The geographic spread of the incidence of rural poverty indicates that there are areas, and pockets within areas, which are more prone to poverty. Regression analysis to identify the likelihood of a household being poor have shown that location-specific characteristics, such as accessibility, the share of agricultural employment in total paid employment of household heads and share of electricity used for lighting, are important. The district level data<sup>10</sup> shows that in Nuwara Eliya, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Badulla and Kegalle, more than 20% of the population is below the poverty line (Chart 4.2). In terms of the numbers of poor, Ratnapura leads with close to 300,000 poor, followed by Nuwara Eliya, Kurunegala, Kandy, Badulla and Gampaha.

<sup>9</sup> Poverty Gap data provided by DCS

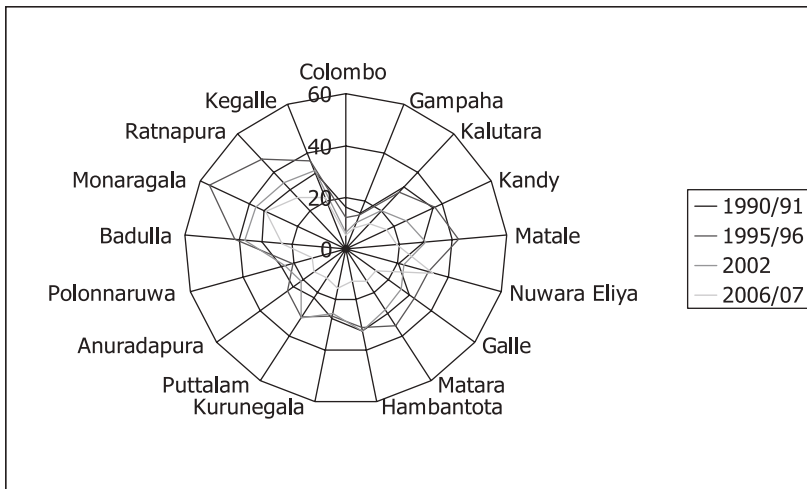
<sup>10</sup> DCS poverty data discussed in this section excludes the North and East

**Chart 4.2 Poverty headcount by district (2006/07)**



Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2008

**Chart 4.3 Poverty headcount by district (1990/91 – 2006/07)**



Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2008

Some districts have been persistently poor. Chart 4.3 shows the change in the Head Count Index (HCI) between 1990/91 and 2006/07 and it clearly shows that districts such as Moneragala, Ratnapura, Badulla and Kegalle have seen persistently high levels of poverty during the past 20 years. These districts contain many areas within the district too, which are geographically isolated pockets of poverty. Out of the 119 poorest



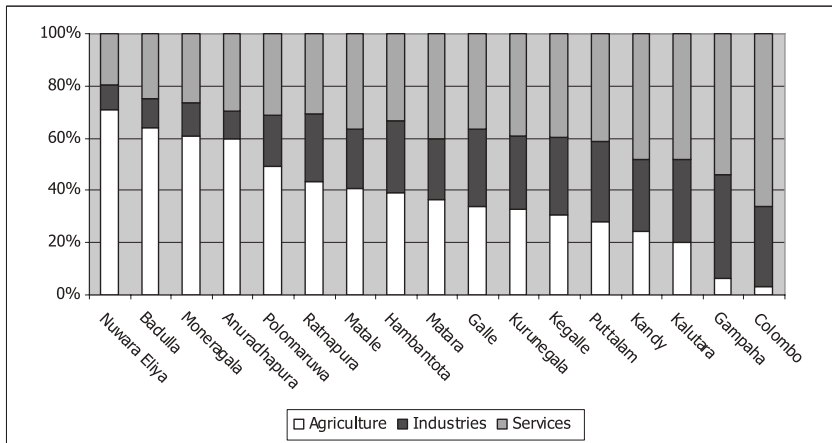
DS divisions identified, 45 or almost 40% are located in the above four districts<sup>11</sup> (see Annex 2).

The poorest districts, in terms of percentage of population below the poverty line as shown in Chart 4.2 and 4.3, are concentrated in three provinces: Uva (Moneragala and Badulla districts), Sabaragamuwa (Ratnapura and Kegalle Districts) and Central (Nuwara Eliya, Matale and Kandy).

### 4.3 Employment opportunities available to the rural poor

To understand what the poor do, it is necessary to look at the employment activities in areas where they live. Chart 4.4, which shows the distribution of employed population by district and major industry group, highlights the fact that the districts with the highest proportion of people engaged in agriculture – namely Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Moneragala, are also the districts with the highest proportion of the poor. However, districts such as Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, which have large numbers engaged in agriculture but relatively low and declining rates of poverty, indicate that employment in agriculture is not necessarily and inevitably linked to poverty.

**Chart 4.4 Distribution of employed population by district and sector -2007**



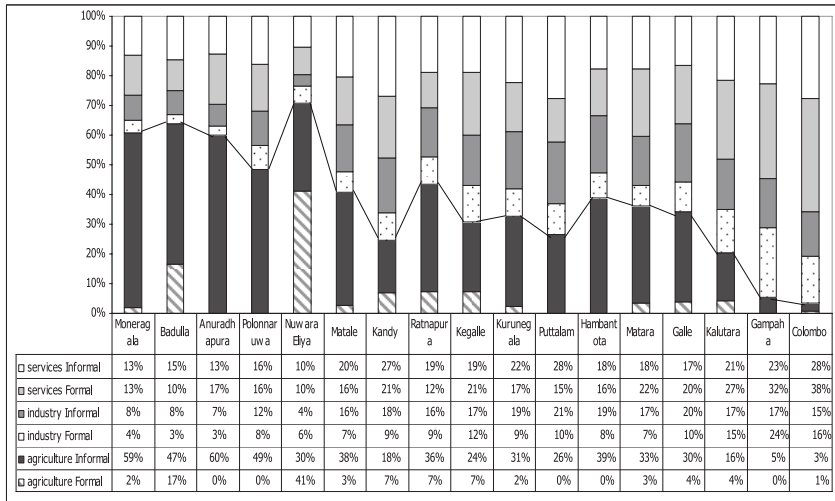
Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2008

Within sectors, it is clear that agriculture provides much more employment in the informal sphere than either industry or services.

<sup>11</sup> Those discussed in this chapter, to understand where the consumption poor live. Further dis-aggregation to Divisional Secretary Division is also available, including data on unmet basic needs disaggregated to the Grama Niladari level.

Overall, 84% of employment in the agricultural sector is informal, compared to 57% in industry and 48% in services. This is particularly relevant for a discussion on poverty, as it is estimated that formal sector employees receive, on average, almost twice what is paid to informal sector workers. Chart 4.5 shows the employed population in formal and informal sectors in agriculture, industry and services, arranged by province. It can be seen that the share of the informal sector in employment, particularly in agricultural employment, is very high in some areas, such as Anuradhapura, Moneragala and Polonnaruwa, but lower in otherwise heavily agricultural areas, such as Nuwara Eliya which has a large proportion of employment provided in regional plantation companies.

**Chart 4.5 Distribution of employed population by district, sector and formal/informal -2007**



Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2008

The relative dependence of rural households on agricultural and non-agricultural incomes varies significantly across expenditure quintiles. Rural households in the second and the third quintiles on average derive about one third of their income from agricultural activities. The poorest households obtain about one quarter of total income from agricultural activities, of which about 13% came from farm activities and 11% from casual agricultural labour. Overall, the poor are more reliant on income from agriculture and agricultural wages than the richer households who have a larger share of income from non-agricultural sources (World Bank 2003).

The importance of income from agricultural sources differs across the regions. It is critical in the North Eastern province where it accounts for 67% of household income, Sabaragamuwa (60%), Uva (59%), Southern (48%), and Central (47%) provinces. Agricultural households comprise 76% of rural households in Uva, 53% in North Eastern, 83% in North Central, and 50% in Sabaragamuwa. These are also the areas which have some of Sri Lanka's highest rural poverty rates.

The rural poor are also more dependent on casual wage work, be it agricultural or non-agricultural. While poorer households (bottom 40%) depend heavily on casual non-agricultural labour, salaried government and private jobs play a more important role for richer households. Notably, government salaries, on average, accounted for the largest share (33%) of incomes of the richest households. Among agricultural households, almost 40% of the household income of the poorest group comes from casual wage labour. Of this, 24% comes from agricultural wage work, and 15% comes from non-agricultural wage work. In comparison, among the richest, wage work accounts for about 10% of household income, of which 6% comes from agricultural wage work and 4% comes from non-agricultural wage work (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1 Portfolio of household income of rural agricultural HH, by expenditure quintile (1999-2000)**

Source of income	Poorest	Second	Third	Fourth	Richest	Total
Agricultural	47.6	53.1	53.3	46.7	48.5	49.9
Farm	23.4	35.4	40.1	37.0	42.5	36.6
Casual Ag wages	24.3	17.6	13.2	9.7	6.0	13.
Non-farm	36.9	32.0	29.6	39.5	32.2	33
Casual Non-ag wages	15.2	14.0	9.4	8.0	4.6	9.8
Public Salaries	6.5	8.9	12.2	19.9	26.2	15.4
Private Salaries	13.9	12.1	7.7	11.3	7.1	10.1
Sale of farm products	1.0	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.0
Transfer	8.7	7.6	7.5	6.6	9.2	7.9
Samurdhi	7.3	6.4	4.3	3.1	1.8	4.4
Farm subsidies	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Remittances	3.5	4.7	5.3	4.2	4.5	4.5
Other	3.4	2.7	4.2	3.1	5.5	3.8
Fisheries	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.3
Estate	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: World Bank 2003

Poverty in Sri Lanka is also associated with under, rather than unemployment. Under-employment, that is engagement in low productivity activities such as casual wage employment, is more common among household heads<sup>12</sup> in Sri Lanka, than outright unemployment. It is seen among less educated workers engaged in the informal sector in occupations related to, for example, agriculture and fisheries. These activities are also highly seasonal, which also aggravates the problem of under employment. A recent case study of two rural DS divisions in the Hambantota District suggests that the problem of under-employment is more acute than is suggested by macro data. The survey found that under-employment was as high as 76% among those who identified themselves as 'employed' as farmers and wage workers, which is three times the estimate provided by the Consumer Finances and Socioeconomic Survey for the rural sector (Vidanapathirana 2008).

Education is an important determinant of agricultural and rural non-farm employment and incomes. Analysis of the Sri Lanka Integrated Survey (SLIS) 1999-2000 data indicates that a household head's level of education is correlated with earnings from farm and non-farm sources. In particular, agricultural incomes constitute a smaller share of total income in households where the household head has 10 or more years of schooling; uneducated household heads derive 31% of their incomes from agricultural activities. The share of income from non-farm sources, in particular salary earnings, increases significantly as education levels rise for household heads. Salary earnings account for approximately 57% of total household incomes where the head has 10 or more years of education and drop to 23% where the household head had no education (World Bank 2003).

Because of a number of constraining factors, the poor also tend to see wage employment as the most likely avenue to increase their household income. In a survey covering the Kandy, Matale and Nuwara Eliya districts in the Central Province, only about half had plans to increase their income and of them, nearly half said that they planned to increase their income by seeking local wage employment (Table 4.2). In addition, nearly a quarter planned to start a new business while nearly a fifth planned to expand existing businesses. These households are all constrained by the lack of capital and opportunities. Significant numbers of young, relatively skilled workers want to migrate and many have already done so, mainly to the Colombo district. The study found that while households have diversified from the farm to the non-farm

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<sup>12</sup> Unemployment, on the other hand, is commonly seen among youth.

sector to a great extent the transition has been driven by households being squeezed out of agriculture due to low productivity levels and non-viable agricultural units, and by their becoming non-specialist agricultural households engaging in the non-farm sector in order to diversify risks. It found little evidence of sufficiently dynamic industrial and services sectors leading the transition. Similar findings are reflected in other recent reports (Box 4.1) suggesting that in Sri Lanka, the growth of the non-farm sector is driven by default rather than opportunity.

**Table 4.2 Methods by which households planned to increase non-farm income**

Method	Kandy	Matale	Nuwara Eliya	Overall Central Province
	%	%	%	%
Seek local wage employment	50.00	54.83	36.11	48.00
Open new businesses	23.00	22.58	25.00	23.00
Expand existing businesses	21.00	9.67	22.22	19.00
Other	6.00	12.90	16.66	10.00
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Gunatilaka 2003

**Box 4.1 Extract from Sri Lanka: Promoting Agricultural and Rural Non-farm Sector Growth**

"The non-farm sector is increasing in importance to rural households as a source of income - on average about 56% of the total by 1999-2000. An analysis of the composition of rural non-farm incomes reveals, however, that the more income-vulnerable households (bottom 40% in rural expenditure quintiles) depend in the main on lower-paying and distinctly less secure, casual, non-agricultural wage labour. Given Sri Lanka's large reservoir of well-educated rural citizens, more rapid industrial and services sectors' growth is a critical means of enabling more rural workers to graduate to better paying salaried jobs and, in the process, to contribute importantly to rural poverty reduction."

World Bank 2003: pp xii

## **5. Non Farm Economic Opportunities**

In this section, the paper focuses on the non farm economic opportunities, which relate to all economic activities other than farm-based livelihoods (Box 1). There are many activities which fall within the frame of non-farm economic activities as shown in Box 1. According to Haggblade,

*"...the rural nonfarm economy houses a highly heterogeneous collection of trading, agro-processing, manufacturing, commercial and service activities. The scale of rural nonfarm activity varies enormously, from part-time self-employment in household-based cottage industries to large-scale agro-processing and warehousing facilities operated by large multinational firms. Often highly seasonal, rural nonfarm activity fluctuates with the availability of agricultural raw materials and in rhythm with household labour and financial flows between farm and nonfarm activities. Across settings, the composition of nonfarm activity differs considerably as a function of widely variable natural resources, labour supply, location, history and institutional endowments" (2006:3).*

The section starts, therefore, with an overview of what is known about the rural non-farm sector in Sri Lanka.

### **5.1 Non-farm sector in Sri Lanka**

In Sri Lanka, there is limited data available regarding the size and composition of the rural nonfarm sector. What information is available tends to be about specific activities within the nonfarm sector. Accordingly, this section will attempt to understand the rural nonfarm sector by looking at some of its components, namely agribusiness activities, manufacturing, trade and services.

#### **5.1.1 Agribusiness**

The agribusiness sector has the capacity to generate employment and equitable income growth throughout the economy since agriculture is the main employer in the country. In addition, diversification into suitable agribusiness ventures and developing the food processing industry could boost rural income. The agribusiness sector includes all activities in the production, manufacturing, distribution, and wholesale and retail sales of agriculture commodities. However, even though the potential for rural development, utilising the benefits created through value addition and sector focused investments are well understood, the country is not well geared towards realising the full benefits. This is despite the fact that the sector's potential in making a positive impact on rural development, and creating employment opportunities has increased.

According to the National Agribusiness Council, the production of fruits has increased at a compound annual rate of 3% over the past decade but only 1% of the production is commercially processed, in contrast to 83% in Malaysia, 78% in the Philippines and 30% in Thailand. Wastage, estimated to be as high as 40%, is the highest among the South Asian countries. Value addition is constrained by the long value chain with too many intermediaries. Scale efficiency is minimised. Value addition in this sector is constrained due to many factors, such as inadequate infrastructure, inappropriate technology, lack of quality products, low level of support from Research & Development, and lack of coordination among the governmental and private sector organisations. These factors discourage the level of investment and are also key areas affecting the level of value added in this sector. For example, during the years 1992 and 2001 Sri Lanka had shown -1.6% and -2.9% growth in agriculture industry value addition, only in 2002 did this sector show around 1% growth (NAC 2005).

According to the Central Bank, the food, beverages and tobacco products category recorded 6.0 per cent growth in 2007 benefiting from both domestic and export market developments. Processed food and beverages including biscuits, ice-cream, bakery products, processed and canned fruit and vegetables, coconut products, vanaspathi oil, soft drinks and mineral water industries were the major drivers of growth in this category. Major players in the food processing and beverage industries increased investment for capacity expansion in 2007 to meet the increased domestic demand (Central Bank 2007).

Analysts have pointed out that there is a gradual but slow process of agriculture commercialisation, which is seen mainly in the smallholder tea sector and the non-paddy domestic crops sector including fruits, vegetables and spices, but also in the agro-based industrial sector. The value addition of agricultural products in terms of agro-based industries with exports are also increasing albeit very slowly. In 1997, the agro-based industries took a share of 15% in total industrial exports and this increased to 18% in 2006 in value terms (Herath 2007).

### **5.1.2 Manufacturing, Trade and Services**

Rural non-farm enterprises are any income-generating activity (trade, production, or services) not related to primary production (crops, livestock, or fisheries) undertaken within the household or in any non-housing unit. Any value addition to primary production (processing) is considered to be a rural non-farm activity. In 2003, the total value added by all rural non-farm enterprises was estimated at about Rs 185 billion, equivalent to 12% of GDP or 78% of agricultural GDP. Sri Lanka's rural enterprises are largely based outside the home and

most are engaged in manufacturing or trading, with a far smaller share involved in services.

A World Bank study (Jin *et al.* 2005) estimated that there are over 600,000 small rural enterprises throughout the country. About 41% of these enterprises are involved in production/manufacturing with about 38% involved in trade and the rest, about 21% in services. About 10% of the total enterprises are engaged in the manufacture and sale of processed agricultural goods. Other rural manufacturing industries include garments, nonmetallic mineral products, furniture, and wood products. Most trading enterprises are engaged in selling processed and unprocessed agricultural products and only a few (under 5%) sell agricultural inputs. The main service-related enterprises include repair services accounting for 24% of service-related enterprises, followed by personal services and hotels/restaurants. A typical rural enterprise is small scaled and employs about 2.4 workers, including hired workers and family members. Almost one-half of the workforce in rural enterprises is comprised of family labour.

## **5.2 Constraints to the development of the non-farm sector**

Many studies have been carried out to understand what constrains the growth of rural non-farm enterprises, and the following section provides a brief overview of their findings.

### **5.2.1 Infrastructure**

Lack of access to critical infrastructure and services, such as roads, markets, telecommunications, electricity and banking services, have been identified time and again as major constraints to rural non-farm growth in Sri Lanka (ADB and World Bank 2004). These inadequacies contribute to raising operational costs (cost of production) and reduced competitiveness for farmers and enterprises in more remote areas (Table 5.1). Geographical isolation as measured by the distance to the nearest market or city seems to be highly correlated with poverty incidence. The coastal areas surrounding Colombo District record high scores on the accessibility index<sup>13</sup> and a low poverty headcount ratio, while many DS divisions in the Moneragala District in the Uva Province are poor and geographically isolated (Annex 2).

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<sup>13</sup> The accessibility index is calculated for every point as the sum of the population of surrounding cities and towns, inversely weighted by the travel time on the road network to each town



**Table 5.1 Poverty and Access to Infrastructure**

Province	Poverty headcount (%)	Average Accessibility Index	Average travel time to Colombo (min)	Enterprises that use Electricity (%)	Enterprises with landline/mobile phone (%)	Enterprises located in a community with a bank (%)
Uva	37	2.8	295	62	23	78
Sabaragamuwa	35	3.3	152	76	15	70
North Central	21	2.9	304	61	8	75
Central	25	3.1	200	80	7	47
Southern	28	3.1	229	68	18	62
North Western	27	3.1	177	61	15	70
Western	11	3.8	73	79	24	70

Source: World Bank 2007

The road network in Sri Lanka has not kept pace with increasing rural needs. According to the Road Development Authority, the total road network has declined between 1991-95 and 1996-99. The length of trunk roads (Class A) and main roads (Class B) increased between 1986 and 1999, but almost 50% of the national highway network is in poor condition. The length of secondary roads like agricultural (Class C) and graveled roads (Class D) declined considerably during this same period.

**Table 5.2 Sri Lanka's road network**

Type	Classification	Length (km)
National Highways	A	4,095
	B	7,605
Provincial	C, D and E	16,500
Pradeshiya Sabha	unclassified	64,600
Special agency	Estate and other	24,000

Source: Presentation by Chairman, Road Development Authority 2008

More than 65,000 kilometres of roads in Sri Lanka are termed as "unclassified roads", which are mostly rural access roads used by the rural population to reach essential service centres such as hospitals, schools, banks and markets. Rural roads represent nearly 70% of the total road network, but many are merely footpaths or cart tracks. These roads have been neglected for decades without maintenance

and rehabilitation. These are the responsibility of Pradeshiya Sabhas which often do not have sufficient funds to cover all the construction, rehabilitation and maintenance work that comes under their remit. It is estimated that Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central provinces have 481, 351 and 318 villages respectively, with zero or partial access to all-weather roads (Table 5.2).

**Table 5.3 Number of villages without adequate access to all-weather roads**

Province	Uva	Sabaragamuwa	Central	Eastern	Southern	North Western	North Central	Western
No of villages with zero and partial access to all-weather roads	481	351	318	293	287	117	95	53
Road lengths (km) C and D roads	1,639	1,136	2185	581	1632	2,024	1,746	1,954
Road density (road km/land area in sq km)	0.20	0.23	0.39	0.06	0.30	0.26	0.17	0.54
Private and public buses - 2003	859	2193	2321	489	1436	1588	807	8437
Private and public buses/1,000 population (2001 census)	0.73	1.22	0.96	0.34	0.63	0.74	0.73	1.57

Source: Jayaweera 2005

Access to electricity among rural households is also limited, especially in the poorest provinces. Only about 56% of rural households in Sri Lanka have access to electricity and, as with roads, there is a sharp disparity in access across regions, with electrification tending to be concentrated in regions where poverty rates are also lower. The Western, province, which has the highest rate of access among rural households (80%),

has also the lowest rural poverty rate in the country. By contrast, only about 37% of rural households in Uva have electricity. As electricity is a critical input to many industrial and service activities, its unavailability acts as an important disincentive for investment (World Bank 2003).

Telephone connectivity has increased substantially in the past decade, and since the mid 1990s, the number of telephone connections has increased by 30% per year, and telephone density has risen seven-fold, from about 7 to 50 telephones per 1,000 persons. At present, there are an estimated 3 million fixed line telephone and 9 million mobile phone subscribers in the country. However Uva, North Central, Sabaragamuwa and North West provinces are estimated to have less than 10% of fixed line distribution. There are also 585 nenasala or telecentres spread across the country which have been established under the e-Sri Lanka programme. Some studies have suggested however, that the use of information and communication technology, especially for livelihood activities is low in Sri Lanka. For example, 16 nenasala in the Uva province earn less than Rs.5,000/month which is too little to cover even their operating costs. A recent study notes that only 20% of the surveyed population (focusing mainly on the poor) use their mobile phone for livelihood activities (LIRNEasia 2009).

**Table 5.4 Fixed access and pay phone availability by province**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Fixed Access Telephone availability (07/2008)</b>	<b>Payphones availability (12/2007)</b>
Central	320,150	753
East	133,915	664
North	42,464	176
North Central	185,739	365
North West	281,627	622
Sabaragamuwa	239,430	1107
Southern	346,323	1240
Uva	200,858	664
Western	1,355,130	2935
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,105,636</b>	<b>8526</b>

Source: Telecom Regulatory Commission 2008

Access to markets are particularly important for the rural poor because markets are where, as producers they buy their inputs and sell their products; and where, as consumers, they use their income from the

sale of crops or from their non-agricultural activities, to buy their food requirements and consumption goods. Markets are an important aspect of the rural economy and the vibrancy of the rural economy is strongly influenced by the type and nature of markets that the population has access to. In Sri Lanka, under 15% of households in all provinces report having a market in their community, and the distance they have to cover to reach a main road, market, telephone or bank increases as poverty intensifies (World Bank 2003).

### **5.2.2 Inputs from agriculture for agribusiness**

A major constraint to the development of agribusiness activities is the inadequate quantity and frequency of supply of raw materials for processing. Because of years of neglect, stagnation and migration away from rural areas, agricultural output is still below potential. Also, as the harvests are seasonal, production cannot be extended over the year. This is a major problem faced by the small and medium scale entrepreneurs in the processing and marketing sectors of the fruit and vegetable industry. It is necessary to examine the ways in which adequate supplies of raw materials could be produced to make these ventures sustainable. Small farm size and level of management are also constraints as the producers are small time entrepreneurs. As the total production is small, farmers are reluctant to use post harvest technologies and when excesses are produced in some years the losses become enormous (Gunasena 2007).

Lack of access and availability of storage is another problem. Cold chain facilities are inadequate and in some cases not existing in provinces and main towns to meet the growing production and storage of perishables such as milk, fruits and vegetables, poultry, fisheries for domestic and export markets.

### **5.2.3 Capital and Entrepreneurship**

Most farmers are reluctant to carry out value addition for their products beyond the farm gate. Lack of skills and the high risks associated with such activities generally constrain them to only primary production. Lack of farmer innovation has been cited by many project implementers as a barrier to promoting value addition activities. However, from the farmers' perspective, inadequate infrastructure facilities, inappropriate technology, unavailability of credit at concessionary rates, lack of quality products, seasonality of agricultural products and low level of support from Research & Development and coordination among the governmental and private sector organisations, are constraining their ability to carry out innovations.

In order to be able to invest in value addition industries at the household level, farmers need to have a good income from their farming activities which would allow them to save a part of their income. If they are unable to do this, it is difficult for them to invest in value addition for their agricultural products and therefore they tend to try to sell the raw product without any value addition. Even when they would like to engage in value addition, lack of access to capital – both within the household, as well as in terms of appropriate credit products - has been a major obstacle.

In addition, Sri Lanka's public sector agriculture research, and extension system is not well geared towards demand and they are limited to traditional crop production areas. There is a lack of coordination between agribusiness companies and research stations as to what they should focus on. The private sector is not incentivised to undertake or invest in research and development because of high investment expenditures and uncertainty about returns.

#### **5.2.4 Social development**

The sad reality is that rural poverty continues and agricultural productivity remains low despite many years of policies and projects aimed at increasing agricultural growth. The reasons for this may need to be found outside of the narrow understanding of the agricultural sector – perhaps in a combination of both social and rural development policies which have failed to provide the necessary investment and strategies to promote agricultural production as a viable means of acquiring an adequate income (Goonesekere 2006). Changes in policy and attitudes are needed to make agriculture and cultivation socially acceptable and economically productive vocations. Development needs to be carried to the villages in terms of good schools, health services, and opportunities for off farm employment, or the younger generation of low income youth, with aspirations created by access to at least O-level and A-level schooling, would not want to engage in agriculture. If the delivery of health, educational and technology services are inadequate in rural areas, there will continue to be migration out of rural areas and rural poverty will persist.

**Box 5.1 Private sector thoughts: constraints to development and the way forward**

According to representatives of major private sector companies engaged in agriculture in Sri Lanka, one of the main problems faced by them is the shortage of labour for cultivation activities. These shortages are attributed to attitudes and perceptions about working the land and employment in the private sector (as opposed to the public sector), particularly among the rural (including estate) youth. There is also limited availability of arable land in the scale required for commercial agriculture. In line with challenges discussed elsewhere in this paper, agribusiness activities are constrained by lack of consistent and adequate supply of agricultural output as raw material for processing, which new tools such as forward contracting and other formal and informal purchasing arrangements are trying to address.

In terms of the priorities to develop the rural economy, four main areas were identified: (i) There is a need to commercialise, agglomerate and mechanise agriculture to address labour shortages and increase profitability of agriculture; (ii) The trend of people increasingly going off the land in search of employment should be encouraged by increasing employment opportunities in agribusiness rather than cultivation; (iii) There is a need to address the shortcomings in the current extension system, which is clearly inadequate to ensure a quality product. New models, and the use of other media such as TV and mobile phones, were identified as potential interventions to improve extension services to farmers. In addition, the development of a database which farmers can access when deciding what to cultivate, which can be operated by the private sector, was also suggested; (iv) Overall, inconsistent government policies were seen to have had a disruptive effect on the growth of agriculture and the rural economy during the past decade, and the need to focus on and target community level development, as opposed to individual poverty alleviation, to guide future policy was emphasised.

*Source: KPIs with private sector companies engaged in agriculture*

**5.3 Government policy to promote rural economic development**

This section provides a discussion of current government policy relating to rural development, which is mainly drawn from the Mahinda Chinthanaya 10 Year development plan and discussions with central and provincial level administrators.

**5.3.1 Gama Neguma**

Gama Neguma is the major rural development programme under the 10 year development plan. It brings together a number of programmes focusing on livelihood development and poverty reduction at the village

level and introduces Grama Sabha and Jana Sabha to rationalise and synergise all rural development efforts under one programme.

The aim of Gama Neguma is to revitalise backward villages and provide basic services such as electricity, access to drinking water, developed access roads, schools and pre-schools, health centres, market centres and a factory to generate employment. Under this programme, the projects wanted by the village are selected by a planning committee to which all the village households belong. Beginning with the Siyambalanduwa DS division in the Moneragala district and the Minipe DS division in the Kandy District, 42 DS divisions have so far been selected for this programme. Under the Government's budget for 2009, Rs.16,420 million has been allocated to the Ministry of Nation Building for rural roads, electricity, drinking water and small irrigation works under Gama Neguma.

### **5.3.2 Area based livelihood development**

Specific regions have been targeted for development programmes with a view to making full use of resources available in these regions. The 10 year plan identifies four such areas; (i) Senkadagala (Kotmale, Ukuwela and Digana); (ii) Rajarata (Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa); (iii) North West and (iv) Uva Wellassa.

These programmes are developed in line with the needs and resources of the region. For example, the programme targeting Uva Wellassa focuses on ending the area's isolation, mainly by reducing travel times within the main service centres such as Badulla and Moneragala, and reviving the socio-economic condition of the population. Discussions with provincial level administrators highlighted the fact that much of Uva's resources, such as timber, vegetables and fruits, are extracted from the region with minimum processing or value addition, and the opportunities available to start such activities.

### **5.3.3 Infrastructure development**

There is a strong infrastructure development thrust in the 10 year plan, which has a special focus on the roads sector. The poor state of the rural roads network has been identified as a major impediment to rural economic development and the Maga Neguma Programme, targets the rehabilitation of all rural roads with a view to providing easy accessibility and all season passability to all 15,000 villages in the country. Since 2004, the programme has upgraded the surface of an estimated 545 km of rural roads out of the targeted 2,120 km (Maga Neguma Division, Ministry of Transport).

Other rural roads projects have or are being developed with large-scale funders, notably the World Bank and ADB. In particular, US\$100 million was provided under the World Bank's Road Sector Assistance project which also involved rehabilitation of 160 km of rural roads in nine Pradeshiya Sabha areas (World Bank 2009).

### **5.3.4 Employment Generation**

The 10 year development plan recognises the importance of employment creation as a way out of poverty and focuses on supporting livelihoods in the informal sector, and reducing under employment – key characteristics of rural livelihoods as discussed in chapter 3. Development, particularly labour-intensive development programmes, and economic expansion are highlighted as strategies to generate employment. Another focus area is matching labour demand and supply through skills development and promoting labour market information systems.

## **6 Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **6.1 Conclusions**

Rural areas are home to nearly 80 percent of the population and about 88 percent of the poor in the country. Almost two-thirds of households in rural areas are agricultural households, and the poverty rate among agricultural households is much higher than that seen among non-agricultural households. The poorest households are also more dependent on agriculture as a source of income. A slow down in the agricultural sector therefore hampers poverty alleviation and pushes these households into low paying insecure casual wage employment in the non farm sector.

Income from non-farm activities is increasing in importance for rural households, with close to 67% of rural employment provided by the nonfarm sector. However, the poorer households are pushed into low paying wage labour as the bottom 40% of households are heavily dependent on casual non-agricultural labour. In contrast, households who own and operate nonfarm enterprises have significantly lower poverty rates. However, the nonfarm enterprises in rural areas face a number of challenges to their growth, notably the lack of adequate infrastructure, including transport, electricity, markets, as well as financial services. They are also hampered by capital and technology constraints. Finally inadequate agricultural output also constrains the development of the agribusiness sector specifically, as well as the ability of farmers to generate savings/capital to start non-farm enterprises.



## 6.2 Recommendations

The rural economy is complex and inter-linked, and growth in agriculture can stimulate growth in the rural economy through a number of linkages, such as the release of farm labour for non farm-based activities, availability of capital for investment in non farm-based activities, and increased consumer demand from increasingly prosperous farm households. Similarly, growth in output processing can stimulate demand for agricultural production. A holistic, rather than piecemeal approach is required to understand the rural economy in any given area, based on which the necessary interventions can be developed.

Based on the analysis presented in this paper, there are three potential strategies, which are set out below.

- (i) **Promote more and better opportunities for wage employees:** through support to increased private investment in labour-intensive economic activities in the rural economy as set out in Box 2.1, including in non-farm based livelihood activities, output processing/packaging, input supply and services. Some suggestions for interventions made by provincial administrators are investment to carry out the processing of commodities extracted unprocessed out of the area, such as timber; investment to set up fruit and vegetable packaging plants etc. Livelihood opportunities available to poor households can also be supported by improving their skills and the availability of employment related information through employment based vocational training activities and the use of ICT for matching labour demand and supply. Some suggestions for interventions made by provincial administrators are the establishment of village or GN level employment bureaus where casual and skilled labour can register for short term as well as long term work
- (ii) **Support non farm self-employment and rural enterprise development:** The different elements of the rural economy as shown in Box 2.1, such as non-farm based livelihood activities, output processing/packaging, input supply and services, all are livelihood opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurs. Capital and entrepreneurship support is needed to encourage small-scale entrepreneurship in these areas. Some suggestions for interventions made by provincial administrators are to increase locally manufactured agricultural inputs, such as locally produced bio-fertiliser to

meet agricultural demand in an environmentally sustainable manner; support establishment of home-stay accommodation by village households for eco and cultural tourists, for example in Sabaragamuwa; provide integrated support, including skills, entrepreneurship training, required equipment and marketing opportunities for products, etc.

- (iii) **Support development in rural areas directly through investments in infrastructure and services:** This type of intervention is necessary to support life in rural areas. A vibrant rural economy should have adequate infrastructure and services, and when the rural economy grows, services are generally set up to cater to the increased demand from rural areas. However, provision of such services can also stimulate the rural economy and act as an incentive to retain as well as draw human resources to rural areas. While the government is active in setting policies and implementing programmes in this respect, including channeling and prioritising systems, these are mostly constrained by funding issues.

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## Annex 1: Tables

**Table A1 Poverty Head Count Index 1990/91 to 2006-07**

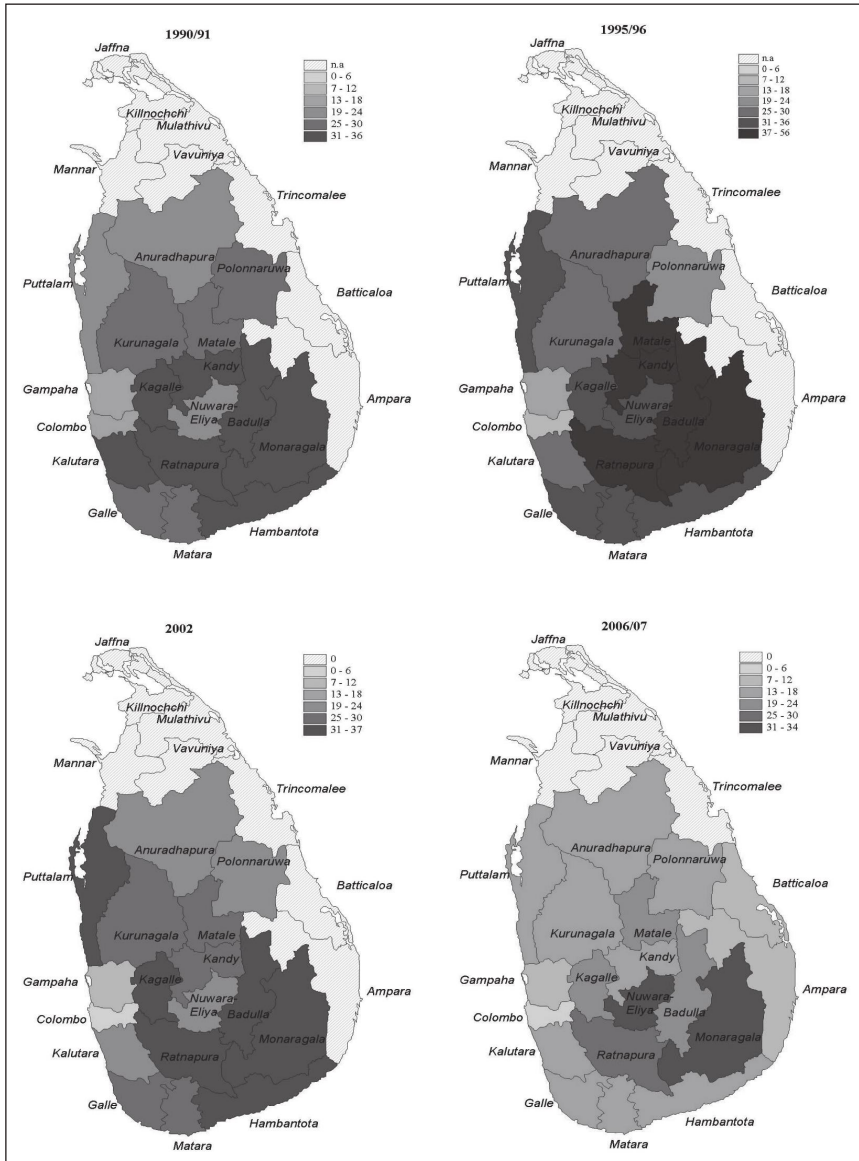
<b>Districts</b>	<b>1990/91</b>	<b>1995/96</b>	<b>2002*</b>	<b>2006/07*</b>
Sri Lanka	26.1	28.8	22.7 (3,207,000)	15.2 (2,805,000)
Colombo	16	12	6 ( 144,000)	5 ( 125,000)
Gampaha	15	14	11 ( 218,000)	9 ( 196,000)
Kalutara	32	30	20 ( 180,000)	13 ( 149,000)
Kandy	36	37	25 ( 282,000)	17 ( 230,000)
Matale	29	42	30 ( 98,000)	19 ( 89,000)
Nuwara Eliya	20	32	23 ( 168,000)	34 ( 254,000)
Galle	30	32	26 ( 221,000)	14 ( 146,000)
Matara	29	35	28 ( 176,000)	15 ( 119,000)
Hambantota	32	31	32 ( 162,000)	13 ( 73,000)
Kurunegala	27	26	25 ( 305,000)	15 ( 238,000)
Puttalam	22	31	31 ( 167,000)	13 ( 104,000)
Anuradhapura	24	27	20 ( 142,000)	15 ( 118,000)
Polonnaruwa	25	20	24 ( 58,000)	13 ( 50,000)
Badulla	31	41	37 ( 242,000)	24 ( 197,000)
Monaragala	34	56	37 ( 115,000)	33 ( 150,000)
Ratnapura	31	46	34 ( 305,000)	27 ( 292,000)
Kegalle	31	36	33 ( 224,00)	21 ( 175,000)
Batticaloa				11 ( 36,000)
Ampara		Not available		11 ( 64,000)

Source: W. Nanayakkara, DCS

Note: \* The count of people below the poverty line is shown within brackets.

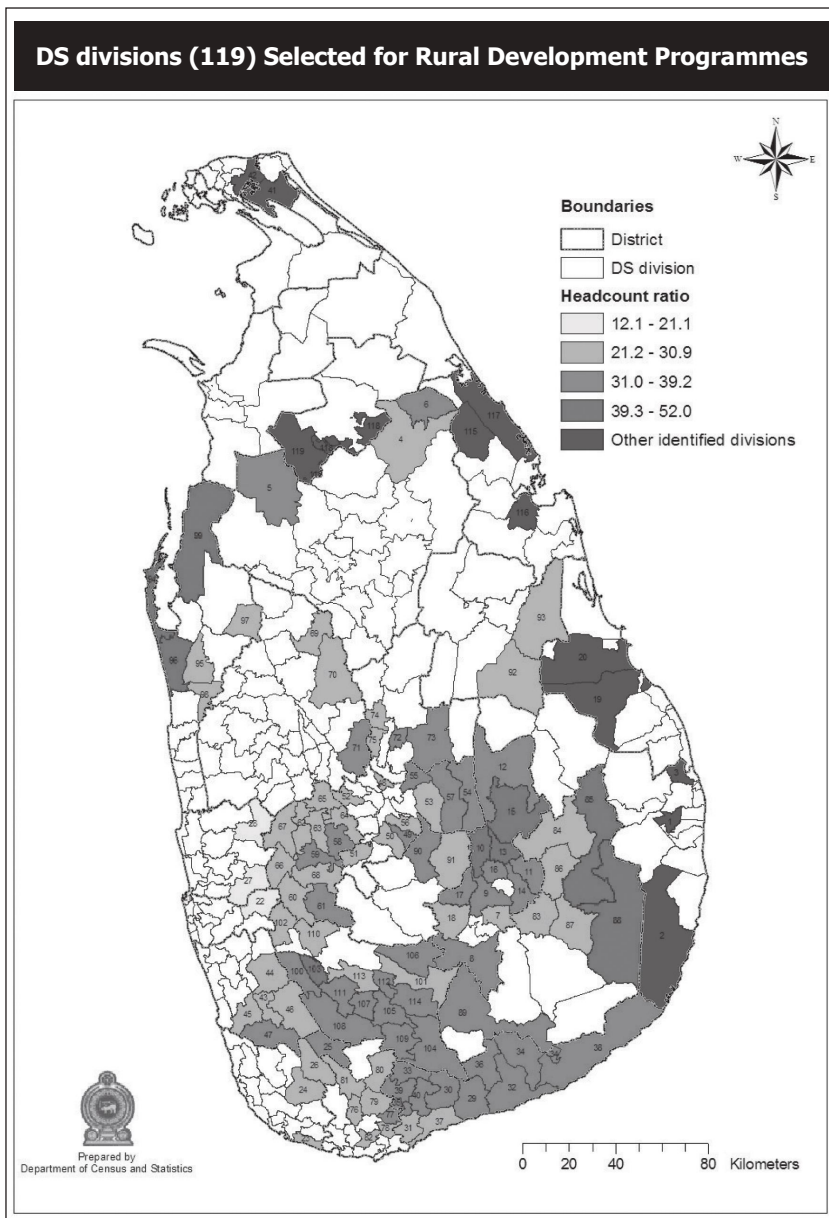
## ANNEX 2: Maps

Figure A2.1 Incidence of Poverty: 1990/91 to 2006/07



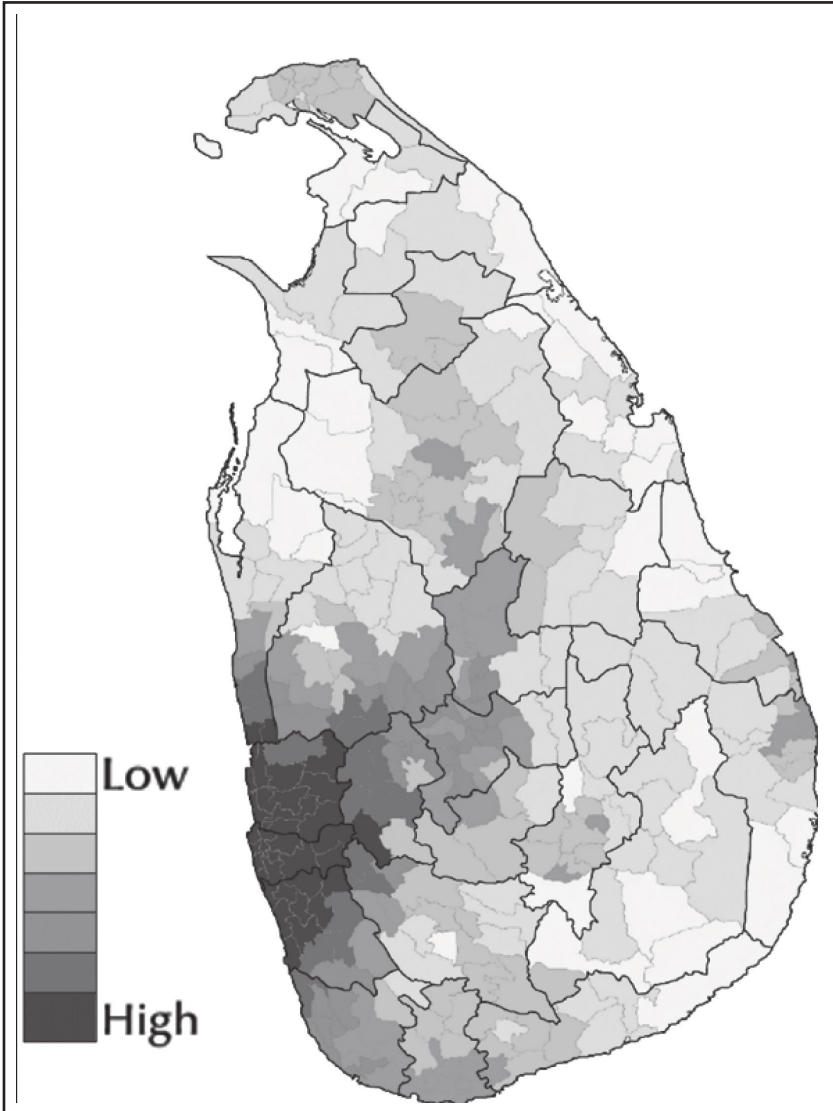
Source: IPS 2009

Figure A2.2 Poorest 119 DS divisions in Sri Lanka



Source: DCS 2006

**Figure A2.3 Accessibility Index**



Source: IPS 2009





# 3

## **RURAL FACTOR MARKETS**

***Ishara Rathnayake***



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## Executive Summary

In Sri Lanka, about 80% of the population lives in rural areas and the rural poor account for 95% of the country's poor. More than 65% of rural families secure their livelihood from agriculture and the majority of them are smallholders. Despite the heavy investments and large and diverse projects in agricultural development and rural poverty implemented by successive governments in Sri Lanka, the domestic agriculture sector remains largely unprofitable and stagnant due to a number of factors. Recent studies indicate that major constraints to alleviating poverty in rural areas stem from problems in rural factor markets – that is land and water, labour, capital and entrepreneurship. This paper attempts to understand the opportunities and constraints in the rural factor market that affect responsiveness to market demand and the achievement of improved quality of life for the rural poor.

This paper uses two criteria, namely income poverty and percentage of employed population in the agriculture sector, to identify the priority areas for this study. These criteria indicate that the provinces, Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central contain rural areas which have relatively high and persistent incidences of poverty as well as high proportions of employment in agriculture. Accordingly, the analysis focuses on major crops, and livestock and farm based activities of the poor in these provinces which include tea, vegetable, pulses, fruits, spices, paddy and dairy farming.

**Tea** is the most important tree crop in Sri Lanka. Tea smallholdings and private estates contributed 56% of total tea production and an estimated 70% of tea export earnings. The tea smallholder sub sector comprises 239,000 households (100,000 hectares [ha]) and employs some 1.5 million people in rural areas. Tea smallholders can be broadly classified into three types. The first are those who are highly productive, producing mostly clonal tea with yields exceeding 2,000 kg per ha. These units are mostly found in the southern districts of Galle and Matara, where the area planted with tea has gone up by more than 10,000 ha over the last 12 years. Low country smallholder tea farms typically grow no other crop. The second type comprises units with very low productivity - less than 600 kg per ha. These are usually seen in the pioneering mid-country districts of Kandy and Matale, where the tea extent has shrunk by 12,000 ha over this period. The third type consists of units whose productivity is somewhere between the first two types, and mixed farming with tea is the main source of family income. Smallholders in Nuwara Eliya and the Uva Province fall under this

classification. Among the second two types there is a greater incidence of poverty as well as the poor performance of other socio-economic factors such as education levels.

The tea sector as a whole is currently facing several challenges related to the reducing productivity of the land, high cost of production and lack of skilled labour. In addition to the problems faced generally by the tea sector, tea smallholders face several constraints such as lack of capital and management skills to carry out improvements, mainly the replanting necessary to ensure continued high yield. Replanting is coupled with a five year gestation period which the farmers have to wait out to earn an income. Due to the lack of other income sources and livelihood opportunities and credit to support them during such periods, smallholders are reluctant to replant. Furthermore, poor accessibility in remote areas is a major problem for the transportation of green leaves to the factory. This affects the quality of the tea leaves and hence the income received by the farmer. Inadequacy of extension services due to a lack of skilled and dedicated extension officers is also a common problem which requires institutional capacity-building.

The Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central provinces have high potential for the cultivation of **vegetables, spices and other cash crops**. Given the larger geographical spread and the different agro-ecological zones, these provinces have higher potential for growing different crop varieties. Most of the smallholder farmers grow up-country and low-country vegetables, paddy, spices (cinnamon, pepper), pulses (green gram, cow pea, and gingerly), and cereals (maize, kurakkan). In addition, manioc, chillies and ground nut are also important crops (Table A5). In the drier parts of Uva, fruit crops such as mango, rambutan, plantain, pineapple, lime and orange account for the highest extent of systematic cultivation (DCS 2002). The majority of the farmers are smallholders doing mixed cropping and engaging in chena cultivation.

One of the major constraints in the Uva province is low land productivity, particularly in the drier parts of the province which lack irrigation facilities. A higher degree of dependence on the rain fed system and inadequate use of modern irrigation techniques is a common problem. These have reduced the amount of arable lands and have affected the overall productivity of land. Improper land management practices including improper fertiliser application has contributed to the low micronutrient content of the soil over the years. Use of poor quality planting materials, improper crop management practices due to lack of skills, and quality and quantity losses of the produce at harvesting and post harvest stages have made farmers less competitive. Though

there are imported quality seeds for vegetables, there is lower focus on pulses. There is a need to import seeds and test them in the fields.

A higher percentage of post harvest losses due to poor post harvest handling, storage and transportation is a major issue. The seasonality of agricultural products is a major reason as to why there is no adequate involvement of the private sector in investing in processing or value addition. Availability of land and support services for large scale commercial production is lacking and therefore farmers have limited opportunities for diversification. Unavailability of the varieties suitable to meet the requirements of the processing and export industry is common in the vegetable sector.

Lack of effective marketing channels is another major problem. Although there is a well developed marketing system in the Badulla area for up-country vegetables, there is no such developed market system in the drier parts of Uva (Mahiyanganaya and Monaragala). Less demand for crops grown in the dry zone, together with price fluctuations and government trade policies have aggravated the problem further.

In the livestock sector, the **dairy** sector is most important as it plays a crucial role in the rural economy; of the 17.9% of households owning livestock, approximately 70% own cattle. The majority of dairy farmers are smallholders. They engage in mixed crop–livestock farming operations, keeping 2-5 cows in most of the agro-ecological regions. Based on the cost of milk production, a minimum of 15 litres of daily production is needed to earn a reasonable income from dairy farming at the smallholder level. To make a profit at this level of production a smallholder needs three cows, an adequate cattle shed and a fodder plot of over twenty perches. However, the majority of smallholders do not have these minimum requirements.

There is very little space for the expansion of milk production in these areas due to feed and land constraints. In many areas, small dairy farmers do not have adequate land to grow grass or do not have secure access/rights to use existing grasslands. The lack of knowledge of farmers on the nutritional requirements of cows including water requirements have resulted in low yields and hence low milk production. Access to livestock extension is poor and is a constraint to greater productivity. The lack of dedicated staff and coverage per extension officer are main issues. Access to AI and health services is generally good but variable, constrained in some areas by terrain, infrastructure and distances, poor extension services as a result of lack of staff and lack of dedication and skills of the available staff, and inadequate education on animal feed requirements and health among the dairy farmers.



In relation to marketing, despite substantial private sector involvements, there remain several constraints. These include limited availability of marketing options, inadequate buffer milk processing facilities, and failure to update the technology, including the development of a proper collection and distribution network in the sector. Poor infrastructure facilities have also contributed to the limited development of alternative marketing opportunities and farm based processing options. In some areas there are limited opportunities for milk based value addition due to the lack of proper infrastructure facilities and lack of access to technology. In some areas curd marketing is well organised but milk spoilage is relatively high due to poor refrigeration facilities. Absence of new investments for processing in the livestock sector is due primarily to the lack of state support and financial services.

The analysis of rural factor markets carried out in this paper indicates that there are a number of constraints that poor rural farmers in Sri Lanka are faced with, which hold back their development. These differ to some extent across regions, based on the nature of the crop, ecological zone, fertility of the land and water sources etc. Not all smallholder farmers are poor, as the discussion set out in this paper shows, and interventions should be geared towards the needs of poor smallholders. Overall, the opportunities for intervention, based on the analysis of smallholder farming in the priority regions carried out in this paper, are as follows:

#### *Land and water related*

- Issues of land and water availability are prominent in some agricultural areas, such as Uva, and there is a need to promote better use of land resources and increase the use of sprinkler irrigation methods, agro wells, rain water harvesting methods and renovate abandoned tanks

#### *Capital*

- Introduce and strengthen microfinance products to support tea smallholders to carry out replanting, new planting and diversification
- Provide insurance for crop failures and market slumps for smallholders, particularly those involved in producing tea as well as vegetables, spices and other cash crops
- Increase the availability of quality seeds and planting materials, especially in relation to vegetables, spices and other cash crops
- Provide storage facilities to reduce post harvest losses and get an income during the off season

- Assist the farmers to tolerate price fluctuations with micro insurance schemes and “forward” contracts with the private sector
- Support the upgraded breeding of cattle and help protect the stock of quality cattle, for example, through the establishment of “Cattle Banks”

### *Management*

- Diversification of tea smallholdings in the mid and upcountry areas through mixed cropping for dendro energy, fodder, vegetables, pepper or other perennial crops
- Strengthen farmer organisations, especially among vegetables and other cash crop producers, to enhance their skills through exposure visits, technology exchange programmes and entrepreneurship training programmes
- Formation of entrepreneur groups, which could take managerial decisions and be in charge of water management and maintenance, and control and manage the production and supply of the crops
- Promote crop diversification and value addition by providing technical knowledge and skills on correct value addition methods, fertiliser usage and use of equipments
- Improve knowledge and skills of dairy farmers to promote the utilisation of available local feed resources and reduce wastage
- Improve farmer knowledge on proper management of cows to obtain higher levels of yield

### *Markets*

- Bring the tea smallholders and plantation factories into one process and a common goal: the quality improvement of the products and diversification such as value addition and growing other suitable crops
- Market information and links/contacts with the private sector can be used to establish backward linkages to the tea smallholders
- Assist farmers to respond to the demand for vegetables, pulses and fruits in both local and overseas markets by providing access to information and technology, as well as market infrastructure
- Improve milk collecting networks, market systems and price incentives to incentivise increased milk production

## **1. Introduction**

The rural sector in Sri Lanka is important as about 80% of the population lives in rural areas and the rural poor account for 95% of the country's poor (World Bank 2008). More than 65% of rural families secure their livelihood from agriculture and a majority of them are smallholders. Despite the heavy investments and large and diverse projects in agricultural development and rural poverty implemented by successive governments in Sri Lanka, the domestic agriculture sector remains largely unprofitable and stagnant due to a number of factors. Recent studies indicate that major constraints to alleviating poverty in rural areas stem from problems in the rural factor markets – that is land and water, labour, capital and entrepreneurship. Problems identified include: limited availability of arable land and access to land, land use patterns, and imperfections in the land market which are key problems, high cost of labour and limited supply of labour for agricultural activities, and problems with accessing capital. The overall management of the factors of production with technology to achieve the desired output for farming to become profitable is also an issue.

Given the above context, this paper attempts to understand the opportunities and constraints in the rural factor market that affect responsiveness to market demand and the achievement of improved quality of life for the rural poor. Opportunities and constraints will be discussed in relation to the needs of individuals and communities as well as to the need to preserve the natural environment.

The specific objectives of the paper are to identify the priority groups, their major issues and areas for interventions within the donor and government mandate. The paper is organised as follows: Chapter 2 provides the context of rural agricultural poverty in order to identify priority areas. Chapter 3 discusses issues/constraints in the factor markets relating to agricultural production in the priority areas identified. Chapter 4 provides a discussion of recommendations stemming from the analysis in this paper.

## **2. Identification of Priority Areas**

This chapter provides an overview of income poverty and employment in agricultural activities, to identify where most poor agricultural households are located, as well as the agricultural activities that they are engaged in.

## 2.1 Income poverty

The geographic spread of the incidence of rural poverty<sup>1</sup> indicates that there are areas, and pockets within areas, which are more prone to poverty. The district level data<sup>2</sup> shows that in Nuwara Eliya, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Badulla and Kegalle, more than 20% of the population is below the poverty line. Some districts, such as Moneragala, Ratnapura, Badulla and Kegalle, have seen persistently high levels of poverty during the past 20 years. Overall, analysis of poverty data indicates that the poorest districts are concentrated in the three provinces - Uva (Moneragala and Badulla districts), Sabaragamuwa (Ratnapura and Kegalle Districts) and Central (Nuwara Eliya, Matale and Kandy). (Table 2.1)

**Table 2.1 Trend of poverty Head Count Index in selected districts (%)**

District	1990/91	1995/96	2002	2006
Nuwara Eliya	20	32	23	34
Moneragala	34	56	37	33
Ratnapura	31	46	34	27
Badulla	31	41	37	24
Kegalle	31	36	32	21
Matale	29	42	30	19
Kandy		36	37	25

Source: DCS 2006

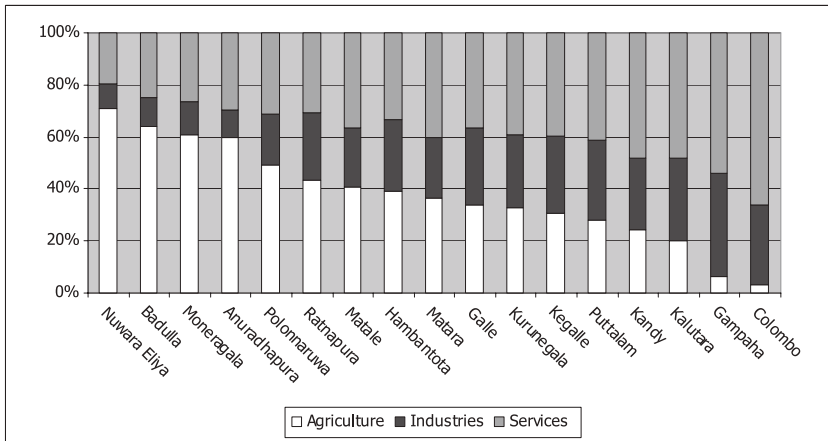
## 2.2 Poverty and employment in agriculture

The distribution of the employed population highlights the fact that the districts with the highest proportion of the poor, namely Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Moneragala, are also the districts with the highest proportion of population engaged in agriculture. (Chart 2.1)

<sup>1</sup> Please see the paper on Rural Economic Opportunities for the background discussion of rural poverty used in this paper

<sup>2</sup> DCS poverty data discussed in this section excludes the North and East

**Chart 2.1 Distribution of employed population by district and sector - 2007**



Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2008a

### 2.3 Identification of priority areas

This paper uses the above two criteria, i.e. income poverty and percentage of employed population in the agriculture sector, to identify the priority areas for this study. According to the income criteria Nuwara Eliya, Moneragala, Ratnapura and Badulla, Kegalle, Matale and Kandy are among the top seven poorest districts. However, when considering percentages of employed population among different industry groups, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Moneragala, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Ratnapura and Matale are among the top seven districts. Therefore the analysis shows that Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Kegalle, Matale and Kandy are among the top poor districts as well as having higher percentages of employment in the agriculture sector.

In order to identify the constraints and opportunities with regard to factor markets, it is important to look at major agricultural activities in Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central provinces focusing on their crops, livestock and farm based activities. Accordingly, the analysis focuses on major crops; livestock and farm based activities of the poor in these provinces which include tea, vegetable, pulses, fruits, spices, paddy and dairy farming. The elaboration of rural non-farm activities is provided in a separate thematic paper on rural economic opportunities.

### 3. Rural Factor Markets in Priority Areas

#### 3.1 Tea sector

Tea is the most important tree crop in Sri Lanka. Tea smallholdings and private estates contributed to 56% of total tea production and an estimated 70% of tea export earnings. The remaining is produced by the regional plantation companies. Although the total land extent under the estates sector (118, 955 ha) is larger than the 100,000 ha under smallholder cultivation, the smallholders' share in national tea output is approximately 70% of the total tea production. Yield among the smallholdings now average about 2,450 kg/ha and that of the corporate sector plantation is in the region of 1,275 kg/ha (65% of the yield achieved by smallholders).

The estate sector is dominant in Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Kandy districts whereas the smallholder sector is dominant in the low country areas including Galle, Matara and Ratnapura (Table A3). The tea smallholder sub sector comprises 239,000 households (100,000 hectares [ha]) and employs some 1.5 million people in rural areas. Smallholder production is concentrated in the low country, i.e., below 600 meters (m). Due to the higher prices received for low country tea, it accounts for approximately 70% of the value of tea sales. Most (95% in 1998) of the production, about 280,000 tons, is exported. Sri Lanka contributes about 10% of the world's tea production and about 20% of world tea exports. Tea smallholdings below 0.5 ha comprise nearly 90% of all holdings.

Substantial poverty incidence appears to exist among the tea smallholders. According to the Department of Census and Statistics (DCS) and the Tea Smallholders Authority (TSHDA) 90% of tea smallholders with less than 1 acre are Samurdhi recipients. In Nuwara Eliya and Badulla districts, the number of tea holdings less than 1 acre in size is approximately 3% and 6% of the total smallholdings in Sri Lanka. When considering the educational status of the operator in the Badulla district, 4.3% of the tea holdings are operated by persons with no schooling and 23.2% by persons with education levels up to grade 5 or below. The educational status of the operators in Nuwara Eliya district is similar to those in Badulla district; 4% of the tea holdings are operated by persons with no schooling and 25% of the tea holdings are operated by persons with education levels up to grade 5 or below (see also Table A4). The implication of this is that there may be a need to improve the knowledge and skills of the operators. Furthermore, when considering the ownership status of the operator, in the Badulla

district 74.5% of the smallholdings are operated singly and 12.6% are government rented. In Nuwara Eliya district, 76.2% of the smallholdings are operated singly and only 2.5% are government rented (DCS and TSHDA 2005).

There are mainly three types of smallholders. The first are those who produce highly productive, mostly clonal tea with yields exceeding 2,000 kg per ha. For this category, tea is invariably the sole or predominant crop and the use of hired labour is high. These units are mostly found in the southern districts of Galle and Matara, where the area under tea has gone up by more than 10,000 ha over the last 12 years. Low country smallholder tea farms typically grow no other crop.

The second type comprises units with very low productivity - less than 600 kg per ha. Abandoned and neglected fields, large-scale vacancies, and mixed cropping often with other crops such as pepper, cloves, and coffee characterise this sub sector. These are usually seen in the pioneering mid-country districts of Kandy and Matale, where the tea extent has shrunk by 12,000 ha over the last 12 years.

The third type consists of units whose productivity is somewhere between the first two categories. Although there is an element of mixed farming, tea remains the main source of family income. There is a trend that many former tea smallholders are moving towards commercial vegetable cultivation. Smallholders in Nuwara Eliya and in the Uva Province fall under this classification. The last two categories of growers generally use their own family labour and even hire themselves out to estates when they are unable to make ends meet (Sivaram 1997).

### **3.1.1 Constraints faced by the smallholder farmers**

The tea sector as a whole is currently facing several challenges. Productivity of the land has become low mainly due to ageing tea bushes, improper fertiliser application and low replanting rates. There is labour scarcity which has also contributed to low productivity mainly due to skilled worker out-migration in plantations, and chronic absenteeism of registered and resident estate workers. Labour and fertiliser costs contribute to the high cost of production. Labour cost is more than 60% of total cost of production. Worker productivity is important and depends on wages, incentives and socio-economic considerations. Lack of skills in harvesting technology plays a key role in determining production, productivity and quality standards. In order to mitigate the situation, the corporate sector has been attempting to introduce partial mechanisation of some field operations and other labour saving

and incentive measures, first in the low country and parts of the mid country, but now also in the up country.

In addition to the problems faced generally by the tea sector, tea smallholders face several constraints to their development. According to the TSHDA, one of the major constraints is lack of government funding/subsidies for replanting. Regular replanting of ageing tea bushes is required to sustain a tea production area within the productive age limit of about 25 years. It was estimated that a backlog of 19,000 ha of smallholder lands in low country were reaching the end of their economic life. This increases by about 3% annually. These tea production areas needed to be replaced with high quality clonal planting material, which is resistant to disease and insect infestation.

Replanting is a costly operation and the government is able to supply only 20% of the total cost of replanting. Lack of microfinance systems and suitable microfinance products to assist replanting, improve productivity of tea lands and help with diversification is a constraint, especially in the up country and Uva Province. Due to these reasons, smallholders do not practice replanting due to insufficient financial support even though there is a heavy need.

There is also a problem with farmers not applying correct management practices in replanting. The replanting process requires a fallow period of 1.5 years before replanting. Farmers do not allow the land to be fallow for so long because of the lack of income during this period. This in turn affects the productivity of the land in the long run. Replanting is also coupled with a 5 year gestation period where farmers have to wait 5 years to earn an income. Due to the lack of other income sources and livelihood opportunities and credit to support them during such periods, smallholders are reluctant to replant. Overall, lack of proper managerial skills and knowledge of smallholders in the Central and Uva provinces have resulted in low productivity. There is a need to improve their skills through training and extension.

Poor accessibility in remote areas is a major problem for transportation of green leaves to the factory. This would affect the quality of tea leaves and hence the income received by the farmer. Lack of proper extension services due to lack of skilled and dedicated extension officers is a common problem. Therefore there is a need for institutional capacity building.

Smallholders are also facing demand problems as the recent drop in world tea prices has pushed the prices for green leaves lower, which



has been exacerbated by the reduction in purchases of green leaf by the tea factories.

### **3.1.2 Opportunities**

Despite the constraints discussed above, there is potential to improve the performance of the tea smallholding sector, which is discussed below.

In social terms, the development of smallholdings offers more employment opportunities for rural women, thereby improving the living conditions of families. With the provision of efficient agricultural extension systems and proper processing facilities in close proximity to each other, increased smallholder participation in the tea industry could serve as an effective strategy for raising incomes

There is a need to introduce and strengthen microfinance institutions in areas where such networks are lacking to enable the small farmers to access the credit required for replanting, new planting and for diversification. Ground level societies have some savings, credit funds and welfare activities. Microfinance schemes can be introduced through these available societies. There is also potential to provide insurance against crop failures and market slumps for smallholders.

It is very important to bring the farmers and factories into one process and a common goal: the quality improvement of the products and diversification such as value addition and growing other suitable crops. There is potential to encourage tea factory owners to use their excess manpower, resources and managerial skills for other ventures during times of reduced demand. Market information and links/contacts with the private sector can be used to establish backward linkages to the tea smallholders.

The diversification of tea smallholdings in the mid and upcountry through mixed cropping for dendro energy, fodder, vegetables, pepper or other perennial crops is a less risky option, since it is easier to stabilise household income than it is to control markets.

Mixed cropping with dendro and other crops help to improve land productivity as well as having other added environmental benefits, being an alternative for fossil fuel. The viability of diversification will depend heavily on the provision of extension services and marketing opportunities. It can be provided with technical assistance and other commercially oriented support, including quality improvement training, sales, and marketing skill building, support of participation in tradeshows,

training small-scale tea growers on social, economic and environmental aspects, and improving their understanding of the tea value chain. There is also potential to introduce and promote timber cultivation in Uva because tea lands are comparatively larger in size and most lands are not fully utilised for tea. Growing timber species would provide farmers with an additional income and meet their energy requirement.

Finally, there is a need to provide support for broad-based rural

**Box 3.1 Ongoing government programmes targeting tea smallholders**

TSHDA is directly involved in development of the tea smallholder sector in Sri Lanka. The interventions include

- productivity improvement through replanting and land development
- providing extension and support schemes and managing the cess rebate for replanting and infilling
- input supply including fertiliser subsidy
- conduct a replanting credit scheme through participatory finance institutes

development including the development of local processing capacity and producer associations, and measures to improve credit and risk management facilities.

### **3.2 Vegetables, spices and other cash crops**

Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central provinces have a high potential for the cultivation of vegetables, spices and other cash crops. Most smallholder farmers grow up country and low country vegetables, paddy, spices (cinnamon, pepper) pulses (green gram, cow pea, and gingerly) and cereals (maize, kurakkan). In addition manioc, chillies and ground nut are also important crops (Table A5). In drier parts of Uva, fruits crops such as mango, rambutan, plantain, pineapple, lime and orange are under the highest extent under systematic cultivation (DCS 2002). The majority of the farmers are smallholders doing mixed cropping and engaged in chena cultivation.

Given the larger geographical spread within different agro-ecological zones, these provinces have a higher potential for growing different crop varieties. Although a number of projects have been implemented to develop various sectors, there is still potential to develop vegetables, spices and other cash crops to achieve a higher level of production and to diversify to meet the emerging needs of the local as well as foreign markets.

### **3.2.1 Constraints faced by the smallholder farmers**

Given the above context, development of vegetables, spices and other cash crops is important as an income generating activity for the poor and for creation of employment opportunities, especially for women. Although government interventions exist, the sector faces constraints that hold back its development. Most of the constraints are common to the sector. However there are constraints specific to each province.

One of the major constraints in the Uva province is low land productivity as opposed to unavailability of land. One of the major problems in the drier parts of Uva is lack of irrigation facilities. Higher degree of dependence on the rain fed system and inadequate use of modern irrigation techniques is a common problem. These have reduced the amount of arable land and have affected the overall productivity of the land. Improper land management practices including improper fertiliser application has contributed to low micronutrient content of the soils over the years.

There is an unavailability of quality seeds and planting materials for green gram, black gram and maize which otherwise have a high potential to provide better yields. Though there are imported quality seeds for vegetables, there is lower focus on pulses. There is a need to import seeds and test in the fields. Though cost of seeds contributes to 10% of the total cost of production it has an added impact on the yields. Most farmers are not aware about seed quality. Use of poor quality planting materials, improper crop management practices due to lack of skills, and poor post harvest handling have contributed to low quality outputs which has in turn made farmers less competitive.

Although there is a well developed marketing system in the Badulla area for upcountry vegetables, there is no such developed market system in the drier parts of (Mahiyanganaya and Moneragala) Uva. Less demand for crops grown in the dry zone, together with price fluctuations and government trade policies have aggravated the problem. Most of the farmers adopt traditional marketing methods due to inadequate marketing facilities and poorly operated distribution networks and are characterised by dependency on the village level collector, high price attitude (artificial pricing and political bias), limited market outlets, and lack of knowledge by farmers on the cost of production.

The high percentage of quantity and quality losses at harvesting and post harvesting stages due to poor handling, storage and transportation are major issues. Seasonality of agricultural products is a major reason

for why there is no adequate involvement of the private sector to invest in processing or value addition. Unavailability of land and support services for large scale commercial production is lacking and therefore farmers have limited opportunities for diversification. Unavailability of suitable varieties to meet the requirements of the processing and export industry is common in the vegetable sector.

Lack of ownership of the land is a problem. As a result, they are not eligible to access financial capital and other resources. Sometimes they are excluded from some projects.

#### ***Specific issues related to fruit crops***

A major issue is poor management practices adopted by farmers due to lack of knowledge and skills. Farmers do not prune at the correct stages, apply fertilisers or provide adequate water. As a result, farmers have not been able to obtain the potential production. Storage facilities are inadequate, outdated methods are adopted in the processing of fruits and also, there is a lack of proper marketing facilities

#### ***Specific issues related to spices***

A major issue is lack of technical knowledge and skills about correct value addition methods, quality (production of white pepper) and use of equipment. There is also limited availability of financial capital to initiate new planting and assist farmers in tolerating price fluctuations.

### **3.2.2 Opportunities**

Several opportunities exist to improve the productivity of vegetables, spices and other cash crops. It is important to provide irrigation in Yala and Maha seasons for the dry part of Uva to use existing land resources better and promote sprinkler irrigation methods. Agro wells, rain water harvesting methods, and renovating abandoned tanks are a few potential ways. There is also a need to strengthen farmer organisations to enhance their skills through exposure visits and technology exchange programmes and entrepreneurship training programmes.

To improve quality, interventions to increase the availability of quality seeds and planting materials are needed. Introduction and promotion of good practices for handling and transporting the products to minimise the quality and quantity losses is a must. Further, there is a need to provide support for storage facilities to be able to reduce post harvest losses and get an income during the off-season by controlling the supply of the products. There is also potential to increase organic agriculture.

Marketing is needed to create and respond to the demand for vegetables, pulses and fruits in both local and overseas markets. Farmers can be assisted with information and technology to produce products which the market wants. Establishment of a Dambulla type marketing centre in the drier part of the Uva province is a potential opportunity in this connection.

Specific interventions to promote fruit crops and spices include initiation of new planting of fruits and spices with high demand such as dragon fruit, orange, passion fruit, cinnamon and pepper and improve the conditions of the existing crops (banana, mango, pineapple, rambutan). However, such activities need to be accompanied by the development of other prior requirements such as irrigation facilities and market linkages. There is a need to initiate fruit and vegetable semi-processing facilities to meet local demand. These

are lacking in remote areas and can be provided through partnerships with the private sector. There is also a need to promote value addition by providing technical knowledge and skills on correct value addition methods and fertiliser usage, use of equipments, provide required capital (financial), provide marketing facilities, and promote the quality

**Box 3.2 Government role in vegetables, spices and other cash crops sectors**

There are a number of government institutions involved in developing this sector. They provide extension services and credit facilities to fulfil the needs of the sector. Government play a key role in land market, financial capital and provision of technical knowledge. However private sector participation is dominant in the input market.

of the product. Potential exists to assist the farmers in tolerating price fluctuations with micro insurance schemes and "forward" contracts with the private sector (Cargills and Munchee). The Cargills model is proving to be effective in raising farmer income and provides an opportunity for replication in relation to spices and fruits.

### 3.3 Dairy sector

The dairy sector is the most important livestock sub sector in Sri Lanka. It plays a crucial role in the rural economy with 17.9% of households owning livestock and approximately 70% of them owning cattle (World Bank 2000). At the moment Sri Lanka is largely self-sufficient in animal products other than dairy. Domestic milk production is about 17% of the requirement and the rest is imported. According to the Department of Customs, total value of imports of dairy commodities in 2006 was approximately 17 billion rupees (Table A6). Government attention is

focused on the dairy sub sector to develop the sector into a “local industry” (Ministry of Livestock Development 2008). The government policy on dairy development is aimed at producing 50% of the country’s requirement of milk locally by the year 2015. Priority for dairy development is therefore given in public sector investment programmes and several incentives are offered to the private sector to engage in the dairy sector.

The majority of dairy farmers are smallholders. They engage in mixed crop–livestock farming operations, keeping 2-5 cows in most of the agro-ecological regions except the dry zone where the herds tend to be larger. The estimated annual milk production, drawn from all the districts in the country, is 350 million litres.

Milk is produced in all districts of the country, with the lowest being in the conflict-affected northern districts. According to the 2002 Census of Agriculture, the largest cattle populations are reported from the dry and intermediate zones. The wet mid-and up-country areas are often perceived as the main dairy producing areas of Sri Lanka, but dry and dry intermediate zones produce 50% more milk than the wet and wet intermediate zones. Average monthly milk (cow and buffalo) production figures show that Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Badulla, and Nuwara-Eliya have significant milk production (Table A7). Although the cattle population is high in the Moneragala area, the average milk production is at a lower level. Of the total milk that is available, the volume of milk entering the formal milk market is around 100 million litres annually and the rest is channelled via informal routes and consumed domestically.

In the up country the major cattle types are pure exotic and crosses. The herds are small with 1-2 cows. Average yield is six or more litres/cow/day and cattle are reared using intensive management systems with zero grazing. Milk marketing systems are well developed and are assisted, with usually twice a day milk collection. Multiple milk collection and processing organisations operate in the area. Manure is an important output of the system and is marketed through private entrepreneurs who collect directly from farms and sell to market gardeners in the Nuwara-eliya and Badulla areas.

### **3.3.1 Constraints faced by dairy farmers**

According to the cost of milk production, a minimum of 15 litres daily production is needed to earn a reasonable income from dairy farming at the smallholder level. Three cow equivalents of upgraded dairy animals, with an adequate cattle shed and a fodder plot of over twenty perches

are needed to allow a smallholder to make this profit. However, the majority of smallholders do not have these minimum requirements.

Improvement in milk production is mainly constrained by lack of quality feed resources. In the Uva, Sabaragamuwa and Central provinces in particular, feed resources are generally constrained, with producers dependent on cutting from small plots of steep pasture above the tea land, in gullies or valleys or from plantations (Premaratne and Premalal 2005). Fodder supplies are seasonal as are concentrate prices. There is very little space for the expansion of milk production in these areas due to feed and land constraints. In many areas, small dairy farmers do not have adequate land to grow grass or do not have secure access/rights to use existing grasslands. Access to land for the production of livestock forage and fodder is a critical issue if productivity gains in the sector are to be achieved. Land growing grass is generally considered to be a waste of land as there is little appreciation of the potential value of quality grass or fodder for dairy stock feed. Access to land alone will have little impact on dairy productivity and profitability unless there is a change in attitude to deliberately growing pasture or fodder for stock. Mid country the immediate constraint to increased milk production may be the inefficient feeding of dairy cattle. Lack of knowledge of farmers on nutritional requirements including water requirements have resulted in low yields and hence milk production.

There is a serious problem in exploiting the genetic potential of improved dairy animals due to lack of good quality year round feed at the farm level. This is primarily the result of pressure on agricultural land and competing opportunities for labour. There is significant seasonality of fodder supplies and concentrate prices, especially in hill and mid country areas, which is where most of the upgraded dairy animals are found, and where farmers depend on bought-in concentrate feed to meet some of their maintenance requirements during the driest months of the year. Management of common grasslands such as communal grazing land, public land, roadsides etc. is weak (Bandara 2002). Dairy farmers are unable to increase their competitiveness due to low productivity of the animals, low farm gate price of milk, high cost of production of milk and the low quality of milk.

Lack of good quality animals is also a problem in the Uva province. Although there is a large cattle population in the drier parts of the province, the number of milking cows is less and the yields of milking cows are at a lower level (1.4l per cow). Farmers do not practice milking as there is no well developed milk collecting network to sell fresh milk. As a result, there is under-utilisation of available storage

facilities available in the area. Lack of proper chilling facilities and poor maintenance of chilling facilities are also a common problem in remote areas especially in the Dry Zone. In the wet part of Uva, average milk production is relatively high compared to the milk production in the dry zone. Although there is a good milk collecting network, farm gate price of milk is low as a result of the involvement of middlemen in milk collecting.

Access to livestock extension is poor and is a constraint to greater productivity. Lack of dedicated staff and coverage per extension officer are the main issues. Access to AI and health services is generally good but variable, constrained in some areas by terrain, infrastructure and distances.

In relation to marketing, despite substantial private sector involvements, there remain several constraints. These include limited availability of marketing options, inadequate buffer milk processing facilities, failure to update the technologies, including the development of a proper collection and distribution network in the sector. Poor infrastructure facilities have also contributed to the limited development of alternative marketing opportunities and farm based processing options. Lack of knowledge of farmers on proper hygienic practices and adulterations have contributed to the low quality of milk. Overall, there is also insufficient consumer education to appreciate the value of fresh milk and milk products which affects demand (Ranaweera 2007).

In some areas, there are limited opportunities for milk based value addition due to lack of proper infrastructure facilities and access to technology. In some areas curd marketing is well organised but milk spoilage is relatively high due to poor refrigeration facilities. Absence of new investments for processing in the livestock sector is due primarily to a lack of state support and financial services.

### **3.3.2 Opportunities**

Development of forages is essential, but there are no strong institutional arrangements to spearhead a useful programme for this purpose (Ibrahim *et al.* 1999a and b). The allocation of unused tea lands or release of suitable land for grass and fodder could increase milk production in Sri Lanka including in the Nuwara Eliya and Badulla areas. This will provide access to the quality feed required by improved breeds and reduce the concentrates requirement and cost. There is also a need to improve farmer knowledge and skills on utilising available local feed resources efficiently since available local feed resources are being wasted in large



quantities at present. There may also be opportunities to promote small scale livestock feed manufacturers with the assistance of the private sector as a means of reducing the cost of feed resources.

There is also a need to improve farmer knowledge on proper management of the cows to obtain higher level of yield. They normally expect higher returns with zero level of input. Instead, if they can provide adequate amount of water and forage, the current level of milk yield can easily be improved. In this connection there is a need to develop livestock extension services, and building the capacity of the extension officers with reasonable coverage should be considered.

There is a need for breeding upgraded species of cattle. The most direct means of doing so could be the upgrading of local animals, with a focus on buffaloes and in that case a focus on the use of stud bulls to overcome the practical constraints to AI. At present there is no other avenue except the sale of cows for slaughter when the farmer is faced with financial difficulties, which results in a reduction in the stock of quality cattle over time. In this connection, the establishment and maintenance of "Cattle Banks" can be considered to preserve good quality animals.

There is some potential for increased production if the marketing opportunities including proper collecting networks, market systems and price incentives are improved. In Uva, milk collection is mainly done by the middlemen and that has resulted in low and unstable farm gate prices for fresh milk. To avoid this, the development of milk collecting networks should be formulated through empowered farmer societies. Along with the development of the milk collecting networks infrastructure facilities such as roads, and chilling facilities would encourage farmers in milking, especially in the drier parts of Uva. Further financial capital and technology to establish and maintain chilling centres is required. Private sector companies can be a potential partner in this venture. There is an opportunity to introduce "out-grower" systems which have proved successful and common in the poultry sector and are lacking in the dairy sector. Partnerships with the private sector (e.g. Nestle) and/or with government companies (e.g. Milco, Prima) is needed.

There is potential to encourage milk based value added products along with provision of required skills, equipment and market linkages. The private sector can be a potential partner in this activity.

Overall, there should be an integrated approach, which has been successful in the Southern province of Sri Lanka. In addition to milk

production, farmers do bio gas production and cultivation of other suitable crops depending on the geographical area. Farmers get additional income and are also able to fulfil their energy requirements.

### **Box 3.3 Government's policy focus**

The government has been the primary supplier of services to dairy farmers in Sri Lanka. It provides breeding and information services and credit facilities to fulfil their needs. In addition, some para-statal organisations such as NLDB (National Livestock Development Board) and MILCO also provide assistance in milk collecting and processing.

The ongoing "Kirigammana" project aims to improve the average daily milk production of a cow from 2-3l to 10l per day and thereby to achieve 50% of the country's milk requirement by 2015. In this programme 20 milk farmers per village throughout the country were selected using some selection criteria. Credit facilities were given to farmers to fill the gap that hinders the achievement of the 10l per day target depending on the geographical area. In addition, technical support was also given. Farmer Managed Societies were established through this programme and farmer empowering programmes were also implemented. Farmer training, empowerment, social security, supply of concentrates and establishment of chilling centres and UHT pasteurised milk plants are included in this programme. NLDB has piloted a few programmes including importation of cattle, buffaloes and embryos. Further, an accelerated dairy development programme is also being implemented. This includes the maintenance of a semen bank of improved cattle breeds. However, interventions are lacking in the areas of land allocation for dairy farming, especially for grassland.

## **4. Recommendations**

The analysis of rural factor markets carried out in this paper indicates that there are a number of constraints facing poor rural farmers in Sri Lanka, which are holding back their development. These differ to some extent across regions, based on the nature of the crop, ecological zone, fertility of the land and water sources etc. Not all smallholder farmers are poor, as the discussion set out in this paper shows, and interventions should be geared towards the needs of poor smallholders.

Overall the opportunities for intervention, based on the analysis of smallholder farming in the priority regions carried out in this paper, are summarised below:

### **Land and water related**

- Issues of land and water availability are prominent in some agricultural areas, such as Uva, and there is a need to promote better use of land resources and increase the use of sprinkler irrigation methods, agro wells, rain water harvesting methods and renovation of abandoned tanks

### **Capital**

- Introduce and strengthen microfinance products to support tea smallholders to carry out replanting, new planting and diversification
- Provide insurance for crop failures and market slumps for smallholders, particularly those involved in producing tea as well as vegetables, spices and other cash crops
- Increase the availability of quality seeds and planting materials, especially in relation to vegetables, spices and other cash crops
- Provide storage facilities to reduce post harvest losses and get an income during the off season
- Assist the farmers to tolerate price fluctuations with micro insurance schemes and "forward" contracts with the private sector
- Support the upgraded breeding of cattle and help protect the stock of quality cattle, for example, through the establishment of "Cattle Banks"

### **Management**

- Diversification of tea smallholdings in the mid and upcountry areas through mixed cropping for dendro energy, fodder, vegetables, pepper or other perennial crops
- Strengthen farmer organisations, especially among vegetables and other cash crop producers, to enhance their skills through exposure visits, technology exchange programmes and entrepreneurship training programmes
- Formation of entrepreneur groups, which could take managerial decisions and be in charge of water management and maintenance, and control and manage the production and supply of the crops<sup>3</sup>
- Promote crop diversification and value addition by providing technical knowledge and skills on correct value addition methods, fertiliser usage and use of equipments<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> As per suggestions made by the Ministry of Plantation Industries in an earlier version of this paper.

- Improve knowledge and skills of dairy farmers to promote the utilisation of available local feed resources and reduce wastage
- Improve farmer knowledge on proper management of cows to obtain higher levels of yield

**Markets**

- Bring the tea smallholders and plantation factories into one process and a common goal: the quality improvement of the products and diversification such as value addition and growing other suitable crops
- Market information and links/contacts with the private sector can be used to establish backward linkages to the tea smallholders
- Assist farmers to respond to the demand for vegetables, pulses and fruits in both local and overseas markets by providing access to information and technology, as well as market infrastructure
- Improve milk collecting networks, market systems and price incentives to incentivise increased milk production

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## Annex

**Table A1 Poverty Headcount Index (percentage) by sector, province, district and survey period - Sri Lanka from 1990/91 to 2006/07**

Sector/ Province/ District	Poverty head count index (percentage) by survey period			
	1990/91	1995/96	2002	2006/07
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>28.8</b>	<b>22.7</b>	<b>15.2</b>
<b>Sector</b>				
Urban	16.3	14.0	7.9	6.7
Rural	29.5	30.9	24.7	15.7
Estate	20.5	38.4	30.0	32.0
<b>Province</b>				
Western	19.1	16.3	10.8	8.2
Central	30.7	36.2	25.1	22.3
Southern	30.2	32.6	27.8	13.8
Eastern				10.8
North-Western	25.8	27.7	27.3	14.6
North-Central	24.5	24.7	21.5	14.2
Uva	31.9	46.7	37.2	27.0
Sabaragamuwa	31.0	41.7	33.6	24.2
<b>District</b>				
Colombo	16.2	12.0	6.4	5.4
Gampaha	14.7	14.1	10.7	8.7
Kalutara	32.3	29.5	20.0	13.0
Kandy	35.9	36.7	24.9	17.0
Matale	28.7	41.9	29.6	18.9
Nuwara Eliya	20.1	32.1	22.6	33.8
Galle	29.7	31.6	25.8	13.7
Matara	29.2	35.0	27.5	14.7
Hambantota	32.4	31.0	32.2	12.7
Batticaloa				10.7
Ampara				10.9
Kurunegala	27.2	26.2	25.4	15.4
Puttalama	22.3	31.1	31.3	13.1
Anuradapura	24.4	27.0	20.4	14.9
Polonnaruwa	24.9	20.1	23.7	12.7
Badulla	31.0	41.0	37.3	23.7
Moneragala	33.7	56.2	37.2	33.2
Ratnapura	30.8	46.4	34.4	26.6
Kegalle	31.2	36.3	32.5	21.1

Source: DCS Various Years

**Table A2 Percentage distribution of employed population by major industry group by district -2007**

District	Major industry group			
	Total	Agriculture	Industries	Services
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>31.3</b>	<b>26.6</b>	<b>42.1</b>
Colombo	100.0	3.3	30.8	65.9
Gampaha	100.0	6.1	39.8	54.0
Kalutara	100.0	20.3	31.5	48.2
Kandy	100.0	24.6	27.5	47.9
Matale	100.0	40.6	23.0	36.4
Nuwara Eliya	100.0	70.9	9.4	19.8
Galle	100.0	34.1	29.6	36.3
Matara	100.0	36.3	23.5	40.2
Hambantota	100.0	39.3	27.6	33.1
Kurunegala	100.0	32.7	28.3	39.0
Puttalam	100.0	27.8	30.8	41.4
Anuradhapura	100.0	60.0	10.4	29.6
Polonnaruwa	100.0	49.2	19.4	31.5
Badulla	100.0	63.9	11.2	24.9
Moneragala	100.0	60.6	12.7	26.6
Ratnapura	100.0	43.3	25.9	30.8
Kegalle	100.0	30.7	29.5	39.9

Source: DCS 2007



Table A3 Total extent under Tea by district

District	Small Holding sector			Estate Sector			Extent in Acres	
	No. of holdings reporting Tea	Extent under Tea	No. of holdings reporting Tea	Extent under Tea	No. of holdings reporting Tea	Extent under Tea	Total	Extent under Tea
Colombo	366	231	7	149	373	380		
Gampaha	38	30	-	-	38	30		
Kalutara	22,967	15,114	78	2,603	23,045	17,717		
Kandy	18,432	18,801	235	37,041	18,667	55,842		
Matale	747	880	87	11,796	834	12,676		
Nuwara Eliya	11,936	9,994	195	114,214	12,131	124,208		
Galle	58,314	54,514	235	8,816	58,549	63,330		
Matara	45,863	42,813	289	15,760	46,152	58,573		
Hambantota	1,619	1,088	-	-	1,619	1,088		
Kurunegala	95	77	1	24	96	101		
Badulla	17,553	13,876	161	61,833	17,714	75,709		
Moneragala	247	174	7	2,105	254	2,279		
Ratnapura	70,752	62,846	331	31,921	71,083	94,767		
Kegalle	14,089	11,246	114	7,676	14,203	18,922		
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	<b>263,018</b>	<b>231,684</b>	<b>1,740</b>	<b>293,938</b>	<b>264,758</b>	<b>525,622</b>		

Source: DCS 2002

**Table A4 Literacy rate by sector**

<b>Trend</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Estate</b>	<b>All sectors</b>
1986/87	93.0	89.5	68.5	88.6
Male	94.7	92.8	80.0	92.2
Female	91.3	86.5	58.1	85.2
1996/97	94.5	92.3	76.9	91.8
Male	96.1	94.4	87.2	94.3
Female	93.0	90.4	67.3	89.4
2003/04	94.8	92.8	81.3	92.5
Male	95.9	94.7	88.3	94.5
Female	93.8	91.1	74.7	90.6

Source: Central Bank 2005

**Table A5 Crops by district, Maha 2005/2006**

District	Kurakkan	Maize	Sorghum	Meneri	Green Gram	Cow Pea	Gingelly	Ground Nuts	Manioc	Sweet Potatoes	Red Onion	Chillies (Green)
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	<b>4,781</b>	<b>26,310</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>6,174</b>	<b>6,960</b>	<b>3,470</b>	<b>8,051</b>	<b>13,280</b>	<b>3,220</b>	<b>2,715</b>	<b>10,103</b>
Colombo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	267	27	0	26
Gampaha	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	849	127	0	67
Kalutara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	419	109	0	55
Kandy	156	247	19	0	18	50	27	4	440	117	26	152
Matale	183	365	13	0	44	38	68	93	358	373	13	386
Nuwara Eliya	211	211	0	0	2	8	8	1	240	87	105	145
Galle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	450	163	0	37
Matara	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	339	99	0	44
Hambantota	517	459	29	6	894	364	1,101	280	327	56	23	515
Jaffna	15	3	0	7	55	9	32	6	241	2	530	318
Kilinochchi	19	85	0	0	175	147	32	239	269	17	63	354
Mannar	18	14	0	0	22	4	6	65	38	5	17	78
Vavuniya	102	91	0	0	163	66	198	297	326	28	403	279
Mullaitivu	13	138	0	0	277	267	79	1,427	143	22	92	221
Batticaloa	37	569	6	0	43	35	19	314	710	83	20	126
Ampara	210	3,442	0	0	329	2,002	51	844	632	98	9	275
Trincomalee	17	233	2	0	65	41	33	289	273	59	131	136
Kurunegala	298	617	2	7	1,160	728	233	326	1,459	446	51	672
Puttalam	218	566	0	0	372	331	389	515	562	43	939	694
Anuradhapura	1,620	9,060	28	0	479	738	395	388	617	128	12	3,548
Polonnaruwa	40	292	2	0	108	114	23	181	487	127	16	185
Badulla	182	4,246	0	0	103	264	0	32	926	301	77	393
<b>Moneragala</b>	<b>664</b>	<b>5,027</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1,513</b>	<b>1,347</b>	<b>645</b>	<b>2,299</b>	<b>1,478</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>825</b>
Ratnapura	206	224	12	12	294	217	126	402	765	262	116	371
Kegalle	0	4	0	0	2	7	0	0	574	166	0	61
Mahaweli"i"area	51	416	3	0	54	182	5	49	91	36	0	140

Source: FAO 2006

**Table A6 Import of dairy commodities – 2006**

<b>Type of Milk Product</b>	<b>Quantity(Kg)</b>	<b>Value (Rs.)</b>
Milk Cream, not concentrated or Containing added Sugar or other Sweetening matter	159,464	43,022,853
Milk & Cream, Concentrated or containing added In Powder, granules or other forms, of a fat Conte	68,100,518	16,716,344,520
Sweetened Condensed milk	4,048	881,103
Buttermilk, Curdled milk & Cream, Yogurt, Kephir other	52,642	3,337,725
Whey Whether or not Concentrated or Containing added Sugar or Other Sweetening matter.	1,448,905	129,998,497
Butter & other fats & oils derived from milk dairy spreads	1,256,559	212,324,465
Cheese & Curd	1,086,958	453,793,492
<b>Total Value of Imports</b>	<b>72,109,094</b>	<b>17,559,702,655</b>

Source: Department of Customs 2006

**Table A7 Average monthly milk production (cow milk and buffalo milk) - Liters**

District	1,998	1,999	2,000	2,001	2002 *	2,003	2,004	2,005	2,006
<b>National Total</b>	<b>14,757,420</b>	<b>14,990,300</b>	<b>15,121,312</b>	<b>15,252,300</b>	<b>15,266,250</b>	<b>15,567,000</b>	<b>15,858,000</b>	<b>16,061,800</b>	<b>16,381,890</b>
1. Colombo	237,171	240,960	242,503	244,134	244,500	247,200	249,000	247,300	243,900
2. Gampaha	518,531	526,691	531,567	536,399	536,820	545,400	549,000	552,800	563,670
3. Kalutara	276,603	281,028	282,748	284,583	285,030	294,300	285,000	293,500	304,380
4. Kandy	942,868	957,622	967,513	977,163	977,670	977,700	979,500	981,200	981,810
5. Matale	263,527	267,667	270,224	272,746	272,940	339,900	339,000	344,200	326,520
6. Nuwaraeliya	976,424	991,698	1,002,004	1,012,050	1,012,560	1,126,200	1,158,000	1,169,400	1,162,680
7. Galle	378,702	384,743	387,316	390,013	390,570	423,900	411,000	416,200	429,600
8. Matara	284,135	288,654	290,744	292,902	293,280	296,100	333,000	343,200	347,520
9. Hambantota	734,401	746,227	749,861	753,947	755,370	756,000	777,000	783,800	810,540
10. Jaffna	595,955	605,276	611,579	617,722	618,030	619,800	621,000	638,400	641,280
11. Kilinochchi	255,071	259,064	261,716	264,307	264,450	265,800	275,700	286,300	299,490
12. Mannar	200,155	203,294	205,312	207,292	207,420	207,600	207,000	208,400	218,190
13. Vavuniya	205,762	208,985	211,106	213,180	213,300	213,300	219,000	223,400	233,790
14. Mullativu	263,739	267,894	270,326	272,744	272,970	270,600	274,500	279,700	292,110
15. Batticaloa	752,893	764,793	771,243	777,729	778,500	784,500	845,000	850,800	877,110
16. Ampara	388,437	394,628	397,333	400,155	400,710	400,800	412,500	419,800	431,970
17. Trincomalee	418,791	425,424	428,843	432,309	432,780	448,800	490,000	509,000	518,460
18. Kurunegala	2,658,264	2,700,193	2,724,031	2,747,828	2,750,280	2,748,000	2,745,000	2,759,300	2,791,230
19. Puttalam	509,675	517,703	522,408	527,084	527,520	544,200	565,500	572,600	580,800
20. Anuradhapura	1,382,180	1,404,044	1,415,674	1,427,402	1,428,870	1,404,300	1,441,200	1,455,800	1,639,200
21. Polonnaruwa	379,529	385,514	388,939	392,355	392,700	396,300	417,000	416,700	423,090
22. Badulla	1,288,690	1,308,852	1,322,412	1,335,637	1,336,320	1,343,100	1,342,200	1,375,100	1,352,310
23. Moneragala	484,795	492,509	496,037	499,686	500,340	502,800	504,000	510,400	485,730
24. Rathnapura	141,854	144,126	144,977	145,893	146,130	148,800	162,000	164,500	166,530
25. Kegalle	219,269	222,710	224,895	227,043	227,190	261,600	255,900	260,000	259,980

Source: FAO 2008

## **Economic activities of some selected districts**

### ***Nuwara Eliya***

Nuwara Eliya is economically important as one of the major tea growing areas which contribute to export earnings in Sri Lanka. Ethnic composition of the population shows that the majority is Tamil with Indian origin (50.6%), 40.2% is Sinhalese and 6.5% are Sri Lankan Tamil. 50.3% of the population is female. Majority of the population (53.6%) lives in the estates sector and 40.3% are in the rural sector. The employment figures show that agriculture is the most prominent industry group in the Nuwara Eliya district in which 70.9% are employed (DCS 2007) the majority being in the informal sector.

Total land area of the district is 168,414.8 ha. Nearly 30% of the land is used for tea. The total extent under tea is 124,208 Ac (50,304 ha). Of that extent 90% is under the estate sector. The tea smallholding sector is not prominent and currently there is a tendency for tea smallholders to move away from tea industry towards vegetable cultivation. However there is potential to improve the productivity of tea smallholders within the district.

The land area devoted to paddy and coconut are low. The land extent under other crops including vegetables are 7.7% (12,342.6 ha). In addition a significant amount of land (9.1%) extent is under home gardens. In addition, Nuwara Eliya is one of the major milk producing areas and its average monthly cow milk production is 1,159,980 L and contributes to 8.4 % of the total monthly cow milk production in Sri Lanka (FAO 2006).

### ***Moneragala***

The Moneragala district lies in the southeastern quadrant of Sri Lanka. It has the largest land area among the districts and has two broad climatic zones: the dry zone in the south and east and the intermediate zone in the northwest. Ethnic composition of the population shows that the majority is Sinhalese (94.5%). A larger proportion of the population (97.7%) lives in the rural sector and 2.3% are in the estate sector. The employment figures show that agriculture is the most prominent industry group in the Moneragala district where 60.6% are employed followed by the services sector (26.6%) (DCS 2007). The majority of the population depends on the agriculture sector where paddy, vegetables, fruits and grain respectively are the main products.

Paddy production in Yala 2006 was 26,000 MT. It also grows and processes large quantities of cane sugar, notably in the Pelwatta area.

In general, rainfed cultivation is possible in the maha season, and yala cultivation is possible only with supplementary irrigation, especially in the dry zones. During the off season farmers get involved in "Chena" cultivation and some find labour work in the nearby sugar cane plantations or with the sugar factory.

The total land area of the district is 565,930 ha. Nearly 40% of the land area is under "other crops" including vegetables, grain and cane sugar. 13% of the land is under chena cultivation and grass, scrub, and forestlands. The district has shown potential for rubber cultivation as well as export oriented vegetables such as gherkins and peppers. The areas shows a greater potential for agriculture development particularly in niche markets and the export market.

### **Badulla**

Badulla is economically important as one of the major tea growing areas as well as vegetable cultivating areas. Ethnic composition of the population shows that the majority is Sinhalese (72.4%), followed by Indian Tamils (18.4%). Majority of the population (72.7%) lives in the rural sector and 20.7% are in the estate sector. The employment figures show that agriculture is the most prominent industry group in the Badulla district where 63.9% are employed (DCS 2007). The tea smallholding sector is not prominent although there is potential to improve.

Total land area of the district is 286,100 ha. Of the total land area nearly 12% of the land is under tea cultivation and 22% is under Chena cultivation. Total land area under tea is 75,709 Ac and 82% of the tea land is under the estate sector. Nearly an equal amount of land area (8%) is devoted for paddy and home gardens where vegetable cultivation is dominant. Mostly exotic/temperate vegetables are grown in Badulla and the cultivation of potato is also prominent. In addition, Badulla is among the major milk producing areas and its average monthly cow milk production is 1,352,310 L, 8.2% of the total monthly cow milk production in Sri Lanka (FAO 2006).

# 4

## **MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES: ASSESSING THE POTENTIAL TO MAXIMISE POVERTY IMPACT**

*Azra Abdul Cader  
Mohamed Munas*





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## **Abbreviations**

CBSL	Central Bank of Sri Lanka
CENWOR	Centre for Women’s Research
COSOP	County Strategic Opportunities Programme
DCS	Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MMBL	Money Transfer Ltd.
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NRFC	Non Resident Foreign Currency
NSB	National Savings Bank
SLBFE	Sri Lanka Foreign Employment Bureau
SLP	Sri Lanka Post
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WB	World Bank

## **Executive Summary**

This paper provides an overview of migration and remittances in Sri Lanka, showing how migration and remittances have impacted on poverty reduction. It analyses how migration trends can be better managed for effective development and how remittances can be better channelled to improve the overall quality of life of migrants, their families and their communities. The paper also provides some insights on the present migration and remittances policy context.

### **Migration trends and causal factors**

Migration is undertaken in different ways; migrants leave their country of origin (external migration) or move from their area of origin to another region within their country (internal migration). Either way, it can be a permanent or temporary strategy, and can be undertaken for employment or as a safety precaution. Sri Lanka has witnessed all these forms of migration which makes it a complicated landscape to contend with.

Emigration first became significant for Sri Lanka with the brain drain of professionals in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Migration for short-term employment abroad started mainly after the liberalisation of the economy in 1977 and accelerated thereafter.

- During 1991-1999 unskilled labour accounted for the highest percentage of migrants.
- The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia continues to be a key receiver of migrants, especially of female domestic workers.
- Male migrant labour is most in demand in countries such as South Korea, Malaysia, Qatar, Oman and the Maldives.
- The highest number of migrants is in the age group 25-29 years.
- External migration has increased in the estate and rural sectors from 42 and 56 per 1000 households respectively in 1996/97 to 49 and 60 in 2003/04.

The internal migration population of Sri Lanka comprises about 20% of the country's total population. Over the years, internal migration has been a result of a number of push factors including colonisation, urbanisation and urban centred development policies, land resettlement programmes, environmental and climatic conditions, and crisis and emergency situations such as conflict and natural disasters.

- In 2001, the Western province absorbed 45% of internal migrants in the country but other urban centres in Kurunegala, Puttlam and Ratnapura are also becoming migrant hubs.
- The wet zone districts are becoming increasingly more densely populated while those in the dry zone continue to be sparsely populated.
- Internal migration is mainly undertaken by younger groups who tend to migrate alone or before marriage.

Migration is motivated by certain push and pull factors. Push factors include low levels of income, high cost of living, unemployment, polluted environmental conditions, natural disasters, insecurity, high population density, limited opportunity, and limited infrastructure support. Pull factors include higher income and livelihood opportunities, better educational opportunities, greater security and an improved quality of life.

The implications of migration on rural livelihoods can be positive and negative and vary depending on the type of migration. Permanent migration usually has limited gain for sending communities as migrants leave and maintain little contact with people they leave behind.

## **Remittances**

Remittances can help to improve a country's development prospects, maintain macroeconomic stability, mitigate the impact of adverse shocks, and reduce poverty. At the end of 2004, recorded remittances were estimated at US\$1.3 billion with Sri Lanka's per capita remittance flows being the highest in South Asia. In 2006, workers' remittances amounted to 8.7% of GDP. About 10% of households in the country are recipients of overseas and domestic remittances. Remittances received from the Middle East continue to be more than 50% of the total since the 1990s. This increased up until 2002 and since then shows a declining trend.

Remittances can reduce poverty and fuel high rates of household savings and investment. Remittances have been a significant contributory factor to the mobility of families and individuals. Households have access to consumer durable goods and pay for accessing facilities like electricity. The money is also spent on providing better schooling and tuition for children. Remittances are particularly significant for poor households, sustaining them during conflict times when livelihood sources have been destroyed.

Remittances provide capital to small entrepreneurs, reduce credit constraints and increase entrepreneurship. These inflows have potential that is currently

untapped. However, remittances do not always translate into long term economic security unless it is utilised in a sustainable manner.

### **Future directions**

A national policy on emigration was introduced through the passing of the Immigrants and Emigrants Act No.20 in 1948. More recently, the Mahinda Chinthanaya Ten Year Development Plan has identified issues related to high unskilled labour migration and illegal migration and has suggested that these be addressed through sound policies and strategies. Attempts to manage internal migration through a policy framework is less clear and is more complicated to monitor given the inability to track the movements of such migrants.

In the case of investment of remittances, much more needs to be done in terms of planning and operationalisation. While there is recognition by state and non-state actors that remittances can be harnessed much more effectively, there is very little that is being done in this regard. Despite recent indications by the state to encourage migrants to invest there is no clear plan of how remittances will be used to develop the country. It is clear that much more discussion and exploration is necessary. Lessons from other countries could provide some insights.

In addition to ensuring migrant protection in host countries, a more holistic protection framework that includes migrants and their dependents will be beneficial.

This paper stresses the need to consolidate and generate accurate data on internal and external migration.

### **Potential strategies**

**Engaging in the policy process:** Advocate for a holistic policy environment that fosters migrant and dependent welfare and investment of their earnings; include internal migration into the policy debate; bring in migrant voices to the policy debate; and invest in improving the availability of information and research on migration.

**Utilising remittances for development:** Focus on improving inflows of individual remittances; focus on investing remittances for community benefit; and improve information services for migrants.

**Protecting migrants and their families:** Improve migrant protection mechanisms to make employers and recruiters accountable; protection systems that are in place should be strengthened to cover all migrants and migrant sending regions; and ensure that returnee migrants are not forgotten.

## **1. Introduction and Background**

The paper provides an overview of external and internal migration and remittances trends. It shows how migration and remittances have impacted poverty reduction in Sri Lanka by locating areas and groups in poverty that overlap and deviate from migrant sending areas and indicating drivers of change brought about through migration and remittances. It analyses how migration trends can be better managed for effective development and how remittances can be better channelled to improve the overall quality of life of migrants, their families and their communities.

In addition the paper provides some insights to the present migration and remittances policy context, and the limitations/gaps in policy to maximise the potential of migration and remittances. Finally, the paper will present case studies from other countries that have attempted to use remittances for poverty reduction with a view to draw good practice and lessons for replication in the Sri Lankan context.

The paper has been structured as follows; Section 2 introduces the nature of migration in Sri Lanka; Section 3 describes issues related to migrant remittances, Section 4 provides future directions for migration and remittances in Sri Lanka and Section 5 suggests areas for intervention.

## **2. Nature of Migration in Sri Lanka**

The movement of populations goes back centuries, where people have moved in search of better opportunities, to improve trade ties, and due to colonisation and resettlement. In more contemporary times the migration landscape has some distinctions and all countries are affected by the internal and external migration of its populations.

Migration is undertaken in different ways; where migrants leave their countries of origin (external migration) or move from their area of origin to another region within their countries (internal migration). Either way, it can be a permanent or temporary strategy, can be undertaken for employment or as a safety precaution. Sri Lanka has witnessed all these forms of migration, which makes it a complicated landscape to contend with.

Migrants have been classified to include<sup>1</sup>;

- **Temporary labour migrants** (also known as guest workers or overseas contract workers): people who migrate for a limited period of time in order to take up employment and send money home. Within countries, workers who leave home to work in industries for a certain period of time and return.
- **Highly skilled and business migrants:** people with qualifications as managers, executives, professionals, technicians or similar occupations, who move within the internal labour markets of transnational corporations and international organisations, or seek employment through international labour markets for scarce skills. Many countries welcome such migrants and have special 'skilled and business migration' programmes to encourage them to migrate.
- **Irregular migrants** (or undocumented/illegal migrants): people who enter a country, usually in search of employment, without the necessary documents and permits.
- **Forced migration:** in a broader sense, this includes not only refugees and asylum seekers but also people forced to move due to external factors, such as environmental catastrophes or development projects. This form of migration has similar characteristics to displacement.
- **Family members** (or family reunion/family reunification migrants): people sharing family ties joining people who have already entered an immigration country/region under one of the above mentioned categories.
- **Return migrants:** people who return to their countries/regions of origin after a period in another country/region.
- **Seasonal migrants:** people who are away from their homes during certain times of the year (non-harvest times) to supplement their household income by working in other regions.

It is estimated that some 180 million people (3% of the world's population) are living in countries in which they were not born (Ozden and Schiff 2006). While there has been considerable movement from developing to developed countries - Europe holds the highest number of migrants (64.1 million in 2005) (IOM 2008a) - more recent trends include movement to countries with emerging economies. During the

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<sup>1</sup> Adapted from UNESCO's classification of international migrants to also include criteria of internal migrants [http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=3020andURL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPICandURL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3020andURL_DO=DO_TOPICandURL_SECTION=201.html), accessed September 2008



period of 1970 – 2000, the number of Asian migrants increased from 28.1 million to 43.8 million, but Asia's share of global migrant stock had declined from 34.5% to 25% (IOM 2008a).

Migration played a vital role in population growth during the British colonial rule as a result of the South Indian immigrant population brought to work on the plantations in Sri Lanka. Migration out of the country has been noted as being minimal during colonial rule (De Silva and Perera 2007).

Migration for short-term employment abroad started mainly after the liberalisation of the economy in 1977 and accelerated thereafter. The initial figures are considered to have been underestimated as formal registration commenced only in 1995. These figures would have also been affected by the substantial movements of illegal and refugee migrants to Japan, Australia and Europe, which were not recorded (DCS *et al.* 2006).

The internal migration population of Sri Lanka comprises about 20% the country's total population (Census 2001) and the spatial distribution of the population is linked to inter district migration patterns. De Silva and Perera (2007) note that over the years internal migration has occurred as a result of a number of push factors including colonisation, urbanisation and urban centred development policies, land resettlement programmes, environmental and climatic conditions, and crisis and emergency situations such as conflict and natural disasters.

## **2.1 Trends in external migration**

The composition of international/national migratory flows plays a vital role in determining what impact it has on the domestic economy, and households and individuals that have experienced it.

Immigration first became significant for Sri Lanka with the brain drain of professionals in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Between 1995 and 2000, 5,766 high-level professionals including accountants (28%), engineers (27%), managers (18%) and others immigrated to other countries. Most of them were permanent migrants, accompanied by their families; hence there was no reason to remit money regularly to Sri Lanka (DCS, Samurdhi and CEPA 2006).

After the 1970s the opening of Middle-East labour markets for foreign workers, due to escalating oil revenues, created opportunities for contractual labour migration from the country. This was particularly evident of women migrants to the Middle-East as domestic workers.

The escalation of the conflict in the 80s caused a rapid increase in migration of Sri Lankan Tamils as refugees, irregular migrants, contract migrant workers, or permanent residents to India and to some Western countries. The migration of Sinhalese as refugees took place during 1987-1989 as a result of political violence in the Southern parts of Sri Lanka; but this was to a lesser degree (Karunaratne 2008).

The 1990s saw a further increase in the level of migration. Figures show total numbers of migrants increased in all manpower categories during the period 1991-1999; unskilled labour accounted for the highest percentage of migrants. During 2007 the total number of departures was recorded as being 217,306; a growth of 7.6% from departures in 2006 (De Silva and Perera 2007 and Central Bank of Sri Lanka 2007).

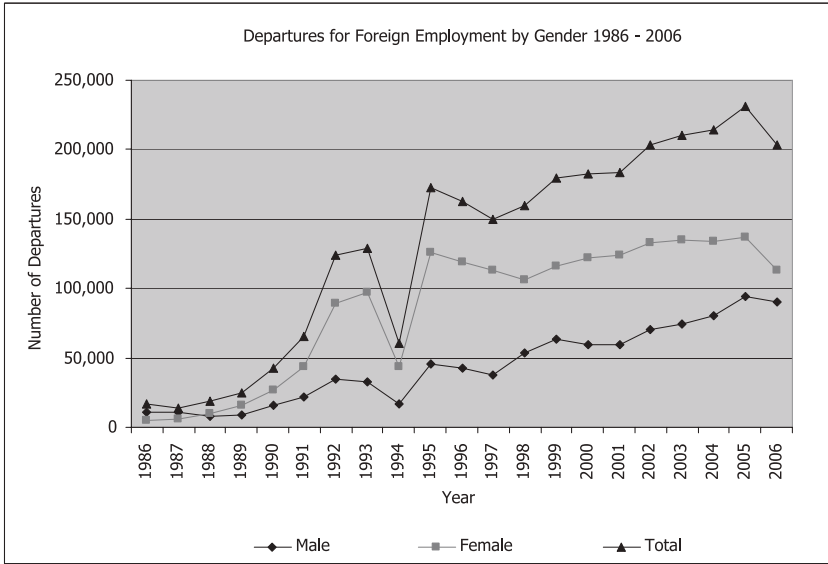
The SLBFE figures (2008) for departures for foreign employment show that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia continues to be a key receiver of migrants, especially domestic workers. Among the total proportion of female migrants who migrated for employment, the majority (89%) were domestic aides, working in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Mauritius, UAE and Lebanon (CBSL 2005 and Ruhunage 2007).

Male migrant labour is most in demand in countries such as South Korea, Malaysia, Qatar, Oman and the Maldives (Ruhunage 2007). Other Middle Eastern countries like Qatar attract middle level employment, including mid level professionals. Ruhunage (2007) notes a more recent trend of emerging labour markets for Sri Lankans in South Korea, Israel, Seychelles and Egypt.

Among males, skilled and unskilled labour was the highest category of manpower that migrated during 1994-2006. According to the Consumer Finance Survey, among the males who migrated for employment, 34% were labourers, while 27% were skilled workers, such as masons or carpenters (CBSL 2005).

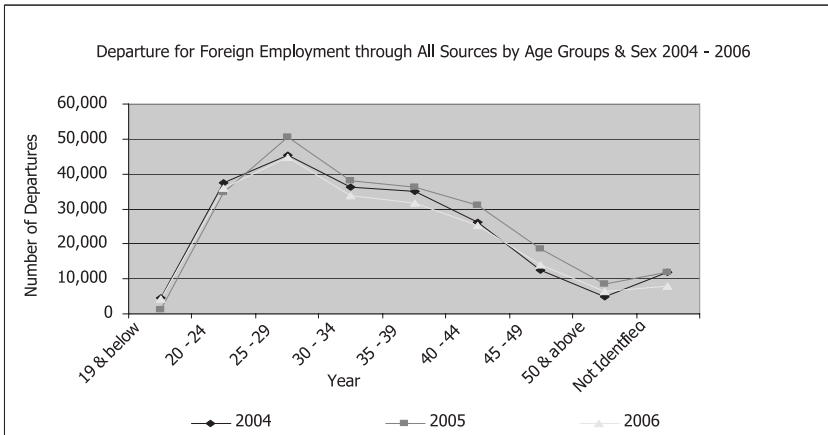
In the early stages of out-migration, the number of male migrants was higher than the number of female migrants due to high demand for workers in the construction sector in Middle Eastern countries. However, after 1988 the situation changed to a female dominated pattern of migration with increasing demand for domestic labour. From 2000 onwards, the gap between the number of male and female migrants has been closing; in 2006 the gap reduced drastically due to a considerable decrease in female migrants, despite the domination of contract labour by females. This is attributed to a decline in demand for domestic labour and reduction in salaries.

**Figure 2.1 Departures for foreign employment by gender 1986 - 2006**



Source: SLBFE 2008

**Figure 2.2 Departures for foreign employment through all sources by age groups and sex 2004 - 2006**



Source: SLBFE 2008

Regardless of gender, the highest number of migrants is within the age group of 25-29 years. Clearly, external migration is an option for younger age groups and the demand in receiving countries is for populations who are able to contribute to the labour force.

Regional disparities in migrant outflows persist. However these figures depend on formal registrations and it can be estimated that outflows from regions that have been affected by the conflict are underestimated. Of the conflict affected regions, the number of recorded external migrants from the Eastern province is higher in comparison to the Northern province (SLBFE 2008).

External migration declined in almost all provinces<sup>2</sup>, except in poorer provinces such as the North Western province, the North Central and Uva provinces while the Western Province has the highest number of foreign departures (CBSL 2003/04 and SLBFE 2008). Galle district has the highest number of departures for foreign employment in the Southern province. Districts that have higher poverty levels such as Moneragala and Badulla are not necessarily the districts from which people leave for foreign employment (SLBFE 2008).

Despite some of the earlier figures on migration in conflict affected regions that have been noted, data on departure information by the SLBFE notes low numbers of migrants from these regions. This could be explained by the lack of sufficient recording of such departures.

External migration increased in the estate and rural sectors from 42 and 56 respectively per 1000 households in 1996/97 to 49 and 60 in 2003/04, while the proportion in the urban sector declined from 115 per 1000 households in 1996/97 to 68 in 2003/04, thereby reducing sectoral differences (CBSL 2005).

## **2.2 Trends in internal migration**

The Western province, particularly Colombo district has drawn migrants who are trying to improve their wellbeing through employment in the industrial zones from other districts for many years. In 2001, the province absorbed 45% of internal migrants in the country which added to the high levels of population density in the three districts, especially in the urbanised areas (De Silva and Perera 2007). More recently however, other urban centres in Kurunegala, Puttalam and Ratnapura are becoming migrant hubs, attracting migrants because of their

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<sup>2</sup> Excluding Killinochchi, Mullaitivu and Mannar Districts

increasingly urban characteristics and potential availability of improved livelihood options. Puttalam district shows increases in internal migrants from 1981 to 2001<sup>3</sup>, which is a result of the large influx of IDPs from the conflict region.

De Silva and Perera (2007) who consider census data from 1981 and 2001 note that the wet zone districts have increasingly become more densely populated; while those in the dry zone continue to be sparsely populated. Migration into dry zone districts, such as Polonnaruwa, Moneragala and Anuradhapura, has decreased since 1981. Despite this, out-migration is highest in Matara, Kandy, Matale, Nuwara Eliya and Kegalle districts while migration has increased in districts in the Southern province, Ratnapura, Kurunegala, and Badulla more recently (De Silva and Perera 2007).

Lifetime internal migration can be observed in a number of streams that have changed over time. During the 1981 Census four major flows could be observed – streams to Colombo and Gampaha districts, migration to hill country districts, migration to settlement areas in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa and migration to Puttalam district (De Silva and Perera 2007).

This pattern has changed and the 2001 Census data shows that lifetime migration to Colombo is dominated by movements from the wet-zone districts (Galle, Matara, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya and Badulla) and dry zone (and conflict affected) districts of Jaffna and Mannar. Lifetime migration from other districts to Moneragala, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa districts is low due to the nature of resources available and climatic conditions that make them less attractive options. Lifetime migration to other districts indicates that movement to adjacent districts and between nearby districts is more common than long distance migration (De Silva and Perera 2007).

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<sup>3</sup> Census data 1981 and 2001

**Table 2.1 In and out migration rates by district 1981 and 2001**

<b>District</b>	<b>In migration rate 1981 (%)</b>	<b>In migration rate 2001 (%)</b>	<b>Out migration rate 1981 (%)</b>	<b>Out migration rate 2001 (%)</b>
Colombo	19.6	29.8	14.7	18.2
Gampaha	15	28.7	6.4	9
Kalutara	10	15.4	14.3	14.6
Kandy	7.9	13.2	24.7	24.1
Matale	15.7	19.6	20	23
Nuwara Eliya	12.1	12.3	15.9	21
Galle	5.6	9	20.2	20
Matara	6.3	9.2	27.1	27.4
Hambantota	12.5	13	12.7	20
Jaffna	3.3	-	9.7	-
Mannar	21	-	4.8	-
Vavuniya	36.7	-	7.1	-
Mullaitivu	39.9	-	4	-
Batticaloa	5.3	-	5.8	-
Ampara	15.9	16.5	2.9	7.2
Trincomalee	21.8	-	4.7	-
Kurunegala	9.4	11.6	11.4	15.8
Puttalam	16.4	20.5	8.3	10.7
Anuradhapura	25.4	22.8	5.5	13.3
Polonnaruwa	47	37.6	3.9	15.4
Badulla	7.4	10.2	13.8	19
Moneragala	29.3	24.6	4.1	14.1
Ratnapura	11.2	11.3	9.6	14.2
Kegalle	7	11.8	21.6	23.2

Source: DCS 1986 and 2006 in De Silva and Perera 2007

Other research corroborates the findings, indicating a higher level of migration of its population. For instance, studies note that a majority of migrants from the estate sector have gone to urban areas of Sri Lanka to find work, and a sizeable proportion to other countries. Most are

temporary migrants, returning home for a little more than 2 months per year on average<sup>4</sup>.

As was noted in relation to external migration, internal migration is mainly undertaken by younger groups who tend to migrate alone or before marriage. This group is significantly dominated by adults of working age (between 20 and 59 years).

### **2.3 Driving forces of migration in Sri Lanka**

Migration – internal or external - is usually motivated by various reasons including economic gain, reuniting with family members, and conflict, and is dependent on certain legal statuses (irregular migration, controlled emigration/immigration, and free emigration/immigration).

These motivational factors are identified as push (factors that make people leave places of origin) and pull (factors that attract people to host regions) factors which are shaped by population dynamics, regional developments, and social, economic and political factors (UNFPA 2005).

*Push factors*, stemming from the place of origin, include low level of income, high cost of living, unemployment, polluted environmental conditions, natural disasters, insecurity, high population density, limited opportunity, and limited infrastructural support. A single push factor or the interplay of a series of these factors could result in people migrating to other regions or countries. The conflict, rising cost of living and worsening quality of life have resulted in pushing Sri Lankans to migrate to other countries and regions, attracted by the improved and safer living conditions these places tend to offer.

*Pull factors* include higher income and livelihood opportunities, better educational opportunities, greater security and an improved quality of life (De Silva and Perera 2007, and Ozden and Schiff 2006).

The preceding sections, that presented trends in migration, show how the waves and patterns of migration have expanded to many regions in the country that have become sending and receiving centres of internal and external migrants.

As at 2006, 15.2% of the population fell below the poverty line, which is a reduction from 22.7% in 2002. In 2002, regional disparities in

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<sup>4</sup> Moving out of poverty studies in the estates and conflict regions, CEPA 2006/07

poverty incidence were wide, with 7 (Badulla, Hambantota, Kegalle, Matale, Moneragala, Puttalam and Ratnapura) out of 25 districts having between 30-37% of their populations in poverty. Of these, only Hambantota and Puttalam have shown huge reductions in poverty by 2006 (nearly 20% less) while others show a marginal reduction in the proportion of poor people.

Almost all these districts got 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 had the highest population below the poverty line in 2002, i.e. 144,106 (DCS *et al.* 2006).

Districts that have plotted a high proportion of their populations in poverty (measured by the poverty line), including those in the Southern, Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces, have shown increasing numbers of short-term internal migrants.

Lifetime internal migration from wet and dry zone districts is mainly to regions that are considered to be more prosperous economically. Interestingly such movements tend to have been to closer locations – adjacent or nearby districts indicating that the availability of resources for people in poorer regions to move permanently is limited. Yet this does not seem to stop them from moving out of lagging regions, albeit the move is to close places that seemingly offer better opportunities than their home regions.



**Table 2.2 Departures for foreign employment by districts 2002/2006 compared to district level poverty headcount index 2002/2006**

District	Population by district (2001 Census)	Foreign employment departures 2002	Migrant population as a % of total population	Foreign employment departures 2006	Migrant population as a % of total population	Poverty HCI 2002	Poverty HCI 2006
Colombo	2,251,300	27,726	1.23	26,204	1.16	6.4	5.4
Gampaha	2,063,700	18,345	0.89	18,065	0.88	10.7	8.7
Kalutara	1,066,200	10,189	0.96	10,185	0.96	20	13
Kandy	1,279,000	14,067	1.10	14,616	1.14	24.9	17
Matale	441,300	5,022	1.14	5,200	1.18	29.6	18.9
Nuwara Eliya	703,600	2,732	0.39	3,582	0.51	22.6	33.8
Galle	990,500	10,280	1.04	10,199	1.03	25.8	13.7
Matara	761,400	4,544	0.60	4,580	0.60	27.5	14.7
Hambantota	526,400	3,727	0.71	3,270	0.62	32.2	12.7
Jaffna	490,600**	1,691	0.34	2,667	0.54	-	-
Mannar	151,600**	437	0.29	662	0.44	-	-
Vavuniya	149,800**	969	0.65	1,261	0.84	-	-
Mullaitivu	121,700**	92	0.08	102	0.08	-	-
Batticaloa	486,400**	9,123	1.88	8,709	1.79	-	10.7
Ampara	593,000	8,781	1.48	8,474	1.43	-	10.9
Trincomalee	340,200**	4,799	1.41	4,453	1.31	-	-
Kurunegala	1,460,200	18,882	1.29	27,814	1.90	25.4	15.4
Puttalam	709,700	9,444	1.33	9,908	1.40	31.3	13.1
Anuradhapura	745,700	10,354	1.39	11,872	1.59	20.4	14.9
Polonnaruwa	359,000	4,559	1.27	4,840	1.35	23.7	12.7
Badulla	780,000	5,365	0.69	5,839	0.75	37.3	23.7
Moneragala	397,400	1,402	0.35	1,583	0.40	37.2	33.2
Ratnapura	1,015,800	5,031	0.50	5,822	0.57	34.4	26.6
Kegalle	785,500	9,361	1.19	9,946	1.27	32.5	21.1
Not indicated		16,851		3,988		-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,670,000</b>	<b>203,773</b>		<b>203,841</b>		<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

Source: SLBFE 2008 and DCS 2004 and 2008, DCS 2001

Note: \*\* Estimates, poverty figures are not available for Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee

Districts that have had a significant proportion of its population in poverty (above 30% in 2002) – Badulla, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Kegalle and Hambantota have low levels of foreign migrants (less than 1% of the total population) with the exception of Kegalle district.

Nuwara Eliya, Badulla and Kandy – predominantly tea producing districts – have low levels of foreign migrants. This is supported by smaller scale qualitative studies<sup>5</sup> that indicate a greater prevalence of internal migration that has contributed to people moving out of poverty. Earnings tend to be higher in households that have overseas migrants, balancing their livelihoods portfolio with off estate work in industries, trade and services, and estate based work (WB 2007).

Despite this, the potential to migrate out of the estates is still compromised by the low levels of education of the population that prevents migrants from finding better paying jobs in the regions that they migrate to (WB 2007).

In poorer districts such as Moneragala and Badulla, external migration is to a lesser extent and this could imply that financial constraints and limited social networks could affect their ability to migrate to other countries even if they are able to undertake internal migration.

In earlier years of migration, external migration was largely by migrants with low educational qualifications (up to grade 5), but in more recent data more migrants who have a higher secondary level of education are migrating to other countries. Domestic migrants appear to come from both primary and secondary education groups (data from HIES 1991/92 and 2002 in WB 2007).

These figures also support the view that overseas migration is costly and requires a significant investment that does not show returns for a while. For the poor, this may not be a feasible investment to make – or it may be one that comes with risks. This makes overseas migration open to a few and is undertaken more selectively – where and how to migrate – rather than as a coping mechanism to overcome poverty in the short term. Internal migration, on the other hand, is more accessible to poorer people given the smaller investment required to move.

Conflict affected regions have a high level of outflows of foreign migrants in comparison to other regions in the country. Although there is no

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<sup>5</sup> Moving out of poverty studies in the estates and conflict regions, CEPA 2006/07

consumption poverty data the more qualitative studies indicate that migration has had a positive impact on poverty in the region<sup>6</sup>.

## 2.4 The implications of migration on rural livelihoods

Theorists (Ravenstein 1885, Lee 1966 *in* De Silva and Perera 2007) indicate that migratory decisions are based on positive, negative and neutral factors and intervening obstacles at the place of origin and destination, and are driven by individual level economic choices but also by social and psychological factors. Macro theories of migration aim to explain the flow of migration, determinant and direction of migration between rural and urban areas as well as internationally.

The implications of migration on rural livelihoods can be positive and negative and vary depending on the type of migration. Permanent migration usually has limited gain for the sending communities as migrants leave and maintain little contact with the people they leave behind. As discussed previously, migration has been a contributory factor in moving people out of poverty but there have been instances when returning migrants have found no income sources to fall back on upon their return and would often opt to return for a further spell of employment overseas.

Once they return, the skills they acquire cannot be utilised for more appropriate and profitable income generating activities. Migration has had implications on family structures and community relations. There is a greater dependence on women to provide for families through remittance earnings at the expense of child welfare.

Studies done by the Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR 2001, 2002a, 2002b *in* DCS *et al.* 2006) suggest that the majority of female migrants, who were mainly in the age-group 25-44 years, had been abroad more than once; and most returned to their former low-skilled occupations on their return, as the skills they had acquired could not be used on return.

Migration has its negative implications and the option to migrate comes with its own risks. People are often forced to take loans to finance expenditures associated with migration which they plan to repay using expected future wages. At times, they spend a number of years trying to pay off their debts and sometimes they are unable to pay back these loans and face becoming severely indebted. Mismanagement of

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

remittances as a result of not acquiring suitable investment advice is why many migrants fail to fully utilise their earnings, thus limiting their chances for long term economic security.

## **2.5 The brain drain**

Over the years, Sri Lanka has been losing academically and professionally qualified persons to external migration. Skilled migration, the 'brain drain' phenomenon, is disadvantageous, especially in instances of permanent migration. The brain drain of professionals was significant in Sri Lanka in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Accountants have been one of the most mobile groups for foreign employment between 1995 and 2000 followed by engineers and IT specialists (Korale 2004)<sup>7</sup>.

Although the brain drain focuses on the lack of professional labour within a country or community, the effects of losing a lesser qualified labour force can be as damaging. The movement of populations out of areas because they lack opportunity also has spiral effects on the sending region. It lacks the necessary human capacity to improve living conditions while limiting the demand for improvement.

## **3. Migrant Remittances**

### **3.1 An overview of migrant remittances in Sri Lanka**

At the end of 2004, recorded remittances were estimated at US\$1.3 billion, Sri Lanka's per capita remittance flows being the highest in South Asia. Together with Bangladesh (US\$ 3.4 billion), India (US\$ 23.0 billion), and Pakistan (US\$ 2 billion), Sri Lanka was among the twenty largest recipient countries of remittances; collectively making the South Asian region the second largest regional recipient of remittances in the world after Latin America and the Caribbean.

Over the last three decades, workers' remittances have increased by an annual average of 10% and since 1994 constitute the largest source of foreign financing for the island (Lasagabaster, Maimbo and Hulugalle 2005). Recorded inflows of foreign exchange earnings was estimated at Rs.276,728 Million in 2007 comprising 27.5% of foreign exchange earnings of the country. This has increased by 15% in 2007 compared to 2006 (Central Bank 2007).

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<sup>7</sup> Unable to find complete source and hence this reference has not been included in the reference list.

**Table 3.1 Estimates of workers' remittances channelled through formal financial infrastructure (US\$ Billion)**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2003 (Per capita US\$)
Bangladesh	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.8	3.2	3.4	23.2
India	11.1	11.7	11.1	13.7	17.4	23.	15.8
Pakistan	0.1	1.1	1.5	3.6	0	2	27.0
Sri Lanka	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	67.7

Source: Lasagabaster, Maimbo and Hulugalle 2005

In 2006, workers' remittances amounted to 8.7% of GDP. At the microeconomic level, about 10% of households in the country are recipient of overseas and domestic remittances. According to the figures, worker remittances have continuously increased during the past decade. It has increased fivefold from 1997 to 2007. Remittances received from the Middle East remains at more than 50% of the total since the 1990s. This increased until 2002 and has declined since then (CBSL 2007).

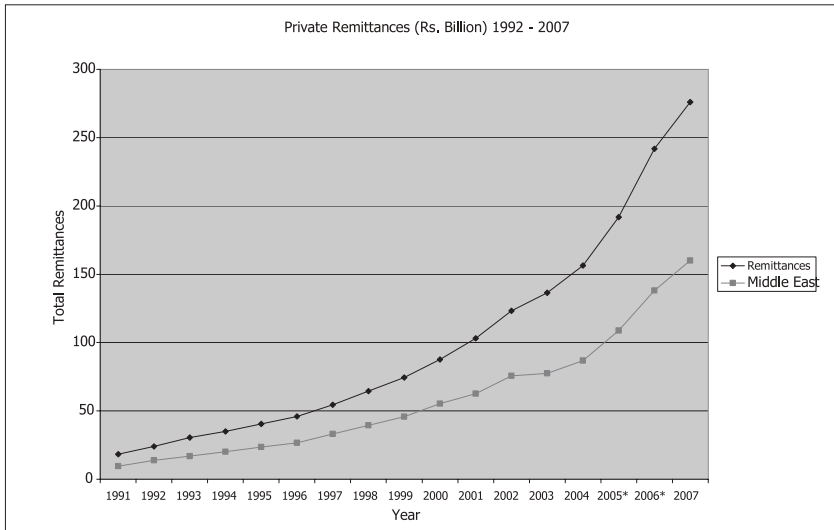
Remittances, Foreign Direct Investment<sup>8</sup> (FDI) and Official Development Assistance<sup>9</sup> (ODA) are the major external financing contributions for the economy of Sri Lanka. Today the foreign employment sector is the highest net foreign exchange earning sector of the country.

In recent years, private remittances to Sri Lanka have (Central Bank 2007):

- Exceeded FDI inflows by 3 to 4 times.
- Exceeded net receipt of foreign assistance by two to three times.
- Been worth around 35% of all export earnings, second only to the garment industry and ahead of tea and the island's traditional exports.
- Been worth more than double the gross receipts from tourism.

<sup>8</sup> Foreign direct investment is investment of foreign assets into domestic structures, equipment, and organisations. It does not include foreign investment into the stock markets.

<sup>9</sup> Flows of official financing administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as the main objective.

**Figure 3.1 Private remittances 1992 – 2007**

In Sri Lanka, the absolute and relative importance of private remittances has increased significantly as levels of foreign aid have declined, and foreign direct investment has plotted a slow growth (Deshingkar and Aheeyar 2006).

### 3.2 Macroeconomic importance of remittances

In a broad macro perspective, remittances play a significant role in the country's development since its magnitude is very large compared to other foreign financing. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has concluded that remittances can help to improve a country's development prospects, maintain macroeconomic stability, mitigate the impact of adverse shocks and reduce poverty (IMF 2005). Remittances can also promote financial development in cash-based developing economies.

Migrant remittances have had far-reaching effects on the economy. The macroeconomic impact of migration has been substantial, and much of Sri Lanka's development spending will continue to be financed directly or indirectly by remittance flows. In 2002, private transfers, primarily from housemaids in the Middle East, were sufficient to finance 90% of the combined deficit on trade, services and income accounts. In 2004, remittances offset around 60% of the trade deficit (Deshingkar and Aheeyar 2006). However a reduction in migrant remittances could have

adverse effects on this dependence. In the light of the global economic crisis this trend is becoming increasingly inevitable.

There is a debate over the extent to which remittances actually boost the economy of the migrant-source country, because, as the discussion above demonstrates, a substantial portion of income has been used for consumption purposes and not saved or invested (Drinkwater, Levine, and Lotti 2002). Even though remittances are not invested or saved, it helps the economy since it increases household income which would then increase the expenditure of migrant households. Recent literature shows that in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union remittances can lead to economic growth simply by increasing the migrant's household income, regardless of whether this additional income is spent on consumption or savings. Ratha and Mohapatra (2007) indicate that if remittances are invested, they contribute to output growth, but they generate positive multiplier effects if consumed.

The Sri Lankan government has tried to take numerous steps to develop policies that empower the migrant labour force with a view towards harnessing its strengths for micro and macroeconomic development. The effectiveness of these strategies is debatable as there has been no assessment of the impact of such policies.

### **3.3 Impacts on foreign exchange requirements**

Remittances often serve as a key source of foreign exchange for many developing countries. In general, remittances could play an important role in the foreign exchange flows to poorer countries. Remittances are a particularly attractive source of foreign financing, because they are much more stable over time than private capital flows (Lueth and Ruiz-Arranz 2007).

Overseas employment opportunities for skilled and unskilled labour has created a new source of much needed foreign exchange in the form of private transfers. Some analysts suggest that remittances contribute to national income and ease foreign exchange needs, particularly when military expenditures and government borrowing have been increasing (Sørensen *et al.* 2002).

Remittances may exert upward pressure on the real exchange rate and reduce the competitiveness of exports (Chami, Fullenkamp, and Jahjah 2003); however, because they are a significant source of foreign exchange, remittances can improve creditworthiness and access to international capital markets. For example, if remittances are included

as a potential source of foreign exchange, the ratio of debt to exports falls and this leads to a reduction in the country's trade deficit.

### **3.4 Impact of remittances on poverty**

Remittances can reduce poverty and fuel high rates of household savings and investment (Rapoport and Docquier forthcoming; Roberts 2004). Remittances are an important source of domestic consumption and investment. Though the underlying remittances data is limited, estimations of the broader, macroeconomic impact of remittances suggest that they exert a mild positive impact on long-term patterns of macroeconomic growth, while evidence on their impact on the distribution of poverty is mixed (Lueth and Ruiz-Arranz 2007).

Migrant households generally succeed in improving their life conditions. Studies (Kageyama 2008) reveal that migrants employed in the Middle East hold bank accounts that they opened as a result of their foreign employment. These households had access to consumer durable items such as cassette recorders, electric clocks, foreign clothes and various foreign-made articles; others were able to buy new furniture and pay for electrification of their households. The money was also spent to provide better schooling and tuition for children.

Research conducted by the World Bank (Sander 2004) indicates that the remittances from the returned migrants in Eastern and Central Asia are utilised for funding consumption of food and clothing but that large quantities are also used for education and savings (over 10%). Smaller amounts are spent on business investment (less than 5%). Hettige (1997) argues that, in the long run, many returning migrant families run out of savings quickly and descend into poverty again due to wasteful consumption, no savings or both.

Using Sri Lankan household survey data from 2001/2002, Lasagabaster *et al.* (2005) argue that remittances are particularly significant for poor households: almost 45% of recipient households belonged to the lowest two income quintiles. While information on how the Sri Lankan recipient households use remittances is scarce, it is likely that they have a positive impact on poverty reduction and economic development.

Many households in conflict areas have been sustained by remittances, and could not have survived without them (Koser and Van Hear 2003). It is interesting that the conflict, which removed certain economic and livelihood opportunities, also created alternatives through migration. Even though migration is viewed as one of the negative outcomes of



the war because people leave areas of origin, it provides an opportunity for the migrants to search and create an alternative way of establishing a new economic avenue through remittances. In these contexts, people are fearful of their future and are reluctant to invest their money in their own country due to prevailing insecurities. They do not have any guarantee for their inputs and are exposed to many risks. Remittances provide them with a guaranteed source of income in a crisis situation.

The moving out of poverty studies undertaken in the estate sector and conflict regions<sup>10</sup> show that remittances have been a significant contributory factor to the mobility of families and individuals. They provide a safety net at times when households are unable to engage in any other economic activity.

Migrant remittances in the estate sector have served to improve the social status of families in addition to improving their economic wellbeing. Households have been able to use these sources of income, especially over a consistent period of time, to meet short term and long term household needs and consider it to be a significant milestone in present day wellbeing<sup>11</sup>.

However, others (Gunatilleke 1986) note that the use of remittances and income from foreign employment depends a great deal on the type of community and the migrants' socio-economic background. In Sri Lanka, two of the most significant sectors associated with the impacts of migration are housing and self-employment. Particularly, housing is reported to receive high priority by most migrants and their families.

CENWOR studies (in DCS *et al.* 2006) note that migrants were able to earn sufficient money to build a house only after several visits as the initial loan taken for migration - usually from informal sources - had to be repaid. However, some migrants did have sufficient savings on which they subsisted instead of reverting to low skilled work.

These studies show that apart from the investments made on income earning assets migrants invest on physical immobile assets. Such investments include purchase of land, construction of new houses, repairs and extensions of existing houses, redemption of mortgages and liquidation of debts.

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<sup>10</sup> Moving out of poverty studies in the estate sector and conflict affected communities (CEPA 2006, unpublished).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Remittances can also have indirect positive effects on poor households. It is associated with increased household investments in education and health which have high social returns in the future. Studies show that the children of remittance recipient households have a lower school drop-out rate and that these households spend more on private tuition for their children (Ratha and Mohapatra 2007). Further, children of those households have higher birth weights showing that remittances enable households to afford better health care and nutrition standards<sup>12</sup>.

Remittances provide capital to small entrepreneurs, reduce credit constraints and increase entrepreneurship (Ratha and Mohapatra 2007). A study conducted in Sri Lanka states that the income coming from foreign earning are used to create new employment by investing in an income-earning piece of equipment such as a tractor, truck or van, or setting up small trading enterprises or grocery stores (Kageyama 2008 and United Nations 2004).

Despite these interventions these inflows have potential that is currently untapped. While the money tends to be used to meet immediate needs, more effort needs to go into investment opportunities to help migrants sustain the benefits of their savings.

The impact of remittances on poor migrant families does not always translate to a permanent improvement of wellbeing. Rural migrants spend earnings on the short-term improvement of their family's living standards. The wellbeing improvements can be temporary and only last until the migrant returns.

The remittance money does not always translate into long term economic security unless it is utilised in a sustainable manner. The depth of the poverty alleviation effect and its sustainability will depend on the background of migrants and families and prudent use of resources.

In the case of Sri Lanka, remittances give the positive leverage of an increase in income for many households that send migrants. We could therefore argue that international migrants' remittances in general can positively help poverty alleviation in Sri Lanka but its effect is rather limited as a short-term income maintenance support to households, particularly for contract migrants from poorer income groups. It has

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

not become a durable safeguard/tool guaranteeing a long-term way out of poverty.

### **3.5 Remittance transfer mechanisms and channels**

As is the case in other regions, the financial remittance market includes three principal actors; commercial banks, money transfer businesses, and informal money transfer agents. Slowly, other actors, such as the post office system and microfinance institutions have begun exploring opportunities in the remittance industry but their participation is still in its infancy.

#### ***Informal remittances***

Only the remittances received from formal sources are tracked and recorded. There are many facilities available to remit money from abroad but usage of these facilities is questionable. Only a particular group of migrants - skilled and professional workers - use these facilities to remit money.

Dias and Jayasundere (2004)<sup>13</sup> point out that many countries give migrant workers (both temporary and permanent) the opportunity to remit their earnings into foreign currency accounts that are not subject to foreign exchange regulations and have attractive interest rates. Yet usage of such accounts remains low. According to a survey conducted in Sri Lanka in 1984, only 8% of returning migrants had used this facility, of which 90% were skilled workers. No housemaids were recorded as using the system as they prefer to use informal channels to remit their earnings.

Due to the constraints of work conditions, housemaids still prefer to use informal channels to remit their earnings. With the fluctuation of the dollar, many of these women are unaware that their informal contracts do not give them a fair exchange rate and that they are losing on the transaction (Malsiri *et al.* 1999).

Although provisions under the Exchange Control Act prohibit any other entity to participate in the remittance business without the permission of the Central Bank, some informal remitters are in operation. According to the Central Bank, the hawala system accounts for less than 5% of total remittances sent home.

*Hawala* is an informal value transfer system based on the performance and honour of a huge network of money brokers who are primarily

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<sup>13</sup> Unable to find complete source and hence this reference has not been included in the reference list.

located in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Rodrigo and Jayatissa (1989) show that the proportion of unrecorded remittances in Sri Lanka was around 13% in 1980–85; compared to around 40% in India and 85% in Somalia. They attributed this to the (then) low degree of exchange rate overvaluation, the high degree of financial development in the Sri Lankan economy, and positive real interest rates (Puri and Ritzema 2008).

Most unskilled migrants remit money through friends and relatives rather than formal sources since it is more secure and assured. The SLBFE also found, through its own surveys, that poor migrants often carry money themselves (in dollars) rather than sending it through banks. This is not surprising given that banks are not easily accessible to the poor. Informal channels are convenient and easy, providing a doorstep service with no complicated forms to fill in and no red tape. Money orders are also common (Lasagabaster *et al.* 2005).

The identification of these informal dealers becomes difficult as their operators and localities are unknown and they hardly keep readily accessible records of their transactions (Hettiarachi 2005)<sup>14</sup>. Estimates based on a World Bank study (Lasagabaster *et al.* 2005) suggest that the share of private remittances channelled through informal dealers could have been close to 45% in the mid-1990s. The growth of informal fund transfer systems has traditionally been negatively correlated with the level of development and liberalisation of the formal financial sector. Informal systems are more likely to be found in jurisdictions where the formal financial sector is either virtually absent or does not provide a reliable, cost effective, and convenient mechanism for the transfer of funds. The attraction of informal operators is heightened by financial policies that include foreign exchange controls as is the case in Sri Lanka.

The informality of *hawala* makes it attractive to many Sri Lankan migrants who find banks and other financial institutions difficult to deal with. The lack of bureaucracy renders informal services accessible to less educated customers, many of whom live in rural areas, where formal alternatives are limited. Informal systems are also reliable. Trust and the cultural importance of one's reputation and good name perform an effective self-regulatory function. Disputes and errors are settled among informal service providers who assume the risk of a counterpart's default or law-enforcement actions (Koser and Van Hear 2003).

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<sup>14</sup> Unable to find complete source and hence this reference has not been included in the reference list.

The contribution of the Tamil diaspora into the country is almost certainly underestimated because much of this money is remitted through informal channels known as the *hundi/undiya* system (similar to the *hawala* system) (Koser and Van Hear 2003).

Areas of conflict are also more likely to be linked to informal methods of money transfers. The northern parts of Sri Lanka, for example, have limited formal financial services. Migrants from that region resort to the *Hawala* system and in-kind remittance services to transfer remittances. Informal remittance services are also attractive to undocumented immigrants, who may not be permitted to have bank accounts or do business with formal institutions as a result of their status in host countries (Koser and Van Hear 2003).

### **Formal Institutions**

Under the Exchange Control Act, foreign exchange transactions are permitted only through licensed commercial banks appointed as full-fledged authorised dealers, unless any other person is appointed by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka as a restricted dealer. Accordingly, both inward and outward remittances from and to Sri Lanka are presently effected through 22 licensed commercial banks.

**Table 3.2 Remittances by licensed commercial banks (million Rupees)**

<b>Institution</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2004 (% of total)</b>
Bank of Ceylon	741.8	772.0	881.4	56.4
People's Bank	183.3	208.9	232.7	19
Seylan Bank	102.5	129.0	147.5	9.4
Hatton National Bank	42.7	57.5	81.6	5.2
Commercial Bank	63.7	79.6	93.4	6.0
Sampath Bank	58.8	75.4	76.1	9
Others	92	91.6	51.2	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,287.0</b>	<b>1,410.0</b>	<b>1,563.9</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Hettiarachi 2005

In addition to authorised dealers, Sri Lanka Post (SLP), the National Savings Bank (NSB), which is a licensed specialised bank, and one private company, Money Transfer Ltd. (MMBL), which is a subsidiary of the Merchant Bank in Sri Lanka, are permitted to engage in money transfers as restricted dealers. Of these, NSB and MMBL are permitted only to engage in inward money transfers.

For migrants and their relatives, banks offer cheque products as well as electronic and internet based products. In a recent survey of financial institutions, Hettiarachi (2005) found that the following were the most widely used instruments for transferring money: (i) Telegraphic Transfers based on SWIFT messages; (ii) drafts/cheques drawn on banks; and (iii) international money orders issued by banks and post offices.

### **3.6 Money Transfer Businesses (MTBs)**

Money transfer businesses play an important role in providing remittance services to Sri Lankan migrants. MTBs are financial service agents that accept cash, cheques, other monetary instruments, or forms of "stored value" in one location and pay a corresponding sum in cash or another form to a beneficiary in another location by means of a communication, message, or transfer, or through a clearing network to which the MTB belongs.

The leading MTB in Sri Lanka is Western Union. With a 150-year history, Western Union is the global leader in money transfer services. It has more than 150,000 agent locations in 190 countries. Although estimates vary, it is commonly agreed that after banks, Western Union handles the largest share of remittances from the United States to South Asia. Western Union allows customers to send money using credit and debit cards through the company's Web sites, offices and agent locations, the telephone, or physical mail using a money order.

### **3.7 Post Office Network**

Post offices are accessible to almost all the rural communities unlike other formal financial institutions such as commercial banks. Although the postal service has a long tradition of providing cross-border remittance instruments, its market share is minimal due to deficient and slow services. In 2004, the post dealt with remittances amounting to US\$8 million or less than one percent of the total market. These primarily came from India and the United Kingdom. The remittance flows are settled through an account held at the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, which does the currency conversion. International postal money

orders, which remain paper based, take up to four weeks to reach the beneficiary. Money orders can be cashed at any post office. The senders usually pay a value-based fee, in the range of 2-5% of total value. In comparison to remittances products offered by banks and money transfer agents, the paper-based postal money order compares poorly, except for its outreach.

**Table 3.3 Average time period to remit money to Sri Lanka by transfer service 2005**

Country	Telegraphic Transfer	Draft/ Cheque	E-Remittance
United Arab Emirates	1-2 Days	3*-21 Days	10-15 Minutes
United States	1-2 Days	3*-21 Days	10-15 Minutes
European Union	1-2 Days	3*-21 Days	10-15 Minutes

\*On local clearing

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka (2005)

There is an attempt to formalise this money transfer system by opening private banks in migrant-destination countries to assist Sri Lankan nationals remitting their earnings, and these branch offices have managed to attract a number of clients through personalised service.

### 3.8 In-kind remittances

In-kind remittances take place through the provision of goods or services in one country, while the payment is made in another country. Many expatriates plan to return and retire in their homeland. Paving the way for return often means building a house. A local company may provide the construction work for the expatriate and receive payment in an overseas account.

In Sri Lanka, for example, the real estate market has provided opportunities for such transactions, as expatriates wish to buy or sell property at home without disclosing the true price to the authorities. Balances between the real and declared price are settled through middlemen and payments outside the home country. In-kind remittances pose an important measurement challenge (Lasagabaster *et al.* 2005).

Large volumes of durable goods or valuable commodities such as gold or gem stones are brought back to emigrants' home countries upon their return. Sometimes the value of these goods is counted as "official

remittances,” but sometimes it is not. Whether remittances are in the form of funds or value should not obscure the similar functions they perform or the effects they can have on regional economies. In Sri Lanka, initiatives are underway to mitigate the inefficiencies that arise from in-kind remittances. One of these initiatives is to allow the duty-free import quota to be used in special duty-free shops in Sri Lanka upon return from working abroad (Lasagabaster *et al.* 2005).

Remittances which come in-kind are usually excluded from the calculations and estimations of volume of migrants’ remittance that come into the country. A returning migrant’s personal baggage usually contains clothes, household goods and electric appliances. The duty free facility at the airport, which does not apply to certain goods now, has acted as an incentive for returning migrants to purchase household items and electric appliances. The value of such items entering the country as part of incoming passengers’ personal baggage is sizeable. Some of these in-kind remittances are sent through informal channels such as friends and relatives who are returning to the country (Lasagabaster *et al.* 2005).

## **4. Future Directions**

### **4.1 Policy processes**

The state involvement in migration became significant after independence in 1948. Repatriation of Indian Tamil plantation workers to India and the migration of Europeans back to their homelands were observed during this time. The Srimala-Shastri pact enacted in 1964 and Indira-Sirimavo supplementary agreement enacted in 1974 further facilitated the repatriation of Indian Tamils to India from 1948 to the 1980s. According to Karunaratne (2008), these agreements resulted in 600,000 Indian Tamils returning to India while 375,000 Indian Tamils working in the estate sector received Sri Lankan citizenship.

A national policy on emigration was introduced through the passing of the Immigrants and Emigrants Act No. 20 in 1948. Provisions were made for the control of entry of non-Sri Lankans, the exit of non-Sri Lankans, and the removal of non-Sri Lankans in the country.

However, socio-economic conditions and policies implemented during 1970-1977 had an indirect effect on the migration situation in Sri Lanka. Adoption of strict nationalistic policies such as import substitution trade policies, nationalisation programs of private businesses, limitation of



land ownership, financial regulations, and high personal income taxes combined with a high unemployment rate among the well-educated, aggravated the permanent out-migration of skilled labour from Sri Lanka which led to the brain drain in the country. The introduction of trade, financial and labour market liberalisation policies in 1977 created avenues for Sri Lankans to migrate for employment irrespective of their ethnicity and skill level (Karunaratne 2008).

More recently, the Mahinda Chinthanaya Ten Year Development Plan has identified issues related to high unskilled labour migration and illegal migration and has suggested that these be addressed through sound policies and strategies. Some of the suggested policies and mechanism in the Ten Year Development Framework have opened new avenues for skilled labour in fields such as nursing, shipping and computer science. In addition, there has been the establishment of an English medium nursing college, which is aimed at fulfilling the growing demand for nurses in European countries, and the introduction of a pension Scheme for those who are employed abroad.

*"A future of peace and prosperity in which all Sri Lankans enjoy a better quality of life..., through the promotion of opportunities for women and men to obtain productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity"* (Mahinda Chinthanaya 2004:175).

The key issues to be addressed in relation to migration include: lack of quality employment opportunities for women, high unskilled labour migration, and illegal remittances (Mahinda Chinthanaya 2004).

**Box 4.1 Migration support and protection: Mahinda Chinthanaya**

The Mahinda Chinthanaya promises to;

- o Open new avenues for skilled labour in fields such as nursing, shipping, computer science, etc. to secure foreign employment.
- o Establish an English medium nursing college, which is aimed at fulfilling the growing demand for nurses in European countries.
- o Register youth who are interested in securing employment overseas at the Divisional Secretariat and provide them with the required training.
- o Introduce a bank loan scheme to cover the initial expenses of those who secure foreign employment.
- o Introduce welfare projects at village level for the benefit of the children of those who are employed abroad.
- o Make special arrangements to protect female expatriate workers.
- o Arrange special housing loan schemes through state and private banks, with a 30% contribution being made by the Government through a suitable mechanism.
- o Introduce a pension scheme for those who are employed abroad.
- o Increase the duty free allowance presently available for returnees from employment abroad to US\$5,000. Laws will be amended to allow the use of this facility during the first 6 months from the date of returning to Sri Lanka.

*Source:* Mahinda Chinthanaya 2004

*Gamin Gamata* which is a presidential community and welfare service project provides employment opportunities overseas for unemployed youth of rural areas. One of the main aims of the programme is to organise a structured training programme for rural applicants who are awaiting foreign jobs and to grant loan facilities to those applicants who are from Samurdhi recipient families (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion 2008).

The SLBFE is the main agency charged with matters connected to foreign employment and it also promotes the employment of Sri Lankans abroad. It is a semi-government body set up by an Act of Parliament in 1986. The change of ministries and its new focus reflect the government's view on the importance of the foreign employment industry to the economic development of the country (Ruhunage 2007).

In addition, the Sri Lanka Foreign Employment Agency (Pvt) Ltd. was established in 1996 as a government owned company with a view to minimise unemployment. It is the only state organisation to provide

foreign employment opportunities to the Sri Lankan work force (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion 2008a).

## **4.2 Internal migration policy mechanisms**

With the opening up of the economy in the 1970s, successive government policies have been devised to encourage both skilled and unskilled external migration. Attempts to manage internal migration through a policy framework are more complicated to monitor given the inability to track the movements of such migrants.

The opportunities for migration have been created as a result of urbanisation in areas such as the Western province which has created opportunities in industry and commercial centres, and export processing zones and the boom in the garment sector. These in turn have attracted migrants, especially female migrants. The flows of these migrants need to be supported by the policy framework, not just in terms of employment creation, but also protection of worker rights and wellbeing.

## **4.3 Harnessing remittances**

With the aim of encouraging the flow of remittances, the government recently permitted the opening of special non resident foreign currency (NRFC) accounts in commercial banks in Sri Lanka with tax-free interest. In addition, a special loan scheme has been provided by the two state banks for pre-migration expenses, housing and post-migration investment.

Incentives provided to encourage return migration include the provision of dual citizenship and avoidance of double taxation, which allows returnee migrants to benefit from a lower tax regime in Sri Lanka.

While there is recognition by state and non-state actors that remittances can be harnessed much more effectively, there is very little that is being done in this regard. At the time of writing, the available literature and discussions did not provide a clear way forward in this regard. Despite recent indications by the state to encourage migrants to invest, there is no clear plan of how remittances will be used to develop the country. It is clear that much more discussion and exploration is necessary.

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has programmes that focus on the reintegration of returnee migrants, offering them alternative livelihood options within their communities. This programme is implemented with migrant savings and project funding.

This project focuses on improving the income level of the returnees by developing their skills and business development, entrepreneurship and education, depending on the need of the returnee. The programme also has a prevention component – where communities who show signs of risk are targeted for livelihood improvement activities.

It was noted during these discussions that migrant returnees are not always willing to invest in agricultural activities as it is risky and does not provide high returns. This points to the larger issues of productivity in the sector but also highlights the potential for investment if necessary improvements are undertaken. Migrants are more open to investing in activities and business options that show tangible results in a short period of time.

While this information on investment is limited in Sri Lanka and seems to point to a large proportion of it being spent on consumption activities, examples of other countries could provide some lessons.

A comparison of expenditure in Mexican households with and without migrants showed that households with international migrants spent more on investments and less on consumption than other households at the same income level. This was despite households with migrants claiming that they spent more on consumption. Similar findings come from other studies. A study in Egypt concluded that among households with similar incomes, the ones that got more of their income from international migrant remittances spent more on investments (Taylor 2006).

#### **Box 4.2 International labour migration from the Philippines**

In 1974, the Philippine government initiated an "Overseas Employment Program" to place Filipino workers in overseas jobs. Encouraging emigration was one way the government could alleviate rising unemployment and bring in scarce foreign exchange. The annual number of Filipinos going overseas on officially processed work contracts rose six-fold from 36,035 to 214,590 between 1975 and 1980, and more than quadrupled again by 2002 to 891,908.

In households with an overseas worker, remittances accounted for a substantial portion of total income prior to the crisis, 40%, on average and is used in different ways.

*Investment in education of children:* Expenditure on children's education appears to increase, accounting for 0.7% of household income. Improvements in exchange rates impacted positively on education albeit differently on boys and girls. The 25% exchange rate improvement led to a 3.3% increase in girls' school attendance and a 1.7% increase for boys, from base attendance rates of 95% and 93%, respectively.

*Investment in entrepreneurial activities:* The exchange rate shocks also made it more likely for households to have certain types of entrepreneurial enterprises. A 25% exchange rate improvement raised the likelihood of a household having a "transportation and communication services" or "manufacturing" enterprise (by 1.9 and 1.5%, respectively). "Transportation and communication services" include taxis and small bus services (*jeepneys*). "Manufacturing" includes small-scale operations such as mat weaving, dressmaking, and processed food making.

*Durable goods:* Exchange rate shocks also increased households' acquisition of durable goods. Prior to the change in exchange rates, 83% of households with a family member working abroad owned a television, 68% owned a living room furniture set, and 13% owned a vehicle (jeep, motorcycle, or car).

*Source:* Migration Information Source

<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=270>

#### **4.4 Addressing migrant conditions within host countries**

There have also been a number of changes in labour receiving countries that focus on the development of labour standards. In some Middle Eastern countries, there exists a unified host country sponsored service contract for migrant workers which make employers more accountable for foreign workers. Country to country MOUs that aim to streamline the recruitment process and protect rights and obligations of both employers and employees is another recent policy development (Ruhunage 2007).

However, the policy focus appears to be inclined towards the protection of workers in the Middle East. While this is important, policy mechanisms need to also note the changing nature of migration, especially in terms of sending areas. There do not appear to be mechanisms in place that encourage professionals to remain in Sri Lanka or to enforce an approach that focuses on reducing migration, especially permanent migration. These implications need to be considered in the light of the recent global recession that will possibly reduce the demand for migrants in the light of decreasing employment opportunities.

The current legislation in place focuses on promoting worker migration rather than protection and welfare. Bilateral agreements and MOUs are confidential and difficult to access to ensure that migrant protection conditions are being adhered to and monitored. There is a need to amend the penal code and laws relating to migration and migrant workers to make them more responsive to migrant welfare and protection as well as holding actors responsible<sup>15</sup>.

#### **4.5 Protection of migrant workers and their families**

Since protection of migrant workers abroad is a key concern, the SLBFE has introduced various protective and welfare measures to reduce the irregularities and exploitation faced by migrant workers, especially women workers. Compulsory registration with the Bureau for all persons proceeding for foreign employment was introduced in 1995 and strict monitoring was to be carried out at the airport by SLBFE officials. Also, it introduced an insurance scheme for migrant workers and training schemes for housemaids prior to departure.

The Bureau sets standards for, negotiates contracts of employment, and enters into agreements with foreign authorities, employers and employment agencies. It issues licenses for recruitment agencies, renews their licenses and also cancels their licenses if they find irregularities. Further, it stipulates minimum wage laws and emphasises the requirement for the employer to provide free food, accommodation, medical facilities and a return air ticket to Sri Lanka (CENWOR 2008).

Dias and Weerakoon (1990) (in DCS *et al.* 2006) showed that migrants, particularly women, are vulnerable to exploitation by recruiters as well as employers, as their contracts are not protected by bilateral agreements with recipient countries. Irregularities included the non-payment of

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<sup>15</sup> Excerpts from presentations made at Policy Workshop on Migration, Vulnerability and Security, organised by SPARC and the University of Sussex, August 2008.

agreed wages, long working hours and lack of leisure, harassment and abuse. Migrants have little access to training, child care services or advice on savings and investment; their acquired skills do not facilitate upward occupational mobility when they return home.

The SLFEB claims to have developed insurance programmes where sponsors and employers have to pay the premium on behalf of the employees. This is currently applied to UAE bound migrant workers with plans to broaden the programme to include other areas. The programmes provide cover harassment, legal advice, sexual exploitation and medical care. In addition, legal officers are appointed in missions and have to be recommended by the missions to be able to approach the agents in SL to recruit people<sup>16</sup>.

Contracts need to be signed in the presence of the SLBFE officers, in the presence of the workers and prospective employer. Contractual agreements are explained by the SLBFE to the worker. These systems are in place in Colombo and some regional centres to increase migrant protection<sup>17</sup>.

#### **4.6 Female migration**

More recently, a policy banning the migration of mothers with children less than 5 years of age was proposed by the Government on the basis of managing the social impacts of migration on children. Though the plan has been approved by the cabinet, it is yet to be ratified by the parliament (Migrant Forum in Asia 2008). Under the new law, mothers with children over five years would be required to obtain approval from a government committee after submitting proof that they can provide proper caretakers for their children.

While the ban is trying to ensure the protection of children, it ignores the need to address the root causes of migration and factors that place some children at risk. It does not hold fathers, who are often in charge of the children, and care givers, responsible for the conditions of the children.

The recent controversy over this policy stems from its disregard for the rights of women to undertake employment and its violation of women's rights to freedom of mobility and employment, which is a contradiction

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<sup>16</sup> Adapted from presentations made at Policy Workshop on Migration, Vulnerability and Security, organised by SPARC and the University of Sussex, August 2008.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

of “freedom, equity, security and human dignity” (Mahinda Chinthanaya 2004:176). This policy ignores the socio-economic impacts that such attempts at prevention can create. The loss of such key sources of income may lead to increases in the level of poverty among those households. This may have negative consequences on the level of education of children, their health and nutrition as well as access to other resources and services. Such short sighted policies also disregard the role of husbands and fathers in the income generation and child care spheres.

#### **4.7 Greater need for data and consolidation**

This paper stresses the need to consolidate and generate accurate data on internal and external migration. While the SLFEB, IOM and the Department of Census and Statistics have recently taken steps to improve the availability of data on external migration; these figures are heavily dependent on formal registration and tracking mechanisms. They are also limited to certain users and offer little space for analysis.

There is little macro data on internal migrant patterns despite its important linkage to poverty. There is also limited information on the informal sector – migrant flows, characteristics and impacts as well as remittance channels and usage. In depth research is necessary at the national and micro level to explore the impact of these effects on migrants and their households. Inadequacy of such data at the national level as well as at more disaggregated levels hinders a policy impact analysis.

### **5. Potential for Intervention**

#### **5.1 Engaging in policy processes and improving availability of information on migration**

**Advocate for a holistic policy environment that fosters migrant and dependent welfare and investment of their earnings:** The policy level engagement on migration has been largely focused on the significance of remittances and has been geared to encourage the growth of remittances rather than encourage employee welfare and channel remittances to be invested in development.

The Mahinda Chinthanaya lays greater emphasis on the skilled employment sector even though a larger proportion of migrant remittances is from less skilled employees. The growing demand for



skilled labour in the Middle East and European countries has driven the government to focus more on skill building in the fields of nursing, shipping and computer science.

More needs to be done to harness remittances more effectively and institutions and actors in the process cannot provide a clear way forward. Hence more engagement and debate amongst state and non-state actors is necessary if this is to be developed into a clear plan.

Protection schemes need to include workers in other countries and not only Middle Eastern countries, as well as internal migrants, especially in the context of changing global trends. Legislation and penal codes need to be made more responsive to migrant welfare and protection as well as holding actors responsible.

**Include internal migration into the policy debate:** Attempts to manage internal migration through a policy framework is necessary despite its complicated nature.

Bring in migrant voices into the policy debate: The voice of the migrant worker, internal or external, is missing in policy formulation. The experience – good and bad seem to have a limited incorporation into policy direction and practice. The reintegration of the migrant – both successful and unsuccessful – is important but limited in a country that has a growing number of migrants. In the case of migration to the UAE, some migrants completely bypass agents and find better employment opportunities through their own social contacts. There is a need to recognise and strengthen these opportunities<sup>18</sup>.

Invest in improving the availability of information and research on migration: Advocate for greater sharing of information and data on migration and its implications in addition to using evidence to influence policies within the sector.

## **5.2 Utilising remittances for development**

**Focus on improving inflows of individual remittances:** There is a need to examine the package of benefits and incentives that are available to migrants. Remittances are entitled to tax exemptions but this is not sufficient given that most migrants do not fall within the tax net. Incentives such as health insurance schemes, loan schemes

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<sup>18</sup> Taken from presentations made at Policy Workshop on Migration, Vulnerability and Security, organised by SPARC and the University of Sussex, August 2008.

for housing and educational assistance are all geared to encourage migration and promote the welfare of migrants. They do not really link to the maximisation of remittance flows through formal channels nor focus on investing inflows of remittances (MARGA 2006).

**Focus on investing remittances for community benefit:** Most migrant households spend most of their income locally. This opens up the possibility for businesses in the migrant-sending area to benefit from remittances. However, to do so, these businesses must have access to the infrastructure and inputs needed to increase their supply of goods and services (Taylor 2006).

Taylor (2006) notes that infrastructure development (roads, communications), marketing, education, and technology and other extension programmes can be used to complement and create incentives for households to invest. These types of programmes can complement remittances by improving infrastructure and raising the productivity of household assets. The effectiveness of these programmes depends on the extent to which investments in migrant-sending areas are more profitable and less risky. They must also loosen the constraints that keep households from responding to these incentives, including getting resources (including remittance-induced savings) into the hands of people who will invest them.

**Improve information services for migrants:** Migrants are in need of better information services and training in remitting money which should be available at the pre-departure stage (MARGA 2006). This could be coupled with information on investing their remittances that encourages saving and investment upon the migrants return.

### 5.3 Protecting migrants and their families

**Improve migrant protection mechanisms to make employers and recruiters accountable:** Bilateral agreements with recipient countries can facilitate this and address irregularities related to non-payment of agreed wages, long working hours and lack of leisure, harassment and abuse. Developing migrant insurance programmes with contributions from employers should be encouraged.

There is a need to consider issues of fees, protection from agents and sub-agents, and trafficking. Sub-agents have minimal regularisation and monitoring, so awareness creation amongst local law enforcers to be able to identify cases of trafficking is important. Sub-agents work for a number of agents and are not held responsible for their actions. Once

they receive their commission, they are not responsible for the welfare of the migrants.

**Protection systems that are in place should be strengthened to cover all migrants and migrant sending regions:** currently contracts need to be signed in the presence of the SLBFE officers, the worker and prospective employer. Contractual agreements are explained by the SLBFE to the worker. These systems to increase migrant protection are in place in Colombo and some regional centres<sup>19</sup>.

According to Remnant and Abdul Cader (2008) the SLBFE should offer advice on suitable childcare provision and on how to ensure remittances are used for the benefit of the child. The Ministry of Education also has an important role to play in encouraging teachers to monitor the performance and behaviour of children of migrant mothers. There is currently a lack of co-ordination and consistent support available, but some cases of good practice exist, where NGOs or local government organisations have mobilised support for children in migrant mother families.

Local and international rights groups argue that a travel ban on women with young children is not the solution and have urged for the government's involvement in tackling the social consequences of young women migrating. According to the Migrant Forum in Asia (2008), the government needs to develop programmes aimed at better preparing migrants and their families, providing social support services to families left behind, implementing policies to encourage women's employment in the country, and promoting and developing programmes to raise awareness on shared parenting and child rearing, particularly the needs of fathers and other caregivers. It is clear that the plan considers only social problems that have been created in migrant mothers' households as well as due to the discontented life they spend without their families (Migrants News Monitor 2007).

**Ensure returnee migrants are not forgotten:** Opportunities for migrant reintegration activities should focus on developing and enhancing existing/learnt skills rather than trying to involve returnees in new forms of livelihood generation activities. Assistance for returnee migrants should be considered in the light of the current global crisis and be tailored to involve external migrants and internal migrants.

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

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# 5

## **MICROFINANCE**

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## **Abbreviations**

AAIB	Agricultural and Agrarian Insurance Board
ACTED	Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AF	Arthacharya Foundation
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CGAP	Consultative Group for Assisting the Poor
CO <sub>2</sub>	Carbon dioxide
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COSOP	Country Strategic Opportunities Programme
EC	European Commission
ECLOF	Ecumenical Loan Fund of Sri Lanka
FIS	Financial Information System
FSS	Financial Self Sufficiency
HHs	Households
HNB	Hatton National Bank
HR	Human Resources
IBSL	Institute of Bankers of Sri Lanka
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Project
LMPA	Lanka Microfinance Practitioners Association
LOLC	Lanka Orix Leasing Company
MF	Microfinance
MFI	Microfinance Institution
MIS	Management Information Systems
NDTF	National Development Trust Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OSS	Operational Self Sufficiency

PAR	Portfolio-at-Risk
ProMiS	Promotion of Microfinance Sector
SEEDS	Sarvodaya Economic Enterprise Development Services
TA	Technical Assistance
TCCS	Thrift and Credit Co-operative Society
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank
WDF	Women's Development Foundation



## Executive Summary

The paper begins by clarifying the difference between rural finance and microfinance. The former encompasses a range of financial services to the rural sector, while microfinance focuses exclusively on small loans with no collateral except group guarantee.

The three elements of micro finance - savings, credit and micro insurance contribute to improving the living standards of the poor through enabling a cash flow to meet basic needs and providing greater security at times of stress. Recent studies on the impact of microcredit have found that the middle and higher income quintiles have increased their level of income, assets and housing through microfinance, but that for the poorest households, the impact of micro-credit was mainly to increase consumption levels.

Rural finance was initially extended to farmers farming irrigated land, and was subsequently expanded to include farmers without irrigation and non-farm enterprises. A large survey on rural finance shows that most people, including the poor, do not have difficulties in accessing credit, even if they haven't yet resorted to taking a loan. They do however face difficulties in finding collateral and in dealing with the documentation. Low interest rates and long processing times also constrain rural people from saving.

The sources of microfinance for rural people are state banks, local and international NGOs, the cooperative movement and special government agencies such as Samurdhi. The Government also has a range of formal credit lines targeted at the rural sector. However, the paper points out the lack of financial sustainability and market driven cost structures as the major weaknesses of all microfinance initiatives in Sri Lanka. There are several agencies providing technical and capacity building support to microfinance institutions. Capital funds for lending to Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs) however are seriously restricted.

The paper also suggests that despite the existence of a large number of microfinance agencies with significant outreach, there are many areas of the country that microfinance has not reached. These include the north and eastern provinces, and the plantation sector. The geographic locations where it is most difficult to access credit include the North Western, Uva and Eastern provinces.

The paper critiques the limited portfolio of products in the MFIs, and the focus on loans for income generation that is a hangover from the early experiments of the Grameen Bank and others. As a result, many poor families are unable to access credit from the MFIs for emergencies, health purposes, purchasing household goods or improving their homes. The emphasis on credit for income generation means that many borrowers are small entrepreneurs; casual wage labourers have little access to credit. Another limitation is the lack of credit plus services.

Microfinance in Sri Lanka is largely provided through a society based model, which is justified as bringing in social and economic empowerment but it has been shown that this approach is the single most important reason for the poor quality of microfinance services in Sri Lanka. Most societies end up inactive. The simple group model adopted by MFIs in countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan is more appropriate.

Poor people can benefit greatly from micro insurance, especially health, life and agricultural insurance. The insurance market in Sri Lanka is very underdeveloped and is at the same stage that micro-credit was 25 years ago, defined by limited outreach, very high transaction costs, absence of viable operations, few large-scale commercial operators, extensive government intervention and lots of scepticism about the future. A few MFIs are providing credit-life insurance but the main insurer is the Agricultural and Agrarian Insurance Board (AAIB). AAIB provides insurance for all crops, all types of livestock and all farm machinery and equipment. To secure the harvest, AAIB has introduced an insurance scheme for the storage of paddy. The organisation has also instituted the only pension scheme available for farmers.

The paper concludes with some recommendations for development agencies, to focus on policy dialogue, build the capacity of MFIs and scale up microfinance operations, rather than just provide a credit line.

## **1. What Constitutes Microfinance for Small Farmers and Non Farm Businesses in Sri Lanka**

Microfinance (MF) includes savings, credit and other financial services available from the formal banking sector, co-operative sector as well as the semi-formal microfinance sector. The formal banking sector itself has both commercial banks as well as development banks such as Regional Development Banks and a portion of their portfolio is microfinance. This paper will confine itself to savings and credit required by small farmers and non farm businesses. Micro insurance will also be discussed whilst remittances are dealt with in another paper.

At the outset of the paper the difference between "rural finance" and "microfinance" must also be stated. Rural finance commenced in the 1950's with state banks giving credit to farmers in development schemes with irrigated land and later in other irrigated areas. It basically means savings and credit in rural areas for farmers as well as other rural citizens. It includes larger loans for rural enterprise and farm equipment. Most of these loans are disbursed under personal guarantee or with physical collateral or both.

Microfinance, on the other hand, refers to collateral free group based loans for individuals and always refers to small loans. The most important aspect is that the loans are based on group guarantee and do not require either individual guarantee by tax payers or government servants or asset based collateral.

This paper covers both rural finance and microfinance with a focus on small loans of both types.

## **2. Contribution of Microfinance to the Increase in Quality of Life of Poor**

Here, the contribution of microfinance to four key aspects related to poverty, basic needs satisfaction, impact on individuals, the community and the natural environment, is analysed.

Microfinance has been recognised as an effective tool for combating poverty around the world during the last two decades. Table 2.1 below shows the different levels of contribution by key microfinance products into the different components to these four aspects.



**Table 2.1 Impact of MF for improving livings standards of poor**

MF service	Contribution to improving living standards			
	Basic needs	Individual level	Community level	Natural environment
Savings	Future needs <i>Emergency: other liquidity needs</i>	Greater security	Interaction with community	
Credit	Cash flow/ Income <i>Emergency: other liquidity needs</i>	Engagement	Interaction with community	Protection/ degradation
Micro insurance	Health Disability	Greater Security <i>Oblige social responsibilities</i>	Interaction with community	

There have been many recent studies on the impact of microfinance. Tilakaratna *et al.* (2005) found that overall, micro-credit has enabled households to improve their income, assets and housing conditions. But the magnitude of the impact was found to vary across different income groups. While the middle and higher income quintiles have increased their levels of income, assets and housing through microfinance, for the poorest households, the impact of micro-credit was mainly to increase consumption levels. The recent GTZ - ProMiS study (2008) found that 40% of households who accessed credit felt that their standard of living had improved as a consequence. However, here too more households in the higher income quintiles (45%) felt that there was an impact compared to the lowest quintile where only 30% felt that income had increased. However, using data from a sample survey conducted in the Hambantota and Moneragala districts in 2003, Colombage (2004) found that there was no significant difference in the growth of income generated from the micro enterprises of clients of microfinance institutions and other micro entrepreneurs.

One successful microfinance intervention in Sri Lanka with documented impacts on poverty is the RERED project which promoted Solar home systems for rural households. This project provided solar home systems for electrification of 98,738 households by the middle of 2006. The main benefit has been improving quality of life through better lighting,

enabling children to study longer under better lighting, and facilitating the work of women. Nearly 19 million liters of kerosene have been saved from the first quarter of 2003 till the 30th of September 2006. This is the equivalent of 54.5 million kg of Carbon Dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>). The savings from reduced kerosene consumption would increase and the improvement in the home environment and health as a result of less CO<sub>2</sub> in the air that family members breathe in would be a continuing benefit from the Project (Mid term review – RERED project).

### **3. Who are Microfinance Clients and What do they Want?**

The initial target group of microfinance was farmers engaged in irrigated agriculture, primarily around the main tanks and irrigation projects including settlement projects. It was subsequently extended to dry zone farmers including those who are engaged in rain-fed agriculture and are dependent on minor tanks, and now includes off farm economic activity and other types of livelihoods, including paid employees.

Over 70 % of Sri Lankans live in rural areas that are primarily bound by an agriculture economy. Different sub groups can be identified within this segment. They are:

- Paddy Farmers
- Vegetable and other horticulture farmers
- Small Producers
- Small traders
- Small businessmen in the service sector
- Fishermen
- Smallholders of tea, rubber, spices and other cash crops
- Livestock owners
- Farmers and non farm businesses in the North East
- Estate workers
- Those who need loans and financial services for other needs such as housing, education, and emergency needs.

The GTZ – ProMiS report based on a huge survey on the demand for microfinance published in 2008 and titled “Outreach of Financial Services in Sri Lanka” found that 84.4% of those surveyed did not find any barriers to accessing microfinance though not all of them had necessarily taken credit. The survey identified collateral requirements

and excessive documentation as the main barriers to accessing credit. Regarding savings, the main barriers identified by customers were low interest rates and the long processing time. A summary of expectations of clients is given in table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 Expectations of financial institutions**

<b>Expectation</b>	<b>% of HHs</b>
Low interest rate on loans	59.8
Simple and quick loan application procedure	44.7
Easy access/proximity	40.3
Can obtain individual loans	32.7
No collateral requirement	25.1
Customer-friendly bank staff	17.7
Flexible repayment	14.0
Loan size tailor made to needs	13.2
No restrictions on loan use	12.1
Provision of advisory services/technical advice	7.2
No need to repay loan	3.1
Mobile banking services	2.9
Others	2.5
No response	24.8

Source: Outreach of Financial Services in Sri Lanka - GTZ 2008

The specific improvements they wanted are given in table 3.2

**Table 3.2 Suggestions for improvement**

<b>Suggestion</b>	<b>% of HHs</b>
Transaction procedures should be simplified	57.5
Number of documents required should be reduced	38.4
Information on available services should be improved	37.2
A customer-friendly atmosphere should be promoted	32.0
Cost of banking transactions should be reduced	22.4
Bank branches should be established in close proximity to the clients	17.9
Time taken for processing of transactions should be reduced	16.7
Banking hours should be extended	11.9
Number of business days should be increased	6.3
A wider variety of products e.g. money transfer, insurance, training, etc should be offered	4.2
Other	3.1

Source: Outreach of Financial Services in Sri Lanka - GTZ, 2008

#### **4. Current Sources of the Supply of Microfinance**

The results of the last in-depth study on the supply of microfinance done by GTZ- ProMiS is still not out and so an estimate done by CGAP-CLEAR study in 2005 is used as an authoritative source. This study identified 15 donors active in funding the microfinance sector in Sri Lanka. Among them, two donors, namely Concern Worldwide and Relief International, have already closed their operations. The other 13 still operating are ADB, CIDA, ETIMOSE - an Italian microfinance Agency, EC, GTZ, JBIC, KFW, NORAD, PLAN, Stromme Foundation, UNDP, USAID and WB. These are only the agencies which have an in country office. In addition, agencies such as IFAD, NOVIB and Berendina Stichting also funded microfinance. Some of these donors are no longer very active in the microfinance sector. There are a few new initiatives to provide MF related technical assistance such as ACTED (Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development) and there has been an increasing trend of commercial borrowing - locally and internationally - during the last one to two years. Commercial borrowing is important to the microfinance sector as donor money is not adequate to meet the demand for microfinance services.

Most of these agencies still remain active with less funding than in 2005. Still, most MFIs depend on the National Development Trust Fund which had 111 partners by mid 2008, 59 of them NGO partners. Stromme Microfinance Institute has 30 NGO partners. ECLOF having over 30 partners is another international source of funding for this sector. Though there are a lot of agencies in Europe and the USA lending for microfinance, only a very few have lent in Sri Lanka and that too to very few MFIs. These include ETIMOS - the Italian agency and the only one to have an office in Sri Lanka, Rabo Bank, Deutsche Bank, Cordaid, and ASA which is based in Bangladesh. Some of these were not active at the time of CGAP CLEAR review. Most of them still find it difficult to work in Sri Lanka due to the stringent exchange control regulations the country still has on remittances of loan repayments.

**Table 4.1 Liquidity by institutional type**

<b>Liquidity by key actors*</b>		
	<b>Amount of deposits</b>	<b>Loan portfolio outstanding</b>
RDBs	10,240,920	12,909,525
Sanasa Development Bank	2,309,506	2,069,080
Co-operative Rural Banks	22,276,954	8,144,916
NGOs/Companies	2,083,931	2,139,695
Samurdhi	11,761,000	3,692,000

\*In `000 LKR

Source: CGAP survey 2005

The deposits and outstanding loan portfolios of a few of the key microfinance actors are given in Table 4 above. Regional Development Banks (RDBs) cover all regions except for the North and East. Donor agencies such as the World Bank, ADB and IFAD provide credit lines for specific target groups through specific projects (e.g. the Dry Zone Livelihood Support and Partnership project of IFAD which has a credit line meant only for very poor dry zone farmers and non farm businesses in chosen dry zone districts). These credit lines are given at a subsidised rate of 4% to the country in order to go towards access to credit for isolated communities who are not touched by the formal network.

Co-operatives, primarily Rural Banks have 1,476 branches all over Sri Lanka including the North and East and the Thrift and Credit Co-operatives have over 5,000 societies again spread throughout the island. Samurdhi with over a 1,000 banks island-wide is the largest government programme with an outreach to large numbers of rural customers who were not in the formal sector before. NGOs led by SEEDS, WDF Hambantota, BRAC and around ten national level NGO MFIs such as CCF and Arthacharya Foundation, Vision Fund, Agro Micro and Sewa Finance and over 300 others at district level also provide credit to small farmers and the rural community. Even private sector agencies such as Ceylinco Grameen Credit, and LakJaya, have a huge outreach in populated areas.

Despite a draft Act that has been around for over three years stating that NGOs must create separate MFIs thus separating microfinance work from other work, this has actually happened only in three INGO programmes (World Vision, Berendina and CCF) and three local NGOs (Sarvodaya, Agro Mart and Sewa Lanka) with only a few more like Arthacharya Padanama and Pragathiseva Padanama planning to create

separate MFIs. LOLC, which was mainly involved in micro lending for solar home systems for electrification, has also established a separate MFI recently. However, outside of these, agencies such as WDF and BRAC (INGO) have programmes that initiated specialising in microfinance. This shows that still very few players in the NGO sector at national level have a specialised microfinance programme. NGO MFIs such as SEEDS and WDF Hambantota are operationally profitable. However, weaknesses in operational efficiencies in these organisations cast doubt on their overall sustainability in the long term. The sustainability of other programmes is even more unsure.

From the private sector we have Ceylinco Grameen Credit and Lakjaya also specialising in microfinance. The Samurdhi microfinance programme and PAMP/Isuru from the government and TCCS from the Co-operative sector stand out as specialised microfinance programmes. But the sustainability of Samurdhi, the largest microfinance programme in the island, is very questionable as it depends on a huge government subsidy that pays the salaries of over 10,000 workers in this programme. Subsidization of microfinance in such a far reaching programme has affected the sector and the market. The government subsidies are the key reason why banks are reluctant to enter this sector, the key exception being Hatton National Bank with their well known "Gami Pubudu" programme and of course Regional Development Banks with Isuru (IFAD/CIDA funded) and PAMP Projects (JBIC funded).

From a more formal microfinance point of view the main existing credit lines are:

- Second Perennial Crops Development Project - Government Funds – This is for commercialisation of perennial crops.
- Tea Development Project – Government funds – To assist the enhancement of tea smallholders' income by developing the necessary infrastructure.
- New Comprehensive Credit Scheme – Funds of participating banks together with an interest subsidy by the government - Provision of working capital for small farmers and for purchase of agriculture commodities under forward contracts.
- Krushi Navodaya Scheme – Funds of participating Banks and an interest subsidy of the government - Provision of medium term loans for activities in agriculture and animal husbandry.
- Matale Regional Economic Advancement Project – IFAD – To raise the income of rural and non farm families in Matale by providing funds for small and medium enterprises.

- Sabaragamuwa Provincial IRDP – Government funds – Upliftment of living conditions of the people in the project area by promoting income generation activities.
- Dry-Zone Livelihood Support and Partnership Programme – IFAD – Poverty alleviation and income generation amongst the poor families in selected dry zone areas.
- Smallholder Plantation and Entrepreneurship Development Programme – IFAD and USAID - Improving livelihoods of marginalised smallholders of tea and other perennial crops in Uva.
- Small Farmers and Landless Credit Project Revolving Fund – Formerly IFAD and CIDA – Setting up effective credit delivery systems to channel formal credit for income generation of rural poor
- Poverty Alleviation Microfinance Programme – JBIC (as above)

(Central Bank 2007)

However, one major defect of the microfinance sector is that, as of now, there is not a single microfinance programme which is known to be financially sustainable with market driven cost structures. WDF Hambantota can be shown as financially sustainable when inflation and subsidy adjustments are taken into account. However, there are large numbers of underpaid staff which is a challenge for long term existence. SEEDS which is 22 years old shows profitability after charging all finance costs. But SEEDS has a very poor Portfolio at Risk of 17.5% for 30 days as of June 2008 and a repayment rate of only 89.5%. Most other NGO MFIs show only operating profits. None of the government programmes such as Samurdhi have attained anything near sustainability. This situation shows how weak the sector is and how only government and donor subsidies have assisted the sector to get off the ground.

## **5. Constraints and Gaps in the Current Supply of and Demand for Microfinance**

Despite the significant outreach that Sri Lankan microfinance has, due to the large network of bank, co-operative, Samurdhi and NGO branches, many remote areas in most rural districts suffer from lack of supply. This is due to the fact that most branches are located in towns or city centres and even microfinance agencies do not work in very remote areas with no road access because of the time and cost involved in forming groups. There is also the perception that such areas do not have much economic opportunity, and are populated by the

poorest. The smaller organisations operating in very rural areas, like the Wilgamuwa and Naula Women's Development Federations which are independent small MFIs, face difficulties in growth due to lack of resources and skills.

Two other major areas where microfinance is lacking is the plantations sector and the North and East of Sri Lanka as shown by the North East Study on Microfinance conducted by GTZ in 2003 which is applicable even today.

Currently two INGOs, Plan International and Stromme Microfinance Institute, and the bi-lateral GTZ with its ProMIS project, work on capacity building in the microfinance sector. ProMIS focuses on a number of MFIs, such as the Microfinance Practitioner Association and capacity development of the Private sector for MF related training and consulting whilst Plan International focuses on SEEDS and the Microfinance Practitioner Association. The Stromme Microfinance Institute provides technical assistance to its partners. ADB with its Rural Finance Sector Development project tried to strengthen NDTF, the Apex lending agency, Samurधि, Regional Development Banks and Rural Co-operative Banks. It also helped in the formulation of the draft Microfinance Act and also brought in CGAP training capacity to Central Bank Training Institute. The National Development Trust Fund (NDTF) also does some capacity building work for its partners.

In terms of capital funds for lending by MFIs, the NGO and certain private sector MFIs undergo serious difficulties. As mentioned elsewhere in the report even foreign borrowing and equity investments are restricted and need case by case approval from the Central Bank.

A major gap from the demand side is the abundance of income generating loans and the paucity of lending for other credit needs. The microfinance revolution initiated by Grameen and implemented in other parts of the world focused primarily on income generation loans. Thus even in Sri Lanka the most prominent loan product available from SEEDS, SANASA, Isuru and such initial microfinance projects and programmes was the income generation loan. Here too most loans were of two or three fixed terms such as six months, one year or two years. The absence of other loan products resulted in the poor getting repeat loans without commensurate expansion of their economic activity. e.g. the same village shop that initially got Rs.10,000 now gets as much as Rs.150,000 even though it has not grown much more than two or three times. Much of the credit was not used for the purpose for which it was taken, but MFIs ignored this as long as loans were repaid.



It took more than 15 years for the microfinance sector to move from this position and it is only now that a few microfinance agencies have realised that “one product fits all” is not a good way to market credit. It is only now that at least a few agencies do market research and product development. Even then most poor families do not have access to micro loans for emergencies, health purposes, purchasing household goods or electrifying their houses.

Another outcome of this emphasis on income generating loans is that a vast majority of the borrowers are economically active, self-employed or micro businessmen, and the poorest who are wage labourers, and primarily agriculture wage labourers, do not have access to credit.

Another gap identified in the ProMiS/GTZ survey was the absence of “Credit Plus” services. The survey showed that only 5% of those who received microfinance had actually received credit plus services in terms of skills training, marketing and technology assistance. Only Samurdhi and SEEDS supplied this service to a reasonable level whilst other MFIs and banks were very poor in providing credit plus services.

The ProMiS study showed from a provincial level analysis that the North Western, Uva and Eastern Provinces had the least access to financial services. From a district-wise analysis, average borrowing per household was shown to be least in Puttalam, Polonnaruwa, Badulla and Ratnapura. Least savings per house hold were in Badulla, Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. The estate sector was the weakest in access to microfinance services with 25% of families not being able to access savings or credit. The unsurprising fact that the East is short of microfinance services was shown by the finding that districts such as Trincomalee have only 60.7% families accessing financial services whilst in Matara it is as high as 95% of households. However these findings must take into account that the sample size in a province ranged from 110 in the Northern Province, and 176 in the North Central Province to 858 in Western Province while that of a district ranged from 30 for Vavuniya, and 58 for Polonnaruwa to 357 for Colombo.

Sri Lanka commenced serious microfinance programmes such as SEEDS, Isuru, TCCS expansion and Janasaviya as early as the mid 1980's. However, countries which began much later such as Pakistan have qualitatively much better MFIs such as Kashaf and Bangladesh too is way ahead of Sri Lanka from the quality and quantity points of view. The key reason for this situation is the society based model used by SEEDS, TCCS, ISURU, WDF and even Samurdhi. This is also popular amongst smaller NGOs. Some justify this approach as bringing about both social and economic empowerment. But the results of 20

years of work have shown that this model is the single-most important reason for the poor quality of the microfinance sector in Sri Lanka. SEEDS experience shows that approximately 50% of the societies that commenced microfinance activities have become inactive. The situation in SANASA societies is similar although the information is not available in a transparent manner. Most of these societies do not measure even the repayment rate, which is a ratio that is easy to calculate though it is not a very sound indicator of efficiency. They do not know the quality of the portfolio, which is the best indicator to measure quality, leave alone measuring it. Therefore, this model does not enable the best practices of the sector to be used; it depends on the poor and changing governance of society leadership. Even now, annually, a large number of SEEDS and TCCS societies wind up due to poor leadership, governance and management. In contrast to this, the simple group approach, followed by most Bangladesh and Pakistan MFIs including ASA, BRAC and Grameen, has seen better results. A few Sri Lankan MFIs including Ceylinco, Grameen, Lak Jaya, Child Fund and Berendina Microfinance Institute have started following this model. When restructuring existing programmes or introducing new programmes, development aid should be careful to introduce models which work in rural settings with high success rates, easy and quick expansion potential, and financial and long term sustainability.

Most MFIs, large and small, moved for automation in the recent past. GTZ-ProMiS supported eight MFIs including three RDB's with the banking software called 'Micro-Banker'. Other, locally developed banking software such as SENOVA and SOTFWATH and RAJEEDA are also used by many small and medium size MFIs. While this effort has improved the cost effectiveness of the service, it should be noted that there are a large number of known and unknown issues faced by users. An example of an unknown issue is that loan loss provisioning is not featured in most of these software programmes. The major reason is inadequate microfinance related technical know-how, in MFIs as well as software companies, to accommodate these concerns such as understanding MFI accounting principles and practices and the need for loan tracking systems. If these concerns are not addressed immediately there is a danger of inaccurate FIS and MIS being used at MFI level. There were efforts for designing tailored software for larger MFIs which has not brought positive results over the last 2-3 years due to more or less the same reasons.

A summary of strengths and weaknesses of the Sri Lankan microfinance sector was carried out in the CGAP study in 2005.

### **Strengths**

- Diverse institutions and services (Government, Bank, Co-operative, NGO and Private)
- Significant savings culture – Review team estimated that there are 15 million savings accounts in MFIs

### **Challenges (or weaknesses)**

- Lack of transparency – The CGAP team had great difficulty in getting quality acceptable information
- Fragile institutions – Lack of sustainability in MFIs
- Widespread involvement of public sector with heavy subsidy on operational costs
- Lack of specialisation in financial services – Only six NGOs have so far separated microfinance work from other work and even programmes such as Samurdhi have mixed credit plus work and credit.

## **6. Issues Related to Micro Insurance**

Micro Insurance is defined as “protection of low-income people against specific perils in exchange for a pre-specified payment determined in proportion to the likelihood and cost of the risk involved and made in advance” (Churchill 2006). Poor people work in hazardous jobs, live in marginal, hazardous lands, do not have food, sanitation, clean water etc which makes them more susceptible to death, illness and injury, and most importantly, makes them less able to cope with the consequences of death, illness and injury. The frequency and financial impacts of these risks are greater for the poor than it is for the non-poor population. Their low ability to cope with these risks makes them very vulnerable.

In India, research has shown that the reason for people who were above the poverty to have subsequently fallen below the poverty line by as much as 25% is ill health in the family. The poorest are not self employed but are labourers. All labourers cease to have any income if they fall ill or have to care for a family member who is sick. Among the self employed poor too health insurance is critical where other family members cannot do the small business or service when the main person is ill. Health insurance can therefore address one of the most frequent causes of poverty, ill health. Micro insurance also provides a solution to two other important causes of poverty – death and disability.

In most developing countries like Sri Lanka, insurance is not a developed market. Insurance penetration in Sri Lanka is only 1.6% (Fernando 2007). Thus very few poor people have insurance. The characteristics of the micro insurance market today is similar to the microfinance market 25 years ago, defined by limited outreach; very high transaction costs; absence of viable operations; few large-scale commercial operators; extensive government intervention and lots of skepticism about the future. Poor and low-income people can benefit from a range of insurance services, especially health and life insurance, and agricultural insurance.

The biggest expansion is in credit-life insurance with a few MFIs offering this relatively simple service. This primarily benefits the MFI as it covers the amount of the debt of the client to that MFI. Second biggest is probably life insurance, including accident disability and the third is health insurance. Agriculture insurance, especially crop insurance, is another product in demand. But as stated earlier not even 1% of the rural poor is covered by insurance. From the demand side there is an intense need, but relatively low demand due to the fact that poor people have a limited understanding of the potential benefits of insurance, and some even display negative attitudes. The lack of appropriate products for the poor is also a major limitation.

Another major constraint is high transaction cost and a mind-set among mainstream suppliers which is skeptical about profit potential in micro insurance. Another limitation, as in microfinance, is supply-driven products and complex/inappropriate policies. However, limited delivery channels are probably the biggest constraint. Another constraint is limited reinsurance opportunities (Fernando 2007).

But despite this there is an emerging understanding of the importance of micro insurance as a poverty alleviation tool. This was partly triggered by microfinance agencies, but now donors as well as the private sector are seeing the potential in this market. The Sri Lankan government has also seen the importance of micro insurance.

The most important of the products currently available in Sri Lanka is government introduced "crop insurance" provided by the Agricultural and Agrarian Insurance Board (AAIB). This board was established in 1973, through the Agrarian Insurance Act, under the Ministry of Agriculture, to provide insurance and assurance to farmers, their crops and harvest, livestock, agricultural equipments, and machines, as well as their life and health.

AAIB has introduced crop insurance schemes for all crops, for all types of livestock and for all farm machinery and equipment. To secure the harvest, AAIB has introduced insurance schemes for the storage of paddy. The organisation has also instituted the only pension scheme available for farmers.

Outside of this there are a few other private agencies that provide micro insurance. MFIs such as SANASA (Sanasa Insurance), Samurdhi and HNB Assurance/SEEDS have their own in-house credit insurance. An innovative scheme was introduced by Rabo Bank in Netherlands partnering a local NGO named All Ceylon Community Development Council. The product was named Yasiru and has been in existence since 2000. The NGO now has twelve other NGO partners whose clients are insured with them. However, it is not called insurance since it is not a legally acceptable insurance product. They have 12,203 policies with twelve NGO partners (8,132 female and 4,071 male). Another newer legal product was developed by SEEDS and HNB Assurance. However, despite two years in operation only 136 people from all the SEEDS clients have taken this policy.

## **7. What Can Be Done to Improve Access to Microfinance**

Development agencies specifically IFAD should pay attention to the recommendations of the study on “donors of microfinance” done by the 2005 CGAP CLEAR study referred to earlier. It made the following recommendations for donors to strengthen their programmes:

### ***Short Term Recommendations***

- Assess the quantity and quality of financial services available (already undertaken by GTZ - ProMis)
- Define and apply minimum conditions for donor funding - Recommendations are good management, focus on poor populations, transparency, growth potential, size, level of specialisation in microfinance, staff capacity and vision
- Determine the right balance between funds for capital and capacity building – this is an important recommendation which gives large capital lines but gives only small amounts for capacity building. Capital is required for MFs, especially for NGO and private sector providers. The few alternatives available at the moment, NDTF, PAMP, ETIMOSE and ECLDF, have limitations with regards to fund availability. NGOs and the private sector do not have the legal right to mobilise savings which is a reliable source of funds at a reasonable cost.

### **Medium Term Recommendations**

- Focus support on existing promising institutions and not on projects - This is also very important as some development agencies has not focused on MFI institution building in the past but has given credit lines. The only major institution building so far is at village level except in the Isuru project where after the project was over they formed Federated societies at district level. But, as discussed earlier in the paper, this approach of forming societies for microfinance is not a sustainable solution with a high rate of society failure after the project or credit line ends.
- Provide performance-based assistance in a transparent manner - Once an institution is chosen, the funding agency should use performance based contracts with funding tied to (i) growth and outreach (ii) portfolio quality (iii) progress towards self-sufficiency

### **Long Term Recommendations**

- Facilitate MFI consolidation and scale up
- Emphasis on private institutions for credit delivery

One major new development is the proposed plan to amalgamate the six Regional Development Banks into one single Development Bank. This is now under study by the Ministry of Finance. This gives an opportunity for development aid to help create this new entity based on best practices. The setting up of the institute can also include research into new products required by the markets, market gaps, staff strengthening, and creating new systems and procedures. New credit lines based on identified market gaps and rural needs can be an important boost to the new organisation. It is also possible to look at bank-NGO partnerships as was done in ISURU and PAMP projects.

Developing projects with a strong "Credit Plus" component is one area on which all development aid must focus. Due to the institutional bias towards "credit" and the existence of a developed industry in rural finance and microfinance, most projects stress on credit. But as most studies show, the problems faced by the rural poor of Sri Lanka cannot be solved by credit alone. A significant number of people who have accessed credit claiming it is for income generating purposes are in fact using it for consumption and asset development. This is due to the lack of opportunities to expand existing businesses. A significant number do not access credit for income generation as they do not have skills

to create products that have a market. Projects that commence with skills development, and marketing assistance and then use credit to supplement such services is what the poor require and not just more and more access to credit. However, experience shows that microfinance and credit plus or business development services (BDS) are two services which the same group of people may not be able to manage.

Clients' unwillingness to pay the BDS costs is a major challenge. However, innovative approaches to addressing these issues are being experimented with by many organisations. It is important to increase the utilisation of loans for the intended purpose. Material credit will be an effective approach to address this need. However, it is better to provide credit in cash or a cheque to the borrower and organise borrowers to purchase inputs in bulk in order to avoid the potential risk of weak repayment due to the poor quality of inputs and other associated reasons.

Another area that development agencies including IFAD can focus on in a project is "Capacity Building for Microfinance" Regarding capacity building, NDTF does some work but is not very strong. Stromme develops the capacity of its credit partners, and ProMiS is a GTZ project involving a number of NGO's and RDB's. ADB, through its Rural Finance Sector Development Project, tried to develop the Central Bank's Training Institute as a credible training institute but this has not brought forward the results envisaged. SEEDS and a few other agencies, both private and public, also conduct training programmes in the microfinance sector. The University of Colombo commenced a Diploma Programme in Microfinance in October 2008. Another diploma programme will be commenced by the Institute of Bankers of Sri Lanka (IBSL). But overall, the sector does not have adequate quality training and capacity building institutes. In fact, there is no place available for most MFIs to go to when they seek capacity building assistance. GTZ-ProMiS is in the right direction as they are developing the capacity of private suppliers.

With regard to microfinance policy and capacity building, a major achievement by the industry in the recent past was forming the Lanka Microfinance Practitioners Association (LMPA). The LMPA has members comprising of national, regional and local level MFIs mainly in the NGO and private sector. The other stakeholders of the industry, such as BDS providers, policy makers, trainers and consulting companies, are also associate members of the LMPA. The LMPA can be taken as a focal point for MF capacity building and the policy related work of some development agencies in order to make it a more meaningful service to the industry.

But the most important task in capacity building is the task left undone by the ADB Rural Finance Sector Development Project. The main areas where attention is required are:

- Making Samurdhi microfinance self sustaining with no dependence on the government
- Making Co-operative Rural Banks independent of the Multi Purpose Co-operative Societies and making them viable
- Strengthening the National Development Trust Fund to be an independent, autonomous, strong, apex organisation capable of funding as well as providing strong capacity building assistance to MFIs
- Re-structuring Regional Development Banks

Unless these are done, the entire sector, as well as a large number of depositor funds, is at risk.

The Microfinance Act has been in the draft stage for over three years keeping the industry in an abyss. This is a major blow as NGO MFIs still cannot mobilise savings from the general public. This situation is aggravated with the mushrooming of illegal finance companies, resulting in a reluctance to save in legal member based CBOs and even in rural level TCCS and other co-operative societies. Development agencies, specifically IFAD should lobby with other donors to ensure that the Microfinance Act is either approved or that a self regulating mechanism is developed. The donors must also assist the government to develop the capacity to monitor MFIs or more ideally help the sector to form a self regulated system of monitoring.

Another key shortcoming from a policy perspective is the lack of a National Microfinance Policy. This has resulted in a great misunderstanding of the role of microfinance with senior government servants as well as politicians constantly stressing on low interest rates as the key need of the sector. It has also resulted in the frequent write-off of farmers' loans. Some dialogue on this has been initiated by LMPA.

Geographically and from a poverty point of view, the North East is a very important area that development agencies including IFAD must move since they have not yet done any substantial work in the area. All studies, including the North East Microfinance study of 2002 and the more recent GTZ ProMis study, have given adequate evidence to show how behind the North East is in terms of access to finance. There is never a perfect time, nor any clear data on when relief work will be



over and development work will begin. Development agencies must use the opportunity now created in the East where frontal war is no longer taking place and major LTTE camps do not exist. Whilst other agencies such as the World Bank have been implementing development projects in the North and East for over a decade, some development agencies including IFAD have been more conservative. One area in which they can help is the development of the Regional Development Bank for the East. In the North, a project which strengthens the Rural Co-operative Banks may be an option, as in the past the north was very strong in the co-operative movement, especially their Rural banks. In addition to the North East microfinance needs to be strengthened in Puttalam, Badulla, and Moneragala.

In addition, one of the poorest regions in terms of outreach of microfinance is the tea plantations sector inhabited by those of recent Indian origin. A microfinance programme together with a project to convert them from labour to smallholders even on a pilot basis may be valid due to the increasing reluctance of labour to work in estates in the current form. Support for new and appropriate products and greater access to rural credit for smallholder agricultural farmers is also needed. Technology to develop new products and capital for piloting such products will be useful. Awareness raising among farmers about existing microfinance institutes is also required and will be an effective support to the existing MFIs to improve their outreach. Social mobilisation, helping group formation etc will be activities supported for outreach expansion.

Donor assistance should also focus on insurance, including crop insurance, for farmers and the poor in general. Attention should be given to strengthening the Agrarian Insurance Board which is the primary crop insurance and farmer pension providing organisation. Micro insurance for life and health of the rural poor should also be developed together with MFIs and private insurance providers as strategic partnerships.

One of the major defects is the lack of capacity of MFIs to measure the impact of their work. Donors could include assistance to develop this capacity and should always include funds for collecting baseline data on income and other key indicators of borrowers so that the impact of change can be measured later on.

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# 6

## **RURAL INSTITUTIONS**

***Dulan de Silva***



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## **Abbreviations**

ARPA	Agriculture Research and Production Assistant
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CRB	Cooperative Rural Banks
CTC	Ceylon Tobacco Company
FSC	Forward Sales Contract
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
MPCS	Multi Purpose Cooperative Society
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
TCCS	Thrift and Credit Co-operative Societies

## Executive Summary

This paper describes the different levels of institutions - government, private sector and non-governmental - that impact on the livelihoods of rural people.

Government institutions have a significant reach into rural areas, especially the Department of Agrarian Services, that runs the *Govi Jana Kendrayas* that serve as a one-stop shop for farmers in many divisions in Sri Lanka, and provide the lowest link with farmers. However, the ability of these organisations to provide dynamic support to the farmer is constrained by a number of factors, such as the lack of funding, lack of skilled or qualified personnel and politicisation. Agriculture is a devolved subject, and while the provincial departments of agriculture are technically stronger, the lack of coordination, and unhealthy competition between them and the central government agencies, limit the way in which they can optimise their skills. Livestock extension has better penetration mostly because it is 'informally privatised' with farmers paying extension officers for their services. The Samurdhi programme can be credited as enabling microfinance to spread significantly at the rural level, even though its targeting of welfare benefits might be somewhat misplaced. One of the least publicised sectoral institutions, but one that is providing an important service to farmers, is the Agriculture and Agrarian Insurance Board (AAIB). The AAIB covers the whole island and in 2007, 950,000 farmers were paying premiums for pensions and 55,125 farmers took crop and product insurance. Currently subsidised by the government, the AAIB has a goal of becoming self-reliant in two years, and is therefore developing a range of new products for farm insurance.

The paper discusses the proliferation of peoples' organisations in Sri Lanka, to which a large number of rural women and men belong. These organisations are very often dominated by elites, and it is not unusual to see that the same people are office bearers of the different societies that prevail in a village. Many of these societies, with the notable exception of the Death Donation Society and Samurdhi, exclude the poorest people. Community based organisations play a significant role in water management around irrigation schemes, and in savings and credit. These organisational forms pre-date the current development assistance phases of Sri Lanka's history, and reflect the usefulness of the organisation to local people. The 'seetu' system – a revolving credit form where members contribute a fixed sum and then draw from the collective pool – also continues to be popular as a savings and credit mechanism despite the growth of microfinance institutions.



Private Sector involvement in the rural sector is primarily related to the services/products that they sell and the products they wish to purchase. There is no market for a privatised general extension service, given that the government is subsidising these services. But the government itself is unable to adequately provide these services for the various reasons mentioned above.

New institutions and institutional arrangements have been developed to resolve some of the marketing issues that the farming sector faces. These include experiments with forward contracting, collection centres set up by food retailers such as Cargills and Keells, and outgrower relationships where farmers grow products with clear specifications for a defined market, and enjoy a buy back guarantee from the marketer, or exporter.

Donor assisted projects have attempted to build institutions by strengthening participation and developing capacity of rural political and technocratic institutions. The impact has often not lasted beyond the life of the project.

The paper describes some key strategies for revitalising the rural institutions and suggests that development agencies works on building institutions in the north and the east, strengthen organisations like the multi-purpose cooperative societies, the Agriculture and Agrarian Insurance Board, and Samurdhi, all of which have the potential to be of considerable support to the rural poor.

## **1. Introduction**

Rural Poverty stems from a multitude of factors ranging from the lack of access to capital, land, education including vocational training, market information and technology. It is also a result of poor roads and telecommunication facilities, uneven markets, inadequacy of irrigation water, poor soil, poor governance, and weak or faulty institutions. Personal qualities such as the lack of an enterprising nature, laziness and lack of ambition also contribute to poverty.

This paper will deal with the role that rural institutions should play in promoting rural livelihoods and analyse the effectiveness of rural institutions in meeting this objective. It will discuss how rural institutions affect the quality of life of farmers, off-farm businessmen and women, by providing the services essential to making a decent livelihood. It will suggest a few areas where development assistance can enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of rural institutions. North defines institutions as "the humanly-devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interactions" (North 1991:97). Thus non-state institutions also include social institutions, values and norms. Therefore even ethnicity and gender which are still very pronounced in Sri Lanka are also important institutions that affect poverty.

## **2. Farmers' and Rural People's Expectations of Rural Institutions and the Quality of Service Provided by Rural Institutions**

Some of the key services that rural people expect from rural institutions are as follows:

- Extension and advice on new technology, cropping patterns, agribusiness etc.
- Quality inputs such as seeds, fertiliser, farm equipment, animals etc.
- Ease of registration of businesses and freedom to operate them
- Access to markets
- Information on prices, trends and markets
- Easy access to savings, credit, insurance and other financial services
- Processing opportunities

But the services on offer leave much to be desired. The government institutional frame work to serve the poor is complex and weak and its performance is poor. This is primarily due to the lack of co-ordination amongst the institutions, politicisation, lack of funds, and poor motivation of staff. A clear role identification amongst each of the actors is required. The fund raising ability of local government is weak. There is very little partnership with the private sector and research institutions. The private sector, on the other hand, works only in economically successful areas and neglects distant and remote areas where more poverty exists.

Key co-operative institutions such as Multi Purpose Co-operative Societies (MPCS) and Rural Banks are on the decline due to lack of business and politicisation. Rural Banks are jeopardised due to weak MPCSs controlling and misusing their assets, including deposits. Thrift and Credit Co-operative Societies (TCCS) are also on the decline due to greater focus by the movement on the Sanasa Bank. Samurdhi<sup>1</sup> is a highly subsidised and politicised job bank.

NGOs, especially in the south, are also on the decline due to a lack of funding. Key sectors, such as microfinance, are in a situation of uncertainty because the government has not gone through with the draft Microfinance Act and so NGOs are unable to access savings to replace lost access to donors.

The local government, especially the Pradeshiya Sabhas, are weak due to lack of funding, politics and corruption.

Private sector institutions are playing an increasingly important role in agriculture and energy in rural areas. More markets are being developed and many small market centres have evolved into bigger markets.

The plantation sector needs to move from its dependence on Plantation Management to mainstream service supply. Plantations also suffer from lack of empowerment and the dependency attitude inculcated in the workers. The decline and insufficiency of the capacity of support systems and institutions that serve the plantation workers, especially health, housing and sanitation, have resulted in the inability of the sector to grow, compared to rural and urban sectors. The East, as well as the army controlled areas of the North, need re-vitalisation of the entire rural institution network. The need to revive rural institutions in the East and other war affected areas is paramount.

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<sup>1</sup> Government national programme for the poverty alleviation

Another major area which needs attention is the lack of partnership between government agencies, the government, NGOs, and the private sector. In the absence of this, each actor with limited resources is trying to serve the public with little or weak results. Sections that follow explain, in more detail, the quality of service provided by some selected key rural institutions.

### **3. Ideal Scenario**

The ideal scenario for Sri Lanka is where farmers get all the services they want in terms of advice, training, technology, and new planting methods, on a fee basis for those advanced farmers who can pay and at subsidised rates for poorer farmers. Also, an ideal scenario implies that all inputs such as seeds, fertiliser, good quality animals and other inputs are provided at market prices for those who can afford them. Credit at market rates based on group collateral should be available for those who cannot afford to make direct cash payments for these goods and services. In an ideal scenario the rural roads will be good, and transporters will come close to farms or there will be good collection centres close to the farm. The ideal scenario will also have a good transport, collection and packing system with less wastage. The ideal scenario involves less middle men, more direct access to retail markets and less in-between buyers. In the ideal scenario farmers will not be pressured to sell immediately after the harvest for a low price, but there will be credit given for the stock which they can sell at better prices later. The ideal scenario will have agriculture and import policies which encourage the local farmers by imposing a duty on imported farm produce. In the ideal scenario there will also be effective crop insurance programmes which take away the risks of crop-loss due to bad weather or disease.

There will also be effective Farmers' Associations, which will buy inputs in bulk, sell in bulk, have a sound savings and credit system and even undertake some storing and processing of produce and link with private sector companies to sell produce. In the ideal scenario over 50% of farmers will sell directly to the private sector not just less than 10% as it is now.

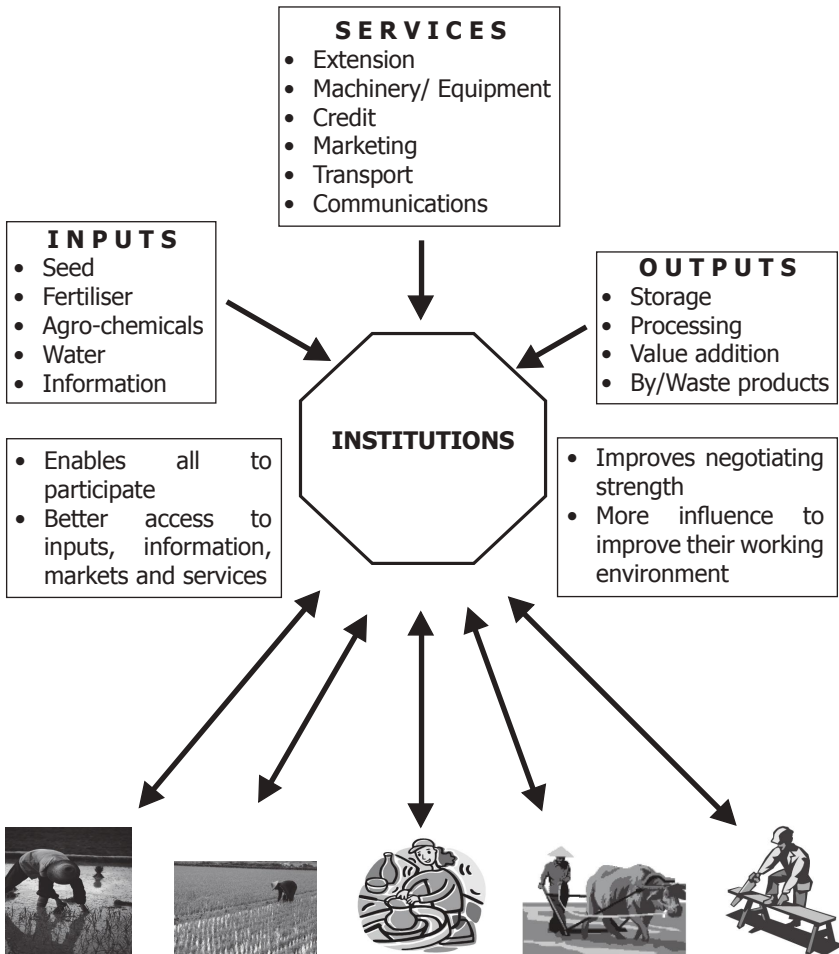
In an ideal scenario, strong farmers' organisations with the immediate support of the Irrigation and Agrarian Department will renovate and maintain all tanks in perfect order. In an ideal scenario, government departments will work in close co-ordination with each other, politicians will not treat departments as job bank and potential areas to make

some money but will, instead, see how best they can serve them. In the ideal scenario, the quality of life of farmers and off-farm businessmen will improve due to the assistance given by rural institutions to make a decent living. Farms and non-farm businesses will improve with the enhanced income received by farmers and off-farm businessmen and produce better quality products and services due to the better quality service provided by sound rural institutions.

In an ideal scenario farmers will have risk mitigating tools such as crop insurance and will also have the security of pensions.

#### 4. Reality - types of rural institutions that affect the livelihoods of small farmers and rural poor, and the key target groups served by rural institutions

Figure 4.1 Role of institutions in linking rural producers, inputs, services, and output channels



Most governmental services to the rural population are currently decentralised to the local government, starting with provincial government. These include:

- Agriculture extension
- Agrarian services
- Livestock
- Village roads
- Market sites (Polas)
- Registration of small businesses

Some key services which are still under central government control are Samurdhi, Tea Small-Holder Authority, Grama Sevaka and Divisional Secretary services.

Other service providers include key co-operative institutions such as MPCS, Rural Banks and Thrift and Credit Co-operatives, and NGOs and CBOs of various types, some formed by the villagers themselves (such as Funeral Aid societies), some by the government (Samurdhi Society, Farmer Society etc.), some by the Co-operative Movement and some by NGOs and donor projects. These include a range of microfinance institutions.

Private sector institutions that provide services to the rural sector include those organisations that supply seeds and other inputs, farm machinery, and equipment, farm machinery repair shops, buyers of produce, transporters, credit suppliers and processing institutions.

Social institutions such as caste, gender, ethnicity also have a major bearing on rural poverty.

This paper deals with rural institutions that support livelihoods in the rural sector such as:

- Small farmers in paddy, vegetable, and other horticulture products
- Small holders of cash crops such as tea, spices, rubber and other crops
- Livestock and poultry keepers
- Non-farm businessmen and women
- Artisans
- Unskilled labour

Rural institutions play a key role in the livelihoods of dry zone farmers, farmers around irrigated tanks, people of the North East, and tea plantation workers. The more remote the area, the more important government services become due to the lack of penetration of market forces. For example, the dependence of remote rural villages in Moneragala or Badulla on co-operatives is far higher than in more economically active areas.

Currently, the lowest level government servant who interacts with rural as well as urban people is the Grama Sevaka. One such official is appointed to each Grama Sevaka division. His or her role includes:

- Signing applications for identity cards
- Certifying knowledge of the person and his or her residence for official and security purposes
- Giving approval to cut defined trees
- Signing electoral lists

#### **4.1 Department of Agrarian Services**

This is a department headed by the Commissioner of Agrarian Services with branch offices in every district. Below the district offices they have units in the Govi Jana Kendraya, which is headed by an officer of this department titled Divisional Officer, and is a combined office for all the departments dealing with farmers. The Govi Jana Kendraya has representatives from the following offices:

- 1) Agrarian Department
- 2) Provincial Agriculture Department
- 3) Provincial Livestock Department
- 4) Agrarian and Agriculture Insurance Board

The Agrarian Services department is the lowest level of contact with farmers through its Agriculture, Research and Production Assistants. The department also has an engineer at the district level. The units at which contact is made are the small irrigation tanks which come under this department's management. Creation and management of Farmer Organisations also come under this department. The lowest level staff member above the Grama Sevaka who affects, or should affect, farmers and the rural population is the Agriculture, Research and Production Assistant (ARPA). In Anuradhapura, for example, there are 593 ARPAs. They are basically Ordinary Level Examination passed members of staff



of the Agrarian Department. They are trained in short courses and are expected to be the direct link between farmers, farmers' organisations and the government service.

One of the key local institutions that the government helped to build and keeps links with through the Agrarian Research Production Assistants of the Agrarian Department are Farmer Organisations. In Anuradhapura, there are 1442 registered active farmer organisations formed mostly around 2150 small irrigation tanks. They are responsible for collective water management, and many carry out basic maintenance but expect government or donor/NGO projects to do any significant repairs. Most of them also have some savings and credit programmes but these are implemented so badly that most do not have an adequate credit fund to meet the credit needs of even 20% of the farmers in the area.

The ideal scenario we would expect for this department is that it would be staffed by Agriculture and Engineering graduates and by Diploma-holders in Agriculture at ARPA level. They would have a close rapport with the Agriculture department and Irrigation department and get technical assistance and technology from them. Each ARPA would be responsible for a certain number of tanks and farmers' societies and they would be rewarded on the achievement of good results by these societies, for example the volume of savings and credit, loan repayment rates, quality of maintenance and water management. The staff would be well trained in social mobilisation and microfinance. They would develop a close rapport with farmers through sound social mobilisation and create strong self-reliant farmers' organisations. In an ideal scenario, farmers would get quick resolutions to any problems with irrigation water, on-field advice on crops and inputs, and access to credit.

In reality, however, most of the staff are not qualified in engineering or agriculture. They are given very little training and a small salary and hence are not motivated. In fact ARPAs are only qualified in the ordinary level examination. Even the most senior officials, such as Assistant Commissioners, are not agriculture graduates but come from administrative services. Their most important task has been reduced to the distribution of subsidised fertiliser. Due to inadequate budgets and technical capacity the department is neither able to renovate an adequate number of minor tanks, nor conduct a strong microfinance programme for farmers. Due to poor social mobilisation most farmer organisations are not strong or cohesive. Most farm organisations also have a very small fund which is inadequate to meet the credit needs of the farmers. Hence, unless there is a major review and re-organisation

of the department, it is more a job bank than an institution useful to farmers.

If the government is interested and donors are brave enough to take up the challenge, this department is one which can make a major contribution to the lives of farmers if reviewed together in close partnership with the technically superior Provincial Agriculture Department and Provincial Irrigation Department.

## **4.2 Govi Jana Kendra**

This is the office which is at divisional level in all farming districts and is closest to the farmer. In addition to the agricultural officers it houses, it also provides space for a state bank and for an official from the Agriculture and Agrarian Insurance Board who visits once or twice a month from the district office. Depending on the space, a few other agencies, such as Department of Animal Production and Health also house themselves in the office. For example, the Tirrapane office houses some of the IFAD Dry Zone Development Project staff.

In a farming area, such as the Tirrapane division in Anuradhapura, there can be as many as 33 staff members attached to the Agrarian Department in one Kendraya. Of this, as many as 28 are Agrarian Production and Research Assistants. The Anuradhapura district has 40 Govi Jana Kendrayas. The Agriculture department has only two officers working in the Kendra office, one of whom is a Agriculture Instructor (AI) and is also a graduate in agriculture. The AI basically deals with agriculture extension, both at the office and in the field. But the DO and ARPAs normally deal with legal and other service provision activities such as, rehabilitation and maintenance of minor irrigation structures, supplying of seeds, planting material and fertiliser for farmers, participating in FO meetings, awareness raising on agriculture related work etc. The DO and ARPAs meet weekly at their office and discuss their programmes. The AI also joins them when it is required. Besides this, the DO and AI keep close communication.

In addition, there is also an Agrarian Service Committee (Govijana Seva Karaka Sabhawa), which is represented by five government officers including the DO, AI, and a representative from the Divisional Secretary office, a representative from the Coconut Cultivation Board, Cashew Corporation or such agencies relevant to the division, and ten Farmer organisation representatives (from ten farmer organisations). They meet monthly and discuss matters related to agriculture development activities.

In theory, the Govi Jana Kendraya is a very useful one-stop office for farmers and farm-related activity, especially of an agricultural nature. The division of labour between the Agriculture Department for providing technical assistance and the Agrarian Department for ground level extension makes sense. The intention of coordinating the work of the few important departments that affect farmers is also good.

But in practice, the lack of co-ordination and co-operation between government departments, which ails the government sector everywhere, takes its toll. The Agriculture department thinks itself as elitist for two reasons: because they are staffed with strong agriculture-related professionals and also because of the politicisation and weaknesses of the Agrarian department which makes it difficult for it to carry out an agreed programme. It is critical that the entire institutional structure be reviewed and a formula which gives greater benefit to the farmer from this huge expense now spent on staff and overheads devised.

### **4.3 Provincial Agriculture Department (PAD)**

Agriculture is a devolved subject under the 13th amendment to the constitution and has been the responsibility of the Provincial Councils since the 1990s. There is a Provincial Office in each province and Agriculture Officers named Agriculture Instructors are stationed in every Govi Jana Kendraya. Thus, every Agriculture Officer is responsible for about 2000 to 3000 hectares.

In an ideal world this department, together with the Agrarian Department and Irrigation Department, would be transferring the most modern technology and agribusiness skills to the farmers.

But in reality they do not have the time or the facilities to meet even a hundred farmers a month. In 1999-2000, only about 13% of households reported having received technical assistance from a government extension officer (World Bank 2003: 28 - Table 3.6). But in many cases, lack of motivation of the staff is also a major barrier.

Another barrier is that public agricultural extension services are organised along traditional commodity lines and use little knowledge of advanced production and management techniques associated with higher value agriculture. The fact remains that neither the research nor the extension system is geared to respond to the needs of the more commercial agribusiness sector (Abeyratne 2006).

Another important shortcoming is the poor co-ordination between agriculture extension and agriculture research done by the Central

government, and also with the Agrarian Department at field level. The staff also lacks modern agribusiness skills needed in order to provide the same to farmers. Donor-funded projects such as NEIPA, IFAD Dry Zone Project, JICA's PEACE and NGO projects, come to the rescue of farmers as well as the department by forming farmer and community groups as well as by paying the travel costs of the Agriculture and Livestock officers. But this is not a sustainable solution and donors and the government should look at more sustainable ways of making the department able to meet its mandate and ensure that farmers gain from the expertise of these officers. Alternative sustainable ways of providing agriculture extent must be experimented with and institutionalised.

#### **4.4 Provincial Livestock Department**

The department has a provincial office and offices for each district as well as veterinary officers for each division with significant livestock population. But this department also has an officer below the veterinary officer called the Livestock Development Instructor (LDI) who is in the field more often. Farmers are in the Sri Lankan habit of paying such officers when they visit and carry out some service. Hence, like most government services, this field is also informally privatised. This practice ensures that more of the livestock department's services reach the farmers than that of the agriculture department which does not have an equivalent close position to the farmer.

#### **4.5 Central and provincial level irrigation**

This is also a key institution in the lives of the farmers. Central Irrigation is responsible for the main tanks, and Provincial Irrigation for the medium and small tanks, while they also have the support of the Agrarian department.

In an ideal scenario this department would be able to renovate and maintain all tanks with maximum farmer participation. Instead, most of the budget is dedicated to salaries and overheads and very little funds are left to renovate and maintain tanks.

#### **4.6 Samurdhi**

This is the most politicised of all rural government institutions, with field level staff members brazenly used for political purposes prior to elections. The department carries out a monthly cash payment to the poor, conducts a microfinance programme based on the savings of the

poor, and does infrastructure work and other “credit plus” work. It has banks as well as village societies in virtually every village. Over 30% of the island’s population are members. Samurdhi must be credited for the mass expansion of microfinance in very remote and poor areas. However unless the government, together with donor aid, does not re-structure the programme it will be a major liability to the country due to its unsustainable nature.

#### **4.7 Agriculture and Agrarian Insurance Board**

Established in 1973, the department is one of the less publicised departments, doing an important service for the rural farmer. 950,000 farmers pay premiums for pensions and in 2007, 55,125 farmers took crop and product insurance. Paddy, poultry, maize, cattle and goats were the most popular items insured. The department has its head office in Colombo and has offices in 26 districts, nearly covering the entire island. The officers in the district office work closely with the Agriculture and Agrarian Departments, visiting the Govi Jana Kendra office once a week to meet farmers. The department has a strong team of senior executives, including insurance and agriculture specialists. It is, at the moment, subsidised by the government with salaries of around Rs.34 million a year paid by the state. However, they have been asked to become self reliant in two years and are attempting to develop new products such as life insurance for farmers as well as for the self-employed.

In general, the staff of all these extension agencies need a complete transformation from merely giving extensions for subsistence agriculture to becoming agencies that provide education, technology, business skills and market requirements for agribusiness.

### **5. Local Government and its Role in Assisting the Lives of Farmers and the Rural Poor**

Decentralisation can be defined as the transfer of responsibility for planning, management, and resource mobilisation and allocation from the central government and its agencies to: field units of the central government, ministries or agencies; subordinate units or levels of government; semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations; area-wide regional or functional authorities; or non-governmental, private or voluntary organisations (Rondinelli 1981).

The nature of decentralization varies according to the scope, functions and the degree of responsibility for and discretion in decision-making

that is transferred by the central government. Due to its complexity, it is necessary to distinguish between the major types of decentralisation that have been adopted in developing countries. They can be categorised into four types. I.e. de-concentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation (Rondinelli 1981).

The elements of decentralisation and devolution/establishment of local institutions can be traced to the pre-independence era (before 1948). The country was divided into nine provinces and 19 districts. Below the district level, the structure reflected the traditional spatial administrative organisation with a hierarchy of Headmen. The Government Agent was in charge of the province and was directly accountable to the Governor. From being initially entrusted with revenue collection and the maintenance of law and order, the Government Agent soon came to be in charge of practically every aspect of life in the province. It was largely through the Government Agents that the British consolidated and maintained their authority all over the country.

The government has, since 1987, introduced a number of new administrative, budgeting and institutional changes with the intention of promoting decentralisation and people's participation in planning and development interventions. The system of each district having a Government Agent was virtually dismantled under the Provincial Councils Act of 1987 while the 13th Amendment to the Constitution in 1987 established Provincial Councils. With these changes, three formal levels of state administration came into operation i.e. the Centre - with the President, Prime Minister and Cabinet of Ministers; Province - Provincial Councils; Divisions - Divisional Secretary, Pradeshiya Sabhas, Urban Councils and Municipal Councils.

The Provincial Council supervises divisions and local authorities. At the divisional level, there is also an elected Pradeshiya Sabha operating under the Pradeshiya Sabha Act of 1987. Administration at Divisional level is by a Divisional Secretary (DS) in charge of the Divisional Secretariat. The Divisional Secretary reports to the Chief Secretary on devolved subjects but maintains the functions of Assistant Government Agent (AGA), representing the Government Agent (GA) for non-devolved subjects.

The Government has decided that administration should be decentralised to divisional level. The objective of this proposal is to ensure that the delivery of services to the people is undertaken at the level closest to their place of living. This is to ensure that all operational activities presently performed by the line ministries of the central government, provincial councils and the district administration which directly affect

the people are carried out at the divisional level. The functions of line ministries, departments and provincial councils with respect to these activities will be confined mainly to planning and policy making.

At a micro level, the Pradeshiya Sabha is the most important agency affecting the life of the villager. The Pradeshiya Sabhas were established under Act No.15 of 1987. The Pradeshiya Sabhas Act, is an act to provide for the establishment of Pradeshiya Sabhas with a view to providing greater opportunities for the people to participate effectively in the decision-making process relating to administrative and development activities at a local level. Generally, Pradeshiya Sabhas have been constituted for rural areas.

The area of authority of a Pradeshiya Sabha, according to the provisions of the Pradeshiya Sabhas Act No.15 of 1987, should be co-terminus with the area of an Assistant Government Agent's Division. However, there are exceptions to this general principle. The extent of the area varies according to the population. In more developed areas the extent of a Pradeshiya Sabha is relatively smaller. At present there are 258 Pradeshiya Sabhas covering the entire country. It is the lowest elected body on party lines. This body has to register all business activity in its governing area and is therefore an important link for all farm businesses. It is also the body that maintains and manages the local markets (Polas), which are an important part of rural life. They are also responsible for village roads.

However, the biggest problem suffered by most Pradeshiya Sabhas is lack of income, both in tax revenue or grants from higher bodies, to provide the services villagers require. Most village markets suffer from the lack of basic facilities, such as proper roofed buildings, water and toilet facilities, and many other defects. But even more problematic to the villager is the poor state of village roads. Pradeshiya Sabhas have the right to borrow and repay through undertaking public ventures such as developing markets, but most do not have the awareness or skills to do so.

The basic specific functions of the lower level local governments of Sri Lanka can be classified as follows

- (i) Mobilisation of the local public for their own welfare and development
- (ii) Formulation of ward-level development plans and its integration with divisional development plans
- (iii) Formulation and implementation of projects that would not require funding from outside sources

- (iv) Settlement of local conflicts and disputes
- (v) Development of programmes and projects to obtain the participation of youth, women and depressed groups, such as the disabled and the poor
- (vi) Submission of recommendations to the upper level local authority on construction work by contractors
- (vii) Undertaking minor contracts for state and private sector organisations in the village
- (viii) Submission of information and recommendations to the local authority for the preparation of the budget
- (ix) Collection of essential data and information relating to the area and the supply of such information and data to institutions that require them
- (x) Formulation and implementation of social development programmes for the welfare of community life in the ward
- (xi) Protection of state property within the ward
- (xii) Identification, survey and development of natural and human resources within the area to be used for the generation of income and employment
- (xiii) Preparation and implementation of programmes to highlight the cultural and natural heritage in the area
- (xiv) Launching and directing other programmes of benefit to the local public
- (xv) Acting as the mirror of public opinion in the ward.

When one analyses the effectiveness of the present system, although provincial councils and lower level local government institutions are very keen to implement rural community development programmes to promote the living standards of their rural poor, they face many constraints in this regard. Inadequacy of funds, lack of development orientation and lack of clear understanding at all levels hampers local government efficiency. There is no major difference between the constraints faced by the provincial council and the lower level local governments. Unequal distribution of revenue earned by the local governments is the major problem of the system at present.

In Sri Lanka, the sources of revenue of the local government have traditionally been taxes on production and expenditure, which consist of turnover taxes, assessment rates, license fees, and other taxes, stamp duty, sales and other charges, interest on profits and dividends, and



other revenue. Local governments continue to face financial constraints in the delivery of services to the people resident in their respective areas of authority. Lack of sufficient financial resources is perhaps reflected most in the quality of service provided by the local government. Hence continuous financial assistance is necessary for recurrent expenditure as well as for the capital expenditure incurred by the local government. Each level of governance depends on the higher level for funding and the provincial government is at the mercy of the central government for its funds.

The challenge for the government and development aid is to change the local government, especially the Pradeshiya Sabha, from being more regulation-oriented to being a facilitator for rural livelihoods.

## **6. Are Rural Institutions Based on the Self-Organisation of Farmers and Are Other Rural Villagers Meeting the Ideal Scenario?**

The ideal society would be one which is member-driven not leadership- or committee-driven, which has commenced or is at least now driven by the members themselves, which is not limited to one activity such as credit but does all key activities related to livelihoods depending on the key livelihood of the group. The ideal society would be transparent, self-reliant and involved in lobbying and generating funds from members and their own activities.

Sri Lanka's rural areas are proliferated with people's organisations. Over 70% of rural households belong to one or more such organisation. Well over 50% of households belong to more than one organisation. The history of such social mobilisation goes back to the 1970s when the Change Agent Programme and similar programmes were commenced by the Rural Development and Training Institute (RDTI).

The origins of these organisations vary and include the following:

- Programmes commenced voluntarily by the village people themselves – these include the popular Funeral Societies where nearly everyone is a member, a few of the Farmers' Organisations, Dayaka Sabhas (temple societies) etc. These, however, are less relevant to livelihoods. However, an informal arrangement to save money, named Sittu (Rosca), where groups of individuals known to each other contribute an equal sum of money monthly or periodically and one person gets the sum each month is still popular despite the large number of microfinance agencies.

- Institutions commenced by governmental bodies. E.g. Rural Development Societies, Samurdhi Societies, Farmers' Associations, Fisheries Co-operatives, and Women's Organisations. Most of these originated under government Acts or regulations.
- Institutions formed by the Co-operative movement such as Thrift and Credit Associations, Cooperative Shops, Multi-Purpose Co-operatives, Rural Banks etc.
- Institutions formed by donor-funded Projects such as Isuru societies, Water Users' Associations, Gemi Diriya companies etc. Some projects have also formed societies for specific economic activities.
- Institutions formed by NGOs - the majority of rural development based NGOs have created CBOs under their name and of these SEEDS, Seva (Sevalanka), Agro Mart, and Lak Jaya Societies are the most prominent. Two of the oldest societies formed by NGOs were the Kantha Samithi formed by the Lanka Mahila Samithiya and the Sarvodaya societies.
- Institutions formed by private companies such as groups like Ceylinco Grameen Credit which were established mainly to give credit.

Despite the proliferation of Community Based Organisations, most CBOs in a village have the same leadership. This is due to the tendency of some persons to be accepted and respected as leaders of the community. It is also because a few persons in the village like to take leadership positions, and it naturally goes to them. Most CBOs, other than funeral societies and Samurdhi, generally exclude the poorest. This is partly due to the poorest being labourers and not having time for meetings and also due to caste and other factors which exclude them. Finally, most CBOs are controlled by the committee or a few office bearers rather than by the general membership. This is due to the infrequent meetings of the general membership, and strong decision-making powers of the executive committee or leadership. These are areas that should be taken into account and corrected in future projects.

However, the most prominent weakness is the top down nature of most of these societies. It is the project donor or government who wants the society. It must be formed and one must be a member, and one must attend meetings to get benefits. Then, as long as benefits last, people will come and as soon as it stops the society will collapse. Either a society must be formed by the villagers voluntarily, like funeral societies, or the society must have an activity such as savings and credit where they will voluntarily participate.

CBOs play an important nation-wide role in two aspects of livelihood. One is in water management in irrigated areas, normally done by Farmers' Associations and initially popularised under irrigation schemes such as Gal Oya, and the other is in savings and credit groups, popularised by nearly all of the different originators listed above. The key reason for other Community Based Organisations to be less effective is lack of clear purpose, thus lack of cohesiveness. On the other hand, irrigated water management is a 'must' during the season and people have to keep to some communal arrangement. Of course, this was established long before independence and such arrangements would have existed even thousands of years before. On the other hand savings and credit are also very effective in keeping a group together. This was initially popularised by SEEDS and TCCS (Sanasa) in the 1980's and now many government ministries and departments, numerous donor projects, banks such as regional development banks, a large number of NGOs and even the private sector have formed such societies or groups.

This analysis suggests that, on a broader framework and at the national level, the host of other community organisations related to livelihoods have not been sustainable. The reasons for this are that:

- most were donor funded projects or NGO related CBOs and lasted only till the project lasted
- most were controlled by the committees with little commitment and involvement by the members
- most were single activity based and this activity was donor or NGO supported and when the activity stopped the group withered away
- there was not enough incentive, motivation, reason and cohesiveness for people to meet and work together

On the other hand, activities such as savings and credit or water management are critical and people come for meetings and find enough incentive to do so.

Another major defect is that, due to the proliferation of societies because of every single project, department and NGO forming new societies, people are wary of such activities. Most villagers are now members of three or more such societies and borrow from one to repay loans taken from another. They have become astute in exploiting them and in most cases no longer feel they own them. This is the general feeling towards Samurdhi societies and many Farmer Societies as the government has virtually commanded their commencement in each village. Now the trend is worsening as the government itself wants to

commence a society in each and every village! Draft legislation is in place for the same. This is similar to what prevails in the North East where every village has a CBO and the same constitution.

Some in the microfinance sector now feel that the reason for the poor quality of the sector in Sri Lanka, compared to Bangladesh or even Pakistan which started this work ten years later, is the emphasis on forming societies and giving bulk loans through village societies as done by SEEDS, Seva Finance etc. In other South Asian countries the emphasis is on forming informal groups rather than village societies. Even the Thrift and Credit Programme (Sanasa) is weak, with many village societies collapsing annually due to the stress on society methodology. Samurdhi societies too are weak, but continue running with the compulsory savings based on the free grant programme. SEEDS too had over 500 Sarvodaya societies, which commenced savings and credit programmes but did not continue with them. This is due to issues with the leadership such as constant changes, and lack of knowledge in financial services and management. On the other hand, microfinance agencies such as Lak Jaya, Child Fund, Berendina, BRAC Sri Lanka and even Ceylinco Grameen Credit are having much greater success due to following the informal group methodology as in Bangladesh.

Many programmes such as Isuru, South Asia Poverty Alleviation Program (Nuwara Eliya), and Forut have gone beyond village level CBOs to form Federations. But these too are limited to the project purpose and do not go beyond project activities to undertake lobbying or other community activities.

Development aid can look at what the government is now recommending and try to make it more democratic and relevant to the people. However development aid should not promote any more village organisations and should try to work with what exists and, if at all, only promote economic activity based groups such as Vanilla Growers Groups, Poultry Farmers' Groups, Livestock keepers' groups, etc.

However there is a new proposal by the government to create uniform government sponsored village organisations titled Janasaba with one for each Grama Sevaka division. They will have a standard constitution. The idea is to ensure that one overall society is responsible for the development work in a specific geographical area. They would then expect all new donor or NGO funded projects to work through this society. One of the objectives is to stem the proliferation of CBOs by each and every government department, NGO and donor project. However, the danger is that these become bottom level political institutions.

Furthermore, all institutions which have been top down, especially those set up by the government, do not survive for long unless some major benefit like Samurdhi is available.

However, amidst this, there is a minority in farmers' organisations, community based organisations and Federations which is strong primarily due to dedicated leadership. But a fairly new and more productive way of organising is by product group such as milk producers who supply to companies such as Nestle, vanilla growers, cut flower growers, ornamental fish producers who supply to export companies in Colombo, seed producers' associations, and so on. These have much more common interest to keep the members together and be cohesive. Future projects should focus on such groups as well as their links to the formal sector.

## **7. Are Existing Rural Institutions Assisting in Creating the Ideal Scenario Regarding Extension and Input Supply?**

As of now there is very limited private sector involvement in providing extension, advice and training. What is available is limited and related to the products they sell (inputs) or what they buy back (e.g. tobacco bought back by CTC and gherkins bought back by Hayleys). The private sector does not venture into commercial extension work on a general basis due to the subsidised services by the government. They confine their work to providing hybrid seeds, agriculture machinery and chemicals, biotechnology products, veterinary supplies, and confined extension work to these areas only. The government, both central and provincial, has offices and training centres in nearly every administrative division or district and has qualified staff manning them. But they are unable to work adequately in the field due to lack of transport facilities, budgets, and the lack of qualified staff as detailed earlier in the paper.

Thus, there is a huge gap in the services available to farmers. Frequent donor projects try to experiment with different models to fill this gap. For example, contracting service providers from private and NGO sectors to provide this service. But this lasts only while the project lasts due to the subsidies provided by the project. Hence any new development assistance aid project, which attempts to resolve this problem must have a clear basis of making the work of such private sector contractors sustainable and commercial after a few years of subsidy. This will require a 12-year time frame and a subsidy for around 3 years.

Alternately development aid should try to replicate the models functioning in countries such as India where public sector, fee-based extension service for seasonal crops is available. Upgrading of Government extension services is unlikely to be sufficiently responsive, or cost-effective for such programmes. Contracting extension services out to private companies and self-financing NGOs is likely to be a more tailored strategy to cater to regional resources, crops and market specialisation. The procedures to be developed for the partial commercialisation of the agricultural research system could be applied to the extension system as well (Abeyratne 2006). Interventions must separate advanced farmers with irrigated water, good skills and adequate land from farmers who depend on rain water, who have less skills and who are far away from main roads and city centres.

## **8. Marketing of Rural Produce and the Institutions Required to Improve them**

One of the major problems faced by Sri Lankan farmers is the low farm gate price given for their produce. In some years paddy is sold even below the production price. Vegetables and fruits generally get around 20% of the retail price and move through many intermediaries prior to reaching the consumer. Farmers have no security as to the price they will eventually get. They also do not know the best way to produce for the market, in terms of what crops to grow as there is a tendency for all farmers in one area to grow the same crop such as tomatoes, lime or beans and then create a huge glut in the market resulting in poor prices.

One successful institutional arrangement was Forward Sales Contracting (FSC) piloted by the Central Bank in 1999. A FSC is a legally binding agreement requiring a farmer to deliver an agreed quantity of a commodity at an agreed price to the contracting buyer on an agreed future date. The bank facilitated such contracts by bringing the buyer and seller together and disseminating information on the cost of production. They have the dual benefit of assuring farmers of a fixed price and a ready market for their produce whilst providing buyers with greater certainty in supply and cost of primary commodities. The programme initially covered paddy, chillies, big onions, maize, sesame and some other crops in Moneragala and a few other districts. Between December 1999 and August 2001, a total of 6239 contracts for a total value of Rs.228m were signed (World Bank 2003). As stated by the Director of Regional Development of the Central Bank, the FSC system, starting with three companies in 1999, grew to 111, and has now fallen

to 19. This is largely due to farmers not fulfilling the agreement and selling to others at better prices if the market price is better.

Another recent phenomenon is the collecting centres that large supermarkets such as Cargills and Keells have commenced in rural areas to collect paddy, livestock, fruits and vegetables directly from the farmers. Over 7000 farmers sell to Cargills alone. The company purchases from farmers in 22 districts and is reported to be purchasing 1.8% of all fruits and vegetables, 5% of paddy and 35% of all livestock produce. This bypasses the main layer of middle men with producers selling directly to the retailer. Farmers are reportedly getting 20% more than the market price for such produce. Farmers are also motivated to produce products of a minimum quality standard in order to get this higher price.

Large private companies such as Hayleys, Aitken Spence, CIC Agribusiness and Ceylon Tobacco have a different mode where farmers produce products to a definite specification and have a clear market; some even have an export market. In this mode, inputs, technical advice and buy back guarantee are provided by the buying company. But still, very few products are produced in such a vertically coordinated manner. In fact, the production of fruits has stagnated due to market preference for imported fruits such as apples, grapes and oranges.

However there are pilot projects with good results in limited geographic areas. One often cited example is the effort to diversify products for produce of System "H".

**Box 8.1 Effort to diversify products for produce of System "H"**

A review of farmer constraints in system 'H' of the Mahaweli Scheme revealed that the lack of access to markets was a major problem. To address this problem the World Bank funded the Mahaweli Restructuring and Rehabilitation Project and appointed a private sector development specialist to facilitate greater private sector participation in system H. The specialist, together with Mahaweli, organised seminars and discussions with private traders to identify their commodity requirements and to determine ways for Mahaweli farmers to meet these needs.

The first outcome of this meeting was an agreement between a private company and farmers to buy and supply soya beans during the next season. Prior to the shift in crop, 80% of farmers in the block grew rice in 50% of the irrigable land and the balance was devoted to other crops. Total cropped area was 1900 hectares. However, after the shift, due to savings in water the irrigated cropped area increased to 2,700 hectares. The gross value of their produce increased from Rs.3.5m to Rs.7.5m. Since then twelve other supply agreements with private companies have been negotiated for the supply of gherkin, maize, passion fruit, black gram, vegetables etc.

Source: World Bank 2005

But the above case study shows a one-off attempt by a project in an irrigated area to link farmers with the private sector.

## **9. Lessons from Other Development Assistance Projects with Institutional Development**

Many Integrated Development Projects, Rural Economic Advancement Projects and other rural development projects have institutional development as an objective in addition to all other normal interventions such as rural infrastructure and income generating assistance. If one looks at the post evaluation of the Regional Rural Development Project, Kandy (1987-2000), this project's strategy was to depend on institutional development as a principal means through which the development goals of the project could be achieved. The institutional development component of the project comprised three analytical concepts: instituting participatory development methods at village and divisional level, strengthening rural regional development through support to the provincial council, and promotion of regional economic growth through private sector development.

However, the evaluators did not find any sustainable impact in the project's attempt to institutionalise participatory methods at divisional level, nor did it improve planning methods at provincial council level, despite project inputs like GIS and other tools (Bastian 2005). The last of these was successful from a policy perspective as this was included in the next stream of rural development projects which came to be named Rural Economic Advancement Projects. However, here too at project level, the private sector's role was not as expected. The evaluators concluded that it was better if the project focused on interventions more desperately required by the poor, such as improvements to rural infrastructure.

Even the Rural Economic Advancement Projects in Matale and the South show that using contractors to provide services to farmers and off-farm businesses continued only while project subsidies were in place. The contractor agencies, such as ISB, SEEDS, SLBDC and others, go in search of other projects to market their services as the farmers and other rural people are not willing to pay for these services or cannot afford to pay for these services.

Southern REAP did not adequately bring about the desired result of strengthening the local government and showed a moderate increase in income of a few Pradeshiya Sabha's due to the new markets (Polas) constructed by the project.



The ADB Rural Finance Sector Development Project attempted to re-vitalise Samurdhi as well as Co-operative Rural Banks but did not go far in this attempt. The project formulated a Strategic Plan for microfinance which was left unimplemented, and did a computerisation which was poorly implemented. The main weakness of this attempt was trying to separate out the microfinance programme in isolation and try to reform that without reforming the entire mother organisation. This resulted in conflict and pressure from other divisions to not carry out the proposed reforms. The attempt to separate the Co-operative Rural Banks from the main Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies also met with failure since it ignored the rest of the co-operative and focused only on savings and credit. When microfinance is part of a large institutional framework it is not possible to strengthen or re-structure microfinance alone.

## **10. What Policy Environment is Required for the Re-Vitalisation of Rural Institutions?**

The current policy environment and the constant changes in policy have contributed to the weak state of rural institutions. Poor policies have resulted in weak government services and inadequate private sector partnerships. The frequent change of governments and subsequent change of policies add to the confusion. In 2002 the policy was strongly towards greater private sector participation, but since 2006, once again, dependence on government service became the policy. If agriculture is to be revived, both major political parties must agree on a common policy and strategy. The table below gives a few key policy related changes that are required to re-vitalise rural institutions and private sector participation in agriculture and agriculture extension.

**Table 10.1 Policy changes required to re-vitalise rural institutions**

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Short term</b>	<b>Long term</b>
Technology Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Privatise remaining government seed farms, enter into contracting agreements with private sector for production of seeds if needed</li> </ul>	
National Agriculture Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Undertake a comprehensive assessment of the structure, funding, and performance of the public agriculture and research extension systems</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Formulate and adopt an updated National Agriculture Policy and Strategy to serve as a basis for reorienting roles, organisational structure, funding and staffing of public agricultural research and extension systems to be in line with new developments and priorities and meet the changing needs of an agricultural sector in a middle income economy</li> <li>Strengthen database for the agricultural sector (e.g. land use statistics; area, production, yield, agricultural prices, market infrastructure, rural enterprises etc.)</li> </ul>
Commodity Marketing Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Draw lessons from forward contracting programmes and integrate in scaling up</li> </ul>	

## **11. What Donor Assistance can do Together with the Government to Improve the Quality of Service of Key Rural Institutions**

The Local Government Reforms Commission, which was established with the mandate to study the prevailing local government system in Sri Lanka, has recommended several measures to be adopted to make local self-government meaningful. It strongly highlighted the importance of having a new development vision for the Local Government System in

order to serve the community at the local level efficiently and effectively. The commission has recommended the new vision to encompass the following key elements:

1. Greater degree of local autonomy
2. Peoples' participation in the affairs of the local government
3. Public accountability
4. Self reliance and equity
5. Greater responsiveness to the needs of the local constituents
6. Development role of the Local Government
7. Efficiency, effectiveness and productivity
8. Development of a new local development culture
9. Rate payers' charter

It is necessary for donors to see whether the reform of local government and development of non-farm business can be taken together in order to assist rural people.

It is vital that some development agencies commence work in the East and even in parts of the North where it is possible to work, as all other donor agencies besides IFAD have commenced such work; the World Bank and ADB doing projects as early as 10 years ago. The World Bank has just committed US\$ 300 million for reawakening the East. This is also the area with the highest prevalence of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability in Sri Lanka. It is also an area with great potential in agriculture, fisheries and tourism. Though many people have now gone back to their homes in the East, due to lack of government budget not much assistance has still come their way to re-commence livelihoods. They need to prepare land, get water sources, buy animals and have access to credit to do these things. Rural institutions in the East are still the old Rural Development Societies, Samurdhi and a few formed by INGO and NGO projects. There is a need to strengthen the whole gamut of such institutions preferably by learning from the mistakes and good lessons from the Southern experience.

Samurdhi, which now holds Rs.12 billion in savings (Duflos et al 2005), a significant portion of the poor's rural savings, needs serious institutional re-structuring. ADB took some initial steps but they were inadequate. It is vital that microfinance work is separated from other work, that the staff is also separated and a viable separate microfinance institute is developed. However, it is not possible to look at microfinance in isolation, as erroneously done by the ADB, when one is re-structuring

the organisation. The entire organisation must be studied and all its divisions re-structured to become a more viable organisation with sound microfinance and credit plus work. It may even involve laying off redundant staff with a golden hand shake.

Another vital institution, which is unstable, is the Multi Purpose Co-operative Society (MPCS) and, as a consequence, the Co-operative Rural Banks (CRBs) which hold Rs.17 billion in savings. Currently CRBs remain the only cash cow of the MPCSSs and as a consequence are in grave danger of collapsing due to misuse of deposits. Development aid should step in to ensure viability of this institutional framework as well as to save the depositors' funds. These still remain extremely important rural institutions. Co-operative Rural Banks can be converted into strong microfinance agencies if this is done in conjunction with strengthening the MPCSSs. Alternatively, the government should be persuaded to assist the separation of the CRBs from MPCSSs if they want to safeguard the depositors' funds.

As discussed earlier, the Agriculture and Agrarian Departments need a strong re-vitalisation in order to do a greater service to farmers. The department needs initial support to attain financial self reliance. The department also needs assistance for the following:

- Link all district offices with head office through better communications - currently its email service barely works
- They need to improve their loan assessment techniques using a Geographic Information System (GIS) as they still use eye estimation!
- The department wants to improve a weather information system
- They need very basic facilities, such as a video camera in each district office to assist in the estimation of losses
- The staff needs considerable training in insurance, pension and agriculture related work

There is huge potential for growth in Sri Lanka's exotic fruits, flora and vegetable produce. As stated earlier, some private sector companies are already directly linking with the farmers as out growers, or contract growers as other means of getting quality products. A project partnering government and private sector, where unused land is given for contract farming and companies are given low interest loans or matching grants, is an option recommended by the Chairman of the Fruit and Vegetable Association. Together with the government, they have already identified over 100,000 hectares of unused land for this purpose.

Unless vertically coordinated production for value added items such as pulp, juices, and jams both for local and overseas markets are increased the fruit industry will stagnate. Development aid should look at opportunities to work with the local private sector to enhance such products rather than just giving direct assistance to farmers. Development aid should also develop projects which provide more incentives for the private sector to link directly with farmers. Farmers need training in quality control, packaging and awareness of standards.

Though considerable donor attention has been paid to microfinance institutes, less attention has been paid to the strengthening of organisations offering "credit plus" services. It is vital that projects strengthen the capacity of these agencies to be able to provide demand driven services to farmers and non-farm businesses rather than merely be used as tools during project periods as done now.

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# 7

## **ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE: INCREASING RESILIENCE OF AGRICULTURE COMMUNITIES**

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## **Abbreviations**

ARPA	Agriculture Research and Production Assistant
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CRB	Cooperative Rural Banks
CTC	Ceylon Tobacco Company
FSC	Forward Sales Contract
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
MPCS	Multi Purpose Cooperative Society
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
TCCS	Thrift and Credit Co-operative Societies

## **Executive Summary**

The links between the environment, agriculture and the poor are set within the conceptual framework that looks at the links between environmental wellbeing and human wellbeing. Within the framework, human wellbeing is defined as being made up of several components including basic needs, security, and choices that are dependent on the environment's ecosystem services to provide a range of goods such as food, and land, and services such as water and nutrient cycling, recreational value etc. The present scenario is that the continuous extraction of goods and services is degrading the environment and therefore threatening the ability of the natural system to provide the goods and services necessary to sustain human wellbeing conditions.

The relationship between ecosystem services and human wellbeing is also more complex due to social, economic and political factors such as wealth, social networks, power etc. that exist in human societies. These conditions lead to unequal access and control of natural resources that in turn aggravates poverty while also leading to further degradation of the environment.

In terms of agricultural systems, it is one that relies on the environment for basic raw materials, i.e. land (soil), water, and climate for the production of our food base. There is a trade-off that takes place between the environment and the agriculture systems when natural resources are converted and used for agricultural purposes. The prevailing agricultural practices tend to focus on high input, and high yield, and have led to a situation where the environment is degraded while poverty among agricultural communities continues to persist. Within these prevailing conditions the predicted effects of the global climate change regime also indicate further degradation of the natural system that in turn reduces its ability to maintain human wellbeing. The brunt of these effects are felt by those that are already poor, especially those reliant on agriculture for their livelihoods, and among them the small scale producers who have less ability to withstand external shocks.

Due to these conditions, the paper makes a case for due consideration to addressing the relationships between the environment and human wellbeing when designing poverty alleviation programmes if initiatives are to be sustainable over the long term.

The following recommendations and conclusions have been set down as necessary for programmes and projects undertaken to increase the quality of life of the rural poor reliant on agriculture:

- Due consideration must be given to existing environmental degradation and the impending threats of climate change on agriculture systems as they pose risks to food security and poverty reduction. The threats also emphasise that business cannot continue as usual and that there is a need to look for interventions that are more aligned with the path of sustainable development. Aligning interventions sooner rather than later can allow for a greater ability to adapt and put in place models that can be replicated.
- Poor farmers tend to be more reliant on degraded resources while also being more vulnerable to environmental threats. However, even if it is in their best interest, they are least able to take up the challenge (unsupported) of sustainable agriculture systems due to their lack of risk taking potential. Therefore, projects will have to be geared to provide for supportive structures such as incentive schemes and risk management schemes that can be pilot tested for their suitability to increasing the coping strategies of poor households.
- There are many good practices that are being applied or are recommended that take into consideration environmental protection, but they do not necessarily guarantee economic benefits. Therefore creating markets and conditions that encourage economic profits for more sustainable agricultural practices are needed.
- There are numerous stakeholders and interested parties that are working on sustainable development practices. There is a need to build synergies and create win-win situations among these players for more effective implementation and use of resources.
- Sustainable agricultural practices are also location- and crop-specific. Therefore decisions on what practices to choose have to be made more effective through assessing existing ground level practices, carrying out more R and D including scenario building for climate change threats, and field tests to verify the effectiveness of these measures. This will allow for more informed choices to be made when choosing an intervention type.

Supporting environmental aspects and gearing up farmers to face the threats of climate change offers opportunities to build model/best practices for producing and marketing products in line with the goals and values of sustainable development.

## 1. Introduction

Agricultural systems rely on the environment for basic raw materials, i.e. land (soil), water, and climate for the production of our food base. There is a trade off that takes place between the environment and the agriculture systems when natural resources are converted and used for agricultural purposes. The manner in which this relationship is played out has implications for both the wellbeing of the environment and communities that directly and indirectly rely on agriculture as an income source and for its outputs (goods and services).

This thematic paper will explore the relationship between the environment and human wellbeing in relation to improving the quality of life and greater responsiveness to markets in the rural sector, especially of poor rural communities whose livelihoods depend on agriculture. The paper is based on a desk review of available local and international literature, publications, articles and internet resources that include government documents, civil society projects and programme information, academic articles and multilateral agency documents. It also incorporates stakeholder views and feedback that was received through the country strategy (COSOP) formulation process of the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD).

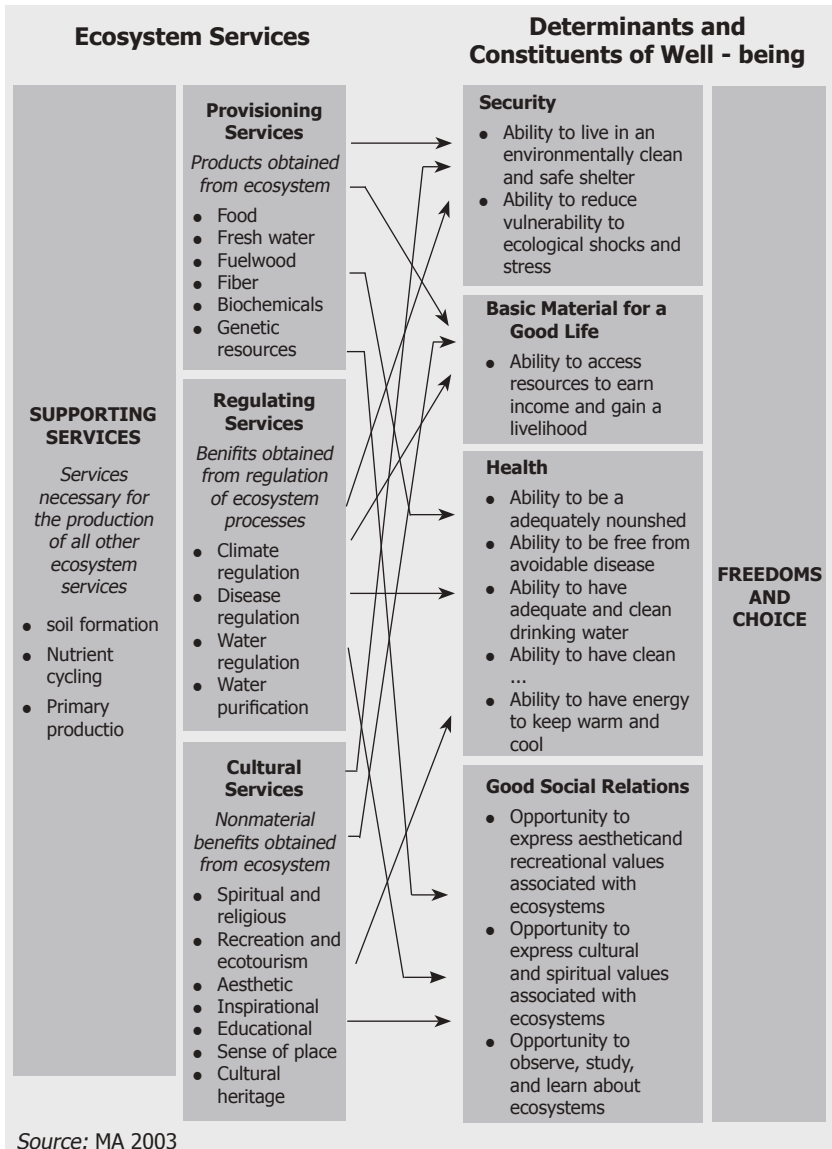
This paper will begin with the basic premise of the causal linkages of ecosystem wellbeing and human wellbeing that drives the argument for the need for sustainable development (section 2), present the environmental hurdles that prevail as well as the predicted threats of climate change for the agriculture sector (section 3), explore some policies that are relevant, look at the overall stakeholder landscape that exists, and present practices that are being applied or are recommended for environmentally sound agriculture practices (section 4) and finally present the conclusions and recommendations for adopting environmental protection strategies into programmes and projects carried out by IFAD in the future (section 5).

## 2. Link Between Ecosystem Wellbeing and Human Wellbeing

The human race is one of the many species that are sustained and nurtured by the environment. The natural system provides *services* such as food, water, and fuel; *regulatory functions* such as climate regulation, disaster management, and water cycling; and *cultural and heritage* value such as place of belonging, aesthetics, and recreation. These functions provide goods and services that are necessary for the survival and wellbeing of the human species. Human wellbeing is made up of several components that are also intrinsically linked to the

environment, namely; *security* in the form of shelter, a pollution free environment, and the ability to withstand natural shocks; *basic needs* for sustenance and livelihoods; good *health* factors such as nourishment, protection from disease, clean air and clean water; as well as *social needs* such as education and choices (MA 2003). The diagram below illustrates this dependency.

**Diagram 1 Ecosystem services and human wellbeing**



As per the diagram, goods and services are used to fulfil human wellbeing. The continuous extraction of goods and services changes the natural systems that is made up of mainly finite resources (land, water, plants and animals) or resources that require many years to replenish (fossil fuels, rocks, gems). The problem arises when the demand for ecosystem goods and services cannot continue to provide the services without causing degradation of the environment. This in turn leads to a situation where human wellbeing is affected (MA, 2003). Currently, the quantity and speed with which resources are being extracted show that the natural processes are losing their ability to support human systems as well as many other plant and animal systems that are sustained within the environment. The relationship between ecosystem and human wellbeing is further compounded by socio-economic and political factors such as wealth, power structures, social standing, knowledge, skills and lifestyle choices that play a role in how natural resources are used.

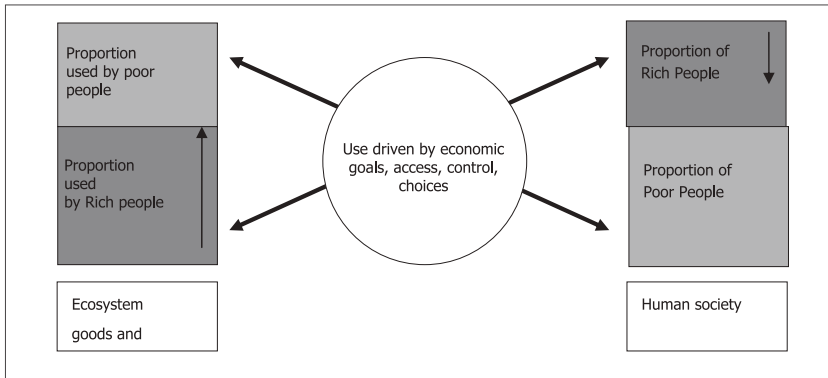
### ***Poverty and the Environment***

Poverty, as seen through a multi dimensional perspective, is not just referred to in terms of income but also as being affected by access and mobility, services, health, education and social networks etc. A relationship also exists between the environment and poverty; depending on the state of the environment it can aggravate the poverty condition, while on the flip side poverty can also increase the pressure on ecosystem goods and services (UNEP 2008).

The environment and poverty relationship as shown in diagram 2 can be in terms of access and control of resources. The richer segments of society have access to, and control a larger and healthier portion of natural resources. The poor, a larger share of the population have to make ends meet with less resources. The poor are also more reliant on natural resource based livelihoods and these inequalities increase the difficulties poor people face in finding productive livelihoods that can fulfil their needs (UNEP 2008, WB 2007).



**Diagram 2 Access and control of resources**



A combination of social, economic and environmental conditions converge to increase the vulnerabilities that affect people's ability to withstand external shocks. The poor are affected by individual shocks of sickness, disability and unemployment as well as community wide shocks such as crop failures and natural disasters (World Bank 2007). The poor are also more vulnerable to environmental shocks as they have relatively less access to capital, security and coping mechanisms.

If efforts are made to increase the quality of life of poor people, especially poor agriculture communities, acknowledging and addressing the links between the environment and human systems and poverty should be a key component in development interventions. Giving the environment due consideration along with economic and social factors is a vital component of sustainable development.

### **3. Environmental Challenges in the Agriculture Sector and its Consequences on Poor Communities**

The agriculture sector as it functions today has created several multi-dimensional conditions that have implications on poor communities:

- 1) Many who are engaged in the agriculture sector especially those with small landholdings, do not derive a sufficient income from it and fall into the category of rural poor. Some complement it with incomes from the non-farm sector and through migration, but there is a greater likelihood of those depending mainly on agriculture to fall into the category of rural poor.
- 2) High yielding, resource intensive, mono crops predominate the economics of the sector that is driven by profit. However, for small farmers, food security may be as strong a driving factor

as income generation. Further, it could also be the only available livelihood option.

- 3) The environment, land, water, soil, seasons, and climate, are critical to the agriculture sector but do not receive adequate protection within the type of intensive agriculture that is widely practiced. Therefore, these resources and services are being degraded and in turn, lead to reducing productivity. The poor farmers again are marginalised as they are being pushed to use unproductive land or small land holdings that contribute to further degrading of resources.

The prevailing conditions show that poverty among agricultural communities continues to persist while the environment continues to degrade.

### 3.1 Environmental impacts of agriculture practices

The two major environmental threats due to agriculture in Sri Lanka are land degradation, caused by improper land management and agriculture practices, and improper water management, especially in terms of irrigation systems and ground water extraction (MOENR 2003). Another serious problem results from current agronomic practices that rely on chemical additives to increase productivity. This has led to the contamination of land, air and water resources with impacts on health and wellbeing.

Land degradation created by improper land management leads to soil erosion that creates a series of effects such as less productivity due to loss of top soil which in turn leads to greater use of chemical fertilisers to compensate. The run-off causes siltation of water storage facilities as well as pollution of water resources.

**Table 3.1 Cultivated and forested land area in Sri Lanka 1980 - 2005 (1000 Ha)**

<b>Land Cover Type</b>	<b>1980</b>		<b>1990</b>		<b>1995</b>		<b>2000</b>		<b>2005</b>	
Agricultural area	2319	F	2339	F	2326	F	2350	F	2356	Fm
Permanent meadows and pastures	439	F	439	F	440	F	440	F	440	E
Forest area			2350	Q	2216	Fm	2082	Q	1933	Q
Other land	2384	F	1774	Fm	1921	Fm	2031	Fm	2174	Fm

E = Expert sources from FAO (including other divisions) | F = FAO estimate | Fm = Manual Estimation | Q = Official data reported on FAO Questionnaires from countries. Agriculture land includes land under permanent crops and temporary crops (arable).

Source: FAOSTAT (online)

Table 3.1 shows that the extent of land used for agriculture purposes has not increased greatly over time. The table also indicates that forest cover is reducing, which is an indicator of land pressure, as well as reduction of the natural systems that support water and nutrient cycles and soil erosion control. Further, the sector referred as 'other' which has grown considerably shows that land pressure for settlements, and infrastructure can also affect the land available for cultivation. This indicates that land resources are limited and pressured to produce greater yields. Under these circumstances attention to environmental considerations have become secondary.

**Table 3.2 GDP contribution from agriculture**

	1992	1997	2002	2007
Agriculture, value added to GDP (%)	25.9	21.9	14.3	11.7
Total economically active population employed in Agriculture (1000 inhabitants)	3,468	3,676	3,796	3,847

Source: FAO stats (online)

Table 3.2 looks at the GDP contribution of the agriculture sector and the number of people employed in the sector. This indicates that while the GDP contribution from agriculture is decreasing, the number of those reliant on the sector is increasing. Therefore there is less income and benefits from agriculture that need to be spread amongst more people. The World Bank Poverty Assessment 2007 highlights that in Sri Lanka, the slow down in agriculture growth has also slowed down poverty reduction in agriculture dependent households and thereby increased their vulnerability to external shocks and pressures.

The Ministry of Environment (2003) states that there are a million hectares of sparsely used or fallow land in the dry zone that can be used for economic benefits with sustainable land management practices. However, the Ministry indicates that further research and development needs to be done to identify best practices for these areas.

Other social and economic issues such as available capital and plot sizes of poor farmers also have a bearing on the application of better land use practices (this issue is discussed further in the factor market paper).

Water management is another important issue with regard to environment and agriculture. Agriculture is the biggest user of water with irrigated

agriculture accounting for over 90% of water used (FAO stats) and the largest user of water in the country (MOENR 2003). The major issues highlighted by the Ministry of Environment in the Sri Lanka Strategy for Sustainable Development (2008) in terms of water management are related to water wastage, unequal distribution, water pollution and water shortages in some parts of the country. Wastages during transmission in irrigation schemes, siltation issues, lack of maintenance of irrigation systems, excessive water use by paddy farmers, cultivation of paddy in areas best suited for other crops, and excessive use due to free distribution are some of the reasons highlighted. This report also raises the issue of increased extraction of ground water in recent years and the fact that it is an unregulated sector. Another problem faced in terms of water resources is the impact on water quality due to chemical run off.

Predicted changes in the future, especially with climatic conditions, have pointed to water scarcity and quality becoming a more compelling problem in the future (Jayatilleke 2008). The table 3.3 below illustrates the issue of water availability for paddy production. It shows a drop in production in the yala season in the dry zone provinces not just in terms of rain fed (which is to be expected) but also for cultivation done using minor irrigation schemes.

**Table 3.3 Paddy extent (hectares) and water sources in the Maha and Yala seasons**

PROVINCE	GROSS EXTENT SOWN (Hectares.)							
	MAJOR SCHEMES		MINOR SCHEMES		RAIN FED		ALL SCHEMES	
	2007/08	2008	2007/08	2008	2007/08	2008	2007/08	2008
	MAHA	YALA	MAHA	YALA	MAHA	YALA	8 MAHA	YALA
SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	
WESTERN	1404	1580	4035	3901	21165	18220	26603	23701
SOUTHERN	22386	23051	7188	7451	24203	24103	53778	54605
SABARAGAMUWA	1840	1951	8856	8485	8815	8326	19511	18762
NORTH WESTERN	19761	20529	38484	37168	29390	25699	87635	83396
CENTRAL	11508	9929	18170	10638	8545	5110	38222	25676
UVA	17630	14493	17787	10203	15743	1768	51158	26462
NORTHERN	16319	9722	6590	3783	17218	4	40128	13509
NORTH CENTRAL	79563	77776	42120	25731	6563	107	128246	103614
EASTERN	80256	88049	4488	4820	17868	322	102611	93192
UDA WALAWE*	9527	10718	-	-	-	-	9527	10718
MAHAWELI 'H' *	24178	17758	-	-	-	-	24178	17758
<b>SRI LANKA</b>	<b>284371</b>	<b>275555</b>	<b>147716</b>	<b>112181</b>	<b>149510</b>	<b>83659</b>	<b>581597</b>	<b>471396</b>

\* These are two large major irrigated paddy schemes that are not included in the provincial data

Source: DCS, agriculture census (online)

### 3.2 Predicted effects of climate change on agriculture

Looking towards the future, the environmental challenges of the agriculture sector are further compounded by predictions of the climate change regime (Kurukulasuriya and Rosenthal 2003, UNEP 2008) with more severe effects on developing countries, small island nations and the poor within these countries, especially those reliant on agriculture (Mendelsohn and Dinar 2005, UNEP 2008).

Climate change is an overarching environmental change phenomena that affects the ability of the ecosystem to provide the services and functions as mentioned in section 2, in the form that is optimal for human well being. Other local conditions, such as policies, access, and institutional and technological needs also play a role in increasing the complexity of the relationship between man and nature. For the agriculture sector, climate change encompasses an umbrella effect on the factors that drive the agriculture sector with the availability of water, soil conditions, temperature, and weather and seasonality.

As described before, the degradation of natural resources further confounds the problems of the poor, who are more vulnerable to the negative effects of a degraded environment and are more reliant on it to generate income and improve their standard of living.

*"The preliminary studies of the rural poor suggest that they are clearly vulnerable to changes in climate through its effect on local agricultural productivity. Many of the rural poor live in marginal areas with poor climates for growing food. Given the importance of agriculture to the rural poor, climate is a major existing problem for many of these people. Climate change could seriously exacerbate this problem" (Mendelsohn and Dinar 2005).*

For the Agriculture sector, this means gearing up to face known effects of land degradation, and water use with the aggravations of climate change.

In the first communication to the UNFCCC (2000), Sri Lanka states that effects of climate change will be severe for coastal areas and to different sectors<sup>1</sup> (including agriculture) in the national economy and human health. Climate change threats that are seen as significant

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<sup>1</sup> Sectors mentioned in the UNFCCC 1st national communication (2000) are the Energy Sector, Industrial Sector, Transport Sector, Agricultural Sector, Forestry Sector, Water Resource Sector, Coastal Zone, Health Sector, Human Settlement and Public Utilities Sector.

for Sri Lanka are sea level rise, increased droughts and floods, and increased variability in weather patterns that are predicted to affect a large number of people dependent in agricultural activities. This will cause severe coastal impacts, increase natural disasters and lead to health implications (GOSL 2000, Munasinghe 2007, Mendelsohn 2005, Jayatilleke 2008).

It is stated that climate conditions have changed over time in a manner that increases risks to and unpredictability of carrying out agricultural activities:

*"The climate of the Island has gone through a change to such an extent that the correct amount of rainfall does not come at the correct time of the growing season. Variability of both summer and winter monsoon rains and rains of conventional origin has increased significantly during recent decades. As a result, both extremes i.e. water scarcity and excess water have become a recurrent problem in crop production in Sri Lanka" (Punyawardene, 2007).*

The Meteorology Department data indicates that some of the key components of climate for agriculture, rainfall and temperature regimes are changing. Monsoons are predicted to bring in more rain to the wet zones, while dry areas will get less rain. The variability of rainfall will also increase. Mean temperatures are increasing (and have been rising annually at the rate of .01 - .036 C) with localised variations – i.e. hotter in Nuwara Eliya (Basnayake, 2007). The changes in water cycles, availability of water, climate patterns also will increase occurrences and severity of floods, droughts, cyclones etc., which also have an impact on agriculture systems and human wellbeing.

Some environmental impacts that poor farmers will have to face that will affect agricultural production as well as their wellbeing are highlighted in table 3.3.

**Table 3.3 Predicted climate change impacts for the agriculture sector and its effects on wellbeing**

<b>Natural resource condition</b>	<b>Impacts on the agriculture sector</b>	<b>Impacts on human well being</b>
Excess rainfall (in wet areas)	Crop losses (quantitatively and qualitatively)	Reduction of food base, calorie intake
	Wash off of fertile top soil in arable lands	Increased risk of crop failures
	Siltation of agriculture lands, and waterways as well as Eutrophication of downstream reservoirs and other surface water bodies	Reduction in income, threat to quality of water, availability of drinking water sources.
Increase in disasters	Crop failures due to flooding, water stagnation	Damages, health, displacement, reduction in income, migration
	Crop failures due to droughts	Loss of income, lack of water, migration
Water deficit (mainly in dry areas)	Limited water availability for crop production	Limited water for basic needs
	Inability to plant several cycles	Reduction of food, income
Increased ambient temperature	Unfilled grains due to spikelet sterility	Reduction of harvest and reduction of income
	Increased evapo-transpiration losses, soil moisture stress, salinity	Increased expenditure, reduced harvest
	Loss of harvestable parts of the crops	
	Increase of pest and disease damages	
	Increased expenditure, health effects	
	Increase of weed infestations	Increased expenditure, health effects
	More cumulonimbus clouds giving rise to high intensive rains (>25mm/hr)	
Sea level rise	Increase of saline water in reservoirs	Reduction of harvest and reduction of income, other food sources/income (fish)
	Loss of arable land area due to inundation and increased salinity	

These factors will affect crops types, land holding sizes, and climatic zones differently. The box below presents different opinions and predictions of climate change effects on various crop types.

**Box 3.1 Crop specific climatic issues:**

**Tea**

Tea is an important export crop which is also an important income source for small scale farmers. It is a crop that is suitable for sloped and marginal areas, a perennial crop with a deep root system that does not require frequent land preparation and also provides soil cover to prevent erosion, especially in the up-country and mid-country areas.

The Tea Research Institute (TRI) says that drought conditions and higher ambient temperature will negatively affect tea cultivation. Reduction of rainfall by 100 mm per month was found to reduce the productivity by 30 – 80kg of made tea per hectare, depending on the region and the soil fertility. The TRI also says that more rainfall can increase soil erosion while longer periods of rainfall will bring about fungi infestations (i.e. blister blight) that will reduce the green leaf production. On the other hand, some predictions (Seo et al. 2005) show that greater rainfall will be beneficial for the productivity of tea. See Annex 1 for summary of the Seo et al. (2005) study.

**Paddy**

Paddy is the main focus in Sri Lanka in terms of food security, and is a source of primary and supplementary income source to a large group of people. Paddy comprises irrigated, major and minor and rain fed production systems. Intensive chemical input based paddy cultivation is one of the highest contributors of Nitrous Oxide emissions, a green house gas that causes climate change. However rice, is also one of the crops that will be most affected by climate change and one with major implications for Sri Lanka's food security and food habits.

As highlighted in the UNFCCC 1st national communication, increase in rainfall or decrease in rainfall, especially too much rain or rain at the wrong time or increased drought can lead to crop losses quantitatively and qualitatively. Rain fed paddy will be worst affected by these fluctuating weather patterns. The increase in temperature too can have effects on sterility (bol vee) and yields while increasing pests and disease. Rice crops in low lying areas will also be affected by salinity intrusion. The Seo et al. study (2005) also indicates that rice yields will drop by 12 percent by 2050 and will affect poor farmers in the dry zone, where incomes are lowest.



## 4. Policy and Practice

This section presents the overall landscape of stakeholder involvement and adaptation of sustainable agriculture policies and practices or supporting structures currently taking place in Sri Lanka. It also presents some key sustainable agriculture practices that are being tried out or have been recommended for Sri Lanka.

### 4.1 Policy level activities

Sri Lanka's broader environmental policy that aligns the country to environmental protection as well as steers it onto the path to sustainable development lies within the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. The Ministry has a sustainable development strategy, as well as a climate change secretariat set up in 2008 that is looking to develop climate change mitigation, adaptation and clean development strategies for Sri Lanka. However the adoption into action of these strategies depends on the buy in from relevant ministries, departments and other stakeholders.

It is the Agriculture policy, under the purview of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Services that drives the Agriculture Sector. The latest policy, revised in 2007, is infused with elements of sustainable agriculture as a stated broader objective and in the subsections of fertiliser (organic fertiliser) and pesticides (Integrated Pest Management). It also refers to guidelines set forth in the Soil Conservation Act, the Pesticide Control Act as well as in the Policies and Acts of other Ministries such as the Land Use Policy. Policies and laws that regulate the fisheries and aqua culture sector and livestock sector are developed separately and address issues in those sectors.

With reference to agriculture, the *Mahinda Chinthanaya* does not put special emphasis on environmental management in agriculture, but promotes schemes that encourage farmers to adopt organic cultivation and provide incentives to planters producing organic tea.

Numerous laws and acts are available to address various levels of environmental safeguards in relation to agriculture and use of related resources such as land, water, plant material etc. (see table 4.1). Some of the key acts and ordinances that address the environment and relate to agriculture are given below (this is not a comprehensive list):

**Table 4.1 Important acts and ordinances that address the environment and agriculture**

<b>Laws</b>	<b>What it covers</b>	<b>Responsible institution</b>
Agrarian Development Act	Deals with the implementation of the <b>national agricultural policy</b>	Department of Agriculture
Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance	Provides for conservation of protected plants and animals, or those found within gazette notices.	Department of Wildlife Conservation
Forest Ordinance	Consolidates laws relating to forests including protected areas, forest plantations and natural forest, and establishes other state land where commercial use is permitted as forest.	Forest Department
Irrigation Ordinance	Deals with the environmental aspect of water and land use in irrigated agriculture.	Irrigation Department
Land Acquisition Act	Provides for the acquisition of land by the state for public purposes, including environmental conservation and agriculture.	Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Services.
Mahaweli Authority Act	Establishes MASL and deals with environment and natural resources in Mahaweli and adjacent basins.	Mahaweli Authority of Sri Lanka.
National Environmental Act	Provides umbrella environmental protection legislation and environmental safeguards. Sets up licensing procedures, environmental standards and project approval procedures.	Central Environmental Authority
Pesticides Control Act (1980)	Regulates importation, sales, production and use of pesticides	Office of Registrar of Pesticides
Plant Protection Act	Prevents the spread of wild plants, weeds and plant diseases, and controls the introduction of new species.	Department of Agriculture, Customs
Soil Conservation Act	Provide for the conservation of soil resources, mitigation of erosion, and protection of land against floods and drought	Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Services.
State Land encroachment Ordinance	Prevents illegal occupation of and encroachment on state land.	Ministry of Agricultural Development, District Secretaries, Police.
State Land Ordinance	Provides for how state land and resources (including lakes, rivers and streams) should be allocated, used and managed.	Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Services, District Secretaries
State Lands Recovery of Possession Ordinance.	Provides for the recovery and repossession of state land from illegal occupants.	Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Services, District Secretaries, Police.

Source: EFL 2006

This table indicates that there are many regulatory acts and ordinances in place and that they are under the purview of a range of departments that operate on a national level as well as through the decentralised local government structures.

In addition to these local policies Sri Lanka has also ratified international conventions that have shown commitment to manage the natural resource base including the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) and the Cartagena protocol on Biosafety (2000), International plant Protection Convention (1952), United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (1994), United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change - UNFCCC (1992). The UNFCCC commitments for Sri Lanka have specifically addressed agriculture related climate change mitigation and adaptation and have addressed issues for the agriculture sector (see table 4.3).

Within Sri Lanka's policy and regulatory framework, the general direction is towards sustainable development and enacting environmental safeguards in the agriculture and fisheries sectors. The problem arises, however, when trying to increase its application and importance as the environment becomes a sub sector (except within the environment ministry). Responsibilities are also spread among various departments that can lead to issues of compartmentalised management or overlap or disjunction among the varied interests and institutions. It also raises the question of whether there will be a watering down effect that will not be specific enough to bring about the needed changes if there are too many different Acts and responsible units. In addition, at times environment is seen as a hindrance to development (as in the case of the EIA process) rather than a best practice and can also be constrained by lack of options and expertise to tackle the issues.

## **4.2 National level activities**

On a national level, it is mainly the government structure that exists with wide enough coverage to support agriculture at policy, implementation and research levels. The main national level structure supporting Agriculture is the Department of Agriculture, while Fisheries and Livestock have their own set of Departments and set of related bodies that handle activities from policy to research and development to extension. Within these units, duties and activities are compartmentalised and better linkage and knowledge transfer mechanisms among the units and departments are desirable, if the environmental research and applications are to be streamlined and more widely available.

The marketing chains can be considered the next largest group that works on a national level connecting the farmer to the consumer; involving farm and non farm service provision by private sector companies, individuals, government groups etc.

### **4.3 Ground level activities**

A wider variety of stakeholders can be seen actively engaged at ground level to encourage the spread of sustainable agriculture practices. Individual farmers, farmer groups and organisations are supported by the government, private sector, and NGO and CBO groups to adopt organic cultivation, salinity/drought resistant crops, traditional crops etc. Farmers have also been adapting over time to try and align to changing conditions using traditional techniques, experience and knowledge.

Rice, the staple for food security in Sri Lanka, has seen the most adaptations in terms of seed varieties, water management, nutrient cycling etc that is supported by both government and civil society groups. Vegetable farming, spices and tea, on the other hand, have experimented with sustainable practices including organic production, which is driven mainly by market forces and stipulations. This is mainly among the larger producers who are supplying to a niche market (mainly export with some local high end business) and involve small farmers through out-grower systems. The adaptations to paddy cultivation, however, is more reactionary to changing climatic conditions, using a blend of traditional knowledge and practices coupled with some modern technical support (seed varieties, growing information). Table 4.2 presents a cross cut of activities showing the types of sustainable agriculture practices that are being promoted or adopted among various stakeholders.

**Table 4.2 Examples of the types of activities and types of Stakeholders engaged in sustainable agriculture promotion and development**

Sector	Organisation	Intervention
GO	Department of Agriculture	Breeding of crop varieties with resistance to several biotic and abiotic stresses, delineation of the 46 agro-ecological regions and crop recommendations based on these zones, promotion of crop diversification, traditional crop varieties, organic matter application, promotion of soil and water conservation measures, and creating awareness among officers in the agriculture sector
	Crop research institutes (rice, rubber, tea, field crops etc)	Crop specific research on productivity, management practices, drought/flood resistance varieties etc.
NGO	Lanka Jathika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya	Researching on traditional farming practices that help to reduce or tolerate environmental changes
	Practical Action	Promotion of traditional rice varieties to combat salinity
	Sri Lanka Nature Forum (SLNF)	Establishment of local organic certification centre (SRI CERT)
	Lanka Rain Water Harvesting Forum	Promoting rain water harvesting techniques in water scarce areas, enhancing the agriculture biodiversity of home gardens as agro-forestry systems in marginal lands of the dry zone villages
Private Sector	Bio foods	Production, processing and export of organic products (tea, spices)
CBO	Total Development Association - TDA	Sustainable agriculture and soil conservation in three villages
	Eco Conservation Organisation - ECO	Biodiversity conservation through promotion of sustainable farming
	Lanka Organic Agricultural Movement - LOAM	Restoration of agro- biodiversity through the dissemination of organic agriculture
	Gal Oya Valley Community Development Foundation - GOVCDF	Rehabilitation and protection of degraded farming lands onto self sustaining farming lands
	Sahajeewana Praja Sahabagithwa Padanama - SPSP	Introduction of sustainable agricultural practices in home gardens in the Mahaweli scheme

Source: CEPA 2008

There is a wide gamut of activities and players that in numerous ways are working on promoting sustainable agriculture and climate change related activities. Some engage in it as a primary focus (i.e Ministry) while others as a sub activity or in an indirect way. The types of activities also range from policy formulation, to research, awareness raising, business creation, poverty reduction, environmental management etc. Therefore there are diverse interests and agendas within these activities. Better aligning of these activities, better coordination and complementary activities between these organisations can help to bring about a more effective implementation.

The ground level applications especially those done at NGO and CBO level tend to be spread out in small pockets and documentation is not readily available. These applications, if looked at in a cohesive manner (even at a district level), would show a better picture of what is being applied and what is working. This can be valuable especially in terms of scale up and wider district, provincial or national level strategic directions that can be promoted.

#### **4.4 Practices in place and recommended for sustainable agriculture**

There are many different practices suggested that incorporate sustainable agriculture practices for combating land degradation, water management and climate change. Some of the suggested measures for tackling climate change in Sri Lanka are as follows:

**Table 4.3 Measures to combat climate change in agriculture**

<b>Mitigation</b>	<b>Adaptation</b>
a. Establish forests or any other vegetation (perennials and grass) on degraded or non-forested lands.	a. Increase agricultural productivity by introducing improved varieties and Improved management practices
b. Promote mixed cropping and agro-forestry instead of monoculture wherever possible.	b. Increase productivity in the plantation and minor export crop sectors, and diversify agricultural production and the food habits of the people
c. Cut down methane emissions from livestock with new feed mixtures.	c. Change cropping patterns to offset any unpredicted weather changes by developing tree crop agriculture in the Dry Zone; promote conservation farming techniques in areas vulnerable to soil erosion; develop tree-crop agriculture on degraded agricultural lands and promote agro-forestry on lands over 60% slope
d. Introduce changes in irrigation and fertiliser use to reduce methane emissions from wet rice cultivation.	d. Develop drought resistant rice/crop varieties without compromising on yields
e. Minimize nitrous oxide emissions from agriculture with new fertilisers and practices.	e. Introduce better water management by strengthening the institutional base and increase the efficiency of irrigation by adopting water conserving technology such as sprinkler irrigation methods and drip irrigation systems
f. Alter breeding criteria for crop varieties with high carbon dioxide sequestration.	f. Introduce and promote water harvesting techniques
	g. Change soil conservation criteria and land use patterns in landslide prone areas
	h. Initiate land use planning to ensure the proper utilisation of land
	i. Make farmers aware of climate change and instruct them in ways of adapting to it.
	j. Special attention should be focused on the poorer sections of the farming population because of their greater vulnerability to climate change impacts

Source: GOSL 2000

Many of these practices that are prescribed for climate change are reflected in the land and water management practices for sustainable agriculture. Some of the suggested sustainable practices that can be applied to small scale farmers are looked at in more detail below:

### **Land management**

Current practices of high input/output, mono crop type agriculture practices are aggravating land degradation conditions while also leading to climatic changes that are set to have negative repercussions on long term food security. These farming practices have also not been able to break the cycle of poverty faced by poor farmers. Putting in place measures for improving land management and soil conservation practices are seen as priority for maintaining productivity while it can also offer small farmers some opportunities to move out of poverty.

### **Organic Farming**

Organic farming, as defined by the FAO, is a holistic production management system that does not use chemical inputs, looks to minimise the pollution of the environment, and advocates for the health and productivity of the dependent communities inclusive of people and other plants and animals (Bandara 2008). The core principles that have been adopted to guide the sector are: causing minimal damage to the environment while also providing a safer toxin free product for consumption. In Sri Lanka organic agriculture is said to emulate traditional farming practices and those that can be adopted in Sri Lanka more widely to gain food security, good profit margins and healthier foods (Bandara 2008, Ebrahimi 2008).

A range of broad benefits are envisioned by organic agriculture practices:

<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Potential benefits</b>
Agriculture	Increased diversity, long term soil fertility, high food quality, reduced pests/disease, self-reliant production system, stable production
Environment	Reduced pollution, reduced dependence on non-renewable resources, negligible soil erosion, wildlife protection, resilient agro ecosystem, compatibility of production with environment
Social conditions	Improved health, better education, stronger community, reduced rural migration, gender equality, increased employment, good quality work
Economic conditions	Stronger local economy, self-reliant economy, income security, increased returns, reduced cash investment, low risk Stronger local economy, self-reliant economy, income security, increased returns, reduced cash investment, low risk
Organisational/ Institutional	Cohesiveness, stability, democratic organisations, enhanced capacity

Source: Crucefix 1998



In Sri Lanka there has been a small amount of conversions into organic production, for rice, tea, spices and vegetables. There has been support for this by the NGO sector as well as through the Department of Agriculture that offers financial support, seeds, and technological know-how to carry out the programme.

**Table 4.4 Extent of land (has) sown with the use of fertiliser for paddy**

<b>Type of Fertiliser</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2006</b>
Chemical Fertiliser only	395,106	480,963
Organic Fertiliser only	1,664	3,243
Both Chemical and Organic Fertiliser	50,873	92,906
None	8,215	14,184
<b>Total</b>	<b>455,858</b>	<b>591,296</b>

Source: DCS Agriculture abstract 2008

There have also been interventions to bring about a local certification process called Sri-CERT by a group initiated by the Nature forum as well as a government supported scheme that will enable local small scale producers to access a more affordable certification process. This can help to bring recognition and increase markets for these organic products.

For small scale farmers who have not necessarily benefited from high input/output farming, organic farming has the potential to provide for their needs, while also contributing to food security and reducing the damage caused to the environment. Some of the potential benefits are perceived as:

- The reduction of input costs for small scale farmers as organic farming does not involve the high capital investment, chemical inputs, pesticides etc as that are required in conventional farming. This can also reduce losses due to crop failures.
- Increased resilience to climatic conditions through the cropping patterns and crop types utilised.
- Use of the farmers' local and traditional knowledge that can be applied more widely than in conventional farming that relies on external inputs.
- Better profit margins as organic products are normally priced higher than other products. This premium price is important for small farmers to increase their household income.

Some potential threats and weaknesses also exist:

- Organic farming requires more precision in land management practices for which the technical assistance and information needed may not be freely available.
- Market factors such as supportive trade policies, and certification processes and wider demand are necessary to create a conducive environment and absorb small producers.
- Supportive policies and incentives need to be in place.
- As profits and benefits may not be received in the short term as the conversion needs time; incentives, and measures to buffer the risk are needed to encourage the change over.

Source: Crucefix 1998 and Ebrahimi 2008

### ***Switching to traditional crops***

Another measure that can be considered is to return to traditional and native crops and food sources that are resistant to climate fluctuations – extended periods of drought, salinity, pests etc. There are many rice varieties that are being tested while there are also some initiatives to encourage local food crops instead of introduced food crops (such as arthapal - potatoes) that are more conducive to local conditions.

Promotion of traditional rice varieties is being done at a local level and Box 4.1 below presents a summary of an intervention put in place among small farmers in the South of Sri Lanka.

**Box 4.1 Switching traditional rice varieties to tackle increased salinity**

Salt water intrusion in Sri Lanka's coastal rice fields is a problem that is certain to get worse with impending threats of sea level rise due to climate change. Practical Action's work has included farmer-led trials of traditional and modern rice varieties which are saline-tolerant, temperature-resistant and pest-resistant.

Forgotten types of indigenous rice can offer a home grown solution to increasing soil salinity. There are around 2,000 traditional rice varieties in Sri Lanka. Many are very high in nutritional value and have medicinal properties, and most are resistant to extreme drought conditions, diseases and pests. These varieties were traditionally grown using natural inputs such as organic manure, and no chemical fertilisers or pesticides. Farmers with Practical Action have worked on a number of trials on various rice varieties to see if they could withstand salinity.

For rice farmers in Dehigahalanda, in the Hambantota district of southern Sri Lanka, increased salinity in their water-logged fields was a grave problem, with yields dropping steeply. Some were getting less than half the expected yield. The farmers could not find a viable solution for the creeping salinity – aggravated by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and a lack of fresh irrigated water. They feared that eventually their fields would be left barren.

Today they have managed to reverse the process. Sixteen local farmers trialed ten different varieties of traditional rice through a programme of the National Federation of Traditional Seeds and Agri Resources, supported by Practical Action. For the first time, the farmers were given the choice of 'variety selection' and asked to score the different rice types according to duration of crop, plant height, grain quality and yield. Out of the ten, four varieties scored highest and were then promoted through farmer organisations as hardy, saline tolerant and high quality rice that were suited for coastal rice paddies.

The inputs are low-organic manure and less chemical pest control. Although traditional rice does not produce the yields of hybrid varieties, the profits remain high as it is purchased at a higher price by the Federation and there is high consumer demand today for these rice types. What's more, the application of organic fertilizer has begun to ease the soil salinity problem. "We were on the verge of abandoning our fields. The introduction of traditional rice has given a new lease of life to us and these fields," said Ranjith who is now a certified traditional rice grower and seed producer.

- Extracted from the Practical Action Website

As in the case of organic farming, the benefits are that it is less chemical intensive, less damaging to the environment, and incurs less production costs. Greater resistance to unfavourable climatic conditions and the possibilities of fetching a higher price are the other expected benefits of organic produce. It can also reduce the introduction of alien species and promote local food habits.

In terms of threats, issues of adequate yields, especially over longer periods to provide adequate income to the farmer, have to be established. While technical and raw material (i.e. seeds) support has to be established, the threats of switching have to be buffered by policies, incentives and risk managed schemes that are being put in place.

### ***Multiple cropping systems***

Multiple cropping is the practice of cultivating several different crops in the same plot of land either at the same time or on a rotation basis. This practice is common among small scale farmers who try to maximise benefits and reduce damages due to crop failures through this method. It can take the form of double-cropping, in which a second crop is planted after the first has been harvested, or relay cropping, in which the second crop is started amidst the first crop before it has been harvested.

### ***Home gardens***

Multi-layered home gardens found in the hills of Kandy, are an excellent example of poly cropping system that is traditional in Sri Lanka. It tries to mimic a natural system in terms of the diversity and complexity of their arrangement. These gardens play a supplementary role in the farming system providing fruit, timber and high value spice crops, that generate income as well as food sources for the household. These systems also provide ecosystem services, especially biodiversity protection and watershed management in the mid-country wet zone areas. This is another home grown example of an agriculture system with socio-economic and environmental benefits (Hitinayake n/d). Box 4.2 below gives a further description of the Kandyan home garden model.

#### **Box 4.2 Kandyan home garden model**

In the hilly regions of Sri Lanka (up country areas), homesteads are on sloped land and paddy cultivation is not possible due to non availability of water (under gravity). The farmers have made the best use of a small plot by adopting an ideal soil and management system to suit the terrain.

The traditional Kandyan home garden normally has a three tier crop cover. Tall trees such as coconut, arecanut, jak, breadfruit, mango, talpot, cloves, nutmeg, tamarind etc., make the topmost tier and provide protection from the erosive properties of the rain, in an area where high intensity rains are common. The intermediate canopy layer is provided by shorter trees such as lime, orange and other citrus trees, the maturing plants of cloves and nutmeg, as well as vines of pepper, betel, yams, other medicinal herbs etc. that use the trees as supports. These also allow for the water to trickle down with less force. The 3rd tier is the ground cover made up of species such as creepers, (gotukola, tampala, sarana etc.), and yams (*batala*-sweet potatoes) etc. This ground cover helps the water to infiltrate the soil very slowly, replenish soil moisture and maintain the ground water table at a shallow depth.

Mechanical soil protection systems such as terraces and drains etc. are also put in place to minimise soil erosion. Thus, although tilling of soil is done frequently soil erosion is kept low. Organic matter such as fallen leaves, along with cow dung and vegetative mulches, helps to maintain soil nutrients and organic matter. This system shows a well developed soil management routine that has evolved with years of practical experience and also provides a range of products at different times that can be used as an income source or for household food security

*Source: Nikapitiya n/d.*

Some of the strengths of these systems are that they:

- Reduce the risk of total loss from droughts, floods, pests and diseases, due to multiple outputs.
- Optimise the production from small plots and farmers can cope with land shortages.
- Improve soil fertility and pest control due to the combination of crops and thereby reduce the need for chemical inputs
- Yield different types of products, resulting in a variety of products at different times that can be sold or used in the household for a balanced diet.

The negative conditions are:

- More complicated land management since agronomic practices like fertilising, weeding, etc vary for different crops. Mixed cropping systems also require much more skill, knowledge, and labour to manage effectively.
- Difficulties in introducing new technologies such as row planting, modern weeding tools (especially in small land holdings), and improved varieties.
- Inadequacy of knowledge and understanding and technical support to manage such systems efficiently.
- Longer recovery period for initial investment and better income cannot be guaranteed.

An example of a multi cropping system is one that incorporates food crops with energy crops (dendro power). Growing fuel crops as a mixed crop is proposed as a buffer to agriculture income while providing shade (as in the case of tea), replenishing nutrients in the soil (nitrogen fixing), and providing fodder (for livestock rearing) in one system.

The benefits of dendro are also seen as many: providing carbon sinks and increased tree cover, revitalizing degraded lands, soil erosion protection (seen as for ideal for Sloping Agricultural Land Technology (SALT)), providing a source of home grown fuel source that will save foreign exchange, providing means of livelihoods and services that can spur economic growth in rural areas (BEASL 2009)

However, in reality the adoption of dendro power systems have been slow, due to the extent of land area required, prices offered, technical uncertainties, supply chain issues etc. In addition although dendro power is being promoted only for degraded lands and as poly cropping systems, if dendro power does become a lucrative enterprise due to fuel shortages, there are concerns of large mono crops of fuel species taking over agriculture land that can have effects on food security if not properly managed. Therefore such a system would have to be well balanced and supported by a policy framework. Box 4.3 presents a study done on one of the few existing dendro power schemes in Sri Lanka.

### **Box 4.3 A socio-economic study on a dendro power project**

Development of renewable energy sources has become a national priority for energy security and the Energy Policy states that by 2015 at least 10% of power generation should be through renewable sources. Dendro thermal energy generation using biomass is being suggested as one renewable option. This study looked to provide a full assessment of the socio-economic perspectives of growing short rotation fuel wood crops (*Gliricidia sepium*) in the 1 MW dendro power project in Walapane.

The study covered in 3 villages - Walapane, Nildandahinna in the Nuwara Eliya District and Kandeketiya in the Badulla District. The former has a dendro plant within the village, while the other two villages were selected at random from a host of other areas which supply feedstock to the plant.

There was the expectation that energy plantations would be established (managed by communities) but presently the supply has been entirely from home gardens/private lands as *Gliricidia* has been planted as a support for pepper and there was an abundance of it in the area. Large gardens recorded high yields and better incomes while smaller land owners operated on a subsistence level.

The majority of the farmers who participated did so for an additional income. However, due to the difficult terrain and the labour days spent on processing (cutting, chopping and drying) there was less willingness to participate. The price paid to feed stock was also a deterrent. The principal participants were men although women and children participated in the chopping, drying etc. However, the young men/women did not consider this as a lucrative livelihood option. The collectors were benefiting well from the project, their average income being around Rs. 30,000.

Among the challenges of the Project, irregularity of feedstock supply, high moisture content of the feedstock, insufficient storage space and poor quality of the grid line can be mentioned from the Dendro plant side. From the farmer's side, the lower price paid for the feedstock and the difficulties encountered in drying due to lack of space in their gardens were mentioned. The collectors too experienced difficulties during the rainy period and the festival months in procuring stable feedstock.

Source: [http://www.nri.org/projects/biomass/conference\\_papers/walapane\\_case\\_study.pdf](http://www.nri.org/projects/biomass/conference_papers/walapane_case_study.pdf)

### **Water management**

As water availability reduces, improving the management of environmental factors in agriculture production has to factor in better water management systems. This can be in the form of managing and improving efficiencies of the irrigated water supply systems as well as small-scale, farm based interventions, especially for poor farmers who lack access to irrigated agriculture systems. Box 4.4 provides some best practices as recommended by IWMI.

**Box 4.4 Recommendations for water management in agriculture**

**Get water to people:** Providing water for smallholding farmers in marginal or vulnerable areas through small scale technologies ranging from treadle pumps to micro-drip kits, combined with micro credit and access to markets is a proven strategy to fight poverty.

**Increase water productivity:** Improvements in water productivity at farm level through smart field practices, such as conservation tilling, land levelling to improve irrigation scheduling and breeding through resistant crop varieties can make a difference.

**Look at other options for agricultural water management:** There is great potential for improving crop yields by providing supplementary irrigation to rainfed systems through rainwater harvesting in farm ponds or community managed dams. There is also the option of re-using marginal quality water such as brackish water and treated or partially treated wastewater for agriculture (In India, Pakistan and Africa, some farmers use wastewater to grow cash crops).

**Manage agriculture for multiple ecosystem services:** Planning water use in integrated systems for domestic use, crop growth, aquaculture, livestock and ecosystems such as wetlands, offers scores for doubling or trebling water value. For example, multi-functional paddy fields can grow rice, and rear fish and ducks, thereby generating livelihood for small-scale farmers while supporting biodiversity.

*Extracted from a report by Prof. Frank Rijsberman, and Nadia Mannings, IWMI*

## 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Human wellbeing cannot be sustained without the goods and services that are provided by the environment in which we live. Therefore recognition of this fact and addressing these relationships when designing poverty alleviation programmes is necessary if changes are to be sustainable over the long term.

The environment resource base has degraded due to the present widespread agriculture practices and cannot continue to sustain the same type of systems, while the climate change phenomenon further aggravates this situation that poses risks for food security and poverty reduction. The threats also emphasise that business as usual cannot continue and therefore dictates that interventions have to be on the path of sustainable development. Aligning interventions sooner rather than later can also have greater ability to adapt and put in place models that can be replicated.

Small/poor farmers tend to be more reliant on degraded resources and as their ability to withstand shocks is less, they are more vulnerable to



environmental threats. However they are also least able to take up the challenge (unsupported) of sustainable agriculture systems due to their lack of risk taking potential. Therefore projects will have to be geared to provide for supportive structures such as incentive schemes and risk management schemes (i.e insurance) that can be pilot tested. These can provide valuable information on the support services and structures needed to scale up and improve the effectiveness of sustainable agriculture/climate change adaptation interventions.

There are many good practices being recommended that take into consideration the environmental threats, but they do not guarantee economic benefits – therefore the market has to also be addressed. Creating a demand through consumer preference and awareness and building the markets for sustainable products is needed. The current market that is a niche market must grow into the normal/average consumer groups as well.

There are also numerous stakeholders and interested parties that are working on sustainable development practices. There is a need to build synergies and create win-win situations among these players for more effective implementation and use of resources.

Taking up sustainable practices are also location and crop specific. Environmental practices have to be mainstreamed into land management practices and decisions as to what crop to grow where and what conservation measures to use. For this type of decision to be made more effectively, further work on gathering and recording existing ground level information, more R and D and scenario building to model adaptation to climate change, as well as cost benefits, field tests to verify the effectiveness of these measures are needed. This will allow for more informed choices to be made when choosing an intervention type.

Supporting environmental aspects and also gearing up farmers to face the threats of climate change, offers development projects a chance to build innovative elements that can build model/best practices for producing and marketing sustainable products.

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### Annex 1. Predicting climate change impacts

A study has been done by Seo, Mendelsohn, and Munasinghe, 2005, on climate change impacts on Sri Lankan agriculture using the Ricardian climate prediction method. The model examines climate change (temperature, rainfall) on the net revenue per hectare of the four most important crops (paddy, tea, rubber, coconut).

*In general, warming is expected to be harmful to Sri Lanka but increases in rainfall will be beneficial. Applying the estimated regression results to five climate scenarios, we estimate a range of effects from a loss of 20 per cent to a gain of 72 per cent. The scenarios with losses had overall harmful temperature impacts, with offsetting precipitation benefits. The scenarios with gains had harmful temperature effects, which were dominated by beneficial changes in rainfall. In the beneficial scenarios, there were large increases of precipitation in beneficial months and decreases of precipitation in harmful months (November). [The results from Sri Lanka were compared] with other Ricardian analyses, using a uniform scenario with a 2°C warming and a 7 per cent increase in precipitation. We find that the Sri Lankan simple model predicts national impacts of -27 per cent (loss) of agricultural output. A 3.5°C uniform increase predicts impacts of -46 per cent. The Sri Lankan results are predicted to be more severe than the results found in other countries. This is surprising, especially given the close proximity of India. Clearly more careful analysis of both Sri Lanka and other countries is warranted.<sup>3</sup> Note that the AOGCM-based Sri Lankan results in this paper show a much wider range of variability because they test a much larger range of climate scenarios.*

**Table A1 District level impacts (1,000 rupees)**

<i>District</i>	<b>HAD 3</b>		<b>CSIRO</b>	
	<i>Impact</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>Impact</i>	<i>% Change</i>
Gampaha	19	61	-7	-22
Colombo	35	98	-3	-8
Kalutara	38	92	-1	-2
Matale	0	-1	-7	-20
Kandy	14	44	-5	-17
Nuwara	23	59	-3	-9
Kegalle	43	121	-2	-5
Ratnapura	33	85	-2	-6
Galle	30	73	-3	-6
Matara	17	52	-5	-15
Hambantota	-3	-11	-10	-44
Badulla	-4	-13	-6	-18
Moneragala	-1	-2	-11	-25

Batticaloa	-13	-54	-8	-35
Trincomalee	-3	-20	-9	-54
Ampara	-14	-74	-7	-39
Anuradhapura	-3	-15	-10	-46
Polonnaruwa	-5	-28	-8	-48
Puttalam	2	7	-10	-46
Kurunegala	6	27	-10	-45
Mannar	-6	-35	-12	-72
Vavuniya	1	4	-10	-51
Kilinochchi	-1	-17	-11	-202
Jaffna	-1	-12	-11	-121
Mullativu	1	9	-10	-62

*Table A1 shows how net revenue in each district will be affected by the change in climate. As before, the simple model is used for this calculation. The impact column shows the change in net revenue caused by the climate change.*





# 8

## **OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES**

***Ishara Rathnayake  
Priyanthi Fernando***



## **Opportunities and Challenges**

The preceding chapters of this book identify a number of opportunities and challenges for supporting the rural poor, within identified thematic areas. Overall, the papers take a poor-centred, rather than sectoral, approach which points to three broad strategic options that can help reduce poverty in rural areas. These options focus on groups of **“productive poor”** and the opportunities and challenges in supporting their livelihood activities.

This approach of focusing on the poor is also in line with the overall policy orientation of the Mahinda Chintana 10 year development plan that looks at reducing poverty and inequality through targeting agricultural investments to poor regions. Given the current global situation, it aims to balance the orientation towards export agriculture and private sector partnership with concerns of food security and production for local markets.

This section provides a summary of the arguments presented in the preceding papers, focusing on their implications for developing intervention strategies for agencies such as IFAD who are focused on supporting the productive poor in rural Sri Lanka.

### **1. Enhancing the Livelihood Options of Small holder Farmers**

Much of the agricultural activities in Sri Lanka are carried out by small holder farmers, and there are many opportunities to enhance their livelihood outcomes, through improvements to existing crops and/or diversification and through commercialisation and improved linkages to the market.

A range of small holder farmers exist, largely on the margins of the market, and for whose households farming is a major source of income. These include tea small holders in the mid and up country, spice growers, upcountry vegetable growers and the small farmers who have traditionally been engaged in highland (chena) cultivation, fruit growing and rainfed paddy.

#### ***Tea Small holders***

Tea small holders in the Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces, and in the Nuwara Eliya District are faced with declining productivity, exacerbated by recent drop in world tea prices, and the reduction in purchases of green leaf from the tea factories. Some small holders have already

begun to abandon tea growing in favour of vegetable cultivation. Tea is, however, more appropriate for strongly sloping marginal lands, since it is a perennial crop that requires minimal land preparation and prevents soil erosion, and a shift from tea to other short term crops is likely to increase soil erosion. Support to the tea small holders needs to balance the potential volatility of the global market for tea, and the potential to reduce dependence on a single crop.

Improving the productivity of tea lands can be done through replanting or crop diversification. Government policy provides for an annual replanting rate of 2% which is not achieved. Government has also currently put a cap on the expansion of tea growing. The viability of continuing with tea production would also imply the ability/willingness of tea manufacturers to continue to purchase tea leaf from these small holders, even when there are fluctuations in world markets. The possibility of providing insurance for crop failures and market slumps, the replication of the "Tea Shakthi" model<sup>1</sup> with tea smallholders in the mid and up country and provision of support to tea factory owners so that they can engage the excess manpower and resources available in tea factories during times of reduced demand for other ventures that could provide backward linkages to the tea small holders and other marginal farmers.

The diversification of tea small holdings in the mid and up country through mixed cropping for dendro energy, fodder, vegetables, pepper or other perennial crops is a less risky option, since it is easier to stabilise household income than it is to control markets. Its viability will depend heavily on the provision of extension services and marketing opportunities.

### ***Spice and vegetable growers***

Constraints to the productivity of spice producers and vegetable growers in the Central and Uva provinces (especially Uva) arise from the shortage of planting material, and limited market opportunities. Limited marketing opportunities also constrain small scale chena cultivators in the drier parts of the Uva province. It is necessary to employ a multi-pronged strategy to increase these small farmers' access to market and value added opportunities.

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<sup>1</sup> The Tea Shakthi Fund was established in year 2000 under Act no. 17 of 2000 with the aim of improving the economic and social well being of tea small holders. Includes the operation of Tea Shakthi Fund, management of tea factories, production and distribution of fertilizer, local sale of tea, and the Tea Shakthi Insurance Scheme

Such a strategy can include supply-side issues such as improving the quality of the produce; identifying products for the Sri Lankan urban market; improving access to storage and introducing technologies to reduce wastage in transportation. Opportunities for stimulating demand for these products and providing access to marketing channels could be created through developing Dambulla-style buying centres in a location such as Mahiyangana (for produce coming from the Uva province) making linkages with private sector retailers (e.g. Cargills) exporters and agri-business, establishing mechanisms to protect forward contracting systems, improving local/global market intelligence and supporting value-addition rural industries at the district level.

The private sector and NGOs are playing an increasingly important role in agribusiness and agro-industry, providing a range of services such as research, extension, supply of inputs, processing and export of farm produce. It is mostly the private sector that supplies hybrid seeds, micro-irrigation technology, agrochemicals, packaging material and agricultural machinery; and carries out much of the food processing activities. There is some experience of forward contracting in Sri Lanka through projects supported by IFAD and others, which need to be evaluated and good practice needs to be replicated. Also required is a policy environment conducive to agribusiness, a functioning public and/or private extension system and the market infrastructure i.e. transportation, storage facilities. Organisations that would play an important role in delivering such a strategy would be the Tea Small Holders Association (TSHA) and other members of the National Agribusiness Council (NAC), the Department of Export Agriculture (DEA), as well as the various chambers of commerce, including the Women's Chamber of Commerce that focuses largely on women-owned/managed enterprise.

Commercialisation needs to be carried out with care both to the environment, as well as to the farmers' ability to withstand shocks that external market forces might induce. The less risky strategy of targeting local markets must be balanced against increasing value addition through exports. There is an opportunity to use the concern for environmentally sustainable practices in the Agriculture Policy for Sri Lanka, to obtain incentives to explore non-chemical intensive production of vegetables and other avenues of organic farming with a view to targeting a top-end market for organic food. Crop insurance schemes could cushion farmers against international market failures, and the provision of access to non-terminator seeds will minimize the risks of crop failure.

## **2. Increased Competitiveness and Access to Marketing Opportunities for Small Scale Livestock Farmers**

A second group of productive poor that poverty eradication strategies should focus on are small scale livestock farmers, particularly farmers involved in milk production in the districts identified as poor and dependent on agriculture. A focus on this group is directly aligned to government policy to increase national milk production. In the mid and up country, milk production takes place along with other livelihood activities such as vegetable farming. Often it is the women in these households that look after the dairy. There is a relatively good infrastructure for milk collection, artificial insemination facilities are readily available and farmers can obtain high yielding crossbreds suitable for the local conditions. Some integration of agriculture and livestock activities takes place with the cow dung used as fertiliser for the vegetables. However, these small farmers face some major constraints to optimising their limited resources and milk production is far below potential.

To be more competitive and be better able to access marketing opportunities, small dairy farmers need to improve the quality and quantity of the milk produced. Farmers will need better skills, technical and financial assistance that will enable them to improve their livestock management practices. Partnerships with the private sector (e.g. Nestle) and/or with government companies providing support to dairy and livestock farmers (e.g. Milco, Prima) will be needed to fill the gaps caused by weak extension services. Small scale agriculture producers are being encouraged to produce tree fodder for the livestock sector. Tree fodder seems to be an environmentally sounder option than grass and could also contribute to the production of dendro energy. In some areas, a shortage of milking cows of good quality could be a problem and this also needs to be explored in collaboration with the state and non-state institutions engaged in livestock development.

There are several national policies and programmes that are linked to small scale dairy farming. They include the successful Kirigamma (village of milk) project, Gemidiriya (project supported by the World Bank), the Japanese funded PEACE programme to name some. The Livestock Development Policy, the trade policies and the breeding policy provide the policy framework for livestock development and milk production. The breeding policy has not changed since 1989 and needs to be reviewed and possibly revised. The political rhetoric on trade favours reduction in imported milk foods and incentives to increase local liquid milk production and consumption. Government agencies such as the Livestock Development Board and the Department of Agrarian Services are tasked with supporting the industry.

### **3. Stimulate the Rural Economy to Increase Income Generating Opportunities for Local Labour**

A third area of focus is the need to stimulate the rural economy in general, which includes rural industry, agribusiness, manufacturing and service provision to the rural population in the areas where rural households depend largely on farming and/or fishing. This is needed because poorer households depend heavily on casual, non-agricultural labour, and non-farm employment opportunities need to be created for unemployed youth, seasonal workers (especially in fishing communities) and migrant workers.

Developing rural economies has proved to be an effective pro-poor strategy in other parts of Asia, notably China, where it has helped reduce both poverty and inequality. As government investments in infrastructure in the 'lagging' regions increase, accessibility will improve and one of the key bottlenecks to investing outside of Colombo and the western province will be removed. It will be easier to provide incentives to encourage private sector industry to move into those areas. As the demand for labour increases, it would be important also to establish schemes to upgrade the skills of these groups of casual labour so that they will have the human capital to be able to make the best of these opportunities. This will also involve strengthening those community organisations that represent the local labour, young people etc.

Local rural enterprise can also be promoted through the strengthening of micro finance services, especially in the poorer districts, developing innovative schemes such as job banks that link local labour to formal sector labour market and finding ways of encouraging the investment of remittances in local rural enterprise. This will also benefit women who form a large proportion of the overseas migrant workforce.

To achieve this, government, and non-governmental institutions engaged in the promotion of small and medium enterprises, including the Ministry of Enterprise Development and Investment Promotion, the Industrial Development Board, development agencies such as the ILO, and local and international NGOs providing both micro finance and enterprise development support, will need to be mobilised. Policy dialogue with the Ministry of Finance and Planning, the Chambers of Commerce etc., in order to incentivise private sector investment into the rural areas is also critical.



## **4. Conclusion**

The rural sector in Sri Lanka is affected by forces of urbanization and development in other parts of the country. It is also the focus of much of the government's development agenda. The issues of the rural sector are complex and many groups and regions require support and interventions to enable them to move out of poverty. There are many ways to develop strategies to promote rural poverty eradication and the sectoral approach has been the dominant approach in the past. The analysis presented in this publication provides a more poor-centred approach.

The chapters of this book were written as background to the IFAD consultations towards developing their country strategic opportunities paper. IFAD has a focus on the productive poor, and seeks to leverage a relatively small amount of funding to achieve sustainable impact on poverty, and as such the papers were written very much from the perspective of identifying the poor and their needs. The main groups of productive poor the papers identify are: (i) small holder farmers; (ii) small-scale livestock farmers; and (iii) rural wage labour. A number of opportunities to support the development of livelihoods of these groups have been discussed, as well as the challenges facing them. We hope that the analysis presented in this volume would provide a sound basis for developing effective and innovative strategies to support the reduction of poverty in rural Sri Lanka.

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Geetha Harshani, Junior Professional  
Mansi Kumarasiri, Professional  
Gayathri Lokuge, Professional  
Mohamed Munas, Professional  
Lakwimashi Perera, Junior Professional  
Ishara Rathnayake, Professional

