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Editor's Note...

The territory of Humanities and Social Sciences accommodates a vast array of diverse opinions. They are all in a constant quest of exploring and revealing the hidden knowledge of the fundamentals and different facets of human nature from the different perspectives. New knowledge is necessary to support “social development” which ought to be achieved in its “broad and undistorted meaning” in order to create an enabling environment for the further enhancement of human betterment. The Postgraduate Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences (PGIHS) of the University of Peradeniya in Sri Lanka aspires the same. It is committed to the ultimate goal of contributing to human betterment, welfare and the well-being of everyone in society, by upholding standards of excellence in postgraduate education and research in Humanities and Social Sciences throughout the country.

The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (JHS), the official publication of the PGIHS, promotes the committed aspiration of the PGIHS. It offers a space for deliberation, and dissemination of the discoveries of the researches and the outcomes of all other scholarly activities of the PGIHS to a wider audience. This space is certainly equally accessible for PGIHS postgraduate students and research partners as well as all other academics, researchers, policy planners and practitioners in the country.

The JHS is open to universal truth without being concerned with the contexts it originates but at the same time, it equally acknowledges and accommodates local and indigenous knowledge as well. Therefore, JHS continues to promote alternative approaches to deal with the local issues in a local context and, as a result, embraces a visionary position of harmonious coexistence between universal and indigenous knowledge. It essentially involves the JHS in a challenging discourse for finding compromise between universalism and relativism. The JHS will have no extremes and continues to stand for appropriate integration of both perspectives – local and global.

We are overwhelmingly excited to have the opportunity to introduce a journal with such a vision and mission.

In this inaugural issue, the JHS starts with a presentation of thought-provoking ideas of two unique Philosophers of the human history, Nāgārjuna and Jacques Derrida. They both represent different ages of human society that separates each other from thousands of years. Yet, the author fascinatingly takes the reader through a comparative analysis of the ideas of Nāgārjuna and Derrida on the contingent axioms of language. In a wonderful

effort of philosophical reflection, J. D. A. Kumara finds a similarity of opinions between Nāgārjuna classics of AD 240s and postmodernist philosophy of Jacques Derrida in the early 20th century, and concludes that the views of both Derrida and Nāgārjuna are not logocentric.

Culture, religious sacredness and community life is inseparably intertwined, and each has an effect on the other. The relationship between sacredness and community life is a mere collective social construction and it gives a community-based and thoroughly value-laden meaning to the people's expression of sacredness. In the paper titled "Re-conceptualizing sacred city meaning – the sacred city of Anuradhapura", Aruna Rajapakse explores deeply into such a meaning of sacredness constructed and ascribed by the associated communities towards the sacred city of Anuradhapura, which has been demarcated as a UNESCO world heritage site in Sri Lanka. It informs the reader with the fact that "sacredness" in the Sri Lankan context is inseparably embedded in the lives of its people. It is largely a cultural and social process so that, from the perspective of the people, sacred heritage is collectively constructed, modified and maintained by the belief system of the associated community. This paper thus examines the disparities between authoritative material-based conservation practices and the needs and expectations of the associated cultural communities. The paper arrives at an important conclusion which says that attention should be given to the sacred meaning and community values associated with the monuments in heritage preservation programs. The author identifies it as a value-based living heritage conservation approach.

Sri Lanka has turned into a lower middle income, and relatively a fast-growing economy in the Asian region. It is now firmly integrated into a web of import and export trade flows. Buddhika Hettiarchchi engages in a longitudinal examination of the competitiveness of Sri Lanka's leading exports in the international market by applying Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) index and Revealed Symmetrical Comparative Advantage (RSCA) index for the period from 2008 to 2015. This economic analysis tells us that the country's export sector has undergone a substantial change during those eight years and Sri Lanka enjoys a comparative advantage in 35 product categories. While these products are dominated by traditional industries and goods, which are produced using standard techniques, and are characterised by a lower cost of research and development, Sri Lanka has still been unable to gain a significant advantage in the types of products characterised by higher research and development. This extrapolates an important policy implication. Sri Lanka has a comparative advantage of producing primary goods and manufactured goods rather than high tech

products. Hence it is essential to develop appropriate export development programmes and human capital development policies to get the benefits of higher value-added products.

The subsequent paper also discusses another significant component of the country's international trade. The apparel industry contributes substantially to the full volume of Sri Lanka's export products. The industry shows a fair distribution across the South Asian region and hence generates, though not ferociously, competition among the constituent countries in the region for its own share. Sumith Gopura reviews the apparel industry and fashion education in the South Asian Region (SAR) and demonstrates that the Global apparel industry has been shifting around the world for its existence due to the influences of global economic, political, social, and cultural changes. Developing countries make labour contribution in the value chain of apparel industry while developed countries contribute with their knowledge and advanced skills, and both, however, economically and socially benefit from that process. Accordingly, the countries in the SAR have been gaining a competitive advantage through cheap labour, but, nevertheless, are now moving up in the value chain process through knowledge and skill contribution, offering higher value-added services as well. They have benefited from the knowledge transfer from apparel consuming countries and therefore have the potential of production as well as functional upgrading while obtaining more manufacturing market shares. An important policy implication seems to be emerging in this analysis. It says that each apparel manufacturing country in the SAR requires an extended cooperative approach on regional policies to confront the global competition. It also highlights that because of the relatively dominant volume of the industry, its contribution to the regional economy is substantial, but, to remain and to be constantly competitive, continuous industrial upgrading through design and value additions will be of significant assistance.

The discussion in the last paper accompanies the reader through another fascinating discussion, a thought-provoking account on the influence of the philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism on Madhyamika and Yogācāra. In this, Chin Bee Lin points out a reciprocally contributory interrelationship between Nikāya Buddhism and Madhyamika and Yogācāra. The author emphasises that such a reciprocal influence contributes to the efflorescence of both - the influence of philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism on the developments of Madhyamika and Yogācāra and *vice versa*. The discussion concludes, rather assumes, that the philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism might have first played a key role to influence the developments of the Madhyamika and Yogācāra. Later, Madhyamika and Yogācāra became established and led to the

efflorescence of the principal teaching of the Buddha. During the time of the early Indian Buddhist schools, both doctrines marched along different paths but to reach the same destination - Arahantship. Yet, during the time of early Mahāyāna, again, both practiced different paths but in search of optional destinations – either Arahantship or Bodhisattva-hood.

This issue of the JHS concludes with reviewing a book in the field of professional social work practice which centers its critical discussion around the theme that social work is fast becoming a disillusioned profession and, as a result, many experienced practitioners are leaving the profession. In an emerging new social situation all across the world, dominated by the values of economic rationalism, managerialism, assumption of modern rationality and key emphasis on compartmentalized skill competencies, the fundamental value basis of social work profession, which is widely recognized as a helping human service profession, is constantly in question. So, the new practice environment is unfriendly, problematic and hostile to many social workers who genuinely believe that the role of professional social work is to make the society a fairer place by promoting and advocating the cause of social justice.

Contingent Axioms of Language: A Comparison between Nāgārjuna and Derrida

J.D.A. Kumara¹

Abstract

One of the central teachings of Nāgārjuna is Śūnyatā, which is a doctrine that asserts the transcendental nature of Ultimate Reality. Nāgārjuna's thinking paves the way to reject structuralistic and logocentric view of language; putting signs or words as the center of a system is inherently flawed as there is no universal truth to a signifier, no meaning outside of the signs and their perceived meaning by the user or context. Jacques Derrida who developed a form of semiotic analysis known as deconstruction, rejected the binary structure of language. Views of both Derrida and Nāgārjuna are not logocentric, not absolute.

Keywords: *Nāgārjuna, Jacques Derrida, Language, Relative Knowledge, Śūnyatā, Deconstruction.*

Introduction: Derrida's Deconstruction and Nāgārjuna's Sunyata

Claims about the life of Nāgārjuna have resulted many contradictory conclusions among different scholars. Some scholars claim that he lived in the second century, sometimes specifying the latter half of it. K. R. Subramanian who conducted serious archaeological research concluded in his 1932 publication that Nāgārjuna flourished within the period A.D. 50-120. At the same time, David Kalupahana assigns Nāgārjuna to A.D. 150-250 (Kalupahana, 1992).

It is believed that Nāgārjuna was born in the ancient kingdom of *Vidarbha* in the southern part of India (Murty, 1978). Upon being presented with the newborn baby, the Soothsayer observed auspicious signs of a holy being but also made an ominous prediction that the baby would not live past the seventh day. However, he added that the parents could prolong the baby's life by up to 7 years if they made offerings to a hundred Buddhist monks. Naturally, the parents obliged and the young Nagarjuna lived to seven years

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of age with his parents. During his seventh year, Nagarjuna's parents feared for his life and they decided to send him to the renowned Nalanda Monastery, where he met the great master Saraha (or Rahulabhadra). Tibetan sources also confirm that Nagarjuna had to leave his home as his parents feared his premature death. Accordingly, Nagarjuna entered to the Buddhist order and practiced the *aramitayurdharani* under the guidance of his teacher Saraha (Raman, 1987).

Nāgārjuna philosophical interpretation on the *Pratītyasamutpāda* of early Buddhism led to the development of the concept called *Śūnyatā*; it explicated that all phenomena are free from eternal substance and created by a natural consequence of dependent origination. Nagarjuna in his magnum opus, *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, describes about dependent origination which leads to emptiness or *Śūnyatā*.

Whatever arises dependently
Is explained as empty.
Thus dependent attribution
Is the middle way.

Since there is nothing whatever
That is not dependently existent,
For that reason there is nothing
Whatsoever that is not empty. (Rinchen, 2006: 21)

Jackie Élie Derrida or Jacques Derrida (July 15, 1930 – October 9, 2004), a well-known twentieth century philosopher, is renowned for being the father-figure of the strategy called "deconstruction" in 1960s. He was born in El Biar, French Algeria (Glendinning, 2011). Derrida made himself a key thinker of modern times who made ground-breaking explorations into the subtexts, as his theory of deconstruction, particularly, granted the philosophy scholarship some new insights. He has revolutionized Western thought in many disciplines including Phenomenology, Psychoanalysis, structuralism, linguistics with his deconstruction strategy – that examined Philosophy, literature, and the human sciences in a fresh way. Derrida defined an originality as compared to his predecessors (Bennington and Derrida, 1999). Almost every part of humanistic scholarship of the last century wanted Derrida's contribution to re-read their long-held conceptions. Derrida challenged the Western thought as a "metaphysics of presence" and pointed out that being has been mistakenly assumed as presence in the Western thought; being as the objectivity present to the sight or to subject's mind; being as self-presence and self-proximity of

cogito, consciousness, subjectivity (Taylor and Winqvist, 2003). Looking for a definitive foundation or meaning or rather truth is linked with the Western acceptance of substance, essence, origin, identity, truth, or eventually "Being."

Philosophers of language have been endeavoring to examine the relation of language and meaning to truth and the world. According to philosophers of language, for example, Donald Davidson's idea of "intrinsic nature" of language need to be dropped, instead we have to encounter the contingency of the language (Malpas, 1992). The truth is subject to vary in accordance with the user of the language or the language itself. Truth is different from language to language or speaker to speaker, hence, contingency is a feature enshrined in the language.

An axiom or postulate is a statement or proposition which is regarded as being established, accepted, or self-evidently true. It works as a premise or starting point in reasoning or arguments. It is argued here that the axioms used to create knowledge is contingent due the nature of language as it is open to many truths and lead to relativism. Deconstruction; the strategy introduced by Derrida and *Śūnyatā* by Nāgārjuna serves to investigate contingent axioms of knowledge generated by language.

Nāgārjuna's Philosophy of *Śūnyatā* and Relativism Taught in *Mādhyamika* Tradition

Nāgārjuna's major thematic focus is the concept of *Śūnyatā*, which brings together other key Buddhist doctrines, particularly *Anātman* "not-self" and *Pratītyasamutpāda* "dependent origination", to refute the metaphysics of some of his contemporaries. For Nāgārjuna, as for the Buddha in the early texts, it is not merely sentient beings that are "selfless" or non-substantial; all phenomena are without any *Svabhāva* (Sebastian, 2016).

Different terms have been used to translate the term "*Svabhāva*" into English: "inherent existence" and "intrinsic nature" have been selected by many translators so far, "substance" and "essence" have also been proposed (Westerhoff, 2009). The full complexity of the term has not been comprehended by any terminology given in translations, nevertheless.

Meaning given to *Svabhāva* in orthodox Indian texts is far different from the meaning found in Nāgārjuna's teaching: the meaning found in orthodox literature is closer to "own-being" or "own-becoming" -- the intrinsic nature, essential nature or essence of living beings. An epistemological examination of the term *Svabhāva* gives it a sense of something self-

subsisting and independent of external conditions -- *Svabhāva* is something which bears its own (Sva) existence (bhāva) (Schalow, 2011). *Svabhāva* is a concept that can be found both in Hindu and Buddhist traditions, for example *Avadhūta Gītā* of Advaita Vedanta, *Uttaratantraśāstra* or *Ratnagotravibhāga* of *Tathāgatagarbha* literature of Mahayana Buddhism, Dzogchen of Tibetan Buddhism, etc. Technically, all of the traditions prior to Nāgārjuna conceived *Svabhāva* in absolute sense, where it was considered as the essence of living beings.

Svabhāva, in terms of essence, has to be considered a property an object that cannot be lost without ceasing to be that very object: the *Svabhāva* of fire is to be hot, the *Svabhāva* of water to be wet: whatever ceases to be hot is no longer fire, whatever ceases to be wet is no longer water (Westerhoff, 2009). But, Nāgārjuna's mission was to prove non-existence of substance; as all phenomena is subject to conditionality in their momentary nature that leads to continuous evolution. The average cognitive process of the people erroneously speculates *Svabhāva* as part of human experience or something with substance. Nāgārjuna destructs metaphysics of substance or essence in phenomena. Some Buddhist schools, for instance, *Sarvāstivāda* believed in some elementary factors that can be identified with *Svabhāva*; according to them *Svabhāva* is the metaphysical foundation of all beings that make beings intelligible (Liu and Berger, 2014).

Language and Śūnyatā

If *Svabhāva* is not a substance that exists in the world nothing intrinsic can also exist in the world, it becomes a being empty of essential nature (Gowans, 2014). Nāgārjuna in *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* points out that all is possible when emptiness is possible and nothing is possible when emptiness is impossible.

sarvaṃ ca yujyate tasya śūnyatā yasya yujyate
sarvaṃ na yujyate tasya śūnyam yasya na yujyate (Kalupahana, 1999: 337)

In Nāgārjuna's interpretation nothing can hold a structure that is intrinsic to it; so, language itself would not have an intrinsic nature. Moreover, the *Mādhyamika*, the school which was formed by Nāgārjuna gives a different interpretation to the Theory of the Two Truths that was practiced by many ancient Indian philosophers. In Theory of the Two Truths, two levels of satya of truth are recognized. The two truths labeled as conventional truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*) and ultimate truth (*paramārtha-satya*). In these Mahayanic traditions a fixed view of emptiness or existence was upheld. The Mahayanists related the two truths to two different objects of knowledge.

They also taught that Buddha preached *saṃvṛti-satya* for pedagogical purposes and believed that the two-truths have been divided only by human cognition. Hence, the division of the truths cannot be grounded ontologically. Accordingly, someone needs to transcend the phenomenal truth to realize the ultimate truth. Hence, conventional truth only exists for pedagogical necessity (Thakchoe, 2007).

But in *Mādhyamika* of Nāgārjuna tradition structured existence of *saṃvṛti-satya* is refuted, as reality is not revealed by linguistic expressions. Nāgārjuna describes in *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* that “the Dharma taught by the Buddha is precisely based on the two truths: a truth of mundane conventions and a truth of the ultimate” (Cowherds, 2015). He also explains that those who do not understand the distinction between the two truths do not understand the Buddha’s teaching too. As Nāgārjuna sees without using the conventional truth, the meaning of ultimate cannot be taught. Hence, the theory of two truths plays a pivotal role in Buddha’s teaching as per the *Mādhyamika* tradition. *Saṃvṛti-satya* or conventional truth would serve as the mirror that reflects the meaning of the Buddha’s teachings. Therefore, the two truths serve as epistemological truths. The phenomenal world is accorded a provisional existence. The character of the phenomenal world is declared to be neither real nor unreal, but logically indeterminable. Ultimately, phenomena are empty (*Śūnyatā*) of an inherent self or essence but exist depending on other phenomena (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) (Matilal, 2002). The Buddha’s ever poignant existential and soteriological concerns about the reality of things and of life are interpreted with the two truths. *Mādhyamika* tradition rejects any absolutism with the two truths where nothing is ultimate, unchanging or absolute. All the truths come under the relative realms. *Mādhyamika* philosophers debunk metaphysical assumption of the truths. Nāgārjuna’s seminal works, for instance, *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, *Śūnyatāsaptati*, *Vigrahvyāvartanī* and *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* attack foundationalism of conventional truth where pride of place was accorded to conventional ontological structures in case of revealing the ultimate truth.

Ancient Hindu teachings like *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vedānta* supported some foundationalism that is needed to realize ultimate reality. But, Nāgārjuna refuted *Dravya* that is the foundation that holds the conventional ontological structures where the ultimate reality is speculated as a fixed or irreducible entity which is independent of the conventions. But as Nāgārjuna has argued in detail the causal relation itself is conceptually constructed. But if causation cannot be regarded as a relation that functions objectively, independent of the concepts we employ, then it can hardly be

regarded as a mind-independent way of founding the relationship between language and the world (Thakchoe, 2007).

This brings the idea of Nāgārjuna's view on language which rejects the atomistic or structuralist view of language and also rejects objectively existent structural similarities of sentences or mere words. Nāgārjuna has argued in detail the causal relation itself is conceptually constructed (Mansueto, 2010).

Nagarjuna explains that a word or sentence is linked with past and present and will also evolve in the future. Hence, one-to-one existence between individual word and pieces of reality cannot be expected; it can only be realized in a relativistic structure. According to Dissanayake (2007) Nagarjuna categorically demonstrates that there is no reality prior to language; reality has to be understood as a linguistic construct. This thought can be inclined to post-structuralism where reality is considered as a linguistic construct and not a fixed and irreducible reality. In conventional truths of the two truths theory of India and Saussurean linguistics posit language as an instrument, very often transparent, that makes communication possible. Dissanayake (2007) further explains that this approach to verbal communication promotes the idea that what language does is to transport thoughts and ideas that have already been formed from the communicator to the receiver. He says Nāgārjuna challenges this view of language, maintaining that thoughts and ideas are conceived and take shape only within language; in other words, he rejects the transportational model of communication in order to foreground a constitutive one.

Strategies of Deconstruction:

Derrida Against Absolutism

Derrida paid profound attention to speech and writing. According to Derrida, thinkers as different as Plato, Rousseau, Saussure, and Levi-Strauss, have all denigrated the written word and valorised speech, by contrast, as some type of pure conduit of meaning. Their argument is that while spoken words are the symbols of mental experience, written words are the symbols of that already existing symbol (Reynolds, 2004).

Ferdinand de Saussure tried to restrict the science of linguistics to the phonetic and audible word only. In the course of his inquiry, Saussure goes as far as to argue that "language and writing are two distinct systems of signs: the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first". Language, Saussure insists, has an oral tradition that is independent of writing, and it is this independence that makes a pure science of speech

possible (Holdcroft, 1991). Derrida vehemently disagrees with this hierarchy and instead argues that all that can be claimed of writing - eg. that it is derivative and merely refers to other signs - is equally true of speech. But as well as criticizing such a position for certain unjustifiable presuppositions, including the idea that we are self-identical with ourselves in 'hearing' ourselves think, Derrida also makes explicit the manner in which such a hierarchy is rendered untenable from within Saussure's own text.

Derrida argued that the binary oppositions, for example, Reason/Passion, Man/Woman, Inside/Outside, Presence/Absence, Speech/Writing, etc. were arbitrary and inherently unstable. The structures themselves begin to overlap and clash and ultimately these structures of the text dismantle themselves from within the text. In this sense deconstruction is regarded as a forum of anti-structuralism. Deconstruction rejects most of the assumptions of structuralism and more vehemently "binary opposition" on the grounds that such oppositions always privilege one term over the other, that is, signified over the signifier (Coward, 1990).

Derrida wanted to deconstruct all binary oppositions. He gives a prominent place to language in the deconstruction strategy: he inquires basically the relationship between text and meaning. Deconstruction is meant to reveal the structural "fault lines" of texts. The purpose of deconstruction is to expose that the object of language, and that which any text is founded upon, is irreducibly complex, unstable, or impossible (Grenz, 1996). Derrida's critique on the oppositions or violent hierarchies has been inherent in Western philosophy since the time of the ancient Greeks. Derrida saw that the hierarchies are still present with Saussurean structuralism and he put forward the poststructuralist approach. Structuralist theory has passed down a whole current of logocentric (speech-centred) thought that originated in the time of Plato (Guillemette and Cossette, 2007). Derrida takes an example from classical Greek literature of Plato with the view of revealing logocentricism that prevailed in the Western thought. In "Plato's Pharmacy," Derrida deconstructs Socrates' condemnation of the written word. Derrida throws light on Plato's Phaedrus by placing questioning the attribution of an essential "undecidability" to the word "Pharmakon (Kakoliris, 2013). Pharmakon, serves as a drug, a poison and a cure. Derrida does this by reinterpreting the myth of the origin of writing as described in The Phaedrus. Derrida understands Pharmakon is something like writing which is far from governed by Plato's hierarchical oppositions (McCance, 2014). In his most celebrated work, *Of Grammatology*, Derrida endeavors to point out that the structure of writing

and grammatology are more important and even 'older' than the supposedly pure structure of presence-to-self that is characterized as typical of speech (Reynolds, 2004). Derrida coined a new term: difference. It was meant to give the idea of both difference and an act of deferring. Derrida explained that meaning is shaped by the production of differences amid words. Since the sense of a word is at all times a function of differences with the meanings of other words, and because the meanings of those words are in turn dependent on contrasts with the meanings of still other words (and so on), it follows that the meaning of a word is not something that is fully present to us; it is endlessly deferred in an infinitely long chain of meanings, each of which contains the "traces" of the meanings on which it depends. Derrida thought that the disagreement between speech and writing is an indicator of "logocentrism" of Western value system. He saw the logocentric conception of reality as inherent preconception in Western thought, which he identified as the "metaphysics of presence".

To 'deconstruct' philosophy, thus, would be to think—in the most faithful, interior way—the structured genealogy of philosophy's concepts, but at the same time to determine—from a certain exterior that is unqualifiable or unnameable by philosophy—what this history has been able to dissimulate or forbid, making itself into a history by means of this .motivated repression (Noonan, 2004: 14).

Derrida casts off all metaphysical history with its hierarchies and dichotomies that have survived to the present day. Derrida has rejected structuralism, and as a result, the Saussurean schema (the signifier/signified relationship) has been rethought. He has elaborated a theory of deconstruction (of discourse, and therefore of the world) that challenges the idea of a frozen structure and advances the notion that there is no structure or center, no univocal meaning. The notion of a direct relationship between signifier and signified is no longer tenable, and instead we have infinite shifts in meaning relayed from one signifier to another (Guillemette and Cossette, 2007).

Moreover, Derrida, throughout in his gamut of work, explored the way metaphysics is linked to a specific view of language. The assumption, Derrida contended, is that the spoken word is free of the paradoxes and possibilities of multiple meanings characteristic of written texts. He called this assumed primacy of the spoken word over text "logocentrism," seeing it closely linked to the desire for certainty. His task was to undo metaphysics and its logocentrism. Yet Derrida was also clear that we cannot easily escape metaphysical thought, since thinking outside it is to be

determined by it, and so he did not affirm or oppose metaphysics, but sought to resist it.

"Deconstruction", the word he transformed from a rare French term to a common expression in many languages, became part of the vocabulary not only of philosophers and literary theorists but also of architects, theologians, artists, political theorists, educationists, music critics, filmmakers, lawyers and historians. Resistance to his thinking, too, was widespread and sometimes bitter, as it challenged academic norms and, sometimes, common sense.

Deconstruction is a way of reading any text and thereby exposing the instability of meaning which the text tries to cover up. At the basic level this instability results from the endless chain of meanings which a word is capable of generating all throughout the existence of that word: its archaic meanings, its modern connotations and denotations, and ever-changing implications in changing contexts. Apart from semantics, it also takes one into other aspects of meaning-construction, like phonetics, syntax, grammar, etc. In short, it reveals how the text is always already internally conflicted and is far from the serenity of any definite meaning.

Comparison between Derrida and Nāgārjuna

Comparing the philosophical views on language of Nāgārjuna and Derrida who lived in different ages of the history and different contexts is worthy as both of them were against structuralism and accepted contingencies of knowledge created by language. Nāgārjuna's teaching throws a huge light on the historical background of linguistics in the oriental contexts. This study was basically focused on comparing Western and Eastern thoughts on knowledge and human thinking. Rediscovering thoughts of an ancient teacher like Nāgārjuna is important to form a new scholarship in comparative studies in linguistics. As the Derridean and the Madhyamika theories disagree over language with the idealist form and both of them wanted to demolish the ontotheological interpretations that lead to metaphysics. Derrida rejects a whole range of idealists from Plato to Heidegger who held a made-up notion of language; who invoke the logos, a linguistic sign, as an intermediary between the transcendental and sensible, the divine and the human. Similar to Derrida, Nāgārjuna made an attempt to abolish not only the central opposition of Being and Non-being, but all its duplicities and triplicities (Park, 2006).

By and large, linguistic knowledge that arose in connection with the truth-theoretic semantics have an axiomatic structure, with the axioms specifying

the meanings of the atomic elements of the language which are logically derived from the axioms specifying the meanings of the sentences; an axiom or postulate is a statement that is taken to be true, to serve as a premise or starting point for further reasoning and arguments.

In this study it is argued that knowledge generated by the axioms of language is contingent and which is neither necessarily true nor necessarily false; in accordance with both teachings of Derrida and Nāgārjuna. Their claims of knowledge go against certain cognitivist approaches.

Methodology

Literature survey has been used as the primary method of the research. Texts of Nāgārjuna and Derrida were used as the primary sources. For instance, *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Fundamental Verses of the Middle Way), *Śūnyatāsaptati* (Seventy Verses on Emptiness), *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (The End of Disputes), *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* (Pulverizing the Categories), *Vyavahārasiddhi* (Proof of Convention), *Yuktiśāṣṭika* (Sixty Verses on Reasoning), *Catuḥstava* (Hymn to the Absolute Reality), *Ratnāvalī* (Precious Garland), *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārika* (Constituents of Dependent Arising), *Sūtrasamuccaya Bodhicittavivarāṇa* (Exposition of the Enlightened Mind), *Suhr̥llekha* (Letter to a Good Friend), *Bodhisambhāra* (Requisites of Enlightenment) were used as primary texts for the research in the case of inquiring into the works of Nāgārjuna. *Speech and Phenomena, Of Grammatology, Deconstruction Engaged: The Sydney Seminars, Heidegger: The Question of Being and History* were used as primary texts for inquiring into Derrida's theories. This research used a method that is basically critical, speculative, and has a significant historical perspective. In both Social Sciences and Physical Sciences, the empirical method is a way of gaining knowledge by means of direct and indirect observation or experience. The methodology of this research which comes under Humanities is not singular and uses conceptual analysis and textual criticism.

Discussion

Nāgārjuna who taught Śūnyatā, declares the phenomenal world to be void of all limitations of particularization and eliminates all concepts of Dualism. As per the Śūnyatā doctrine, no phenomenon has an eternal substance. According to Nāgārjuna's teaching, no objective reality lies outside language. Hence, past, present and future do not operate coevally. Nāgārjuna categorically demonstrated that there is no reality prior to language; reality has to be understood as a linguistic construct. The knowledge people produce should be understood in a relativistic

framework and Nāgārjuna rejects the atomistic view that single words bring pieces of reality.

Nāgārjuna's thinking also paves the way to reject structuralistic and logocentric view of the language; putting signs or words as the centre of a system is inherently flawed as there is no universal truth to a signifier, no meaning outside of the signs and their perceived meaning by the user or context.

Jacques Derrida who developed a form of semiotic analysis known as deconstruction, rejected the binary structure of language, and explained that meaning goes beyond the simple opposition of signifier/signified. It is ostensible that the signified is never identical to the signifier: there is fluidity, adaptability and uncertainty as to the meaning of that which is signified. Jacques Derrida's critical outlook over the relationship between text and meaning claimed that contradictions are neither accidental nor exceptions; they are the exposure of certain "metaphysics of pure presence", an exposure of the "transcendental signified" always-already hidden inside language. Derrida wanted to deconstruct polarities that are derived by language.

Derrida came up with a concept named Différance which is the systematic play of differences, of the traces of differences, of the spacing by means of which elements are related to each other, that takes into account the fact that meaning is a question not only of synchrony with all the other terms inside a structure, but also of diachrony, with everything that was said and will be said, in History, difference as structure and deferring as genesis. Différance is a powerful modification of the ordinary notions of identity and difference. Difference intervenes all the conceptual oppositions of metaphysics to the extent that they ultimately refer to the presence of something present become non pertinent. Différance does not mean simple differentiation.

Derrida is critiquing Western thought as it is based on a hierarchy of binary oppositions: man/woman, birth/death, good/evil/ speech/writing, etc (Hölbling, 2007). In all such binaries, the left side of the slash Derrida sees as superior, favored, or privileged over the right, which is relegated to an inferior or subordinate position. With the view of deconstructing the inequality, he wanted to destabilize the binary opposition, by causing the entire process of ascribing dominance of one side over the other to become blurred so that it would be impossible for either side of the slash to claim superiority.

Conclusion

Both Derrida and Nāgārjuna pointed out that meaning given by the language is contradictory and does not bring pieces of reality. Views of both Derrida and Nāgārjuna are not logocentric, not 'absolute. All in all, both of them resort to the fact that language is limited to conventional truth and cannot represent ultimate reality.

Rediscovering thoughts of Nāgārjuna would expand the philosophical understanding of the language as his work is paralleling some poststructural claims of language. Nagarjuna's argument on the implications of pratitya-samutpada is applicable to language and the scholars will be able to read the function of language in *Śūnyatāvada* understanding.

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Reconceptualizing Sacred City Meaning: The Sacred City of Anuradhapura

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Abstract

This paper examines the Sacred City of Anuradhapura (SCA), a UNESCO World Heritage Site located in the Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka, adopting qualitative research methods such as literature survey and observations. In the Sri Lankan context, sacredness is dynamic and largely a cultural and social process which is constantly created and maintained by associated people and their belief systems. During the last few decades, practice and policy implementation in terms of planning and conservation of world heritage sites in Sri Lanka has shown the difficulty of achieving sustainability while reconciling conservation with community needs. This research raises issues regarding the disparity between authoritative materials based conservation practices and expectations of associated community.

Keywords: *Sacred Space, Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Heritage, Material-Centre Conservation*

Introduction

The practice and policy implementation in terms of planning, management and conservation of world heritage sites in Sri Lanka has shown the difficulty of achieving sustainability while reconciling living sacred heritage conservation with community needs. According to the dominant Western view, space is a purely quantitative reality, rather than a qualitative and symbolic reality. This approach leaves little room for conserving the sacredness of place. In the Sri Lankan context, heritage places have evolved to reflect physical and emotional interactions with the sites, not simply as tangible cultural products, but as social and cultural processes associated with connections between the visible and invisible, the quantifiable and the qualitative. Sri Lankan sacred cities are not just physical conglomerates that were built as an ensemble but have a kind of archetypal reality. The associated cultural community is entitled to practice what they believe and to perceive which they believe. As a result of archaeology-based material-

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centric conservation, thoughts and practices which still form the backbone of current heritage legislation may end up separating community rights from their sensitive sacred heritage places and, ultimately, disturb the spirit of a place. Hence, heritage management cannot be meaningful without people's involvement and attachment.

In the Sri Lankan cultural context, sacredness is dynamic, emerging and largely a cultural and social process. It is inseparably embedded in peoples' lives. When we look at Sri Lankan sacred heritage from the perspective of its people, we see that or we begin to understand that it is a living thing constantly created, maintained and modified by associated people with their belief systems. That is the key point which must be considered carefully when conserving the sacred. Therefore, considering associated communities as the primary anchor, it is argued that many of the issues and complexities associated with Sri Lankan living sacred heritage planning and management can be better understood and context-sensitively addressed to a greater extent.

Literature Review

The theory of 'urban revolution' (Child, 1936) and the systematic investigation of the material remains of early cities by archaeologists describe momentous socio-economic and political transformations in ancient cities. The goal of such investigations has typically been to reveal the origin, form and function of ancient cities as a reflection of broad social evolutionary trends and regional patterns (Adams, 1966; Furguson, 1991). Within these patterns and processes, the recursive relationship between cities and their spiritual dimension has rarely been considered. The rise of post processual critiques in 1980s and 1990s brought with it interrelated developments that have changed how archaeologists look at built environments and the people who lived in them in the past. One of the most significant developments that arose out of the post- processual critique is the 'spatial turn' more generally seen in the archaeological inquiry and the social sciences (Blake, 2003). This trend has led to a growing recognition of cities and other built environments as spatial contexts in which human interaction takes place (Soja, 1989). The social dimension of space is interrelated through the concept of place. Space might be seen as the passive, neutral physical location in which social action occurs whereas place is lived space imbued with meanings, identities, memories that actively shape, and are shaped by, the daily practices and experiences of its inhabitants and historically contingent social processes (Fisher and Creekmore, 2014: 4). Cities therefore, are made. They are at once products and facilitators of social life. As this research demonstrates, sacred cities are created in the

place-making of multiple stakeholders from top-down planning of ruling elites through the bottom-up actions of communities. In this way, the production of sacred space in cities is actively implicated in processes of socio-political transformation.

Studies of city space often emphasise aspects that correspond to Rapoport's high (cosmology, philosophy), mid (identity, status, power) and low (behaviour embodied in architecture) level meanings that are more often discussed in terms of monumental architecture and formal planning of infrastructure (Rapoport, 1990). These levels of meaning are useful for thinking about and understanding how meanings materialized in the past in built environments. All levels of meaning elaborated by Rapoport are found in a complex web of physical and social relations that combine hierarchical relationships in the cityscape of the sacred city of Anuradhapura.

Cities as cultural landscapes are particular ways of expressing conceptions of the world and they are also a means of referring to physical entities. The same physical landscape can be seen in many different ways by different people, often at the same time (Franklin and Buntne, 1997: 245-258). There is much recent writing on the subject of landscape which has established wide-ranging discussions, so much so that the term may refer both to an environment, generally one shaped by human action, and to a representation which signifies the meaning attributed to such a setting (Bender, 1993; Hirsch, 1995). Another insists that a landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1998). This definition of landscape corresponds to the principal theme of this paper on the Sacred City of Anuradhapura (SCA).

The evolution of most religions from animism to institutionalized religion across a wide variety of places and spaces such as historic monuments, sites, and cities is commonly built on the identification of sacred places produced as a result of social and cultural processes. During the last two decades, scholars from many disciplines have attempted to define and conceptualise the nature of relationships between people and places (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004). This paper is specifically concerned with the notion of sacred space in the Sri Lankan Buddhist cultural context.

There are different types of sacred places related to mystical manifestations, homelands, places important to historical legacies, functional religious places and places connected with the past or future purported fulfilment of prophecy. Man first defines space as sacred when it manifests itself to him as something 'wholly different from the profane' space (Eliade, 1958:11-13).

The religious capital is an interesting type of functional sacred place usually invoking strong feelings of sacredness. They may be centers of institutional meetings, rituals or pilgrimages. The sacred city of Anuradhapura as a centre of Theravada Buddhism and one of the oldest kingdom, represents multiple attributes. Today, the World Heritage Site of Anuradhapura is a prime cultural site in Sri Lanka and it also happens to be one of the most prominent heritage sites in South Asia. This is based on its historical antiquity and its tangible and intangible cultural value associated with sacrality, vitality and continuity with the past.

The dominant Western view highlights space as a purely quantitative reality rather than a qualitative one, and leaves little room for the conservation of the spirit of a place. In Sri Lanka, heritage places have evolved to reflect the physical and emotional interactions with space, not simply as tangible cultural products, but as social and cultural processes associated with connections between the visible and invisible. Sri Lankan sacred cities are not just physical conglomerates that were built as an ensemble but have a kind of archetypal reality.

During the past few decades, conservation and management of sacred heritage sites in Asian countries has become problematic. The inconsistencies between Asian and Western (European or international) approaches towards heritage management have been pointed out by several authors (Byrne, 2004; Chapagain, 2013; Chung, 2005; MacKee, 2009; Wijesuriya, 2005). These inconsistencies emerge from the fact that Asian heritage is valued for its spiritual significance rather than the historical or the material significance. In that context, most of the Sri Lankan living heritage sites are constantly maintained and uplifted by associated communities without much concern for their material authenticity. Therefore, heritage management cannot be meaningful without associated peoples' involvement. Often, when the authoritative foreign concept of conservation and management is endorsed through heritage legislation, heritage management encounters negative consequences and resistance from its own citizens. Our personal observations of conservation and management issues at the Sacred City of Anuradhapura (SCA) in Sri Lanka attest to this argument. The main questions that this research addresses are: (1) What is understood as living sacred heritage city in Sri Lanka? (2) Can the conservation of living sacred heritage sites fit within the modern principles and practices of conservation in the World Heritage context? (3) What are the problems and complexities faced by conservation professionals when conserving the sacred? (4) Since sacredness is one of the most important qualities of the World Heritage Site

at SCA, what do development plans say about the conservation of sacredness?

According to scholars, sacredness is an experience that arises from people's close interactions with a place (Levi and Kocher, 2011:22-26). The experiential perspective shows the range of emotional experiences related to sacred places. Further, they define sacred places as an experiential phenomenon, a behaviour setting, and an aspect of place identity. Sacred places are designed to promote different types of religious experiences. Buddhist sacred places are created and designed to generate an experience of respect, serenity, spirituality and identity as a whole. Cities are sacred because of their sacrality in events, devotees, spaces, structure, natural and built landscapes, and structures, divine or mythical heroes, all contributing to an intense sanctity of the place (Sopher, 1967: 51). They evoke a strong 'sense of place,' belonging, history and identity.

Religion can have a profound influence on people's relations to place, and on place itself through designs of sacred structures and cities. According to Eliade (1958:43) religious man sought to live as near as possible to the center of the world. This concept of the center and its religious symbolism is well articulated in the cultural landscape of village and city design in India (Highwater, 1981:122). This concept and associated religious values governed the structural layout and orientation of streets and buildings, the location of temples and places of worship, monasteries and cemeteries etc. (Mukherjee, 1940/1961; Sopher, 1967; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004). The changing perceptions discussed here resulted in questions about the materiality and the social production of ancient and sacred cities.

Methodology

This research examines the Sacred City of Anuradhapura (SCA). The study method includes literature survey, phenomenological observations, and case studies. It is based on one case study conducted on the SCA, a UNESCO world heritage site in Sri Lanka. Plans for the SCA were reviewed and the extent of their implementation was assessed through on-site observation.

Discussion

The Sinhalese word '*Pujaneeya*' (English word 'sacred' is derived from a Latin term of which the technical meaning is 'restricted by belonging to the Gods') is used in the sense of 'to be worshiped.' The opposite word of sacred is profane or secular (*Laukika*). Though the SCA consists of both sacred and profane spaces, it has been popularly known as *Puja nagara* (Sacred city),

Suddha nagara (purified city) and *Arameeya nagara* (*Monastic city*), which implies a religious significance that is manifested throughout its history.

In Sri Lanka the concept of sacredness is mostly derived from a Buddhist heritage context. The concept of *Solosmasthana* (twelve most sacred places) and *Atamasthana* (eight most sacred places) developed within a Buddhist context, one which promoted Buddhism and Buddhist pilgrimage with the purpose of maintaining the vitality associated with the place. These places became sacred places because of their inherent power. As articulated by Eliade (1958), the phenomenology of religion understands sacred places as manifestations or eruptions of inherent power. The Sacred City of Anuradhapura is the only macro-city area where there is a highest number of sacred places in Sri Lanka. People understand these places not to be homogenous, but qualitatively different from others. These qualitative differences are defined by the tradition itself due to multiple reasons. Accordingly, the sacred Bo-tree (one of the most sacred or *Mudunmalkada* of Buddhists) and the *Ruwanwelisaya* (great stupa or *Mahathupa*) have become the most sacred of the sacred places (*Atamasthana*) in Anuradhapura and Sri Lanka in general. These great religious symbols have individual biographies or life histories (*Bodhivamsa* and *Thupavamsa*) constituted by the meanings accumulated over the duration of their existence (and that of their ancestors and descendants) as well as the memories of them held by their associated communities. This shows how the concept of sacredness evolved and came to dominate in relation to Anuradhapura.

Making pilgrimage to worship places (*Siddhasthana vandana*) related to Buddhism, and particularly to Anuradhapura, was a traditional practice which continues even today in Sri Lanka. This concept is known as *Anuradhapura Vatavandana* (pilgrimage round the sacred city of Anuradhapura) among the general public. This process of worshipping the most sacred places in Anuradhapura has been facilitated by creating the *Vatavandana* road through modern planning interventions under the sacred area planning scheme.

The study revealed that several major factors influence the perception of sacredness at Anuradhapura. Sacred space is the part of the total environment which is perceived as sacred by individuals and religious groups. This sacred place may be conveniently divided into five generic categories: mystical, historical, functional, homelands, and places connected with the future fulfilment of prophecy. Sacred places of all five types are found in the SCA. It is believed that the Buddha predicted that his doctrine would flourish in Sri Lanka and thus handed over the Island to God *Vishnu* to protect. Hence, for

Sri Lankans, Anuradhapura is the most sacred place in the world. It is believed that all four Buddhas who lived in this *kalpa* visited Anuradhapura and meditated at the place where the Sacred Bo Tree was planted. There are eight places in Anuradhapura where the Buddha meditated. These are the *Atamasthana*, which form a very significant part of a pilgrimage and sometimes the *Atamasthana* becomes the total pilgrimage. Collectively, all these micro sacred spaces come together to raise Anuradhapura to the status of sacred city. All these sacred places consist of mystical, historical, as well as functional qualities of sacred space. As history says, the Sinhala Buddhist community in Sri Lanka believes that Anuradhapura is the birthplace and identity of their civilization. Because of this sacred identity, Anuradhapura has been declared a 'sacred city' by the UNESCO world heritage committee after considering its sacred attributes as outstanding universal values to be safeguarded. Hence, this is considered to be one of the most significant sacred cities among the few sacred world heritage cities in the UNESCO world heritage list.

Much recent scholarship by sociologists, cultural geographers and others have suggested that spaces, places and cultural landscapes are actively produced by numerous social activities and thus place becomes a social production. Silva (2008) proposes a definition of the notion of the spirit of place, its constituents, and how the tangible and intangible aspects of a place and culture evoke such a spirit of place and memory of it. Activities take place within the environment, whether they be rituals, festive events, or daily happenings, they each contribute in generating a certain physical and social ambience within the setting. Furthermore, activities are also attributed with meanings, communicated via associated stories, myths, and other forms of narratives. These meanings could be sacred, social or affective meanings, or a combination thereof. To most scholars, sacredness is an experience that arises from religious socialization and people's interactions with a place (Carmichael, Hubert and Reeves, 1994). Places are made dynamic throughout the history because of the community connection and the continuity of religious activities. In this process, seasonal pilgrimage to sacred places develops religious place attachment through rituals and other events. In this regard, conserved structures as well as associated events play a significant role. Continuing such activities should be an important strategy in preserving the symbolic image of the sacred city.

Over the long centuries, Anuradhapura was associated with several traditions that formed part of the sacred place. Though Buddhism as a philosophy does not encourage any ritual or observance in relation to sacred spaces, as a living sacred place, Anuradhapura evolved many such traditions. The many

religious processions and events add colour to the sacred city. The great chronicle *Mahavamsa* and other chronicles such as *Bodhivamsa* (genealogy of Sacred Bo-tree) and *Thupavamsa* (genealogy of the great stupa) describe how, many such ritualistic events occurred in the premises of the sacred city. The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien describes a procession in honour of the Sacred Tooth Relic held in Anuradhapura in the 5th century AD and it is interesting to note that the same procession (*Esala Perahara*) is still being held in Kandy. Today in Anuradhapura, a huge number of religious and ritualistic festivals such as *Poson-festival*, *Aluth sahal mangallaya*², *Parana avurudu mangallaya*³, *Nanumura-mangalya*⁴, *Karthi-mangalya or Daramiti-poya*⁵, *Dalada-perahara*⁶, *Sanghamitta-perahara*⁷ and *Picca-mal-puja*⁸ are celebrated annually. The biggest of these festivals is the Poson-festival held on the full-moon day in June. This celebrates the day when *Thera Mahinda* from India arrived in Mihintale (Kurukulasooriya, 2005). All these ritualistic festivals offer respect to most sacred places in the city, thus heightening the sacred experience of the city. This overall experience of the sacredness of the city can also be described as a core-dimension of a living sacred city. This core-dimension of the SCA is, in fact, evoked by means of the collection of stronger tangible features and significant intangible meanings associated with the SCA. An integrated approach to conservation and development should focus on managing the sacredness as a spirit of the place, by fostering and promoting the core-dimension of the place sacrality.

How does Buddhism as a religion affect a community's attachment to sacred places? Some scholars like Wijesuriya (2005) argue that place is an integral part of religion and religion can in turn play a significant role in the promotion of place attachment. In Buddhist philosophy, sacredness is a mental feeling, but the sacred experience is influenced by the inherited

² This is a festival to offer the first portion of the paddy harvest to the Sacred Bo Tree usually held in January.

³ This is held to obtain blessings from the Sacred Bo Tree for the New Year falling in April.

⁴ This is a festival held in the New Year in April or May and involves all the *Atamasthana*.

⁵ This is held in July or August when people bring wood to the Sacred Bo Tree as offerings.

⁶ A reminiscent of the ancient procession in honour of the Sacred Tooth Relic, this is held in July when the procession starts from the *Ruvanvalisaya* stupa and ends at the Sacred Bo Tree.

⁷ This is a procession celebrating the bringing of the Sacred Bo Tree sapling from India by *Theri Sanghamitta*, daughter of Emperor Asoka, in the 4th century B.C. It is held annually on December full-moon day.

⁸ This is a festival of offering flowers to the *Ruvanvalisaya* stupa.

unique characteristics of the place. Architectural design and religious symbols (stupas with relics, images and image houses, chapter houses, *Bodhigharas*, *Dharmasalas* etc.) are also important to define the sacredness of a place. These sacred structures provide the setting for the learning and expression of religious identity. The architectural design and physical elements and built environment can transport the believer to a different place and reality. In Anuradhapura this is done through the selection of location, designs of spaces in monasteries at micro level, and in the city at macro level. All sacred structures and built spaces are places of devotees, veneration, meditation, and education. Through their design and aesthetics, they help bring a person closer to the Buddhist triad: the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*, as well as religious ideals like spirituality.

The behaviour setting and physical attributes of the sacred city makes clear the importance of preserving both the sacred structures and the associated religious practices in order to sustain the sacredness of the place. It can be argued that sacredness is a spirit of the place and an experiential quality, unique to a particular place. This experiential quality is a combination of tangible heritage attributes (of buildings, landscape, objects, people, activities, etc.) and intangible heritage attributes (cultural attitude towards environment and its use, symbolic meanings embedded in the place, historical memories, personal attachments, emotions, preferences, etc.) of the place.

Though conserving sacredness as an intangible heritage value is a highly neglected aspect within the authoritative material based heritage conservation discourse at global level, it has been a major topic of discussion in the history of conservation in Anuradhapura during the last century. The history of the Department of Archaeology and Archaeology in Sri Lanka is mostly about conservation of the SCA. Even before Independence, the Department of Archaeology recognised the need for sensitivity in dealing with the SCA. Preservation of the site has been a longstanding concern of Sri Lankan authorities too. The first preservation ordinance dates from 1938, when Anuradhapura was gazetted as a Wildlife Sanctuary, falling under the Fauna & Flora Protection Ordinance and related amendments. This status is still applicable, raising the level of protection for the Sacred Area. Godakumbura (1960), the Commissioner of the State Department of Archaeology commented in his official reports of 1960/61 and 1961/62 that, 'most of our monuments are inseparably tied up with the religion of the majority of the citizens and this often makes it difficult to hold the balance between the conflicting interest of science and religion' (Wijesuriya, 2001:31-36). He further states that 'as we proceed to write this report on yet

another year's progress of the Department, we sincerely hope that we have satisfactorily met the demands of both religion and science' (*ibid*, 2001:35). The UNESCO sponsored Cultural Triangle Project had the principle for religiosity at the top of its agenda and stated 'these sites will have to be considered as religious sites with monks and pilgrims playing their parts in religious establishments' (Wijesuriya, 2005:32).

Main planning approaches adopted during the last few decades, and such plans as the Anuradhapura preservation plan (1949), the sacred area planning scheme (1984) and the greater Anuradhapura development plan (2000) reflect the need for conservation of the sacred heritage through planning strategies. The urban plan was implemented in 1949 by the British urban planner Sir Clifford Holliday in order to free the archaeological site from human occupation, which led to a division of the city into 3 spaces: on the west, the sacred city gathering the principal archaeological remains (1), a green central corridor (2) and the modern city on the East (3), designed in the "garden city" tradition. The project area matches the entire Anuradhapura Municipal Council (AMC) territory, thereby covering both the Sacred City and Modern City. The sacred area planning scheme (1984) illustrates how the sacredness of the ancient city centre of Anuradhapura has moved the entire political structure of the country to invent innovative approaches to conserve the city centre. This planning example shows how sacredness dominated the decision making process to the conservation of the SCA.

As far as practice and policy implementation at SCA is concerned, conserving the sacred involves a range of issues. As a consequence, the application of the modern scientific and material based conservation approach with an extreme focus on the preservation of the material/fabric (Figure 1) by conservation professionals, recent stupa restoration interventions (*Jetavana* stupa and *Abhayagiriya* stupa) under the Central Cultural Fund, illustrate the contradiction between the need for associated communities and the need for professional conservators. The weakness of the material-based approach is the exclusive power of the conservation experts. Furthermore, the approach does not recognise indigenous religious communities as significant group of stakeholders of heritage sustainability.

When religious practices stop occurring as a result of the material based conservation approach, the place identity shifts from being a sacred to historic place, and ends up with meaningless professional conservations. Therefore, we argue that conservation of sacredness and livingness as part of place identity is a must for continued religious use of a living heritage site like SCA (Figure 2). The main objective of conservation should not be the

preservation of heritage itself, but the protection of the values of different associated stakeholder groups. A Living Heritage Conservation Approach attempts to represent the whole range of stakeholder groups throughout the conservation process, and resolve conflicts that inevitably arise between them.

Figure 1 Material Based Conservation Approach (Rajapakse, 2017a)

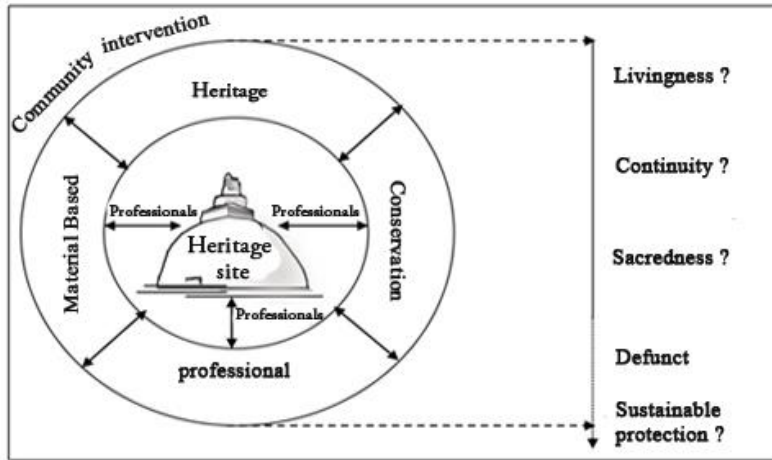
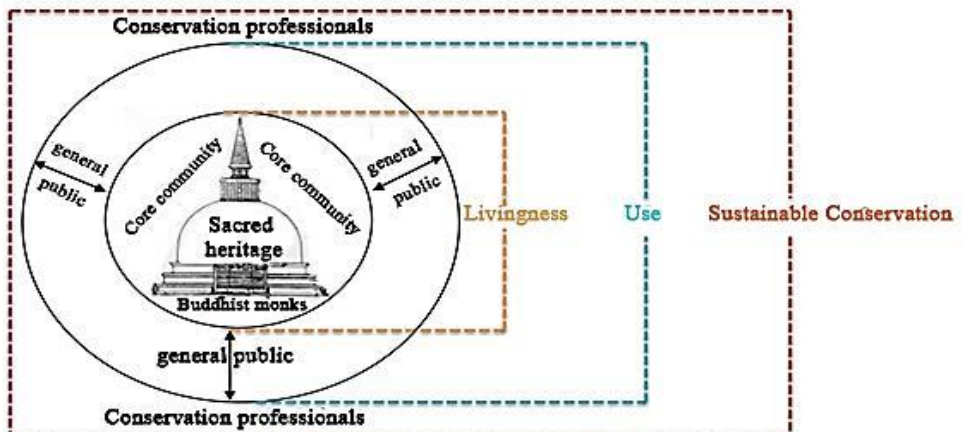


Figure 2 Living Heritage Conservation Approach (Rajapakse, 2017b)



Conclusion

Several themes relevant to the larger literature on sacred space and place identity has emerged from this study and, in the process, it revealed the multifaceted relationship between people, Buddhism, and the sacred city of Anuradhapura. This study on the sacred city of Anuradhapura establishes the symbiotic relationship between religion (Buddhism) and sacred place. Place and place characteristics are important in the development of people's close connection with sacred structures and cities. These cities and structures are associated with mythical and historical stories and events of the nation and Buddhism. The Sacred City of Anuradhapura, for Buddhists, is an example of a collective religious possession and a valuable historical and cultural asset.

This study helps us to define different dimensions of the sacredness of SCA and these dimensions are, in fact, evoked by the collection of stronger tangible characteristics and significant intangible meanings associated with the place. The '*sense of sacrality*' of the city is derived mainly from the presence of the sacred symbols such as Bo-trees and stupas with relics and the great monasteries of the Sri Lankan Buddhist Order.

This study argues that sacredness is an experiential quality, unique to SCA. Therefore, in heritage preservation programs, the following aspects need to be given attention. First, sacred meaning and community values associated with monuments should be given priority rather than preserving the physical fabric with minimum intervention. For this, a living heritage conservation approach would be a better option as a value-based intervention. Second, attention should be given to the behavioural aspects of a site to promote interaction and continued use between the sacred place and the associated community.

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Revealed Comparative Advantage: An Analysis Based on Leading Exports of Sri Lanka

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Abstract

This paper examines the competitiveness of Sri Lanka's leading exports in the international market by using Revealed Comparative Advantage index (RCA) and Revealed Symmetric Comparative Advantage index (RSCA) from 2008 to 2015. The empirical results show that the export sector has changed during the last eight years and Sri Lanka enjoys the comparative advantage in 35 product categories at Standard International Trade Classification (SITC) 3 digit level, while it is dominated by traditional industries and goods which are produced using standard techniques and are characterised by lower cost of research and development. Sri Lanka does not enjoy comparative advantage in other types of products which are characterized by higher research and development requirement.

Keywords: *Export Competitiveness, Revealed Comparative Advantage, Sri Lanka*

Introduction

A careful examination of the Sri Lanka's economic history enables to identify four distinct periods of the country's economic policy, namely, the period before colonisation (before 1505), colonial period (1505-1948), after independence to economic liberalisation (1948-1977) and the period of economic liberalisation and its aftermath (after 1977). During the period of colonisation, Sri Lankan economy shifted to an export and import economy, from a self-sufficient economic system. Further, the structure of the exports and imports changed following the policy of export diversification, which promoted products that were more industrial after trade liberalisation was introduced in 1977. Sri Lankan exports substantially depended on the agricultural sector during the colonial period but there were significant changes in the export composition as export of industrial products increased after trade liberalisation. Therefore, it is important to analyse whether the

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export product portfolio in Sri Lanka is based on principles of comparative advantage.

Ricardo laid down the basic view of Comparative advantage in international trade, and Balassa (1965) developed the concept of revealed comparative advantage (RCA). Further, Dalum et al. (1998) and Widodo (2009) computed a measurement of Revealed Symmetric Comparative Advantage (RSCA) for measuring trade competitiveness.

The critical question of interest concerning whether Sri Lanka's existing major exports are based on comparative advantage, and if so, what conditions determines the strengths. During the last two decades, many studies have been conducted on estimating the trade potentials for different regions of the world. However, as the work relevant to Sri Lanka is limited, the present study expects to find Sri Lanka's export competitiveness in the international market through the Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) index in the international market.

Literature Review

Balassa (1977) has undertaken an analysis of the pattern of comparative advantage of industrial countries for the period between 1953 and 1971. The empirical findings suggest a renewal of the product cycle for US that possesses an ever-increasing technical lead based on the standard deviation of the RCA index for different countries, and an association is observed to hold between size and diversification of exports. Furthermore, Balassa's results reveal that the extent of export diversification tends to increase with the degree of technological development and a reversal takes place at higher levels in trade patterns.

Leishman et al. (1999) empirically analysed the international competitiveness for agricultural commodities by applying revealed comparative advantage for wool-exporting countries. Six wool producing countries were selected for measuring RCA over a period of 37 years. RCA index for Australia, Argentina, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom, and Uruguay indicates that GATT Uruguay Round has a significant impact on changing RCA of countries. RCA for the non-Oceanic nations has dropped substantially since the beginning of the Uruguay Round in 1986. This appears to suggest that liberalisation among other factors has had an equally detrimental effect on the comparative advantage of the non-Oceanic countries.

Chow (1990) assessed the shift in comparative advantage of Japan and the Asian Newly Industrialized countries (NICs). As opposed to conventional belief, Chow argued that comparative position had not shifted from Japan to NICs. Detailed analysis of three digit SITC product categories for manufactured goods indicates that NICs exports have not replaced Japan's in the US market. The NICs, rather than replacing the exports from Japan, are merely supplying some complimentary manufactured products to the industrialized markets.

Lim (1997) attempted to analyse the characteristics of the North Korean economy through foreign trade by categorising goods into three categories as Ricardo goods, Hechscher-Ohlin goods, and Product cycle goods. Firstly, Hufbauer and Chilas (1974) divide the commodities into the above three categories. Ricardo goods are characterised by the importance of natural resources in their production. Hechscher-Olin goods are produced with standard technology and manufactured with constant returns to scale in the use of capital and labour. 'Product cycle goods' are produced with advanced technology. The empirical results of the RCA for North Korean trade with the whole world show that North Korea has achieved success in improving the economic structure from Ricadian goods to Heckscher-Ohlin goods. Considering results, it concluded that North Korea has tried to improve its economic structure. Its key group has been changed from the products using natural resources intensively in production to goods using relatively standard technology.

Li and Bender (2003) argued that instead of complimenting or substituting exports, the change in comparative advantage of a country leads to gain as well as a loss for the country. They studied the RCA of manufacturing exports over the period of 1981 – 1999 of eight country groups incorporating 40 economies and put forth the view that a pattern of relative comparative advantage existed.

Moving a step further, Ferto and Hubbard (2003) used the modified RCA index which was developed by Volrath (1991), namely the relative trade advantage. They presented an analysis of the competitiveness of Hungary's agricultural food products against the European Union (EU) as its comparator. They used the 4-digit level of SITC classification from 1992 to 1998. Results suggest that in spite of the changes in the agricultural division of Hungary, the pattern of revealed comparative advantage had been stable.

Batra and Khan (2005) compared India's comparative advantage with that of China and also studied the RCA of the countries. They assessed the RCA at

2-digit and 6-digit level of Harmonized System (HS) classification for the years 2000 and 2003. The authors also found that the comparative advantage of India and China according to factor intensity using the SITC with the aim of assessing whether India's comparative advantage is in labour and resource intensive items or in technology and science-based manufactures. The study does not find any structural change in the comparative advantage of the two countries, except for some sectors within manufacturing. Further, the results show that India and China enjoyed a competitive relationship in chemicals and mineral and metal manufacturing, while a complementary association was observed in labour and resource intensive items such as textile yarn and apparel.

Hanif and Sabina (2006) constructed Balassa's RCA index for the textile sector of Pakistan to analyse the relationship between the financial development and international trade competitiveness. The results show that greater access to external finance has a substantial positive impact on the country's textile sector competitiveness over the period 1974 to 2004. The study concluded that even if the economies of scale, technology, and endowments, are identical between countries, still a country with relatively developed financial institutions will have a better comparative advantage in the production of processed goods which require more external finance.

Akhtar et al. (2008) analysed the competitiveness of footwear industry in Pakistan from a global perspective, using revealed comparative advantage at 2-digit and 4-digit level of its classification for the period of 1996-2006. Calculations indicate that Pakistan's footwear industry has shifted from a situation of comparative disadvantage to comparative advantage, especially after 2003 due to increase in value as well as in the volume of footwear exports, and thus there is an upward movement in comparative advantage.

Jayawickarma and Thangavelu (2010) find that China and India have the comparative advantage in a broad range of manufactured goods as compared to Singapore from the disaggregated analysis at the 2-digit level. The paper also finds that Singapore and China exports are complements, although the degree of complementarity has been declining over time. Meanwhile, Singapore and India exports are found to be stronger complements and stable over time. The results also reveal that China and India exports are strong substitutes. This makes the comparative advantage position of both countries more competitive. The study reported that the exports diversification had broadened the exports of China.

Wei and Zhao (2012) found that the comparative advantage of Chinese manufactured products in the global as well as US markets are gradually increasing. It is pertinent to mention that most products with comparative advantage are low-technology products, while, the comparative advantage of Chinese medium-technology products in the world market has largely improved. However, their RCA index values are low, and these kinds of products with very high comparative advantage are few. Finally, they concluded that the Chinese manufactured exports have a greater comparative advantage in the world market than in the US market.

Shohibul (2013) investigated the comparative advantage of ASEAN countries and China by using revealed symmetric comparative advantage (RSCA) and trade balance index (TBI) approach based on SITC revision 3. The results revealed that China have more established patterns of trade, while ASEAN trade patterns are dynamic, and provide energetic support for the comparative advantage theorem.

Methodology

The concept of revealed comparative advantage (Balassa, 1965 and 1977) pertains to the relative trade performance of individual countries in particular commodities. On the assumption that the commodity pattern of trade reflects the inter-country differences in relative costs as well as in non-price factors, it is assumed to “reveal comparative advantage” of the trading countries. Balassa’s (1965) measure of relative export performance by country and industry/commodity is defined as a country’s share of world exports of a commodity divided by its share of total world exports. The index for products of Sri Lanka is calculated as follows:

$$RCA_i^{SL} = (X_i^{SL} / X^{SL}) / (X_i^W / X^W)$$

where; RCA_i^{SL} - revealed comparative advantage of product i , X_i^{SL} - Sri Lankan exports of product i , X^{SL} - Total exports of Sri Lanka, X_i^W - World export of product i , X^W - total world exports. The index of revealed comparative advantage has a relatively simple interpretation. If it takes a value greater than one, the country has comparative advantage in that product. Table 1 provides the classification of RCA index value as presented by Hinloopen and Marrewijk (2001).

Table 1 Classification of RCA Values

Class	RCA Value	Interpretation
a	0 – 1	No comparative advantage
b	1 – 2	Weak comparative advantage.
c	2 – 4	Moderate comparative advantage
d	4 <	Strong comparative advantage

Since the RCA_{ij} turns out to produce an output which cannot be compared on both side of 1. Dalum et al.(1998) and Widodo (2009) have obtained Revealed Symmetric Advantage (RSCA), This measure is calculated in the second stage of analysis as

$$RSCA_i = (RCA - 1)/(RCA + 1)$$

RSCA values vary in the interval from -1 to +1 ($-1 \leq RSCA_{ij} \leq 1$). $RSCA_{ij}$ index of the country j above zero indicates the comparative advantage for product i. Conversely, $RSCA_{ij}$ index of country below zero indicates comparative disadvantage for product i.

The research attempts to evaluate Sri Lanka's RSCA in exports. The purpose of such an analysis is to obtain a comprehensive view of the comparative advantage that Sri Lanka enjoys in the world. This would enable policymakers to focus on goods in which Sri Lanka's comparative advantage in exports truly lies.

Discussion

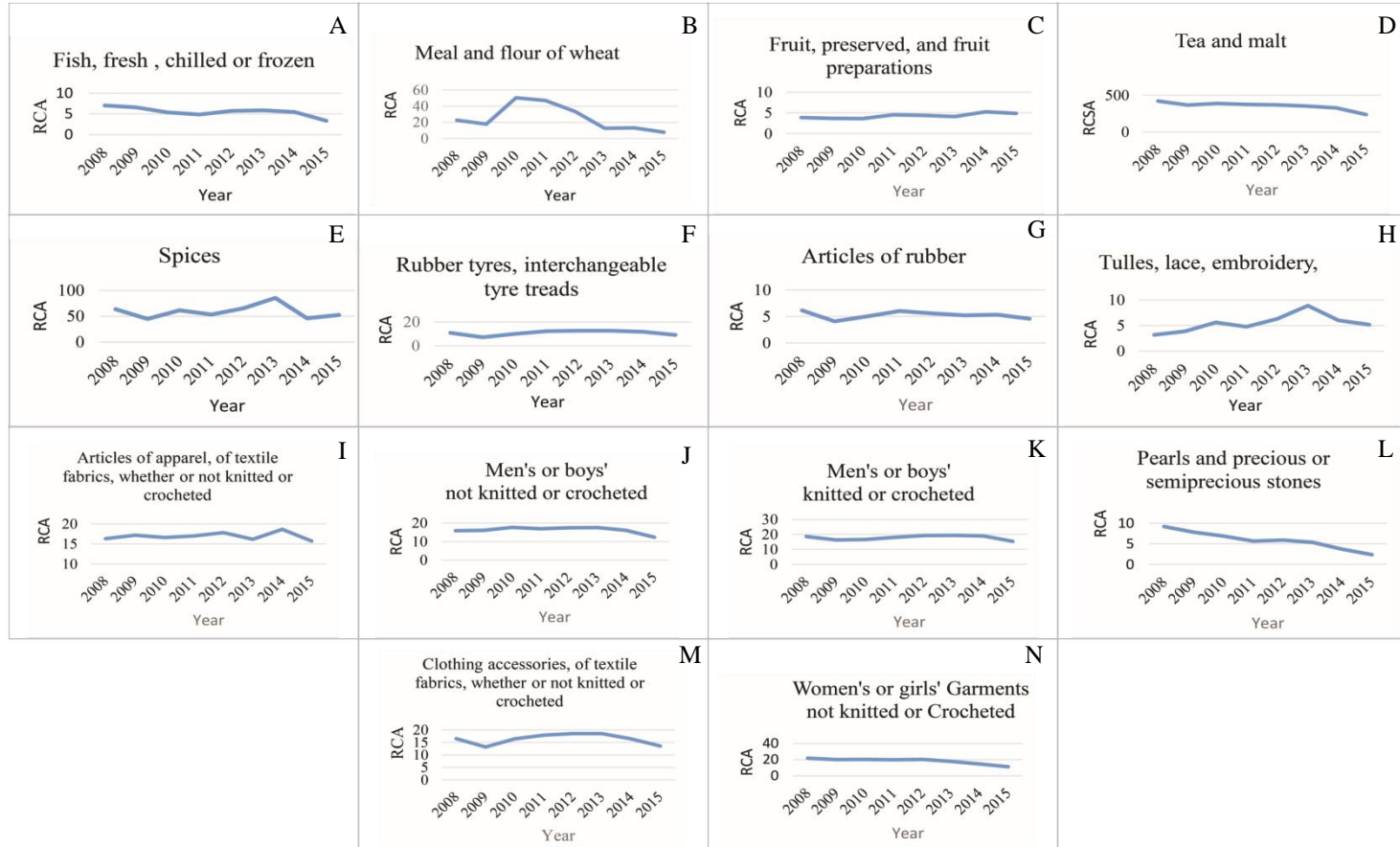
According to the results, the RCA index is greater than one for 24 products/sectors indicating that Sri Lanka enjoys comparative advantage in these sectors in the global market.

As it can be seen from the results, higher RCA values are recorded in class d. The RCA value varying in the interval from 4 to 234.9 revealed that in 2015, Sri Lanka had a strong competitive position in the sectors of agriculture, textile and clothing. In the agricultural sector, the most significant comparative advantage was recorded by tea and malt (RCA = 23.95), spices (RCA=52.46), fruits and fruit preparations (RCA=4.86). In the industry of textile and clothing, a higher degree of comparative advantage was recorded by women's or girl's garments knitted or crocheted (RCA=26.59), articles of apparel of textile fabrics whether not knitted or crocheted (RCA=15.75), men's and boys' garments (15.33), clothing accessories of textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted (RCA=13.57), articles of apparel and clothing accessories of other than textile fabrics and other materials.

Table 2 The Results of the Evaluation of Competitiveness in Global Market by RCA Index During the Period of 2008 – 2015

Class	SITC Code	Type of Product	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
b	035	Fish, dried, salted or in brine, smoked fish	1.62	1.63	1.29	1.13	1.74	1.41	1.30	1.09
	047	Other cereal meals and flours	1.45	1.18	1.07	1.09	1.19	1.30	1.31	1.15
	081	Feeding stuff for animals	2.51	2.53	2.74	2.03	2.51	1.60	1.40	1.51
	634	Veneers, plywood, particle board and other wood	1.59	0.78	1.44	1.68	2.04	1.79	1.23	0.85
	635	Wood manufactures	1.16	1.12	1.28	1.38	1.25	1.02	1.0	0.73
	651	Textile Yarn	1.26	1.39	1.25	1.161	1.43	1.32	1.15	0.9
	652	Cotton fabrics, woven	0.85	1.12	0.85	1.16	2.44	2.06	1.94	1.72
	658	Made-up articles chiefly by textile materials	2.54	1.84	2.11	1.88	1.76	2.15	1.65	1.68
	785	Motor cycles	1.77	2.62	2.80	1.85	1.82	1.08	1.20	1.04
	793	Ships, boats, and floating structures	0.32	0.77	1.15	1.58	1.36	1.18	1.20	2.05
	894	Baby carriages, toys, games and sporting goods	0.89	0.88	1.02	1.08	1.30	1.41	1.31	1.00
	899	Miscellaneous goods	1.37	1.11	1.11	1.19	1.13	1.05	1.50	0.84
c	036	Crustaceans, molluscs, and aquatic invertebrates	2.41	2.62	2.66	3.11	3.05	3.89	3.15	1.80
	621	Materials of rubber	1.09	1.52	1.79	3.03	5.12	4.56	3.60	2.36
	655	Knitted or crocheted fabrics	2.22	1.57	1.58	1.57	2.27	1.71	2.44	2.45
	685	Lead	3.21	2.44	3.25	1.48	2.89	4.96	3.46	3.19
	892	Metal containers for storage or transport	2.24	2.24	3.80	8.96	2.32	1.98	2.36	2.04
d	034	Fish,	7.03	6.56	5.36	4.87	5.73	5.88	5.45	3.34
	058	Fruit, fresh, chilled or frozen	3.84	3.64	3.58	4.54	4.39	4.08	5.25	4.85
	074	Tea and Malt	419.5	365.0	387.3	373.7	366.4	350.0	325.6	234.9
	075	Spices	63.75	44.90	61.46	53.25	65.39	85.15	45.89	52.46
	625	Rubber tires, interchangeable tire treads	10.88	7.27	9.97	12.34	12.63	12.67	11.87	9.21
	629	Articles of Rubber	6.14	4.07	5.02	6.03	5.59	5.19	5.34	4.55
	656	Tulles, lace, embroiders, ribbons	3.19	3.86	5.63	4.78	6.31	8.89	6.02	5.17
	666	Pottery	11.79	8.76	8.25	7.14	6.46	7.02	5.28	3.08
	667	Pearls and precious semiprecious stones	9.22	7.82	6.89	5.65	5.92	5.37	3.68	2.38
	841	Men's or boy's garments not knitted or crocheted	15.78	16.08	17.59	16.89	17.45	17.47	16.05	12.29
	842	Women's or girl's garments not knitted or crocheted	21.75	19.97	20.24	19.8	20.41	17.90	14.62	11.16
	843	Men's or boy's garments knitted or crocheted	18.58	16.28	16.55	17.96	19.19	19.38	18.95	15.33
	844	Women's or girl's garments knitted or crocheted	33.49	31.89	30.44	32.10	29.90	31.88	30.23	26.59
	845	Articles of apparel, of textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted	16.33	17.20	16.60	16.97	17.83	16.18	18.63	15.75
	846	Clothing accessories	16.49	13.21	16.43	17.94	18.53	18.55	16.42	13.57
	848	Articles of apparel and clothing accessories of other than textile fabrics	14.01	13.64	14.68	15.35	15.86	15.91	13.04	10.81

Source: Author calculations based on UN COMTRADE data

Figure 1 Trends in Comparative Advantage by Sectors from 2008 - 2015

Source: Author calculations based on UN COMTRADE data

Figure 1 exhibits the trends of comparative advantage of product groups in class d. A decrease in RCA is reported in all high RCA product categories in 2015. The reason for the decrease is mainly the drop of total world exports of the products in 2015.

There is an increasing trend in six product groups i.e. fruits and fruit preparations (SITC 058), spices (SITC 075), rubber tires, interchangeable tire treads (SITC 625), tulles, lace, embroidery, ribbons, trimmings and other wares (SITC 656), clothing accessories of textile fabrics (SITC 846) and articles of apparel and clothing accessories other than textile fabrics (SITC 848) from 2008 to 2013. However seven product groups exhibited downward trends in their comparative advantage, they are fish (SITC 034), meal and flour of wheat (SITC 046), articles of rubber (SITC 629), pottery (SITC 666), pearls and precious or semi-precious stones (SITC 667), women's and girl's coats, capes, jackets, suits, trousers, shorts, shirts, dresses, skirts, underwear (SITC 842) and men's or boys' coats, capes, jackets, suits, blazers, trousers, shorts, shirts, underwear, nightwear and similar articles of textile fabrics, not knitted or crocheted (SITC 841).

Revealed Symmetric Comparative Advantage (RSCA)

According to the analysis, Sri Lanka accounted for the high value of RSCA for some sectors (Table 3), and it has changed over the period from 2008 to 2015. In 2008, RSCA value for tea and malt is 0.995 and it had gradually decreased to 0.991 in 2015. Although Sri Lanka increased the value of exports from 1270 USD million in 2008 to 1337.9 USD million in 2015, the export share of the world market has decreased from 19 percent to 15.7 percent in 2015. Further exports of SITC 0 sector accounted for 0.7 percent of world exports of the sector and 0.1 percent of total world merchandise exports in 2015. China, Sri Lanka and Kenya were the top three exporters. China was the country with the highest volume of exports (1489.8 USD million) followed by Sri Lanka (1337.9 USD million) in the year. During the period of study, the average annual growth rate of tea and malt (SITC 074) exports of Sri Lanka was negative: -2.7 percent from 2011 – 2015. This may be the reason for decreasing RCA value for Sri Lanka's exports of tea and malt during the period. The product category, women's or girls' garments not knitted or crocheted (SITC 842) also reported a similar trend during the period 2008-2015.

Sri Lanka accounted second high value of RSCA for women's garments knitted or crocheted (SITC 844) in the year 2015. In 2008, RSCA value for this category is 0.942 and it had gradually decreased to 0.927 in 2015.

Table 3 RSCA for Sri Lanka's Exports

SITC Code	Product Name	RSCA Value		RSCA Classification		Direction of Change
		2008	2015	2008	2015	
034	Fish, fresh, chilled or frozen	0.751	0.540	Advantage	Advantage	-
035	Fish, dried, salted	0.238	0.043	Advantage	Advantage	-
036	Crustaceous, molluscs and aquatic invertebrates	0.414	0.285	Advantage	Advantage	-
046	Meal and flour of wheat	0.915	0.770	Advantage	Advantage	-
047	Other serial meals and flours	0.185	0.069	Advantage	Advantage	-
058	Fruit, preserved and fruit preparations	0.587	0.658	Advantage	Advantage	+
074	Tea and malt	0.995	0.991	Advantage	Advantage	-
075	Spices	0.969	0.962	Advantage	Advantage	-
081	Feeding stuff for animals	0.430	0.205	Advantage	Advantage	-
621	Materials of rubber	0.045	0.406	Advantage	Advantage	+
625	Rubber tires	0.830	0.750	Advantage	Advantage	-
629	Articles of rubber	0.720	0.640	Advantage	Advantage	-
634	Veneers, plywood, particle board	0.222	-0.076	Advantage	Disadvantage	-
635	Wood manufactures	0.077	-0.150	Advantage	Disadvantage	-
651	Textile yarn	0.116	0.813	Advantage	Advantage	+
652	Cotton fabrics	-0.079	0.264	Disadvantage	Advantage	+
655	Knitted or crocheted fabrics	0.379	0.420	Advantage	Advantage	+
656	Tulles, lace, embroidery	0.522	0.676	Advantage	Advantage	+
658	Made up articles of textile manufactures	0.436	0.254	Advantage	Advantage	-
659	Floor covering	0.031	-0.156	Advantage	Disadvantage	-
666	Pottery	0.843	0.510	Advantage	Advantage	-
667	Pearls and precious or semiprecious stones	0.804	0.409	Advantage	Advantage	-
685	Lead	0.525	0.523	Advantage	Advantage	-
744	Mechanical handling equipment	0.809	0.814	Advantage	Advantage	+
785	Motor cycles	0.279	-0.811	Advantage	Disadvantage	-
786	Trailers and semi-trailers	0.046	0.631	Advantage	Advantage	+
793	Ships, boats	-0.511	0.346	Disadvantage	Advantage	+
841	Men's or boy coats not knitted	0.880	0.849	Advantage	Advantage	-
842	Women's or girls coats not knitted	0.912	0.835	Advantage	Advantage	-
843	Men's or boy's coats knitted	0.897	0.877	Advantage	Advantage	-
844	Women's or girl's coats knitted	0.942	0.927	Advantage	Advantage	-
845	Articles of apparel of textile fabrics	0.884	0.880	Advantage	Advantage	-
846	Clothing accessories	0.885	0.862	Advantage	Advantage	-
848	Articles of apparel other than textile fabrics	0.866	0.830	Advantage	Advantage	-
892	Printed matter	0.383	0.342	Advantage	Advantage	-
894	Baby carriages, toys	-0.053	0.004	Disadvantage	Advantage	+
899	Miscellaneous manufactured articles	0.157	-0.081	Advantage	Disadvantage	-

Source: Author calculations based on UN COMTRADE data

Sri Lanka increased the value of exports from 650.4 USD million in 2008 to 1036.7 USD million in 2015, the export share of the world market has increased from 1.55 percent to 1.8 percent in 2015. Further exports of this commodity accounted for 2.8 percent of world exports of miscellaneous manufactured articles (SITC 8) and 0.4 percent of total world merchandise exports of 2015.

China, Viet Nam and Bangladesh were the top three exporters of the product in the world market in 2015. Sri Lanka ranked in the eleventh place of the world market with the volume of exports 1036 USD million in 2015. During the period of study the average annual growth rate of Sri Lanka's exports of SITC 844 product category was 5.1 percent but its RSCA value decreased. Decreasing world export of the product by 11.23 percent during the period can be considered as the reason for decreasing RCA and RSCA values. The similar trend occurred in product categories of articles of apparel, textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted. (SITC 845), men's or boys' garments knitted or crocheted (SITC 843), clothing accessories, textile fabrics, whether or not knitted or crocheted (other than those for babies) (SITC 846), articles of apparel and clothing accessories of other than textile fabrics; headgear and other materials (SITC 848), printed matter (SITC 892), rubber tyres, interchangeable tyre treads, tyre flaps and inner tubes for wheels of all kinds (SITC 625) and spices (SITC 075).

In 2015, the value of RSCA has increased for the product categories fruit, preserved, and fruit preparations (SITC 058), materials of rubber (SITC 621), textile yarn (SITC 651), cotton fabrics, woven (SITC 652), knitted or crocheted fabrics (SITC 655), tulle, lace, embroidery, ribbons, trimmings and other small wares (SITC 656), mechanical handling equipment and parts thereof (SITC 744), ships, boats (including hovercraft) and floating structures (SITC 793), baby carriages, toys, games, and sporting goods (SITC 894) as a result of increasing world share of Sri Lanka's exports in these categories. The RSCA value of trailers and semi-trailers; other vehicles, not mechanically-propelled; specially designed and equipped transport containers (SITC 786) has increased by 0.585 due to decreasing total exports of both Sri Lanka and the World.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper is to identify Sri Lanka's export product portfolio based on the principle of comparative advantage using revealed comparative advantage index (RCA) over the eight years period from 2008 to 2015. With the purpose of obtaining the comprehensive view of comparative advantage, the paper also used the revealed symmetrical advantage index (RSCA). Results show that both RCA and RSCA index generate the similar findings over the comparative advantage of Sri Lanka's export commodities.

As indicated by RCA and RSCA values, there are four main export categories of Sri Lanka among nine SITC categories which enjoy high comparative advantage. They are: miscellaneous manufactured articles (SITC 8), food and live animals (SITC 0), manufactured goods classified chiefly by materials (SITC 6) and machinery and transport equipment (SITC 7). The results show that Sri Lanka enjoys comparative advantage in export of products based on agriculture or natural resources such as wood, food, vegetables and rubber. Further, the country enjoys comparative advantage in exports of goods which are recognized as products that require low cost in research and development as advanced technology is already available. These products include pearls and precious or semi-precious stones and textile and clothing. Further, these products are more labour intensive and hence generate more employment opportunities. Further Sri Lanka does not enjoy comparative advantage in technology intensive product categories such as chemicals, medicines, machines, etc. The paper concludes that Sri Lanka has comparative advantage in exporting primary goods and labour intensive manufactured goods.

The paper concludes that the current pattern of Sri Lanka's participation in international trade is substantially dominated by relatively higher contribution from the primary and manufactured goods. It has not been a healthy trend to be continued for the country's relatively growing economy. Therefore the country essentially requires paying serious attention to the analysis of the existing export development policy and formulation of much sophisticated policy structure that aims to increase the country's share in the international trade with more diversified, high tech and value added export productions. It requires attention to and investment in research and development as well. Such measures will certainly enhance the country's competitive capacity in international trade and generate higher level of comparative advantage to the economy.

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Apparel Industry and Fashion Education in South Asian Region: A Review

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Abstract

South Asian Region (SAR) apparel manufacturing countries are transitioning from apparel assembly (contract manufacturing) to original design manufacturing in response to global economic policy changes and competition from the low-cost production countries in the apparel value chain. The purpose of this paper is to review the evolution of the Sri Lankan apparel industry and fashion education through the lens of SAR, particularly in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan in order to define the position of Sri Lanka's apparel industry in SAR, and thus identify the country's strengths in the apparel value chain. The study reviews the literature relevant to the SAR apparel industry context, taking Sri Lanka as a focal point. The evidence of the study highlights that in the last decade, the apparel industry and fashion education in Sri Lanka has significantly developed in comparison to the SAR apparel industry and has transitioned from apparel contract manufacturing to provide value-added services, influencing the core competencies of Western buyers and retailers. Given the substantial contribution of the apparel industry to the Sri Lanka economy and employment, continued industrial upgrading through design and value-added services can assist the country to remain competitive in SAR.

Keywords: *South Asia, Sri Lanka, Apparel industry, Fashion education, Industrial upgrading*

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Introduction

The apparel industry of the South Asian Region (SAR) has developed since the 1970s as a part of the global apparel industry shift from the East Asian region (mainly Japan) to SAR, and it is currently one of the largest industrial sectors contributing to the economy and employment in the countries that engage in export-oriented industrialisation in the region (Gereffi and Memedovic, 2003; Khattak et al. 2017). The industry consists of a full range of activities, including the design, product development, manufacturing, marketing and distribution required to bring the fashion product to brands and retailers in Western countries (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). Major apparel manufacturing countries in the region (Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan) are extending their services to the apparel value chain⁶ in various ways depending on the individual country's strengths of labour availability and skilled technology. Often, they interact with Western brands and retailers in the value chain process. However, regionally, the industry now has more competition from other countries due to global economic policy changes and rival producers such as China and Vietnam, which offer low cost products. In turn, the apparel industry in the region is transitioning to deliver higher value products through a full package service⁷, including design and product development. Hence, design capabilities are key for SAR apparel manufacturing countries in this transition.

In this study, the evolution of the Sri Lankan (SL) apparel industry and fashion education is reviewed in the literature through the lens of SAR, particularly India, Bangladesh and Pakistan's apparel industries, in order to define the position of the Sri Lanka apparel industry in SAR, thus identifying the country's strengths in the apparel value chain. First, the background of the study looks at the global apparel industry and the SAR apparel industry context through an extensive literature review approach (Levy and Ellis, 2006; Webster and Watson, 2002). Then the study looks at the apparel industry and fashion education in the other SAR countries of India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan and compares them with Sri Lanka's apparel industry and fashion education (Table 1).

Table 1 Focus of the Review

Review	Apparel	Fashion	Remarks	Synthesis
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⁶ Apparel value chain refers to a system of developed and developing nations working along a common apparel production line in several departments, companies

⁷ Apparel value change refers to a system of develop and developing nations in order to achieve a common goal of producing garments to fulfill consumer demands anywhere in the world

	Industry	Education		
Global	x		Extensive	Table 2
SAR	x		Extensive	
Sri Lanka	x	x	Extensive	Figure 1
India	x	x	Supportive	Figure 2
Bangladesh	x	x	Supportive	Figure 3
Pakistan	x	x	Supportive	Figure 4

Through a concept-centric approach on the apparel industry and fashion education, the literature is synthesized to present the SL apparel industry and fashion education in a cross-country comparison.

Apparel Industry: Global Context

The global apparel industry is characterized by its decentralized production networks (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012 : 47), and mediators (traders from Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan) led by chief firms in Western countries such as the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK), focusing on higher value functions such as design, marketing, and distribution in the apparel value chain (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016). Thus, Western brands, retailers and buyers hold more power in the industry and they outsource manufacturing through the global network of suppliers (production sharing/outward processing), which are typically low-income countries around Asia (China, India, and other developing countries in Asia such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Indonesia) (Gereffi, 1999; Godart, 2014; Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016; Weller, 2006). The consumption of apparel is separated from production by marketing interfaces as well as geographical distance, and therefore social, economic and cultural differences influence the manufacturing process (Aspers, 2009). Research indicates that the value of the global apparel trade is approximately USD 700 billion, and the global textile and apparel market sector is expected to reach USD 2100 billion by 2025 (Indian Textile Journal, 2016). Therefore, existing apparel manufacturing countries are expected to increase their market shares in the apparel value chain.

The global apparel manufacturing industry in the Asian region has undergone a transition since the 1950s (Gereffi and Memedovic, 2003). The South Asian Region (SAR) apparel manufacturing industry was established in the 1970s as part of the industry shift from East Asia. This migration was mainly based on global economic and policy changes on export apparel activities, and the labour intensive segments of the apparel production shifted to countries with cheap labour (Gereffi and Memedovic, 2003). The apparel imports for the US, EU, and Japan were regulated by the Multi-Fiber

Arrangement (MFA⁸) on quotas and preferential tariffs from the early 1970s, to protect the domestic industries of major consuming markets by imposing country limits on the volumes of certain imported products (Cattaneo, et al., 2010). However, through other types of concessions, such as the World Trade Organisation agreement on textile and apparel (1995-2005), everything but arms (since 2001), and Generalised Scheme of Preferences (GSP since 1971), the manufacturing countries have been given considerable opportunity to contribute to the apparel value chain, increasing the economic and political stability in those countries (Kelegama, 2016).

Tariff concessions were expected to reduce poverty and increase the sustainable development of the countries which were involved in the apparel value chain process, while from the political perspective, tariff concessions were expected to promote good governance, as Kelegama (2016) indicated. However, even under concessionary conditions, some developing countries had to compete with much larger, low cost manufacturing countries like China, India and Bangladesh in the apparel value chain. This competition required the countries to depend heavily on apparel manufacturing for employment and economic development, and to implement best practices in the manufacturing and human capital sectors. Therefore, better access to Western consumer markets shifted them from a debt-driven development strategy to a more export-driven and foreign direct investment-led strategy (Kelegama, 2016).

Gereffi and Memedovic (2003) identify four main business models in the apparel value chain, in particular, within the apparel manufacturing countries in industrial upgrading. First the cut, make, and trim assembly (CMT), a process in which the apparel production companies are provided with technical specifications and imported raw materials (fabric and trims) for apparel assembly. Original equipment manufacturing (OEM) is undertaken according to the specifications provided by the Western brands and buyers - however, manufacturing companies finance and provide production-related services such as sourcing raw materials, etc. In original design manufacturing (ODM), manufacturers are involved in the production process from concepts to final products, providing integrated services in the process. Original brand manufacturing (OBM) businesses focus on the apparel manufacturers' initial expertise with OEM, original design manufacturing

⁸ The MFA is a system of export restrictions imposed by developed countries on textile and apparel export of developing countries to protect the garment industry in developed countries.

(ODM) and the sale of their own brand products (Athukorala and Ekanayake, 2017; Gereffi and Frederick, 2010). These four business models are not equivalent, but rather a hierarchy – CMT is the lowest in terms of value, and OBM is the highest. Industrial upgrading in the apparel value chain requires countries in the apparel value chain to address a higher level of these business models and develop skills (such as creative, cultural, commercial, and professional) in addition to the basic apparel manufacturing skills (Cattaneo, et al, 2010; Gereffi, 1999; Gereffi and Frederick, 2010).

There are three areas of upgrading in the apparel value chain: environmental, economic, and social development (Khattak, et. al., 2017). Environmental upgrading refers to the improvement of apparel industry performance in terms of environmental impact which is important due to the increasing awareness of environmental impact issues among Western consumers and other stakeholders. Environmental standards are in place to address the issues and are monitored by national and international standards organizations, trade associations and lead firms (Khattak, et. al., 2015). Economic upgrading in the apparel industry refers to when the industry moves from lower value-added CMT business to higher value-added ODM and OEM activities through product, process and management improvements. However, production upgrading through process improvement in the apparel industry often occurs when the dimensions of quality, flexibility and productivity are inspired by Western brands, retailers and buyers (Tokatli, 2013). These management improvements lead to functional upgrading when apparel manufacturers move into higher value-added activities such as design, branding, marketing and retailing. Production upgrading is in the interest of Western brands and buyers, but functional upgrading encroaches on their core competencies (Tokatli, 2013). Therefore apparel manufacturing countries require flexible and cooperative working approaches with Western brands, buyers and retailers.

Apparel Industry: SAR Context

India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, the main SAR apparel manufacturing countries have made considerable investments in manufacturing in the global apparel value chain (exporting 52 percent to the EU and 25 percent to the US) fostering the creation of good jobs for development, as Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2016) indicate. China has been the main competitor (its market share increasing from 25 percent to 41 percent between 2000 and 2012) for SAR apparel manufacturing in the global apparel trade. However, the export apparel production activities in China partly shifted to other regional countries as China shifted production to higher value goods (electronics) in response to a shortage of labour and the higher wages demanded by the apparel industry (Indian Textile Journal,

2016). Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2016) indicate that many US and EU brands and buyers were planning to decrease their market share of sourcing from China between 2012 and 2016 to avoid high dependency on Chinese exports. This potential decrease in Chinese exports created opportunities for the SAR apparel industry. One beneficiary was Bangladesh, because of its cheap labour, and another was SL, because of its capacity for quality and reliability. However, some regional apparel manufacturing countries (e.g. Vietnam) benefited from the availability of trade agreements (e.g. the Trans Pacific Partnership), while the SAR apparel industry was adversely affected by import duties, potentially leading to a higher cost of production. Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2016) argue that the chances of success in surviving in the sector depend on introducing new processes, forms of work organization, and technology, and responding to the fast-changing apparel industry, rather than just offering low cost products.

As mentioned previously, functional upgrading requires design, one of the most important areas of the upgrading (Lee and Gereffi, 2015). Therefore, the SAR apparel industry initiated product development and innovation to move up in the value chain, and organised themselves as a one-stop shop for apparel manufacturing to provide a full package service. As Keane and te Velde (2008) say, industrial upgrading requires a skillful workforce with appropriate design and marketing talents. In particular, SAR identifies the need for fashion education to move up in the value chain, providing higher value design and product development services.

Many scholars affirm that SL fashion education is a globally renowned and prosperous education stream that has rapidly grown over the last two decades (Dutta, 2010; Reddy and Rajaram, 2015). The students undergo fashion design learning, and take an interdisciplinary approach to their studies to develop an open mindset that can challenge the real-life fashion environment, which is fast moving (Dutta, 2010). The study programs offered in fashion education are mostly related to design, technology, and management in the apparel value chain covering vast areas of employment opportunities in the sector. The following section discusses the apparel industry and fashion education evolution in SL and gives a brief overview of the other SAR apparel manufacturing countries, particularly the Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani apparel industries and fashion education establishment in the industrial upgrading.

SAR: Country Review

This section extensively discusses the evolution of SL apparel industry and fashion education as the principle case study, while providing some

overview of other apparel manufacturing countries in SAR: India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan.

Sri Lanka

The SL apparel industry has developed since the 1970s as a part of the global apparel industry shift from East Asia, which relocated the apparel industry to SAR based on quota-hopping⁹ after the liberalization of the SL economy in 1977 (Kelegama, 2009; Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). Wijayasiri and Dissanayake (2008) highlight that apparel production is the largest industrial sector in SL and that it became an important driving force of the economy by means of industrial production, foreign exchange earnings and employment, accounting for approximately 45 percent of total merchandise exports, and approximately USD 3.8 billion export performance in the sector (EDB, 2016). Of all SL's textile and apparel exports, 95% are for prestigious international high street brands (A&F, GAP, M&S, Liz Claiborne, Victoria's Secret, Nike, etc.) as well as high end brands (Pierre Cardin, Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfiger, etc.) accounting for USD 2.1 billion to US, USD 0.8 billion to UK and total of USD 1.1 billion exported to the rest of the world, to countries including Italy, Germany, Belgium, France, Netherlands, Canada, China, and United Arab Emirates, as indicated by EDB (2016).

The country's major export apparel product categories include lingerie, casual wear and sportswear (Khattak, et. al., 2015). Wijayasiri and Dissanayake (2008) highlight that the sector has come a long way from its beginning, and now has a much better international reputation for quality and reliability. The industry is also internationally reputed for ethical manufacturing, free from child or forced labour and sweatshops, and can be branded as "garments without guilt" (Loker, 2010). Despite the SL apparel industry becoming the largest sector in the country, global economic and policy changes (for example the expiration of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement in 2004) and the economic crisis in 2008, made the industry vulnerable in the apparel value chain (Kelegama, 2009).

The end of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement resulted in some SL apparel firms closing down in late 2004. Approximately 700 factories closed down during the period 2001 to 2009 (Khattak, et. al., 2015). However, the GSP scheme came into play in July 2005 (terminated in 2008 and reinstated in May, 2017), so SL firms gained greater apparel export access to the EU (Daily FT 2017b; Kelegama, 2009). Moreover, SAR apparel manufacturing countries

⁹ A practice of avoiding trade quotas by registering a business abroad in order to benefit from another country's quota

including SL benefitted from the trade diversification created by anti-dumping legislation¹⁰ (2005-2008) and anti-dumping regulation (2009-2015), which limits China's ability to grow in the EU and US markets in textiles and clothing (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016).

In 2002, the SL government, together with industry group the Joint Apparel Association Forum, formulated a five year strategy for the apparel industry that was mainly driven by CMT assembly, thus strengthening the uncertain future of the industry (Senanayake, 2013; Wijayasiri and Dissanayake, 2008). The strategic plan highlighted a few key areas, such as backward integration, technology and human resource improvement, trade and labour initiatives, finance, logistics and infrastructure development, and building industry reputation both locally and internationally. It was monitored by a specially appointed task force that consisted of stakeholders including government, and industry associations, as Wijayasiri and Dissanayake (2008) highlight. Upgrading the industry from CMT assembly to fully integrated service provider (Kelegama, 2009) was one of the objectives in the five year strategy, along with focusing on value-added garment manufacturing to cater to premium markets and boost the sector. Putting this strategy into practice, over the last two decades the SL industry has uncompromisingly focused on quality and design to distinguish value addition from the cheap needle notion (Daily FT 2016a; Daily FT 2016b; Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016; Ranaweera, 2014).

MAS holdings, as one of SL's leading manufacturers, is globally recognized as a concept-to-delivery solution provider, specializing in activewear, sportswear and intimate apparel for international brands. It provides a perfect example of forward thinking to diversify the apparel business through design, innovation and constant reinvention within the interactions of the value chain (Daily FT 2016b). MAS's recent global expansion under its on-shore and near-shore strategy commenced manufacturing in Haiti and the US, enabling the organization to react well in a dynamic market environment and deliver swift service through flexibility (Daily News 2016; Daily News 2017). The firm's cutting-edge technology in fashion construction, printing and ultra-modern bonding provide products and services with enhanced design, innovation, and manufacturing excellence (Daily FT 2016b). Hirdaramani, one of SL's established apparel manufacturers, has over a hundred years of good reputation, and has now developed a fully integrated infrastructure to provide end-to-end supply chain solutions to the apparel value chain. It has recently established "The Hub", a new purpose-built

¹⁰ Technical barriers/restrictions against excessive growth of imported products into developed markets.

centre for operations such as information technology, finance, and commercial services (Lanka Business Online 2016). Hirdaramani has international ventures in manufacturing in Bangladesh as well as a recently opened factory in Ethiopia (Daily FT 2017d). Brandix Lanka is also one of the major apparel manufacturers in SL, and has long been considered an inspired solution provider in apparel manufacturing and ancillary services such as research and development, washing, dyeing, finishing and any other quality control services. Brandix, through its international expansion in Brandix India and Bangladesh, provides strong competencies in product development and manufacturing by producing its own fabric, threads, buttons and hangers with state-of-the-art solutions for the entire apparel value chain (Daily FT 2017a). It is the high quality imported fabric that allowed the SL apparel industry to produce high quality value-added apparel for export markets, and hence to become top in production in the region. As Wijayasiri and Dissanayake (2008) affirm, the lack of backward linkages is the greatest weakness that remains in the SL apparel industry. SL textile manufacturing was once mainly focused on the domestic market, but suffered a setback with the removal of import duties in 1996. However, the SL industry's recent international expansions have allowed solutions for backward linkage. The industry also processes imported woven fabric (using innovative dyeing and finishing), and produces and processes knit fabric for local and regional raw material needs (companies such as Brandix Textiles, Teejay, MAS fabric park and Hayleys fabric).

Ellram, et al., (2013) highlight that costs and government trade policies are increasing SL's appeal for Western buyers and retailers offshoring manufacturing in SAR, while risks associated with logistics and supply chain interruptions impede movement of manufacturing to SAR. After thirty years of internal conflicts, the European Commission's assessment of SL's positive transformation in economic, political, and foreign policy has extended GSP+ concessions (Daily FT 2017b; Department of Government Information, 2017), one of the apparel industry's promising international market penetration platforms, which allows business with the EU under preferential treatment, as the Joint Apparel Association Forum indicates (Daily FT 2016c).

Transforming the SL industry into the best in SAR, industry associations, such as SL Apparel Institute, Joint Apparel Association Forum, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, and the Sri Lankan Institute of Textile and Apparel lead the way (Daniel, 2016). The recently introduced South Asian Apparel Leadership Forum has developed a vision to support design and innovation and to position SL as South Asia's design innovation hub; this is

an influential voice for the SL apparel industry's evolution as well as providing strategic direction in the regional industry (Daily FT 2017c).

With regards to apparel and fashion education, SL is known for providing skilled labour for the apparel industry through specific education and training provided at different levels, including degrees specialising in apparel technology, as Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2016: 54) discuss. A shift in the hierarchy of the apparel business model (CMT to ODM), as defined by the strategic plan in 2002, required having expert professionals in design who could offer creative and technical proficiency in ODM.

In 2002, the first fashion design degree program in SL was initiated in the Department of Textile and Clothing Technology, at the University of Moratuwa (Kelegama, 2009), responding to an urgent need in the export apparel industry to harness the design capabilities in the country and support the industry transition through cultivating locally trained designers. The programme was conducted by London College of Fashion (LCF) since 2002 with the support of the SL government (Sunday Times, 2009b). Since then, this programme has each year enabled approximately 40 students from different parts of the country to embark on their professional careers in fashion design and product development. The intention of the programme was to sustain the sector, providing higher value-added services, including design and product development to the apparel value chain, in the post Multi-Fiber Arrangement adverse climate after 2004 (Kelegama, 2009). However, SL trade diversification in 2004/2005 based on global economic and policy changes (MFA, GSP+, anti-dumping regulation), resulted in the SL industry having more employment opportunities for designers.

According to Kelegama (2009), nearly two decades after SL's first textile technologists' graduation (1993) and a decade after SL's first designers graduation (from the University of Moratuwa), fashion and technical studies emerged in the private sector. Between 2000 and 2013, over 600 designers graduated (Senanayake, 2013) and the SL industry is benefitting from developing a higher standard of knowledge in apparel design and technology than anywhere else in the South Asian Region. Additionally, SL-trained professionals with management and expertise in technology and design have made their way to front-end roles in other SAR countries such as Bangladesh (Cassim, 2016). Moreover, the introduction of design, product development, technology, and marketing courses for industry participants partnering with reputed universities and institutes around the world, has had a great impact on the skill enhancement of the employees in the sector (Keane and te Velde, 2008). The introduction of a Graduate Diploma in Apparel Marketing in

2002, collaborating with the Chartered Institute of Marketing-UK, in partnership with North Carolina State University in 1984, under the purview of SL Ministry of Industrial Development, made significant technical upgrades from 1994 to 1999, and with the assistance of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency had a great impact in the industry, as Kelegama (2009) has stated.

Before 2002, design education was accessible to only a few privileged Colombo students who gained fashion education from private institutions and overseas colleges. The Lanka Institute of Fashion Technology was one of these private institutes, established in the early 2000s, offering fashion design diplomas and tailor made courses (Sunday Times, 2009a) in SL. SL's international fashion platforms, such as the Sri Lanka Design Festival (SLDF) and Colombo Fashion Week, enabling locals as well as foreign designers, manufacturers, and suppliers to interact with the country's apparel industry, demonstrating foresight in the evolution of the future fashion business of the country. These platforms have sharpened the manufacturers' hunger for technology and innovation, providing knowledge and networking opportunities that create global relationships in the apparel value chain (Daniel, 2016). Fashion movements, such as "designed and made in Sri Lanka", and "transformation" highlighted by the SLDF, have taken the forefront in revolutionizing the local apparel industry in the international fashion arena (Daily FT 2016a). However, the greater fashion awareness and interest among the general public and fashion industry stakeholders have challenged the assumption of fashion and design as only being relevant to Colombo's elite. Parents looking for the best opportunities and ideal environments for their children to be exposed to the world of fashion began to choose recent establishments such as the Academy of Design (AoD), Raffles Colombo, and not the University of Moratuwa (Dias, 2013).

Current fashion graduation in the country not only feeds into employment in the export apparel industry but is also focused on upgrading the local fashion talents and entrepreneurship that are represented by a number of local fashion brands. Recent work by Senanayake (2013) on SL fashion education affirms that fashion designers have become a strong partner of the emerging creative economy in SL that remains, however, substantially driven by the design-oriented long-established export apparel industry in SL.

India

The apparel and textile sector in India employs approximately 35 million people and is the second largest employer, generating one fifth of export earnings for the country (Chandra, 2005). Das and Ha-Brookshire (2014) say

that the Indian apparel industry has developed since the 1970s and has been an integral part of the Indian economy in terms of providing employment, economic development, and export earnings. The industry accounted for approximately 14 percent of industrial production, 4 percent of the Gross Domestic Product, and 17 percent of the country's export earnings by 2014 (Das and Ha-Brookshire, 2014). The Indian readymade garment industry was one of the main exporters to the EU during the period 1995-2009 (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012: 218). However, Indian apparel manufacturers currently find export challenging, due to the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) of 2009, which eased the regulations on trade between regional countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and SL) to the advantage of countries with cheap labour (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016).

Most competitors in the apparel value chain are adequately producing and selling basic items to meet global trends and demand; however many SAR countries, especially India and SL, concentrate on higher-value exports in relatively smaller quantities but focusing on value additions (though this is not the case in Bangladesh) (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012; 2016). Tokatli (2008) notes that product development with original apparel design as well as sampling has become a source of competitive advantage in industrial upgrading. The Indian fashion industry has higher OBM capabilities, as Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2012) indicate.

The emerging Indian middle income population is a potential market sector for SAR countries to cater to, in respect to the relevant quota of textile and apparel and trade agreements, creating a sectorial balance in trade between SAR countries, as the SL Joint Apparel Association Forum indicates (Daily FT 2016c). Tewari (2006) argues that the demand for ready-to-wear garments caters to middle- and upper-class markets in the Indian apparel industry, and has created a whole new segment in the form of private labels and retailer-driven local supply chains. These in turn fueled the industry's capabilities, enabling increased product diversity, timely delivery, and higher quality production in the value chain (Tewari, 2006).

The textile and apparel education sector in India produces approximately four thousand graduates a year from thirty different programmes (including diploma courses); however, this has been insufficient for bringing the necessary technological change in the sector, according to one study (Chandra, 2005; Department of Higher Education, 2016). Dutta's (2010) study on career aspirations and backgrounds of students opting for fashion education courses in India highlights that students' backgrounds, motivation

and professional aspiration are dominant factors in determining their future career, and hence in choosing their higher education streams. Further, students' own motivation, formed through parental background, friends and media influence, results in choosing fashion careers. However, more fashion awareness is required in propagating the notion that fashion is not just restricted to apparel and the catwalk, thus attracting students to the sector (Dutta, 2010).

In SAR, India has vast networks of educational institutions focused on textile and apparel education. The Indian government's investment in institutions such as the National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT) and various other technical, design, and finishing centres that are emerging in Tirupur and Ludhiana, generate skilled local designers who understand both export and local markets, and hence progressively absorb the new cycles of demand (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016; Tewari, 2006).

Bangladesh

The export oriented apparel industry of Bangladesh was established in the early 1980s and the industry has significantly developed during the last two decades, in the light of the country's cheap labour force and captive market under the quota system (Hasan, 2013; Kabeer and Mahmud, 2004; Mahbub, 2017). The child labour issue in 1994, the end of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement in 2005, and the unfortunate Rana Plaza collapse in 2013 meant that the industry went through vulnerable times. However, with the support of the Bangladeshi government, global brands and international development partners, the industry has successfully faced the challenges (Mahbub, 2017). Now, the industry is the world's second largest apparel exporter (after China) and it accounts for USD 25.5 billion (in 2015) in export earnings in the global market (Masum, 2016). The readymade garment industry in Bangladesh has benefitted from the provision of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement, World Trade Organisation Agreement on Textiles and Clothing and Everything but Arms, and the US 2009 Tariff Relief Assistance (Indian Textile Journal, 2016). During the global economic crisis of 2008, the "Wal-Mart effect" (i.e. consumers substituting products with cheaper ones offered by discount retailers, Wal-Mart is the largest buyer of apparel from Bangladesh) and the "China effect" (i.e. Western brands and buyers shifting production to low cost producers), had positive impacts on increasing apparel exports in Bangladesh, due to its low cost of production (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012).

The industry operates mainly in CMT/OEM business, in low-value basics and casualwear products (Indian Textile Journal, 2016; Keane and te Velde,

2008; Masum, 2016). In the last two decades, the majority of Bangladeshi firms have made progress from CMT to OEM production. However, progress in advancing capabilities of design and branding has been limited (Lopez-Acevedo, et. al, 2016). Beyond the norm of its CMT business, some Bangladeshi companies have moved into higher value retailers and fashion houses and have brought in new knowledge in marketing and fashion design in order to bring higher value addition to production (Indian Textile Journal, 2016). This upgrading in the post-Multi-Fiber Arrangement period still sees a lack of process and functionality, and supply chain challenges related to skills gaps in management, technical knowledge, and fashion design skills (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). Mahbub (2017) argues that the Bangladeshi industry can move up the value chain in two ways: production upgrading through producing higher quality and more complex products, or functional upgrading from apparel contract manufacturing (CMT/OEM) to provide design and product development.

Regionally, India and SL provide competition to the Bangladeshi apparel production in quality and quantity of production. SL regaining GSP+ in May 2017 is expected to have had adverse impacts on Bangladesh's well established EU market (Daily FT 2017b; Indian Textile Journal, 2016). Discussions on Bangladesh's free trade agreements with regional export apparel manufacturing countries (e.g., bilateral trade between SL and Bangladesh) and on industry development (transshipments via Port Kelang, Singapore and Colombo to the US and Europe) are expected to strengthen the regional apparel industry (Global Times, 2016). A recent memorandum of understanding signed by the Sri Lankan Institute of Textiles Authority and the Bangladesh Fashion Design Institute are expected to strengthen the knowledge and skills transfer between the two countries (Presidential Secretariat of Sri Lanka, 2017).

The export apparel industry is buyer driven and depends highly on fashion products being in touch with mainstream trends, so in order to be successful constant market research is essential. Developing expert professionals and facilitating the adoption of technology in the industry are vital for Bangladesh to improve its productivity and product quality to compete regionally, if not globally (Yunus and Yamagata, 2012). The apparel industry in Bangladesh employs approximately 3.1 million workers, including approximately 17,000 skilled expatriates, mainly from China, India, Korea, Pakistan, the Philippines, Taiwan, Turkey and SL. Many of those are in the design and product development professions. However, workers in the industry are mostly women with little education or training. Therefore, the uneven number of unskilled labourers results in low

productivity and comparatively expensive apparel products (Indian Textile Journal, 2016).

The Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMA), first established in 2000, promotes fashion education in Bangladesh to produce skilled labour for the industry at both graduate and undergraduate levels (Yunus and Yamagata, 2012). Currently, approximately five hundred designers graduate each year from ten different institutions in Bangladesh, and work across the sector in design, product development, and technology. The National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT), *Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association* (BGMEA) University of Fashion & Technology (BUFT), Bangladesh University of Textiles, and the Chittagong *BGMEA* Institute of Fashion and Technology are some of the key institutions among them. In addition, Bangladeshi apparel manufacturing companies are setting up training centres in collaboration with national and international organisations to combat the shortage of skilled labour in manufacturing and marketing operations (Mahbub, 2017).

Pakistan

The knitwear apparel industry was the first to develop in Pakistan, under the Multi-Fiber Arrangement, which came into being in 1974, when substantial US quotas were offered (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). The textile and apparel sector represents 54 percent (2011/12) of Pakistan's total exports, while contributing 15 percent to the GDP (Hamid, et al., 2014; Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). The textile industry (mainly cotton and yarn production) has been at the forefront of Pakistan's industrialization since the 1990s (Hamid, et. al., 2014), sharing a major portion of the world's cotton and textile exports (China is Pakistan's third largest market for cotton yarn exports, accounting for 80 percent of exports to China in 2012). Even though Pakistan's export apparel industry has not had a great impact on global apparel consumption, because of the end of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement in 2005, economic recession 2008, and the post 9/11 security environment, the apparel industry in Pakistan has been affected as Hamid et. al., (2014) indicate.

Recent research demonstrates that the apparel industry in Pakistan is enjoying the benefits of GSP+ offered (in 2014) by the EU, and the "China effect" is also benefiting the industry (Hamid et al., 2014). According to Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2012), Pakistan sits in between CMT and OEM, but has a higher potential of OEM business because of the factors of cost competitiveness and reliability of compliance. Pakistan specializes in

basic cotton, woven denim, and chino trousers, low-priced knitwear such as polo shirts and T-shirts, and fleece sweatshirts. Pakistani exports have increased at a higher rate than the world average, as indicated by Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2016).

The Pakistani textile industry provides around 2.5 million direct employment opportunities, including 2 million in the apparel sector (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). In 2009, the Pakistani government initiated a five year plan to revitalize the textile and apparel industry, supporting the manufacturers through the effects of recession in 2008 (Cattaneo, et. al, 2010). However, political instability, low productivity, lack of design, fashion, technology and global market knowledge and supporting resources (research and relevant training) have been the main challenges in the industry as Cattaneo, et. al., 2010) state. The fashion technology and management skill gap of the industry in Pakistan is more severe than in the competitor countries in SAR (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012). Cross country evaluation of human resources indicates that education in Pakistan up to university/college level in the apparel sector is generally poor, while in India, Bangladesh, and SL it is considered to be generally good in the region (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012: 433).

“Talking Fashion: Policy, Infrastructure and Sustainability” was a forum held by the Fashion Pakistan Council to look at the prospects of fashion exports and at the nascent Pakistani fashion industry as a business from an international standpoint (Rehaman, 2015). Following this, the establishment of new fashion schools dedicated to the export apparel industry was announced and a government driven memorandum of understandings with international partners (e.g. with Korea in establishing the Garment Technology Training Centre in Karachi), to provide vocational training and development for industry professionals and machine operators (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012; Rehaman, 2015).

Textile design study has been evolving in Pakistan since the 1950s (Hameed and Umer, 2017). After the establishment of the Pakistani Higher Education Commission (PHEC) in 2000, education programmes were reformed with input from various experts in industry and academia. As a result, many new programmes were proposed in fashion design, fashion marketing and merchandising (Hameed and Umer, 2017). Currently, about five major Pakistani institutions are producing graduates in fashion, textile design and apparel technology, and PHEC undertakes reviewing and revamping curricula at regular intervals involving universities, research and development institutions and the local Chamber of Commerce and Industry

to standardise fashion education (fashion design, textile design, fashion marketing and merchandising) up to international levels. Therefore, qualifications held by Pakistani fashion graduates are now recognised internationally (Ali, 2010; Hameed and Umer, 2017).

SAR: Cross-country Comparison

This section compares the SAR apparel industry by country: SL, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Through the synthesis of literature, the figures of this section were created to demonstrate the strengths and contributions of each SAR country to the apparel value chain.

Table 2 compares the SAR apparel industry by country. Particularly in SAR, SL holds an important role in high quality apparel production. The country's excellent fashion and apparel education, through specific training, including degrees in technology and design provided by both the private and the public sectors, has resulted in outstanding labour input from which the industry benefits through product value addition in design and product development. However, SL holds no significant global market share as the country is focusing on niche and fashion-oriented items. In contrast, Bangladesh contributes a higher percentage to global apparel exports than any other country in the region, while contributing a significant amount to the country's GDP. Both Bangladesh (chiefly apparel manufacturing) and Pakistan (chiefly raw material manufacturing), as active participants in the apparel value chain, require further work on coordinating policies in order to enhance skills in the sector and move to higher levels in the value chain to provide value added services. Evidence indicates that within SAR, India significantly contributes to the apparel value chain in terms of providing value additions. India has a vast network of institutions focused on textile and apparel education, but the industry transition requires bringing more export and local market knowledge to progressively absorb the new cycles of demand.

Figure 1 indicates the shift in apparel exports (during 1995-2009) of SAR countries by value (in USD billion) based on data obtained from Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2012). SAR apparel export to the US during this period has shown a decline, while export to the EU has significantly increased, and the GSP scheme mostly helped SAR countries to access the EU market (Kelegama, 2016). Figure 1 shows higher numbers of apparel exports from Bangladesh for both the US and EU during the given period. However, the most recent data depicts the EU as the principal recipient of garments from Bangladesh for 61 percent of its exports (57 percent in 2009) (Indian Textile Journal, 2016).

Figure 2 highlights the SAR apparel industry business hierarchy by country, CMT being the lowest in terms of value and the OBM being the highest as per data from Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson (2012). The industry has shifted from CMT to ODM and OBM business models through production and functional upgrading, as Tokatli (2013) indicates. Bangladesh mainly represents the high-volume business (CMT/OEM) in the apparel value chain, while SL and India chiefly cater to the niche and higher value-added business. Pakistan’s textile industry conducts successful business in SAR, while the apparel manufacturing industry is largely at a rudimentary (CMT) level.

Figure 1 SAR Apparel export for US and EU; Image: Gopura, 2018

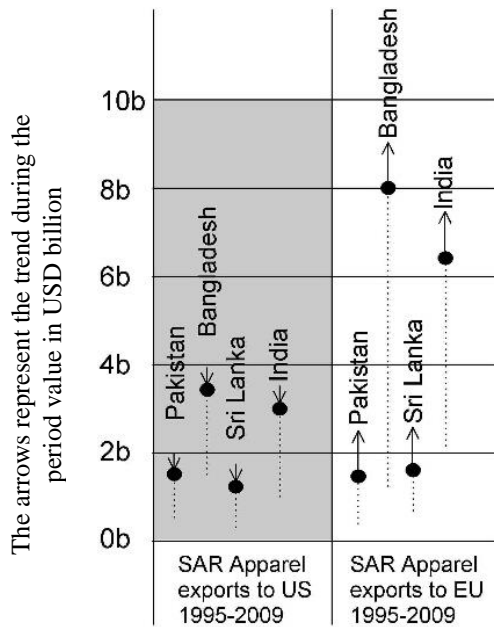


Figure 2 The hierarchy of apparel manufacturing in SAR; Image: Gopura, 2018

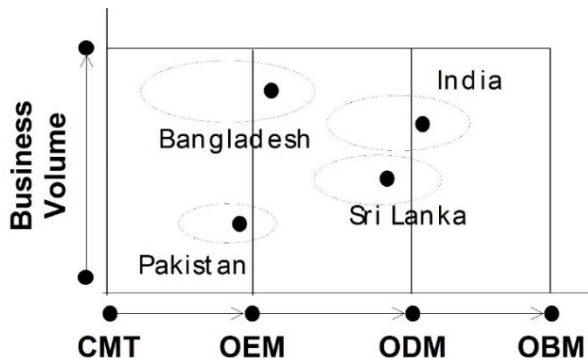


Table 2 SAR Cross Country Comparison (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2012; Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016; Ruwanpura, 2015)

	India	Bangladesh	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Population	1.25b	157m	182m	20m
Apparel industry employment	35m (2009)	3.1m (2009)	2.5m (2009)	.28m (2009)
GDP contribution	4% (2015)	18% (2013)	8.5 % (2013)	9%(2009)
Exports EU/US (2009)	54.2%/ 25.7%	57.1%/ 24.7%	43.4%/ 43.6%	51%/ 36%
Contribution to global apparel exports	3.5% (2012)	6.4% (2014)	1.2% (2012)	1.2% (2012)
Apparel shares to total exports (2012)	5%	83%	19 %	45 %
Major products	Cotton products including knit and woven tops, skirts, men's bottoms, and embellished and embroidered apparel.	Basic commodity items mainly made from cotton, including trousers, knit and woven shirts, and sweaters/sweatshirts.	Basic cotton and woven fabric, denim, and chino trousers, low-priced knitwear such as polo shirts, T-shirts, fleece sweatshirts.	More niche and fashion-oriented items. Intimate apparel, sport/ activewear, swimwear, trousers.
Industry investments	Dominated by locally owned firms (FDI less than 1%)	Over 90% locally owned firms	Dominated by locally owned firms (FDI less than 2%)	Owned by both joint ventures and domestically owned firms
Product cost	Middle unit values	Lowest unit values	Lowest unit values	Highest unit values
Machine operator skills level	Weak	Modest	Weak	Strong
Lead time and reliability	Weak	Weak	Weak	Modest
Social compliance/ sustainability	Weak	Weak	Weak	Strong
Hierarchy	OEM/ODM	Mainly CMT/OEM	Mainly CMT	CMT/OEM/ODM
Establishment	1970s	Started 1970-1980s	1970s	1970s

Figure 3 SAR Contribution in the Apparel Value Chain Process;
Image: Gopura, 2018

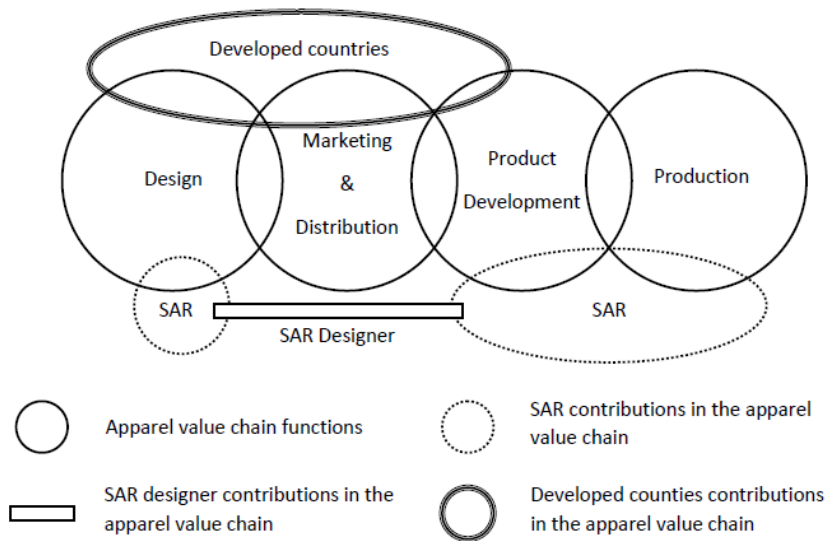
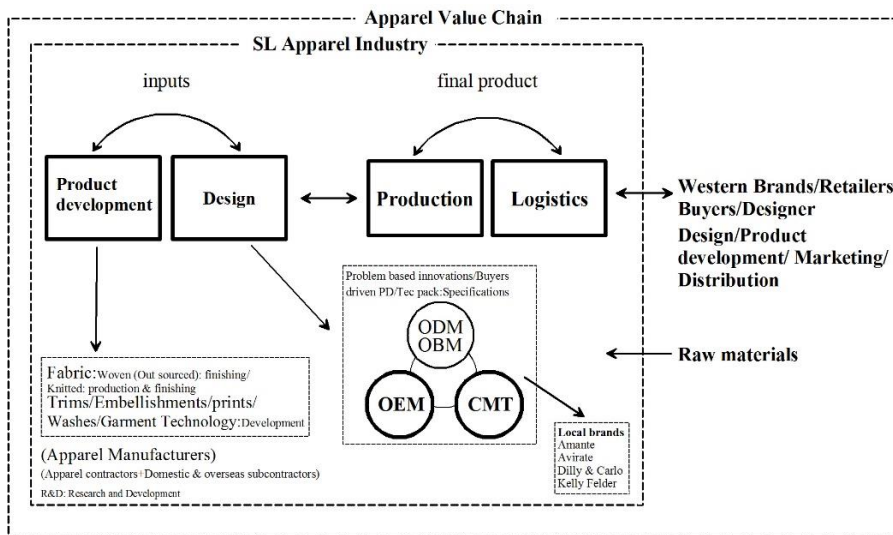


Figure 3 highlights the current participation of SAR in apparel value chain activities, indicating the design, product development, and production contributions based on data from Gereffi and Fernandez-Stark (2016) and Athukorala and Ekanayake (2017). The developed countries in the apparel value chain chiefly hold higher value functions such as design, marketing and distribution, while involving themselves in product development activities in conjunction with SAR companies. The SAR countries mainly hold lower value product development and production functions; however, they are involved in some forms of design activities in collaboration with Western brands, buyers and retailers, while moving into higher business models (ODM/ODM). In particular, SL, through high quality fashion and apparel education, produces expert professionals for the country who support the industry transition, while fashion and apparel education in other SAR countries remains at a moderate level. Designers in SAR work as a bridge between design and product development activities in the apparel value chain.

Figure 4 indicates the current position of the SL apparel industry in SAR. The industry has initiated providing design (ODM) and product development services in parallel with the CMT and OEM production, supported by a strong technical background and good design capabilities.

Figure 4 SAR Contribution in the Apparel Value Chain Process;
Image: Gopura, 2018



In the SL industry's product development, production upgrading, as Tokatli (2013) says, mainly coordinates and develops Western buyer driven tech packs (in CMT & OEM, process) while integrating design and problem based developments (innovation) related to fabric, prints, embellishments, washing and finishing and garment technology as a value added service for Western buyers and retailers. Nonetheless, SL is investing heavily in logistics and technology for production to compete with CMT and OEM business in SAR. The SL export apparel industry is regarded as less competitive in costs, but highly valued for other factors such as quality, reliability, and social compliance, which are important to Western buyers and brands that offshore their manufacturing (Ellram, Tate and Petersenc 2013; Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016).

Conclusion

The global apparel industry has been shifting around the world due to the influences of global economic policy changes. The industry is currently widespread across many developing nations that contribute to the apparel value chain process while the US, EU and Japan mainly consume global apparel production. Developing countries make a labour contribution to the value chain, while developed countries contribute their knowledge. In turn, both parties economically and socially benefit from the apparel value chain. However, the manufacturing sector reveals hierarchical imbalance based on

the core competencies of each country participating in the apparel value chain process.

From the literature, it can be noted that the SAR apparel industry was established in the 1970s and 80s. After approximately four decades, the countries have gained advantages from the apparel value chain in various ways based on the country strengths, availability of resources and geographical location. For example, Bangladesh, because of the availability of cheap labour, has taken over the higher quantity related apparel business from the value chain, while SL and India have developed to provide higher quality related apparel manufacturing and product development services. Pakistani core competencies have been developed to provide higher quality raw materials (mainly fabric) for the apparel value chain, while its apparel manufacturing has remained at more modest levels.

The literature of SAR apparel and fashion education notes that regional governments and industry policy decisions on the timely establishment of fashion and apparel education have had a significant impact on industry transition to higher value-added production. It is noted that SL quality fashion education results in skillful design and product development professionals supporting the value chain process, leading to production upgrading. India has a vast educational network in fashion and apparel education — much larger than in Bangladesh. Pakistan needs to strengthen and coordinate the policies of fashion and apparel education to suit current industry needs. With highly recognized competencies in quality, technical and ethical apparel manufacturing through design and product development value additions, the SL apparel industry provides a model for other apparel manufacturing countries in SAR for industry transition.

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Influence of the Philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism on Mādhyamika and Yogācāra

Chin Bee Len¹

This research points out the influence of the philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism on Mādhyamika and Yogācāra in order to show the interrelationship between them. The contributions of the special reference include: the influence of philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism (early Indian Buddhist schools on Mādhyamika and Yogācāra; how Mādhyamika and Yogācāra derived their tenets from the philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism, and further expanded and elaborated them and led to the efflorescence of the principal teachings of the Buddha. It is concluded that the philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism has played a key role to influence the development of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, and later, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra further established and led to the efflorescence of the principal teachings of the Buddha

Keywords: *Nikāya Buddhism, Mādhyamika, Emptiness, Yogācāra, Consciousness.*

The Emergence of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra

According to *Vasumitra's treatise*, the emergence period of early Buddhist Indian Schools (Nikāya Buddhism) started from about a hundred and odd years to the beginning of the 4th century after the demise of the Buddha. At that time, there was no distinction between Great vehicle (*Mahāyāna*) and Lesser vehicle (*Hīnayāna*), because the *Mañjuśrī-paripṛccha Sūtra* mentions that the followers of all the 20 Schools, could eventually attain Arahantship. Later, the term “*Hīnayāna*” is used to refer to Early Buddhist schools by the Mahāyānist (Sheng, 1997: 167). Lesser Vehicle is applied to the *Śrāvakayāna* (vehicle of listeners), the Buddhist path followed by a *śrāvaka* who wishes to become an Arahant. In contrast, the Mahāyānists who wish to become a Buddha followed the Bodhisattva path. In 1950 the World Fellowship of Buddhists declared that the term “*Hīnayāna*” should not be used when referring to any form of Buddhism existing today. According to Williams (2005), the deep-rooted misconception concerning an unfailing, ubiquitous fierce criticism of the Lesser Vehicle by the Mahāyāna is not supported by their texts. He states that while evidence of

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conflict is present in some cases, there is also substantial evidence demonstrating peaceful coexistence between the two traditions (Williams, 2005: 43).

The pilgrim I-Tsing (671-695 A.C.) states that those practitioners who worshipped the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahāyāna Sūtras were called the Mahāyānists, but those who did not do so were called the Hīnayānists. According to I-Tsing, there are two Buddha systems: one is the Mādhyamika (of Nāgārjuna) and the other is Yogācāra (of Asaṅga). The Mādhyamika professes that what is commonly called existence is in reality non-existence, and every object is but an empty show, like an illusion. In contrast, the Yogācāra affirms that there exist no external things in reality, in inward thoughts, and all things exist only in the mind. He attempts to harmonize the two extreme vehicles (*yānas*), pointing out some facts common to both, such as adoption of the same discipline (*vinaya*) and the same prohibitions of the five groups of offences (*skandhas*) and also practice of the Four Noble Truths.²

The *Kathāvatthu* mentions the proposition of the *Mahā-suññavādin* or *Vetulyakas* showing the relation with the Mahāyāna. The philosophy of Mādhyamika is called Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and some of the early Mahāyāna scriptures are called *Vetulya*.³ Some of the early Indian Buddhist Schools, after coming into contact with Mahāyāna Buddhism, adopted its customs, or at all events, studied its system along with their own. For instance, the *Mahābodhi-vihara* in Gayā, adheres to the Sthaviravāda School, yet it also belongs to the Mahāyāna; the surrounding circumstances may have occasioned like this (Takakusu, 1982). The Mahāsaṃghika and its subdivisions in South India and Sthaviravāda's subdivision of Sarvāstivāda in Northwest India were more liberal. They emphasized on preaching the dharma to the laity; therefore, the dharma was again flourishing, which was called Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Mahāsaṃghikas gradually synthesized with the Mahāyāna. The Sarvāstivāda of Northwest India also had also produced many great Mahāyāna masters (Sheng, 1997: 168).

² I-Tsing. tr. Junjiro Takakusu (1982) 2nd ed. *A Record of Buddhist Religion: As Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd: 14-15.

³ *Kathāvatthu*, (2010). tr. Shew Zan Aung and Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy*, Bristol: The Palu Text Society. xxvi.

According to Ven. Yin Shun (1978), Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism is divided into three trends: (1) the early period of Ven. Nāgārjuna “Characteristic emptiness of provisional name concept” - established the Mādhyamika ; (2) the middle period of Ven. Asaṅga “Illusory nature of consciousness” - established the Yogācāra; and (3) the latest stage “True consistency of mind concept”.⁴

Early Indian Buddhist Schools were derived from the principal teachings of the Buddha. Later, early Mahāyāna Buddhism emerged in about the first or second century A.C. Mahāyāna Buddhism continued the philosophy of early Indian Buddhist Schools and they developed and revived the fundamental spirit of the Buddha’s teaching. Mahāyāna maintains the principal teachings of the Buddha (Three Characteristics of existence) to emphasize the aim of salvation of all sentient beings – the concept of the path of Bodhisattva came to be based on Bodhicitta (Sheng, 1997: 180).

The Influence of the Philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism on Mādhyamika

The influence of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Perfection of Wisdom) on Mādhyamika developed the foundation of the dependent origination and intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) philosophy of Mādhyamika. It can be referred to as the Middle way because it does not hold any extreme views, especially those of externalism or annihilationism. This School of philosophy and its subdivisions are called "*Madhyamaka*"; those who follow it are called "*Mādhyamikas*". However, a member of the Sanskrit Commission set up by the Indian government in 1959, advocated the use of "*Madhyamika* " on all occasions.

The philosophy of *prajñāpāramitā* implicitly contains the roots leading to the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The *prajñāpāramitā* derived the concept from Mahāsamghika “Present has the substance”, and from this is derived the basic concept of dependent origination. According to the *Kathāvatthu* 19.2, the Andhaka School suggests that “emptiness” is included in the aggregates of mental co-efficient, which is the theory that shows the relationship between dependent origination and emptiness.⁵ The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK), *Fundamental Verses on the Middle Way* of Mādhyamika School, is the best known work of master Nāgārjuna.

⁴ Ven. Yin Shun. (1978) *印度之佛教* Indian Buddhism:1-12.
http://yinshun-edu.org.tw/Master_yinshun/y33_01.

⁵ (See *Kathāvatthu*: The void is absence of soul, which is salient feature of the five aggregates -mind and body - Nibbāna itself. p.335); (See Sheng Yan: 187).

According to Kalupahana (1994), *MMK* is not only a grand commentary on the Buddha's discourse to Kaccāyana,⁶ the only discourse cited by name, but also a detailed and careful analysis of most of the important discourses included in the *Nikāyas* and the *Āgamas*, especially those of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Sutta-nipāta*.

Ven. Thanissaro Bhikkhu quotes some of the Theravāda Suttas from the *Nikāyas* showing the three perspective approach of emptiness. (1) As a meditative dwelling, *Cūlasuññata Sutta* M.N 121, the Buddha says that by not attending to any themes and by releasing all mental fermentation, the Buddha enters and remains in internal emptiness, liberation of the void (*Suññatā-vihāra*).⁷ (2) As an attribute of objects, *Kaccānagotta Sutta* S.N 12.15 points out, when one no longer latches into any idea of "self", one sees phenomena within and without simply as examples of stress arising and passing away. The right discernment on existence and non-existence is related to the origination and cessation of the world.⁸ (3) As a type of awareness-release, *Āneñjasappāya Sutta* M.N 106 further adds that if one frequently abides in the emptiness awareness-release, one may either attain the dimension of nothingness – one of the formless states – or be committed to the discernment that will lead to Awakening. It is important to remember that in the course of practice, all three meanings are related and all will inevitably play a role in awakening.⁹

Ven. Nāgārjuna wrote the *MMK* to view the five aggregates (*pañca-skandhāḥ*) and eighteen elements, showing the relationship between Dependent origination and the Middle Path. With that dependent origination is the characteristic and emptiness could be found through the observing four noble truths. This means impermanence and non-self of causal conditions (*hetu pratyaya*). We can trace this theory the *Samyukta-Āgama*. The Buddha said, “The noble disciples viewed form (*rūpa*) as non-self, as not distinct from the self, non-existence of appearance, which is called the real contemplation of reality. Likewise, sensation (*vedanā*),

⁶ *Samyutta Nikāya*, (2000). tr. Bhikkhu Bodhi. 12.15 *Kaccānagotta Sutta*:(on Right View), Boston: Wisdom Publication: 544.

⁷ M.N 121 *Cūlasuññata Sutta*, translated from the Pāli by Thanissaro Bhikkhu. Access to Insight (Legacy Edition), (30th Nov 2013), <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/mn/mn>.

⁸ S.N 12.15. *Kaccānagotta Sutta*: 544.

⁹ M.N 106 *Āneñjasappāya Sutta*: 870-871.

perception (*saṃjñā*), mental formations (*saṃskāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*) show emptiness.” It is the meaning of middle path.¹⁰

The content of *MMK* shows its relationship to the principal teachings of early Buddhism such as the Four Noble Truths, five aggregates, elements, etc. The concepts in the content of *MMK* are related to the notions of early Indian Buddhist Schools.

The Content of the *MMK* text of Mādhyamika

1. *Pratyayaparīkṣā*: Analysis of conditions
2. *Gatāgataparīkṣā*: Analysis of going and not going
3. *Cakṣurādīndriyaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the eye and the other sense-organs
4. *Skandhaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the aggregates
5. *Dhātuparīkṣā*: Analysis of the *dhatūs* (constituents)
6. *Rāgaraktaparīkṣā*: Analysis of passion and the impassioned
7. *Samṣkṛtaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the conditioned
8. *Karmakāraparīkṣā*: Analysis of action and actor
9. *Pūrvaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the past
10. *Agnīndhanaparīkṣā*: Analysis of fire and fuel
11. *Pūrvaparakoṭīparīkṣā*: Analysis of past and future limits
12. *Duḥkhoparīkṣā*: Analysis of suffering
13. *Samṣkāraparīkṣā*: Analysis of disposition
14. *Samṣargaparīkṣā*: Analysis of admixture
15. *Svabhāvaparīkṣā*: Analysis of being or essence
16. *Bandhanamokṣaparīkṣā*: Analysis of bondage and liberation
17. *Karmaphalaparīkṣā*: Analysis of action and its fruit
18. *Ātmaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the soul.
19. *Kālaparīkṣā*: Analysis of time
20. *Sāmagrīparīkṣā*: Analysis of holism
21. *Samḥavavibhavaparīkṣā*: Analysis of becoming and un-becoming
22. *Tathāgataparīkṣā*: Analysis of the *Tathāgata*
23. *Viparyāsaparīkṣā*: Analysis of Error
24. *Āryasatyaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the Noble Truths
25. *Nirvāṇaparīkṣā*: Analysis of *Nirvāṇa*
26. *Dvādaśāṅgaparīkṣā*: Analysis of the twelvefold chain (of dependent origination)

¹⁰ 中論》以觀五陰十八界法等法，以示緣起中道。例如以觀四諦而成立之緣起「性空」（沒有自體性）《雜阿含經》：「多聞聖弟子於色見非我，不異我、不常在，是名如實正觀；受、想、行、識亦復如是。」之中道義也。 Saṃyukta-Āgama, Taisho Tripitaka, (2), No. 99: 0015a04.

27. *Drṣṭiparīkṣā*: Analysis of views.¹¹

Verse15:10 explains *Svabhāvaparīkṣā*: analysis of being or essence

अस्तीति शाश्वतग्राहो नास्तीत्युच्चेददर्शनं

astīti śāśvatagrāho nāstītyuccedadarśanam

To say "it is" is to grasp for permanence. To say "it is not" is to adopt the view of nihilism.

तस्माद् अस्तित्वनास्तित्वे नाश्रीयेत विचक्षणः।

tasmād astitvanāstitve nāśrīyeta vicakṣaṇaḥ

Therefore, a wise person does not say "exists" or "does not exist" (Garfield, 1995: 40).

As Kalupahana (1992:120) says, Master Nāgārjuna applied the Buddha's theory of "dependent arising" (*pratītya-samutpada*), and demonstrated the futility of metaphysical speculations. His method of dealing with such metaphysics is referred to as "middle way" (*madhyama pratipad*) to avoid the substantialism of the Sarvāstivādins as well as the nominalism of the Sautrāntikas. In *MMK*, Nāgārjuna insisted that all experienced phenomena are empty. This did not mean that they are not experienced... only that they are devoid of a permanent and eternal substance (*svabhāva*). Since they are experienced, they are mere names (*prajñāpti*) (Kalupahana, 1992:120).

According to Nakamura (2002), the Sarvāstivāda focuses on the center of all the Abhidharma of early Buddhist schools in various investigations and considerations. *MMK* has the aim of refuting these doctrines, such as the metaphysical entity called dharma, postulation of 5 parts of 75 dharmas, existence of dharmas in all three times and that the dharma entity is eternal etc. The concept of eternal existence view is the opposite view of annihilation or nihilistic view which overlaps with the execution and it has a contradictory point that departs from the true meaning of the teaching of the Buddha.

¹¹ The Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae (Buddhist literature sentence by sentence in Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan, English, etc. University of Oslo. (10th Oct 2014). <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=library&bid>.

The Philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism related to *śūnyatā* of Mādhyamika

Some scholars believe that the following concepts of early Buddhist schools influence the concept of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of master Nāgārjuna. We assume that these concepts provide a link to further development that – all phenomena of existence are characterized by emptiness (*sarvadharmāḥ śūnyatālakṣaṇā*, 无相皆空论) – concept of Nāgārjuna.

1. The concept of root consciousness (*mūlavijñāna*) of Mahāsaṃghika (生起六識的根本識): It is the original consciousness or the root consciousness. The root consciousness causes the emergence of the six consciousnesses. (*ṣaḍ-vijñānāni*).
2. The Mahāsaṃghika's concept of Temporary nature of material dharma: The present has substantial form, but the past and the future do not have substances. They believe at this moment (*kṣaṇika*) of the present, is authentic existence, but as for the past it has already gone by and the future has not come into being yet (Sheng, 1997, 208:124-5).
3. The Lokottaravāda's concept of the supermundane: According to Tan Kuang, they believe that since the mundane phenomena are distorted; therefore, there are unreal. In contrast, the supermundane dharmas are real.¹² The supermundane dharma is attained through the Four Noble Truths, by following the path; eventually, one can achieve the fruition, which is also called Nibbāna.
4. The Ekavyavahārika's concept of unreal or illusory dharma: All phenomena have no substance or are illusions. They believed all dharma is illusion, without real substance. It is unreal dharma. Some of the modern scholars consider this sect has some similarities with the theory of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, “signless or non-appearance (*animitta*) are all empty phenomena” and the theory advocated by Nāgārjuna “All the phenomena of thusness dharma” (*sarva-dharma-tathatā*, 诸法实相论).¹³
5. The Bahuśrūtiya's concept of the supermundane: The five sounds are supermundane because it leads to emancipation; the others are mundane dharma (*laukikaśāsana*). The teaching of the Buddha on the following five themes or five sounds is supermundane teaching (*lokottara-sāsana*) because these five lead to the path of emancipation (*nihsaraṇamārga*):

¹² Mañjuśrī-paripṛccha Sūtra, T14. No. 0468:0501. b05. (See Pachow: 285).

¹³ Pachow, W. (1992). tr. A Study of the Twenty-Two Dialogues on Mahayana Buddhism (of Tan Kuang), Taiwan: Tungchu Publishing CO. Taipei: 285. (See Sheng Yan: 113-114).

- (1) transitoriness (*anityata*), (2) suffering (*duḥkha*), (3) void (*śūnya*), (4) non-ego (*anātman*), (5) *Nirvāṇa*, the quietude (*śānta*).¹⁴
6. The Prajñāptivāda's concept of unreality: Both Mundane and supramundane dharmas have certain amount of unreality. If one side of phenomena is real, the other side is unreal (Pachow, 1992:287).
 7. The Sarvāstivāda's concept of *śūnyatā* (voidness) and non-desire (*apraṇihita*). Man can enter the *samyaktva-niyāma* (the first stage of *darśana-mārga*) through (practicing) the two (kinds of) meditation (*samādhi*), voidness (*śūnyatā*) and non-desire (*apraṇihita*); one gets into the *samyaktva-niyāma* through meditation on desire (*kāma-loka*) (in four different ways).
 8. The Theravāda's concept of three kinds of meditation: on emptiness (*suññatā*), signless (*animitta*) and desireless (*appaṇihita*).¹⁵

The above phenomenological concepts of Nikāya Buddhism show the diverse interpretations which are related to the mundane and supermundane dharma. It is assumed that these concepts might have influenced Ven. Nāgārjuna to advocate the concept of Mādhyamika.

The Philosophy of Dependent Origination (*śūnyatā*) of Mādhyamika

According to Mādhyamik, all phenomena (*dharmas*) are empty (*śūnyatā*) of "nature", a "substance" (*svabhāva*) which gives them solid and independent existence, because they are dependently co-arisen. This "emptiness" itself is also "empty": it does not have an existence on its own, nor does it refer to a transcendental reality beyond or above phenomenal reality (Garfield, 1994).

Ven. Nāgārjuna may have arrived at his positions from a desire to achieve a consistent exegesis of the Buddha's doctrine as recorded in the *Āgamas*. He considers that the Buddha was not only a forerunner, but also the founder of the Mādhyamika system (Lindtner, 1997:324). Kalupahana (2005) sees Nāgārjuna as a successor to Moggaliputta-tissa in being a champion of the middle-way and a reviver of the original philosophical ideals of the Buddha.

¹⁴ Vasumitra's Treatise of Hsuan Chwang, (1925) tr. Jiryo Masuda, Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools: 35-36.

¹⁵ D.N Sangīti Sutta: 486.

The Eight Negatives

The principal philosophy of Nāgārjuna is in the 8 negatives and with the Two Truths. After the comprehension of these concepts, those who are interested can study the “analysis of action and its fruition” till the “analysis of wrong view” of *MMK*.

Master Nāgārjuna describes the dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) by means of 8 negatives which are presented by four groups of eight negatives:

- (1) neither origination nor cessation,
- (2) neither permanence nor impermanence,
- (3) neither unity nor diversity, and,
- (4) neither coming in nor going out, which is the law of dependent origination.

The expounding of the 8 negatives concept was based on the nature of dependent origination of dharma, which is emptiness. Emptiness means middle path which has no hindrances and does not even have emptiness. In brief, the middle path for the non-acceptance of the two views is related to the concept of neither reality nor non-reality of the world, but only relatively. In common, people observe the conditions of the world and apply it to concepts of origination and cessation, permanence and impermanence, unity and diversity, coming and going. They use these as fixed concepts; therefore, the ordinary person has the concept of self-persistence, likewise the heretical practitioners' view as permanence or impermanence. However, from the perspective of dependent origination in observing the reality of the world, there is neither origination nor cessation, neither permanence nor impermanence. Consequently, it cannot be said that there is unity or diversity, or coming or going (Sheng, 1997).

Dependent Origination and Non-origination (*anutpāda*)

Throughout the *MMK*, Nāgārjuna emphasizes the notion of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) by observing the fact that things originate in dependence on causes (*hetu*) and conditions (*pratyaya*). *MMK* 24-18 verse states: “What dependent origination is, that we call emptiness (*śūnyatā*).” That is dependent designation (*prajñaptir upādāya*); precisely that is the middle way.” It is commonly known that Dependent origination is a fundamental doctrine in early Buddhism. For instance, in the *Mahānidāna Sutta* of the D.N, the Buddha says, “Ānanda, this dependent origination is profound and looks profound.” Similarly, *Mahāhatthinpadopama Sutta* of M.N 28 mentions, “He who sees

dependent origination sees the dharma; he who sees the dharma sees dependent origination.”

Master Nāgārjuna not only mentions dependent origination but also mentions non-origination (*anutpāda*). He states that dependent origination is characterized by non-origination. According to William (2005), this seems to be a flat contradiction. If so, it is a contradiction which Nāgārjuna as a Mahāyānist cannot escape, for the Mahāyāna Sūtras, especially those of the *prajñāpāramitā* class are full of references to the non-origination of all dharmas (William, 2005). In Buddhism the term “*anutpāda*” refers to the absence of an origin (*śūnyatā*). Besides, it also means that the dharmas, the constituting elements of reality, do not come into existence (King, 1995).

Ven. Buddhapālita deals with the apparent contradiction between dependent origination and non-origination. He mentions that the supremely profound ultimate truth (*paramārtha-satya*) is called “dependent origination”, “One who sees the unreal is bound; one who sees the real is liberated.” A thing that has originated in dependence on causes and conditions implies that it has no intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*). As its existence depends on things other than itself, it is nothing in itself when it is considered in isolation from everything else.

The Two Truths

MMK deals with two kinds of truth: conventional (*saṃvṛti-satya*) and transcendental or ultimate truth (*paramārtha-satya*). The former refers to ignorance or delusion which envelops reality and gives a false impression, while the latter is the realization that worldly things are non-existent like an illusion. Viewing from the relative standpoint (*saṃvṛti*), dependent origination explains worldly phenomena, but looked from the absolute standpoint (*paramārtha*); it means non-origination (*anutpāda*) at all times and is equated with *śūnyatā* or *Nirvāṇa* (Bapat, 1996).

The Two Truths explains that dependent origination dharma is void. It is just as a false name for the purposes of convenience. The meaning of the Middle path is based on the dependent origination of “ultimate truth” to penetrate the truth of the world which is empty and no self-nature can be obtained. In contrast, conventional truth is still dependent origination of

existence.¹⁶ Buddhapālita states that the reality of things is the absence of essence.¹⁷

According to Nakamura (2004:255), the Buddhist term “*paramārthasatya*” ultimate truth is identified with *anutpāda* (non-origination). The term “*paramārtha*” is a synonym for *tattva*, *tathatā*, *śūnyatā*, *animitta*, *bhūtakoti*, and *dharmadhātu*. If one understands emptiness (*śūnyatā*), non-origination and dependent arising, he or she could realize the ultimate truth and gain *Nirvāṇa*, liberation.

The Genealogy of Mādhyamika School

The Early period of Mādhyamika’s philosophy was established by master Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. Ven. Nāgārjuna (150 - 250 A.C.) is the founder of the Mādhyamika . The master Nāgārjuna, born in Vidarbha (Berar), was ordained at Nālanda and learnt under Sāraha Brahmin and Rahulabhadra. He obtained the One Hundred thousand of *prajñāpāramitākārikā* from the dragon (*Nāgā*) region. It is said that master Nāgārjuna was influenced by the Andhaka School; he was ordained in the Sarvāstivāda School. Because of the influence of the *prajñāpāramitā* and *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, he preached the Mahāyāna.

The philosophy of Nāgārjuna was derived from the early Mahāyāna’s *prajñā* concept and further developed. He considers that all the worldly things as nature of void (ultimate truth) existed as the provisional name (conventional truth).¹⁸ Nāgārjuna wrote many Buddhist texts, and the most significant are:

1. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK) which describes the profound concept of the dependent origination nature of emptiness which indicates salvation from *saṃsāra*. It is the same way of three vehicles: *Śrāvakayāna* (vehicle of listeners), *Pratyeka-Buddha*, *Bodhisattavayāna*.

¹⁶ Sheng Yan. 龍樹的學說，源自早期大乘佛教般若思想的進一發展，認為世間一切性空（第一義諦、勝義空，只有假名存在） pp. 216-217.

¹⁷ Tsong Khapa. (2002). The great treatise on the stages of the path to enlightenment: Volume 3, Ithaca, N.Y: Snow Lion Publications. ISBN 1-55939-166-9. (Buddhapālita-mūla-madhyamaka-vṛtti , p.5242,73.5.6-74.1.2).

¹⁸ Bu-ston. (1986). tr. Dr. E. Obermiller. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, Delhi: Sri Sarguru Publications. pp. 122-125 (See Sheng Yan. pp. 210-211).

2. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra*, “The Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom”, is based on the middle path showing the unique nature of wisdom (*prajñā*).
3. *Daśabhūmika-Vibhāsā-Śāstra* (十住毗婆沙論) “Ten stages of *Vibhāsā-Śāstra*” applies the profound view to explain the great actions (practice) of Bodhisattva.

Master Āryadeva (170 - 270 A.C.) was one of the most diligent disciples of Nāgārjuna. According to Bu-ston (1986), master Āryadeva was a Sinhalese, who studied from Nāgārjuna and taught in Nālanda University. He wrote some texts aiming at refuting the doctrines of other heterodox practitioners and early Buddhist schools. Later, the disciples inherited this doctrinal standpoint as a guarding principle to form the Madhyamika School. During the early period of the Mādhyamika, the emptiness theory had declined for sometime after the passing away of the great masters Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. The middle period of Mādhyamika theory again was revealing and prosperous. In c.320-400 A.C. Saṃgharaksita, the disciple of Nāgamitra, propagated the theory of Nāgārjuna, but only preached the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* and the *Śataka-śāstra* (Hundred treatises). Later, the three scholars Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka and Vimuktisena came to South India to learn under the master Saṃgharaksita. Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka (Bhavya) were prominent and they set up a new sect respectively, even though both of them believed in the emptiness concept of Nāgārjuna. During Nāgārjuna’s time, it still had not set up any name for the Mādhyamika School.

Against the concept of Nāgārjuna’s original meaning of three non-natures, Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka advocated the debate method. Buddhapālita’s method of debate was from the opponent’s concept of discourse to find out its contradictory character. It criticizes the opponent’s self-contradictory concept in different ways in order to prove that the theory would not be tenable and thus was able to defeat the heretical views. It represented the authentic concept but it did not mention what his avocation was; therefore, this sect is called “Prāsaṅgikāḥ”. As for Ven. Bhavya set up his own theory to refute the opponent; therefore, it is called “Svātantrika” style.

The late period of Mādhyamika, the Svātantrika is divided into two schools:

1. Svātantrika Mādhyamika style, to which the master and Jñānagarbha belong;

2. Yogācāra Mādhyamika Svātantrika style, to which the master Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Vimuktisena, Haribhadra and Buddhaṣṛījñāna belong.

They propagated the practical theory of Yogācāra and in their treatises had a colorful style of Buddhism and are connected with various kinds of external philosophies as well as a result, this method is very creative and active. Later, both Śāntarakṣita (700-760 A.C.) and Kamalaśīla (730-800 A.C.) propagated Buddhism in Tibet very successfully (Sheng, 1997: 219-223). Moreover, (about 6th and 7th century A.C) the Tian Tai School (天台宗) of China accepted the Middle Path philosophy of Nāgārjuna and considered him as the first patriarch. The Sanron School (三論宗) in China (Jizang) and Japan are mainly based on the three treatises: *MMK*, *Śatakaśāstra*'s Aryadeva and *Twelve Doors Treatise*; therefore, it is called "Three Treatises School (Sanron)" (Fang, 2001: 140,147).

The Influence of Philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism on Yogācāra

The Yogācāra is the second trend of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism emerging around the 4th century A.C.¹⁹ The Yogācāra can be referred to those who practice the yoga (method or exertion). It is also called "*Vijñāna-vāda*". Yogācāra, an influential school of Buddhist philosophy, relates everything to be the mind. The discourse of Yogācāra explains how human experience is constructed by mind.

It attaches to the religious practices as an important method for attaining final emancipation from the bondage of the phenomenal world. The masters Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu developed the fundamental philosophy of Yogācāra. The orientation of the Yogācāra School is largely consistent with the concepts of the *Pāli Nikāyas*. It always deals with the later developments in a way that repositions them with earlier version of Buddhist doctrines. One of the aims of this school was to change the direction of the complicated assumptions of later refinements in Buddhist philosophy to harmonize with early Buddhist doctrines.

According to Keenan (2000), the Yogācāra masters borrowed the mystical approach of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. However, they did not reject the authenticity of theoretical Abhidharma. Preferably they attempted to

¹⁹ Zim, Robert. (1995). Basic ideas of Yogācāra Buddhism. San Francisco State University. Source: (accessed: October 18, 2007). The term 'vijñāna' means consciousness or discernment and 'vāda' means doctrine or theory.

establish a critical understanding of the consciousness that underlies all meaning, both mystical and theoretical. The doctrine was projected as focusing on the practice of yoga, rather than as a conceptual comprehension.²⁰

Some of the Early Indian Buddhist schools have mentioned the concept of consciousness which is related to Yogācāra. Some of them are:

1. The original or root consciousness (*mūlavijñāna*) concept of the Mahāsaṃghika: The root consciousness causes the emergence of the six consciousnesses (*ṣaḍ-vijñānāni*).
2. The mind permeates (penetrates) the whole body according to the Mahāsaṃghika: The commentary of *Vasumitra* states that the subtle mind consciousness (*manovijñāna*) permeates the body in which it depends and abides (in it). Therefore we know that the subtle mind-consciousness is everywhere present in the body (*Vasumitra's* treatise, 1925: 34, 68).
3. Revolution of the seeds (*ālaya-vijñāna-paravṛtti* or *bīja-paravṛtti*) seeds' of defilements (*samklesika-dharma-bīja*) are concepts found in Theravāda.
4. According to the Mahīśāsaka School, the aggregate of consciousness is exhausted with the concomitants of reincarnation, and then only become freed from transmigration (*穷生死蕴*) (Sheng, 1997: 119).
5. The concept of interaction of *Saṅkrāntivāda* (transmigration) of Sautrāntika: The aggregates (*skandhas*) transmigrate from one world to the other, (lit. from the former world to the latter).
6. There are *mūlāntikaskandhas* (*antika* or *root*) and also the *ekarasaskandhas* (One taste of aggregate is the subtle consciousness.), the concept of Sautrāntika.
7. The Sautrāntika believed that “seed consciousnesses” plants a seed in one's consciousness.

Matter or form (*rūpa*) and mind (*citta*) are interaction of seed, subtle and unity of consciousness, which advocate the karma transmigration; therefore, it has the seed which continuously retribution of three stages. Human beings due to the karma, in the mind consciousness, plant the seed, and then the seed is transmitted to the future. This seed consciousness theory is quite similar to the *ālaya-vijñāna* of the Yogācāra. It is possible

²⁰ Keenan, John P. (2000). tr. (*Samdhinirmocana*) The Scripture on the Explication of the Underlying Meaning, Berkeley: CA, Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research: 1.

that Sautrāntika borrowed its doctrine of subtle mind consciousness (*manovijñāna*) from the Mahāsaṃghikas and lent it to the Yogācāra School. Later, this seed consciousness dharma is further developed by the Yogācāra.²¹

Some of these concepts have already been mentioned as the foundation of the 7th consciousness and seed consciousness of Yogācāra (Sheng, 1997: 208). The above psychological concepts of Nikāya Buddhism indicate that at that time, they wanted to identify the mind process and the teaching function of transmigration. We postulated that the concepts of Nikāya Buddhism had influenced the concept of Yogācāra.

The Philosophy of *Vijñāna* (consciousness) of Yogācāra

According to Muller (2005), Yogācāra uses various concepts in providing this explanation of (experience): representation-only, the eight consciousnesses, the three natures, and emptiness. Yogācāra has a vast and complex system, all of these different approaches and categories are ultimately tied to each other, and thus starting with any one of them, one can eventually enter all of the rest.

The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and *Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanāda Sūtra* had mentioned the *Tathāgata-garbha* related to the nature of Buddha and *Dharmakāya*, emergence of which the result is adaption of the ultimate way. However, based on this standpoint, it attempts to describe the complicated and polluted world; even the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, *Vimalakīrti-Nirdeśa Sūtra* mention that everything of the three realms is due to the arising of the mind and that ignorance appears creating the illusory world whereas due to the purification of the mind, the pure land appears. Nevertheless, this description is too simple; thus, a further explanation is given in one of the most important texts of Yogācāra the *Samdhinirmocana Sūtra* (*SNM*). It asserts the dwelling state of ignorance and acknowledges the sub-consciousness of basic ignorance whereas pure consciousness acknowledges the Buddha nature and *Tathāgata-garbha*.²²

“What is the relationship between ignorance and pure consciousness?” How does it coordinate and establish different kinds of worlds? It is plausible to reach the conclusion that the Yogācāra School was developed

²¹ Vasumitra’s Treatise, Saṅkrāntivāda or transmigration teaching, maintains the transference of the aggregates: 66-68.

²² Sheng Yan. p. 230. *Samdhinirmocana Sūtra* (*The Explanation of the Profound Mystery Sūtra*), c. 2nd century A.C.

later. It is believed that this Sūtra stands as the pioneer of the Yogācāra. The important concepts of *SNM* are as follows:

1. *Ālaya-vijñāna* (consciousness) concept: at the time of Nāgārjuna, the concept of 7th consciousness had not been formed. Later, *SNM* admits that the 6th inner consciousness has the Buddha nature an idea which was used to modify the doctrine of reality. Therefore, *SNM* specifies the concept of the – *Ālayavijñāna*’ or *Adānāvijñāna* – which refers to the transmigration of human beings but it did not distinguish its name as eighth or seventh consciousnesses.²³
2. Three natures of appearances (*Trilakṣaṇa*) and the three absences of natures. *Trilakṣaṇa* is established because of the adaption of *ālayavijñāna*. The Yogācārin defined three natural perceptions by which we perceive our world:
 - 1) Fully conceptualized appearance (*parikalpita*, 遍計所執相): herein things are incorrectly comprehended based on conceptual construction, through attachment and erroneous discrimination.
 - 2) Other dependent appearance: (*paratantra*, 依他起相): the real form of phenomenal existence free from verbal expression; the world of dependent origination (the form arising under certain conditions).
 - 3) Fully accomplished appearance: (*pariniṣpanna*, 圓成實相) all the dharma is equal as suchness of existences or true nature (*bhūta-tathatā*) of real appearance. It means that one comprehends things as they are in themselves, uninfluenced by any conceptualization at all (Sheng, 1997: 232).

Three natures have their corresponding three absences of natures (*triniḥsvabhāva*, 三無自性) and they are not separated from the mind:

- 1) Absence of inherent characteristic: to view all the appearance is the mind idea which does not have the special self-nature existence.
- 2) Absence of inherent arising: The main principal of cause and effect is related to the mind; thus, it does not have the special self-nature.

²³ Sheng Yan. pp. 230-231. *SNM* was translated by Bodhiliuzhi in five volumes; pilgrim Xuan Zang also translated it in five volumes. It includes some significant theories and as the original sources of Yogācāra it has many characteristics.

- 3) Absence of inherent ultimacy: full accomplishment is due to the pure mind effect separated from the mind and without the self-nature and without itself-nature.

Each of these "absences" is a form of emptiness. Yogācāra values the special significance of the *Cūlasuññata Sutta or Lesser Discourse on Emptiness* of the Theravāda. It is often quoted in later Yogācāra texts as a true definition of emptiness.

3. *SNM* mentions the preaching of the Bodhisattva: all dharma are without self-nature which is neither origination nor cessation, but it is still an implicit discourse (*neya-artha*). It states that the three nature and three non-natures only had started the way to the explicit discourse (*nīta-artha*) (Sheng, 1997: 232). *SNM* promises to expound a teaching that is completely explicit and requires no interpretation for understanding.

Another important text of Yogācāra the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (4th century A.C.), of which the Sanskrit version still exists and the Chinese version has three different translations. The main concept of this *Sūtra* explains the five Dharmas, three self-natures, 8th consciousness, and two self-natures. It always applies these main concepts to illustrate life, universal phenomena and ontology. This *Sūtra* appeared during the time the trend of the 'Buddha nature' (*Tathāgata-garbha*) concept was prominent.²⁴

1. The Five Dharmas: This concept is also mentioned in *Yogācāra Śāstra*, *Yogācāra Bhūmi Śāstra*, and *Buddha Nature Śāstra*. The Five Dharmas are:

- 1) Name, the name of the object;
- 2) appearance, the name and appearance give the judgment;
- 3) distinguished, from the name and appearance gives the judgment;
- 4) authentic wisdom, it can be seen through the name and appearance which are not the reality; and
- 5) True-nature (*Bhūta-tathatā*, 如如), it is similar to wisdom.

These Five Dharmas enumerate that the perplexing world of differentiation and objective (name and appearance) through realizing the subjective (authentic wisdom) and objective (*Bhūta-tathatā*); can assist to break the perplex world which can enter into the comprehensive world process. (Suzuki, 1978:87-95; Sheng, 1997: 233).

²⁴ *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, tr. D. T. Suzuki. (1978). Boulder, CO: Prajña Press.

2. The Three-nature dharma is same with the *Trilakṣaṇa* of *SNM*.

3. What are the 8 consciousnesses? They are: *Thathāgata-garbha*, *citta*, *cetanā*, *manas* consciousness and the five consciousnesses.²⁵

Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra applies the 7th consciousness in *SNM* as the 8th consciousness. The 8th consciousness set up the 7th consciousness, and was included into the early Buddhist concept of six consciousnesses. Appearing of the 8th consciousness activities depends on the 7th distinguishing consciousness. The 8th consciousness does not have the self-nature, everything just like the consciousness like the wave of the sea. A question was asked, “How to stop the consciousness of the sea wave?” The answer is given in the two non-self-natures (Sheng, 1997: 234).

4. Two non-self-natures: (1) the emptiness of self (人空) composed of dharmas: attachment of five aggregates and dependence on causes and conditions; (2) the emptiness of dharma (法空) dependent on cause and condition. The former is the attachment to words as having self-nature, and the latter is the attachment to objects as having self-nature. This text considers that the 8th consciousness has the characteristic of reality, karma, and transformation. Among these three the real ontology is the 8th consciousness of characteristic of reality. The first to the 8th consciousnesses refer to the characteristic of karma and transformation, and it can, through the power of practice of the above, extinguish it. If one has extinguished the concept of karma and transformation of appearance, at that moment, the consciousness of sea wave will stop. It can be called the Buddha nature, *Nirvāṇa* or *Dharmakāya*, which is neither origination nor cessation, pure and without a defilement stage.

This *Sūtra* reconciles the *Tathāgata-garbha* and *ālaya-vijñāna* concept and acknowledges that the 8th consciousness has purity, and impurity two sides or aspects (of mind). Impurity aspect responds to distinguishing and illusory phenomena whereas purity aspect establishes the *Bhūta-tathatā* as being equal to the real world. This is quite similar to the concept of one mind in two aspects which is mentioned in “*Mahāyāna Śraddhotapāda Śāstra*”.²⁶

²⁵ 伽阿跋多羅寶經卷4〈一切佛語心品〉：「大慧！善不善者，謂八識。何等為八？謂如來藏，名識藏。心、意、意識、及五識身，」 *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, T16. No. 670: 512. a29.

²⁶ *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, T16, no. 670, p. 487. c20. 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經.卷1 “大慧！菩薩摩訶薩善觀二種無我相.云何二種無我相？謂人無我，及法無我.”

We can compare the texts of Theravāda related to the two non self-natures: in the *Alaggaddūpama Sutta* M.N.22, the Buddha makes a raft parable to show the non-attachment to self and dhamma. The raft is for the purpose of crossing over, but not for the purpose of holding to. In *Pabhassara Sutta* (Luminous) A.N 1.49-52 the mind is inherently luminous; the unwise person cannot even see that it is obscured by defilements.

Ālaya-vijñāna

Ālayavijñāna, the Buddhist term “*ālaya*” refers to abode, place, rooting, and attachment; the term “*vijñāna*” means consciousness. *Ālaya-vijñāna* also can be called store consciousness or 8th consciousness. It is generally believed that *ālaya-vijñāna* is purely a Mahāyāna doctrine but it is found in Lesser vehicle. However, in the *Mahāyānasangraha*, Ven. Asaṅga states that in the *Śrāvakayāna* (Hīnayāna) it is mentioned by synonyms (*pariyāya*) and refers to a passage in the *Ekottara Āgama*:

“People (*prajā*) like the *ālaya* (*ālayarata*), are fond of the *ālaya* (*ālayarāma*), are delighted in the *ālaya* (*ālayasammudita*), are attached to the *ālaya* (*ālayābhirata*)....”

According to Ven. Rahula (2013), the term “*ālaya*” in the same sense is found in several other places of the *Pāli Canon* (Theravāda). The *Pāli Commentaries* explain this term as “attachment to the five sense-pleasures”, and do not give a deeper explanation than that. This also is an aspect of the *ālayavijñāna*.

“*Ālaya-vijñāna* is one of the most important doctrines further developed by Ven. Asaṅga (310-390 A.C.) of the Yogācāra School. He divides the *vijñāna-skandhā* (aggregate) the fifth of the five *skandhas*, into three different aspects, namely, *citta*, *manas* and *vijñāna*. These three terms- *citta*, *manas*, and *vijñāna* - are also treated as synonyms by the Theravāda *Tiṭṭaka* and *Pāli Commentaries*, Sarvāstivāda, Laṅkāvatāra *Sūtra* and *Vimśatikāvijñapti-mātratāsiddhi* of Vasubandhu (Rahula, 2013: 131)”²⁷

Ven. Rahula (2013: 131) mentions that all the elements of the Yogācāra storehouse-consciousness are already found in the *Pāli Canon*. He points out that the three layers of the mind as presented by Asaṅga are also mentioned in the *Pāli Canon* as follows:

²⁷ Rahula, Walpola. *Ālaya-vijñāna* or store consciousness, (23-7-2001).

Http: www.budsas.org/ebud/ebdha195.htm.

1. “What is the definition of the aggregate of consciousness (*viññānaskandhā*)?” It is mind (*citta*), mental organ (*manas*) and also consciousness (*viññāna*).
2. “What is mind (*citta*)?” It is *ālaya-viññāna* (store-consciousness) containing all seeds (*sarvabījaka*), impregnated (pervade) with the traces (impressions) (*vāsanā-paribhāvita*) of aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*) and spheres (*āyatana*).
3. “What is mental organ (*manas*)?” It is the object of *ālaya-viññāna* always having the nature of self-notion associated with four defilements, viz., the self-ignorance, self-view, self-conceit, and self-love. (Cf. *manas-viññāna* of Vasubandhu)
4. “What is consciousness (*viññāna*)?” It consists of the six types of consciousness (*ṣaḍ-viññāna-kāyā*), viz. visual consciousness (*cakṣurvijñāna*), auditory (*śrotra*), olfactory (*ghrāṇa*), gustatory (*jihvā*), tactile (*kāya*), and mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*).

As we can see consciousness (*viññāna*) represents the simple reaction or response of the sense-organs when they come into contact with external objects. This is the superficial aspect or layer of the aggregate of consciousness (*viññāna-skandhā*). *Manas-viññāna*, represents the aspect of its mental functioning, thinking, reasoning, conceiving ideas, etc. *Citta*, which is here called *ālaya-viññāna*, represents the deepest, finest and subtlest aspect or layer of the aggregate of consciousness. It contains all the traces or impressions of the past actions and all good and bad future potentialities. *SNM* also says that *ālaya-viññāna* is called *citta*.²⁸

The Master Asaṅga interprets five definitions of *ālayavijñāna*, according to the *Yogācāra Bhūmi Śāstra* as follows:

1. *Ālaya-viññāna* is dependent on two factors to act. The former, it distinguishes the internal persistent mind (internal body activities); the latter is the undistinguished external world.
2. *Ālaya-viññāna* is associated with the five universal mental factors (*caitasika*): attention (*manasikāra*, 作意), contact (*sparśa*, 觸), sensation (*vedanā*, 受), perception (*saṃjñā*, 想), and volition (*cetanā*, 思).
3. *Ālaya-viññāna* with all dharma have the mutual relationship of the cause and effect (因果). It is also called seed consciousness, the

²⁸ Ibid.

storing of seed, the seed of present behaviour, appears in all dharma; the so called seeds “appear in present behaviours”. This function uses as an instant moment of appearing; simultaneously it responds with the cause and effect; consequently, *ālaya-vijñāna* is the cause and all the dharma is the fruition. Beginning from the present behavior all dharma again influences the *ālaya-vijñāna*; therefore, it becomes the collection of seed, referred to as ‘present behaviors plant the seeds’. The function of present behavior stage is the cause, and the collection of seed is the effect. Nevertheless, the seed of *ālaya-vijñāna* can appear in any present behavior, and it also can associate with the other seeds in an instance continuously influencing one another, and then it appears again as a new seed, which is self-category continuity called “seed produces seed”.

4. *Ālaya-vijñāna* with all the consciousnesses rotates entirely, among other consciousness. Whenever it arises the first consciousness or the second consciousness activity, and simultaneously the internal of *ālaya-vijñāna* also follows them to rotate entirely.
5. *Ālaya-vijñāna* has two kinds of aspect as mixed impurity and fair cessation. In the cycle of rotating transmigration (*samsāra*), it is entirely mixed impurity whereas when attaining enlightenment, it depends on fair cessation. It applies the concept of *Thathāgata-garbha* (如来藏) (Sheng, 1997: 241-2).

The masters Maitreya and Asaṅga established the theory of Yogācāra that applied the seed as the root, and seed consciousness appears as the transformation. Later, the master Vasubandhu applied the three kinds of transformation as the root which transforms the consciousness. The master Asaṅga utilized the concept on the main stages division (*bahubhūmika*, 本地分) of *Yogācāra Bhūmi Śāstra*. In the theory of seed consciousness of non-unity or non-diversification, he applied non-diversification as the ground. The master Vasubandhu traced back to the same text, utilizing the second section compendium of exegesis (*vinīścaya*, 摄抉择分) and applied the seed consciousness of non-unity as the ground. Both concepts are in the same text of Yogācāra, but it divided itself into two great streams. The scholars of later period expounded the Yogācāra theory; they usually utilized the theory of Vasubandhu and considered him as the great master who had achieved a great collection of works. In contrast, the stream of Asaṅga’s theory had developed into a Buddhist school, the She Lun Zong School in China (摄论宗) (Sheng, 1997: 245-6).

The Three fold Transformations of Consciousness of Vashubandhu

The *Triṃśikā-Vijñapti-mātratā* clearly states the outline of the theory of Vashubandhu. According to the Yogācāra scholars the content of this text can be divided into three categories:

- 1) Characteristic of Consciousness; the first twenty four stanzas describe the phenomena of universal entity.
- 2) The Nature of Consciousness, the twenty-fifth stanza explains all the characteristics of entity based on ontology.
- 3) The Position of Consciousness; the last five stanzas describe the process of practicing in order to attain the different fruition stages. Among these, the first is the most important one which explains the 3 kinds of transformation characteristics as follows (Sheng, 1997: 252).

1. The Transformation of *ālaya-vijñāna* (阿賴耶識) - Retribution (*vipāka*)
Ālaya-vijñāna is referred to as retribution as well as all the seeds. Its grasping, locating and knowing are unperceivable.²⁹ The term “*vipāka*” means the cause and effect because of the different times and characteristic; therefore, it is said that retribution can be transformed. For example, the peach tree branch transplants with the apricot branch, in future the ripe fruit which has the different ripen times and the taste of fruit is neither peach nor is it of original apricot taste. *Ālaya-vijñāna* refers to the cycle of births and deaths of the human beings (*samsāra*), which can create all dharma. Therefore, it is called “all seed consciousness”, and through the *ālaya-vijñāna* the life realm is established and implement the mundane realm. This consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) always associates with the five universal mental factors, viz., attention, contact, sensation, perception and volition. The mental factor influences the *ālaya-vijñāna* quality and all seed consciousness which contains the thought of origination and cessation, which transforms the conditions of origination and cessation.

It is just like the stream of a water fall, from the far view that looks like a bale of white clothes or a motionless hand on the mountain cliff, but if we

²⁹ Triṃśikā-Vijñapti-mātratā (Thirty Stanzas of Representative only). stanza no 2: Vipāko mananākhyāśca vijñaptir viṣayasya ca tatrālayakhyām vijñānaṃ vipākaḥ sarvabījakam. (There are retribution, thought, and the perception of external objects. The first of these is the ālaya consciousness, which is retribution as well as all the seeds.) Technical Details Lapis Lazuli Texts. (See Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 31. No. 1586 唯識三十論頌. 異熟思量及了別境識).

look thoroughly, it consists of the twinkling locomotion of continuous transformation.³⁰ When the time from mental factor influences the *ālaya-vijñāna* (consciousness), it becomes the seed (cause); and when the time from the seed transforms the phenomena, it becomes its present behavior (fruition).

2. The Transformation of *manas-vijñāna* (末那識)

Because of consideration or speculation, the 7th consciousness (*manas-vijñāna*) always ponders consistently the *ālaya-vijñāna* to calculate and measure self and depends on the *ālaya-vijñāna*, condition of *ālaya-vijñāna* (consciousness), grasping it as self. Consequently, it is always associated with the four defilements viz., self-ignorance, self-view, self-conceit, and self-love.

3. The Transformation of distinguishing – six consciousnesses – *vijñapti viṣayasya*

The first five consciousnesses depend on the 6th consciousness (*mano-vijñāna*) as the main principle and each of the comprehension distinguishing arises a rough emergence of phenomena. The 6th consciousness unites the first five consciousnesses and associates with many mental factors. For example, in the daily life many kinds of mental activities appear, which come under this category. It is distinguished into six different divisions; appearance and nature perceive the external objects, and these may be wholesome, unwholesome or indeterminate.³¹ Comprehension of all the phenomena appears owing to the *ālaya-vijñāna* of circulating transformation of distinguishing and knowing there is no real existence; therefore, it is said that all the dharma is the emergence of consciousness (Sheng, 1997: 252-3).

According to traditional interpretation, Vasubandhu states that there are eight consciousnesses: the five sense-consciousnesses of body (*pañca-vijñāna-kāya*), 6th consciousness (*mano-vijñāna*), self-consciousness (*manas-vijñāna*), and the storehouse-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*).³² According to Kalupahana (1992), this classification of eight consciousnesses is based on a misunderstanding of Vasubandhu's

³⁰ *Triṃśikā-Vijñapti-mātratā*, Vol. 31, No. 1586 Taisho Tripitaka (唯識三十論頌). (See Sheng Yan:252-.253).

³¹ *Triṃśikā-Vijñapti-mātratā*, 唯識三十論頌, Taisho Tripitaka (31) 1586. Stanza no 5-8. (See Sheng Yan: 252-253).

³² Kochumuttom, Thomas A. (1999). *A Buddhist Doctrine of Experience. A New Translation and Interpretation of the Works of Vasubandhu the Yogacarin*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass:.1-5.

Triṃśikaikā-kārikā by later adherents. He argues that instead of positing additional consciousnesses, the *Triṃśikaikā-kārikā* describes the transformation of this consciousness as, taking *vipāka*, *manana* and *viññapti* as three different kinds of functions, rather than characteristics, and understanding *viññāna* itself as a function, Vasubandhu seems to be avoiding any form of substantiality thinking in relation to consciousness, because *ālaya-viññāna* only represents the normal flow of the stream of consciousness uninterrupted by the appearance of reflective self-awareness. It is no more than the unbroken stream of consciousness called the life-process by the Buddha (Kalupahana, 1992: 139).

Karma Related to Storehouse-Consciousness

According to the Yogācarins' traditional explanation, the concept of consciousness is also applied to the karma function as seed and storehouse-consciousness. The following controversial issues vexed Buddhist philosophers as follows:

“If one carries out a good or evil act, why and how is it that the effects of that act do not appear immediately?”

“If it does not appear immediately and where is this karma waiting for its opportunity to play out?”

The answer given by the Yogācārins was the store consciousness or the 8th consciousness (*ālayaviññāna*). It simultaneously acts as a storage (house) place for karmic latencies and as a fertile matrix of predispositions that bring karma to a state of fruition. The similarity of this process to the cultivation of plants led to the creation of the metaphor of seeds (*bīja*) to explain the way karma is stored in the eighth consciousness. In the Yogācāra formulation, all experience without exception is said to result from the ripening of karma (Harvey, 2000: 297). The *Treatise on Action (Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa)* of Vasubandhu treats the subject of karma in detail from the Yogācāra perspective (Lamotte, 2001)³³

The Revolution of the Seed of Ālaya-viññāna – Related to Awakening

The Yogācāra meditation practice process is referred to in the Yogācāra tradition as *āśraya-parāvṛtti*, "revolution of the basis" (King, 1998). The mind returns to its original condition of non-attachment, non-discrimination

³³ Lamotte, E and Pruden, L.M. (2001) *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa: The Treatise on Action* by Vasubandhu. Asian Humanities Press: 35.

and non-duality (Park,1983: 127). In this awakening it is realized that observer and observed are not distinct entities, but mutually co-dependent. The *Mahāyānasamgraha* of Asaṅga states the fruition of wisdom as the three bodies of the Buddha (*Trikāya*). It states that the eight consciousnesses can be transformed to four kinds of wisdom to achieve the *Trikāya*:

- 1) the first five consciousnesses transform the wisdom of accomplishment;
- 2) the 6th consciousness transforms the wonderful contemplating and investigating wisdom;
- 3) the 7th consciousness transforms the wisdom of equality; and
- 4) the 8th consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) transforms the great round mirror of wisdom. These four kinds of wisdom can overcome self-view and dogmatic defilements and transform the way from impurity to purity and attain emancipation (Sheng, 1997: 245).

Ven. Rahula (2013) says that *ālaya-vijñāna* is considered by men as their “soul” or “self” (*ātman*). For instance, one of the Buddha's disciples (Sāti) took *vijñāna* in this sense and the Buddha reprimanded him for this wrong view. The attainment of *Nirvāṇa* is achieved by ‘the revolution of *ālaya-vijñāna* which is called *āśraya-parāvṛtti*. Similarly, “uprooting of *ālaya*” (*ālayasamugghata*) is used in the *Pāli* Canon as a synonym for *Nirvāṇa*. In addition, *anālaya*, no-*ālaya* is another synonym for *Nirvāṇa*. The *ālaya-vijñāna-parāvṛtti* is sometimes called *bīja-parāvṛtti* - revolution of the seeds - as well. (*Samklesika-dharma-bīja*) “Seeds” of defilements cause the continuity of *saṃsāra*. Therefore, one may see that, although not developed as in the Mahāyāna, the original idea of *Ālaya-vijñāna* was already there in the texts of Theravāda.³⁴

Tathāgata-garbha

The store consciousness concept developed along with the Buddha nature doctrine and resolved into the concept of midstream or the "consciousness-continuity" (*citta-santāna*) to avoid being denounced as running counter to the doctrine of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and the tenets of selflessness (*anātman*). The Sautrāntika School asserts that an average man (*prthagjana*) also possesses the potentiality of becoming a Buddha. The Mahīśāsaka School suggests that there is the Buddha in the Saṅgha;

³⁴ Ven. Rahula, W. Theravāda source: *Buddhist Council of NSW*, <http://www.zip.com.au/~lyallg>.

therefore, one who gives alms to the Saṅgha obtains great merit; but not separately to the Buddha. They have an idea “I am a Buddha.”

According to Rahula (2013), in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* the term “*tathāgata-garbha*” is used as a synonym for *ālaya-vijñāna* and is described as “luminous by nature” (*prakṛti-prabhāsvara*) and pure by nature (*prakṛti-parisuddha*) but appearing as impure because it is sullied by adventitious defilements. In the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, *citta* (mind) is described as “luminous” (*pabhassara*), but it is sullied by adventitious minor defilements (*āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭham*). One may notice here that *ālaya-vijñāna* (or *tathāgata-garbha*) and *citta* are described almost by the same terms. *SNM* says that *ālaya-vijñāna* is also called *citta*.³⁵

According to Kalupahana (1992: 140), the concept of *ālaya* is borrowed from *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*; but it does not have the same characteristics nor does it function in the same way. It is neither "the originally pure mind" (*prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*) nor "the location of the womb (of enlightenment)" (*garbha-samsthāna*).

According to Akira and Groner (2007), in Early Mahāyāna texts, no mention is made of a Buddha-element or nature (*Buddha-dhātu*), the potential to become a Buddha. The statement that all sentient beings have the Buddha-nature first appears in the Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*.³⁶

The Genealogy of Yogācāra School

In the early period of Yogācāra, it is said that Maitreya Nātha (c. 270-350 A.C) was the teacher of Asaṅga. Some believed that he is the future Buddha, but others consider he just had the same name with the future Buddha (Maitreya). According to Paramārtha in “*Vasubandhu’s biography*”, there were three brothers: Asaṅga (c.310 - c.390 A.C.), Vasubandhu and Virincivatsa. They came from Northern Puruṣa-pura, a Brahmin family and had ordinations under Sarvāstivāda School. Ven. Asaṅga used his supernatural power (meditation) to go to the pure land of Maitreya, in order to learn the emptiness concept of Mahāyāna doctrines from him. When Asaṅga and Vasubandhu propagated the dharma, it was time when the Gupta dynasty was flourishing (Sheng,1997, 237-248). The pilgrim Xuan Zang mentions that master Asaṅga was from Mahīśāsaka

³⁵ Ven Rahula, W. [Http: www.budsas.org/ebud/ebdha195.htm](http://www.budsas.org/ebud/ebdha195.htm)

³⁶ Akira, Hirakawa. tr. & ed. Paul Groner (2007). *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers: 297.

School excellent in meditation, later he converted himself to Mahāyāna. As we know the Mahīśāsaka School was excellent in profound meditation.³⁷

According to the biography of Vasubandhu, the master Vasubandhu (320-400 A.C.) pretended to be crazy and went to Sarvāstivāda School for learning. He learnt the *Mahāvibhāṣā-Śāstra* within twelve years and mastered it. Later, he wrote the *Abhidharmakośa Śāstra* of thirty volumes, even though he described the tenets of Sarvāstivāda, in certain parts he used the tenets of Sautrāntika to supplement the tenets of Sarvāstivāda. Before Vasubandhu converted to Mahāyāna, he had written many Buddhist Sarvāstivāda texts (Sheng, 1997: 247-8). We postulate that Master Vasubandhu was greatly influenced by the concepts of the Sarvāstivāda School.

In the middle period of Yogācāra, there were eleven great masters, for example, Ven. Dignāga is famous in logic study and was from South India. Another example, Ven. Dharmapāla, who is the chief of Nālanda, was very intelligent, and prominent. In India, he is considered as a brilliant star of the later historical period of Mahāyāna.

Some years later Yogācāra exponents also synthesized the two views, particularly Śāntarakṣita in the 8th century, whose view was later called "*Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka*" by the Tibetan tradition. The Yogācāra School held a prominent position in Indian Buddhism for centuries after the time of Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu. Teachings and derivations of this school have influenced and became well-established in East Asian Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism.

Conclusion

The philosophy of Nikāya Buddhism might have played an important role to influence the development of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra. Later, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra further established and led to the efflorescence of the principal teachings of the Buddha. Next, during the time of early Indian Buddhist schools, they practiced the direct path or different paths to the same destination (Arahantship). Later, during the time of early Mahāyāna, they practiced a direct path or different paths to reach optional destinations which could be either Arhantship or Bodhisattva-hood.

³⁷ 大唐西域記-卷五：「無著菩薩，健馱邏國人也，佛去世後一千年中...，從彌沙塞部，出家修學，頃之迴信大乘。」 Ven. Xuan Zang. *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*. Taisho Tripiṭaka, (T51) 2087.

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Rethinking Social Work: Towards Critical Practice (2nd Edition).

Jim Ife

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Reviewed by S. Gamlath¹

Overview

Is social work becoming a disillusioned profession? This is the key theme that underlines the entire discussion in this book. The author outlines this at the very beginning and says that because of the emerging hostile socio-economic and political environment, social workers are uncomfortable in the current practice context and become disillusioned. Many experienced practitioners are leaving the profession. A hostile practice context has emerged because economic rationalism, also known as neo-conservatism, has increasingly dominated the practice environment of social workers. In that new social situation, dominated by the values of economic rationalism, the fundamental values of social work profession, which is still widely recognized as a helping human service profession, based on a “strong human friendly value system” is constantly in question. So the content of social work practice has to be changed significantly in order to be compatible with new practice environment which is unfriendly for many social workers. It is problematic for many of them who genuinely believe that the role of social work is to make the society a fairer place by promoting and advocating the cause of social justice.

In such a “hostile” practice context, the serious question is whether social work indeed has a future? If so, what form would it take? The opinion present in this book is rather eye-opening for many in social work practice. The practice environment is hostile and uncomfortable, humanitarian values of conventional social work is constantly questioned and challenged, new trainees’ construction of social work is different, the service receivers (predominantly those who are already disadvantaged and highly vulnerable to fall into disadvantage) are excluded from the process of constructing what social work is etc. etc. Instead of it being defined with the service receivers’ participation, they are being continuously excluded from the processes which constantly construct and reconstruct the meaning of social work. Therefore, their participation in the problem-solving processes is also unwarranted, and unlike in the past, the solution for their problems are now simply made for them rather than made with them.

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So social workers confront a host of unanswered questions, some of which are highly ethical. The value basis of this “helping profession” and its commitment to promoting and ensuring social justice, human rights and equality is seriously challenged and, as a result, its guardians, the social workers, are stranded in clueless ambiguity.

The continued efforts of countering the giant strides of the values of neo-liberalism have made social workers tired. Many social workers have been witnessing for some time now that this has been happening. Being disappointed and disillusioned, many have left the profession. Yet, the relevance or the validity of the discussion in this book has not disappeared at all, instead it seems to be gaining continues momentums of an unprecedented appeal and soundness.

Therefore, it is strongly felt that critically looking at this book again in contemporary social context will be firstly helpful for many of us, social workers². Again, secondly, what the book examines outlining the alternative scenarios, in which the social work discourse can be located, unless it does not adapt to the changed situation, has been now unfolding before our eyes here in Sri Lanka too. Therefore, revisiting the content of this book has both an extremely important contemporary as well as contextual relevance for professional social work practitioners, in the country.

Challenging Practice Context:

The book starts explaining how social work was losing its territory. Social workers seemed to be less than fully accommodating to the demands of new managerialism, specified competencies, privatization and economic rationalism. They fear that their ideological scruples might leave them “out in the cold” as they see the valuable ground surrendered to nurses, occupational therapists, health workers, psychologists and others. There is a widespread concern among social workers that present structures of human service delivery are not adequately meeting the needs of their clients,

² It is strongly believed that what the author vividly explained and predicted far back in 1997 when the first edition of this book was published, was a bitter experience of many of us, social workers, in the early days of the 21st century, and has now been an obvious contextual reality of the day-to-day work of many all around the world. Therefore, reviewing what the author wrote at that time has unprecedented appeal for what we experience today. For the current practitioners, both the experienced and beginners, trainee social workers, students, and all others who are interested in professional social work action, this will be immensely valuable. It provokes critical thinking, reflection and challenge and a strong voice of advocacy for a fairer world.

because of declining resources and the way that service delivery is defined within an increasingly managerial paradigm. Many social structures are seen by social workers as disempowering and reinforcing processes of disadvantage.

The optimistic anticipation emerging in this discussion is whether modern economic rationalism would collapse because of its own internal contradictions and whether private perspective in the construction of public social issues is relevant and appropriate in an alternative paradigm. These questions are seemed very important in the rethinking about an alternative interpretation of the contribution of social work in a new practice context to deal with the issues emanating from grave disadvantages. They are, however, still unresolved though the current context is not static. It is again a result of historical dynamic process and therefore future trends in social work should not hesitate to challenge the current context.

The conventional construction of social work is first discussed because it is important to examine the direction social work has taken today. Social work has been differently constructed in different places. Again, modern social work has a different and conflicting historical origin and a variety of influences from different ideologies. The mainstream construction of social work has been formed by a heritage located primarily within the context of the “welfare state”. It is seen as a “profession”, a “generalist” occupation, a “secular” occupation, and it involves the integration of “knowledge, skills and values”. These characteristics have been challenged in the current context. So that the conventional construction of social work with which most social workers would still be comfortable, is becoming increasingly out of step with the reality of the contemporary practice context.

The book is strongly critical of the new socio-economic and cultural context because mainly of its non-human-centered face with which social workers find it difficult to agree with. The supreme characteristics of the new context are economic rationalism, managerialism, modern rationality and competency. It has no regard to the deliberate, welfare oriented human service. So, the very idea of “social work service” has been significantly changed. The service has become commodified, and is now understood as something that can be traded, measured, provided and frequently quantified and priced. The recipient is bereft of power since it is centered around the provider of service. The conventional heritage of social work in a context of welfare state is also no longer straightforward and has become increasingly problematic. If the welfare state survives and expands, then the social work can be expected to do likewise, but if the welfare state withers

and dies, social work may well share this fate unless it can establish some kind of alternative location.

The opinion of the author is that even in the conventional heritage, strong professionalism and secular notion of social work are inappropriate and the worst is that they prevent modern social work from responding effectively to its current crisis. The modern context promotes professionalism and secular approach in social work and that, according to the author, is extremely inappropriate from marginalized, disadvantaged and cultural and spiritual perspectives. Social work insists the importance of knowledge, skills and values as the basis for practice. It has consistently defined itself in value embedded terms. It does not simply do what political leaders and managers tell it to do. If knowledge is as important as skills, then understanding is as important as competencies. Social workers regard themselves as thinkers, as doers, and as people who have to make judgments on the basis of knowledge and experience. Yet, this now appears somewhat problematic, as social workers find themselves pressured to conform to the contemporary agenda and new managerialism.

So, the conventional value and ethical base on which social work has originated and constructed its entire “image” and with which most social workers still desire to function has changed. The question is how social work confronts this challenge. Even in the contemporary Western socio-political context, the challenge is still alive. For example, Webb and Gray (2013: 30) identify that the socio-political environment in which social work operates has changed dramatically in many Western countries since the 1970s and 1980s. Managerialism and market-driven forces have transformed the labour process in social work, eroded the one-on-one time that social workers have with service users, and imposed huge constraints on the possibilities for radical practice in the sector.

Hostile Environment:

The author explains the current reality in social work practice environment as hostile and the interrelated characteristics of this hostile environment within which social workers are seeking to practice.

First, he points out that, in economic rationalism, economic policy is supreme and all other policies, especially social and welfare policies, seem to be or are secondary to economic policy. It primarily aims to establish the primacy of the liberal market because it believes that the market best represents individual wishes and choices. It will ensure that prices are kept minimum, and the services are efficient and meet the needs of the

consumer. Therefore, the market is not intervened. The government spending is seen as an impediment for economic health because it discourages working hard and making profit. In this context, therefore, social policy was to wind back the familiar forms of welfare state expenditure which provided the context of social work practice.

Secondly, the so-called new managerialism is discussed as another aspect of the hostile environment of contemporary social work practice. The idea is that good management is the way to solve all problems in human service organizations, and it will make them more effective and efficient. Management is a generic skill and unlike prior to the 1980s, it is assumed that even human service department managers should not necessarily be human service professionals who move into senior positions through their careers. Even a former factory manager or one who managed a fisheries department can manage human service departments, as it needs only managerial skills. The author's grave concern of the possible worst consequence of this trend is that even social workers who are interested in management positions tend to gain managerial skills rather than relying on their social work qualifications. They also less like to define themselves as social workers and to identify themselves with the values of social work profession because they are "managers". This trend of managerialism has devalued social workers in terms of their traditional role as human service professionals, leaving them being not able to operate as creative, innovative and empowering professionals.

Next, the author elaborates on the fact that the assumption of modern rationality is the third important aspect of the environment in which social workers practice. It assumes that organizational and policy context of social work can be determined by logical analysis on the basis of objective data. There is little room for values or ethics in the analysis. Also, there is no opportunity for social workers to be creative because in modern rational mechanism, wisdom flows from the top while only information flows from the bottom. Social workers are expected to practice the given prescription rather than to be more explorative, creative and innovative. The grassroots workers are not believed even though their experience is the reality. In this approach, one simply tends to assume that there is one best answer to any problem.

Fourthly, the author explains that the strong emphasis on competencies in the new paradigm is flawed and the true social workers are not comfortable with it. Since the 1990s, the organization, appointment practices, accreditation and education programs of social work occupation has been

significantly affected by a concern of the “competency-based approach”. This seriously challenges the important fact that social worker, as a generalist, is able to do many different things at a basic level of competence. However, it is better, if taken in isolation, if someone who has specified skills, can do better than what social workers generally do but in that the emphasis is more on technical aspects. For example, better counselor, better caseworker, better group worker, better community worker, better youth outreach worker, better child protection worker, better disability service care manager etc. Yet the strength of social work is its generic and holistic perspective that relates these areas to each other. In generic perspective, the social worker is able to work in a broader context. In that, exploration of the clients’ world, the realistic assessment of the complex and confused situation of the client in a wider space from different angles is possible. Yet, a specialist child protection worker with limited competencies may not be able to appreciate the impact of cultural background, the consequences of institutional racism, or changes to a family system in the pattern of childcare and abuse. So that, the compartmentalized social work under different labels has neutralized generic social work.

New Thinking:

The above factors are interrelated and characterize the current hostile context of social work practice. The book however suggests that, there is no option, first, for its own survival, social work must work in the current context and build up its influence. The author is so optimistic of the development of internal contradictions within the current hostile context and predicts that the existing context is more or less permanent is a misleading assumption. Therefore, the author suggests that it is more important to discuss the current practice context of social work not as a static permanent phenomenon but as a dynamic changing system.

Although the current hostile context is still unchallenged, it is approaching the point of crisis. With economic rationalism, which leads to social uncertainty and instability a further decline of welfare state has been observed. In such a scenario, more community-based social work practice can be possible having critical alternatives such as creative and alternative practice within existing structures, supporting people, groups, and communities, countering oppressive institutions and alternative structures, and exerting external pressure through working for change by engaging in the new politics of social movements.

Conclusion

Economic rationalism, modern rationality, managerialism and competency approach are interlinked. In this entire paradigm, it is believed that there is one single medicine for all problems. For example, the assumption is that the package of those policies promotes economic growth and then the increased economic growth will automatically reduce poverty because it trickles down the benefits. This slogan has been chanted for many decades and still too. Yet, everywhere, irrespective of more developed or less developed, inequality and disparities have widened and poverty pockets have emerged. What the Human development report in 1996 echoed is still relevant, this growth is rootless, ruthless, jobless, helpless and hapless.

This book also explores that the solutions of economic rationalism are more or less technical and not human friendly, human centered or community centered. They are entirely market or production-centered and exclude the values of distributive justice. The key principles of social work action, such as human rights, equality, social justice, human dignity etc., are ignored. Its concern is not the social reality but the data with which mathematical surprises can be made in rhetoric terms like scientific and universal. So it simply ignores the reality that social workers can obviously touch and engage with. The values, ethics, sensitivity, spirituality and other cultural aspects that social workers mostly embrace in personal styles of practices are disregarded as either unscientific or unprofessional. What was heard and observed are simply unconsidered unless they are quantified and presented in measurable ways. Also, it devalues diversity. The richness of diversity suggests that there is no single answer to a social problem. In the name of dominant orthodoxy, cultural sensitivity is undermined, and mistrust and conflict created.

Social workers find it difficult to work in such an environment. It is hostile. In this hostile environment, the commitment of social work to social justice, equality, human rights and self-determination which make social work more human-centered has been ignored. What was previously a strongly value-based social work practice, has now become a rational procedure of specialized service delivery. An activity of bottom-up process has now become entirely an act of top-down process so that both the worker and service receiver have been alienated from one another.

However, it is not seen to be relevant that social work should adapt to the new socio-economic and political contextual changes. There is an emerging rethinking that the alternative form of social work practice can confront the hostile contexts and situations in more effective and positive ways. Still the

belief is that social work has much to contribute to meet social justice targets. To achieve it, social work first has to engage the existing dominant order and influence both policy discourse and practice realities. At the same time, it is not assumed that social work must rely on its conventional wisdom.

The creative alternative in the discussion of social work rethinking is whether social work can find grounds in the community. There is a global trend for rediscovering the community and restoring some functions of traditional community in new forms as one way of attending crucial social issues that are unlikely to be effectively addressed and solved in the new socio-economic paradigms. Dominant neo-liberal ideology is unchallenged but the role of the state is being reconsidered. It is not in terms of traditional welfare state but in a sense much more accountable ways in partnership with the community sector. The community sector is recognized as an emerging new sector, the “third sector”, as an alternative to the traditional public and modern private sectors. The new community sector continues to promote public participation in welfare. It is new approach to welfare service delivery and is, in a sense, reasonably agreeable to both conservative and liberal models of social welfare. It is seen as more local and community-centered. Some recognizes it as balancing way of economic and social development which is supposed to go hand-in-hand if the possible distortions of development are to be avoided. It is also interpreted as community and public-sector partnership with a developmental approach to social welfare and local level social development.

However, grave concern is whether it is so optimistic to believe that economic rationalism itself would develop internal contradictions and reaches a point of crisis. The global capitalism has already penetrated the very breath of community throughout the world, and it has been further accelerated by the contemporary trends of globalization. The question of establishing alternative territory for social work practice is still unresolved, and the answers seem to be still ambiguous. In less developed country contexts, social development perspective in social work practice has taken its strides. In more developed countries, the trends are much more towards community and community sector which seem to be emerging as an alternative to public and private sector welfare service delivery. True social workers are however still in limbo waiting for exact answers.

Many progressive social workers across the globe are currently experiencing what this book predicted decades ago (the book was first

published in 1997). However, for the sigh of great relief of many social workers, it predicted that future social work would take much more community-based institutional working context where even those conventional social work values and ethics would find a comfortable presence. It has indeed happened. In many parts of the world, irrespective of more or less developed, the unquestioned commitment of social work to the well-being of human kind could be secured in a more “community-centered” practice context. In that, modern social work could locate itself in a context in which conventional human-friendly approach can be redefined and reshaped, respond to the strides of current human hostile context, readjust itself along with modern social changes without losing its strong value base, and even easily embrace all that new radical and structural thinking in social work.

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