

A group of five people, including a woman with a black backpack, a woman with a grey backpack, a person with a red backpack, a man in a black shirt, and a woman with a blue backpack, are walking through a field of tall, golden-green grass. In the background, a dense forest of tall palm trees and other tropical vegetation rises up a hillside. The scene is brightly lit, suggesting a sunny day.

**PARTICIPATORY
RESEARCH EXPERIENCES
IN SRI LANKA**

FIELD TRIP 2013

Edited by Sini Pellinen and Paola Minoia

*EXPEDITION REPORTS OF DEPARTMENT OF GEOSCIENCES AND
GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI 1*

*HELSINGIN YLIOPISTON GEOTIETEIDEN JA MAANTIETEEN LAITOKSEN
TUTKIMUSRETKIRAPORTTEJA 1*

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Participatory learning methods and student travelling – Our experience in Sri Lanka

As soon as we proposed the field trip in Sri Lanka to our department's students, we received lots of enthusiastic applications. Apart from the attraction played by this exotic destination, and the leisure potential besides the academic programme, this trip was recognized as an undoubtedly relevant life and learning experience. In terms of life and educational values, the trip allowed students to experience new environments and cultures, although for a short period, and to challenge their own daily life perspectives. In terms of academic learning, they could try out and test the teachings provided in class rooms, e.g. practicing field methods suitable for selected research topics; learning about the challenges and surprises of empirical data collection; experiencing the possibilities and limitations related to given methods; exercising flexibility in research planning and to cope with risks and failures; learning how to interpret and analyze the collected empirical data; and so forth.

Methods for data collection and analysis may vary according to the students' backgrounds and specific interests. However, it was interesting seeing how students with different specializations merged in groups to study common topics using integrated approaches. In this course, students in development, tourism, education, urban, planning, physical geography and geoinformatics, chose to focus on different research themes, namely: risks and vulnerabilities, migrations, gender tasks, eco-tourism and land-use changes. Despite this thematic diversity, a common idea was to use participatory methods, involving locals in their research as far as possible. For us, participatory methods are not only specific methods to gather information from the locals, deriving from the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tradition and involving different ways to conduct interviews, focus groups, transect walks, workshops and so on; more relevantly, they allow researchers being involved in local dynamics and cooperating with local communities, to forge common understanding about specific realities, and to support their projects.

Our gatekeeper in the Sri Lanka's society was the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, a non-governmental organization (NGO) inspired by Gandhian ideals and active in more than 15000 villages across the country. Contacts made before the trip, and their suggestions, allowed students to select their research questions in a way that could be more meaningful for both the locals and themselves. In fact, the idea was not only to produce a study about local communities, but rather a study together with them. Anyway, this required prior preparation, and therefore, be-

fore the trip all students participated in a seminar series at our department, including group work, literature review, selection of methods and research planning.

Another relevant cooperation was enacted with the University of Peradeniya. The department of Geography of that university provided us research assistance in the Udawatta Kele sanctuary in Kandy and hosted a seminar where we could discuss the first findings from the field work. Moreover, other experts helped us in our activity, particularly from the International Centre for Ethnic Studies, the Centre for Policy Alternatives, the United Nations Development Programme and the University of Colombo.

Once arrived in Sri Lanka, we stayed at the Sarvodaya premises in Moratuwa, where we familiarized with the movement, its guiding philosophy and main activities. After a couple of days, they introduced us to Pannala South, a village of almost 1000 inhabitants in the Kegalle district. The village had not received previous visits from external researchers, and organized for us a beautiful welcoming celebration, with public and religious authorities and a large group of residents. We found hospitality in families' households, and this was already a very important factor in the overall experience there. As an exchange, we gave a donation for a community project suggested by the Sarvodaya movement: the restoration of their communal hall in the temple's premises.

Our staying was in a very particular time of the year, as it was the Full Moon Vesak holiday, celebrating Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death, and therefore, the village temple was particularly full of lights, decorations and large visitors' groups. Despite the feast, many Sarvodaya members, including women and men of different ages, maintained their interest and commitment to help our research work, informing the students, accompanying them to meet other community members in their households, in the fields or at school, and helping with translations from Sinhalese or Tamil into English and vice versa. Four groups conducted their research in the village of Pannala South, whereas one group chose a forest sanctuary located in Kandy as their case study area. The three days spent in the village of Pannala South were filled with research activities such as interviewing and having group discussions with women, men, students and village officials, recording daily activities, keeping diaries and collecting GPS points; while the group in Kandy met visitors and officials in the Udawatta Kele Sanctuary. These practices provided many lessons to all of us - about leading interviews and discussions, working with interpreters, and how to touch on topics that are more sensitive and personal. At the end of our staying in the village, the research results were shared in a workshop where anyone could comment and give feedback to the students.

The village stay and accommodation in families provided a window to the everyday lives of the villagers; the domestic chores, livelihoods and social life in the neighborhood with festivities and funeral services. This encounter was of course two-way, and indeed the students roaming around the village raised much curiosity among the village residents. In many host families the evenings were spent entertaining visitors from the neighborhood who wanted to meet us. Many thanks go to Sarvodaya who had informed and made preparations with village activists and host families to make our stay in the village as smooth and least disruptive as possible.

After this first week of work, we dedicated the weekend to a visit to the archeological Anuradhapura site in North Central Province, and then to a tour in Jaffna peninsula in

the Northern Province. The bus journey to Jaffna was long, and finally took us to a very different territory, still not recovered from the long civil war that ended in 2009. Whereas most army checkpoints by the main roads and junctions have been closed since the end of the war, at the remaining checkpoint in Omanthai, travellers are still required to get down from their vehicles and have their luggage and identity cards inspected by military personnel. As foreigners, we were saved from a strict military scrutiny unlike the locals, and were allowed to continue our journey after a thorough passport check. A Tamil guide accompanied us from Vavuniya until Jaffna and the Northernmost Point Pedro, helping us to understand some regional features of the North, as our superficial observation could not help much. Remaining of destructions along the A9 road in Kilinochchi district, like the Iranamadu reservoir destroyed during the war, the fallen water tower in Kilinochchi town and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) war tank were evident memorial and tourism resources; while other facts and challenges in the new reconstruction of the region certainly needed more thorough explanations that our guide could give us.

The following week was used to elaborate more on the research papers, since the students were due to present their findings in the seminar organized by the Geography department of the University of Peradeniya. We did not expect much audience, because we were warned of other events where students were engaged at the same time of the seminar; but once we entered the seminar hall, we found a crowd of nearly hundred peers waiting to hear our presentations. Our students were very excited and initially intimidated; but once they started, their talking became natural and easy to follow. Their presentation was followed by the interventions from two professors of the University of Peradeniya, and a discussion with a large participation also from the students in the audience. After the seminar, some informal time allowed our students getting in touch with local peers.

After the academic programme, and before going to Colombo for the last visits to institutions based there, we spent a day in Meemure, in the highlands around Kandy. With this visit, the real touring part of the field trip that had started with the field work in Pannala South was completed.

To summarize our journey after leaving Pannal South (Figure 2), in the course of five days that included uncounted hours of bumpy and bendy bus rides, we covered the historical Anuradhapura site (the first Sinhalese capital, from 4th century BC to 11th century AD), witnessed the signs of three decades lasting conflict and the post-conflict reconstruction efforts along the A9 road to Jaffna (an ancient Tamil capital), explored the Jaffna Peninsula that is still under recovery after so many years of war terrors, toured the Kandy town (capital of the last Sinhalese kingdom 1469-1815) located at the foot of the central mountain range, and finally bathed in the magical water streams of the isolated mountain valley village of Meemure. All the places we visited were accompanied by local guides who skillfully took us to places and made us see and understand things that we would have otherwise missed (Figure 1).

Our trip ended in Colombo, where we spent two eventful days getting to know the research and development scene of Colombo and Sri Lanka. We paid a visit to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office and various research and advocacy organizations with head offices in Colombo. We also had a chance to participate in an international research conference on post-conflict reconciliation organized by the Interna-

tional Centre for Ethnic Studies. Those who were more interested in physical geography had a chance to learn about surface water pollution in the city and visited a waste recycling centre in Colombo, accompanied by a student in geography of the University of Colombo.

This publication, which gathers together the students' final essays and travel journals, allows us to share our work and experiences with our host village, the Sarvodaya movement and all parties that enriched our fieldtrip in Sri Lanka, our university peers whether students or staff and other interested individuals. Results, shortcomings and lessons learnt are expressed.

For those who took part in the field trip in one way or another, we hope you enjoyed our encounter as much as we did, and maybe our paths will cross again. For the rest of you, we hope that the coming pages will be of inspiration, to start getting more familiar with this country through our eyes, and to appreciate our field studies in geography.

Paola Minoia and Sini Pellinen

Helsinki, 9 October 2013.



Figure 1: Sini and Paola together with representatives from the Archaeological office of Kandy.



Figure 2: The field trip tour in Sri Lanka (Sallinen 2013).

Sri Lanka travel itinerary

20.5. – 2.6.2013

Day 1 – Monday 20.5: Group gathering in Colombo and transport to Sarvodaya headquarters in Moratuwa. Accommodation in the HQ.

Day 2 – Tuesday 21.5: Introduction to Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement and touring in different Sarvodaya units. Visit to the International Center for Ethnic Studies Colombo office. Accommodation in the HQ.

Day 3 – Wednesday 22.5: Transfer to Pannala South village located in Kegalle district. Welcome ceremony by the local Sarvodaya society and community members. Meetings with community groups to organize for field research. Home accommodation in the village.

Day 4 – Thursday 23.5: Research activities in the village involving translators and local villagers. Group of three students departs to Kandy to conduct their field work in Udawatta Kele sanctuary.

Day 5 – Friday 24.5: Research activities from the previous day continue. A workshop with Sarvodaya society and community members to present research findings in Pannala South. Participating in Vesak celebrations in the evening. In the meantime, students in Kandy continue with their researches in Udawatta Kele sanctuary.

Day 6 – Saturday 25.5: Departure from Pannala South and Kandy - the two groups join in Kurunegala and continue the drive to Anuradhapura town. Visiting the Anuradhapura heritage site.

Day 7 – Sunday 26.5: Travel from Anuradhapura to Jaffna, stopping at the Iranamadu reservoir, Kilinochchi town and war memorials on the way. Touring Jaffna peninsula, including visit to Keerimalai “hot” springs and Point Pedro.

Day 8 – Monday 27.5: Getting to know Jaffna town and Jaffna fort area, visiting Nallur Kandaswamy temple and Jaffna museum. Drive from Jaffna to Kandy city.

Day 9 – Tuesday 28.5: Tour of Kandy town, including a visit to Kataragama temple. Analyzing research findings from Pannala South and Kandy and preparing presentation for the following day’s seminar.

Day 10 – Wednesday 29.5: Seminar at the University of Peradeniya with presentations from the Geography Department academics and students. Visiting the Peradeniya

botanical garden in the evening.

Day 11 – Thursday 30.5: Excursion to Meemure traditional village located in the Knuckles Mountain Range valley. Nature trail to waterfalls close to the village. Drive to Colombo in the evening.

Day 12 – Friday 31.5: Visit to United Nations Development Programme head office in Colombo, followed by visits to two advocacy and research agencies – Center for Poverty Analysis and Center for Policy Alternatives – in Colombo.

Day 13 – Saturday 1.6: Tour of surface water pollution sites in Colombo guided by a colleague student from the University of Colombo. Taking part in an international research seminar on post-conflict reconciliation arranged by the International Center for Ethnic Studies.

Day 14 – Sunday 2.6: Travel to Finland.

Message from Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

In May 2013, a group of students from the University of Helsinki in Finland visited the Sarvodaya headquarters in Moratuwa and the village of Pannala South in Kegalle district for a 6-day study tour programme, coordinated by Sarvodaya. During the study tour, the Finnish students, who were guided by Sarvodaya staff, carried out various research activities around the village. Sarvodaya society members and non-members in the village actively participated in the research project along with the students.

The study programme was a new experience for the Sarvodaya staff, as it differed from previous collaboration we have had with foreign universities. In the standard programmes, visiting university groups participate in Shramadana - or sharing of labour - for the fulfilment of a community need. Instead, the students from Helsinki were focused on research activities during their village stay. However, through their financial contribution to the village, the Sarvodaya society managed to complete construction work of an existing community hall. The hall is being used for community gatherings in the village and as a place of the devotees of the temple for regular religious meetings.

The research conducted by the students is very important for both the villagers and the Sarvodaya organization. Through the presentations made by the students in the final workshop, certain social realities and phenomena that were not earlier discussed or considered, were brought into light. The most important findings for us were the perceptions of the younger generation regarding their future dreams or plans. According to the students' research findings, most of the youths in the village wished to leave the village for employment and education. The parents and elders in the village had not been aware that the youths have such strong desires to leave the village, thus it was interesting to know in advance about the future visions of the younger generation.

We at Sarvodaya also believe that the study programme helped to strengthen the social connections within the village and especially with the more marginalized people. In anticipation of the study programme and later when accompanying the students, the villagers had opportunities to walk around the village as a team and visit the marginalized people, such as elderly women and female headed households within the same village. Through these walks, the villagers were able to get to know each other better and also to have contact with minorities and other social groups they would not otherwise socialize with in their everyday life. The villagers were also working together when hosting and

organizing activities for the student group, such as planning accommodation, preparing foods, arranging logistics, organizing the welcome ceremony and meeting in the final workshop. Furthermore, the programme created a platform for the villagers to interact with people from another country and to learn and experience the way of living of foreigners, which is something that many of them had not previously experienced.

A few years back, Pannala Sarvodaya society requested the Sarvodaya headquarters to provide financial assistance to complete the rest of the construction work of the community hall; however, due to lack of funds, this request couldn't be materialized. We are delighted to note that with the financial support we received from the Helsinki programme, we were able to continue our community development programme in the village. We are now looking for opportunities to host similar programmes with other foreign universities, so as to make opportunities to other villages in Sri Lanka to obtain similar learning experiences through their researches and financial support to our projects.

Thank you,

Best regards,

Bandula Senadeera.
Sarvodaya International Division

Part I: Essays



Risks and vulnerabilities faced by disadvantaged women in a Sri Lankan village

Meri Norola, Saara Räsänen, Ville Savoranta and Noora Stenholm

Abstract

This study focuses on the everyday problems, risks and vulnerabilities faced by widows and female-led households and the ways they cope with these issues, as well as their social standing in the community. The study was conducted in Pannala South, in the Kegalle district of Sri Lanka, and consists of thematically organized, open-ended interviews, which are analyzed with the help of previous literature on the topic. The results show the centrality of economic security in the women's lives, with strong links to the other themes studied. Environmental effects on the women's livelihoods and mobility are also significant. Based on the interviews, social status and networks are important support mechanisms for the disadvantaged women, with varying levels of dependency observed. In the end, a complex picture of the role of these women in the local community emerges.

1. Introduction

Our group was interested in security aspects and the position of vulnerable groups within the Sri Lankan society. After reading articles and getting to know Sri Lankan history and the current situation we decided to direct our research to the risks and vulnerabilities faced by disadvantaged women. We quickly discovered that women have many challenges in Sri Lankan society. Women are not usually in the labor force but carry a double burden, which means that they are responsible for bringing income for the family and also in charge of unpaid household tasks.

Our focus group, disadvantaged women, included widows and other female headed households meaning lone mother households and female-headed extended households. Income of these households is mostly earned by females. For the disadvantaged women the support of the social network, family and neighbors is very important (Amirthalingam

and Lakshman 2011). In general it is likely that disadvantaged groups like female-headed households are extremely poor and can be stuck in this economic situation for many years (Tudawe 2001: 6). Even if these households have decent income, it is often relatively lower compared to male led households due to the nature of work (Amirthalingam and Lakshman 2011 : 33). Because the economic situation can affect also other aspects of vulnerability we have looked into the inter relations of these factors.

In a Sri Lankan context, the state has done much to invest in social development (Tudawe 2001), yet there is still a lot to be done in terms of gender equality and human rights. De Mel (2001) argues that even though women are commonly perceived as the heart of the nation or the source of nationalism in Sri Lanka, they are also subordinated through restrictions and boundaries that the national discourse reproduces. This control usually targets women's sexuality, motherhood and rights as citizens. Sri Lankan Shadow Report (2010: 10) claims that national policies and reforms still see women mainly as mothers and nurturers, with unequal life opportunities compared to men. This, then, enforces gender related underdevelopment. De Mel (2001) continues by arguing that as men are the subject of the nation, women are the nation itself, but they also require male protection in order to ensure future generations. Therefore, women who break the norms and disobey the duties of wives are seen as threats to the nation (De Mel 2001). These social structures add challenges to the already disadvantaged. Young (2006) underlines the burden these women have to bear in South-Asian societies. Our argument is that disadvantaged women in our research village – mostly widows and female-headed households – do face similar social challenges as theorized before. On the other hand, previous studies have highlighted how the heterogeneous nature of female-headed households makes it difficult to find commonalities between their socioeconomic situations or the reasons they have become such (Fuwa 2000: 1516). This also raises questions on how much can be generalized from the results of studies focusing on them.

2. The status of vulnerable women in Sri Lanka and the risks they face

Public participation has become one of the most widely regarded legitimizing factors in modern political thinking. In this new framework, equal representation and opportunity for all persons to take part in civil society is what defines a democracy (Mac Ginty & Williams 2009: 80). In Sri Lanka, the percentage of women participating in national politics is extremely low (Gomez & Gomez 2001; UNDP 2012). In a way this is controversial, since gender equality in terms of education, literacy and life expectancy is much better in Sri Lanka than in its South-Asian neighbors (UNDP 2012). Villages are the heart of Sinhalese Buddhist society (Brow 1988), but the amount of females in local governance is even lower than it is in the national level (Gomez & Gomez 2001). Sinhalese nationalism has traditionally been strong in the Sri Lankan society and also visible in the villages (Brow 1988). One of the clearest effects of this tradition is that gender roles are still very traditional and opportunities for women in decision making and speaking up are restricted not so much by law but mostly by tradition and mindset (Sarvodaya Women's Movement

2013; Gomez & Gomez 2001).

Empowerment of women, position of disadvantaged women in society and their economical status has been viewed recently in many research projects (Gomez & Gomez 2001; Tudawe 2001). The subject is still very sensitive and getting results is often described to be challenging. Also the political situation in Sri Lanka is not yet quite stable because the society is still recovering from civil war. Although the recent end of the war had a positive effect to all development sectors and the overall wellbeing has improved in many levels (UNDP 2012), physical and psychological traumas over a long period of national insecurity have probably had inevitable effects on all Sri Lankans despite their social, economic or ethnic status. One relevant side effect that has been recorded is that violence towards women and children has increased after the war all over the country (International Crisis Group, 2011).

Perhaps the most influential result of the focus on vulnerabilities in development research has been the emergence of the *Human Security-paradigm* that holds a people-centered view on security and stability. This multi-disciplinary approach rose to prominence with the release of the 1994 Human Development Report. From a human security-perspective, social development and security are deeply intertwined processes that must be treated in conjunction with each other (Kaldor 2007: 195-197). Based on this view, our division was made to economic, environmental, social, health related and physical risk factors. The groupings presented were naturally vague, since for example environmental hazards are strongly related to physical and economic security, which then again link into health and social relations. Also, the possibility to participate and have a say in a community strengthens one's position (and the sense of security) in that particular society. In other words, none of these themes can be harshly separated from others. Also, there are numerous sources to vulnerabilities based on the context, all of which our themes cannot possibly cover and we do not even aim to theorize them all.

Most theory and earlier research on security in contemporary Sri Lanka is strongly focusing on the consequences of the ethnic conflict. Many studies claim that militarization has accumulated the experiences of insecurity among marginalized groups in the country, when it should work the other way (Orjuela, 2010; International Crisis Group, 2011; de Mel, 2009). Therefore, the traditional understanding of the relation of security and development has become problematized – in Sri Lanka, security does not always co-create development, and vice versa. Despite of this very interesting nationwide phenomenon, there are many more “small scale” security issues and sources of risks in the everyday life of rural people. Acharya (2011: 480) points out the core of the concept of human security; turning the focus from national to individual perspective.

A facilitator for our research was Sarvodaya, which is the largest and probably most influential NGO in Sri Lanka. Sarvodaya aims to build peace and stable society in Sri Lanka. It organizes development projects and is present in almost 15 000 Sri Lankan villages. The aims of the organization is to empower people in the local level and eliminate poverty. Its ideology is Buddhist and the organization does not deny being religious, but highlights that it wants to support people of all religions. Sarvodaya “*recognizes Sri Lanka's unique multi-ethnic, multi-religious character; to create a sense of 'one nation, many cultures'.*” (Our vision, sarvodaya.org)

3. Data and methods

This study used qualitative research methods in order to understand the phenomena, processes, meanings and context (Brockington & Sullivan 2003: 57) in which personal perception of the risks and vulnerabilities are experienced. The interviews were conducted in May 2013 in Pannala South village, which is situated 60 kilometers from Colombo, in Kegalle district, Western Sri Lanka (Figures 1 and 2). Sarvodaya acted as a facilitator in terms of giving us the permission to do our research in the village and enabled us the access to our target interviewees. We discussed our research plan through e-mail beforehand in order to make sure that the aim of the research was clear and agreeable.

Data for the analysis was collected through open-ended interviews. Open-ended interviews allowed us to freely follow whatever topics aroused and we were able to empower the interviewee to tell information that might not have been asked directly. Furthermore, open-ended interviews enabled us to gather a rich, deep and qualitative data as the interviewees were able to answer in their own terms (Hoffman 2007: 343). The purpose was to have focus groups because it could have given more information about the different experiences and perspectives (Lambert & Loiselle 2008: 229). However, the situation changed suddenly in the field and we were unable to do the interviews in focus groups. Therefore, we conducted individual interviews which enabled us to collect more detailed information of participant's thoughts and access the narratives through which people described their experiences (Silverman 2007: 137). Data collection was also conducted through observation, aiming to get a better overall picture for interpreting our findings. This way we hoped to understand the contexts that interviewees described.

We used translators because the interviewees spoke Sinhalese. Two employees of Sarvodaya interpreted most of our interviews but due to practical challenges, such as time constraints, we also had a couple of locals as our interpreters. With the help of local Sarvodaya members, we were able to find members of our target group. This arrangement also led to the situation that there were a lot of people present in the interview situations including family members, neighbours and close friends.

The interviews were conducted in pairs. We shifted team members on the second day in the field as it was a good way of cross-checking data and minimize bias. Altogether we conducted 11 interviews in two days, ten individual and one pair interview. However, only seven out of eleven interviews were our target group due to some misunderstandings with our local facilitators. Therefore, our analysis is focusing on these seven women. The interviews were conducted in the women's homes. This had a positive effect as the choice of location had an impact on the conversations. The interviews took from 20 to 45 minutes. With the interviewee's permission, we recorded most of the interviews. Recording allowed us to focus on the interaction and writing field notes. Notes were taken during and after every session and from other observations and were written down in our field diaries. Questions were divided into themes of economic, environmental, social, health and physical security. The questions were presented according to a flexible checklist. Preliminary analysis of the data began in the field in meetings after the interviews. More in depth analysis was carried out in Finland after transcribing the interviews. In the data analysis we

used an inductive approach beginning with concrete empirical details (Mikkelsen 2005: 168). The objective of the analysis was to highlight narratives in the women's answers and compare them with previous research on the topic. A focus on narratives was chosen as it can help interpret oral discourses, cultural meanings and interpretations that direct perception (Daiute & Lightfoot 2004: viii). Due to our small sample size and the heterogeneity of the interviewees, no attempt is made to generalize this study.



Figure 1: On our way yet to another house to gather data (Norola 2013).



Figure 2: Interviews drew a great attention among neighbours (Stenholm 2013).

4. Results

Despite the heterogeneity of the interviewed women's situations, many described similar issues under the five themes considered. This was true both for the type of issues as well as their scale. These results will be presented shortly, followed by further discussion.

Economic security appeared central in the interviewees' answers, with income and capital issues being the most common themes discussed. Majority of the women were not employed and were partly or completely relying on the help of their families and neighborhood for food and other supplements. The general livelihoods approach among those women who worked was self-employment, with several of the women describing multiple forms of income, that they switch between during different circumstances, for example



Figure 3: An example of self-employment in the village: carpentry (Stenholm 2013).



Figure 4: Rain showers are common in the village (Räsänen 2013).

seasons or public holidays (Figure 3). Overall, the answers painted a picture of adaptation as the women would change between different jobs depending on their situation. Lack of financial capital seemed to be an issue regarding the choice of employment, as several of the women mentioned changing from more capital intensive forms of employment, like shopkeeping, to manufacturing items and food, which require less initial investments. The women worked primarily from home. Besides income, the economic security of the most working women relied upon other family members' income or help from the wider family. The women also mentioned a lack of government support, with the average pension or welfare mentioned being around 300 to 500 rupees per month, or 2 to 3 Euros at the time.

Environmental issues were widespread among the interviewees, with nearly all mentioning some problems. Heavy rains and flooding were the main forms of extreme weather experienced by the women and their families, often affecting their livelihoods (Figure 4). These kinds of events were also a physical obstacle to movement, preventing

in some cases the people from leaving their homes, or going to work. In one instance, an interviewee mentioned staying up during the nights when it was raining, in fear of landslides. These stories were accentuated by observations made of the homes of the women, some of which were difficult to reach. A few of the paths to the houses were difficult even for the young and physically adept interviewers. In several cases, the condition of the women's houses was noticeably poorer in comparison to other houses in the village, for example in some of the homes the ceiling was simply a layer of sheet metal, with visible leaks.

Social networks seemed to be a strength among the women, as all of the interviewees mentioned receiving help from neighbours, family and village society in times of need. Most of the interviewed women were also members of one or two of the village societies, Sarvodaya women's movement and the *death donation societies* which mean that villagers contribute to the family that has lost a member in order to receive similar treatment when in need. Although some of the women said that they are able to participate in wider communal decision-making, in most cases they mentioned mainly acting within the family. Different levels of dependency were common among the interviewees, ranging from occasional help to total economic dependence. As the overall social setting seemed nuanced to us, this topic will be explored further in a subsequent chapter.

The distribution of health related issues among the interviewees was varied, with most interviewees being in good health while some being unable to work due to their ailments. Generally the interviewees were happy with the level of their healthcare, which was apparently free in the case of basic care given by a hospital a few kilometres away. In a few instances more specialized treatments and medicines incurred costs to the women. Also, those interviewees who needed more advanced medical care mentioned travel-related problems as this was not available near the village. Family members' health was an issue in a few of the interviews.

Issues relating to physical security were least common among the interviewees, with most of them highlighting the strong community of the village in their answers. A few of the women mentioned having felt threatened by outsiders, for example inebriated persons in the village, or family members with mental health issues. Few interviewees mentioned having witnessed some violent acts. Physical security was the most difficult theme to approach in the interviews, possibly due to the setting of the interviews which often included other family members, friends and neighbours. This theme in general was much harder to approach in the interviews. For this reason the effects of social pressure have to be considered. As such clear ties with the social setting can be observed, these topics will be discussed together.

4.1. Interlinked themes

A common observation throughout the interviews was the interconnected nature of the five themes; *economy, environmental, social, health and physical security*. These connections were varied in their nature, having direct causal consequences, where one issue led to another, as well as qualitative ones in which an existing situation was affected.

Overall the picture was very similar to the one presented by Tudawe (2001: 6, 26), describing the linkages between different factors behind poverty (in this case, poverty risk) in Sri Lanka. Although Tudawe approaches the topic through transformation of forms of capital, while we base our analysis on a human security foundation, the underlying concept is the same.

Economic security played a central role among the observed connections, with most other themes relating to it in some way. This was most evident in connection with the environment, as the livelihood methods of the interviewees were strongly affected by events like extreme weather. Examples of this include floods destroying tea plantations as well as high humidity preventing some forms of work, like the manufacturing of paper bags, with obvious continued implications for income. The fundamental role of the economic security on the lives of the interviewees was evident in the way that it could also affect their health and physical security. A practical example of this is a female-headed household, that couldn't afford mental health medicines for the husband, leading to alcoholism and apparent feelings of insecurity on part of the wife. Besides these obvious causalities, possible underlying connections between the economic security of the women and their social standing can be considered as well. For example, Malhotra & Mather (1997: 623) have highlighted the prestige Sri Lankan women give to wage earning work, yet in our sample none of the women did wage work and all who did work were self employed. Might these methods of income generation be thought of more as coping methods than free choices? Our view was that due to the double burden or health issues, none of the interviewed women would have had the possibility to work outside their home for many hours every day.

Environment played another, more fundamental role as it affected the accessibility of the interviewees. In two instances the inhabitants of houses were unable to leave their houses during heavy rains as the way was effectively blocked. This had direct effects for the sources of income and livelihoods of the households. For example, in one case, the sole wage earner of the family was unable to go to work during these rains, in another instance, customers were unable to arrive to purchase products. These accessibility issues also had an effect for healthcare, as the services often demanded long travel, particularly for those in need of specialized care. Feelings of insecurity during these travels were mentioned, as in the case of a woman who had witnessed violence during these trips. In another case the interviewee mentioned being "hurt" by the trips. It was left uncertain what this meant.

Finally, changes in the social standing of the interviewees, particularly the effect of widowhood were pronounced and had an effect on livelihood. Here the causality is most clear. These effects included the loss of income due to the husbands passing, both pensions as well as personal income, leading to increased dependency on other members of the family or wider society, which has been observed in other studies in Sri Lanka as well (Tudawe 2001: 23).

Social status of widows, and norms and expectations of village life

In Pannala South, the nationalistic Sinhalese discourse of villages being the core and backbone of the country was obvious. In the discourses of the locals, the village is

a romanticized, self-reliant unit where people know each other by name, where young people want to return to when they start a family, a unit that supports the poorest and most vulnerable members of the society. Buddhist values were also highlighted by the locals' help, support and care given to the needy. All interviewees underlined the importance of social networks and village relations as the most valuable coping method during hardship, especially economical. Family and relatives were the primary providers, but all of the interviewees also mentioned neighbors as a source of help and support to some extent. Communality was positively highlighted in many instances. However, what we discovered by analyzing the interviews further and by observing the daily life around the village is that such ideals do hide some unpleasant subordination and discrimination, especially of the most vulnerable. Even though monetary help, social support and reciprocity were common, they did not reach everybody, not at least sufficiently.

Some interviewees were highly dependent on help outside the nuclear family, even on a daily basis. Most women in our target group needed daily help from family members and neighbors. Also, all interviewees were part of some village networks or societies that provide help when needed. Interestingly, the government support to widows turned out to be minimal, and therefore good relations to neighbors and relatives were essential. As national social protection is insufficient, most women were part of death donation societies that provide support after a loss. Many women also said that they are members of Sarvodaya, but they did not mention how the organization benefits them. Tudawe's argument that social relations are an important coping method especially for the poorest supports our analysis (2001: 33).

Social burden of the disadvantaged women

Tudawe (2001) has compiled a research paper on chronic poverty in Sri Lanka, which argues that even though there are no significant differences between male and female-headed households in poverty levels, citizens who are most vulnerable in Sri Lanka are unwed women, widows and female-headed households, to name a few. The paper goes on to say that such women often live on state land, do not inherit, are likely to work seasonally on low-wage jobs and face social challenges because they do not have the status of a husband to protect them. The argument of social pressure becomes evident in Young's theorization (2006), and our experience in the field strengthens the assumption that disadvantaged women are easily socially excluded. Young (2006) explains the difficult position widows are subject to in South-Asian cultures by saying that they are seen as poisoned and unclean, possibly even reason for the husband's death, and therefore in need of punishment. Widows are also unreliable, since there is no longer a male to control their sexual needs and unpredicted behavior (Young, 2006). This negative stigmatization might be a reason why many women we interviewed eventually said they were lonely, felt left out, could not move around by themselves and were thankful that we visited them and were interested in their stories. For many, life was limited to a very small area. A neighbor of one widow said that the sense of isolation is due to the structure of the village, "this is not Colombo, we are only villagers". The expressions of loneliness also imply that the social networks mentioned earlier do not work as well as they should. On the other hand,

one woman who was economically well off with a husband working in a distant city said she is too busy to interact with neighbors, and the triple burden of two jobs, household tasks and social obligations is too much for her. In other words, time poverty made her excluded from the village life. Brow (1988: 4) gives an example on the importance of social inclusion by describing one Sri Lankan village, and says that social identity and relations are created by kinship norms. It is not too surprising that women who have been married off to a distant village and then lose a husband feel lonely. On the other hand, Holmes (2011) describes the social inclusion programs among elders in Nuwara Eliya that have significantly improved their health and self-esteem.

Decision making and social empowerment

We faced difficulties with questions about political and social participation in Pannala South, opportunities for decision making and courage to stand up and speak out. Some women did not understand the questions at all, and in some cases it was obvious that social exclusion denies these possibilities. Sometimes it was difficult even for the translators to fully understand these questions, which might imply that socially or politically active women are not very common in the Sri Lankan countryside. Once, the translator said that one woman was “too uneducated” to understand much, and therefore could not participate in any way. The woman’s sister-in-law also said that her opinions do not matter to people because “she is not a useful person to the society”. From our observations we assumed that she had a mental disability.

In some cases being a member of Sarvodaya or death donation society seemed to satisfy the interviewees’ needs for social participation. One woman said she is a member of “all the societies and political groups” but did not talk about this any further. Also, many women said they would talk primarily to the family when facing challenges, and in some cases women were only “waiting to solve their problem” and did not go to the village meetings and speak up. Only two women did speak about gender issues related to voicing up. The other said that women need strong minds to manage, and the other highlighted that women may be able to participate in decision making in the village, and that she thinks that lack of social participation is the “nature of problems”.

The ideal Sri Lankan village and what it hides

Interaction, good relations and networks of help between neighbors and relatives were presented as a positive characteristic in the daily culture in Pannala South. We made this assumption by observing the daily life, visiting temples during a Buddhist holiday Vesak and by talking with many locals. Only one interviewee said that sometimes there might be moments of disagreement with the neighbors but also that problems are solved quickly, and usually they are matters of misunderstanding, others denied this sharply. These results can be easily explained by Buddhist culture and pursue of good karma with good deeds, but also with a need of *beautification of answers* for our benefit. Also surprisingly, none of the interviewees mentioned any conditionality for help. However, some women said that

help is given and received both ways.

We suggest, based on the interviews, observation and earlier research presented here, that in Pannala South the Sinhalese, Buddhist and nationalistic discourse supports the needy as long as they follow cultural norms. It is also important to show outside that the most vulnerable are considered. One disabled widow was presumably excluded due to her disease, yet another widow did receive help daily as her husband had been a hard-working peasant and socially active among the neighbors. There were also obvious differences in the way of speak and treatment with the women. In few instances we got no company to visit the women, and sometimes there were several neighbors and villagers with us. Once, the translator was seemingly uncomfortable when saying that flows of help have dried up, and later exaggerated the readiness and willingness of villagers to help one widow whenever she needed it. One woman we interviewed was said to be a widow, but later on we discovered that her husband had actually abandoned her before their child was born. However, the reasons and consequences were not talked about, and the translator also referred to her as a widow. In another interview we found it obvious that one widow was highly dependent on her late husband's relatives. The woman received food and economic support from them on a daily basis, and also lived right next door. She could not generate any income but had a debt. When we asked whether she is dependent on the relatives, the translator said it was too sensitive to ask this. We discovered that death or disability of a husband is a burden that can escalate to social discrimination, and economic and social challenges seemed often to enforce each other. Since the social circles of the village are small and many families have lived there for decades, many issues are too sensitive to talk about out loud. Many social challenges these disadvantaged women face are taboos in the Sri Lankan culture, and therefore are not discussed publicly.

5. Challenges and ethical considerations

Development research with women can be sensitive if it exposes features of women's disadvantage (Scheyvens et al. 2003b: 169). Sensitive issues often occurred during our interviews and therefore interviewees will remain anonymous in data analysis. Some of the discussed issues were considerably sensitive and induced emotional feelings to the interviewees. Sensitivity was much needed when asking, for instance, about income. We believe that for some interviewees taking part in the research process was an empowering experience and it improved their sense of self-esteem, a phenomenon that has also previously been observed by Scheyvens et al. (2003a).

New and unexpected ethical dilemmas arose during research and therefore great attention had to be paid to the ethical issues involved. We tried to face ethical problems by explaining the purpose of our research and assuring the confidentiality of the interviews in the beginning of every interview. The power dynamics of interviews must be taken into account in order to understand the interview situation and the affects this dynamic had on the collected data. Representation of others is always problematic (Smith 2003: 190). Qualitative data analysis always requires interpretation (Mikkelsen 2005: 180).

There are ethical implications if interviewees receive money and therefore giving

money can be risky (Scheyvens et al. 2003b: 187). It is worth noting that after two interviews, an employee of Sarvodaya gave money to two interviewees. However, this was after the interviews and therefore may not have influenced on the given answers. The presence of Sarvodaya employees may also have influenced on the answers told by the interviewees since Sarvodaya is an important financial supporter in the village and some of the interviewees had received financial help from Sarvodaya. Most of the interviewees were members of local Sarvodaya organization. We assume that most of the local people were aware of this and thus we cannot be sure if this influenced on the quality of data.

In this stage we also have to draw attention to Sarvodaya's position in the village and in Sri Lankan society. In the village we were welcomed with a ceremony and were treated as special guests (Figure 5). Our stay was clearly important in the village and everyone seemed to know that we were staying there. In the Vesak festivities we were approached by strangers and through translation we discovered that people merely wanted to see us. Considering this high status we were given in the village and the fact that we donated money for building a new community hall, there is a possibility that the answers gained were affected by the situation.



Figure 5: We were warmly welcomed to the village with a ceremony (Stenholm 2013).

It is very likely that the accuracy of translations had an effect on the results, which is difficult to assess. We did not have a professional outside translator which resulted in diverse problems due to the limited English skills. In some occasions, the translator summarized what the interviewee said or clearly asked questions beforehand that he knew we had asked in a previous interview. There were also difficulties in translating some meanings and getting the translator to understand the meaning of a question. Some of the translators were reluctant to interpret our questions and in some occasion they answered

on behalf of the interviewee without asking what the interviewee thought. The challenges with the translation led us to simplify our questions, leave some of the intended and important questions out. These factors had a clear impact on our study.

In addition, we need to consider about privacy for interviewees in households where the presence of other local people, friends or household members may have influenced on the given answers (Crang & Cook 2007: 65). Due to the fact that so many people were present during the interviews, participants might have been reluctant to reveal or may have hidden something from us. We cannot be sure if the interviewees were giving answers they thought we wanted to hear which was highlighted as an issue in our interviews (Hirsjärvi et al. 2005: 195). Therefore, we needed to critically examine our data. Furthermore, we cannot be sure if the translators or interviewees understood our research questions right, especially when asking about social participation. Interviewer and interviewee can give a different meaning to the same words. Misunderstandings can also result from cultural difference (Rastas 2009: 82). One problem was that we cannot be sure if the local people who helped us understood the aim of the study right. They led us to interview people who were not members of our target group and were not useful to our study. Another problem was that during the interviews, we did not ask questions for further clarification due to our inexperience in field work. Therefore, some answers remained unclear. There was also a limited time to collect data which influenced on the results in terms of the small amount of interviews. Therefore, we did not get to conduct as many of them as we had hoped.

6. Conclusions

We discovered that poverty, losing a husband and the sudden loss of even a small income can have a cumulative effect on well-being of the women interviewed and their families. Social relations and support from family and neighbours are often essential coping methods. The clearly disadvantaged position of these women in the society left us in the believe that there would be a need for wider research from this point of view and a crying need for a better financial safety net for these women. In the end, we were left with a complex picture of the place and social relations of disadvantaged women in the community.

Our group begun with a theory base, motivation and desire for new experiences and information. With little experience in field work we took on a challenge of a sensitive subject and time consuming methods, for both in the field and analysing the results. In the end nothing turned out to be quite how we had expected. Conducting interviews was more intense than we had thought, not many issues were discussed in public at all, and we also missed many follow-up questions. We faced some problems when conducting our research and therefore we have critically examined our data. The challenges with the translations, the sudden change of our data collection method, the presence of other people during the interviews and the Sarvodaya's position in the village might have influenced our results. Also, living in the village along with participatory observation was crucial to our study and analysis. This is something we had not given so much thought beforehand.

However, more often we were happily surprised by the new situations than disappointed by the mischieving of our plans. Above all we saw this as a learning opportunity and because of all the challenges and misunderstandings, this was extremely educational for our group and we are very thankful for this experience.

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Rural out-migration in Sri Lanka – A case study of the youth in Pannala South, Kegalle district

Aino Hiekkavuo, Tony Hietala, Heini Kekki and Marketta Vuola

Abstract

This study discusses the theme of rural out-migration in the context of Pannala South, a small village in southwestern Sri Lanka. Our research showed that on the community level, outward migration plays a significant role in Pannala South both economically and socially. Research included field work in Pannala South conducted in May 2013. Field work composed of various qualitative methods: a focus group discussion, a survey and interviews with semi-structured questions. The experiences of the target group of the study, young adults, showed that the phenomenon of moving elsewhere is growing in importance with the younger generations. The majority of the youngest interviewees shared a dream of moving abroad either to work or to study. Those with a little more life experience hadn't necessarily moved out of the village personally, but often knew someone who had. The migration patterns of Pannala South seemed to reflect those of Sri Lanka on the whole. The biggest reasons for mobility were economical and outward migration tended to be temporary in nature.

1. Introduction

In the 21st century migration has become a truly global phenomenon. International Organization for Migration (IOM) has estimated that currently 214 million people are living outside their country of origin as international migrants (IOM 2013). Most countries experience at least some level of international human mobility with many countries acting both as source and destination countries for international migration flows. In some areas the flows of people coming and going are not in balance: in many developing countries the migration statistics are dominated by those who leave.

One such country is Sri Lanka, a South Asian island country just off the southern coast of India. According to Abeyasekara & Nanayakkara (2012) every tenth Sri Lankan lives abroad. For the years 2010–2015 the country has an estimated negative migration rate of -2,3 % with no expected signs of improvement in the next five-year period (UNdata 2011).

Sri Lanka has a long history of being a source country for international female labor migration, especially in the field of domestic work. A traditional destination has been the Middle East (IOM 2012) but also Singapore (Huang & Yeoh 2003): more affluent countries in Sri Lanka's relative geographical vicinity. Our study concerns rural out-migration in the village of Pannala South, Kegalle district, Sri Lanka. The target group of our study is the rural youth with specific focus on their aspirations, experiences and possibilities concerning voluntary migration both within Sri Lanka and abroad.

Our research focuses on outward migration flows from and migration trends in the rural village of Pannala South. We conducted our research with interviews and discussions in the village with local people who fitted the criteria of our target group, which were the young adults residing or originating from Pannala South. We also interviewed 11th grade students in a local school. After collecting the interviews from Pannala South we analyzed them using qualitative methods.

2. Migration

Throughout the human history, migration has been shaped by the social and economic conditions of the era in question (Massey et al. 1998). The same can be said about the various attempts to conceptualize migration. Classic theories on migration, such as the theory on push-and-pull factors, were formed during the industrialization period in Europe; they are also products of their time, making them ill-suited for analyzing modern-day international migration patterns (Massey et al. 1998).

In the latter half of the 20th century migration has truly become a global phenomenon. Improved means of transport and communication have contributed to many places becoming more accessible than before. Massey et al. (1998) call the period starting in the 1960s the period of post-industrial migration. It has been categorized by most migration flows originating from the developing countries rather than from the West. Understandably, a multitude of new theoretical approaches to migration have sprung up.

According to de Haas (2010) the 1950s saw an upsurge of several sub-divisions to general migration theory, most notably bringing about the debate on the relationship between migration and development. The discussion was first dominated by the optimism of the 1960s developmentalist era, reflecting the post-World War II ideals of modernization. In the 1970s the pessimism of the neo-Marxist paradigm took hold of the popular opinion: skeptics saw migration as a driving force behind underdevelopment as concerns over "brain drain" started to appear. Recently, more optimistic views on migration and its impact on development have again gained foothold (de Haas 2010).

A clear example of migration affecting development is when people migrate elsewhere for employment. Economic opportunities or the lack thereof remain a major cause

for migration, both on the national and international level. Reflecting the discursive shifts of the past, arguments both for and against on whether *remittances*, money sent by foreign workers to the countries of their origin, have a positive impact on those countries continue to be presented (Cohen et al. 2005; Binford 2003).

Migration for economic reasons has been the backdrop for many newer migration theories, such as new economics of labor migration (NELM). The NELM theory sees migration as not only benefit-seeking behavior of the individual, but as a wider household strategy of making ends meet. In the NELM approach, migration affects a wider scope of people than the person on the move. Labor migration elsewhere is seen as a collective strategy of risk-spreading and overcoming market and development constraints in the place of origin (de Haas 2010).

Similar to the NELM theory is the migration as a livelihood strategy -approach, which also considers households (instead of individuals) as the most appropriate units of analysis (de Haas 2010). In this approach, livelihood is seen to encompass not only the activities to make a living, but also the capabilities and assets needed for it. One person migrating elsewhere can offer an entire household a chance to diversify those assets. Gray (2009) has argued that rural out-migration is a common livelihood strategy in the developing world.

Contrary to neo-classical theories on migration, the NELM and livelihood -approaches do not attempt to isolate migration or migrants from the broader social contexts of their places of origin (de Haas 2010). Modern day migration from the developing world is not likely to happen by an individual taking into account the push and pull -factors of home and abroad, leaving and never returning. Both internal and international migrants have a tendency to remain in close contact with their original communities. Migration and the places of origin are often linked through remittances or other ways of sending money: in this way migration does not contribute to economic development only when migrants return.

2.1. Domestic migration in Sri Lanka

Migration in the Sri Lankan context cannot be discussed without a remark towards the civil war and its effects on the population settlement. The war between the government forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) that spanned over two decades and finally ended in 2009 left approximately 300 000 people internally displaced. The government's resettlement process concluded in 2012 when the last remaining camps of internally displaced persons (IDPs) were shut down (IRIN 2012). Since the beginning of the war in 1983, thousands of Tamils have fled the country.

Since the 1980s the civil war has played a major role in shaping the nature of human mobility in Sri Lanka. Despite the vast numbers of Sri Lankan migrants mobilized by the war, our study focuses on the less-researched voluntary migration patterns of Sri Lanka. Contrary to IDPs and refugees, typical forms of involuntary migrants, the target group of our study is the rural youth of southwestern Sri Lanka with specific focus on their aspirations, experiences and possibilities concerning voluntary migration both within Sri

Lanka and abroad.

Currently virtually all internal migration in Sri Lanka flows from rural to urban areas; principally to Colombo (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2013). Despite such trends, Sri Lanka's urban population rate has remained fairly static, around 20 %. People move into cities for better employment opportunities and overall socio-economical standards. Education opportunities are better in cities as well. Universities attract young Sri Lankans, although only 14 % of those who qualify annually at the Advanced Level examination can enter domestic universities. This is an important push factor for studying overseas.

2.2. International migration from Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has been a significant source of international migration for many decades. Two main types of international migration are labor migration and political migration, the former being more important and more relevant for our study. Both migration flows intensified approximately at the same time when the country's economy was liberated (1977) and the civil war between the LTTE and government forces began (1983) (Sriskandarajah 2002, Wickramasekara 2010: 3).

Even before the onset of the war Tamils, who felt discriminated against by Sri Lankan state's policies, had migrated to study or work temporarily abroad, and the civil war gave many a good reason to stay away permanently. After 1983 thousands more Tamil families left the country to escape the conflict in the north-eastern part of the country. Majority has migrated to India or to the West, like Canada, Australia and some European countries. Some left for education or employment but many ended up seeking asylum. However, the number of Sri Lankan refugees is falling. In 2005 there were 108139 refugees abroad which was almost 15000 less than in 1997 (Sriskandarajah 2002, Wickramasekara 2010: 1).

After Sri Lanka's independence in 1948 labor force increased more rapidly than new jobs were created resulting in high unemployment rates. In 1977 a more liberal government was elected that launched economic reforms and relaxed travel and foreign exchange restrictions. At the same time a demand for unskilled labor emerged in the Middle East. Labor migration to the Gulf countries was seen to bring economic benefits both for workers and the state, which established in 1985 the Sri Lankan Bureau of Foreign Employment (SLBFE) to facilitate and administrate migration. The nature of migration changed: Previously labor migration flows had been small-scale and dominated by skilled persons who left Sri Lanka permanently, but after 1977 the number of migrants increased and most of them were unskilled workers with temporary contracts (Sriskandarajah 2002, Wickramasekara 2010: 3–5).

Since 1990 the annual number of departures for foreign employment has grown significantly and it amounted to over 267000 in 2010 (Figure 1). This means that in the 21st century each year about 1% of the population has left the country to work abroad. In 2007 the total migrant stock overseas was 1 642 655, which was 8,2 % of Sri Lanka's population and 21,9% of the total labor force (Wickramasekara 2010: 16–17, SLBFE 2011: 3).

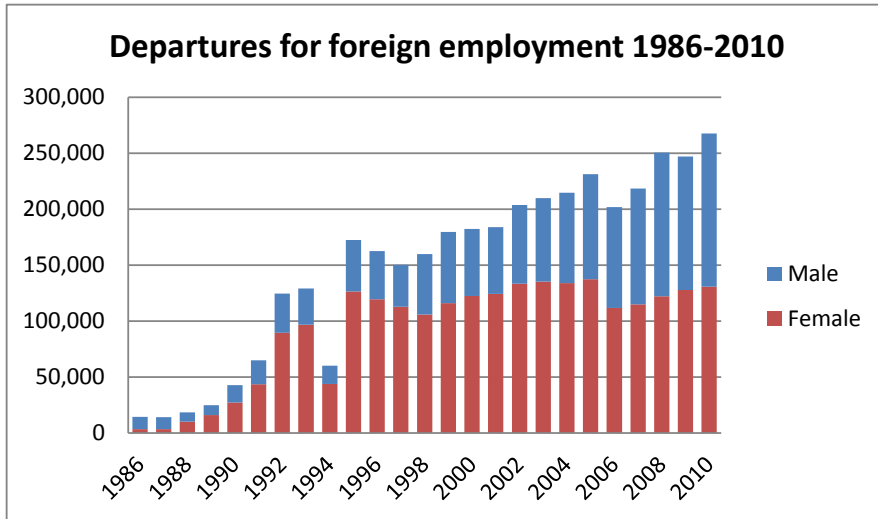


Figure 1: Departures for foreign employment from Sri Lanka 1986–2010.

In the beginning the labor migration to the Middle East was dominated by low-skilled male workers, because massive construction projects in the area created demand for them. In the end of 1980s the number of female workers started raising rapidly when thousands of women migrated to the Middle East to work as housemaids (Wickramasekara 2010: 5). In general, housemaids form the largest group of labor migrants (42 % in 2010), and together with other unskilled workers they accounted for almost two thirds of all migrants in 2010. However, the share of housemaids has decreased since the mid-1990s. At the same time the share of female workers in general has fallen as male outnumber female in all other occupational categories, and during the past couple of years there have again been slightly more male migrants departing for foreign employment (Figure 1). Middle East is still the top destination for Sri Lankan labor migrants. The most popular countries are Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait and United Arab Emirates respectively, which were the destination in over 80 % of the cases in 2010 (SLBFE 2011:3,8–12,14).

An important benefit of labor migration is remittances from the workers. They have increased rapidly and exceed 2 billion US dollars since 2006. Remittances accounted for almost 8 % of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2007 and replaced garment industry as the most important source of foreign earnings in 2009 (SLBFE 2011: 184, Wickramasekara 2010: 23–24). The remittances have improved the standard of living of the receiving families and increased investment and economic growth in Sri Lanka. Labor migration has also generated new jobs in supporting services including recruitment and travel agencies, banking and insurance. Yet, the impact of labor migration on domestic unemployment has not been huge, since many migrants were already employed or not active in the labor market (female) in Sri Lanka (Wickramasekara 2010: v, 17).

Negative aspects of labor migration include poor working conditions, low wages and temporary contracts that do not offer permanent and stable working opportunities. Housemaids form a particularly vulnerable migrant group: Even though labor migration

has enabled emancipation from unpaid household work for female migrants, they often face human rights violation and exploitation. To overcome these problems the Sri Lankan government has started developing a new labour migration policy that has three focus areas: good governance, protection and empowerment of workers and promotion of development benefits. The government now promotes high-skilled migration and focuses on reducing the number of low-skilled migrants who are at the greatest risk of being exploited (Wickramasekara 2010: 17, 27–30).

Since our target group is young adults, student migration is another relevant type of international migration for our study. Currently only a fraction of high school graduates receive a place in Sri Lankan universities. Therefore, a growing number of people choose to apply for universities abroad. As people with high education often face difficulties in finding a job in Sri Lanka, many students head Western countries with an intention to stay there permanently. There are no systematical records on student migration flows, but UK, USA, Canada, Australia, India, Maldives, Bangladesh and Pakistan are listed as significant destination countries in Sri Lanka's Migration Profile (Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2013).

3. Study Area

Pannala South is a village of 854 people and is situated in Kegalle district, Sabaragamuwa province. The province is relatively low populated and has only three urban areas, one of them in Kegalle district (Uduporuwa 2010). The population of Kegalle district is about 837100. Average annual population growth rate from 2001 to 2012 was 0,61 percent while the national average was 0,71 (Department of Census and Statistics 2012). The percentage of urban population in Kegalle district in 2001 was 0,9, far below the average national level (Uduporuwa 2010).

Urbanization has been very low in Sabaragamuwa province, but any accountable growth rates are not available due to the lack of an acceptable definition of urban settlements, which obscures the statistics (Uduporuwa 2010). In addition to Kegalle city, there are also other growing urban areas in the district such as Warakapola and Mawanella but they are not officially declared as urban centers at the national level. As a result, their own decision making is restricted which slows down urban development such as transport and industry. This is an example of the inadequacy of Sri Lanka's statistics in providing information on urbanization.

Kegalle district is one of the most rural districts of the country (Uduporuwa 2010). Economic inequalities between rural and urban areas in Sri Lanka are high. The 2011 survey presents that the wages in agriculture are the smallest of all sectors and rural workers earn less than urban ones (Department of Census and Statistics 2011). Mean monthly salary is the second smallest in Kegalle of all Sri Lanka's districts. According to most of the socio-economic indicators the whole province of Sabaragamuwa is developing very slowly in comparison with other parts of the country.

Employment in Kegalle district is around the average of the country. According to the 2011 survey the total unemployment rate of the district was 5,4 % (Department of Cen-

sus and Statistics 2011). In 2011, 30 % of the Kegalle population worked in agriculture, 26 % in industries and 44 % in services. While women are divided in each sector almost equally, over half of the working men work in services sector (Figure 2; Department of Census and Statistics 2004). The women’s high employment in agriculture is probably due to tea plantations. The main crops cultivated in Kegalle district are rubber, tea and coconut; secondary crops are clove, pepper, coffee and cocoa (Kegalle District Secretariat 2011). Important industries in the district are mining of Bogala graphite and gems.

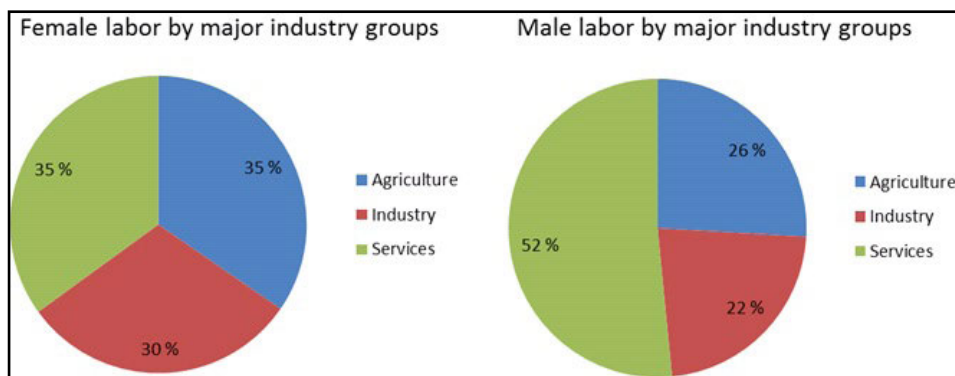


Figure 2: Female and male labor in Kegalle district by major industry group (Department of Census and Statistics 2004).

Pannala South village belongs to Bulathkohupitiya division which is one of the rural divisions of Kegalle District (Figure 3). The main source of livelihood in Pannala South is agriculture, and most of the villagers are farmers (Sarvodaya International Division 2013). Employment is also found in government and private sector and self-employment is common.



Figure 3: The main street in Pannala South (Kekki 2013).

4. Research questions

Our research focuses on outward migration flows from and migration trends in the rural village of Pannala South. Our main research question is: How does the phenomenon of outward migration affect the village of Pannala South and how do the young people see it?

More detailed questions necessary for understanding the importance of migration for the community include: Who are the ones that migrate: men, women, households, families or unmarried individuals? Are there common destinations: i.e. factories, urban areas or cities abroad? What are the motives behind migration: economic constraints, livelihood strategy, individualization or marriage? Is migration temporary or permanent?

5. Methodology

The research topic being outward migration from Pannala South and especially how the young people experience it, face-to-face interviewing was the logical method of choice. The main methods used in our field work were semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion.

The main target group was the youth, people falling under young adult -category: Approximately 15–25 year-old inhabitants of the village. During the fieldwork the age range expanded to 16–30 year-olds. We interviewed randomly chosen young-looking people on the street and some of them turned out to be older than expected, but we wanted to include their experiences in the study nonetheless.

In the local school we had a mixed-method session with 17 to 18-year-old students (n=13) who attended the 11th grade. The session was set in a classroom with the English teacher of the school present (Figures 4 & 5).

We had a one-page survey form printed out in advance to hand out to every student. The survey had simple questions with alternative answers all based on the first question “are you planning to move away from the village”. In either case further questions were why or why not; if the respondent was planning on moving away, further questions also included where to, for what reasons, with whom, do they want to move and will they come back. Two maps, one of Sri Lanka and one of the World, were attached to the form. The students planning on moving away were asked to either name the destination or point it on the map.

This type of data gathering was used because we wanted to include some quantitative elements into the study, even though the sample size remains relatively small. Simple multiple choice questions also increased our chances of getting information: we assumed simple questions would lower the threshold for the students to answer truly and without the help of an interpreter. Not knowing the level of the students’ English skills in advance we could not rely on focus group discussion alone.

We attempted a focus group -type of open discussion after the students had filled

out the survey forms. Browsing through the answers we asked further questions about their plans. This also provided a chance for some to elaborate their answers. It became evident that the outcome of the focus group wouldn't have been fair had we only relied on open discussion: a couple of students who either were most fluent in English or were the most talkative took the floor question after question. The setting of open discussion provided a more interactive way for the students to express their own relationship with migration.



Figure 4: English teacher helping students with the survey forms (Kekki 2013).



Figure 5: Girls studying the accompanying maps of the survey (Kekki 2013).

More young people were interviewed on the main street of the village. This approach aimed at gathering other points of view on migration from young people that were a bit older and had (most likely) already left the school. Same questions were used as in the survey form, but the answers were written down by the interviewers. Some answers also sparked further questions outside the original focus, from the interviewees' personal experiences. Many people knew someone who had moved abroad and these "second-hand experiences" of mobility proved a useful source of information when gathering the overall picture of migration in the village.

To understand how migration affects Pannala South on a more general level, we also conducted an expert interview with a local authority, the village officer Nalin Priyantha Bandora. He provided us with factual and

statistical information on human mobility in and out of Pannala South.

All of the interviews took place within one day. As a group we divided the various field work tasks democratically: everyone did everything. All four of our team were present at the school session and during the expert interview. On the street our research group size ranged from three to four persons. In addition we were accompanied by five locals who acted as interpreters when necessary. The expert interview and street interviews were almost completely conducted via using an interpreter whereas in the school session the students attempted answering the survey on their own or helping each other.

The data gathered from the interviews was qualitative. We used thematic analysis

to find out which were the most important themes for our topic. We used our research questions as the backbone of the analysis but as we had found during the fieldwork, there were also other aspects important for understanding how migration is experienced among young Sri Lankans. The quantitative analysis was not possible due to the small sample of the researched.

6. Results

6.1. An overview of migration in Pannala South

The expert interview with the village officer revealed that out-migration from Pannala South tends to be temporary and employment-driven. The ones that migrate are usually 25–40 years old.

According to the village officer, the Middle East is the main destination abroad, but people have also left for South Korea and Italy. Within Sri Lanka people typically move to Kandy and Colombo. When people move to another town in Sri Lanka migration is more likely to be permanent, whereas people only move temporarily to work abroad. Also commuting between Pannala South and Colombo is common.

There is a clear division of gender when it comes to destination countries and types of labor: typically women leave for the Middle East to work as housemaids and men go to South Korea to work as “labor force” in construction work and the like. In the Middle East women work for two years; in South Korea men work for five years. Women that move abroad from the village are likely to have settled down already: they are often married and have children. Older women are more likely to leave than older men, and when the women leave for the Middle East they usually go alone.

According to the village officer approximately ten young people per year move out from the village to study elsewhere. Many people find partners outside the village but since others also marry into Pannala South the population number is not notably affected by migration and remains fairly stable.

When asked if moving away is a choice, the village officer said “As for the women who go to the Middle East, they have to go because of the economic situation in Sri Lanka. They make the decision themselves, discuss with their family and when they get their approval, they go.” Generally speaking he claimed moving away from the village to be very easy.

6.2. Students’ perspective on out-migration

According to the survey filled out by the students, all 13 students planned on moving away from Pannala South. Ten of them wanted to move abroad: to India (5 students), Australia (3 students) and Japan (2 students). Two students wanted to move to another city, Kandy and Colombo, and one to another village, Ratnapura. The questionnaire had “to a factory” and “to a tea plantation” as options but no one chose them. 11Th grade students probably have possibilities to aim at higher education and better paid jobs than these. No

one mentioned marriage, environmental or any other type of reason for moving.

The main reason for moving was education (Figure 6). In the open discussion we asked the students to further explain what this means to them. In Sri Lanka higher education is available only in bigger cities and education abroad in wealthier countries is clearly appreciated. When asked about the parents' opinion, all students said that their parents would approve their plans on going abroad. "It's a good decision for our lives", one boy explained. One girl told she wants to move to Colombo to study "commercial studies", but majority were interested in education abroad. For example Australia was chosen as a dream destination because of education possibilities, peacefulness and prosperity.

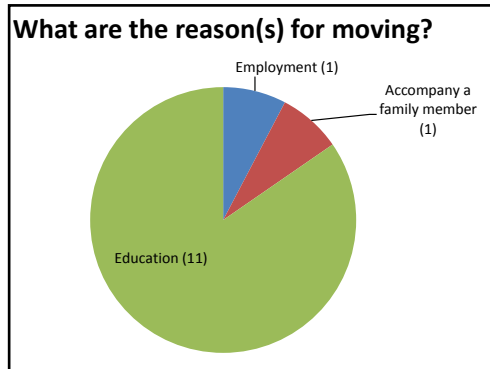


Figure 6: The reason why students want to move away from Pannala South.

There were also a few somewhat typical teenage dreams: One girl wants to become an actress in India, where as another boy had a plan to move to Australia and become a surfer, then come back to Sri Lanka to get married and return to Australia. Eventually he would move back to his native country after about ten years abroad.

Nine of the thirteen students said they will be moving alone without knowing anyone in the destination. No one was going to move with others from Pannala South but four students were going to move with family. To the question "Do you want to move?" eleven students answered yes and two students no. Despite of this, the students' affection to family and the village was clear: All of them want to return.

6.3. Views of Pannala South locals on rural out-migration

The total number of street interviews made and used for analysis was nine. Six of the interviewees were male and three female. The age range of the people interviewed on the street was 16–30 years.

Of the nine people interviewed on the main street of Pannala South, two planned on moving away from the village. Both offered employment as the main reason for leaving. Both of the migrants-to-be were male and their intended destinations were Qatar and Japan. One of the interviewees has already migrated: he has his origins in Pannala South but studies in a bigger city and wants to continue his studies in one of the reputable universities of Sri Lanka or abroad in the USA. In spite of his educational goals he expresses a strong will to eventually return to Pannala South if possible. The reason is his family: In Sri Lanka it is the responsibility of the children to look after their elder parents.

Most (six out of nine) of the interviewees were not planning on moving away from the village. The reasons for staying included family relations and other social connections

in the village. Four people had moved into Pannala South from somewhere else. Three of them had moved there due to marriage or with a husband, and all of them wished to stay in the village. One of them was a woman working on a nearby rubber plantation. Migration for marriage purposes, according to one interviewee's perception, regards mainly women as usually they are the ones who move to the husband's village. The fourth interviewee who had moved from another village wished to go back because his mother wanted him to. In Pannala South he was helping his uncle run his shop on the main street.

Although most of the interviewees were not likely to migrate away from Pannala South themselves, six of the interviewees knew someone who had. All of the relatives of the interviewees who had migrated elsewhere had gone abroad. One male interviewee had an uncle working as a driver in Saudi Arabia; another one had an aunt in Cyprus working as a housemaid. A third male interviewee also had his mother working as a housemaid in the Middle East in order to support the family. His friend (also a male) had five relatives in the Middle East working as drivers, AC-repairers and as a welder. The last person interviewed had a younger sister working in garment factory in Dubai.

Some interviewees expressed sheer bewilderment when asked if they were planning on moving away. The general outlook of these interviewees seemed to be "why would they" when Pannala South is their native place and life in the village is easy. Although only two people were planning on migrating and one had already migrated elsewhere from the village, when combined with the number of those who had moved into Pannala South, the total number of people directly affected by migration rises to six out of nine.

The interviewee who had moved out of the village stresses heavily the importance of family relations all over Sri Lanka. The same values can be seen affecting the responses of the other interviewees in the street: out-migration happens for economic necessity – usually to support one's family back in the native village. One interviewee says that in for example Colombo and Kandy there are better job opportunities and higher standards of living, but "spiritually" and "culturally" life in the village is better. Family and the slower pace of life make the social standard of living much higher than in cities.

7. Discussion

People living in the village of Pannala South had two major reasons for moving out from the village: economic reasons and higher education. The migration patterns of the village are similar to the national ones. Urbanization rate in Sri Lanka is relatively low and our research did not reveal significant mobility towards cities. Opportunities for higher education are only in bigger cities but otherwise many people move from village to village for marriage.

International labor migration is a significant phenomenon even in a small village like Pannala South. Majority of the older interviewees knew someone working abroad. Most migrants had found jobs in the Middle East which is the main destination for Sri Lankan labor migrants. Typically women work as housemaids and men in diverse low skilled jobs. In addition the growing trend of international student migration can clearly be seen in the answers of the students.

Younger interviewees were more eager to leave the village than the older ones. There was also a remarkable difference in the reasons to move between the school students and the older interviewees. The students were dreaming of good life and studies in India or Australia, but the older interviewees were more realistic about their expectations of life abroad. They were going there to work because of higher wages, not because it was their dream. Often the decision to move is not entirely voluntary as the village does not offer living for everyone. Majority of the labor migrants have a family to support - they are not young unmarried adventurers. Labor migration from Sri Lanka is typically temporary and we found no exception. Most of the people who move away from Sri Lanka are 25 to 40 years old, which shows that it is a decision that is made in more mature age with more realistic expectations of what the life abroad will be like.

The main reason for staying in as well as returning to Pannala South was family and friends. Family is so essential that the interviewees did not always distinguish between their own and their family's will regarding the decision to move. What we could see in the street interviews is that there is no clear divide between what one wants to do and what he/she should do and what the family wants him/her to do. It is not necessarily an individual choice where Sri Lankans want to spend their lives but the decision is affected by other family members: Everyone is dependent on each other somehow. Future plans are something the family would make together.

The concept of moving away for independency did not seem relevant for the young. All students who planned on moving away wanted to return to Pannala South later; in Sri Lanka children usually support their parents when they are old. Despite of the social responsibilities we saw somewhat individualist signs: the dreams of high education or becoming actress or surfer and moving abroad all alone. On the other hand the students did not see their dreams as something opposed to their parents' will. It could be that the decision to study abroad does not depend on student's need to be independent but on what is appreciated in the society. A family member living in a developed country is usually a pride for the family. Education in an acknowledged Australian or European university lifts the social status and provides for the income of the whole family and is thus a family decision.

8. Challenges

During the research we encountered some issues worth noticing. One of the biggest problems was that it was hard to prepare for the research beforehand. We didn't have exact information about the location of the research and we didn't know what kind of people we were able to interview until the arrival to Pannala South. We were not sure if we could get enough interviews and if the interviewees would be from the right age group. Time was also a problem, but we are satisfied with the number of interviews we could make in the short time we had.

In the survey filled out at school the students told they were 17–18 years old. However, according to information found online after the fieldwork, 11th graders in Sri Lanka are 15 to 16-year-olds (Classbase 2012). We believe that this may affect our results be-

cause future plans of 16-year-olds are probably less realistic than those of 18-year-olds. Thus the answers we got may be more like dreams than real plans. Our original target group at school was 18-year-old students. Had we known their real age, we may have not interviewed students at all.

Another problem we had was obviously the language since most of our interviewees didn't speak English and we had to use an interpreter. He spoke English quite well but in some cases the interviewees seemed to misunderstand our questions. However, the reason was probably not only the translation but cultural differences as well. While doing the survey in school we didn't have major language problems since the students spoke some English and the English teachers helped them if needed. Nevertheless, there seemed to be some group pressure because the answers were very similar; for example there were two completely identical papers. The students were able to see each other's papers so they might have answered the way they thought their classmates would appreciate. Perhaps they also wanted to impress us with their great future plans.

9. Conclusion

The study showed that migration plays a significant role in Pannala South both economically and socially. The migration patterns of Pannala South seemed to reflect those of Sri Lanka on the whole. The lack of employment and sufficient wages act as push factors for out-migration from the village. On the other hand, social relations and responsibilities within the family tend to keep people tied to their native place. The experiences of the target group of the study, young adults, showed that the phenomenon of moving elsewhere is growing in importance with the younger generations. The majority of the youngest interviewees shared a dream of moving abroad either to work or to study. Those with a little more life experience did not want to leave their home village but often knew someone who had. It seemed that these people had no choice but to leave if they wanted to make a living and support their families.

International migration from Sri Lanka tends to be temporary. The idea of moving elsewhere temporarily was reflected in the students' future plans as well: everyone wanted to return to the village eventually. Students also mentioned economic reasons for outward mobility, but what they wanted to do abroad was a bit more optimistic than what they were likely to do according to the statistics. Instead of working in a garment factory, students wanted to pursue a career in acting or surfing. One way or another the youth of Pannala South are likely to contribute to the growing number of Sri Lankans abroad.

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Gender and domestic work in rural Sri Lanka

Katariina Ronkainen and Tuuli Valo

Abstract

This work focuses on the gendered differences of domestic work in Sri Lanka. The differences between time management by women and men in household related tasks were examined through interviews and daily activity time table in Pannala South village, Kegalle district. Based on former literature and the analysis of gained results on gender equality, women's rights and distribution of work in Sri Lanka, the gender based distinctions of housekeeping were controversial. Even though men and women were using same amount of time to work, either to conduct formal or informal job, the diversity and degree of women's tasks were significant. The gender based segmentation of domestic work raised questions about the time-poverty and triple burden of Sri Lankan women. The equal participation of both sexes on domestic work seems still to be an unspoken subject in rural Sri Lanka.

Key concepts: Gender, women, domestic work, time-poverty, employment, triple burden

1. Introduction

Despite the fact that Sri Lanka is still ranked as a lower middle income country by the United Nations (UN), it has achieved gender equality in school enrolment and completion in general education. Women in Sri Lanka are able to participate to labour market – at least to some extent. The percentage of men attending to labour force is 74% while the labour force participation of women is only 34%. Services (38 %) and agriculture (37%) are the main sectors of employment for women. In these sectors women are often employed in low-skilled and vulnerable jobs with low wages. They may suffer from discrimination and gender stereotyping. Men are generally getting employed in better paid jobs, but at the same time more educated women are making their ways into higher professions. There

seems to be a dichotomy in women's employment in current Sri Lanka. Childcare and household management is often assigned to women which reduces time from productive work. Women's labour force participation is at its highest in the age group 45-49 especially because of the responsibility of upbringing the children at younger age. Children in the family also mean increased time used for food purchasing and other domestic work (Sri Lanka Shadow Report 2010; Regaining Sri Lanka...2002; Otohe 2013).

Although women might have the same education as men, the gendered norms and attitudes about women as educators, parents and employers, make it more difficult for young women to use their education effectively in economic and social areas. Women's exclusion in politics and social marginalization is a continuing phenomenon. The discrimination of women is also seen in agriculture, where the activities for women usually are home gardening, paddy cultivating and subsistence farming. Only 30 % of men are employed in agricultural sector, which is slowly getting feminized. Men are still more engaged in agricultural tasks that require more machinery. Women are pushed out from agriculture if they no longer have the skills to use the new machines that have been put into operation (Sri Lanka Shadow Report 2010).

The country has an unstable and violent past due to the civil war that lasted for over two decades and left some women with non-traditional gender roles in the society. During the war part of the Sri Lankan women were seen as armed combatants or heads of the households. Partly due to the war every fifth of the households in eastern Sri Lanka are currently female-headed and there is no male adult in the family. Especially in the North and East of Sri Lanka the war affected to the traditional role of the woman as the household nurturer of the family (Rajasingham-Senanayake 2004; Ruwanpura & Humphries 2008).

The women's issue in Sri Lanka has been left under the shadow of the war. No matter the ethnic origin, women continue to be seen as the reproducers of culture and tradition. The consequences of not giving women equal chances in employment will not only strengthen inequality gap but also decrease the economic growth (de Alwis 2002). In Human Development Report the Gender Development Index (GDI) ranks Sri Lankan women at 102nd place in the global comparison. Women's literacy and education rates are quite equal to men, but the biggest and widening difference is in estimated earned income. In Sri Lanka women earn 74 % of what men earn, while in Finland that number is 82 % by now (Human Development Report 2009; Sri Lanka labour force survey annual report 2011; Kokko 2013; Hausmann et al. 2011).

Our study concentrated on gender topics in rural areas of western Sri Lanka. Study was conducted in a village called Pannala South (population of 854). The aim was to collect data from women and men about their time use and gender roles in domestic work. Hypothesis was that gender has an impact on employment, work tasks, leisure time and possible time poverty. The main target group was adults (18+ years) living in the village.

With this study we wanted to find out how the daily activities are divided between men and women. We wanted to clarify who is responsible for domestic work (cooking, washing dishes, laundry, childcare etc.) and how the adults of the families are employed. As domestic work usually belongs to women, we wanted to study what is the situation in this specific village and how it reflects on productive waged work. The attitudes and

perceptions for both division of domestic work and participating labour market were inquired. All questions were presented from a gender perspective.

2. Women's work and gender roles in Sri Lanka

Historically Sri Lankan economy was dominated by agriculture, and the family unit was the main social form underlying this economy (Kogadoga & Duncan 2010). Within the agriculture sector both men and women conducted various tasks in order to maintain the survival of the family. According to Kogadoga and Duncan (2010) historical evidence has shown that women were active in agricultural work along with household work and child care. Attanapola (2004) still reminds that even though Sri Lankan women were engaged in subsistence farming and agricultural production, their roles were defined more as “helpers” than farmers. Attanapola (2004) notes that in traditional Sri Lankan society, women's duties were restricted to reproductive work.

During the past thirty years, work characteristics of Sri Lankan women have dramatically changed. The first change in women's work occurred in the 1970's when the establishment of Free Trade Zones (FTZ) initiated by the United National Party government resulted in high proportion of young females in search of employment from the cities (de Alwis 2002). As a result of the establishment of FTZs, women become the main workforce in garment factories, and also the gender roles in economy started to change. Kogadoga & Duncan (2010) even search for parallels between the Sri Lankan women, who were suddenly withdrawn from agricultural work into service-based and industrial full-time work in the 1970s, and Finnish female workers in 50s and 60s within the same context. Women's integration in working life resulted in a change of overall gender roles and practices (Attanapola 2004). In the 1980s domestic work abroad started attracting labour force within peasant and middle-income women. Huge numbers of female workers have been migrating to Middle East and Singapore as domestic maids (de Alwis 2002).

Despite the rising number of female workers in Sri Lanka's economy, the labor market is still segregated by gender at all levels (Country Gender Assessment 2008: 20). Jayaweera (2003) states that the social construction of gender from the early childhood into ascribed gender roles have determined largely the current reproductive roles of women. As a consequence, a gender division of labour in Sri Lankan economy occurs still. According to Jayaweera (2003), the social construction of different gender roles is already visible in schools where different behavioral expectations and assigned tasks are conducted by gender. Also the Country Gender Assessment notes that:

While education opportunities have expanded, the content of education tends to reinforce gender role stereotypes and has failed to promote gender equality in the family, economy, or society, or to empower girls and women to challenge traditional gender roles. (Country Gender Assessment in Sri Lanka 2008: viii).

The percentage of women enrolled in courses in technical trades is low and women are predominant in textiles and secretarial courses, and in that way reinforce their traditional roles such as in secretarial work and nursing (Country Gender Assessment in Sri Lanka 2008: 13). The Sri Lankan women's role as reproductive worker and household

nurturer is seen even today when about 40% of women in the working age group tend to declare themselves as housewives, regardless of their engagement in informal economic production (Country Gender Assessment in Sri Lanka 2008: 19).

Mothers are expected to give high commitment to their employment and career, but at the same time the expectation is that their involvement in child care stays just as important as before (Kogadoga & Duncan 2010). Kogadoga and Duncan (2010) add that at the same time there are significant economic pressures for mothers to be employed in terms of household economies. This creates a double burden for mothers in Sri Lanka. In recent literature also the concept of women's triple burden has become more and more used. In addition to women's involvement in household and employment, the triple burden stands for the women's social association in community level and voluntary work. Despite being engaged in productive activities, women also have to engage in reproductive activities, and social activities.

Marina Prieto-Carrón (2010: 2) writes about "the combination of unpaid work in the home, paid work in the formal or (often) informal sector and women's work in the community" that refers to a women's 'triple burden'. Not only are the women seen as the main resource of housekeeping and economic responsibility, also the upkeep of social relationships in community often falls in to the women's shoulders. Linda Shawn (1996) has reported about female garment workers in Sri Lanka who shared the experience of triple burden in their lives. Women felt that the combination of paid work, domestic responsibilities and community involvement took their whole time and left no free-time to consume.

Jayaweera's survey (2003) reveals the gendered division of household tasks in Sri Lanka. In the survey six household tasks were in comparison: cooking, washing utensils, washing clothes, fetching water, child care and care of the old and sick. Survey showed that 50 to 100 per cent of women workers and other women in the families answered that they were responsible for "almost all" and "most" of these above mentioned tasks. At the same time 50 per cent to 70 per cent of the men said that they had 'little' or 'no' involvement in these tasks (Jayaweera 2003). Kailasapathy and Metz's study (2012) shows that Sri Lankan women who work outside the home report marital unhappiness when their husbands do not share household and child care work with them. It also seemed that dual-earner couples were more likely to discuss about the tasks at home and benefit from sharing of household duties.

3. Methods

The main method in the research was daily activity time table. There are many ways to measure time-use of people, such as using electronic devices or simple questionnaires asking people how they spend their time. In this case we thought the most practical method would be time-use diaries, which were maintained continuously throughout 24 hours. As our stay in the village was limited, we collected the data only from one day. Altogether about 30 forms were distributed and 25 of them were filled and returned. Data was received from 13 males and 12 females. The diaries were written either in English, Sinhala or Tamil and thus interpreters were used to translate the answers.

The second method of the study was interviews. They were done mostly individually, interviewing both women and men separately. Altogether 22 interviews were conducted. Also one group discussion with six people was done in the beginning of the research. The ages of the interviewees ranged from 27 years up to 62 years. We were hoping to interview even younger adults but we couldn't find people from that age to be interviewed. Most of the households were male-headed with the exception of three households being female-headed. We defined the head of the household as a person who is running the household and looking after a dependent, but the participants were able to report themselves who they considered as the head of the household. Two of the female participants declared to be the heads of the households although there was also a husband in the family. On average the participants came from a household with four or five members, which is quite small size compared to other developing countries in Asia. The fertility rate in Sri Lanka is only 2.3 (The World Bank 2013) and we wanted to keep that in mind in order to see if the lesser amount of children would have an impact on the domestic work load of women.

The format of the interview was semi-structured which left some space for open discussion. We decided four theme areas for the interviews beforehand and created a set of questions for each theme. We presented the questions for the participants in approximately the same format and order. The idea was to get information from specific themes but still to be informal and flexible (Saaranen-Kauppinen & Puusniekka 2006).

There were four themes in the interview: 1) employment/labour market participation, 2) household work, 3) leisure time and 4) Sarvodaya participation/community work. In addition, one expert interview was done with the village government officer. The interview was focused on the gender division in employment of the village.

It was relatively difficult to obtain demographic information about the village (including family size, age, household head etc.) before making the interviews so we had to use both snowball effect and random sample when choosing the interviewees. We had an assistant group in the village formed of local villagers that helped us to find the participants for the interviews. Random sample was also used when we picked up people for interviews on the streets, in their working environments or in their homes. The aim was to try to arrange a place where it is neutral and quiet to interview, but that was not always possible as we were also interviewing people on the streets. The results were analysed mainly qualitatively but daily activity timetables were also analysed in quantitative ways.

4. Limitations

Even if you think you are prepared for the field work, you will most probably encounter unexpected situations while in the field. As this was our first real experience in the field in a developing country it also made things a little more challenging. The biggest problem was not knowing much about the population of the village before entering the field. The topic of the research had to be chosen on a general basis because it was impossible to focus on something very specific in that village as we couldn't be sure if that issue was existing in there. We were also assigned an advisory group that consisted of six volun-

tary and active people from the village. Even though it was very helpful to have someone to guide us, it also affected the sample of the interviewees. The interviewees were partly chosen by the advisory group, so it didn't probably give a representative picture of the people in the village. The participants were mostly middle class people. Often there were too many people accompanying us in the interviews, which did not give us quiet and confidential conditions to make the interviews. Because of our uncertainty in fieldwork, we didn't dare to instruct them to give us more privacy. Due to language problems there were also misunderstandings about what was happening next and where we were being taken to.

Our interpreter spoke fluent English, but the problem was more in the fact that he did not always ask all the questions from the participants. Instead he answered them himself without translating because he knew the people and their basic information. Also questions about anonymity or taking pictures were often answered by the interpreter affirming "of course you can take pictures and ask everything". In these cases we should have been stricter, but towards the end he seemed to get tired of repeating everything so we didn't always insist.

There was also space for improvement in our question form because it was quite limited especially when the interviewees did not have a waged job. Some of the questions could have been joined, because now the answers to some questions came up in the earlier questions. The answers were also often quite similar partly because the similarity of the interviewees, and the saturation point was reached quite quickly. More differences to the answers came when we as the researchers chose participants, for example from a different ethnic group, Tamils. Tamils seemed to be isolated from the Sinhalese majority in the village, and they were for example the only ones working at the rubber and tea estates.

5. Results

The results of the study followed our hypothesis of women having the main responsibility of domestic work. According to the village government officer, most of the women in the village were housewives, but when looked below the surface, surprisingly, we found out that almost all of the women were involved in some kind of a business ventures (Figure 1). Women were for example making bricks, sweets or selling flowers. The distinction between the roles of



Figure 1: Young women from the village making sweets in a local factory (Valo 2013).

being self-employed or housewife was sometimes unclear and most of the participants were very active in finding income solutions. Still, due to the home responsibilities, there were little opportunities for women to work outside their homes.

As shown in the Figure 2, domestic work was mostly done by women, while men were more often engaged in productive work outside the house. Sometimes men mentioned “helping wife” in their daily time activities which strengthens the idea of women having the main responsibility of all domestic work. When families had their own enterprise (self-employed), tasks between men and women were less segregated and the spouses were helping each other in both business and household tasks more actively. Also it was noticed that the support from the surrounding community had a very important role for those people who had the possibility of being socially active. Neighbors were helping each other’s by taking care of children, cooking and also economically when someone had financial problems. On one hand this is very helpful but on the other hand it also adds the burden, especially for women.

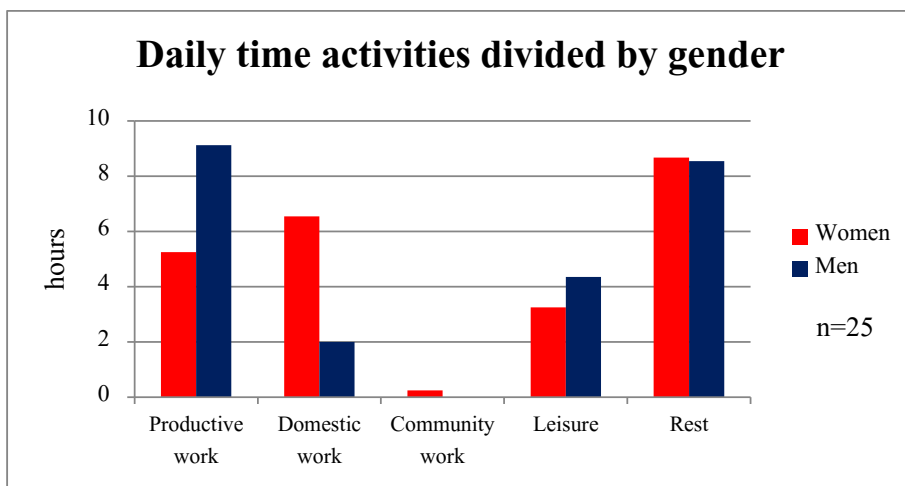


Figure 2: Daily time activities divided by gender on average. Used categories are portrayed in Table 1.

Some people were also very active in community work and Sarvodaya activities for example by providing food, helping at the nursery school or offering transportation. Some interviews revealed that lack of time (time-poverty) prevented the active participation in social activities and community work. Thus our findings strengthened the theory about triple burden among women as they are required to take care of home, do business or work outside their homes, and also take part in the community activities. Community work is very low in the Figure 2, but the pillar could be higher on another day, as this was just one example day.

The leisure time was limited to little more than three or four hours on average and it was normally spent in the evening with the family or by watching TV, taking rest or helping children with their homework (Table 1). Chatting with family members and religious activities were also mentioned. The differences in leisure time between men (4,3 hours per

day) and women (3,3 hours per day) was one hour more for men.

The time for rest was most often between 10pm to 5 or 6am. We noticed from the daily activity time tables that most of the people got up very early to make breakfast and do washing and cleaning. The breakfast was most often prepared by women. Due to early awakenings and long working days people also went to bed quite early, around 9 or 10pm.

Table 1: Activities mentioned by the participants in the daily activity time tables divided in categories.

Productive work	Domestic work	Community work	Leisure
Selling in a shop	Preparing meals	Social work	Having dinner/lunch/breakfast
Working at tea estate	Cleaning	Attending to societies	Worshipping
Tailoring	Guiding children with homework	Sarvodaya	Watching TV
Working at rubber estate	Doing laundry		Chatting with family
Delivering post	Washing dishes		Bathing
Cultivating	Sending children to school		Listening to radio
Business	Shopping for the house		Taking rest

6. Conclusions

Even though Sri Lanka has gained gender equality in school enrolment, and women’s proportion at the university level is equal to men, this research still made it obvious that women in Pannala South do lack equal rights with men in the employment sector. The clearest difference between men and women was the time spent on formal work. Women were reported to have dramatically less opportunities to work outside home mainly due to the responsibilities in household. Women’s employment was mainly in the education sector as teachers, or in the plantation sector, the first mentioned being highly educationally demanding and the latter being prominent for low skilled workers. So there is no certain linkage between educational level and involvement in formal work, although the level of education did determine the person’s position in the labour market (skilled/unskilled). It seemed that poorer families were more eager to send women to work and gain money.

When studying the differences of the time usage of men and women during the day, it was surprising to discover that even though women were mainly responsible for the household tasks and engaged in home-based businesses, men were using as much time in their daily paid work as women were using on both household duties and income generating activities together. Same amount of time (10 hours) was spent in working, whether in formal, informal or domestic work, and regardless of the answerer’s sex. The concept of double burden explains how women are more stressed over the daily time management and feel that without formal working hours it is difficult to stop doing expected tasks in their free time (Figure 3). For men it seems to be clearer when working time begins and ends. Our interview sessions revealed that many women felt that they were having an important role in their neighborhood and social networks, and that raised the question of women’s triple burden.

Based on the analysis of our data, we have noticed that despite women were defined as housewives there was a lot of business activity conducted by the women who participated in the study. We learned that family ties in this Sri Lankan village were very strong and the co-operation between men and women was functional when it came to the education and schooling of the children. Also the self-employment enterprises were utilizing the resources of both husband and wife. On the other hand, the traditional role of women as housewives and men as heads of the household is still visible. Due to the fact that females still carry the main responsibility of the household and taking care of children, there are little opportunities for women to work outside their homes.

In order to women gain a better status in household and formal jobs it is evident that the support services by community are too insufficient to actually liberate women from the main responsibility of household related task. This means that government led institutions like day care are needed to assist women's better participation in labour market. Also the traditional dichotomies about women's and men's tasks are quite tightly rooted into the society. When speaking about women's empowerment it has to be considered in more general level and also be aimed at men. Attitudes towards women's employment opportunities outside the home must be changed, and as Sri Lanka shadow report (2010) suggests: "*The role of women must be recognized ... and they must be provided with skills, training and access to employment and income earning opportunities as primary income earners.*"



Figure 3: Women still have the main responsibility of the domestic tasks, such as laundry (Valo 2013).

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Ecotourism in Udawatta Kele, Kandy

Tiina Kyytsönen, Laura Lehtovuori and Sara Meriläinen

Abstract

Current environmental issues and sustainable development that are widely discussed topics nowadays form the contextual base of this study. The objective of this research was to explore how ecotourism destinations fulfill the ideas and criteria of ecotourism. The study was implemented in Sri Lanka, in Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary which is promoted as an ecotourism destination. Qualitative research methods, such as interviews, transect walk and observation were used in this study. Our research findings indicate that Udawatta Kele did not completely fulfill the criteria of ecotourism, according to the International Ecotourism Society (TIES) definition. Several features of ecotourism are found, such as building environmental awareness, but there are still defects in the fields of minimizing impact and empowering local people, which need to be improved.

1. Introduction

Environmental issues and sustainable development are widely discussed topics nowadays and because of the globalization and people's increasing interest in travelling, also the environmental impacts of tourism are spreading and multiplying. Especially from the 1980s, alternative tourism has come to the side of mass tourism, offering more environmental friendly and sustainable options for travellers. One of the forms of alternative tourism is ecotourism. In Sri Lanka, ecotourism is becoming more and more popular in the field of tourism and there are various ecotourism sites, Udawatta Kele being one of such sites.

Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary is promoted as an ecotourism destination, and our interest was to find out to what extent it fulfils the criteria for ecotourism. In our research we used the criteria of the International Ecotourism Society (TIES). The research topic originated from our interest to critically observe tourism impacts to the local people and environment. We chose Udawatta Kele as our research site because it is an easily accessible ecotourism destination and it seemed like an interesting research site (Figure 1).

Qualitative research methods, such as interviews, observation and transect walk

were used in this research. The objective was to answer to our research question that is: to what extent Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary fulfils the criteria of ecotourism according to TIES definition?



Figure 1: The Royal pond in Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary (Lehtovuori 2013).

At first we describe our research site and the definition of ecotourism. Then we introduce previous case studies in similar topics in development countries. After that we describe the results we gathered in the field in Sri Lanka and at the end we present the analysed findings and the final conclusions about the research.

2. Background information of ecotourism

There are plenty of definitions for ecotourism. According the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), ecotourism means all the forms of tourism where the motivation of the tourist is to observe and respect nature and that includes conservation and minimises the negative impacts to natural and socio-cultural environment (UNWTO 2002). The definition also includes economic and educational aspects. Because of the various definitions of ecotourism, it is challenging to evaluate the fulfilment of ecotourism criteria (Bandara 2009: 472). Also different kinds of nature-based tourism forms, for example adventure and nature tourism, can be easily confused with ecotourism (Newsome et al 2005:13).

As a base for our research, we decided to use the criteria of the International Ecotourism Society (TIES) because we find them clear and unambiguous. Those criteria are also used in other ecotourism related studies (e. g. Wallace & Pierce 1996 and Bandara 2009). TIES is a non-profit organisation which promotes ecotourism and provides guidelines, standards and educational resources (TIES 2012). There are six criteria for ecotourism presented by TIES that are so listed: 1) minimize impact; 2) build environmental and cultural awareness and respect; 3) provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts; 4) provide direct financial benefits for conservation; 5) provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people; 6) Raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climate. Out of these six criteria, we focused our research to four of these points, namely the first and second, and the fourth and fifth.

In Sri Lanka, ecotourism is still a small scale business but it is by far the fastest

growing sector within tourism. With its beautiful sceneries, several national parks and nature reserves, vast cultural heritage and paradise beaches, Sri Lanka has infinite ecotourism opportunities and great potential as an ecotourism destination. However, most of the tourists visiting Sri Lanka use luxury tourism services and spend their vacation in beach holiday attractions. Tourism is one of the most significant sources of foreign income in Sri Lanka, and tourism is considered as an important economic sector, contributing to development and economic growth (Lai 2002: 208, 210-212.).

There are several ecotourism organizations that promote ecotourism in the country. One major organization is Sri Lanka Ecotourism Foundation (SLEF), which attempts to develop Sri Lanka as an ecotourism destination and sees ecotourism as a way to protect environment and advance sustainable human and economic development. There are also several local tour operators, such as Sri Lanka Eco Tours and Eco Team that promote ecotourism tours and sites in Sri Lanka (SLEF 2013; Eco Team 2011). An official National Ecotourism Policy Plan has been compiled to support the growth of the ecotourism sector in the country (Lai 2002: 212).

3. Previous studies

There have been numerous studies concerning ecotourism in recent years. We found few studies where ecotourism is evaluated in developing countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia and Sri Lanka (López-Espinosa de Los Monteros 2001, Ross & Wall 1999, Bandara 2009, Wallace & Pierce 1996). These studies evaluate how the criteria of ecotourism are fulfilled at specific ecotourism sites. Especially the research by Wallace & Pierce (1996) about ecotourism assessment in Brazil Amazon was interesting and useful for our own research. In the study, Wallace and Pierce have identified qualitative indicators that measure to what extent the ecotourism principles are fulfilled. We applied similar indicators in our own research and analysed the results with similar methods as Wallace and Pearce (1996).

Buultjens et al. (2005) have studied tourism impacts to the Ruhuna National Park and its management in Sri Lanka. Bandara (2009) has observed the realization of international ecotourism guidelines in Sri Lankan ecotourism sites. However, Bandara has not used the same criteria as we have used in our research.

The studies we found related to Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary were mainly biological. We weren't able to find any researches concerning tourism in the forest.

4. Research site

Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary is located in the city of Kandy, in the vicinity of a sacred Buddhist temple, the Temple of the Tooth Relic, in Central Province of Sri Lanka (Figure 2). Sanctuaries in Sri Lanka are protected areas that are established for the conservation of wildlife. The coordinates of Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary are 7° 17'N, 80° 38'E. The area is owned by the state and it is governed by the Department of Wildlife Conservation of Sri Lanka. The forest area covers 257 acres and its elevation is approx-

imately 570–660 metres (Forest Department s. a., Royston 2011: 189 and Green 1990: 263-264).

The biodiversity of this primeval forest sanctuary is exceptionally valuable. There are numerous endemic plant and animal species. A conservation centre located in the area provides information about the various environment-related topics of the sanctuary. According to the source information Udawatta Kele is also considered to be an important area for the city’s water supply. However, there is no conservation plan compiled



Figure 2: The Temple of the Tooth Relic in front of the Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary (Meriläinen 2013).

for the sanctuary (Royston 2011: 189 and Green 1990: 263-264).

The situation of the Udawatta Kele forest in the middle of the city of Kandy makes it a unique conservation area, but it also makes it vulnerable to the adverse effects of a big city (Figure 3). With its nearly 110000 inhabitants, Kandy is a densely populated city. Udawatta Kele forest is located in the immediate vicinity of the city center, which makes

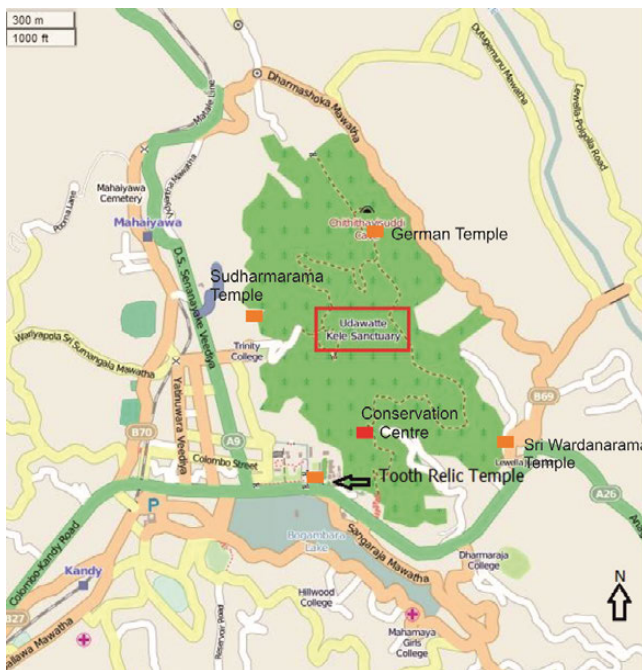


Figure 3: The location of the Udawatta Kele sanctuary in the city of Kandy (Open Street Map contributors 2013).

it an isolated island of forest tightly surrounded by built areas and settlement. The pollution and the noise of the city and the expansion of built areas inevitably have an effect on the forest (UNSD 2001 and Green 1990: 263-264).

At the time of the kingdom of Kandy (1469-1815), Udawatta Kele was a royal recreational forest used by the royal family and their servants. The forest was a place for recreational purposes and the pond inside the forest was used for bathing. Firewood was also collected from the forest for the

royal palace. Udawatta Kele was declared as a sanctuary in 1938 by the Ceylon government (Forest Department s. a., Royston 2011: 190 and Green 1990: 263-264). Nowadays Udawatta Kele is a destination for local residents and tourists. At the time when Udawatta Kele was a royal recreational forest, it also had a religious value for Buddhist monks. The city of Kandy is considered as the religious capital of Buddhism and the sacred Buddhist temple, Temple of tooth, is located right below the Udawatta Kele forest (Figure 3) (UNESCO 2013 and Green 1990: 263-264). Since the establishment of the sanctuary, the monasteries became excluded from the sanctuary area. Now they mainly surround the area, and only one Buddhist hermitage is still located inside the sanctuary.

5. Methods and data

Field work for the research was conducted during two days in May 2013. The qualitative methods used in the research were interviews, transect walk and observation. The interviews consisted of open questions and depending on the target group, different questions were asked. Because most of the local visitors did not speak English, we received interpretation support from a researcher at the University of Peradeniya, Mr. Subasinghe. Four employees, seven local visitors and one Buddhist monk were interviewed for the research (Table 1). A recorder was not used because we thought it would be disturbing and make the interviewed uneasy. Because there were three of us interviewing it was possible to make sufficient notes and observations without a recorder.

Table 1: Number of interviews.

Target group	Number of interviews
Employees	4
Local visitors	7
Buddhist monk	1
Total	12

Local visitors were asked about their attitudes towards local and foreign tourism in the forest, their own recreational use of the area, local participation in the management of the sanctuary and their perceptions about the implementation of the educational and informative aspects of the forest. The monk was enquired about the relation of the sanctuary and Buddhist temples and his own relation with the sanctuary. Cultural awareness and sensitivity in the forest sanctuary were also among our interview topics.

Employees working at the entrance and officers working in the conservation centre were enquired about issues related to local employment, guidelines and restrictions and the amount of visitors. The conservation centre provided information about educational meaning of the sanctuary, management of the area and water supplies and questions related to environmental issues.

Through the transect walk it was possible to systematically observe the environment (Figure 4). We collected GPS points from interesting and relevant locations for the purpose of our research, and made notes about those places. For example, we gathered information about signs, restrictions, tourist facilities, guidance of the sanctuary and the

state of environment. Nine collected GPS points are presented in Table 2.

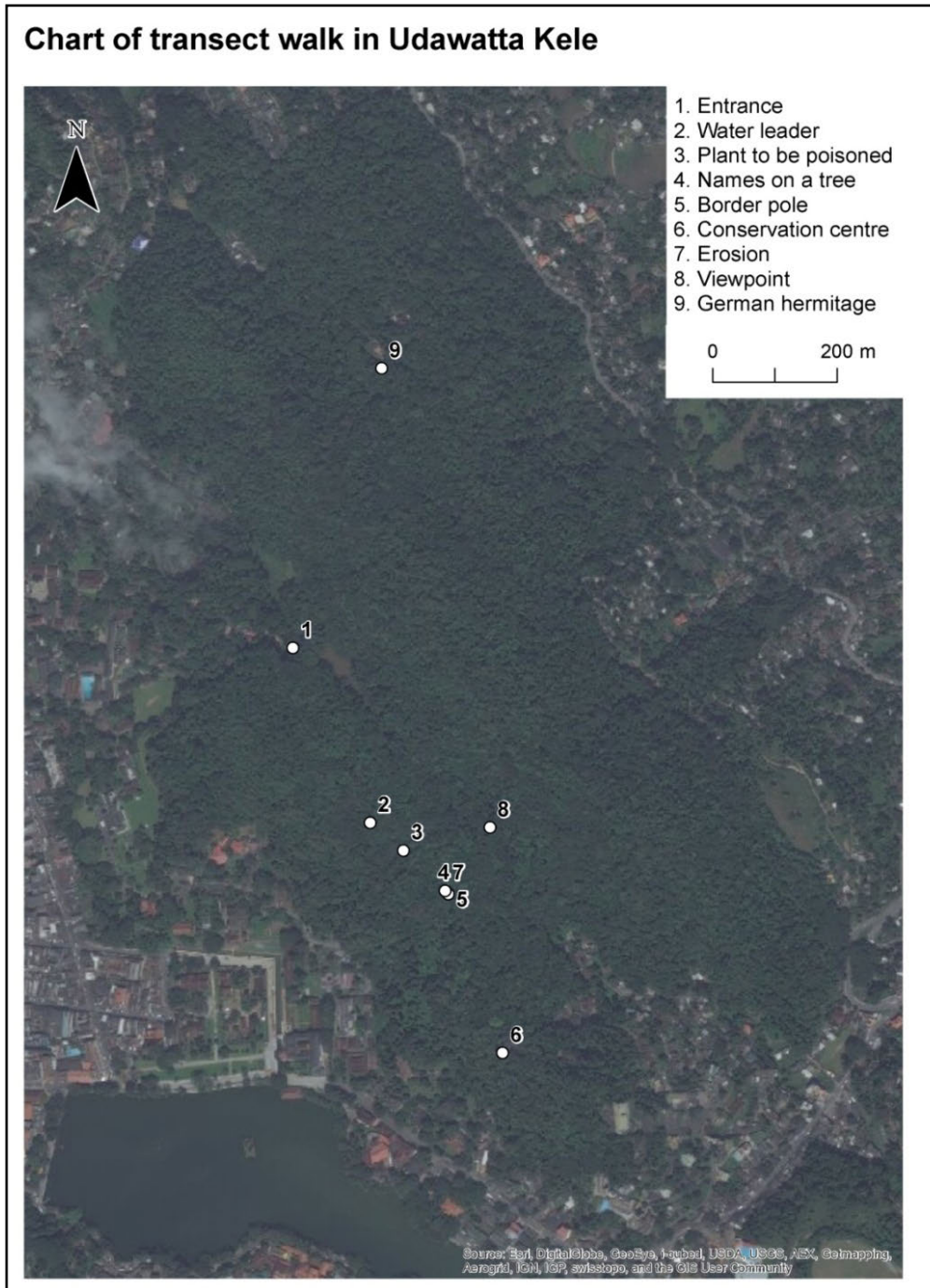











Figure 4: GPS points (1-9) collected in the transect walk.

Table 2: GPS points collected in the transect walk and their description.

	Point	Name	Coordinates	Elevation	Description
	1.	Entrance	N 7°17.966' E 80°38.472'	577 m	Entrance, Royal Pond, people releasing pigeons
	2.	Water leader	N 7°17.814' E 80°38.539'	599m	Infrastructure for preventing erosion
	3.	Plant to be poisoned	N 7°17.790' E 80°38.568'	597m	Myroxylon balsamum (spreading too much)
	4.	Names on a tree	N 7°17.755' E 80°38.604'	598m	Names carved on a tree
	5.	Border pole	N 7°17.752' E 80°38.607'	598m	Sanctuary border marked with a pole, forest ends, traffic noise of the city echoes
	6.	Conservation centre	N 7°17.614' E 80°38.654'	604m	Information about the sanctuary
	7.	Erosion	N 7°17.810' E 80°38.643'	612m	Erosion next to the roads
	8.	Viewpoint	N 7°17.755' E 80°38.604'	598m	Old watch tower, broken glass
	9.	German hermitage	N 7°18.209' E 80°38.549'	581m	Hermitage center for Buddhists, "respect silence" and "do not enter without reason" signs

During our field work, we observed the amount and behaviour of visitors, waste and water management, infrastructure and possible local economic activities. A visit at the conservation centre was part of the evaluation of the educational aspect of ecotourism.

In evaluating the fulfilment of the ecotourism criteria, we used the same kind of indicators that are proposed by Wallace & Pierce (1996). Since indicators are always site specific, we found specific indicators that were relevant to our research site. Each ecotourism criterion has qualitative indicators that indicate to what extent the criterion is fulfilled (Wallace & Pierce 1996: 847-848, 852). Four ecotourism criteria and their indicators that were used in this study and presented in Table 3.

It is also important to notice that using an interpreter can affect the results and the answers of any interview. The results can be distorted because of a wrong translation, tone of voice, body language, choice of words or manners. Even though using the same questions with every interviewee, there might appear problems if the translator does not use the same words when asking the questions from the different persons. It is also important to have a close and understanding relationship with the translator in order to achieve better teamwork in the interviewing situations. (Phillimore & Goodson 2004: 315-316.)

Table 3: Ecotourism criteria and indicators.

Criterion	Indicator	Scale
Minimize impact	Amount of visitors	4
	Waste management	2
	Information given to visitors	2
	Guidelines, restrictions	2
	Infrastructure	3
	Wildlife	2
	Water management	1
	Management plan	1
	Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect	Educational activities
Education by local schools		4
Guides, guided tours		1
Cultural sensitivity		2
Scientific research		3
Provide direct financial benefits for conservation	Entrance fees	2
Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people	Local economic activity	1
	Opportunities for local employees	3
	Local recreational use of the area	3
	Local attitudes towards tourism	4
	Local participation	1

6. Results

6.1. Minimize impacts

The amount of visitors in the sanctuary depends on the season. During the peak season from November to March, the amount of visitors is approximately 400-500 per month. In other months the amount is 200-300 visitors per month. Local visitors are main-

ly school groups.

The infrastructure in the area is small-scaled. We saw only few buildings, like the conservation centre, rest rooms, and other small scale infrastructure related to erosion prevention. The paths are mainly gravel roads without pavement.



Figure 5: Guide sign in Sinhalese in Udawatta Kele (Kyytsönen 2013).



Figure 6: Restriction sign (Lehtovuori 2013).

Information given to visitors was quite limited, mostly offered at the conservation centre and at the entrance. At the conservation centre the information was available only in English, not in Sinhalese or Tamil, which are the official languages of Sri Lanka. As visitors enter the sanctuary, they are given information about how to act and behave in the sanctuary. They also get a brochure that contains facts about the sanctuary. The brochure we received was in English but we do not have reliable information whether the brochures are available also in Sinhalese and Tamil. Occasional guide signs and few observed signs of scientific plant names were both in English and Sinhalese (Figure 5). Common view among the interviewees was that there is a need for more guidance and information about the species.

In the sanctuary there were some restriction signs. The signs forbade for example motor vehicles and cycling on certain paths (Figure 6). It was also prohibited to walk outside the paths. However, we did witness some violations of these restrictions, such as vehicles driving within the sanctuary and visitors going off the paths. Heavy vehicles and walking outside the paths accelerate erosion and in some places marks of erosion could be seen, especially next to the paths and roads. There was a restriction sign also at the gate of the Buddhist hermitage that forbade people to enter without a reason and asked for silence. It was restricted to feed animals at the sanctuary area, but according to the interviewees it happens anyway. Oc-

asionally people also bring animals to the area. We saw an incident, a part of a religious custom, where three people released pigeons bought from a store.

Despite the conservation status of Udawatta Kele, small scale poaching is still taking place in the sanctuary. Poached species are, for example, wild boars and barking deer, and they are hunted with dogs and by lighting fire. People also come to collect firewood from the area. Previously collecting firewood was allowed, but nowadays it is prohibited because living trees are harmed in the process. The Forest Department tries to educate the locals about the importance of protecting the forest and offers them firewood sustainably collected from the forest by the employees of the sanctuary. Land encroachment is also a serious problem in the sanctuary because the surrounding settlements are spreading nearer the sanctuary borders and also inside the forest, which can be seen in Google Earth satellite images when comparing images from the years 2003 and 2012.

To increase the biodiversity of the forest, the Forest Department has planted new species like Mahogany, *Michelia champaca* and *Alstonia macrophylla*. Forest Department has also tried to demolish the plant called Myroxylon balsamum because it is spreading uncontrollably.

Currently there is no management plan for the Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary, but it is under process by the Forest Department. The plan should be completed during the year 2014. Based on the interviews with Forest Department officers, local people and community-based organizations can participate in the planning process. There is no water management plan in the sanctuary and according to the Forest Department officer, by protecting the forest they also protect the water supplies. According to the same informant, the forest is no longer the primary source of water for the city of Kandy because nowadays there is a pipeline system that provides water for residents. Waste management is implemented by prohibiting local visitors to bring any bags to the sanctuary. This concerns only the locals because it is seen that foreigners respect more the nature and the environment than locals. There were no trashcans in the area and littering is a punishable action inside the sanctuary. If people are caught from littering they are not allowed to enter the sanctuary again.

6.2. Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect

Environmental education programmes were offered in the conservation centre located in the sanctuary. Provided information was about floral and faunal diversity, endemic species of the forest and management and history of the sanctuary. The information was in English. Approximately 10-20 school groups per month visit the sanctuary. They are given lectures about the environment and the target is to raise their awareness and motivate them to protect the environment. As a part of the awareness program of the Forest Department, school students could also participate in planting trees, using the plant nursery that the Forest Department had in the sanctuary. Students from local schools have done school projects about the sanctuary and university students, for example from Australia, have done scientific research in the forest.

There were no official guides in the sanctuary, but the park management had a plan to train guides. Unofficial guides were offering their services to the tourists from outside the sanctuary, but they had no proper training or knowledge. However, the officers in the conservation centre had education background from natural sciences.

The sanctuary had a stronger cultural value in the past, mainly related to religious practices. When implementing our research, we found out that the temples were not part of the sanctuary and the monks do not visit the sanctuary anymore. According to the monk we interviewed, the religious importance of the forest has been reduced since the temples had been excluded from the sanctuary. According to the Forest Department officer, temples had demanded more land for their use from the sanctuary, and the state had offered them these exceptions.

6.3. Provide direct financial benefits for conservation

The income gathered from the entrance fees goes to the government of Sri Lanka, not directly to the conservation of Udawatta Kele. The salaries of the employees are paid by the Forest Department that is financed by the Sri Lankan government. The entrance fee for locals was 25 LKR, equivalent to 0.14 Euros, and for foreigner 650 LKR, equivalent to 3.65 Euros (Figure 7). The entrance was free for school children.



Figure 7: The entrance where the fees are paid (Lehtovuori 2013).

6.4. Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people

Udawatta Kele is managed by the Forest Department, which employed six people in the sanctuary at the time of our visit. In addition to the Forest Department employees, there were also other employees who worked at the management level. All employees were local.

Other benefits are received by local people who come to the sanctuary to relax, calm and sometimes to educate themselves. The sanctuary was seen as a place to escape the stress and noisiness of the city. The majority of visitors we met said that the sanctuary should stay in the current natural state. The only improvement suggestion was to increase the amount of informative signs.

Locals' attitudes toward tourism were quite neutral. They appreciated the financial

benefits gained from foreign tourists in the form of higher entrance fees. A common opinion among local visitors was that foreign tourists appreciate the nature of the sanctuary more than local visitors. This opinion possibly results from experiences that few visitors had about locals' inappropriate behaviour, for example recreational use that included consumption of alcohol in the sanctuary area.

We did not see any local economic activity inside the sanctuary or in the vicinity of the entrance. When asked from the local visitors about their participation possibilities in the managing of the sanctuary, they said that they don't know how to participate.

7. Analysis

As said, our analysis is based on the article of Wallace and Pierce (1996). To answer our research question "To what extent the Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary fulfils the criteria of ecotourism?" we have used a scale from 1-4 where 1 = unsatisfactory, 2= partially satisfactory, 3 = mostly satisfactory, 4 = satisfactory (Table 4).

Table 4: Evaluation of the criteria of ecotourism.

Criterion	Indicator	Scale
Minimize impact	Amount of visitors	4
	Waste management	2
	Information given to visitors	2
	Guidelines, restrictions	2
	Infrastructure	3
	Wildlife	2
	Water management	1
	Management plan	1
Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect	Educational activities	4
	Education by local schools	4
	Guides, guided tours	1
	Cultural sensitivity	2
	Scientific research	3
Provide direct financial benefits for conservation	Entrance fees	2
Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people	Local economic activity	1
	Opportunities for local employees	3
	Local recreational use of the area	3
	Local attitudes towards tourism	4
	Local participation	1

In minimizing impact we find the amount of visitors satisfactory, because the amount was quite low in relation to the area and therefore the sanctuary is not too crowded and the forest ecosystem is not overloaded. Waste management of the sanctuary is partially satisfactory. There were no trashcans in the area because the waste management was implemented by not allowing local visitors to bring their bags into the sanctuary. However, it became obvious that this convention is insufficient because we observed trashes in the

area. It is possible that by excluding trashcans the Forest Department tries to avoid vehicle traffic that the garbage collection would cause in the sanctuary area. Trashcans may also be problematic because animals like monkeys and squirrels would probably spread trashes in the forest.

Information given to visitors, guidelines and restrictions are only partially satisfactory because the amount was insufficient and mainly located in one point, in the conservation centre, and was not available in national languages. We consider the infrastructure of the sanctuary as mostly satisfactory because it was quite small scale and it did not impact the environment harmfully. However, land encroachment from outside and land demands by the temples present a possible threat to the forest. The spreading of settlement and built areas inside the forest and sanctuary borders decrease the forest area and burden the ecosystem. When it comes to wildlife, we find it partially satisfactory. The animals of the forest are sometimes fed by visitors and the ecosystem was not completely in a natural state for example because of planting and poisoning species and releasing animals to the forest. The water management of the sanctuary cannot be considered as satisfactory because there were no special actions for water supply protections and there was no management plan yet. Altogether, the criterion of minimizing impacts is only partially fulfilled in Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary.

In the field of building environmental and cultural awareness, we consider the educational aspects as satisfactory. The Forest department was very active and interested in educating children and other visitors. In addition, local schools used the sanctuary quite a lot in their teaching. Also the scientific research is mostly satisfactory. However, the lack of educated guides in the sanctuary affects negatively the building of environmental awareness and respect and therefore, we find the guiding services as unsatisfactory. Cultural sensitivity is only partially satisfactory since the cultural meaning of the sanctuary has weakened significantly. As a whole, we conclude that the criterion of building environmental and cultural awareness and respect is mostly satisfactory.

The criterion set as providing direct financial benefits for conservation can be evaluated as partially satisfactory. Entrance fees did not go directly to the institution responsible for the environmental conservation of the sanctuary.

In providing financial benefits for local people, we find the local economic activity unsatisfactory because it was absent. Local people could gain income for example by selling handicrafts and souvenirs at the gate of the sanctuary. On the other hand, the site probably does not attract local economic activity because of the small amount of visitors and potential buyers. Another option could be selling items at the conservation centre and gather funds for conservation this way. The empowerment of locals is also unsatisfactory. Even though the Forest Department promises that locals can participate to management planning process, none of the visitors knew how to participate. Although opportunities for local employees can be considered as mostly satisfactory because all employees were local, in reality the sanctuary offered employment only for few people. Nevertheless, if in the future the Forest Department decides to educate official guides, the amount of employees will increase. Similarly, we see local recreational use of the area as mostly satisfactory because the sanctuary seemed to be an important place for those who visited there although in the end it was not a very popular destination. With a cheaper entrance

fee for the local people, the Forest Department seems to encourage the locals to visit the sanctuary. The local visitors had neutral and positive feelings towards foreign tourists and therefore we find local attitudes towards tourism satisfactory. All in all, the criterion of providing financial benefits and empowerment for local people is only partially fulfilled in Udawatta Kele.

8. Discussion and conclusions

In conclusion, none of the criterion of ecotourism was completely fulfilled in Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary. The aspects that were most satisfactorily fulfilled were the educational activities related to the building of environmental awareness, and also local recreational use, local attitudes and local employment included in providing benefits for local people. The least fulfilled aspects were related to minimizing impact and empowering local people because of the lack of sufficient management plan and local participation. Although Udawatta Kele contains several features of ecotourism, there are still defects that need to be improved. Anyway, also according to previously mentioned literature, it is quite common that ecotourism criteria are only partially fulfilled, even though the site is promoted as an ecotourism destination.

After completion of our field study, we carried out an internal team discussion about the methodology we adopted, and we considered that our methods were adequate to our research purposes. It can be stated that our methods suited our purposes well and it was possible to collect relevant information with them. While the interviews worked well and gave the information we needed, the transect walk brought additional value since we were able to get a better and more complete understanding of the research site.

Our interpreter was very helpful and interested in our study topic and enthusiastic to fulfill his job as a translator. We were able to do some of the interviews ourselves in English but in most of the cases it was necessary to have a Sinhalese speaking interpreter with us to clarify the answers or questions or sometimes to translate the whole interview. It is difficult to say how much using the translator affected our answers and results but when observing the interaction between our interpreter and the interviewed we were very pleased to notice that at least the body language, tone of voice and manners of our translator seemed to be very friendly and proper. We also think that our own communication and interaction with the interpreter were successful.

However, there were some contradictions in the answers provided by the two Sanctuary's employees. For example, when asking questions about regulations of visitors feeding animals, we received contradictory answers, one saying that feeding animals is allowed while the other telling it is not allowed. The situation was similar also when asking about local people collecting firewood. According to one employee it is not happening anymore while another employee told that it is still quite a big problem in the sanctuary. There was also a problem of people releasing exotic animals in the sanctuary area, but the Forest Department does not forbid the action because it is a Buddhist religious practice. In this case it appears that the Forest Department does not want to apply management regulations that contradict with Buddhist religious practices.

When it comes to the indicators used in the research it can be concluded that the chosen indicators were mainly relevant in terms of the research site. Yet two indicators, cultural sensitivity and water management, turned out to be not as significant as expected. Udawatta Kele forest has been losing its religious meaning in time and the importance of the forest as a water supply of the city of Kandy has also decreased significantly.

The main obstacle in our research was that there was not enough background information available and therefore we based our research too much on assumptions. We could not find proper information about the tourism and religious aspects of the sanctuary beforehand. The lack of information probably resulted from the fact that tourism and religion played only a rather small role in the sanctuary. In addition, Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary does not have any official websites where reliable facts about the sanctuary could be found.

There was also a very limited time to implement the field work for the research. Because we spent only two days at the field site and the amount of visitors was so low the sample size of our research was quite small and limited. Most of the visitors were there for the first time and our research was implemented at the time of Vesak, an important religious festival in the Buddhist tradition, which may have affected the number of visitors. The question is, whether it is possible to make realistic and reliable conclusions based on such a small sample. Also the fact that it was not possible to present the same questions to visitors and employees means that the answers are not fully comparable with each other.

During the field work, it turned out that there were contradictions between our background information and the reality. Before our visit we were expecting a higher religious importance of the sanctuary and the presence of more Buddhist temples inside the area. What we found out was instead that the temples were actually located on the forest borders and were not officially part of the sanctuary area. In our research plan we planned to interview Buddhist monks and their part in the research was supposed to be quite large. Because the temples were not located in the sanctuary, interviewing the monks was not really relevant to our research question and therefore we had to leave aside the cultural aspect of our research.

Even though the temples were located outside the sanctuary borders they still had an effect on Udawatta Kele. The land demands of the surrounding Buddhist temples can pose a threat to the conservation of the forest by reshaping the sanctuary borders and shrinking the forest area. The decrease of conserved forest area may reduce the value of the sanctuary as an ecotourism destination. It is also ethically questionable that giving away conserved land areas to other purposes of use is validated with religious reasons. It feels that justifying the land demands with religion degrades the conservational value of the forest.

The relationship between Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary and the surrounding temples would be an important topic to investigate more. It appears that at the moment there is no valid scientific information available about this topic in Udawatta Kele. Because the time for conducting the field work was so limited it was not possible for us to focus on the temples outside the sanctuary borders. Perhaps the land demands of the temples could be an inspiring research topic for local researchers and for the students of the University of Peradeniya located in the vicinity of Kandy.

Doing this research was a very positive and educational experience for us. We learned a lot from a totally different kind of culture and its habits. It was a unique opportunity for us to get to work in the field and to learn the use of scientific research methods in practice. We were also pleased to work with such a cooperative and talented interpreter who tried to assist us in every way and who made our research possible. In a seminar held in the University of Peradeniya the local students showed interest towards our research and Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary. Hopefully our small research could have inspired local students to study and conserve the forest sanctuary. It was our aim with our research and presentation to raise local awareness and local participation to improve the area so that perhaps some reforms could be made to promote Udawatta Kele more like a real ecotourism destination.

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Land use change in the village of Pannala South – Mapping and change analysis

Liisa Kallajoki, Hanna Käyhkö and Emmi Sallinen

Abstract

Primary forest cover in Sri Lanka has been decreasing rapidly from the turn of the 19th century mainly due to conversion of forests to agriculture, logging and shifting cultivation. Cultivated land in the rural areas consists mainly of small scale farmers on patches averaging 0,47 hectares where paddy, rubber and tea are cultivated. The primary aim of this study was to map and analyze land use changes in the village of Pannala South (7°19' N, 80°1' E) using land cover maps from 1981, remote sensing data from 2000 and field observations and ground control points collected during our field trip. Our main focus was on the spatial analyses through supervised classification. Our data consists of a Landsat 7 ETM+ image with a 30 m x 30 m spatial resolution and 31 ground control points. The final classification was based on six different classes which represented the most common crops and land cover types. The size of cultivated patches, the low spatial resolution and cloudiness of our satellite image and the overall heterogeneity of the area caused problems in our analysis. Our results suggest that there has been a slight increase in tea cultivation in the area compared to previous data. Better data and extra time to conduct field work, including interviews, would have been helpful in getting more robust results and a deeper understanding of changes in the area.

1. Introduction

Sri Lanka is one of the world's 34 biological hotspots with an extraordinary high concentration of biodiversity and endemism (Lindström et al. 2012). In 2010 Sri Lanka had a population of 20,7 million and around 72 % of the population lived in rural areas,

where the majority are small scale farmers on patches averaging 0,47 hectares. The distribution of cultivated land in agriculture are: paddy 40 %, coconut 20%, rubber 7%, tea 12 % and others 21 %. Forest cover in Sri Lanka has decreased rapidly during the last century and only fragments of the once widespread natural forest remains (Feeding the Nation 2010; Lindström et al. 2012).

Until the turn of the 19th century about 80 % of Sri Lanka was covered by primary forests. The forest cover was reduced to 44 % in 1956, 30 % in 1996 and is currently at 25 %. Total forest cover in Kegalle district was around 10 % in 2001 (graph 1). Deforestation has been widespread in wet and intermediate zones of the country. This hasn't gone unnoticed and now 14 % of the total land area has been protected. Principal drivers of deforestation have been conversion of forests to agriculture, development schemes, logging, shifting cultivation and unsustainable tourism industry. Since agriculture is the most common source of income, there is a link between conversions of forests to agricultural expansion. The lack of national land cover policy and planning is an underlying factor contributing to the problem as a whole (Lindström et al. 2012).

The historical land use change gave us the idea to investigate the land use changes in recent history. The world trends in beverage consumption and diseases of the plants have caused cultivation changes and we thought to conduct a research on how the land use has changed in 30 years in the study area.

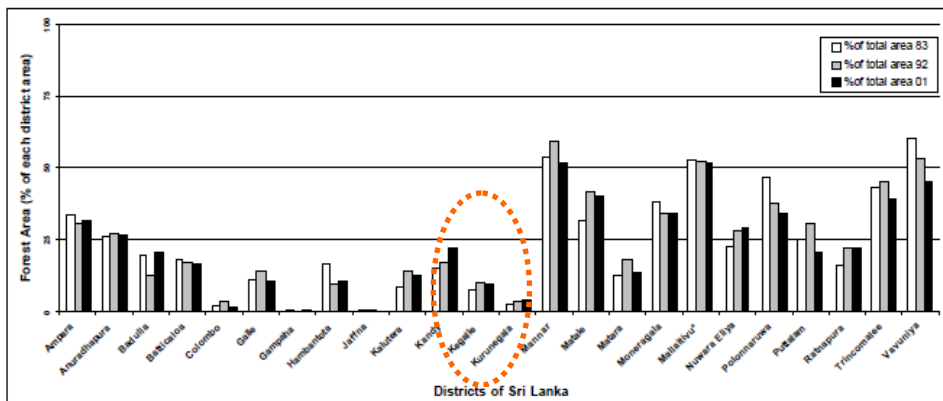


Figure 1: Forest area percentages in 1983, 1991 and 2001 for Sri Lanka's districts (Silva 2001).

As the Figure 1 indicates, there is not much primary forest left (around 10 %) in our main research site, in Kegalle District. The soil map from year 1981 (Figure 5) (Selvaradjou et al. 2005, Panagos et al. 2011) shows the cultivated crops in our study area. At that time mainly tea and rubber were cultivated near the village of Pannala South (Bulatkohupitiya). According to Iqbal et al. (2006) tea and rubber are the most important economic crops in Sri Lanka. Much has happened in 30 years, for example in the 1990s there was an economic recession in South-Asia that caused the price of rubber to drop and resulted in farmers giving up cultivating rubber altogether. The Sri Lanka Rubber Research Institute announced that over the last forty years the cultivation of rubber has declined. In the 1970s rubber was cultivated over 214000 hectares of land but nowadays the cultivation area is only 121000 hectares (Drastic drop in rubber 2013).

Also the world trends in beverage consumption have changed (Ridwan et al, 1997). The consumption of tea has been increasing especially in Asia. In 2000 the tea production of Sri Lanka was 250000 tons and ten years later 331400 tons (Sri Lanka Tea Board 2010). The amount of cultivated tea in Kegalle district is quite small: 4,716 tons of tea was cultivated there in 2010. According to the Ceylon Tea Museum (2013) coffee was the main crop of the island in the beginning of the 19th century. The price of coffee fluctuated during the whole 19th century which had serious repercussions for coffee plantations in Sri Lanka (at that time Ceylon) (Duncan 2002). The final blow for coffee was the coffee disease *hemileia vastatrix* which is a coffee rust fungus. A British man named James Taylor arrived on the island in 1850 and started cultivating tea. Huge demand of tea in Britain boosted the island to produce more tea in the 19th century and today Sri Lanka is the world's second largest exporter of tea.

1.1. Aim of our study

The primary aim of our study was to map and analyze major changes in land cover in Pannala South during the last 30 years. What has happened to the natural forests? Has the increasing cultivation of tea and rubber plantations taken over? What is the role of population growth in the area and how are the settled areas fitting in? In this context we have set one research question: How has the land cover in the study area changed over the past thirty years?

1.2. Study area

Our research village Pannala South (Bulathkohupitya) 7°19'43.95" N, 80°1'20.00" E is located in the Western Province, in Kegalle district. It lies about 50 km northeast of Colombo (Figure 2). The natural vegetation of the area is evergreen lowland forest. The area is mostly lowlands ranging from 0 - 180 m a.s.l (meters above sea level). Our research was carried out in and around the village.



Figure: 2 Digital elevation model (DEM) of the western and central parts of Sri Lanka, showing the location of our research site, Bulathkohupitya.

The data used for the digital elevation model is free data from US Geological Survey (USGS) Earth Explorer 2013. It is composed of two $1^{\circ} \times 1^{\circ}$ georectified Advanced Spaceborne Thermal Emission and Reflection Radiometer (ASTER) image tiles with a spatial resolution of 30 m. The derived DEM (Figure 2) shows an area between the latitudes 7° N and 8° N with the 80° E longitude running through the map just west of our study area.

2. Methods

Defining land cover by using remote sensing analyses usually means unsupervised and supervised classifications. These two are the most common techniques including field data collection; remote sensing also requires control points and/or good knowledge of the research area in order to get reliable results. Visual verification of land cover status at several points is needed in order to get reliable ground truth data for comparison of the data.

Unsupervised classification means that the remote sensing application classifies the data by itself without training areas. The user only enters the desired number of classes and a few other parameters for the classification. Proper names for the classes are added after the classification. In the supervised classification the user defines the specific training areas. Training areas are those areas that belong to the same classification class as defined by the user. Defining the training areas is based on visual analysis and/or personal knowledge of the area. Some reference points from the field can be used for defining reliable training areas. Usually the results will be evaluated by using a confusion matrix.

2.1. Data processing and analysis

According to Jensen (2000), it is important to understand how the energy being remotely sensed comes from the Sun and goes through a long chain until it reaches the sensor. Because of this, it is usually necessary to do some corrections to the satellite image. This also helps to understand the problems in the remote sensing analysis. In the land cover analysis, it isn't always necessary to do atmospheric corrections for the image. For example, Haag & Haglunds (2002) did not do any atmospheric corrections for the SPOT satellite images for land cover analysis in Sri Lanka. Also Akbari et al. (2006) used Landsat 7 images for crop analysis in Iran, without any corrections for the image. So based on these researches, we decided to skip the corrections and use the image as it is.

The data needs some preparation for the classifications. These are described in the Figure 3. First, the data needs to be unpacked twice. After that all the layers are combined to multispectral image, which is used to calculate the unsupervised and supervised classifications. The original image before the classifications is shown in Figure 4a and the study area in Figure 4b.

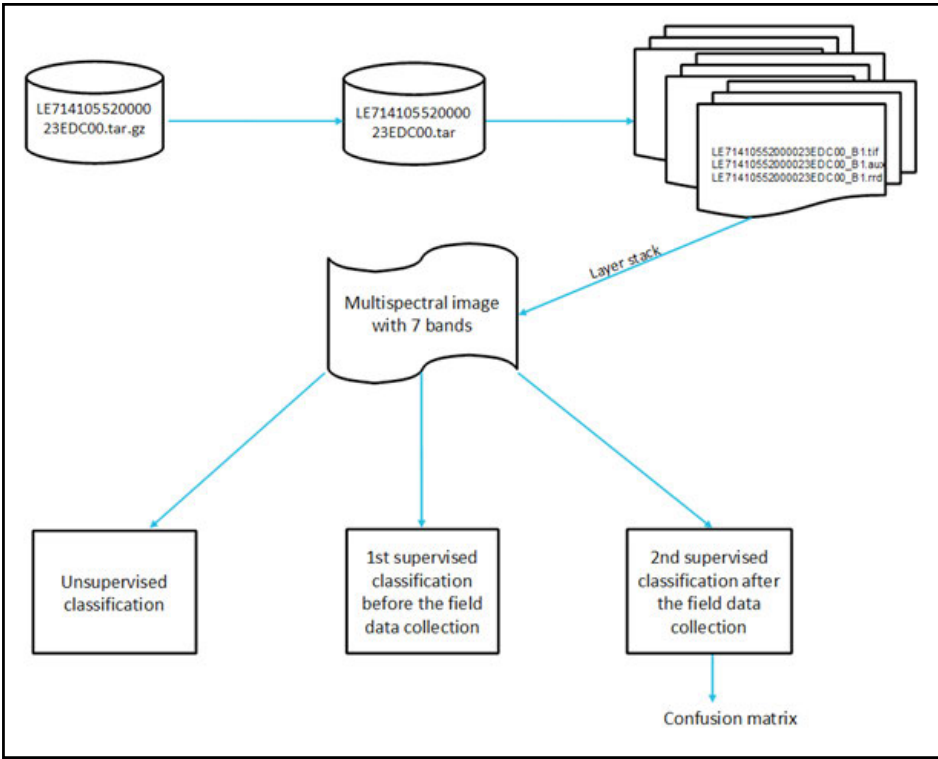


Figure 3: A flowchart describing the making of unsupervised and supervised classifications.

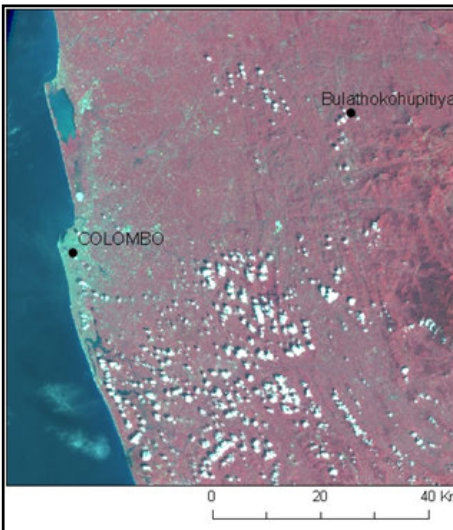


Figure 4a: Landsat image for the study (false color).

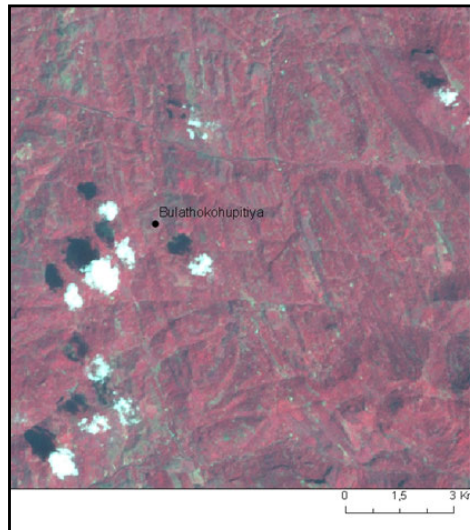


Figure 4b: Our study area from the Landsat image.

2.2. Study plan

Our methods included spatial analyses to observe changes in land use and field observations. We focused on land cover changes between 1981, 2000 and present. Figure 5 shows the land cover situation in year 1981 when the study area was mainly used for cultivation and as a settlement (Selvaradjou et al. 2005, Panagos et al. 2011).

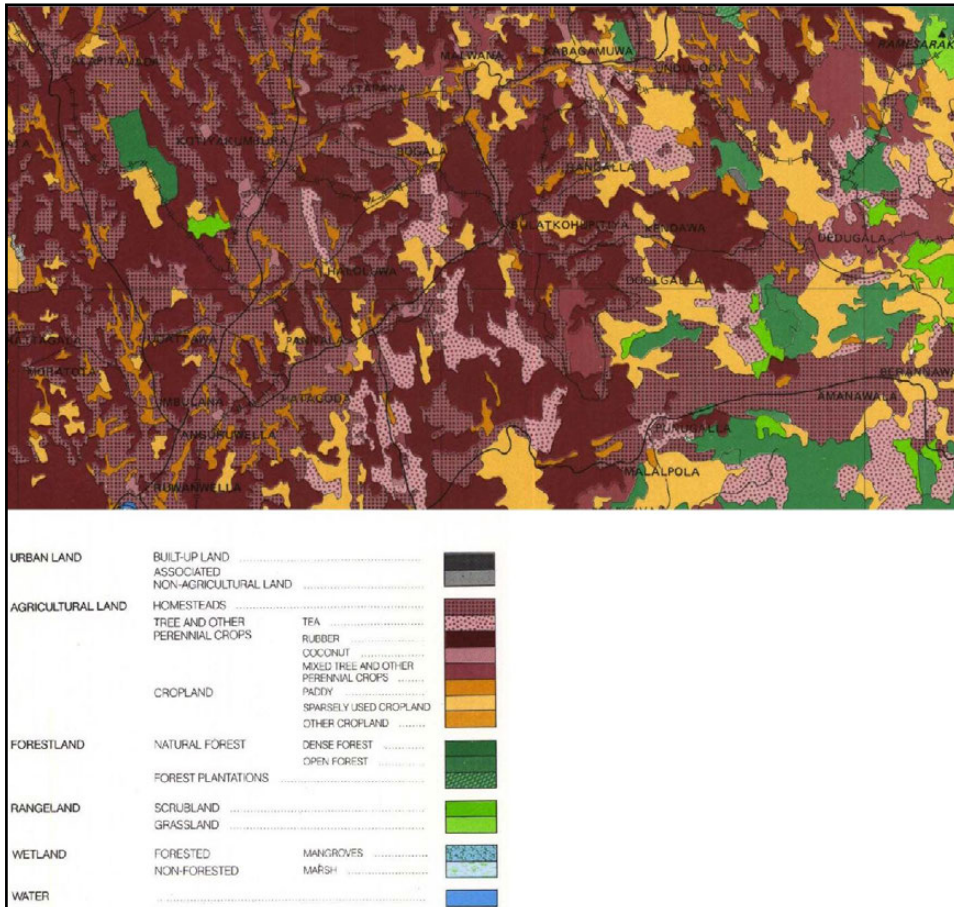


Figure 5: Land cover map of the study area showing different types of cultivation and modified areas (Selvaradjou et al. 2005, Panagos et al. 2011).

The Figure 6 shows the remote sensing process according to Jensen (2000) and our research plan. The first box describes our main interest and research question, which were stated in the aim of our study -chapter and are also shown in the figure. Firstly, the data collection part included the Landsat 7 ETM+ image, which was presented earlier. Secondly, the data included the GPS-points from the field. Our area of interest was the Pannala South village and its surroundings. We collected GPS-points in the village. Because the resolution of the satellite image is 30 meters, the land cover areas which were useful had

be at least 30 x 30 meters. Thirdly, the data included the map of the Kegalle district land cover from year 1981 (Selvaradjou et al. 2005, Panagos et al. 2011).

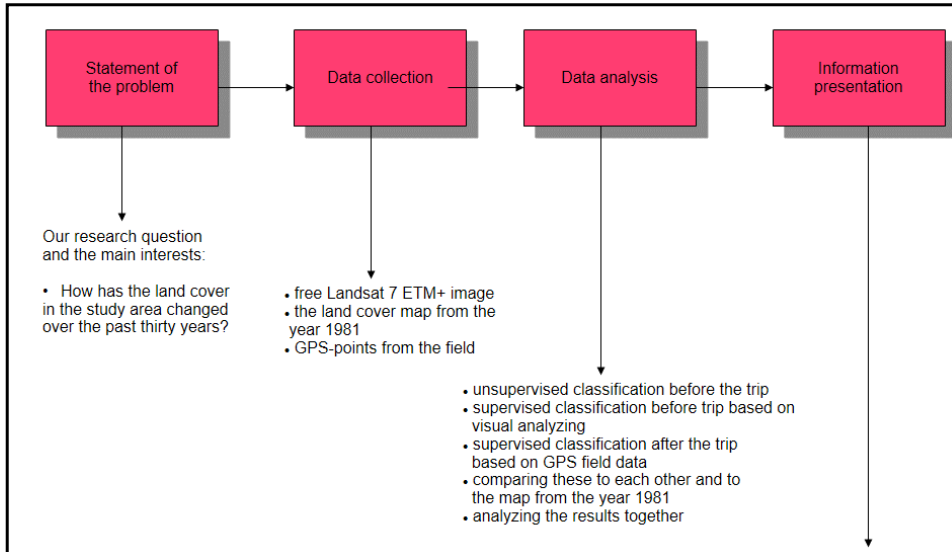


Figure 6: Flow chart of our research process.

The data analysis box includes the unsupervised classification and first supervised classification before the field trip. According to our first classifications, we decided on seven different land cover classes. If we had only six classes, the settlement areas would be classified to other classes. Because of clouds and shadows in the image, over seven classes classifications causes many cloud and shadow classes. After the field trip, we proceeded with the second supervised classification based on our personal knowledge of the area and the collected GPS-points.

2.3. Discussion and limitations

There were some data quality issues in our Landsat ETM+ images. As the study area is situated near the Equator in a tropical region with prevailing southwestern and northeastern monsoons, cloud formation takes place even on a calm day. This means humid air and clouds coverage almost all year round. It is extremely difficult to get cloud-free images for Sri Lanka due to abundant tropical cloud coverage and long recurrent periods of the satellites (Lindström et al 2012). That is why there are some clouds covering our study area as well. The possibility of making land cover maps and comparing temporal change with an existing old land cover map plays a vital role in the control of vegetation change over a longer time period.

We expected to encounter problems with the spatial resolution of the data. The cultivated areas around the village could be too small when generating the classification as the resolution of the image is 30 x 30 m. Therefore it is possible that the small cultivated patches might not be visible on our images. Some problems could also arise from the fact

that the classification of the 1981 land cover map was conducted from an image that was taken during a different time of year. The ideal situation would have been to have satellite images from May each year, then the comparison of vegetation would have been easier. Now the vegetation might radiate differently depending on the phenological phase of the vegetation or due to water stress.

As mentioned before, Haag & Haglund (2002) have done land cover classification in Sri Lanka based on SPOT images. The image used in their study had better quality as it was without any cloud coverage. Their land cover classification had 10 classes. In the final classification, they had a method called hybrid approach which combines the visual and digital approaches. In the visual approach, the research area is classified manually by using 1km x 1km rectangles. The digital approach means the supervised classification to the high resolution SPOT image. After the field work, the combination of these two as a hybrid approach produces an informative and accurate map about the land cover based on both supervised classification and the personal knowledge of the area. Based on a study by Akbar et. al. (2006), the Landsat 7 ETM+ images are suitable for crop analysis given that the images are mostly cloudless. The aim of Akbar et al. (2006) was to find out, what kind of crop types exist in the study area and get information about the size of the total crop area. The results were evaluated by using confusion matrix, and the overall accuracy was 88 % after the field work. Haag & Haglund (2002) did not present a confusion matrix in their research. In our research, the clouds and shadows would cause big errors to the classification, which it eventually also did), but as mentioned before we couldn't find a better image.

3. Results from desk study in Finland

As described in the methods section, before the field trip we made two classifications from the satellite image data. The unsupervised classification (Figure 7, left side) was based only on computer analysis. The supervised classification (Figure 7, right side) was based on our personal knowledge of the area, of what kind of land cover types we expected to find in Sri Lanka.

The products of unsupervised and supervised classifications are quite similar. In the supervised classification (Figure 7) the “vegetation 2” class and the “settlement area” classes cover larger areas. It was impossible to say, which one of these is better since we didn't have sufficient knowledge of the vegetation types and overall conditions in Sri Lanka yet. For example, what is the difference between these two types of vegetation? Only the biggest settlement areas like Colombo are classified well and we can be sure that results are correct. Also some of the biggest water areas are classified correctly.

The larger scale image (Figure 8) shows the classification results near the study area. We can only see two types of vegetation and some settlement areas. The settlement areas might be classified incorrectly. There aren't any large towns in that area. With this 30 m x 30 m spatial resolution, the small and fragmented settlement areas aren't classified as settlement areas. There are also clouds and shadows in the image near the study area, which cause error to the classification. There are “settlement areas” around the clouds,

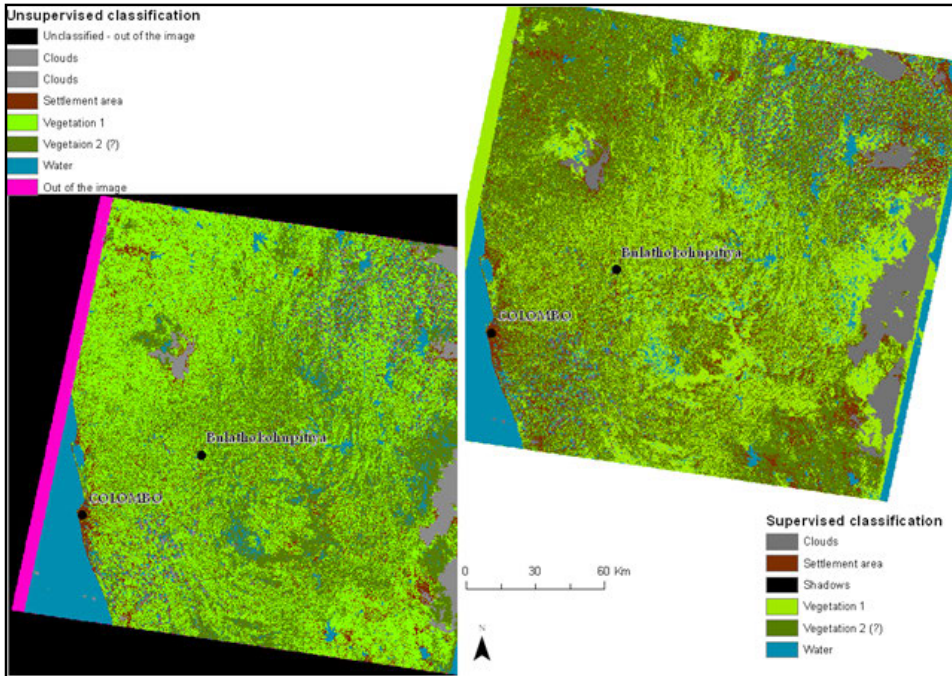


Figure 7: Unsupervised (left) and supervised (right) classification.

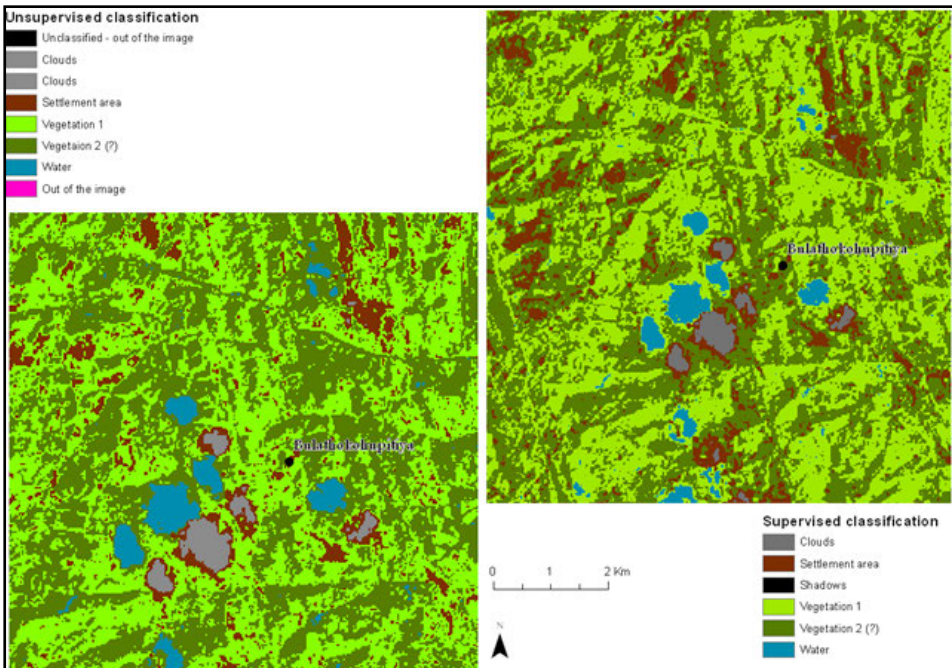


Figure 8: Detailed image of the unsupervised and supervised classifications around the Pan-nalla South village.

which are only shadows. The areas shown as water are merely shadows from the clouds. There is a river in the village, but it's not visible at this scale. Overall, we can see that there are only three interesting classes visible in the village area: vegetation 1 and 2 and water. This was both an expected but disappointing result.

These two classifications are really rough land cover maps from part of Sri Lanka and our study area. Since we didn't have very good personal knowledge of the study area it was difficult to analyze these results and how useful they might prove to be.

3.1. Research setting

After having done some classifications from the study area we already had an idea of what the area around the village would be like. According to the 1981 land cover map most of the area had been used for homesteads, cultivating rubber, tea and paddy, mainly in that order. Our hypothesis was that tea cultivation had increased since, due to the economic recession affecting rubber prices and the trends in beverage consumption favoring tea plantations as stated before.

Our aim was to collect as many GPS-points as possible from different land use types. Before our field trip we decided on having 7 different land use classes. This seemed to be a sufficient, but not an excessive amount of classes for our study purposes. Once on the field, we noticed that 7 classes were one too many. We ended up having only 6 classes, since the time spent in the village was so short and the more classes we would have the more points and time would be needed for collecting a representative amount of GPS-points (Figure 9). Also the patchiness of the area made point collecting more time consuming than we imagined. The 6 classes we chose were:

1. Tea [6]
2. Rubber [7]
3. Water [3]
4. Settlement [2]
5. Paddy [7]
6. Mixed vegetation [6]

We managed to collect 31 GPS-points altogether. The figure in brackets behind each class indicates the amount of points per each class. Major problems we encountered while collecting the points were the lack of time for conducting our study on location and the fragmented and patchy nature of cultivated areas. As we feared there were no big homogenous areas in the vicinity of the village, which causes difficulties when working with data at a 30 x 30 m resolution. But this was recognized as a possible problem already in Finland. Especially the tea plantations were relatively small compared to the rubber and paddy areas. Tea was also intercropped with mainly rubber, which is much larger in size, so the tea plantations were hidden under the rubber canopies and therefore not visible in satellite images at our resolution. All in all the surroundings of the village were very fragmented in terms of cultivated area size. This is understandable since agriculture in the area

is mainly small size homesteads.



Figure 9: a collage of all our classes. From upper left corner: tea, rubber, water, settlement, paddy and mixed vegetation (Käyhkö 2013).

4. Results from the field trip

On location we witnessed on the ground what we had expected based on the satellite image maps: that the size of the tea plantations were very small and that larger trees were intercropped in the tea fields so that tea plants wouldn't necessarily be shown in the classification. Our results confirmed what we already expected back in Finland, that the tea farms in the classification are shown as mixed forest. There were large areas of mixed forest with no strict boundaries between different crops in and around the village. This also shows as a mix of vegetation classes dominating our classification.

The spectral and spatial resolutions of the satellite image used were clearly not

adequate for this type of study. Spectral resolution meaning the band width in the each band of the satellite (ranging from 0.45 - 2.35 μm altogether). In the Landsat 7 satellite the band width in each band is so wide that all vegetation will be mostly reflected in more or less the same way. Because of this, it is impossible to discern the different vegetation types by using this type of satellite image. As mentioned before, we collected 31 points in six classes. Three of these classes are different types of vegetation. Later on we will see how these vegetation types are classified in the supervised classification.

We were aware of the fact that the spatial resolution of the image would prove to be problematic because the study area might be really fragmented, as mentioned before, and this turned out to be true. Also because of the time limitations the area where GPS points were collected was really small. We didn't have the time nor the means to go to more agriculturally homogenous places to collect our points. We also wanted to differentiate between the different types of vegetation for the classification, but because of the poor spatial and spectral resolutions, it turned out to be impossible to achieve.

Because of these two reasons, we decided that it is not necessary to do the second supervised classification by using the GPS-points. We analyzed the data (the satellite image and the GPS points together) visually. A large scale map from the study area with the GPS points is shown in Figure 10. There aren't many details to be seen in this scale, but it is possible to locate the river running through the village.

In the Figure 10 we can see all the GPS points in the study area and the supervised classification map which was represented before in smaller scale. The GPS points were collected all over the study area (the village). The main temple in the middle of village is marked as "Settlement (Bulathkohupitya)" -point. In every GPS point class there are points in the "vegetation 1" and "vegetation 2" classes in the supervised classification. From this point of view, the supervised classification worked quite well for some land cover types: the vegetation related GPS points (tea, paddy, mixed) are located in these two vegetation classes in the supervised classification.

As mentioned before, there are only three classes visible in our study area. The settlement area points are also in the vegetation classes, both of them in the "vegetation 2" class. In the smaller scale supervised classification map we can see the big settlement areas, for example Colombo area, classified correctly. This also stems from the fact that the study area is really fragmented. The settlement areas in the village were heterogeneous and our spatial resolution wasn't accurate enough for this study area. The river isn't perfectly classified in the supervised classification. However, the water points by the river are located quite well in the water class, even the point with the wide bridge. In this sense, water areas are classified quite well in the supervised classification even though the classification isn't perfect.

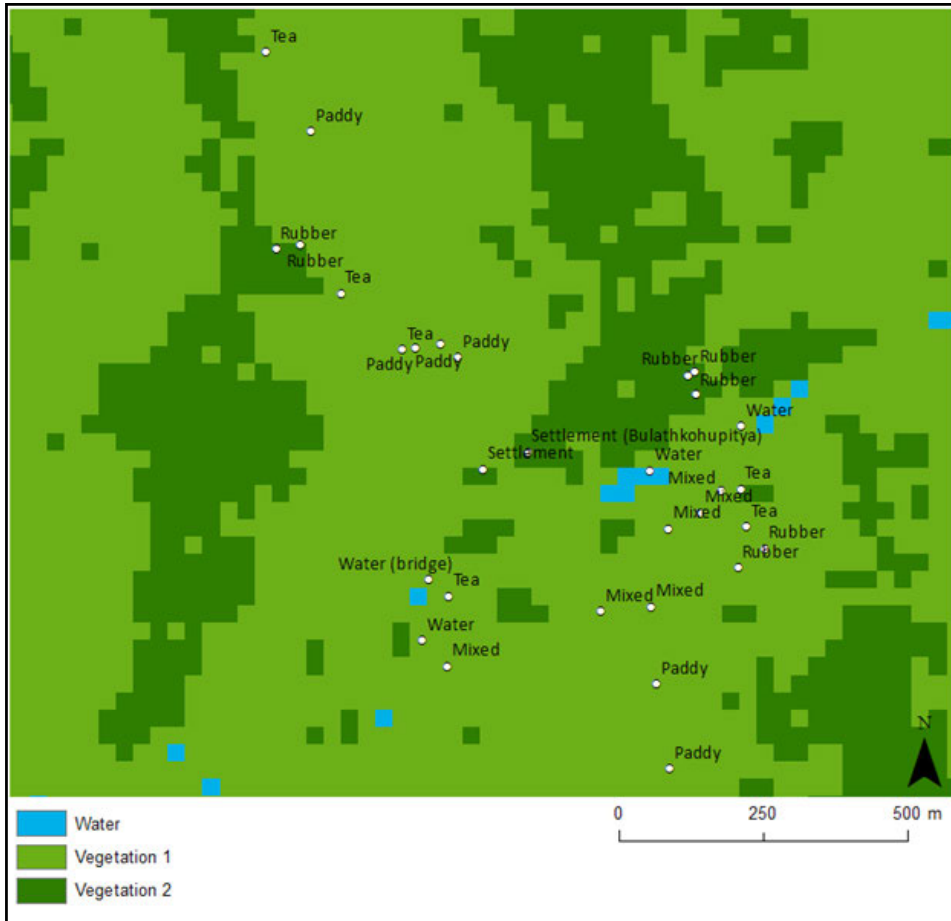


Figure 10: The location of our 31 GPS ground control points and the observed three classes.

5. Conclusions

There is not much to say about the land use change based on the satellite image classification. The image was not suitable for our purposes even though some sources proved otherwise. The vegetation class GPS points are within the vegetation classes in the supervised classification. According to this fact, land use from the year 2000 to 2013 hasn't changed very much. Comparing this to the 1981 land use map is impossible. The vegetation types in the 1981 map are the same we had in our study. Unfortunately we cannot say anything conclusive about land use changes in the area.

When chatting with villagers they were saying that tea cultivation may have increased in the village area. So that is the only thing that confirms our assumption that tea cultivation has increased. But this is only an informed subjective view that cannot be confirmed by looking at our data.

An image with a better spatial resolution would have provided us with a more accurate classification. We also could have interviewed the local villagers about the land cover changes but unfortunately we did not have enough time to conduct any proper interviews. For future studies we would recommend, if possible, to acquire a better image (better spatial resolution, less clouds) and in addition to interview locals about the land use change.

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Outcomes of post-tsunami housing reconstruction – a case study from Ampara district

Sini Pellinen

Abstract

This research examines the outcomes of housing reconstruction that has taken place as a part of the tsunami response in Sri Lanka. Post-tsunami housing imposed a change towards more compact settlements, where a high number of people live closer to each other when compared to traditional villages. The objective was to find out how apartment housing that is an outcome of donor-driven development intervention, influences the ways of life of the inhabitants. The research findings show that there are major gaps between the socio-cultural values and behaviour and economic needs of the inhabitants on one hand, and the type of habitat in the new apartment housing, on the other hand. The housing programme has been successful in fulfilling the passive function of a house, as a provision of shelter. Improved living conditions and modern facilities bring stability to life and ease women's workload, especially. However, the flight of residents from the scheme manifests that providing physical shelter and modern facilities is not enough to fulfil housing needs. Space limitations imposed by apartment housing, such as the lack of land for gardening, farming or animal husbandry and unavailability of space for home based businesses have a detrimental effect on the income levels and food security of the residents. These restrictions increase the structural vulnerabilities of women, whose formal employment outside home is often reduced due to constraining gender roles. The housing design provides plenty of space for social interaction, and reciprocity among neighbours take multiple forms. However, for a certain group of the residents, the lack of social networks prevents them from bonding with the place and causes them to abandon the scheme. The research findings bring into light some of the main weaknesses of the donor driven housing development that provides only limited space for community consultation and participation in the implementation of the project. In the observed case, the development processes are not supporting the building of social capital or ownership, and are instead producing devastating effects on the sustainability of the project. Together with the physical features

and economic conveniences of a particular type of housing, also the community structure, social networks and interactions that support or disable people’s bonding with places and the formation of sense of place and home, should be considered.

1. Introduction

Within less than a decade, Sri Lankans have overcome two major disasters: a nearly three decade-lasting civil war that came to end in May 2009, and a sudden series of tsunami waves that struck the country in the Boxing Day of 2004. This article discusses the latter from the perspective of housing provision. Sri Lanka was among the countries that were most severely hit by the tsunami disaster; the directly affected population amounts to about one million. Over 35,000 people lost their lives and more than half a million people were displaced (GoSL 2005). Damage to housing was massive, with nearly 100,000 damaged or destroyed houses within 12 districts located along the coast (Figure 1). Providing permanent housing for the tsunami affected population was a major component in post-tsunami response. The post-tsunami settlements stand out explicitly in the Sri Lankan coastal landscape. The diverse rural landscape comprised of scattered houses have been replaced by extensive housing schemes with strict layouts, structurally solid houses and creating population densities that are much higher than in traditional Sri Lankan villages. Boano (2009) claims that the reconstruction operation in Sri Lanka has created a new “tsunami geography” that comprises new urban settlements and villages in relocation sites that are remote and unsustainable.

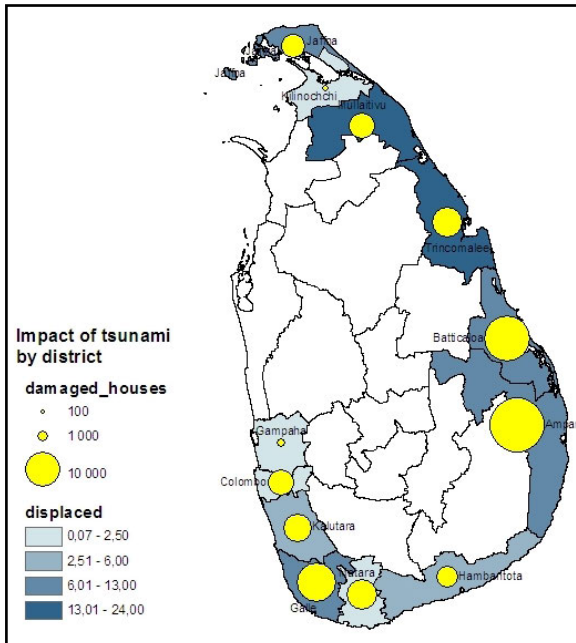


Figure 1: The districts affected by the tsunami in Sri Lanka. Number of houses damaged or destroyed and the percentage of displaced population (after Jayasuriya & McCowley 2010).

Through a case study from Ampara district, this study examines how the new apartment housing settlements correspond to the economic, social and cultural realities of the tsunami affected people. Geographic concepts and theories such as social construction of place and sense of place are used in the interpretation of field research findings. The analysis of the findings draws attention to some of the basic development discourses, particularly those of social capital and community formation, participation and ownership. The article is based on a wider Master’s thesis work.

2. Housing provision in the tsunami aftermath

The government policy developed two main strategies for housing construction, depending on whether the displaced family lived within a no-build buffer zone expanding 50-100 meters inland, or outside the buffer zone. Under the *owner driven program* (ODP), all affected households located outside the buffer zone and that could prove ownership of land (or had a permit from the house owner) were provided with grants by the state to undertake building work 'in situ'. The *donor driven program* (DDP) was targeted at all those people whose houses were within the buffer zone and who had to be relocated to new settlements. The shares of the owner driven scheme and the donor built programme were 70 and 30 percent respectively (RADA 2006). It is the donor driven program that led to the creation of new types of settlements, including the apartment housing scheme that is the arena of this case study.

While both programs are a product of centralized policy making in the sense that they were both designed by the Government and implemented by a Task Force for Re-building the Nation, they present very different approaches to reconstruction. The owner driven programme is an example of decentralized reconstruction (RADA 2006, Lyons 2009). In addition to cash grants by the state, home-owners were free to engage with NGOs, who often provided them with other type of assistance, such as additional payments, labour, materials and technical assistance. Because the houses were mostly located within or close to existing settlements, there was no need for large-scale infrastructure work (Lyons 2009). The donor driven program comprised a chain of contracts between high-scale actors. The primary responsibility of the government was to allocate land for building sites and to provide essential services up to the relocation site. The donor agencies were in charge of the house construction and internal infrastructure, while the work was contracted to construction companies (Emmanuel 2005). Prototype houses and site plans were developed by NGOs and approved centrally by the UDA, in the interests of speed and equity, which suited well the donor agencies that were keen to produce tangible results in short time frames (Lyons 2009). In other words, the construction process was highly centrally planned, top-down, with government holding the ultimate control over the process (Brun & Lund 2009; Lyons 2009).

The tsunami and reconstruction efforts that followed not only caused destruction to settlements and housing, but also affected livelihoods and social networks. Several studies have proved that it has been problematic to link settlement to safety and livelihood. Boano (2009) has shown how livelihood issues were ignored when relocation sites were selected, and for example fishermen, traditionally living on the coast, were located far inland. Also the community networks have been disregarded in the relocation programmes. Traditionally the communities in Sri Lanka are settled along ethnic lines (Action Aid 2006). According to Boano (2009), the resettlement process has "resulted in unnatural social settings, where people from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds were brought to live together" in densely populated resettlements. The disruption of community networks and the fact that it has often been difficult for the residents to attain a sense of community in the resettlement schemes have resulted in increased vulnerabilities (ibid.).

3. Research questions

The aim of the study is to determine how apartment housing accommodates or challenges people's ways of life in predominantly rural areas. *Ways of life* refer to the pattern of life governed by the economy of the country and employment opportunities, social structure of the society, technological advancements, education etc. Ways of life are connected to the values, goals and aspirations of the people and persisting socio-cultural factors (Rapoport 1969, Weerasingham 1986). Thus 'way of life' associates with culture; for example Williams (1985) notes how the term culture "...indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group or humanity in general...". Another way to evaluate the apartment housing scheme is to use the concept of sustainable livelihoods, which is understood through five types of assets – physical, natural, economic, social and human assets - and to examine how these assets are achieved within the physical setting (e.g. Mayer et al. 2002; De Silva & Yamao 2007).

Apartment houses, physically defined as multi-story buildings comprising a number of living units or apartments but whose residents have conveniences, such as heat and lighting, in common, is a new form of housing outside the Colombo metropolitan area. The new residents are expected to find ways to adapt to the new settlement, and to create an environment that is more appropriate for their ways of life. Apartment housing development is also viewed as a part of disaster response, in the light of the Sphere Standards for humanitarian assistance. The main research questions are: how does the apartment housing model cater for the ways of life of the inhabitants? Is apartment housing appropriate to the culture and to the social and economic needs of the inhabitants?

4. Theoretical background

4.1. Housing types and ways of life

Individual housing units, or *dwellings*, constitute the main unit in settlements. The form of a dwelling manifests a complex interaction of different factors. Dwellings can be viewed as cultural products that reflect social and economic needs and cultural traditions – or the ways of life – of the occupants. Some of the factors relating to ways of life are kinship pattern, family composition, ways of earning a living and religious beliefs (Weerasingham 1986). King (2009:42) uses the term *private dwelling* to describe an activity in which we "use dwellings to meet our ends and fulfil our interests, to such an extent that this singular dwelling becomes meaningful to us".

The positive purpose of a dwelling is to create an environment that is best suited to the way of life of the people. Dwellings have a multitude of functions; they can, for example, be an arena for economic activities; provide privacy and security as well as comfort; display values and achievements and reflect the social status of the residents and their position in the society (e.g. Dayaratne & Kellett 2008; King 2009). Socio-cultural forces, social organization and family structure can significantly affect the form of a dwelling and

settlement. The position of women in the society affects, for example, the level of privacy required in the dwellings and how the dwelling is divided into separate domains of men and women. Caste distinctions create a basis for hierarchical structures that guide the formation of settlements and the type of house (Rapoport 1969).

Social relationships can also be important in selecting the location of a dwelling. Dayaratne and Kellett (2008) point out that housing and land is not only a material investment providing financial security but also a sign of social prestige. Acquiring a piece of land raises the family's status and provides rootedness. Site itself is not just a physical piece of land, but it may have a history and already established social relations.

Economy and livelihoods reflect on *types of houses* in various ways. Collaborative buildings and living can be desirable for economic reason (to reduce living costs) – although this can also be socially motivated. Economic production also affects the spatial arrangement of settlements and houses, as well as social complexity and spaces of consumption. In societies where there is little differentiation between work and living, the same compound may serve as a living space, workspace, shop and storage (Rapoport 1969).

4.2. Places as social constructs and home as a specific type of place

While a dwelling or a house relates to the physical object in a certain location, home refers to a place that is laden with meanings and is experienced differently by each individual. This leads us to the notion of places as social constructions. *Places*, as defined by human geographers and social scientists in the fore front, are laden with a set of characteristics, local cultures and traditions, type of people and uses of languages which make them unique and different from each other (e.g. Massey 1995; Wilkie 2003). Thus, creation of places is not entirely subjective, but it is also influenced by physical, economic and social realities.

Sense of place is a term closely linked with social construction of place; it is formed as a reaction to a place, affected by each person's background, personality and previous experiences. The formation of sense of place draws on human senses and sense of aesthetics, as well as intellectual and emotional responses. The reactions and responses to places are not static, but evolve and change over time, influenced by development of one's life cycle and transformations in the physical landscapes and places. Formation of sense of place can lead to bonding with places, or to disinterest or rejection and the feeling of placelessness (Wilkie 2003).

The concept of *home* has been examined by a multitude of researchers from different disciplines. Even though there are considerable cultural variations, home is an essential concept in most languages and cultures, used to anchor one's being in the universe (Dayaratne & Kellett 2008). Tuan (1977) has described home as a kind of a referential space that is used as a point of orientation to the rest of the world and around which social and spatial relationships are organized. The concept of home is used to transmit one's belonging to a place on a wide range of geographical scales, from a plot or a house to a district and a country. Instead of being at once fully acquired, home making is a continu-

ous process that evolves with time. Massey (1992) sees that one's conception of home is constructed out of movement, communication and social relations that stretch beyond the "physical" place one would call home.

Each culture has its dominant images and conventions of the home. The choice of architecture and aesthetic choices can enhance a sense of belonging to a place by showing an appreciation for specific cultural values. Constructing a shelter according to the popular, culture-specific images indicates social status and an ability to acquire and conform to accepted tastes. Collecting items that represent the values, affiliations and aspirations of the dwellers helps to create personalized spaces and to reinforce their identities. Most importantly, meeting the popular images is a step towards achieving social acceptance and inclusion in the society and helps to gain dignity and respect of other community members (Dayaratne & Kellet 2008).

As a conclusion it can be stated that the examination of places as social constructs and home as a specific type of place has proven that housing cannot be fully examined without attempting to understand its social aspects and the networks of social relations it consists of.

4.3. Community based development and participation in post-disaster response and recovery

Shift in the focus of development from material well-being towards capacity building and empowering approaches has contributed towards the new rise of community-based development. Community-based development relies on communities to use their social capital to organize themselves and to participate in development processes. Masuri & Rao (2004) define the three key concepts of community-based development as follows:

1. A community is made up of a culturally and politically homogeneous social system or a group that is at least implicitly internally cohesive, such as an administratively defined locale or a common interest group. However, defining a community, or drawing the geographic or conceptual boundaries of a community, is not always a simple task.
2. Participation refers to active involvement of members of a defined community in at least some aspects of project design and implementation. This would enable the incorporation of local knowledge into the project's decision-making processes.
3. Social capital refers to the ability of individuals to build bonds within their own group and to connect and network with other groups; group activities are key source of a community's strength and its ability to work for its own betterment.

Community-based approaches often promote participation through institutions that organize people in the target communities, and build their capabilities to act collectively in their own interest (Binswanger-Mkihze et al. 2010).

The understanding of what constitutes a post-disaster response has become broader. While physical reconstruction and housing is essential to well-being and development,

it must be realized that housing is a complex asset, linked to livelihoods, health, education, security and social and family stability (Barakat 2003). Policy makers as well as aid organizations have sometimes held the view that after a disaster has destroyed whole villages or towns, the reconstruction starts from scratch. This is not true though, reconstruction does not take place in a vacuum because social capital remains even if physical assets have been destroyed. More recent literature has started to emphasize the role of the affected population in disaster response (e.g. Bankoff & Hilhorst 2004). It has been widely recognized that post-disaster response should build on the capacities of the affected population and aim at creating more resilient communities that are able to survive future events with a minimum loss of life and property. This change of view is visible in the different sets of principles that have been developed to improve humanitarian assistance, i.e. Code of Conduct that is applied by the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and some other non-governmental humanitarian agencies (IFRC 1995) and the Sphere Standards promoted through the Sphere Project that was launched by a group of humanitarian NGOs and the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

Code of Conduct gives primary emphasis on the humanitarian imperative. The prime motivation for humanitarian assistance is to alleviate human suffering. Humanitarian assistance should be available to anyone, regardless of race, religion, nationality or political standpoint, and should be based on the needs of the disaster or conflict victims, while those who are suffering most should get help first. The Code also assures respect of local culture and customs as well as recognition of local capacities and participation. Strengthening of local capacities can be achieved by trading with local companies, working through local NGOs and co-operating with local government structures. The communities should be involved in programme design, management and implementation to assure efficiency and sustainability. Accountability towards both the beneficiaries as well as the donors is achieved through an attitude of openness and transparency (IFRC 1995).

The Sphere Standards stress the importance of involvement of the affected population in settlement programmes throughout the whole project cycle. Especially women should be consulted about a range of issues, such as security and privacy, sources and means of collecting fuel for cooking and how to ensure that there is an equitable access to housing and other services and resources. Settlement responses should be approved by the affected households, and they should also support communal coping strategies and incorporate self-sufficiency and self-management into the processes. The provision of temporary shelter and the construction of new, longer-term dwellings should utilize the skills and material resources available in the affected communities. The response should also minimize long-term detrimental impacts on the environment and maximize livelihood opportunities for the affected communities. Provision of appropriate non-food items, such as clothing, blankets and bedding may also be required to meet essential needs (The Sphere Project 2004).

5. Methods

The research falls mainly within the paradigm of humanistic geography (Shaw et al. 2010). The analysis of the appropriateness of the apartment housing model to people's ways of life draws from understanding and interpreting the various actions and attitudes of people, meanings that the dwellings have for the people, as well as the human reactions to place and the social construction of place. In accordance with the humanistic paradigm, the voices of the community members were heard through interviews, discussions and observations in order to gain the inhabitants' perspectives on the post-tsunami housing and life in the apartment housing scheme.

Primary data collection took place in an apartment housing scheme located in Kalmunai, in Eastern Sri Lanka (Figure 2), in November 2010. The Periyaneelavanai housing scheme consists of several block houses with a high population density compared to traditional villages and is located outside the main population concentration of Kalmunai town.

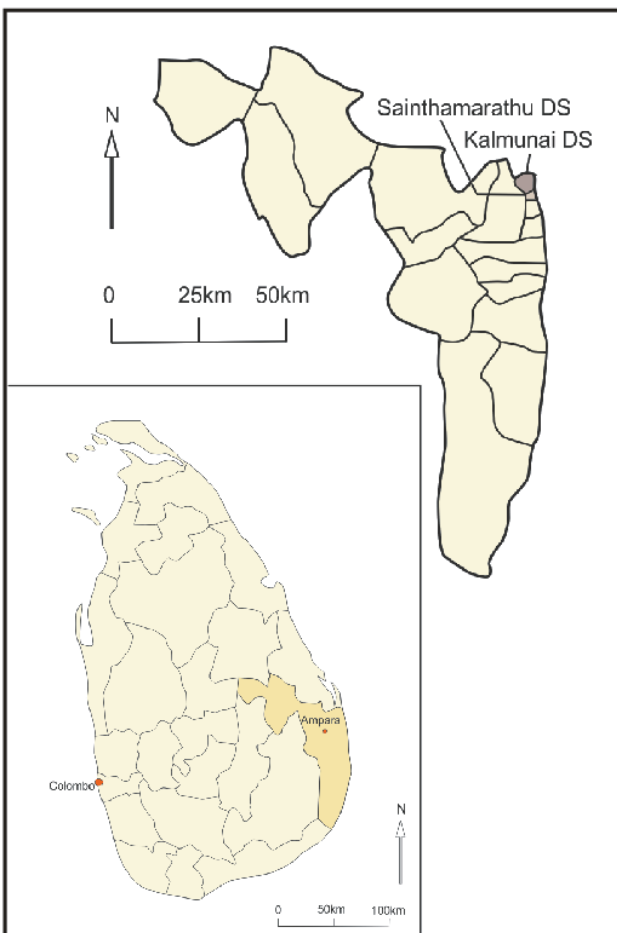


Figure 2: Location of Ampara District in Sri Lanka and Kalmunai Municipality in Ampara District.

These characteristics are not uncommon to post-tsunami housing schemes in general. The majority of the residents live under the national poverty line. Fishermen are the largest employment group, while the share of wage labourers and self-employed people is also substantial. It was assumed that apartment housing would be more problematic in a setting with these characteristics compared to a scheme located within a town and whose residents were mostly regular, formal employees. The scheme was funded by the Finnish Red Cross, which also explains my interest towards the scheme.

The main field work was conducted through semi-structured individual interviews, but the range of methods also included a group discussion, village

transect walks, sketching and observation. In addition, expert interviews were conducted with local government officials and Red Cross representatives. Table 1 shows the sample sizes for each data collection method. Relatively small sample size and the inability to reach some of the groups (i.e. people who had moved out of the scheme) are the main limitations of the study. On the other hand, methodological triangulation guaranteed a broad perspective and contributed to the validity of the study. Choice of methods was also impacted by the language barrier – a translator was required to translate the interviews and discussions. To minimize translation and interpretation issues, participatory approaches such as sketching and village walks were preferred over in-depth interviews, life stories or narratives. The field research aimed at collecting data to understand everyday life of people at the location, their perceptions on life in the new scheme and their notions on community formation. The apartment housing scheme that was selected for the case study functioned as the arena for people’s lives, experiences, fears and hopes. The data collection and analysis methods were not purely hermeneutic, but also included measurements of objective attributes (i.e. population characteristics).

Table 1: Sample size per primary data collection method

Method	Sample size	Sampling frame and approximate size
Individual semi-structured interviews	20 (11 women, 9 men)	Adult population permanently residing in the scheme (100 – 340)
Sketching exercises/discussions	12 women	Female adult population permanently residing in the scheme (50-170)
Group discussion	6 (committee members)	Housing co-operative committee (total of 12 members)
Village transect walks	9 (active community members)	
Key Informant Interviews	4 (Committee president, village officer, District Secretariat, Red Cross officer in Ampara office)	
Total	51	

6. Results

The Finnish Red Cross funded Periyaneelavanai housing consists of 240 apartments in 20 block houses and covers a land area of 210 meters by 100 meters. Optimally, the scheme could provide housing for 1200 persons. However, at the time of the field research, the number of apartments that in fact had permanent residents was said to be between 50 and 170. Subsequently, the population is likely to range between 250 and 850. The wide range in the estimations can be explained by a different understanding of the concept of a “permanent resident”. There were several households who live in the apartments for a part of the week or for weekends only, who were not counted in the former estimation. The latter estimation was based on the number of households that are registered in the scheme. The fact that there were many vacant apartments could be easily observed

during the field visits. With regard to livelihood structure of the residents, majority of the residents were self-employed, particularly as fishermen, or carried out home-based businesses. Going for labour work especially in construction sites was another livelihood strategy, although this type of work was often irregular and seasonal. Only a few commuted to regular, full-time jobs in the town.



Figure 3: Blocks F-N (Pellinen 2010).



Figure 4: Cooking activities extended to hallway (Pellinen 2010).

The new residents of the Periyaneelavanai housing scheme were mostly content with their living conditions. They appreciated the facilities that were available for them, such as piped water, indoor bathrooms and electricity, and found the apartments to be spacious enough. In fact, majority agreed that their living conditions had improved when compared to the time before the tsunami. Additional space for household tasks, socialisation and recreational activities was found by extending the activities into hallways and inner yards, which had become semi-public spaces that served the purpose of “back garden” found in single houses. The architecture of the scheme was found pleasing and the building structures agreed with the tropical climate (Figures 3 and 4).

The main deficiency in the apartment houses when compared to single houses was the lack of flexibility. It was not possible to extend the apartment according to the family size, nor to move into a

larger apartment, as all apartments were of the same size. The opportunities to use or customize the apartment for home industries or services were also limited. Space limitations and regulations within the yard prevented establishing home gardens in a larger extent.

It was evident that the strength of social networks and amount of acquaintances depended on people’s place of origin. Even though all the residents came from the area of Kalmunai municipality, the people who had lived in Periyaneelavanai previously (a majority), had strong social networks, whereas people from outside Periyaneelavanai faced more difficulties to adapt to the community. Divergent value and norm systems between neighbours with different origins could exacerbate the forming of an integrated communi-

ty. Furthermore, lack of social connections within a neighbourhood seemed to contribute to the sense of insecurity.

Regardless of their origin, people's attitudes towards living in close proximity to neighbours were often paradoxical. The fact that neighbours lived close by and would come for help when needed created a feeling of safety. Socializing with neighbours was a common pastime activity, while lack of neighbours in case of unoccupied apartments was perceived very negatively. On the other hand, the residents felt there was a lack of privacy and unnecessary nuisance from the neighbours. The disputes over correct behaviour and equal contributions to the maintenance of the scheme created tension between neighbours.

Beneficiary participation has been acknowledged as a key element in successful housing projects, but it has been difficult to actualize in donor driven programmes. The residents of Periyaneelavanai housing scheme were informed by the government officials about receiving an apartment from Periyaneelavanai already in 2006, and later they were informed exactly to which scheme they would move. This came as a disappointment especially for those who were not from Periyaneelavanai in the first place, and who had wished to locate closer to their original houses or to receive dwelling from a single house scheme. An initial committee for housing scheme society was formed during the construction, with a representative from each GN division where the future residents were from. After the construction had been completed, the committee was asked to make suggestions or to report changes it would like to see in the scheme. The same participants later formed the committee of the Periyaneelavanai housing scheme society.

The fact that the residents' voices were not heard when the decisions on the type of housing and location were made, caused bitterness among some of the residents.

"The housing scheme was constructed without consulting any future residents. Now it's not suitable to our needs and customs. We don't know how to use different facilities. All the toilets are linked together and if the common pump stops working, we can't live here anymore. If our opinion was asked, things would be much more convenient". (Male informant, 32 years old).

The maintenance of commonly owned property has become a major challenge. Gathering the maintenance fees for jointly ruled property was difficult. Obscurity in the housing committee's budget and a power struggle between the members created further hindrance for the functioning of the society and ability to make decisions and take action regarding maintenance of the scheme. Furthermore, the type of building design and structures complicated maintenance. Especially challenging was the maintenance of plumbing and the water treatment centre. These concepts were found unpractical and unsuitable in the local context. Instead of working together to maintain the common property, the residents were inclined to blame inappropriate design for all the shortcomings they were facing.

7. Discussion

7.1. Social organization and economic production

Family and household structures are diverse in Sri Lanka. Extended families are a common family structure. The household composition varies greatly with time, for example when a spouse migrates elsewhere to work, when a family is looking after a relative's children, or when in marriage the daughter's husband moves in with the parental family. The apartment housing allows a traditional family formation with more distant relatives, as long as the family size remains reasonable. However, the limited space challenges the formation of larger family units. The restriction posed by apartment housing, as opposed to single housing, is the inability to expand living spaces according to family requirements. The inflexibility to accommodate large family units was accentuated by the fact that all apartments were equal in size.

Traditional Sri Lankan villages consist of a few dozen of houses whose occupants are commonly united by family relations and shared caste group. New large housing schemes that bring together people from different villages and caste groups have broken this pattern (e.g. Munasinghe 2011). In the Periyaneelavanai housing scheme, people with different places of origin and backgrounds were brought together and had to learn how to live together in a very compact setting. The case study revealed a community with a rather vigorous community life when measured by the number of acquaintances and friends, social interaction, networks of reciprocity and neighbourhood help. Neighbours played a significant role in people's lives; they were trusted in times of difficulties, offered help in everyday tasks and provided pastime entertainment. Architectural characteristics of the site, such as shaded courtyards, open staircases and hallways, playgrounds and the square with shops and workshops, provided a suitable environment for interaction between the residents. However, the "minority" groups were not equally involved in the community formation and thus were often left out of these benefits.

Tensions between different groups of people were dividing the community, which was affecting the functions of the Housing Scheme Society (HSS) in charge of making decisions regarding commonly owned property. On one level the struggle of control of HSS was based on whether the president had to represent the majority group, or, whether a person representing the minority group could lead the society. Power struggles on who can control the HSS, the dysfunctioning of the HSS, and residents moving out of the scheme all contributed towards the break-up of the community coherence and residents' reluctance to disburse their share on the maintenance of the commonly owned property.

Apartment housing is considered to be connected with residents with regular jobs in the manufacturing or service sector. This, however, is not the case in the apartment housing schemes created after the tsunami, and that is what is so peculiar with these settlements. Many residents and households carried out small-scale business ventures either as a main or an additional source of income, which highlights the role of shelter as a business asset. Obtaining other business premises than the apartment was rarely possible due to

financial difficulties. Gardening and keeping poultry or cattle contribute towards healthier diets, help to overcome fluctuations in food prices and provide extra income. Thus the restrictions posed by the house form easily result in increasing the vulnerabilities of the residents already living on the verge of survival. Poverty and the employment structure of the population made these restrictions more severe and difficult to overcome.

7.2. Participation and empowerment of the residents

To what extent has the process of ‘building back better’ supported people-centred and rights-based development that most international agencies are committed to? The study has proven the importance of the principle of participation of the affected population in all phases of project cycle. Resulting from the lack of participation, the residents of Periyaneelavanai had no sense of ownership or ability or willingness to take responsibility over the maintenance of the housing scheme. Flaws or shortcomings that naturally appear over time were seen to result from improper planning. The whole concept of apartment houses was found unsuitable and culturally inappropriate by the residents – contradicting with the general satisfaction the residents had with the apartment and housing layout and facilities. Instead of working together to repair the flaws and to maintain the scheme in shape, the residents were looking for outside assistance to correct them.

It thus seems obvious that empowerment – a common goal of development practitioners – was not achieved in the case of Periyaneelavanai. Empowerment can be considered as inner sense of power that a person perceives in social contexts, in relation to others (Järvinen 2010). When the affected population are denied a chance to participate and are viewed only as victims of a disaster or passive beneficiaries of a development intervention the environment becomes suppressing in terms of empowerment. This easily results in an increasing dependency on international aid instead of strengthening the local capacities to take a lead in their own development.

The problem of empty apartments implies on a huge waste of resources that has resulted from the lack of consulting the residents properly and assessing their real needs. The residents of the ‘empty apartments’ are in a position to use the extended family structures or other assets – or their class base – to live in places that are more suitable to their needs. They visit their apartments in the evenings, weekends or holidays, remaining as nominal residents of the scheme, so that they would not lose the benefits provided by the apartment. The remaining residents belong often to economically deprived classes, not having a capacity to relocate. An example of an impoverished family of nine members who share an apartment with two bedrooms, living next to a line of empty apartments whose owners have used their advantageous social networks to move elsewhere, portrays well the situation how inequalities were, in some cases, reinforced instead of being reduced.

8. Conclusions

This research has examined housing as a particular type of humanitarian or development assistance. The importance of housing from development perspective is indisputable; permanent housing provides an attachment point for the inhabitants. A home provides a unit around which daily economic, reproductive and social activities take place and are arranged. Shelter, water and sanitation are among the most basic needs, and only after the fulfilment of such needs people can fully focus on other activities, including livelihoods.

This research has applied the theories in human geography, particularly those related to sense of place and placelessness, in the context of housing research and shown that such theories are fundamental in explaining the success or failure of a housing scheme. More than physical features and conveniences of a particular type of housing, it is often the features of the community, social networks and interaction that support or hinder people's bonding with places and the formation of sense of place and home. The failure to 'fit into a community' and to be part of the networks of reciprocity also increases the vulnerabilities of people.

Donor driven housing is an example of constructor and donor driven development, the weaknesses of which the research findings have highlighted. Despite being guided by humanitarian principles and guidelines that promote the concepts of local capacity building and participation, in reality donor driven development has provided limited space for community consultation and participation in the design, implementation and monitoring of development projects. Subsequently the development processes do not support the building of social capital or ownership. This can have devastating effects on the sustainability of the project outputs, as shown in the case study.

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Part II: Travel Journals



Day 1. Monday 20.05.2013

Katariina Ronkainen

The sun was shining and the temperature was over 24°C. I looked up to the sky and saw nothing else but a deep blue sky. This was the start of my/our two weeks journey and the above mentioned illustration was from Finland, not from Sri Lanka!

After several hours in the airplane, it was time to see what Sri Lanka had to offer. Cloudy sky and rain showers! Despite the unexpected weather conditions our whole group met in Colombo and the official trip was about to start (1.5 hours late, but anyhow).

The first challenges that our group faced were mainly mathematical: how to use different currencies, add and divide without the Excel. It was obvious that our experienced and educated group was forced to use survival skills in practice immediately, and we weren't even at the destination yet. After the signing of rental contract and exchange of cash at the bus company, the bus load of enthusiastic geographers were ready to go and the search for first night's accommodation started. Between us and Sarvodaya's headquarter was only about a million other cars due to the traffic jam, but still our driver managed to navigate us to the right place.

We entered to the Headquarter in the darkness and despite the late hour, the people from Sarvodaya welcomed us friendly and noticed from our faces that we were hungry. Correct! After settling in our rooms we ate a (really) late traditional Sri Lankan dinner which was overflowed by local cuisine. Dishes were washed and the next day's plans seemed to be clear. Even though the upcoming meetings and official presentations are something new for almost every one of us, I can see that the excitement overcomes possible nervousness. Now everything looks and feels good. Let's see what the next 13 days will bring to our way and how those happenings are going to be seen in these pages.



View from the Headquarter of Sarvodaya (Ronkainen 2013).

Day 2. Tuesday 21.05.2013

Meri Norola

The field trip's second morning begun with a delicious breakfast at Sarvodaya headquarters. Anticipation for the future days was visible amongst the group. Our tightly scheduled day was launched to action by an introduction of the Sarvodaya organization. This meeting also included the first real introduction of the Finnish group to the Sarvodaya organizers.

After a nice cup of tea (we learned that drinking tea is very important in Sri Lanka) we headed to International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), but first we had to once again beat the Colombo traffic. In the ICES we learned more about political studies that are done in Sri Lanka at the moment. We discussed about post war development especially in the North and the East, "the war zones", and about gender equality in Sri Lanka. The library of the ICES was a gold mine for many groups. After hours and hours of searching for materials back in Finland we suddenly had tens of books and publications at our reach. After

reading and collecting books to borrow we had a cup of tea and headed back to the Sarvodaya HQ.

We ate our bellies full at a late lunch and wasted no time, but directed our path to Sarvodaya women's movement representation. After a passionate and yet again useful presentation we discussed the issues of women's empowerment in society and traditional gender roles and had yet another cup of delicious tea.

On our way back to the HQ we had a moment to calm down at the meditation centre where we did a little exercise in mindfulness (a state of meditation). With refreshed minds we headed for a final meeting of the day. Each group had a chance to briefly discuss their research questions with Sarvodaya members and ask for advice for the study in the village.

This busy day was full of interesting meetings and we received a lot of new and useful information that left us (or myself at least) in great anticipation for the upcoming field study days and naturally the tea times.



Noora Stenholm at the Sarvodaya meditation center (Norola 2013).

Day 3. Wednesday 22.05.2013

Heini Kekki

Third day of the field trip began with our last meal at the Sarvodaya Headquarters as we headed out to the most important part of the trip: our 3-day stay in the village of Pannala, where all but one group would conduct their field work.

The timing was quite bad as a few students weren't feeling well. On a positive note, this meant great personal success in "Vaiva-bingo" (Incident-bingo), a humorous bingo game of minor health-related setbacks faced during the trip. Bumpy roads, above-30-degrees-celsius weather and a bad night's sleep – not the best combination for your stomach.

I suppose everyone had been a bit nervous about going to the village; how the people would see us, how the facilities would be and would there be a language barrier. It's hard to say who had been more anxious, us or the villagers! But all went well: the welcome ceremony had a nice and warm atmosphere and the people seemed delighted to have us as guests. The ceremony included speeches and greetings both from Sarvodaya's, the village's and our side, and a group of young girls performed a traditional dance. Many smiles were exchanged, coconuts were sipped and the spirits were high.

After the ceremony we had lunch and were divided in pairs to move into our designated host families. I jumped into a tuk-tuk with Marketta and away we drove into the jungle, over the river and all the way to the house of the family whose name, I'm embarrassed to admit, I can't spell.

If all else was well, the language barrier was very apparent. But with some key words and a touch of body language we managed to get by. The household consisted of the parents and their teenaged daughter. With the women of the house we took a walk around the surroundings, greeting the neighbors and cooling our legs in the beautiful stream running through the village. The village itself was quite easy to navigate after tackling initial confusion: what seemed to be a long drive through the spectacularly lush green forest, turned out to be only 10 minutes on



Pannala children queuing up with flowers before the Welcome ceremony (Kekki 2013).

foot. Everyone in the village was getting ready for the upcoming Vesak day celebrations: decorations were hanged on the main street and special Vesak flags started to appear everywhere.

Back at the house we tried to talk to the family but there simply wasn't enough understanding for a conversation. We had pictured ourselves taking part in the various household tasks, perhaps helping with dinner, but all our attempts to offer a hand were met with polite no-thanks. I assume they wanted us to feel like guests whereas we'd hate to be of any kind of trouble.



Marketta and the women of the host family cooling their legs in the local river (Kekki 2013).

Day 4 (a). Thursday 23.05.2013

Saara Räsänen

Today was the day we all had been waiting for, as it was time to conduct our interviews in the village. After the breakfast we went to the temple to meet the local people who had kindly promised to help us finding our target interviewees. Our research group was focusing on the risks and vulnerabilities faced by the disadvantaged women in Pannala South. Our special focus was to interview widows and female-headed households.

Our initial plan was to do interviews in focus groups, but in the morning we found out that this couldn't be arranged for us. We adapted to this changed situation by conducting individual interviews in the women's homes. During the day I learnt that you cannot be prepared for everything and you just have to adapt to the prevailing situation. We also faced some problems during the course of the individual interviews, especially with the translations, but managed to overcome this in a satisfactory way. In the afternoon we gathered together in groups to analyze our preliminary findings.

I have to admit that I was a bit nervous that the interviewees would consider our research questions too sensitive, but I was surprised by the fact that they were so willing to talk to us. Sometimes it was hard emotionally to listen to the sensitive stories told by the interviewees. Some of the women were very touched by our visits to their houses. This experience was very educational and I'm really happy that we got this opportunity to do our research in the village. I'm really thankful for the people who helped us and participated to the research. This was a life altering experience.



On our way to visit an interviewee (Räsänen 2013).

Day 4 (b). Thursday 23.05.2013

Laura Lehtovuori

In the morning we, Sara, Tiina and myself left from the village of Pannala South to do our research in Kandy. Sini came with us to make sure that we will find our hostel and the interpreter who was going to help us with our interviews.

We left from the village at 7:30 am by our hired bus, which drove us to city of Kegalle. From there we took a local bus to Kandy. On our way to Kandy we saw some beautiful landscapes. From the window of our bus we saw a distant Bible Rock named after its shape, and also I saw an elephant for the first time of my life.

When we arrived to Kandy we took two tuk-tuks to our hostel. We left our bags there and went to the city centre to meet our interpreter, who was a researcher from the University of Peradeniya. After briefing him about the idea of our research and going through the questions with him, we walked to our research site, the Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary. The sanctuary was so beautiful with its lush greenness that enveloped us and a little pond right next to the entrance. I was expecting to find more visitors inside the forest, but the sanctuary was almost empty of people. We were visiting the forest during the Vesak, which is the most important Buddhist festival of the year, and it may have influenced to the amount of local visitors. Udawatta Kele was a very peaceful place. safe from the noises and hustle and bustle of the Kandy city. It was amazing to see this peace of wild nature right in the centre of the vivid and chaotic Kandy city.



Kandy Lake that is situated in the centre of the Kandy city (Lehtovuori 2013).

We began to do our interviews when we arrived to the gate of the forest sanctuary. The three of us took turns in asking the questions and taking down notes. Our interpreter translated the questions and answers from English to Sinhalese and back to English. This was the first time we used an interpreter in our interviews and at first I was not sure how it would go. Luckily all went well and our interpreter helped us a lot.

People were very helpful and interested to answer our questions. Through the interviews we were able to collect plenty of information relevant to our study topic. Our interpreter also managed to arrange us a meeting with a Buddhist monk from a temple bordering the sanctuary. We were seated on carpets under the holy bo-tree, where he let us interview him. The temple caretakers also showed us hospitality by offering us tea and delicacies after the interview. Before separating from our interpreter we agreed to meet next morning at the gate of Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary to continue our research.

All in all, the day was interesting and I learned a lot about what it is like to do field research. Every interview situation was different because of the person we interviewed. It took energy to walk in the sanctuary and interview people but it was worth it.

Day 5 (a). Friday 24.05.2013

Marketta Vuola

On the fifth day our research work in Pannala South continued. After a breakfast with our host family, Heini and I met with the other members of our study group and started going through the previous day's interviews and planned a presentation for the afternoon's evaluation meeting.

In the evaluation meeting all four groups presented their work and preliminary findings to Sarvodaya staff and society members and other villagers, who then had a chance to comment our work and ask questions from us. The villagers were especially interested in hearing how the Finnish society differs from what we had found in Pannala. Their questions about family, religion and social security in Finland were not easy to answer. I think none of us was prepared to explain for example why young Finnish people want to become independent. We were lucky to have this opportunity to discuss such societal views and differences with the help of an interpreter. The discussion on social topics was very interesting and also eye-opening for our work. The villagers' reflection on our presentation gave us ideas on what they may regard as important issues concerning our topic. After the meeting we could take a new look at our data and realize for example the great importance of the questions of independency versus family ties affecting the decisions of the young.

When we arrived to Pannala two days ago, we heard that the village Sarvodaya Society's founder had passed away the same morning. After the evaluation meeting we visited his funeral house to pay our respect.

The evening was very exiting: our host family took us to the village temple and the

main street to see Vesak celebration! Vesak is the most important holiday of the year for the Buddhists, the most important of the Poya days that occur every full moon. It is a celebration of Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death. What a wonderful night it was! The street was decorated with flags and lanterns and the temple looked fabulous with all the lights and flowers. The whole village was there dressed in white and we met many new acquaintances we had made during our research. This was a perfect way to end our short stay in Pannala. We are very thankful for the hospitality of our host families and of the whole village. We learned a lot in Pannala and as the evaluation meeting indicated, there would have been even more to learn and discuss had we had more time and a lower language barrier.



**Vesak decorations at the temple
(Vuola 2013).**

Day 5 (b). Friday 24.05.2013

Sara Meriläinen

We met our interpreter in the morning at the Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary. Udawatta Kele is a protected forest area in the middle of the city of Kandy. The biodiversity of the forest is exceptionally valuable and the sanctuary has also a fascinating royal and religious history. The day was beautiful and the conditions for doing our research were good.

The aim of the day was to conduct as many interviews as the time permitted. We found out interesting information about the management of the sanctuary, educational activities organized in the sanctuary and local visitors' perceptions of the forest. Among others, we interviewed an officer at the conservation centre of the sanctuary and he was very willing to share his knowledge about the forest with us. There were quite few visitors in the sanctuary but we managed to interview six local visitors who told us about their experiences and perspectives.

We received interpretation support from Mr. Subasinghe, a researcher from the University of Peradeniya. He was very helpful and excited to assist us in our research. We couldn't have done the interviews without him and his effort was very valuable to our research. At first the interviews seemed quite challenging but with the support of our interpreter we managed to carry them through rather successfully and we gained the information we needed. What we learnt was that a cooperative and active interpreter is essential for a successful completion of any research done in a foreign language.



Monkeys in Udawatta Kele forest sanctuary (Kyytsönen 2013).

In addition to the interviews we observed the environment of the sanctuary and collected GPS-points from relevant places. We also tried to visit a Buddhist hermitage located in the forest in order to interview a monk about the religious issues related to the forest. Unfortunately we couldn't find any, probably because of the Vesak day.

We spent almost the whole day in the sanctuary. The forest was very beautiful and we saw animals like monkeys, turtles and one very big lizard. At the

end of the day we thanked our great interpreter and said goodbyes. Then we headed to the centre of Kandy for a well deserved early dinner.

In the evening we went to the city centre to see some Vesak festivities. The city was full of lights and lanterns and it was very crowded. Later at the hotel we still went through the interviews and tried to summarize the main findings of the day. All in all, we think that doing this research was a very positive and interesting experience for us. We were especially happy that we had such an active and great local interpreter who tried to help us in every way!



Streets in the Kandy city centre decorated for Vesak (Pellinen 2013).

Day 6. Saturday 25.05.2013

Tiina Kyytsönen

On Saturday morning Sara, Laura, Sini, and myself left Kandy and met the rest of the group in Kurunegala. On our way to Kurunegala the hill views were absolutely spectacular. From Kurunegala we headed toward Anuradhapura and along the way the landscape changed from hilly to lowland.

After about 3 hours drive we arrived at a fancy hotel in Anuradhapura. First we ate lunch and then headed to the Anuradhapura Heritage site. There we met our local guide, who had been called by the local archeological office. He was a 73-year old guy, said “Uncle Eddie” who was in fact retired, but still does some touring with tourists. He was an archeological expert and had participated in a TV documentary series. He was very enthusiastic and we all could see that he really loved what he was doing.



Uncle Eddie and our group in Anuradhapura (Pellinen 2013).

Anuradhapura is an ancient city and the first capital of the island nation that we now call Sri Lanka. Today was a Vesak day which is a two-day holiday that commemorates the life, enlightenment and death of Buddha. This was surely the reason why the site was so crowded with local visitors who had come to meditate in the ancient temples and bring their offerings to the temples. We visited three monastery sites and saw huge stupas which were really amazing. The biggest stupa contains 93 million bricks!

There we also saw a monk who was meditating standing in the shadow on a lit-



The monk meditating four hours per day (Kyytsönen 2013).

the blanket for the entire afternoon, with a sign: “I do not use money, please do not donate it. Video and photographing are allowed. Please do not talk with me”. It was quite impressive that he could meditate there even though the place was so noisy and crowded. We also saw many Buddha statues and amazing stone formations and carvings. It remains a mystery how people could have done all those things so perfectly. Our guide gave us a lot of detailed information accompanied by archeological jokes. We really enjoyed his stories.

After visiting the Pagodas we went to see the holy Tree. The tree was in reality only a branch of a tree that is located in India, and where it is said that Buddha attained Nirvana. The tree we saw was heavily guarded, surrounded by walls and supported by got golden poles. After visiting the heritage site we came back to

our hotel and in the evening we had dinner together. All in all we had a very nice, interesting and informative day. We learned a lot and in particular we will recall two quotes from Uncle Eddie:

“There’s nothing new under the sun” and “History is a mystery”



Stupa in Anuradhapura (Kyytsönen 2013).

Day 7. Sunday 26.05.2013

Tuuli Valo

Today we began our 7th day with a breakfast at the hotel. After breakfast we started a long bus drive from Anuradhapura to Jaffna, which is the cultural capital of Sri Lankan Tamils located in the northern part of the island. On the way we stopped to see some important places in the history of civil war, including Elephant Pass which was a strategic point in the battles of the war, and a water tower that was exploded by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and now lies next to the A9 highway as a reminder of the destructive power of the war.

After settling down at the hotel in Jaffna we had a lunch and decided to visit some interesting nearby sites by bus. The first destination was a very colourful Hindu temple and hot springs where people could go swimming next to the beach. After spending time in Buddhist southern Sri Lanka and seeing many Buddhist temples, the Hindu temple was delightfully different (not forgetting “Gagnam style” played on the yard). Next destination was Point Pedro, which is the northernmost point of the island. Unfortunately, the road was not in a very good condition and it became dark before we reached the beach. Point Pedro and the surroundings were badly hit by the tsunami in 2004 and there were still some unrecovered houses. Although it was almost dark the beach looked wonderful with lots of sand and coconut trees. Aino, Marketta, Paola and myself decided to take advantage of it and to have a swim in the ocean under the stars.

After the refreshing swim in the Indian Ocean we passed the lighthouse in Point Pedro and got an invitation from our local guide to have a cup of tea at his parents’ house. He and his family had moved to Canada as refugees in the beginning of the civil war and returned to Sri Lanka last year. The family had a very lovely house and they welcomed us warmly with local pastries and sweet ginger tea. The Sri Lankan custom of visiting each other’s homes every once in a while for a cup of tea feels cozy and could be something we could practice more in our individualistic society.

When the tea was finished we headed back to our hotel. Although the drive all the way to Jaffna was rather long and we didn’t have much time to spend there, the journey was worth making. Compared to other parts of Sri Lanka, mostly Tamil Jaffna seems to have its own culture, impacted by Indian influence and with a strong army presence, and further differentiated by its dry-zone vegetation. And we even had all our passports checked at a checkpoint when arriving to the North!



Part of the group in the enormous Hindu temple (Valo 2013).



Men enjoying the holy hot springs – there were separate pools for men and women (Valo 2013).

Day 8. Monday 27.05.2013

Noora Stenholm

After the lazy and quiet Sunday it was good to see the town coming alive this morning. Suddenly we were surrounded by crowded buses, fabric salesmen and eager school kids. Sadly, the Jaffna library was closed but we got a glimpse of confrontation of discourses in the local newspapers in the reading hall. The friendly warmth of the morning turned into an aggressive heat of midday as we strolled around the market streets looking for saris, sarongs and alike. Successful shopping for many! Next, we went to visit the largest Hindu kovil in Sri Lanka, Nallur Kandaswamy. I was amazed by the utter absurdity of colours and figures there is included in the Hindu mythology.



Nallur Kandaswamy in Jaffna (Stenholm 2013).

As a Sinhalese friend of mine predicted, we got a really good vibe of the local culture in just a few hours. And yet there was more to come, a change in our diets; Indian food! Mango lassi was a topnotch although sadly the local mango season was not there yet. After lunch we packed into the bus once again, and started a long journey down south to Kandy. We passed dozens signs and billboards of international NGO's and the UN, so the post-war development and reconstruction in Jaffna and the Vanni was apparent. At the same time you could see completely damaged houses with bullet holes in them, as well as new resettlements of similar and simple bungalows. Also, military presence was constant and overwhelming in the region, and in Kilinochchi we were stopped at an army check point for a passport control. After that it was a smooth ride all the way. Meri kindly

prepared us a quiz on Sri Lanka and we also made up some games to pass time in the bus. Finally we reached Kandy late in the evening, and I'm pretty sure everybody was happy to spend three nights in the same location!



James Bond is a hit also in Jaffna (Stenholm 2013).



50 shades of anything (Stenholm 2013).

Day 9. Tuesday 28.05.2013

Aino Hiekkavuo

After spending a lot of time in the bus during the last few days, it was nice to know that we would stay the next three nights in Kandy. I wanted to sleep as long as possible so I skipped breakfast and only ate some bananas, which have become an important part of my diet here.

In the morning we had a city tour guided by two officers from the Department of Archaeology. Kandy looks and feels quite different from our previous destination Jaffna: we are in the hill country now, it is greener and the climate is less hot. By the artificial lake next to the city centre it felt almost like in the Finnish summer. Kandy seems to be a quite well planned city, and there are many colonial buildings in the centre, including a catholic cathedral that reminded me of churches in Western Europe.

A more exciting religious building we visited during the tour was a temple that was both Buddhist and Hindu. Apparently many people follow Buddha's teachings and worship Hindu gods at the same time. We met there a Buddhist monk who tied a white string around our wrists which means that we have now received Buddha's teachings.

In the afternoon we prepared presentations about our studies for the University of Peradeniya, which we will visit tomorrow. My group studied rural out-migration, and since we had already analysed our interviews for the presentation in Pannala South, we hoped to get the new presentation done quickly. Unfortunately, however, the laptop we were using stopped working in the middle of the process, and in the end it took us the whole afternoon to finish the work. It is a pity because I would really have liked to spend more time exploring this city.

We have been excited about going to the university but now we just heard that there have been many strikes in the city, and also the students plan on being on strike tomorrow, so there is a possibility that there will be no-one to listen to us.



One of the main streets in Kandy (Hiekkavuo 2013).

Day 10. Wednesday 29.05.2013

Liisa Kallajoki

Our time in Sri Lanka has been quite sweaty at times, but after a heavy breakfast the thought of having to give a presentation at Peradeniya University had us breaking into a double-sweat. After a short bus ride we arrived at the University campus at nine o'clock.

This was the way a proper campus should look like in my opinion. Kumpula felt like a sterile concrete bunker compared to the lush green surroundings of Peradeniya. They even have an Olympic size swimming pool. The gigantic trees scattered on the lawn also looked very inviting. We were escorted to the main lecture hall at the geography department. It was bigger than many of us had imagined and clearly the students were not on strike (as feared) since the hall was half full. The occasion was named "International seminar" and we were greeted and welcomed multiple times by the personnel of the department who also presented some current research topics of their own.

Each group presented their studies under a velvety red curtain decorated with golden tassels. It felt just like home when it was time for discussion and questions. The local students were just as shy to comment on anything as back home. Eventually a few brave ones stepped up and thoughts as well as facebook identities were exchanged. After the presentations we tried to find a local Unicafe, but apparently curry-time was already over and we decided to have lunch at the botanical gardens nearby.

Almost fainting from hunger I ordered fish & chips with tartar sauce, bad choice. The little Gordon Ramsay in me ranks it the worst fish dish in the history of mankind. Compliments to the Chef! Anyhow, the garden was huge and quite impressive in its flora and fauna. My top 3 were: fighting bats, a hermaphrodite dog and the 20 kg Seychelles coconuts.

P.S. At 23:08 I found a colony of ants in my hiking shoe.



Seminar at the Peradeniya of University (Pellinen 2013).

Day 11. Thursday 30.05.2013

Ville Savoranta

Hey, let's make a human geographer write the diary for the day most spent in nature. What a great idea! The target of today's excursion was an isolated village called Meemure, located in the central mountain range of Sri Lanka. After several nights with little sleep, the 5am wake-up felt a bit overwhelming to say the least, but in the end it was worth it. Getting to Meemure was a bit of a struggle, requiring a two-hour roadtrip in vans through precarious mountain roads that were in places barely as wide as the cars themselves. Having a cliff-face on one side and a steep drop to a cloudy abyss on the other, made meeting oncoming traffic an interesting experience.

Arriving in Meemure our troop was exhausted, but was welcomed by some very friendly dogs and tea served in coconut shells. Very authentic, I'm sure. This was followed by a hike through the most idyllic paddy fields imaginable, surrounded by high mountains. The irrigation system of the fields was as beautiful as it seemed to be efficient, with little rivulets of water winding through the valley almost organically. Though apparently someone had not received the note on landscape management, based on the concrete bridges and barbed wire. Talk about an eyesore. At the end of the walk we finally got to spend a little quiet time around some beautiful rocky waterfalls, a rare thing on this trip. Some swam, others got their feet peeled by little fish, I napped on a large stone in the middle of the stream. Best moment of the trip.



View from Meemure (Savoranta 2013).

After the walk back and a very authentic lunch served on bamboo leaves (which I enjoyed somewhat un-authentically with a spork), we set off for the afternoon hike. This seemed to be the main event of the day, as it included a lot of uphill. Our canine companions obviously knew what was up, as they did not join us for this walk. Failing personal water management, I was dry before reaching the end.

After a redux of our earlier van-ride, the rest of the day was spent returning to Colombo, with those able to sleep on the road taking a rest and the others enjoying the lively Sri Lankan road culture.

Day 12. Friday 31.05.2013

Hanna Käyhkö

After six hours of sleep I woke up almost two hours before the alarm and couldn't sleep anymore. The first hour I spent recalling the past two weeks. I must say these weeks have been really amazing. How many people are privileged to take part local people's Vesak celebration and pray in a Buddhist temple? Meeting the local people has been the greatest experience on this field trip.



UNDP office in Colombo (Pellinen 2013).



The railroad heading to Colombo (Käyhkö 2013).

After a mixed local and western breakfast we began our journey from Mount Lavinia to Colombo. The plan was, and for a start I wasn't so keen about that, to visit different kind of development offices. When we finally arrived through traffic jam and somewhat heavy rain to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) main office and I heard about their research work, I must admit that it was rather interesting. We first introduced ourselves and reported how our research in Sri Lanka has progressed and then they presented UNDP's role and programme in Sri Lanka. There was also time for asking questions that had raised during the meeting or in the previous days.

The second place we visited was the Center for Poverty Analysis (CEPA), where we learnt about their study on resettlement caused by the Southern Highway that connects Colombo to the tourist destinations in the south coast of Sri Lanka and people's perception when they became displaced due to the expressway.

The third and final visit of the day was paid to the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), but unfortunately the speakers had other commitments. Still they gave us

some interesting publications that showed that they were quite critical towards public policy in Sri Lanka. Their organization was formed in 1996 by journalists who were opposing censorship by the government.

These kinds of organizations are really needed in Sri Lanka. Although the country's national income is quite high when compared to other South Asian nations, the wealth has not spread equally. We witnessed this with our own eyes when travelling across the country. Also there are cruelties that occurred during the civil war and inequalities resulting from the war that need to be addressed in order to maintain the peace.

After that short visit, some of us walked to Odel, an expensive upper-class department store and had lunch there. We had found out about the place from a guide book and it was conveniently located close to our last place. From Odel we walked to a railway station to take a train back to Mount Lavinia. The train trip took only 15 minutes, half of the duration of the morning bus trip. To avoid walking on the railway we went through the fancy Mount Lavinia Hotel pretending we were their customers, which was not a problem with white skin and blond hair. At that time it was already really dark and we found our way to the beach that led to our hotel. On the way in a dark beach hut we met locals drinking beer and smoking pot. We didn't join them even though they asked. We got home right before it started to rain (again).

Day 13. Saturday 01.06.2013

Tony Hietala

It's our last whole day in Sri Lanka, time has passed so fast. Today I was taking part to an excursion to the waste water canals of Colombo. We met our guide, an undergraduate student in geography from the University of Colombo, in a central shopping mall located in Bambalapitiya. From there we started our tour to view sites related to waste water management and surface water pollution in Colombo. The first site was at the beach front near Bambalapitiya train station and from there we continued towards South Beira Lake. There were three of us travelling in the same tuk-tuk when suddenly the vehicle broke down and we were left behind the rest of the group. Thankfully our driver fixed his tuk-tuk fast and we found the others at a temple located near the lake. At the temple grounds we saw a maltreated elephant which was in chains and just swaying unhappily in its place.



View across Beira lake in a rainy day (Hietala 2013).

From the temple we walked to the South Beira Lake. The lake has been a part of a canal system that was used to deliver goods around the area. Nowadays it is however really polluted and even stinky. A restoration project to clean the lake has been planned but is yet to be implemented. There are two islands in the lake; one hosts a temple but because of the entrance fee we didn't visit it; the other island was a meeting place for couples and it was full of lovers.

I was excited to see pelicans at the lake!

Our next destination located in a neighbourhood which seemed to be a poor one. There we visited a small, local recycling center where the workers demonstrated us how they recycle cardboard and plastic bottles. Waste recycling, even when done in a very small scale and by hand with very simple techniques, does offer at least some source of income in this impoverished neighbourhood. We tried to walk to the canals where our colleague student had done his research, but the rain was heavy and we didn't have enough raingear. As the rain persisted, we decided to end our tour early and had the rest of the day free.

Me and Hanna went together to shop some souvenirs in Majestic City and Barefoot. After some hardcore shopping we decided to take train back to Mount Lavinia where our hotel was located. On our way to train station couple men dressed as police stopped us and asked our passports. We knew they weren't real policemen and asked for their badges of office. They didn't show us any so we just walked away from the situation. Then we took train back to Mount Lavinia and explored the area little bit.

After this exciting day we were really tired like the guy who was sleeping with his ice cream in our hotel lobby.

Day 14. Sunday 02.06.2013

Emmi Sallinen

My last day of the trip began 45 minutes before the alarm. Once again, I woke up way too early. I packed rest of my stuff and ate breakfast with other early birds. Because it was Sunday, all the shops opened later in the morning. I used this opportunity to spend few hours surfing in the Internet in the morning.

Later that morning I went shopping with two other friends. We took a tuk-tuk to Majestic City shopping center and then continued to a shop called Barefoot, which was supposed to be worth a visit. It wasn't so interesting to us, because we were not very interested in the Sri Lankan style clothing and home decorations, although I found the cosmetic section quite nice. After that we felt hungry and went a place called Gallery Cafe that we had found from Google. It was easy to go there by foot. Overall, I think that it was quite easy to move around Colombo by tuk-tuk or even by foot.

The Gallery Cafe was a western style place. It was nice to eat western food after all rice and curry that is the staple food in Sri Lanka. Of course Sri Lankan food culture was a nice experience, even though I'm not a big fan of rice and curry. After the lunch at the Gallery Cafe we went back to the hotel. I spent my last few hours in Sri Lanka by browsing the Internet.

Now we are in the plane, just left from the Maldives and eating this nice meal. Two weeks in Sri Lanka were wonderful time. My personal favorite was the day in Meemure. I also really liked Jaffna and Kandy. I'm not sure if I ever go back to Sri Lanka, but it was great to see its wonderful nature and people with these wonderful friends.



View over Colombo city, the central business district seen in the distance (Pellinen 2013).