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Editor's Note…

This edition of the Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (JHS), Number 1, Volume 2, the official publication of the Postgraduate Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences (PGIHS) of the University of Peradeniya, comes with five articles and two book reviews representing diversity, complexity and the richness of the vast landscape of Humanities and Social Sciences.

The JHS walks the path that PGIHS walks. It carries forward the aspirations of the PGIHS towards contributing to human betterment, welfare and well being by upholding standards of excellence in postgraduate education and research in Humanities and Social Sciences in the country.

The JHS accommodates an array of diverse opinions and perspectives, local as well as global, in an unrelenting quest for exploring and revealing the hidden knowledge of the fundamentals and different facets of human nature, relationships and institutions. It offers a space for academics, researchers, practitioners, and policy makers to take their scholarly explorations, policy and practice innovations and new developments to a wider audience. This space is equally available for PGIHS postgraduate students and research partners as well. The JHS is now online so that its reach transcends national boundaries with a global presence. It is now open to the entire world.

This issue starts with a critical policy analysis exploring the policy direction of the government of Sri Lanka embracing free trade agreements (FTAs) as a key focus of the national trade and development strategy. The author, Prof. Chandra Athukorala, an eminent economist, examines the rationale of this policy choice and analyses the trade outcomes of Sri Lanka's FTAs with India and Pakistan and the expected gains from the FTA with Singapore. According to the author, there is strong evidence that the role of FTAs in trade expansion is vastly exaggerated by the proponents of the Sri Lankan trade policy debate. The author reaches this assertion, by considering the gains that the country's economy could reap from FTAs. The reader is made aware of the fact that there is a stark distinction between free trade and trade under FTAs. The author is of the opinion that proliferation of FTAs has the adverse side effect of diverting government

attention from other development prerequisites. The only policy inference one can make from this evidence is that FTAs can play a role at the margin in enticing foreign investors, provided the other preconditions on the supply side are met.

Ven. Dhammanandi, the author of next article on the mindfulness movement (MM) of Western psychology, writes that it has grown in momentum with the emergence of the Buddhist-derived 'mindfulness-based interventions' (MBIs). The author identifies four MBIs: Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction (MBSR), Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT), Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT) and Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT). MBSR was influenced by both *Theravāda vipassanā* and by *Mahāyana* non-dual meditation traditions. Its philosophy is observed to be more aligned with the *Mahāyana* Buddhist tradition. The MBCT is observed to be more akin to the *Theravāda vipassanā* traditions. DBT derived inspiration from Zen practice, and ACT aligns itself with the 'mindfulness' of Western psychology. The author seems to be seriously concerned that the sources of Buddhist knowledge used commonly in academic literature on mindfulness in the West tends to come from secondary textual sources, either authored by psychologists who have studied mindfulness or by Buddhist teachers well-known in the West. Buddhist influence on MBIs and Western psychology is generally absorbed into a plurality of existing theoretical frameworks. Therefore, this renders the final form of each MBI, more like an amalgamation of influences, into which Buddhist influence is only one part. The nature of 'Buddhist influence' is also characterised by the plurality of Buddhism in the West, as diversity that is unified only by the first person experience of the founders and key stake-holders of MBIs. Ven. Dhammanandi suggests that while MM will likely move further away from its Buddhist roots, some form of implicit Buddhist influence will continue to be a guiding hand in the growing field. There can be greater benefit for the research community, if the various Buddhist traditions could also strive to provide easy to operationalise cognitive models of meditation based on the ancient collection of texts and manuals, as reference material for a contemplative psychology that Western science has no precedence for. Perhaps, in doing so, mutual benefit could be obtained, and the functional orientation of Western psychological methods might also provide ways to understand how elements of different Buddhist meditative traditions work similarly or differently on the mind.

From the mindfulness movement, the next article takes the reader to a narrative about human rights education, which reminds us of the idea of

promoting and protecting human rights from grass-root level, starting from the community, with ordinary people whose dignity is ignored and the rights are continued to be violated mainly because of the reason, their unawareness about the importance of their own dignity and rights among many others. The author, Kalpani Dambagolla, passes on simple message of utmost importance enveloped with a huge meaning - the right to know about rights is also a right which needs to be upheld. For this message to be shared with the JHS readership, the author, analyses the content of the documentary film, A Path to Dignity. The author convinces us that A Path to Dignity directed by Ellen Bruno, is a fascinating example which proves the fact that equality in human dignity and rights can be achieved through Human Rights Education (HRE) from below, at the community level. It presents us with a cinematic reading with sensational inquest into three human rights violation cases in India, Turkey and Australia. It assesses and presents the three cases as research tools as well as pedagogical strategy for understanding and promoting HRE. By educating the community, as is stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *about*, *through* and *for* Human Rights, vulnerable and marginalized individuals in the society, like a child of the *Dalit* community in India and a Turkish woman who suffers traumatic experiences of domestic violence, can combat discrimination and stand against violations of their own rights. Again, the author convinces us that, conversely, government workers in the context of policing, like Victoria State police in Australia, as presented in the film, should protect and promote human dignity and rights in investigations, arresting, custody, using force or firearms etc. The clear message from this thoughtful analysis is that HRE can empower individuals to bring positive change to their own lives as well as their societies. HRE should reach the grass-root level of the community to eliminate discrimination, exclusion and ensure equality creating conducive environment for promoting and protecting human rights and upholding human dignity. The paper concludes that Human Rights Education is 'a Path to Dignity'. It is indeed necessary that every human being is invested with HRE so that their dignity and rights are promoted and protected.

Next, Mudita Karunarathne, Wasantha Athukorala and Saman Yapa Bandara have touched on a burning environmental issue in the city of Kandy in Sri Lanka, the City which was once renowned across the world as one of the most beautiful, natural and livable cities in Asia. The authors make a rigorous empirical analysis of the data they have collected from well-represented sample and attempt to calculate the health cost of urban air pollution. Their key research focus is outdoor air pollution which, as they say, remains a major environmental health problem in Kandy, which

has also been in public debate for some time now. This research indicates that the burden of diseases attributable to air pollution seems to be considerable proportion of the city dwellers, monthly income. The authors have found that health cost of the residents of the inner-city area is relatively higher than that of the dwellers of outer city areas. Overall, the study shows that exposure level, number of sick days, distance to the road, and mode of travel, location of dwelling, household income, education, and age serve as the key determinants of the health costs. While air pollution is gaining momentum as a daunting public health problem in developing countries, and most of these countries do not have an adequate understanding to assess the magnitude of the problem, the findings of this study points to extremely important policy implications.

Asanka Bulathwatta, in the next article of this issue of JHS, informs us that traumatic events are not just the events of day-to-day living, and that they can also likely be life-events caused by many psychosocial issues resulting in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders (PISD) and Post Traumatic Growth (PTG) which refers to the optimistic rising right through the trauma in the opposite direction. However, as the author says, not all people who face traumatic events end up with PTSD or any other psychosocial issues because most people can overcome their life traumas using their emotional intelligence and resilience capacities. Using some findings of his own study carried out with a sample of the university students from Germany and Sri Lanka, the author focuses on mechanisms and resources which could be used to develop rehabilitation strategies along with emotional intelligence and resilience capacities for trauma. The author discusses three different models and explains the process of overcoming trauma using emotional intelligence, resilience, and coping competencies.

This issue of the journal ends introducing two interesting books to readers through the journal's book reviews, one by Ven. Bhikkhuni, Dr. W. Suvimalee on, "Buddhist Nuns and Gender Practice" and another by Arathiya Pushpalingam on, "The Broken Palmyra: The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka - An Inside Account".

According to Ven. Suvimalee, "Buddhist Nuns and Gender Practice" written by Nirmala S. Salgado, is a fascinating critique of Western ways of looking at the subject of Asian Buddhist nuns. The reviewer says that this book brings to our attention the style of Western feminist authors' forging of feminist Buddhism, addressing the Western academic audience. The reviewer says that the author has grounded this critique in a wide and well-informed manner. It is richly textured with references to the views of other

contemporary critics on the subject and skillfully woven into the author's own extensive research and experience as well. Again, the book has used the works that scholars of Buddhism and gender have hitherto largely overlooked. Ven. Suvimalee says, "I recommend this book as a highly erudite piece of scholarship written with a deep understanding and sensitivity to the real genuine practice of female renunciants".

Arathiya Pushpalingam reviews the book "The Broken Palmyra: The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka - An Inside Account" written by a group of four academics from the University of Jaffna. According to the reviewer, the book is a valuable chronological account of the ethno-nationalist crisis in the state of Sri Lanka. The reviewer finds that the aim of the authors of this book is to be frank about each and everything that took place in the ethnic crisis. It assumes that armed ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka was a result of geopolitical interest in power, not just an internal ethnic crisis in the country. The reviewer says that the book shows how the passive nature of political parties in Sri Lanka and the ethnic conflicts of the time were used by India for its own political and economic interests. The reviewer concludes that the book will be a useful reading for future generations to know the history of the ethno-nationalist crisis in the country during the 1980s

Thus, this issue of the JHS has become another rich blend of knowledge and a source of wisdom from diverse fields reflecting the PGIHS itself as a place of diversity. The new issue of the journal is now available to a wider readership both national and international. We hope its reach-out will spark critical thoughts and encourage innovative contributions to the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Free Trade Agreements and Trade Expansion: Rhetoric and Reality

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Abstract

The government of Sri Lanka has embraced free trade agreements (FTAs) as a key focus of the national trade and development strategy. This paper examines the rationale of this policy choice by analysing the trade outcomes of Sri Lanka's FTAs with India and Pakistan and the expected gains from the FTA with Singapore. The analysis is informed by the existing body of knowledge on the role of FTAs as an alternative to multilateral and unilateral liberalisation. There is strong evidence that trade gains from FTAs has been vastly exaggerated by the proponents in the Sri Lankan trade policy debate. FTAs are essentially preferential trade deals the actual trade effect of which is conditioned by the commodity coverage normally dictated by political considerations and lobby group pressure, and the 'rules of origin' relating to the eligibility for the tariff concessions offered. Even then, potential trade gains depend crucially on supply-side reforms needed to improve the country's capability to reap gains from market opening and compatibility of its trade patterns with the partner countries. The failure of the process of multilateral trade liberation under the WTO does not, therefore, make a valid case for a country giving priority to FTAs. The more effective and time-honoured alternative is to undertake its own (unilateral) trade reforms needed for effectively integrating the country in the global economy combined with appropriate supply-side reforms.

Keywords: *Trade Policy, Export Performance, World Trade Organisation, Free Trade, Agreement, Rules of Origin*

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Introduction

Over the past three decades, free trade agreements (FTAs) have become an integral and enduring part of the global trading system. The number of FTAs notified to the World Trade Organization (WTO) increased from 19 in 1990 to 292 by January 2019.[3] The government of Sri Lanka also has recently embraced the new-found global fondness for FTAs as a key focus of the national trade and development strategy. 'Pursuing … free trade agreements with all major trading partners' figures prominently in the government's *New Trade Policy* issued in June 2017 (Government of Sri Lanka 2017, 17). The rationale of this policy choice has, however, been intensely debated in the Sri Lankan policy circles. The purpose of this article is to assess this debate.

The paper begins with as overview of the role of FTAs as an alternative to multilateral and unilateral liberalisation to provide the context for the Sri Lankan debate. This is followed by a preliminary assessment of the trade outcome of the Sri Lanka – India free trade agreement (SLIFTA) and Sri Lanka- Pakistan free trade agreement (SLPFTA). The next section makes some observations on the likely impact of the Sri Lanka–Singapore free trade agreement (SLSFTA). The closing section offers some concluding remarks. This paper focuses only on the economic rationale of FTAs while ignoring political considerations.

Free Trade Agreements in the World Trade System: An Overview

FTAs and Trade Openings

By definition, a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is a treaty between two or more countries under which all tariffs are eliminated on goods produced in member countries, while keeping tariffs on trade with non-member countries. However, in practice, tariff concessions are given on a selective basis, depending on lobby-group pressure in the process of FTA negotiation and perhaps genuine concerns about industrial adjustment problems associated with trade opening. The coverage of the eligibility list varies significantly among FTAs. Even for the products included on the eligibility list, tariff preferences are not automatic but subject to meeting Rules of Origins (RoOs), which are an integral part of any FTA. For these reasons, the term 'free trade agreement' is, in fact, a misnomer; the more meaningful term, which is preferred by prominent trade economists is 'preferential trade agreement' (PTA). However, in this article we stick to the popular term, FTA (Bhagwati et al, 1998; Bhagwati, 2008).

[3] http://rtais.wto.org/UI/Charts.aspx

In an FTA, unlike in a Customs Union (CU),[4] the participant countries maintain their own external tariffs, which usually differ between member countries, while offering concessional tariffs to the member countries. Thus, it is necessary to combine tariff concessions with RoO to prevent 'trade deflection', that is, transhipment of goods from non-member countries through the member country with the lowest external tariffs to other FTA members. If eligibility criteria imposed for the identification of the true originating of products are stringent and the related administrative mechanism is cumbersome or corrupt, then RoOs can diminish, or even render worthless, the preference margin offered to traders (Krishna, 2006). There is always the opportunity to tweak RoOs or delay the approval process in response to lobby group pressure to undermine the expected trade opening under an FTA (Falvey and Reed, 2002). Because of these reasons, the design and implementation of the RoO matter a lot in understanding how much market access an FTA really confers.

The RoO are set based on two criteria: Regional Value Content (RVC) and Change of Tariff Classification (CTC) (Krishna, 2006; Athukorala & Kohpaiboon, 2011). The RVC criterion requires that the cost of material and processing cost within the FTA member countries represents a set minimum proportion of the value of the final product. The CTC criterion requires that the 'non-originating material' (that is, intermediate inputs imported from non-member countries) used in production belong to a different commodity code (category) of the Harmonised System (HS). Until recently, the RVC criterion was by far the dominant norm used in setting RoO. The design and application of RoOs have become increasingly complicated in recent years because of the rapid growth of international fragmentation of production: the geographical separation of activities involved in producing a good (or service) across two or more countries within vertically integrated production systems. It is difficult to apply the standard value-added criteria in a context where trade in parts and components and final assembly occur in different countries, because assembly in a given location within a production network has a very thin value-added content. For this reason, most FTAs now use a mixture of the two criteria.

In applying the CTC criterion, the shifting of HS classifications is usually expressed at the chapter (two-digit), heading (four-digit) or sub-heading (six-digit) level of the HS system of classification. The specific level of the

[4] A CU is an FTA with the member countries imposing a common external tariff on a given product (European Union (EU), Central American Common Market (CACM) and Caribbean Community (CARICOM) are examples). Given common external tariffs, transhipment is not an issue relating to CUs (Panagariya, 2000)

HS classification chosen makes a significant difference in the case of manufactured goods, as the good is usually 'made' from the other items in the given chapter or the heading to which it belongs. Specification of the 'HS change level' by chapter is more restrictive than a change at the heading level, which in turn is more restrictive than a change at the sub-heading level.

Within the limits set by the actual products coverage and RoOs, the actual trade outcome of an FTA depends on two key factors: 'supply response', and 'trade compatibility'. The term 'supply response' here refers to the capacity of an economy to increase the supply of exports as well as to achieve productivity gains while facing import competition under an FTA. It depends on a wide range of factors, many of which fall outside the ambit of an FTA. These factors include not only trade and industry policy, but also the country's trade-related institutional infrastructure, human resource development and all the other elements determining the flexibility of the economy in responding to emerging opportunities in the global economy.

The term 'trade compatibility' refers to the extent to which the trade patterns of a given country match with that of its partner country: whether products exported by a given partner country are the ones mostly imported by the other partner country and the vice versa. The degree of trade compatibility depends on a country's comparative advantage in international production, which in turn affects the nature of resource endowment and the stages of economic development. The size of a country's economy also matters because larger countries generally tend to have a more diversified product mix. Most FTAs listed in the policy debate as 'success' cases (such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Vietnam – US FTAs and FTAs of Australia and New Zealand with China) are between countries with strong trade compatibility with regard to both import and export.

In recent years, FTAs have evolved and gone beyond trade liberalisation into provisions for institutional harmonization between the member countries relating to intellectual property, health and safety issues, labour standards, labour migration, investment proportion and protection, banking and finance, investor-state dispute settlement and others. The FTAs with such multiple provisions are now popularly known as 'modern FTAs'. The stated rationale for broadening the coverage of reforms is to achieve deep economic integration among the member countries going beyond what can be achieved through the shallow cross-border integration through trade reforms**.** There is, however, scepticism of how deep FTAs can go beyond the possibilities offered by the WTO process or unilateral reforms. These

concerns have been widely debated relating to provisions on cross border investment and labour migration (Krishna, 2014).

Trade Effects of FTAs

With the proliferation of FTAs as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the share of world trade accounted for by member countries of FTAs increased from 28% in 1990 to over 55% by the end of the first decade of 2000s (WTO, 2011). These figures are often misleadingly quoted in the Sri Lankan policy debate to imply that Sri Lanka is going to be marginalised in world trade unless the country gets into the FTA game (Government of Sri Lanka, 2017; Ratnayake, 2017).

However, the recorded total trade of FTA partner countries is *not* the same as trade occurring under trade preferences offered by FTAs. According to the calculations of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), only 30% of world trade takes place on a preferential basis, but this figure drops to 16% when trade within the European Union (which is a CU) is excluded (WTO, 2011). The available evidence on the operation of FTAs in Asian countries also suggests that the utilisation of tariff concessions offered under FTAs are rather low, ranging from 5% to 20% across different product categories (Cheongh and Choc 2009; Jongwanich and Kohpaiboon, 2017; Menon, 2014). There is also evidence that the utilisation rates are often rigid or industry specific. Normally, utilisation rates are high for large firms and firms with close trade and FDI ties or those located in specific industries where complying with RoO requirements are simple and straightforward. The upshot is that, not only the actual trade effect of the FTA is low, but also that FTAs are unlikely to have the potential to promote trade in a neutral and broad fashion.

Why then is the actual trade effect of FTAs much lower than that is claimed by FTA enthusiasts? First, much of the trade between FTA members is in goods on which MFN tariff rates are zero or rather small in the first place. Most countries also provide dust free accession to imported inputs used in export production through free trade zone (FTZ) schemes and duty drawback schemes. Second, goods that are subject to high tariffs are often excluded from the list of products earmarked for duty concessions in most FTAs. Third, the world electronics trade is virtually free of duty thanks to the WTO's Information Technology Agreement (ITA), which came into effect in 2006 (WTO, 2017). Fourth, and perhaps more importantly, traders in many countries simply ignore FTA tariff concessions because of the administrative cost and other administrative complications.

The ITA, concluded at the WTO’s Singapore Ministerial Conference in 1996, is a pluralistic agreement that requires participant countries to

eliminate tariffs on a specific list of information technology products (computers, semiconductors, semiconductor manufacturing and testing equipment, telecommunication equipment, computer software, and scientific instruments). So far 75 countries have signed the ITA. These countries account for about 97 % of world trade in IT products. IT products covered by the agreement amount to about 34% of total world manufacturing trade. A country that becomes a signatory to a pluralistic agreement opens its market to both member- and non-member countries.

A point often made by proponents of FTAs is that exports from Sri Lanka are not growing fast because the country is lagging behind the fast-growing countries in Asia in signing FTAs. (Government of Sri Lanka, 2017; Ratnayake, 2017). This observation is simply a misinterpretation of 'coexistence' as 'causality'. These countries (and, in fact, all high performing countries in East Asia) had already become dynamic exporting nations well before the new penchant for signing FTAs (Perkin, 2013). In fact, South Korea and Taiwan achieved supper-past export growth in the 1980s in a hostile international environment with high tariffs and quantitative restriction in most destination countries. Broader unilateral reforms with emphasis on export orientation were the key to their export success (Rodrik, 2018a). In any case, as noted above, the available evidence suggests that only a small share of Asian countries' trade occurs under the existing FTAs: FTAs are mostly 'window dressing'. It is also important to note that most of these countries are signatories to the ITA and hence FTAs are virtually irrelevant for the electronics industry, which covers on average over a half of each of these countries' exports.

The proponents of FTAs may ask why countries are so enthusiastic in signing FTAs if the actual trade flow effect is very low. This issue has been well addressed in the recent literature on FTAs (Rodrik, 2018b; Cattaneo, 2009; Irvin, 2018; Krishna, 2014). Firstly, countries sign FTAs as much for foreign policy and security reasons as for economic reasons. Secondly, there is the so-called 'band-wagon' effect, the tendency to follow others without considering actual economic implications. Thirdly, as discussed below, there is a tendency on the part of the politicians and technocrats to place greater emphasis on the FTA path to trade openings for various non-economic reasons. In sum, an FTA is rarely, if ever, based on a single motive, the contracting parties to an FTA often have different and sometimes even conflicting objectives

The proponents of FTAs often mention that the increased emphasis on signing FTAs reflects deep frustration resulting from a failure to make substantial progress with the Doha Round of Multilateral trade negotiation initiated in 2001. However, an inspection of annual data on the reporting of

FTAs to WTO clearly shows that proliferation of FTAs started around the time of the successful completion of Uruguay Round negotiation that significantly brought down trade barriers worldwide under the newly restabled WTO. Over 60 of the existing FTAs came into effect between 1994 and the year of the launching of the Doha Round (2001), when there were high hopes of further reforms under the WTO. It seems that the launching of the NAFTA in January 1994, a landmark in the history of regional trading arrangements, and positive prognoses made by some prominent economists of NAFTA's trade effects (eg Summers, 1991; Krugman, 1991) seem to have had a significant demonstration effect on the proliferation of FTAs in the ensuing years.

Do FTAs play a vital role in attracting direct foreign investment? The available empirical evidence on this issue is mixed, at best. Moreover, the available 'positive' evidence relates predominantly to FTAs involving developed and developing countries (Stevens et al., 2016). The best inference possible from the available evidence is that FTAs can play a role at the margin if and only if other preconditions required for making the country an attractive place for FDI are met. It is also important to note that signing bilateral investment protection treaties (BIPTs) is an alternative to FTAs for facilitating FDI. However, regardless of whether a country signs an FTA or a BIPT, the outcome depends on complementary supply-side reforms (Dollar et al., 2005; Hallward-Driemeier, 2003; Stevens et al., 2016).

Often ignored in the FTA debate in Sri Lanka and elsewhere are the untoward developmental implications of the new-found enthusiasm for signing FTAs. In the negotiation and implementation process of an FTA, the attention of policy makers is often distracted from these vital supply-side issues. This is because FTA negotiation has its own attractions to political leadership and high-level technocrats compared to domestic reforms. FTAs help attract media attention ('photo opportunities') and foreign dignitaries visiting countries to sign agreements. Negotiating FTAs is also relatively less cumbersome compared to handling messy domestic "supply-side issues." Whatever the drivers may be, the policy bias in favour of FTAs has significant (but hidden) cost to the economy in a country with limited technocratic and institutional capabilities. There is always the possibility of a costly trade-off between signing FTAs and undertaking much needed supply-side reforms (Cattaneo, 2009; Bhagwati et. al.; 1998).

With the proliferation of FTAs, the tariff structure of a country will become highly differentiated, giving rise to inefficiencies in resource allocation.

Overlapping of the standard MFN tariff and FTA tariff concessions, and multiple 'rules of origin' attached to the later complicate customs of administration and weaken efficiency improvements in the custom system and opens up opportunities for corruption (Bhagwati, 2008; Krishna, 2014; Arvin 2008).

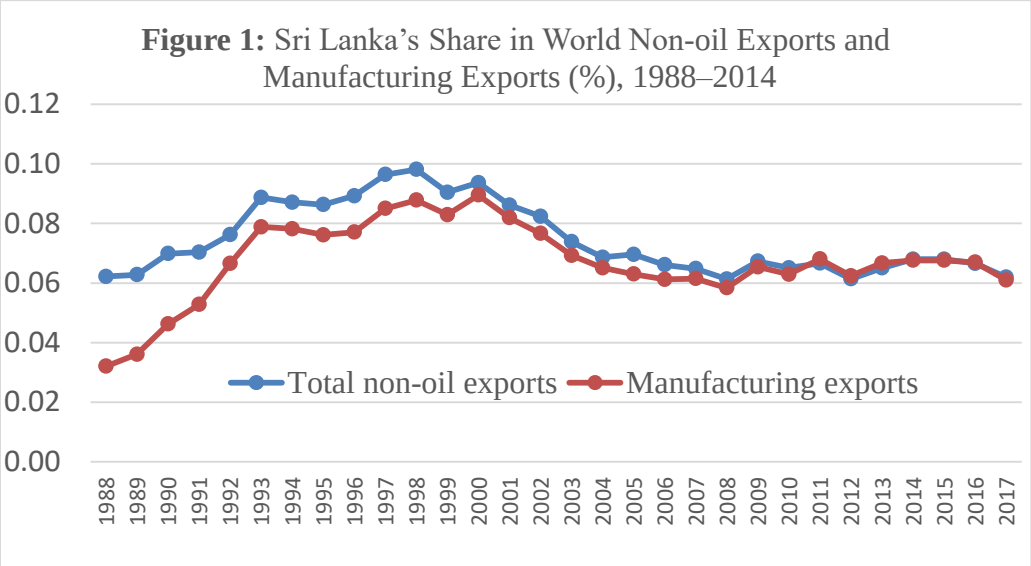
FTAs and Sri Lanka's Trade Performance

This section begins with a stage-setting discussion of the relative importance of supply-side and demand-side factors affecting Sri Lanka's export performance and the compatibility of Sri Lankan trade patterns with that of the existing and potential FTA partners. This is followed by a preliminary assessment of the trade outcome of SLIFTA and SLPFTA.

Supply and Demand in Export Expansion

Perhaps the best readily available indicator of the relative importance of demand and supply factors in determining a country's export performance is its share in total world exports. A continuous decline in the world market share implies that the country has not been able to exploit existing world market opportunities because of supply constraints. If that is the case, market opening through signing FTAs is unlikely to have an appreciable effect on export expansion.

Figure 1 depicts Sir Lanka's share of world exports separately for total exports (excluding petroleum) and manufactured goods. Sri Lanka's share in world exports increased from 0.05% in the mid-1980s to about 0.11% in 2000, underpinned by significant trade and FDI reforms undertaken concurrently during this period. It has then declined continuously, reverting back to the level recorded in the 1980s by 2017. The time patterns of both data series are strikingly similar. This suggests that slowing of the export growth of both primary products and manufactured goods during the last two decades has been driven primarily by domestic supply-side factors. Exports from the country have failed to keep up with the expansion of world demand. There is ample evidence that policy slippages on the supply side, rather than the failure to join the FTA-club was the fundamental reason behind this lackluster export record (Rajapatirana, 2016; Athukorala, 2017).



Source: Data compiled from UN Comtrade database.

The data presented in Table 1 on Sri Lanka's exports to the European Union and the utilisation rates of GSP concessions reinforce the inference made above. In fact, the GSP utilisation rate is a much better indicator of the relative importance of supply-side factors relating to the FTA debate: In terms of facilitating export expansion through concessionary market entry, a GSP scheme is similar to an FTA even though the underlying modalities are different.

Table 1 Sri Lanka's Exports to the European Union (EU), 1999-2017

	Exports (Mn Euro)			GSP utilisation rate
	Total exports	GSP eligible exports	Exports under GSP	
2009	1947	1615	1192	73.8
2010	2123	1745	1270	72.8
2011	2239	1775	1177	66.3
2012	2250	1763	1072	60.8
2013	2039	1644	989	59.6
2014	2161	1798	1072	59.6
2015	2340	1967	1078	54.8
2016	2403	2030	1106	54.5
2017	2635	2264	1240	54.8

Source: Compiled from data obtained from the EU Statistical office.

The GSP utilisation rate of Sri Lankan exports to the EU has declined sharply from about 73.8 in 2009 to 54.8 in 2017, with only minor year-to-year changes. The country-level GSP utilisation rates for the same data source (not reported here for the sake of brevity) suggest that Sri Lanka's average utilization rate is lower than all GSP-eligible countries in Asia, let alone most GSP-eligible African countries.[5]

Trade Compatibility

The trade compatibility index estimated for Sri Lanka's import and export with India, Pakistan, Singapore and a sample of other countries during 2015-17 is reported in Table 2. Three-year averages are used here in order to reduce the influence of any annual irregular variation in trade data. A high coefficient of compatibility on the export side implies that an FTA between Sri Lanka and an importing country would have a high likelihood of increasing exports from the former to the latter. Likewise, a high coefficient of compatibility on the import side implies that an FTA with a given country has a high likelihood of increasing imports to Sri Lanka from that country.

It is important to note that this index provides for only an ordinal inference: we can infer from it only whether one agreement makes more sense than the other from the point of view of a given country. The index cannot yield an inference of cardinal nature, such as the expected size of trade, or trade creation or trade diversion following one agreement or another nor, for that matter, will they tell whether the agreement is expected to be 'good' or 'bad' (Michaely, 1996; Yeats, 1999).

The value of the index is significantly larger for both exports and imports with developed countries (USA, Germany and UK) compared to countries in the region, which are the focus of current FTA negotiations in Sri Lanka. This contrast is consistent with the available evidence that trade gains for developing countries from their FTAs with developed countries (South – North agreements) is likely to be greater compared to those among developing countries (South-South agreements) (Stevens et al., 2015).

Sri Lanka's trade compatibility with India on the exports side is much smaller (0.21) compared to that on the import side (0.68). There is no notable difference between the export complementarity index and imports complementarity index relating to Pakistan, and the latter is much smaller (0.35) compared to that with India (0.68). As we will see below Sri Lanka's trade patterns under the FTAs with these two countries are broadly

[5] Data are not yet available to assess the impact of the recent reintroduction of GSP+.

consistent with what one would expect based on trade compatibility indices. The indices also suggest that, under the existing trade patterns, we cannot expect much export expansion from FTAs with Singapore, Thailand or China.

Table 2 Indices of Compatibility of Sri Lanka's Trade with Sleeted Countries, 2015-17[1]

	Exports (Cx_jm_k)[1]	Imports Cm_jx_k[2]
India	0.21	0.68
Pakistan	0.25	0.35
Singapore	0.14	0.31
China	0.11	0.71
Thailand	0.09	0.23
USA	0.68	0.61
European Union	0.67	0.58
Germany	0.64	0.62
UK	0.59	0.48

Source: Computed using data from UN Comtrade database (SITC Rev 3, at the five-digit level)

Note:

(1) Three-year avenges (Three-years averages are used here in order to reduce the influence of any annual irregular variation in trade data.

(2) Index of compatibility of exports of country j (Sri Lanka) with imports of county k

$Cx_jm_k = 1 - 0.5\ \Sigma|x_{ij} - m_{ik}|$

(3) Index of compatibility of imports of country j (Sri Lanka) with exports of county k

$Cm_jx_k = 1 - 0.5\ \Sigma|m_{ij} - x_{ik}|$

where, x_{ij} share of good *i* in total exports of country *j*, m_{ij} share of good *i* in total imports of country *j*, x_{ik} share of good *i* in total exports of country *k*; m_{ik} : share of good *i* in total imports of country *k:* and | | indicates absolute value (i.e. regardless of sign)'

Sri Lanka – India Free Trade Agreement (SLIFTA)

The SLIFTA was signed in December 1998 and it became operational in March 2000. The agreement covers only merchandise trade (traded goods). In 2005, Sri Lanka and India initiated negotiations to extend the SLFTA into a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA), which would cover services and investment in addition to broadening commodity coverage of trade liberalisation.

The SLIFTA adopts a negative list approach to trade liberalisation. To begin with in the India-Sri Lanka FTA (ISLFTA), India provided Sri Lanka

duty concessions (90-100% duty exemptions) on 1351 items (at the six-digit level of the Harmonized System). However, tea and garments produced with non-Indian fabrics were subject to import quotas and could enter India only through certain designated ports. In early 2003, 2,799 more items were added to the concession list, port-of-entry restrictions on tea and garments were relaxed and the quota on garment imports was expanded. Trade preferences granted by Sri Lanka to India are more extensive and larger in proportional terms, but concessions have been granted mostly on products for which MFN tariffs are already very low. Most food products exported from India, which have considerable potential for rapid market penetration in Sri Lanka, remain on the negative list with high import duties. The RoOs of the agreement are a combination of RVC and CTS: value added 35% of FOB value if the inputs come from both countries or 25% if inputs conform one of the two countries.; final products have a different classification compared to intermediate inputs at the 4-digit HS level. The agreement incorporates special and differential treatment provisions to factor in Sri Lanka's smaller economic size (Kelegama, 2014; Weerakoon, 2001).

A claim made in various government reports and by proponents of FTA is that Sri Lanka has been a net gainer of the SLIFTA: exports under the agreement account for over 60% of total exports to India whereas only a smaller share of import (about 10%) is covered by the agreement (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2018; Kelegama, 2014). However, a close look at the data suggests that this is a rather simplistic interpretation of the actual trade outcome under the agreement (Table 3).

There was a surge of exports from Sri Lanka to India during the first seven to eight years following the agreement came into force. This was mainly due to exports of vanaspati (refined hydrogenated oil, listed under HS 151620) and primary copper (extracted from imported from scrap metal) (HS7403). These products accounted for over nearly 60% of total Sri Lankan exports to India during this period. However, the expansion of these exports was not driven by Sri Lanka's comparative advantage in their production compared to India. Rather, it was because Indian manufacturers invested heavily in Sri Lanka to produce these products to reap gains from lower Sri Lankan tariffs on required main inputs (crude palm oil for Vanaspati production and scrap metal for extracting primary copper) and preferential (under zero tariff) entry of the end products to India under the FTA (Athukorala, 2014).

Table 3 Sri Lanka - India Merchandise Trade, 2000 -2017

	Exports (USD mn)			Imports (US$ mn)			India's share in Sri Lanka's trade (%)		Trade balance as % of exports
	Total	SLIFTA	SLIFTA share in exports (%)	Total	SLIFTA	SLFTA share in imports	Exports	Imports	
2000	56	9	16	600	54	9	1.7	14.1	
2001	70	16	23	601	113	19	2.3	14.4	-757.1
2002	169	114	68	834	82	10	3.7	18.2	-394.0
2003	241	239	99	1076	150	14	5.0	22.1	-346.2
2004	385	340	88	1342	395	29	7.1	22.9	-248.1
2005	559	543	97	1399	246	18	8.9	20.7	-150.3
2006	494	431	87	1822	459	25	7.1	21.2	-268.8
2007	516	398	77	2785	385	14	6.7	23.1	-439.3
2008	418	309	74	3007	541	18	5.2	24.5	-619.2
2009	325	219	67	1710	372	22	4.5	17.8	-426.3
2010	467	358	77	2546	574	23	5.5	19.1	-445.7
2011	522	392	75	4349	580	13	4.9	21.9	-733.9
2012	566	380	67	3517	156	4	5.8	19.0	-521.0
2013	543	369	65	3093	393	13	5.2	17.6	-469.2
2014	625	376	60	3978	540	14	5.6	20.7	-536.6
2015	643	406	63	4273	240	6	6.1	22.5	-564.6
2016	551	375	68	3828	187	5	5.4	19.9	-594.4
2017	689	442	64	4496	257	6	6.1	21.6	-552.1

Source: Combined from data provided by the Department of Commerce and from The Central Bank, Annual report (for total trade)

The export dynamism of vanaspati and copper was however short lived. Under strong pressure from the Indian Vanaspati Producers Association, India subsequently cut its import tariffs on palm oil from 70% in the early 1990s to 7.5% in January 2008 and then to zero in March 2008 and imposed stringent tariff rate quotas on vanaspati imports from Sri Lanka. Consequently, vanaspati exports disappeared from Sri Lanka's export list from about 2009. In the case of copper, from 2008 India began to regulate imports from Sri Lanka based on its own domestic value addition estimates

made using the London Metal Exchange prices. This remarkable policy response was based on India's concerns about the validity of the RoO certificates issued by the Sri Lankan Department of Commerce. Following the introduction of the stringent procedure for approving market access, a large proportion of Sri Lankan copper exports of Sri Lanka became ineligible for entering India under the FTA tariff concessions.

During the ensuing years, Sri Lankan other products exported to India were also subject form time to time various forms of 'administrative protection' such as stringent food safety regulations, delaying of customs clearance and changes made in the list of ports demarcated for the entry of Sri Lanka goods (Pal, 2015). There is also anecdotal evidence that some Sri Lanka exporters began to shun the FTA and export under the MFN tariffs because of the cumbersome and costly procedures involved in obtaining RoO certificates and delays in import clearance at the Indian ports

Reflecting the combined effect of all these factors, the share of Sri Lanka's exports to India covered by the SLIFTA declined from a peak of 97% in 2005 to about 64% during the past five years. The share of total exports to India declined from about 8.5% in the early 2000s to 6.4% during 2015-17. Even these figures need to be treated with caution because of some cases of alleged 'trade deflection' of some products (rerouting of products) from other countries to India via Sri Lank through alleged manipulation of the country of origin certification. There have been a number of highly-publicised cases of rerouting via Sri Lanka to India of areca nuts from Indonesia and black pepper from Vietnam.

The food safety regulations and other administrative restrictions imposed by India on imports from Sri Lanka from time to time clearly support the view that, in practice, implementation of a bilateral FTA is highly susceptible to domestic lobby group pressures, particularly when the FTA partner is a large country with greater bargaining power. Presumably, a small country like Sri Lanka has a much better chance of resolving these issues through the multilateral dispute settlement process of the WTO. Involvement of other WTO members in the dispute settlement process could help overcome resistance arising at the bilateral level. An interesting example is the resolution of the Sri Lanka - EU dispute relating to cinnamon exports[6]. In 2006, some member countries of the EU introduced a de-facto ban on import of cinnamon from Sri Lanka because of sulphur dioxide (SO2) content. Sri Lankan authorities were able to successfully resolve the dispute by appealing to the WTO under the Sanitary and

[6] https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news06_e/sps_oct06_e.htm

Phytosanitary agreement (Food safety, anamal and plant health standards). The settlement of the issue involved the adoption of a new international food safety standard for cinnamon that helped ensuring transference in food safety monitoring in international cinnamon trade.

It is often claimed that, under the SLIFTA India has become the second largest destination for Sri Lankan exports. However, India accounts for only about 6% of Sri Lankan exports compared to the 26% share of the largest destination country, which is the USA. A close look at the commodity composition of exports casts doubt about possibilities for further expansion of exports from Sri Lanka to India. Most of the agricultural products, which account for the bulk of total exports to India, are subject to supply constraints. Sri Lanka's total (world) exports of some agricultural products (cinnamon, cloves, black pepper) have increased at a much slower rate or it might even be said that it has hardly increased, suggesting that increase in exports to India involved diversion of exports from other markets propelled by duty free market access rather than by a net increase in domestic production. Most of the manufactured goods exported from Sri Lanka under the FTA benefit from high MFN import tariffs in India, and are, therefore, susceptible to further unilateral trade liberalisation in India. Garments, the main manufacturing export of Sri Lanka, account for less than 3% of Sri Lankan exports to India. As a labour abundant country, it is unlikely that India is prepared to substantially expose its garment industry to competition from Sri Lanka on a bilateral basis.

The picture is very different on the import side. The share of imports from India has on average accounted over 20% of Sri Lanka's total merchandise exports during 2000-17, even though. imports under SLIFTA account for a small and declining share in Sri Lanka's total imports from India, averaging to a mere 6% during this period. This pattern is consistent with Sri Lanka's high trade compatibility (explained below) with India on the import side. The high compatibility is in fact what we would expect in trade between a small country and a giant trading pattern with a highly diversified production base. Even though India has a large and diversified production base compared to Sri Lanka, most of the products in Sri Lanka's import baskets are produced in India at internationally competitive prices. Moreover, Sri Lanka is a low-tariff country in the region with a significant number of zero-duty tariff lines. Given the strong trade compatibility and low import tariff, tariff concessions granted under the SLIFTA are not a significant determinants of Sri Lanka's imports from India. On the export side, the small share of exports to India (6%) seems to reflect the low degree of compatibility between commodity composition of Sri Lanka's

exports and that of India's exports. India has a strong cooperative advantage in world trade in most labour- and resource intensive products exported from Sri Lanka.

There was a notable decline in Sri Lanka's bilateral trade deficit with India during about the first five years following the SLIFTA coming into effect. This declining trend has disappeared since then. Over the past decade, the bilateral trade deficit amounted to about five times the total exports to India without showing any declining trend.

Given the glaring asymmetry in export and import between Sri Lanka and India under the SLIFTA, India has an overwhelming bargaining power in trade negotiation with Sri Lanka. This arguably accounts for India's ability to control imports from Sri Lanka by resorting to various non-tariff barriers (Pal, 2015), notwithstanding its stated commitment to honour special and differential treatment provisions. The experience under the SLIFTA, therefore, does not augur well for Sri Lanka with regard to obtaining further market access through the ongoing ETCA negotiations.

Sri Lanka Pakistan Free Trade Agreement (SLPFTA)

The SLPTFA was signed in July 2002 and it came in to effect in June 2005. In terms of the coverage of the concessions ('positive') list and the RoOs the agreement is virtually a mirror image of the ISLINDFA (Ahmad, 2012).

Table 4 Sri Lanka-Pakistan Trade, 2012-2017

	Exports (US$ mn)			Imports	Pakistan's share in Sri Lanka's trade (%)		Trade balance as % of exports
	Total	SLPFTA	SLPFTA share in imports (%)		Exports	Imports	
2012	82.7	60.4	73.0	353	0.8	1.8	-326.6
2013	83.0	59.2	71.3	378	0.8	2.1	-355.1
2014	74.3	51.8	69.7	280	0.7	1.4	-277.1
2015	73.1	58.8	80.5	297	0.7	1.6	-306.3
2016	63.8	51.5	80.8	304	0.6	1.6	-376.5
2017	74.0	60.3	81.5	349	0.7	1.7	-371.6

Source: Compiled from data provided by the Department of Commerce and from the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, *Annual Report* (for total trade)

SLPFTA covers about 80% of total Sri Lankan exports to Pakistan, but these exports account for a mere 0.7% of total Sri Lankan exports (Table 4). Agricultural products and ago-based raw materials (natural rubber, vegetable products, coconut and some spices) dominate the export mix. The data for the past five years shows that the average utilisation of TRQs offered under the agreement has been very low: tea 13%; garments 4%; betel leaves: 6%. For tea and garments, the higher prices of Sri Lankan products compared to imports from other sources are considered a major reason for the low quota utilisation. Sri Lankan garment producers have significantly upgraded their product mix during the past few decades and Pakistan is not the ideal market for these products (PBC, 2018).

Imports from Pakistan account for about 1.7% of total Sri Lankan imports. The product mix consists of woollen fabrics and bed linen, cement, fertilizer, and basmati rice. There is no evidence of a notable increase in imports following the FTA coming into effect.

At the time of negotiating the agreement, Sri Lankan authorities expected that the country's garment industry would benefit from procuring cotton yarn and fabrics from Pakistan (World Bank, 2005). This expectation has not materialised. Pakistani yarn and fabric account for a small share (less than 2%) of these imports to Sri Lanka. This was presumably because garment producers must procure high quality input from established sources to meet the quality requirements demanded by international buyers. Moreover, garment producers in Sri Lanka have duty free access to imports from any country under the FTZ scheme and duty rebate provisions available to non-FTZ firms.

Overall, trade patterns under the SLPFTA are consistent with our analytical prior that trade outcome under an FTA depends crucially on the trade compatibility between the partner countries. The lack of awareness among the business community of the trade concessions offered in the agreement, as noted in a recent study by the Pakistan Business Council (Pakistan Business Council, 2015), could have played a role in the margin.

The Sri Lanka – Singapore Free Trade Agreement (SLSFTA)

Unlike the SLIFTA and the SLPFTA, SLSFTA is a modern FTA. It has a wider range of reform provisions going beyond liberalisation of trade in goods to include other areas such as services, movement of professionals, telecommunication, electronic commerce, intellectual property rights and government procurement. Overall, the subject coverage is similar to the other FTAs involving Singapore. The SLSFTA was signed on 1 May 2018. However, it is uncertain whether or when the agreement will come into

force and also the form it will take because the President appointed a Committee of Experts (CoE) in November of 2018 to evaluate it.

Singapore is one of the most open trading nations in the world. Singapore's average MFN applied duty rate is zero for all imports other than imports of beverages and tobacco for which the averaged rate varies from 1.6% to 85% (WTO, 2018). Thus, the SLSFTA is unlike to have a direct impact on Sri Lanka's exports to Singapore.

Some commentators have expressed concern that, under the agreement' Sri Lanka would be able to send exports to other Southeast Asian countries with which Singapore has entered in to free trade agreements. It simply reflects the popular media practice of treating 'trade within FTAs' as 'free trade'. This view ignores the fact that RoOs, which are an integral part of any FTA, preclude transhipment of goods to a third country though a FTA partner country.

Sri Lanka has little trade compatibility with Singapore on the import side (Table 2). This is because, over the past three decades, Singapore's export structure has undergone a dramatic transformation. Now petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, high-tech parts and components of electronics and surgical and scientific equipment dominate the commodity composition of exports. Singapore is not a supplier of assembled (final) consumer electronics and electrical foods, automobiles, and low-end parts and comports of these products, which dominate Sri Lanka's manufacturing imports. Therefore, the market penetration effect on Sri Lanka on the part of Singapore on products under the agreement is like to be negligible.

There is a fear that the agreement could open the door for industrial waste and other environmentally harmful products to enter Sri Lanka. This would depend entirely on the implementation of the RoOs of the agreement by Singapore authorities. Given the efficiency of Singapore with a proven record of adherence to the rule of law, one can hope that there would be little room for tweaking or lax implementation of the RoOs on Singapore's part.

The Sri Lankan authorities anticipate that SLSFTA would help link the Sri Lankan manufacturing sector to global production networks (global manufacturing value chain) (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2018). How this would happen is not clearly stated in the related government documents. One possibility could be Singapore-based firms operating within production networks relocating some sediments/tasks of the firms in Sri Lanka to exploit advantages from relative production cost differences. Indeed, this process helped spread production networks from Singapore to

the neighbouring countries during the period from about the mid-1970s to the late 1990s (Athukorala and Kohpaiboon, 2014). However, because of the dramatic industrial transformation noted above, industries such as semiconductor and hard disk drive with potential to shift relatively low-end activities to low-cost locations have already disappeared from Singapore.

It is important to note that, electronics firms currently operating in Sri Lanka export predominantly to countries like Japan, USA, Germany and some European countries. Their exports to Singapore and other ASEAN countries are minuscule, notwithstanding duty free access to these markets under the WTO's Information Technology Agreement.

Even if there were some opportunities for production relocation, whether the FTA would be an effective vehicle for facilitating the process is highly debatable, for two reasons. First, the very essence of global production sharing within global production networks is locating different segments of the production process globally, rather regionally or bilaterally. The relative cost advantage of producing/assembling a given part or components in the supply chain need not necessarily lie in a country within the jurisdictional boundaries of a specific FTA.

Second, there are formidable complications relating to the application of RoOs for trade within global production networks. Most of the task/segments produced/assembled within production networks have very thin value added margins in each location. In addition, most of the imports and exports of parts and components with production fall under the same HS 4-digit classifications. Therefore, the identification of the origin of trade within a production network for granting tariff preferences becomes a major challenge (Athukorala & Kohpaiboon, 2011).

Put simply, the rise of global production sharing strengthens the case for multilateral (WTO-based) or unilateral, rather than regional (FTA) approach, to trade liberalisation. To quote Victor Fung, the Honorary Chairman of Li & Fung, the world's largest supply-chain intermediary based in Hong Kong,

> Bilateralism distorts flows of goods …. In structuring the supply chain, every country of origin rule and every bilateral deal has to be tackled on as additional considerations, thus constraining companies in optimising production globally[7]

These considerations suggest that the more appropriate policy option for facilitating a country's engagement in the global production network is

[7] Victor Fung, *Financial Times*, November 3, 2005.

unilateral liberalisation or becoming a signatory to the ITA. Both policy options assure unconditional duty-free access to the required inputs. The case for such broader liberalisation, rather than following the FTA route lies in the fact that global production sharing is a global phenomenon, rather than a regional or bilateral phenomenon.

One of the main gains envisaged to Sri Lanka from the SLSFTA is attracting FDI from Singapore. It is expected that the provisions in the investment chapter (Chapter 10) (safeguards against expropriation, most-favoured nation treatment, repatriation of capital and return from investment) would entice Singapore investors to come to Sri Lanka. However these provisions are exactly similar to those embodied in the Bilateral Investment Protection Treaty (BIPT) between the two countries that has been in force over three decades (since September 1980).[8] Notwithstanding this long-standing treaty, Sri Lanka has so far been able to attack only a tiny share of rapidly expanding oversees FDI from Singapore. The total stock of our war FDI from Singapore increased from US$32 billion 1994-5 to over 560 billion between 2015 and 2016 (Table 5). However, during this period Singaporean FDI in Sri Lanka amounted to a mere US$ 1.2 billion (based on investment approval records of the Board of Investment). This compassion is much in line with the available multicountry evidence that a BIPT (or an FTA with an FDI chapter, for that matter) is unlikely to entice foreign investors unless they are appropriately embodied in a broader reform addendum to improve the overall investment climate of the country (Hallward-Driemeier, 2003).

The data relating to the evolving patterns of outward FDI from Singapore seems to suggest that, even with the required broader reforms, opportunities for Sri Lanka to attract Singaporean investors are not very promising (Table 5). This is because there is limited compatibility between the sectoral composition of Singaporean outward FDI and both Sri Lanka's development priories and the current stage of economic development. Over a half of outward FDI from Singapore is in the financial sector. These investments are primarily destined to high-income countries. The manufacturing share of FDI, which is relevant for Sri Lanka's objective of joining global production networks, accounts for a smaller and declining share of total outward FDI (16% in 2015-16, compared to 25% in1994-95). MNEs account for the lion's share of Singapore's manufacturing industry (over 80% output). As noted, the SLSFTA is unlikely to be relevant for these MNEs because they make investment location decisions at their headquarters based on a wider inter-country assessment.

[8] https://investmentpolicyhub.unctad.org

Table 5 Singapore's Direct Investment Abroad. 1994-2016,
Two-year averages (%)

	1994-95	**1999-00**	**2004-05**	**2009-10**	**2015-16**
Manufacturing	24.0	24.8	22.1	21.0	17.3
Construction	1.2	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.3
Wholesale & Retail Trade	8.2	6.4	5.6	6.2	8.4
Accommodation & Food Service Activities	2.2	1.8	1.2	0.9	0.6
Transport & Storage	4.1	4.1	4.0	2.6	2.9
Information & Communications	0.0	2.1	5.1	4.4	4.3
Financial & Insurance Services	49.2	48.6	53.7	49.3	48.9
Real Estate Activities	7.0	7.3	4.1	7.7	7.6
Professional, Scientific & technical, Administrative & Support Services	2.9	2.5	1.8	1.7	3.2
Others	1.2	1.6	1.8	5.9	6.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
US $ billion	31.5	54.8	114,5	311.3	560.4

Source: Singapore Department of Statistics[9]

Concluding Remarks

The role of FTAs in trade expansion is vastly exaggerated in the Sri Lankan policy debate. Most politicians, and much of the media, often do not seem understand the distinction between 'free trade' and 'trade under FTAs'. FTAs are essentially preferential trade deals the actual trade effect of which is conditioned by the choice of commodity coverage, which is basically determined by political considerations and lobby group pressure, and the rules of origin.

The failure to make progress with the process of multilateral liberation under the WTO does not make a valid case for giving priority to FTAs. The proliferation of FTAs over the past three decades has been driven largely by several non-economic factors, including the bandwagon effect. If the road to multilateral approach to trade reforms is closed, then the better and

[9] https://data.gov.sg/

time-honored alternative is unilateral liberalization combined with appropriate supply-side reforms.

Notwithstanding the proliferation of FTAs, the actual coverage of these agreements in world trade is much lower than portrayed in the Sri Lankan debate. Over 80% of world trade still takes place under the standard most favor nation (MFN) tariff system. The outcome of FTAs or unilateral liberalization depends crucially on supply-side reforms needed to improve firms' capability to reap gains from market opening. However, even with effective supply-side reforms, FTAs would not promote trade in the absence of significant compatibility in trade patterns of the partner countries. Trade compatibility depends on the nature of economic structures and the stage of development of the countries. Location of the countries in the same region (the 'neighborhood' factor) does not necessarily ensure trade compatibility. Our estimates of trade compatibility and the analysis of the experience under the SLIFTA and SLPFTA cast doubt on potential trade gains from signing FTAs with countries in the region.

Giving priory to FTAs which is the national trade and development strategy is not consistent with the government's objective of linking domestic manufacturing to global production networks (global manufacturing value chain). Global production sharing is a global, not necessarily a regional phenomenon. The relative cost advantage of producing/assembling a given part or component in the supply chain need not necessarily lie in a country within the jurisdictional boundaries of a specific FTA. There is no evidence to support the view that Sri Lanka needs an 'intermediary' country (Singapore) to join production networks. The electronics firms currently in operating in Sri Lankan manufacturing export predominantly to countries like Japan, the USA, Germany and some European countries. Their exports to Singapore and other ASEAN countries are minuscule, notwithstanding duty free access to these markets under the WTO's Information Technology Agreement.

Proliferation of FTAs has the adverse side effect of diverting government attention from other development prerequisites. Overlapping of the standard MFN tariffs with FTA tariff concessions and multiple RoOs attached to FTAs weaken efficiency improvements in the custom system and opens opportunities for corruption.

The available evidence on the role of FTAs in attracting FDI is mixed, at best. The only policy inference one can make from this evidence is that FTAs can play a role at the margin in enticing foreign investors, provided the other preconditions on the supply side are met.

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Buddhist Influence in the Mindfulness Movement within Western Psychology

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Abstract

The mindfulness movement (MM) of Western psychology grew in momentum with the emergence of the Buddhist-derived 'mindfulness-based interventions' (MBIs). This study examines the nature of Buddhist influence on four MBIs: the Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction (MBSR) programme, Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT), Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT) and Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT). This study also examines the operational constructs utilised in psychological research, with an emphasis on tracing Buddhist elements within the commonly used definition of 'mindfulness' provided by MBSR. In addition, the efficacy of these MBIs is explored, and the nature of current-day Buddhist influence on the MM is discussed.

Key Words: *Buddhism, Psychology, Psychotherapy, Mindfulness Mindfulness-based*

Introduction

Since the 1980s, Buddhism has come to be increasingly linked to psychotherapy and psychology in the West. In particular, the Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction (MBSR) programme formulated by Dr Jon Kabat-Zinn in 1979 led this widespread interest in the applications of 'mindfulness' as a therapeutic intervention. Other related approaches are the Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT), the Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT) and the Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT) which consist of mindfulness-based therapeutic elements (Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011). This interest has developed to include other Buddhist-derived concepts like loving kindness, compassion and 'non-self' as therapeutic considerations (Shonin, Van Gordon and Griffiths, 2014; Gilbert, 2009; Murphy, 2016).

In later years, research interest in 'mindfulness' grew beyond behavioural medicine or mind-and-body medicine, into clinical and health psychology, cognitive therapy and neuroscience. Interest also developed on a smaller

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scale in primary and secondary education, higher education, the law, business, and leadership (Williams & Kabat-Zinn, 2011).

The research questions of this study are: How are the mindfulness-based interventions (MBIs) based on Buddhist doctrine and what are the continuing influences of Buddhism on the ensuing mindfulness movement (MM) in the West? The study seeks to understand the extent of Buddhist influence by investigating aspects of Buddhist theory applied to the therapies and their conceptualisation, the sources of such theory, the forms and operational definitions of mindfulness, as well as the perceived efficacy of Buddhist-derived MBIs. Research methodology consists of a literature review at research articles, books and official websites of individual therapeutic approaches using 'Google search' and the EBSCOHost database.

Mindfulness-based Interventions and Buddhist influence

In this study, four established MBIs are investigated as the systematic delivery of therapy that makes use of mindfulness in some way, namely, the Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction (MBSR) programme, Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT), Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT) or Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT).

Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR)

The Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction programme (MBSR) inspired widespread interest in teaching 'mindfulness' as a therapeutic intervention with its conception in 1979. It is the only programme overtly rooted in Buddhist meditation practices. On the website of the Center for Mindfulness of the University of Massachusetts Medical School — where the MBSR was first introduced — the principles of MBSR are described as a confluence of… science, medicine and psychology…and that of Buddhist meditative traditions and their teachings and practices, known collectively as the Dharma (The Center for Mindfulness, 2017). The founder, Kabat-Zinn (2011) describes the influences behind the formulation of the MBSR as stemming from a spectrum of different Buddhist traditions, as well as the yogic traditions. More specifically, he had practised with teachers from the *Theravādā*-based American Insight Meditation tradition, various Zen traditions within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, Tibetan *dzogchen* teachers, and he incorporates *hatha yoga* into the MBSR (Gilpin, 2008; Husgafvel, 2016).

Kabat-Zinn (2011) also points out several other Buddhist teachers and teachings that had inspired him but were not mentioned in the early papers of the MBSR. These were cited by him as the works: Meditation in Action

(Trungpa, 1969), The Miracle of Mindfulness (Hanh, 1976), and The Experience of Insight (Goldstein, 1976); and the descriptions of mindfulness in "the writings of Nyanaponika Thera" (p. 290).

The operational definition of 'mindfulness' that guides the MBSR, as provided by Kabat-Zinn, include variations of: a) 'paying attention in a particular way: on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgmentally'; and b) 'the awareness that arises from paying attention, on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgmentally' (Kabat-Zinn, 2011: 291).

The structure of the MBSR resembles a meditation programme. It is conducted over an eight-week period with group meetings lasting two and a half to three and a half hours. During the sixth week, there is a full day retreat which is spent in silence. Loving-kindness practice is taught during the full day's retreat. In addition, participants are taught to incorporate meditation into everyday life by developing awareness during daily activities such as eating, driving, walking, and in interpersonal communications (Santorelli, 2014).

Murphy (2016) compared the description of practical components of the MBSR with the practices described in the *Pāli* Buddhist Canon. She concludes that the MBSR's structure of teaching sitting meditation by systematically moving through observations of the body, feelings, mind and perceptions while maintaining mindfulness of breathing, corresponds to the progression described in the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (The Discourse on Mindfulness of Breathing). The MBSR body scan technique also parallels the preliminary stage of meditation on the body (a general review of the body) as described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (The Discourse on the Foundations of Mindfulness). The teaching of walking meditation and encouraging the cultivation of awareness in daily life is also compatible with traditional Buddhist meditation practices. In a separate paper however, Anālayo (2019b) shows that the MBSR version of mindfulness does not qualify as an accurate implementation of the four foundations of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna).*

Kabat-Zinn (2011) envisions 'mindfulness' as represented in the MBSR, as 'skilful means for bringing the dharma into mainstream settings', without the label of "Buddhist" or "Buddhism". The different evaluations of the MBSR by Murphy (2016) and Anālayo (2019b) point towards the ambiguity of its Buddhist authenticity. In addition, there are opinions that the MBSR (and the MBCT), takes a 'reductionist approach' by the dilution and simplification of meditation or mindfulness into merely a mind-training

tool that can be learnt in short-term interventions — in a way devoid of the framework of Buddhist ethics (Virtbauer and Shaw, 2017; Grossman and Van Dam, 2011; Murphy, 2016).

Gethin (2011) points to the need to understand that the MBSR and MBCT represent a particular understanding of and approach towards mindfulness, and that they are not representative of the complete Buddhist doctrinal stance. More specifically, Ajahn Amaro (2015) has called for a clear distinction between the secularly presented mindfulness therapies and actual Buddhist practice, so that the Buddhist teachings may still be accessed.

In a contribution of this discussion, Husgafvel (2016) notes that Kabat-Zinn's conceptualisation of MBSR was based on a 'broad spectrum of Buddhist thought and practice' which reflects an 'inclusive view of Buddhism' that subsumes elements from each major Buddhist tradition, but deliberately veers away from following any single approach. Thus, the exact Buddhist sources of the MBSR as well as the extent of authenticity of the 'mindfulness' it presents, is a highly contested issue, which will be further discussed in section three of this paper.

The deliberate abstinence from the use of Buddhist terminology in the MBSR has led to observations by Chiesa and Malinoski (2011) that while the MBSR is 'deeply rooted in and influenced by ancient Buddhist philosophy', such influences are only marginally acknowledged in its application.

Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT)

Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) describes its purpose as, aiming 'to help people who suffer repeated bouts of depression and chronic unhappiness'.[2] The founders of MBCT are identified as Zindel Segal, Mark Williams and John Teasdale, who based their work on Jon Kabat-Zinn's MBSR. There is neither mention of Buddhism nor the term '*dharma*' as was used in MBSR. Segal, Williams and Teasdale (2013) describe the evolution of MBCT as an initial idea to create a 'maintenance cognitive therapy treatment' for depression that was eventually integrated with a sustained mindfulness practice. Mindfulness practice in MBCT is described as having been derived by Jon Kabat-Zinn from 'ancient wisdom practices', which is also known as 'insight meditation'.

[2] http://www.mbct.com

MBCT, like MBSR, is also delivered as an eight-week programme in a group setting. However, it does not include the full day silent retreat and includes an additional three-minute breathing space exercise. This exercise consists of the three one-minute components of awareness, gathering and expanding, which are used to interrupt activities during the day and to intentionally bring attention back to the present moment (Murphy, 2016).

Sipe and Eisendrath (2012) note that while MBCT is based on Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy (CBT), its approach differs from traditional CBT in the following ways: (a) a shift of emphasis from thought content to thought process; (b) promotion of a 'new way of being' rather than 'of thinking' with difficult circumstances; (c) seeing 'thoughts as thoughts' instead of differentiating between dysfunctional and healthy thoughts; (d) allowing thoughts and feelings to arise without 'fixing, changing or avoiding' versus CBT approaches which seek to challenge and alter dysfunctional beliefs; (e) a focus on developing present moment awareness instead of reinforcing adaptive responses; and f) the therapist 'embodies the approach' by having a personal practice of mindfulness, instead of merely being an instructor or coach.

Batchelor (2011) noticed distinctive parallels between the 'four great efforts[3]' in Buddhist thought and the motivations of the Cognitive Therapy component of MBCT. The processes of cognitive therapy are also seen as similar with the instructions for the removal of distracting and unwholesome thoughts in the *Vitakkasaṇṭhāna Sutta* (Discourse on the Forms of Thought), the 20th discourse of the Middle Length Discourses (*Majjhima Nikāya*) - which can be seen as an early Buddhist Cognitive Behavioural strategy.

Chiesa and Malinoski (2011) classify both MBSR and MBCT as brief meditation programs but they consider MBCT to be more '*vipassanā* oriented' in terms of technique. However, they quote Rapgay and Bystrisky (2009) in their assessment that the MBSR and MBCT techniques are quite different from traditional *Vipassanā* and Zen meditations[4]. While MBCT affiliates itself to MBSR 'lineage' of mindfulness-based interventions, no direct link to Buddhism is expressed.

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3 "I would render them as follows: 1. To cultivate conditions so that negative states that have not arisen do not arise. 2. To let go of negative states once they have arisen. 3. To cultivate the conditions that enable positive states to arise. 4. To sustain positive states once they have arisen." (Batchelor, 2011: 159-160)

4 "Further differences exist between MBSR and MBCT, on the one hand, and Vipassana and Zen meditations, on the other. Although the latter meditation practices provide a clear distinction between attention (i.e., the main focus of attention such as

Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT)

Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT) was first developed as a therapy based on behavioural principles and social learning theory for the treatment of highly suicidal persons diagnosed with Borderline Personality Disorder. As such, its treatment goal is to help clients build a "life worth living." Trial-and-error clinical efforts to help this specific group evolved up to a critical point at which there was a need to inculcate the ability for 'acceptance' of life circumstances while working towards sustainable change. Push for change, when adopted solely as the therapeutic goal was observed to cause significant distress and resistance from the client. This unique challenge led to the adoption of 'Eastern (Zen) and Western contemplative practices' which embody the 'concept of radical acceptance of the present moment without attempts to change it' (Linehan and Wilks, 2015: 99).

In the DBT programme, the component of Zen practices was translated into the non-spiritual and non-religious description of 'mindfulness' skills, while the contemplative practices component was labelled 'reality acceptance skills' based on the work of Gerald May[5], a proponent of contemplative psychology combining spiritual direction with psychological treatment. The theory of dialectics was later adopted as a theoretical framework that was able to bring together the principles of Zen and other contemplative practices with the school of Behaviorism. Dialectical theory also encouraged the balance and synthesis of both acceptance and change which was seen as crucial to the therapeutic process (Lynch et al., 2006).

DBT treatment is provided in weekly individual psychotherapy lasting about one hour, group skills training sessions of about two hours, and skills coaching phone calls with the therapist (when necessary). Individual

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the experience of air flow at the nostrils) and awareness (i.e., the concurrent receptive experience of other sensations arising, for instance, from the rest of the body), no such distinction is clearly defined by MBSR and MBCT (Rapgay & Bystrisky, 2009). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that only one MBSR practice, namely, ''choiceless awareness,'' in which the practitioner simply sits aware of awareness itself with no specific objects of attention, shows a marked similarity with some of the more advanced Theravada and Zen meditation practices. However, such practice is not mandatory in MBSR courses (Kabat-Zinn, 1990) and it is not included in other recent MBI." (Chiesa & Malinoski, 2011: 411)

5 "...the term mindfulness was used to describe the skills translated from Zen. The term was adopted from the work of both Ellen Langer (1989) and Thich Nhat Hanh (1976). The skills translating contemplative practices were labeled "reality acceptance skills" and drew heavily from the work of Gerald May (1987)." (Linehan and Wilks, 2015: 99)

sessions are based on personalised targets and focus on enhancing motivation. Group skills training teach the different modules of mindfulness, distress tolerance, emotion regulation, interpersonal effectiveness and self-management skills. Skills training is didactically focused, emphasising training procedures of modelling, instructions, stories, behavioural rehearsal, feedback and coaching, and homework assignments (Linehan and Wilks, 2015).

Mindfulness skills based on Zen are central to the DBT as 'acceptance skills' and are taught in the form of behavioural skills, which were 'translated' from common instructions given in traditional contemplative meditations. The skills include: withdrawing into the mind, silent observing, describing what is observed, participating, being non-judgmental, one mindfulness, and effectiveness (Linehan et. al., 1999; Linehan and Wilks, 2015). Other than the module specifically teaching mindfulness skills, at least one mindfulness skill is included in each of the other modules and the mindfulness skills of 'observe and describe' are part of every worksheet (Linehan and Wilks, 2015: 103-104).

Buddhist influence on DBT stems from the fact that its founder, Marsha Linehan, while being a psychologist, is also a Zen practitioner and a trained spiritual director of the Catholic faith. In an interview with Katy Butler (2002) of the *Tricycle* magazine, she shared her life experiences which were influenced by Catholic mysticism, western science and a life-transforming year of full-time Zen training undertaken in monasteries in California and Germany.

Acceptance and Commitment Therapy

ACT is described by its founder as one of the third-wave psychotherapies that utilises mindfulness meditation as a therapeutic tool for 'cognitive diffusion[6]'. The six core principles of ACT are described as: diffusion, acceptance, contact with the present moment, the Observing Self, values and committed action (Harris, 2006). ACT is part of the Behaviour Analytic tradition and is thus nominally linked to Radical Behaviourism,

6 "Mindfulness exercises are another means to achieve cognitive diffusion and thus to increase behavioral flexibility. Contacting events in the here and now, without buying into evaluative and judgmental language is the very essence of mindfulness (Kabat-Zinn, 1994, p. 4)). This requires a weakening of literal language, which cannot be done in a purely logical, analytical, or critical manner. Metaphorically, mindfulness teaches clients to look at thoughts as events in the world, not at the world as structured by thoughts. A variety of mindfulness exercises are used in ACT, such as imagining watching one's thoughts as they float by like leaves on a stream and watching how this becomes impossible when these thoughts are taken literally." (Hayes, 2004: 23)

taking functional contextualism as its philosophical base. The core theory behind ACT is the Relational Frame Theory, which was formulated based on research on human language and cognition as 'being dependent on relational frames' (Hayes, 2004).

ACT uses a mix of metaphor, paradox, and mindfulness skills together with a range of experiential exercises and behavioural interventions. Meditation is seen by the ACT as only one method for developing mindfulness skills. These are described as 'psychological skills' introduced in four components of diffusion, acceptance, contact with the present moment and spacious awareness. In the process of therapy, a wide-ranging battery of methods and strategies are utilised (Harris, 2009).

De Silva (2014: 131) points out that the relationship between ACT and Buddhism is one of ambiguity, because it had developed independently of Buddhism and its adoption of 'mindfulness' is clearly separate from the ethics and wisdom of Buddhism. Its founder, Steven C. Hayes in an article, "Buddhism and the Acceptance and Commitment Therapy", denies basing ACT on Buddhism and admits that while 'the parallels between ACT and Buddhist thinking are quite clear in some areas', this 'unexpected confluence' merely points towards the common engagement of topics towards human suffering. In fact, he proposes that ACT may be the grounds upon which to examine the efficacy of the Buddhist teachings (Hayes, 2002: 58). ACT claims alignment with the construct of 'mindfulness' researched by Western psychology, rather than as being directly Buddhist-derived.

The Observable Impact of Buddhism on the Mindfulness Movement

The four MBIs investigated demonstrate differences in their derivations of 'mindfulness' as an intervention, the manner by which 'mindfulness' is operationalised, and the theoretical framework into which it is introduced. While the MBSR and MBCT resemble 'brief meditation programmes' (Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011); 'mindfulness' in the DBT is described as didactically focused skills (Linehan and Wilks, 2015: 103); and in ACT as psychological skills which can be developed 'very rapidly, without the need for formal meditation' (Harris, 2009: 23).

Chiesa and Malinoski (2011: 410) remark that while the MBSR was formulated based on elements of Buddhist philosophy, the other MBIs are influenced by the contexts of psychological frameworks like the CBT on MBCT, Behavioural science on the DBT, and Functional Contextualism on the ACT. These suggest that different MBIs represent different approaches

with different degrees of integration and modes of mindfulness. For example, in MBSR and MBCT, the programme structure provides a pathway into a simplified form of meditation experience which participants are encouraged to maintain as a way of life. In other MBIs like the DBT, Buddhist Zen influence is 'translated' into practical mindfulness skills which embody the principles, but not the terminology or the form.

The scope of this paper is limited to the investigation of only four main MBI approaches. From this preliminary investigation, it can be said that the MBSR, MBCT and DBT derived inspiration from different versions of Buddhist meditation practices which are seen as the practical aspects of Buddhist philosophy, or the Buddhist approach towards the removal of human suffering through mental development. However, such influences are deliberately 'neutralised' into secular therapeutic interventions. In fact, Murphy (2016) observed that in MBSR and MBCT, where Buddhist-derived breathing and walking meditation is taught, there is no acknowledgement of the Buddhist sources of such practices.

There is an observed trend towards therapist self-involvement in mindfulness practices especially the concept that first person experience is an important qualification for the therapist, a concept which is radically different from the hierarchical and non-involvement model of the physician-patient relationship in Western medicine. This element is especially evident in MBSR[7] and the MBCT[8] both of which require instructors to maintain a practice meditation in their daily life, even after the basic training period. In this aspect, there is some faint resemblance of the therapist-participant relationship with the mutually beneficial and crucial 'teacher-student' relationship described in the Buddhist texts of discipline for monastics, which emphasises the purified self-conduct, proficiency in the Buddhist path, theory and practices as pre-requisites that enable one to act as a spiritual guide for another (Dhammanandi, 2019).

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7 "I personally consider the periodic sitting of relatively long (at least 7–10 days and occasionally much longer) teacher-led retreats to be an absolute necessity in the developing of one's own meditation practice, understanding, and effectiveness as a teacher. In terms of the 'curriculum' of mindfulness training, to become an MBSR teacher, it is a laboratory requirement... Mindfulness in everyday life is the ultimate challenge and practice." (Kabat-Zinn, 2011:296)

8 "Teachers who use this approach require the depth of practice and perspective that comes only from knowing, from the inside, what mindfulness practice is and what it is not. This means that teachers of mindfulness are practitioners are mindfulness in their own daily lives. Without a teacher having an on-going mindfulness practice, whatever is being taught is not MBCT." (Segal, Williams and Teasdale, 2013: 6-7)

Thus, the impact of Buddhism on MBIs is directly influenced by the founding members' meditation experiences, which were transformed by their emphatic concern for contemporary forms of mental suffering, into creative adaptations based on their personal experience of Buddhist meditation, and also on their professional training and theoretical orientations. For MBIs like ACT which aligns only with the 'mindfulness' construct popularly researched in psychology, Buddhist influence or adherence to the principles of Buddhist philosophy, can be minimal or non-existent.

In the academia, the Buddhist roots of mindfulness are widely acknowledged even if the programmes themselves profess religious and ideological neutrality (Hofman et al., 2010; Sun, 2014; Husgafvel, 2016; Nisbet, 2017; Hanley et al., 2016). Buddhist teachings and practices are sometimes used as a model for the concept of mindfulness in the field of psychology and psychotherapy (Williams & Kabat-Zinn, 2011; Shonin, et al., 2014; Nilsson, 2016).

From the investigation of Buddhist influences on MBSR, MBCT and DBT, we can conclude that the sources of Buddhist practice and theory translated into the MBIs are often derived from different Buddhist traditions, and are more likely to be from practical experience and secondary textual sources, rather than from the study of primary doctrinal texts. Baer (2011) reports that research psychologists trying to measure mindfulness have relied on literature written by other psychologists who have studied mindfulness or by teachers who have worked to make mindfulness accessible to non-Buddhist Westerners, and that most do not have direct knowledge of the original Buddhist texts.

Amongst the academic papers used for this study, the most commonly quoted Buddhist authorities appear to be His Holiness the Dalai Lama,[9] whose conversations with scientists and clinicians through the Mind and Life Institute started as early as 1987 (Williams and Kabat-Zinn, 2011; Kabat-Zinn, 2011; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011; Shonin et. al., 2014; De

9 Shonin et al. (2014: 125) describe their choice of Buddhist sources: "Although the views of teachers from a wide range of living Buddhist traditions are reflected, we have frequently favoured interpretations as promulgated by the current Dalai Lama… Interpretations by the Dalai Lama also were favoured because he is frequently cited in the clinical and psychological literature and his teachings are readily accessible to a Western readership."

Silva, 2014; Husgafvel, 2019); and the Venerable Thich Nhat Hanh[10] (Kabat-Zinn, 2011; Linehan and Wilks, 2015; Sun, 2014; Husgafvel, 2016; Valerio, 2016; Hanley et al., 2016; Husgafvel, 2019). At times, mindfulness concepts have been quoted and operationalised in research, without an understanding of the overall Buddhist theoretical approach (Shonin, et al., 2014).

The 'Mindfulness' Construct - Operational Definitions of Mindfulness

Operational definitions of mindfulness within the field have been varied and can be characterised as reformulations based on the MBSR definition of mindfulness as ''paying attention in a particular way, on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgmentally'' (Baer, 2011). Researchers have attempted to operationalise and measure mindfulness in different ways, but as yet there is no common construct, which means that different studies define and measure the effects of mindfulness practices differently (Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011; Hanley et. al., 2016).

In fact, the mindfulness construct has been described and utilised in various ways as: (2) a state of being, (3) a dispositional quality, (3) a type of practice, and iv) a classification of therapeutic intervention (Hanley et. al., 2016). These reflect the general confusion or varied understandings of 'mindfulness' in the field of psychology, in the absence of a strong theoretical framework for meditation or mindfulness practices. It also indicates that the 'science of mindfulness' is a developing field of research in Western psychology which is a work in progress.

In order to understand efficiently the ways in which 'mindfulness' has been operationally defined and measured, a ranking of the most commonly measured traits or aspects across ten questionnaires measuring mindfulness was constructed (based on information in Baer's (2011) paper, refer to Table 1. The most commonly measured aspects (n) in order of frequency utilised ($2 < n \leq 5$) are: (i) accepting present-moment experiences without judgement; (ii) awareness of present-moment experience; and (iii) attention to present moment experience. This provides a general sense of how research psychologists currently understand and try to measure the mindfulness construct.

10 Schedneck (2019) describes Thich Nhat Hanh as the Buddhist monk who popularised and introduced mindfulness to the West and contributed to the early beginnings of the mindfulness movement.

How Buddhist is the MBSR's Definition of 'Mindfulness'?

In the absence of a theoretical model regarding 'mindfulness', Baer (2011) observed that most operational constructs of 'mindfulness' have been based on the MBSR definition.

Table 1 Mindfulness Questionnaires and What They Measure

Questionnaire	Description	Measures
Freiburg Mindfulness Inventory (FMI; Buchheld, Grossman, and Walach 2001)	30-item questionnaire for use with experienced meditators	• non-judgmental present-moment observation • openness to negative experience
Freiburg Mindfulness Inventory later version (Walach et al. 2006)	14-item questionnaire for use with non-meditating populations	
Mindful Attention Awareness Scale (MAAS; Brown and Ryan 2003)	15-item instrument	• attention to and awareness of present-moment experience in daily life
The Kentucky Inventory of Mindfulness Skills (KIMS; Baer, Smith, and Allen 2004)	39-item instrument, based on mindfulness skills in DBT, with efforts to be consistent with mindfulness of MBSR and MBCT	• observing present-moment experiences, • describing (applying verbal labels) • acting with awareness accepting present-moment experiences without judgment.
The Cognitive and Affective Mindfulness Scale–Revised (CAMS-R; Feldman et al. 2007)	12-item questionnaire	• attention • awareness • present-focus • acceptance and non-judgment of thoughts and feelings in general daily life.
The Southampton Mindfulness Questionnaire (Chadwick et al. 2008)	16-item instrument, measures mindfulness when unpleasant thoughts and images arise	• mindful observation • letting go • non-aversion • non-judgment.
The Five Facet Mindfulness Questionnaire (FFMQ; Baer et al. 2006)	39-item composite of the above five instruments, which measures five elements of mindfulness	• observing with awareness • describing with awareness • acting with awareness non-judging of inner experience non-reactivity to inner experience
The Philadelphia Mindfulness Scale (PHLMS; Cardaciotto et al. 2008)	20-item questionnaire	• awareness: assess noticing or observing of internal and external experiences. • acceptance: assess non-judging and openness to experience and refraining from attempts to escape or avoid them.
The Toronto Mindfulness Scale (TMS; Lau et al. 2006)	Participants rate the extent to which they were mindful of their short meditation experience.	• Curiosity about (or interest in) inner experiences • Decentring from experiences (awareness of them without being caught up in or carried away by them).
A modified version of the TMS (Davis, Lau, and Cairns 2009)	Measure of mindfulness in general daily life.	

Source: Baer, 2011

Therefore, it is important to investigate the degree with which this definition reflects or represents Buddhist thought. This section first presents the responses of Buddhist scholars and teachers to Jon Kabat-Zinn's formulation of mindfulness as ''paying attention in a particular way, on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgementally''; and later, Kabat-Zinn's responses to them.

Buddhist scholars and teachers, have responded actively to the discussion of the MBSR's definition of 'mindfulness' with detailed explanations of the etymology of the *Pāli* term '*sati*', its characteristics, functions and usage in source texts; explorations of how the English term 'mindfulness' as a translation of the *Pāli* term '*sati*' came to be popularised, as well as providing overviews of other translations and interpretations; and detailed explanations locating the usage of the Buddhist term mindfulness with other required mental factors or components in the scheme of Buddhist soteriology (Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011; Sharf, 2015; Ditrich, 2016; Dreyfus, 2011).

The following represents an overview of perspectives on the pertinent aspects of the definition:

1. Mindfulness as the English translation of the *Pāli* word '*sati*' fails to convey the multi-dimensional aspects of what it represents in Buddhist practice (Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011; Dreyfus, 2011; Ditrich, 2016; Gilpin, 2008; Ditrich, 2016). In particular:
    a) '*Sati*' has a connotation of 'memory', which holds a continuity of awareness from the past and present through to the future; and in the retention of information. This is absent from the MBSR definition's strong emphasis on only the present-moment (Gethin, 2011; Gilpin, 2008: 233; Dreyfus, 2011). On the contrary, based on a comparative study of the *Satipaṭṭhana Sutta* in the *Nikāyas* and the *Agamas*, Bhikkhu Anālayo (2019a) concludes that there is a precedent in early Buddhist thought for the 'present-centered' focus. Further, Bhikkhu Bodhi (2011) points out that the connotation of memory need not be considered a crucial element in '*sati*', as the memory aspect is linked to pre-Buddhist Sanskrit use, which was later adopted and used in new ways by the Buddha, and thus memory is only one aspect of Buddhist usage.
    b) '*Sati*' in the *Pāli* canon has a discriminative or evaluative function that differentiates between mental qualities of wholesome and unwholesome, or of one's deeds; and ensures that one proceeds towards the spiritual goal. This seems to be

contradicted by the MBSR definition of 'non-judgemental' awareness (Bodhi, 2011; Shonin, et. al., 2014; Dreyfus, 2011). On the other hand, Gilpin (2008) agrees that traditional descriptions of '*sati'* incorporate the sense of being 'non-judgemental'.

c) '*Sati*' in the *Pāli* Canon is often described as working together with other factors and does not appear alone e.g. as Right Mindfulness, it works together with Right Effort and Right View; and with clear comprehension (*sampajañña*) and wisdom (*paññā*) (Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011; Dreyfus, 2011) or in the *Abhidhamma* perspective, it is part of a cognitive process (Dreyfus, 2011).

d) '*Sati*' is part of the Noble Eightfold Path, where Right Mindfulness (s*ammā sati*) is only one of the factors, which cannot be practised in isolation (Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011), or it will end up as a 'goalless quest' and will not be considered right mindfulness (*sammā sati*) (Gilpin, 2008; Ditrich, 2016; De Silva, 2014).

e) '*Sati*' is more than just 'present-centered awareness' (Gethin, 2011; Dreyfus, 2011).

f) Attention and awareness are preconditions and not equivalents of mindfulness. (Grossman and Van Dam, 2011).

2. With reference to Kabat-Zinn's usage of the term 'Universal dharma': Bhikkhu Bodhi (2011: 21) clarifies that in *Pāli* there is a different usage between '*dhammā*' and '*Dhamma*': The former refers to "experiential phenomena as organized into certain groups determined by the objectives of the Buddha's teaching, 'the *Dhamma*' in the broadest sense."
3. The concept of 'bare attention' (non-conceptual awareness) as the MBSR definition of 'non-judgemental in the present moment' seems to suggest, would be better linked to attention (*manasikāra*) rather than '*sati'* (Bodhi, 2011: 30; Ditrich, 2016). There are also problems with accepting the idea of 'bare attention' as first conceptualised in the Burmese insight meditation lineages of the *Theravādā* tradition (Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011; Sharf, 2015).
4. There is acknowledgement that aspects of the definition of MBSR can be acceptable if taken to be pragmatic and convenient instructions to a beginner, but when considered in doctrinal terms, it does not qualify as an adequate theoretical description (Bodhi, 2011: 27; Dreyfus, 2011: 44).

In 2017, Kabat-Zinn's commentary published in *Mindfulness*, Volume 8: "Too Early to Tell: The Potential Impact and Challenges, Ethical and Otherwise, inherent in the Mainstreaming of Dharma in an Increasingly Dystopian World" clarified some of his stances towards the issues raised earlier. His main responses were: though not explicit, MBSR 'has always been anchored in the ethical framework that lies at the very heart of the original teachings of the Buddha' (p. 1125); 'the Four Noble Truths and the Four Foundations of Mindfulness...are the bedrock of MBSR' (p. 1133).

Regarding criticisms about MBSR being based on 'bare attention' without the component of 'clear comprehension', relegated it to 'a lack of familiarity with MBSR and its pedagogy' (p. 1133); he further explains that 'Non-judgmental means to be aware of how judgemental the mind can be, and as best we can, not getting caught in it or recognizing when we are and not compounding our suffering by judging the judging' (p. 1127); and regarding whether there is 'right mindfulness' in MBSR, he asserts that MBSR teaches '"wise or "right" mindfulness to whatever degree we can manage to embody and convey it, and keep it in the forefront of our awareness' (p. 1130).

Kabat-Zinn's (2011) earlier philosophical explanation[11] about the connotations of the chosen term 'mindfulness' was more precisely expressed in 2017, perhaps due to the confusion about what it should represent as a cognitive construct: "when I use the word "mindfulness", I am using it as a synonym for "awareness" or "pure awareness"' (Kabat-Zinn, 2017: 1127). The main argument by Kabat-Zinn is that his definition is operational, meant to explain how to meditate rather than to define the cognitive elements involved. Therefore, there seems to be some degree of miscommunication, since criticisms of the definition have largely come from theoretical considerations.

The suspicion and multi-angled scrutiny given to the MBSR from sympathisers of Buddhism is understandable as reactions to Kabat-Zinn's vague, philosophical and visionary description of 'mindfulness' as a way

11 "...using the word mindfulness intentionally as an umbrella term to describe our work and to link it explicitly with what I have always considered to be a universal dharma that is co-extensive, if not identical, with the teachings of the Buddha, the Buddhadharma. By 'umbrella term' I mean that it is used in certain contexts as a place-holder for the entire dharma, that it is meant to carry multiple meanings and traditions simultaneously, not in the service of finessing and confounding real differences, but as a potentially skilful means for bringing the streams of alive, embodied dharma understanding and of clinical medicine together…" (Kabat-Zinn, 2011: 290)

to link to 'the universal dharma', which is equated to the 'teachings of the Buddha, the Buddhadharma'; or as metaphorical usage which means, 'a place-holder for the entire dharma' (Kabat-Zinn, 2011: 290). The deliberate minimal or non-usage of Buddhist terminology by Kabat-Zinn poses difficulties to the outsider who attempts to evaluate the credibility of his claim, or the extent to which Kabat-Zinn has accurately represented the 'essence' of the Buddhist teachings he claims to espouse.

In Kabat-Zinn's rhetoric, he relies heavily on the element of *ethos*[12] as a tool of appeal. His direct personal experience of the *dharma* through meditation training in various Buddhist traditions, which is further supported by his qualifications as a Zen and yoga teacher, and lastly, by his profession as a medical physician, builds up *ethos* around his personal credibility. He attempts to connect to the 'audience values' and concerns (the societal *ethos),* by repeatedly stressing the urgency of resolving human suffering within the context of an 'increasingly dystopian world' where the fate of humanity is uncertain (Kabat-Zinn, 2017: 1126).

This leaves a research gap, where different methods need to be undertaken to uncover the theories or logical build-up (*logos*) behind his rhetoric of how the MBSR version of 'mindfulness' actually works to resolve contemporary forms of human suffering. One has to dive deep into his secularly worded descriptions of mindfulness i.e. 'meditation (without the Buddhism),[13] in order to verify his claims.

An important piece of research related to this discussion was conducted by Husgafvel (2019) which emphasised that studies into the Buddhist roots of MBSR (as the forerunner of the MBIs) have been unfairly biased towards comparisons with only the *Pāli* canonical tradition, thereby ignoring the impact of other *Mahāyana* influences on Kabat-Zinn. By a thorough textual analysis of Kabat-Zinn's written works and through follow-up interviews with Kabat-Zinn, Husgafvel (2019) concludes that the methods of MBSR are derived from both *Theravāda*-based *vipassanā* and non-dual *Mahāyāna* approaches, but the philosophical foundation of MBSR differs from that of the *Pāli* tradition.

12 "Ethical appeals have two facets: audience values and authorial credibility/ character. On the one hand, when an author makes an ethical appeal, he or she is attempting to tap into the values or ideologies that the audience holds… this sense of referencing what is "right" in an ethical appeal connects to the other sense of ethos: the author… the credibility of the author and his or her character." (Gagich & Zickel, p. 108)

13 This is a phrase used by Kabat-Zinn (1998: 481) to describe his approach of making meditation accessible to all.

MBSR seems to have been grounded in the *Mahāyāna* notions of emptiness, interconnectedness, non-duality, universal Buddha nature and the spacious, knowing and compassionate essence of mind. Husgafvel (2019) suggests that a comprehensive study into the 'complex roots' of MBSR and its related forms of MBI needs to go beyond the Buddhist texts of the *Pāli* tradition (p. 42).

Considering earlier observations on the nature of Buddhist influence on the MBIs and on Buddhist-informed psychotherapists, it seems that the adoption of Buddhist thought and practices within a plurality of influences or theoretical frameworks in the West is further complicated by the plurality of Buddhist influences itself. The difficulty of tracing and matching Buddhist elements in the definition of MBSR makes it a challenge to decide if it can be considered representative of the central Buddhist doctrines. Perhaps the better question pertains to, "which Buddhist tradition and lineage?

Sharf (2015) suggests that the question of deciding the authenticity of Buddhist meditative traditions can be complicated. He points out that meditative traditions like the Burmese *Mahāsī* insight meditation, Chan (Zen) and Tibetan *Dzogchen* which are now regarded as mainstream Buddhist practices (and influences on Kabat-Zinn), were considered controversial at the time of their introduction in the history of Buddhism. The compounding of different meditative traditions and the tendency towards the *Mahāyāna* philosophy by Kabat-Zinn in MBSR, presents complications that render the conclusion about its Buddhist authenticity, a difficult matter beyond the scope of this study.

Scholars have identified plurality and diversity as characteristic of Buddhism in the West, which results in the phenomenon of 'Buddhist ecumenicism', whereby the common ground of different Buddhist traditions is identified and emphasis is placed on this unity rather than the diversity (Baumann and Prebish, 2002: 4). Western practitioners belonging to one tradition, have often discovered similarities and unities with the practices or teachings of other Buddhist traditions (Batchelor, 2011; Amaro, 2003). The result of such plurality of Buddhism in the West is described by Wallace (2002) as "tension between tradition versus modernity, of preservation versus innovation, and of continuity versus adaptation" (p. 48).

In MBSR, Kabat-Zinn had chosen the path of innovation, but as Buddhist scholars and teachers had earlier pointed out, the MBSR should be understood merely as a social application of the Buddhist meditation and teachings, rather than as a new Buddhist tradition on its own (Bodhi, 2011; Gethin, 2011; Amaro, 2015).

In conclusion, even though most operational constructs of mindfulness are based upon variations of the MBSR version, the different approaches of each MBI may not reflect the original intent or philosophical direction of MBSR. Therefore, the elements present in the definition of MBSR cannot be taken as characteristic of MM in general (Husgafvel, 2019). This suggests that while Buddhist influence had shaped the development of MBSR, MBCT and DBT, the continuity of such Buddhist-derived elements may be minimal in other MBIs, in the absence of a common theoretical framework around the mindfulness construct.

The Efficacy of Scientific 'Mindfulness': Does it Actually Work?

Early research on mindfulness-based interventions concentrated primarily on the effects of introducing MBIs as treatment for the alleviation and management of specific physiological and psychological clinical symptoms. Some studies have conducted effect studies with an inclusive definition of 'mindfulness-based' by including any research study with the keywords of 'meditation' or 'mindfulness' and 'therapy' (Hofman et. al., 2010; Chiesa and Malinoski. 2011). However, based on earlier investigation on the different ways in which 'mindfulness' has been integrated with other components delivered, it seems necessary to discuss the efficacy of MBIs in a critical manner, by differentiating between the modes and delivery of MBIs. While mindfulness-based therapy in general, is suggested to be moderately effective for mood disorders and anxiety (Hofman et. al., 2010), different MBI approaches could work differently on different client populations and have varying intervention outcomes.

MBSR has been found to have beneficial effects on anxiety, stress reactivity and coping in groups with cancer or specific mental health diagnoses i.e. chronic pain, rheumatoid arthritis, fibromyalgia, psoriasis, multiple sclerosis, long-term anxiety, obsessive neuroses, personality disorders and HIV; binge eating; for reducing ruminative thinking in mood disorder patients; and for enhancing immune responsiveness (Hoge et. al., 2013; Melbourne Academic Mindfulness Interest Group, 2006; Ramel, Goldin, Carmona, & McQuaid, 2004; Brown, Ryan and Creswell, 2007; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011).

MBCT has shown to be effective, primarily in the prevention of depression relapse. It has also been applied in social phobia, generalized anxiety disorder, panic disorder, and brings about a reduction of inter-episodic anxiety levels in bipolar patients (Sipe and Eisendrath, 2012; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011).

Research on DBT supports its efficacy for Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD) in behavioural self-control, reductions in self-mutilating behaviour, distress symptoms, psychiatric hospitalisations and parasuicidal attempts; improves social adjustment; reduces drug and alcohol abuse and impulsive behaviours; reducing the number of binge episodes and binge eating days; and improvement in depressive symptoms (Linehan, et al., 1999; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011; Brown, Ryan & Creswell, 2007).

Efficacy studies in ADT have suggested benefits to a range of conditions including anxiety disorders, chronic pain, depression, trichotillomania and chronic skin picking; epilepsy, self-management of diabetes, and psychotic symptoms; substance use disorders, chronic pain, eating disorders and work-related stress. It has benefits of reducing drug use in opiate addicts and improving smoking cessation rates; leads to rapid decrease in the believability (but not necessarily the frequency) of negative thoughts and an increased willingness to experience negative private events (Hayes, 2004; Brown, Ryan & Creswell, 2007; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011).

However, such studies should not be perceived as proof of efficacy of MBIs because they are fraught with numerous research design issues such as: weak research designs with a lack of an adequate control group; small sample size; non-differential treatment of different mindfulness approaches; lack of assessment with regard to the integrity of treatment delivery; inadequate and unmeasured compliance; and lack of consensus on a common operation construct of mindfulness (Melbourne Academic Mindfulness Interest Group, 2006; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011; Crane & Hecht, 2018).

Researchers attempting to measure the construct of ‘mindfulness’ pre-and-post MBI are presented with a disparate array of ‘mindfulness’ definitions. Due to the ambiguous understanding of ‘mindfulness’, the scope of ‘mindfulness’ practices has widened to include varied forms including yoga (various types), prayer, Zen, Tai Chi, Qigong, mindfulness meditation, even the act of dish washing. Evaluation of efficacy of mindfulness practices is confounded even more with the frequent non-declaration of

mindfulness types being implemented in specific studies (Hanley et. al., 2016).

A review of the state of research in neuroscience about the effects of mindfulness meditation on the brain also reveals sparse knowledge and a need for further rigorous research (Tang, Hölzel and Posner, 2015). This has led to the criticism that 'mindfulness-based therapies' have been implemented prematurely in the absence of scientific proof, and that 'the enthusiasm is ahead of the evidence' (Farias and Wilkhom, 2016; Michalak and Heidenreich, 2018).

The state of scientific research on MBIs at this point, can at best suggest their potential efficacy, rather than provide a solid and conclusive empirical case for the generic benefit of 'mindfulness' (Farias, Wikholm and Delmonte, 2016). There are numerous issues to be sorted out before it can become clearer about whether MBIs have positive outcomes for all groups of persons (Dobkin, Irving and Amar, 2011); or if post-MBI participants are often left to deal with unexpected harmful outcomes (adverse effects) on a phenomenological level, which are unknown and ignored because of a narrow preoccupation with intended outcome measures; or if measurements should also consider the quality and quantity of mindfulness or meditation practice as a predictor of efficacy (Vieten et al., 2018; Murphy, 2016; Farias and Wilkhom, 2016; Shonin, et. al., 2014; Castille et al., 2015; Baer et al., 2019; Hanley, et al., 2016; Cebolla et al., 2017).

Is 'Mindfulness' Still Considered Buddhist?

This uncertainty and the host of problems with the actual measurements of MBI efficacy, goes against the popular media portrayal of 'mindfulness' as a panacea for modern problems or a 'cure-all' remedy. Hanley et. al. (2016) caution that 'mindfulness should not be viewed as a panacea' (p. 110). More poignantly, Sun (2014) demonstrates that interest in 'mindfulness' in psychological academic literature has grown independent of references to Buddhism. It has become 'secular mindfulness', a psychological construct devoid of its distant roots to Buddhist practices.

In a bibliographic study of broader scope beyond psychology, Valerio (2016) uses the term 'dis-embedded mindfulness' to describe the same phenomena. In addition, his study provides a lack of support for the hypothesis that meditation and mindfulness remain closely tied together the

academic literature[14]. In other words, academic research trends on 'mindfulness' seem to have become independent of both 'Buddhism' and 'meditation'.

The application of Buddhist-derived 'mindfulness' has also grown distinct from its' predecessor Buddhist meditations. MBIs typically introduce 'mindfulness' together with a bundle of other therapeutic techniques, so they are structurally, operationally and purposefully distinct from traditional Buddhist meditations (Hanley et. al., 2016; Chiesa and Malinoski, 2011). This growing distinction between the mindfulness construct with its Buddhist roots, has led some to call it the western 'science of mindfulness' to highlight its divergence from Buddhist meditative mindfulness (Farias and Wilkhom, 2016; Virtbauer and Shaw, 2017). Shonin et. al. (2014) conclude more definitely that mindfulness meditation as implemented in therapy, is not insight meditation as per traditional Buddhist understanding.

Researchers in the field of psychology have raised concerns about the efficacy of Buddhist-derived 'mindfulness' that had been taken from the greater Buddhist context. There are calls to consider Buddhist practice in an integrated and holistic manner, and to acknowledge the derivative context of 'mindfulness' rather than to compartmentalise it from the body of Buddhist theory (Samuel, 2015; Panaïoti, 2015; Nilsson, 2016). These calls reflect a small segment of the research community who are of the opinion that deeper understanding of Buddhist theory and psychology, would be helpful for guiding theoretical formulations of the mindfulness construct (Shonin et. al., 2014).

Conclusion

This study investigated the degree of Buddhist influence in four Mindfulness Based Interventions (MBIs): MBSR, MBCT, DBT and ACT. MBSR was influenced by both *Theravāda vipassanā* and by *Mahāyana* non-dual meditation traditions. Its philosophy is observed to be more aligned with the *Mahāyana* Buddhist tradition. MBCT is observed to be more akin to the *Theravāda vipassanā* traditions. DBT derived inspiration from Zen practice, and ACT aligns itself with the 'mindfulness' of Western

14 "Despite fairly steady and impressive growth in meditation-related publications, we see regular decreases in the meditation-to-mindfulness publication ratio: from 12.9 to 1 (1993–1997) to 6.80 to 1 (1998–2002) to 2.49 to 1 (2003– 2007) to barely more than 1-to-1 (2008–2012)… This demonstrates that the escalation in mindfulness publications cannot be explained wholly as a function of the proliferation of academic meditation literature." (Valerio, 2016: 172-173)

psychology. In each MBI, the mode of 'mindfulness' operationalised differs, ranging from MBSR and MBCT, which are most similar to traditional Buddhist meditation by format; to those like DBT and ACT that teach mindfulness as (psychological) skills with less emphasis on the act of meditation.

Sources of Buddhist knowledge used commonly in academic literature tend to come from secondary textual sources, either authored by psychologists who have studied mindfulness or by Buddhist teachers well-known in the West. Buddhist influence on MBIs and Western psychology, is generally absorbed into a plurality of existing theoretical frameworks. This renders the final form of each MBI, more an amalgamation of influences, in which Buddhist influence is only one part. The nature of 'Buddhist influence' is also characterised by the plurality of Buddhism in the West, as diversity that is unified only by the first person experience of the founders and key stake-holders of MBIs.

Future research efforts to trace trace back and clearly segregate every element of Buddhist influence on MBSR, would entail an investigation into the delivery aspects of MBSR, including elements of the programme, scripts used by therapists for sessions, training and publicity material, training syllabi and structure for therapists, hand-outs provided for participants, as well as qualitative impact studies on the participants. It would also entail tapping into the growing field of research on 'Buddhism in the West' (Baumann and Prebish, 2002) as an emerging sub-discipline of Buddhist studies. This study is limited due to the sole use of academic literature as the source of data.

The diversity of operational constructs and the increasing range of interpretations about what can be included under the category of 'mindfulness-based' suggest that while Buddhist thought and practices were key to the rapid growth of the MM by the introduction of MBSR; the rapidly growing interest on mindfulness from varying fields will continue to move the methods and definitions of 'mindfulness' further away from its Buddhist roots according to the needs of their respective stake-holders. The variety of understandings about mindfulness also makes it difficult to make conclusions about the efficacy of MBIs. Efficacy studies of MBIs need to be considered in a differential manner, treating each approach towards mindfulness as unique, instead of treating all 'mindfulness' as equal.

The contributions of Buddhism to the mindfulness movement can be said to be two-pronged: (1) by encouraging a philosophical shift away from the

purely materialistic scientific and medical models of the West to a more contemplative and inclusive approach; and (2) by providing alternative healing approaches inspired by the self-involvement model of Buddhist meditation, which aims to cure the illnesses of the human mind, by one's own training of the mind. In the new system, the previously authoritative physician is obliged to subject himself/ herself to the same regimens of mind training that are prescribed to the patient (Kabat-Zinn, 2011).

The prominence and respect given to Jon Kabat-Zinn, founder of the MBSR[15] in the new science of mindfulness, suggests that while the MM will likely move further away from its Buddhist roots, some form of implicit Buddhist influence will continue to be a guiding hand for the growing field. There can be greater benefit for the research community, if the various Buddhist traditions could also strive to provide easy to operationalise cognitive models of meditation based on the ancient collection of texts and manuals, as reference material for a contemplative psychology that Western science has no precedence for. Perhaps, in doing so, mutual benefits could be gained, and the functional orientation of Western psychological methods might also provide ways to understand how elements of different Buddhist meditative traditions work similarly or differently on the mind.

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Educating the Community *about, through* and *for* Human Rights: Learning from the Film, "A *Path to Dignity"*

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Abstract

This paper examines how human rights can be protected and promoted, and human dignity can be upheld through Human Rights Education (HRE) by critically analyzing the documentary film, "A Path to Dignity". The film that has been directed by Ellen Bruno presents a sensational cinematic reading of three cases of human rights violation from India, Turkey and Australia, and then assesses them as research tools as well as pedagogical strategies for understanding and promoting HRE. It tells that educating individuals and communities about, through and for Human Rights, as is stipulated in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (UNDHRET) too for the implementation of all member states, discriminated individuals, like a vulnerable girl of Dalit community in India, victimized woman of domestic violence in Turkey, and marginalized communities, like Sudanese community in Australia, can not only confront and combat discrimination and rights violations but become empowered and bravely stand for safeguarding their own rights and dignity. The paper concludes that, as the film sets forth, HRE empowers individuals and communities to bring positive change to their own lives as well as societies and hence, HRE should reach the grass-root level of the community to eliminate discrimination, exclusion and ensure equality in which context the rights of everyone is protected and promoted, and human dignity is upheld.

Keywords: *Human Rights Education, Path to Dignity, Discrimination, Equality, Rights, Dignity*

Introduction

The opening statement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (UDHR, Article 1) asserts freedom and equal treatment of human life with dignity and rights. Since all human beings are entitled to equal dignity and

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rights at their birth, dignity and rights can be seen as inherent values for a human being as opposed to earned values during a life time. The meaning of *dignity* is varied in context, and the general understanding of the people. Commonly it is understood that *dignity* could also be considered as *respect*. However, there is a distinct difference of these two words in the field of human rights. Hicks (2013) for example defines 'dignity' and 'respect' as follows; "Dignity is our inherent value and worth as human beings; everyone is born with it. Respect, on the other hand, is earned through one's actions."[2] Respect of the individuals can change according to their own actions, but dignity rests with human beings from birth which even makes criminals entitled to dignity due to their intrinsic humanity. However, levels of respect could vary since it is not something inherited but involves reciprocity.

Generally, human beings acknowledge in principle the fact that they and others possess dignity and rights as inherent values. Some such as Andorno (2014: 4) affirms a relationship between human rights and human dignity associated in particular with international law,

> "the relationship between human dignity and human rights is the one between a foundational principle of equal respect for every human being and the concrete norms that are needed to flesh out that principle in social life".

Thus, human rights and dignity could be considered as co-related and interdependent values. When the notion of dignity entails the right to have rights then those rights in turn protect the dignity of a human being. Andorno (2014) who further explains the legal validity of human rights and dignity places this validation in the aftermath of the Second World War with the necessity of preventing 'barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind'[3] from ever happening again. In this sense the denial of one's rights and dignity could also be deemed illegal.

However, one's fundamental rights and dignity as co-dependent factors could easily be harmed and threatened by discrimination. Therefore, as a protective mechanism, UDHR prescribes that,

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[2] Hicks (2013) Available at: https://www.psychologytoday.com/intl/blog/dignity/201304/what-is-the-real-meaning-dignity-0

[3] Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/)

> "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." (UDHR, Article 2)

When there are distinctions among human beings, it eliminates equality and differentiates levels among human beings as superior and/or inferior resulting in a 'we versus them' mentality among human beings divided in their identified groups. 'Us' and 'Our' mentality denotes a sense of belonging to one's own group (cultural/religious), which often leads to a general disregard of the rights and dignity of those in other groups. Hence, valuing the inherent *dignity* of human beings could be the starting point to eliminating all forms of discrimination to ensure that all human beings are treated equally, which would naturally preserve their fundamental rights.

In defining fundamental rights of a human being Ife (2001: 1) brings-forth an important point that that human rights could easily be misconstrued as 'frivolous or selfish' where "people will claim something as a 'human right', when in fact they are simply expressing a simple selfish 'want'. He further states that in common practice, 'human rights' exist only as 'a new language for consumerism and self-indulgence' (Ife, 2001: 1). Considering the aforesaid common practice and the general prevalence to misinterpret what constitutes human rights, human rights education (HRE) provides the frame-work to address these shortcomings at a practical level. It also promotes basic training and material for HRE that discourage this self-oriented aspect and seek to articulate and promote universal values.

In order to create a human rights culture devoid of discrimination, consumerism and self-indulgence, the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (UNDHRET, 2011) outlines that when educating the community, the procedure and material to be used in the HRE process encompasses: (1) education *about* human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection; (2) education *through* human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners; and, (3) education *for* human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others (UNDHRET, Article 2). These three dimensions possess the essential components of HRE which helps people to eliminate ignorance, acquire necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes and finally to empower them to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal

culture of human rights by enjoying their own rights and protecting the rights of others.

In this context, this paper uses content analysis methodology to analyze the film, *A Path to Dignity*, while using books, articles, and documentary videos on HRE as secondary sources. To analyze the stories presented in the film, *A Path to Dignity*, Monisha Bajaj's 'Grounded Theory of Change' is used in the discussion. It is theorized as follows;

1. Learners (in formal or non-formal settings) learn about a larger imagined moral community where human rights offer a shared language.
2. Learners question a social or cultural practice that does not fit within the global framework
3. Learners identify allies (teachers, peers, community, activists, NGOs) to amplify one's voice in seeking knowledge. (Bajaj, 2017:8)

By engaging with critical thinking, learners learn human rights through a shared language beyond their own social contexts. The shared language is comprehensive, simple and it doesn't require any prior knowledge on the area. After this involvement, learners start questioning the established norms and cultural practices that suppress or discriminate them. It eventually makes the learner think about social construction and hierarchical establishments which are no longer valid in the face of human rights. Finally, it leads to identify allies that they can work together with to bring change. This theory achieves the purpose of HRE, i.e. empowering individuals gradually through education. This theory juxtaposes with the Paulo Freire's definition of education mentioned in the following section.

Education and Human Rights

How do people use, protect and promote human rights? To what extent does human rights education reach the community? It is true that the UDHR asserts human dignity and rights, but how can a person claim their human rights when he/she is deprived of the right to have rights in their respective societies? An answer to these questions could be found in educating the community *through*, *about* and *for* human rights (UNDHRET, Article 2). HRE enables people to understand the value of humanity and it empowers those marginalized and dis-empowered people who are suffering due to discrimination arsing from the established hierarchy, customs and practices of society among others. If allowed, education could alleviate the suffering of those at the grassroots of society by creating awareness and promoting empowerment and could impact the quality and standards of their living significantly.

According to Freire, "education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (2000:34).

Freire states three important factors in this definition: (1) education helps to critically analyse the learners surrounding; (2) it enables a participatory dialogue; and, (3) it engages in the practice of freedom in and with the world around them[4]. Similarly, HRE firstly helps to critically analyse the learners' surrounding to identify potential pitfalls. Secondly learners should be involved in participatory dialogue based on their lessons and real life experiences and finally by using the knowledge gained through HRE, learners should be able to enjoy their rights as a practice of freedom and help others in the same manner. Hence, Freire's definition of education can be linked with awareness raising, information and training of HRE respectively.

Amnesty International presents a more active and practical definition to Human Rights Education.

> "Human rights education is a deliberate, participatory practice aimed at empowering individuals, groups and communities through fostering knowledge, skills and attitudes consistent with internationally recognized principles. As a medium to long-term process, human rights education seeks to develop and integrate people's cognitive, affective and attitudinal dimensions, including critical thinking, in relation to human rights. Its goal is to build a culture of respect for and action in the defense and promotion of human rights for all".[5]

This definition directly emphasizes the need to empower individuals, groups and then communities through the active learning process of HRE. It consists of an action oriented component of achieving the end goal of HRE, i.e. to build a culture of human rights in the world.

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[4] Bajaj, M. Educating for Peace & Human Rights. TEDx Talks (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EOAUPytTPmw)

[5] This is the Definition to Human Rights Education presented by Amnesty International. The definition mentioned here has retrieved from the *Promoting Human Rights Education and Capacity Building* (http://www.amnestymena.org/en/WhoWeAre/HumanRightsEducation.aspx?media=print)

HRE manuals, material and examples aim to create a human rights culture among communities by emphasizing the universality of human rights. Different types of instructional material and manuals used in HRE can be taught in formal, non-formal and informal settings. Since the sociocultural, political and economic settings vary between communities and countries, the approach, content and methods must vary in HRE. However, the end focus of educating the community *about*, *through* and *for* human rights should remain stable in all the teaching material and examples. The following section summarizes and discusses three materials of HRE, (1) *Compass* (2) *Write for Rights 2018 – A Human Rights Education Tool Kit for educators* and (3) *Schooling for Social Change: Rise and Impact of Human Rights Education in India*, to identify their aims and potential outcomes of the process. These three manuals and examples also include the narratives of fighters for rights as a tool of the educating process.

Human Rights Education has been a part of the curriculum or formal education in most European Countries. *Compass: Manual for Human Rights Education with young people* was published in 2002 to overcome the challenge of Human Rights Education in Europe and other regions. This manual highlights the importance of Human Rights Education with young people since they are "increasingly confronted by process of social exclusion, of religious, ethnic and national differences, and by the disadvantages - and advantages – of globalization." (p. 26). By acknowledging these challenges of the 21st century, *Compass* utilizes individual and mostly interactive activities such as group work, games, discussions and activities which involve audio visual methods to create facilitators or as *Compass* defines "someone who makes 'something happen', who 'helps', and who encourages others to learn and develop their own potential". (p. 46). One of its activities called "fighters for rights" includes life events of the human rights activists. (pp. 67-172). By giving an overview of the activists and their contribution, young facilitators are encouraged to organize campaigns or pressure the authorities to release contemporary political prisoners or activists who fight for rights. Hence, this activity initially creates a youth who fights *for* human rights. *Compass* states that 'problem solving' as a basis for HRE and the facilitators are directed towards the two important aims of HRE; "firstly, to equip young people with the skills of appreciating – but not necessarily agreeing with – different points of view about an issue, and secondly, to help them develop skills of finding mutually agreeable solutions to problems" (p. 47). These are important skills in a facilitator when dealing with the problem-solving process of Human Rights. Hence, this manual utilizes activities that are *about*, *through* and *for* Human Rights and it encompasses the HRE as

defined by the Council of Europe; "educational programmes and activities that focus on promoting equality in human dignity" (p. 17). By training the younger generation as facilitators of the problem-solving process of Human Rights, they tend to protect and promote equality in human *dignity* and *rights* as stated in the UNDHRET.

Even though Human Rights Education has been a part of formal education in European countries, in the other parts of the world, HRE reaches different levels of community through informal or non-formal education systems. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are largely involved in raising awareness and protecting victims of human rights violations in most regions of the world. Bajaj (2012) shows how non-formal or informal human rights education attempts to change society by educating school children in India. For example, Bajaj narrates the story of Fathima, a class 12 student in India to emphasize how life of Fathima is transformed; "I first met Fathima in February 2009 when she shared how human rights education (HRE) had transformed her educational experiences since she began participating in the programs of the non-governmental organizations (NGO), People's Watch and its Institute of Human Rights Education (IHRE) in India" (Bajaj, 2012: 1,2). According to Bajaj, Fathima has received her HRE from non-formal education, yet the impact and the outcome she makes are noteworthy. This is an example to show how HRE can change individual lives and various levels of the community even when it is not implemented by the government. In this book, Bajaj shows the rise and impact of human rights education over the past three decades in India. One of her key findings include the "abundance of students and teachers reporting individual, household, and community level changes they had undergone and influenced as a result of specific instruction about human rights." (p. 2). Bajaj acknowledges the contribution of NGOs such as the Institute of Human Rights Education (IHRE) at the levels of policy making, curriculum design and pedagogy and practice in India.

As an NGO, Amnesty International plays a vital role worldwide through research, advocacy and lobbying, social campaigns and actions. It involves many practical activities in HRE. Amnesty International presents, *Write for Rights 2018 – A Human Rights Education Tool Kit for educators* as HRE material for individuals to get involved with human rights meaningfully and directly. This *Tool Kit* is a part of their annual 'W4R campaign' to express a person's support to human rights activists whose rights have been violated through letter writing. Furthermore, Amnesty International highlights it as a support to 'advance justice and human dignity'. Activities of the *Tool kit* are as follows; understanding of Articles of UDHR,

matching them with simple daily activities, presenting real cases/narrations of human rights activists and finally writing letters to pressure responsible persons. This teaching material educates *about* and *through* human rights by giving knowledge on UNDHRET in practical scenarios. Then it encourages the learner to work *for* human rights. Hence, this is an effective learning process where learners are themselves involved directly and effectively.

Thus, it is evident that, HRE teaching material and examples are a growing industry in the 21st century. HR activists or facilitators and NGOs involved in the HRE process, attempt to approach HR violations all over the world in different ways. These HRE teaching material and examples reach the community through books, articles, newspapers, movies, documentary films, social media and public talks. One of the effectively used approaches is to make society aware of human rights is cinematography. Using films and documentaries, stories of human rights violations are projected to the society to create awareness, think critically and act effectively. The documentary film, *A Path to Dignity* directed by Ellen Bruno is an example of the aforesaid effective HR teaching material.

Introduction to the film, *A Path to Dignity*

A Path to Dignity directed by Ellen Bruno is a 28 minutes long documentary film that highlights the power of human rights education. It is a joint presentation of Soka Gakkai International (SGI) together with Human Rights Education Associates (HREA) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). It has been produced in 2011. This film can be viewed in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Japanese, Russian and Spanish. *A Path to Dignity* is centred on three successful projects in India, Turkey and Australia by giving insights to the audience about how *equality in human dignity and rights* can be achieved through Human Rights Education (HRE). The three cases presented in the film can be taken as pedagogical and research tools in understanding HRE.

The main argument of this film is centered on individuals' right to have rights and dignity by addressing cases of discrimination. It further attempts to argue that, HRE can empower and transform individuals, community and society. In other words, change is possible through HRE. By restating the powerful beginning of the UDHR, i.e. "*All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights*.", Navi Pillay, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights invites the audience to see how HRE makes a real difference in people's lives – whether a woman in Turkey,

Police officer in Australia or a child in India – as shown in the film. (*A Path to Dignity*, 2.21:2.29). Ellen Bruno has taken the High Commissioner for Human Rights as her mouthpiece to present the purpose of the film *A Path to Dignity which* is primarily centered around three separate stories of An Indian Girl, A Turkish Woman and the Police of the State of Victoria in Australia.

Story of Premalatha

Premalatha is a girl who lives in Madurae, India. She belongs to a *Dalit* family. People who are 'Upper caste' discriminate her for being a member of the lower caste community considering them as impure. She is often mocked and given the last place in the daily activities of the village. She has to face gender discrimination as well. Being a girl, she is often asked to engage in household chores whereas her brothers enjoy leisure. When she questions her parents about this difference of treatment. A girl of her village sets fire to herself and dies after getting upset with her mother. So, Premalatha also thinks of committing suicide by consuming insecticide for the same reason. But, she talks to her human rights teacher and gets her to solve the problem.

Story of Evrim Gul

Evrim Gul is a woman who lives in Eastern Turkey. Her parents arrange a marriage for her when she was too young to be married. Despite her resistance, her parents have sent her with a man whom she sees for the first time on her wedding day. Suddenly, she is married to a man who is 15 years her senior whom she does not know. From marriage they have two children. One incident is unforgettable to Evrim Gul. When she was eight months pregnant with her son, her husband kicks her belly hard. She tries to protect the baby by covering her belly with her hands. When she complains and seeks help from her own parents, they blame her saying that it is all due to her fault. When she is helpless in these unbearable situations, she wants to get divorced from her husband. But, her family members come to kill her with guns. Finally, she goes to Van Women's Association (VAKAD) and receives training in Human Rights. There, she finds many women like her.

The Victoria Police

Increased human rights awareness led to the adoption of the Victoria Charter on Human Rights and Responsibilities in 2006. Under the Charter, public authorities including the Victorian police, must act in a manner consistent with Human Rights. In 2006, Victoria Police established the human rights project. The project monitors all aspects of policing and

educates Victoria Police's 14,000 employees on human rights in the context of policing. Victorian Police is often accused of over policing Sudanese immigrants. After the human rights training, police officers try to identify sociocultural, economic and political challenges of the new immigrants and approach them in a friendly manner. Even though it seems to be difficult to completely remove negative perspectives towards police, they attempt to policing citizens and immigrants with equality and dignity.

Human Rights Education from Grass-root Level

The film, *A Path to Dignity* as an example of HRE at the community level involves three parties; story teller, director (researcher) and audience. Three story tellers, i.e. *Dalit* child from India, Turkish woman and Sudanese youth are from the grass root level of the community, tell their first-hand experience. Then the director Ellen Bruno, adjusts the story teller's experience to her argument. The audience as a third party looks at what the director has projected. Narration or story telling has certain limitations and risks. Osler and Zhu (2011) point out three types of risks involved in story telling; (1) falsehood may be submitted; (2) distort or exaggeration may be involved; and, (3) standpoint of the narrator and researcher is not neutral. When reading cinematography, the same limitations and risks may be involved. The characters and narrators of a film could be manipulated to achieve the desired objectives of the film's director. However, when the stories presented in the film are analysed with 'grounded theory of change' and structurally, the impact of these restrictions on understanding the power of human rights education is marginal.

The three stories in the film have variety in context and the age of the protagonists. Two stories present cases of victims, i.e. Premalatha – the Indian girl and Evrim Gul – the Turkish woman, whereas one story is centered on an authority. Therefore, this film tries, analyzing the two view points of the two parties. Evolution of the protagonists, especially Premalatha and Evrim Gul, from problem to solution as presented in the film can be analyzed by using 'grounded theory of change'. The protagonists of the film are able to learn about a larger imagined moral community where human rights offer a shared language, question a social or cultural practice that does not fit within the global framework and finally identify allies (teachers, peers, community, activists, NGOs) to amplify one's voice in seeking knowledge.

Premalatha has undergone two forms of discrimination in her community and in her family, i.e. social discrimination and gender discrimination. Socially, her family and her *Dalit* community is not recognized or

respected. On the other hand, she faces discrimination in her own home from her own parents. According to Premalatha's story, boys are seen to be valued more than girls. The girls are considered as an extra burden to the family. As the film attests, in Tamil Nadu, in some areas, parents do not send their female children to school. According to a UNICEF report on *Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children*[6] (2014), *Dalit* girls have the highest rate of primary school drop-outs in India. When examining the profiles of out-of-school children in this report, Gender and Social Groups are key characteristics. This is not only true of India, in most countries the report shows that girls have the highest exclusion rate. The report states that the Indian *Dalit* caste girls' school drop-outs as follows;

> "In rural India, older girls are more likely to be excluded than older boys. Girls in rural areas, particularly those from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in India also have higher rates of exclusion" (p. vi).

The Scheduled Caste mentioned here includes *Dalit* caste. The percentages of the school drop-out due to Social background is stated as follows in the report;

> "The average rate of exclusion for primary school-age children from Scheduled Castes is 5.6 per cent and Scheduled Tribes 5.3 per cent compared to the national average of 3.6 per cent. Girls from Scheduled Castes have the highest rates of exclusion at 6.1 per cent" (p. vi).

This report provides statistical evidence as to the plight of most girls belonging to the *Dalit* caste in India like Premalatha. Hence, we cannot simply neglect the fact that the protagonist of this documentary film is just acting according to a script. Ellen Bruno therefore has chosen a character, i.e. Premalatha, to represent all the girls who belong to the *Dalit* Caste in India and brings forward their daily lifelong struggle to the world.

By raising awareness of human rights, children have started to question these practices. Even boys of the Dalit community have asked their parents the reasons as to why they are not sending the daughters to school: 'why don't you send my sister to the school? She has a right!' (*A Path to Dignity*, 8:26-8:27). Similarly, Premalatha, by knowing her rights, concludes that

[6] This report has based on South Asian region covering Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

being a girl is not a factor to be denied of any rights or dignity. Also, socially established hierarchies cannot deprive her of her rights or dignity simply because she has been born to a so-called lower caste family. She is able to identify her allies, peers and teachers to address and solve issues in her pursuit to seek knowledge which is a direct result of the empowerment afforded to her through awareness and education. This makes the impact of discrimination on her life less significant. With the objective of working for Human Rights, Premalatha's ambition, as she mentions in the film, is to become a Human Rights educator.

Premalatha was able to change her life for the better with the HRE that she received at a young age in a context rampant with similar violations as those that she herself suffered. But Evrim Gul, as she often states, being an illiterate woman has undergone severe human rights violations and discrimination due to ignorance. She had no support in her resistance to child marriage or in her suffering of domestic violence for years. However, after following the HR programme at Van Women's Association, she experiences freedom and feels strong. Her strength is aided by her knowledge of Human Rights and the fact that human rights and dignity exist in the world as universal values. Through the experience at the programme she finds that there are many women like her taking the programme. There she is able to identify allies such as peers, activists and communities. According to the film, most women who have undergone domestic violence tend to think that it is their own fault that has led to discrimination but once they engage with these programmes they see that there are many women in the same plight. Where does the problem lie? It lies within society and its barriers could only be broken with HRE.

Evrim Gul says; "I didn't deserve all the cruelty, all the suffering." (*A Path to Dignity,* 21:09-21:11). In a patriarchal society such as that depicted in the film, women abide by constraints imposed by men and are made to feel inferior loosing their identity and value as human beings. The above statement is a reflection of the physical or mental suffering that she has undergone in her own society. Since women are treated with cruelty, dominance and oppression, they think suffering is inherent in their lives. They have seen their mother's, sister's, friend's, relative's and neighbour's suffering, so that suffering is accepted as common and inherent. Clearly, empowerment of such women is an absolute necessity which can only be achieved through HRE. As the film attests, after the training in HR at Van Women's Association (VAKAD), like Evrim Gul, many women have undergone positive changes. They eventually realize that human rights and dignity are inherent values that they gain at birth. Her experience drives her

to work as a human rights activist with the aim of rescuing women who are suffering around her.

In both the above cases, the contribution of the NGOs is significant in shaping the lives of these individuals. As mentioned in the review of literature[7], the fact that Human Rights NGOs are contributing to the protection, promotion and enforcement of human rights is commonly acknowledged. Gerber (2011) highlights the NGO contribution in preparing a draft declaration on Human Rights Education and Training in 2007 that had been promoted by the Human Rights Council (HRC)[8].

> "A positive aspect of the development of the Declaration was the extent to which NGOs were able to contribute to the drafting of the instrument. The high level of NGO engagement with the drafting process was facilitated, in part, by the establishment of the NGO Working Group on Human Rights Education and Learning, to coordinate the efforts of some 40 NGOs interested in having input, and also by the formation of the Platform for Human Rights Education and Training within the HRC by seven countries with a strong commitment to HRE — namely Costa Rica, Italy, Morocco, Philippines, Slovenia, Senegal and Switzerland. The result is a Declaration that has the support of a wide array of NGOs involved in HRE, and which expressly acknowledges the important role that NGOs play in the delivery of HRE (Article 10)" (Gerber, 2011).

Ellen Bruno also manifests the contribution of NGOs such as the People's Watch[9] and Van Women's Association (VAKAD)[10] in the film *A Path to Dignity*. As the film attests, the People's Watch is actively engaged in training teachers in government schools throughout India. After this training teachers learn how to conduct human rights education programmes themselves for school children in grades 6 to 8. (*A Path to Dignity,* 04:03).

According to People's Watch,

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[7] See pages 6 and 7 - Literature Review on Bajaj (2012)

[8] In 2006, as part of a suite of UN reforms, the discredited Commission on Human Rights was abolished and replaced with the Human Rights Council (HRC). HRC was given a specific mandate regarding HRE, namely to 'promote human rights education and learning'. (Gerber.P, *Education about Human Rights*)

[9] People's Watch began in 1995 as a programme unit of the Centre for Promotion of Social Concerns (CPSC) based in Madurai city in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu (https://www.peopleswatch.org/)

[10] Van Women's Association was founded by seven women as an independent and feminist organization in April 2004. **(**http://www.keig.org/van-kadin-dernegi-vakad/?lang=en)

> "The human rights through education initiative of IHRE began as an experiment in 1997 in Class 9 in nine schools of TN and then spread to 300 government SC/ST schools in the state, reaching out to students in classes 6-8. Although the institute had independently launched the Human Rights Education programme, it soon opted to come under the umbrella of the UN Decade of Human Rights Education (1994-2004)."

Through their training programme, school children have become actively engaged in the context of Human Rights and are raising their voices against discrimination and the violation of rights. Therefore, Ellen Bruno acknowledges the significant contribution of People's Watch throughout her documentary film as a positive factor that brings hope to manifest the notion that 'change is possible'.

In the backdrop of increasing violations of women's rights, Van Women's Association (VAKAD) has also taken steps to educate women and to protect them from various violations. As Zelal Aymen, the Coordinator of the Human Rights Education Programme for women explains; "the violence in Turkey is quite high. All kinds of violence; economic, political, psychological, cultural, physical, sexual" (*A Path to Dignity*, 20:55-21:05). In such a situation, the need for empowering women to stand for their rights is essential. The main goals of VAKAD is "advancing consciousness about women, society, family and individuals, building awareness in women for human rights and women's human rights, and combating against violence against women".[11] These NGOs are the activists at the ground level of these societies. Although in most of these societies women cannot abide by norms and customs that common law does not distinguish, NGOs like VAKAD can expand their strength to protect themselves using the very foundations upon which these societies have been created. As the film attests, many women who seek refuge in VAKAD have ultimately become activists who help not only other women who suffer the same plight but also human rights activists.

In Premalatha's story, she explains the incident of discrimination from the upper caste members of her village. According to Henri Tiphagne, the Executive Director, People's Watch, the *Dalit* community, formerly known as 'untouchables' of the country, face these problems on a daily basis. Children of this community are not allowed to eat with others simply because the spillover from his plate should not fall into somebody else's

[11] Van Women's Association (VAKAD) (http://www.keig.org/van-kadin-dernegi-vakad/?lang=en)

plate. As the remedy to the problem, this film presents human rights education in these schools and children's active participation in learning and addressing issues with the help of their HRE teachers.

Similarly, Evrim Gul explains about her personal experience on child marriage and domestic violence. The coordinator of the HRE for Women, Zelal Ayman further asserts and explains that not only domestic violence but also economic, political, cultural, psychological, physical and sexual violence in Turkey is quite high. As a remedy to Evrim Gul's problem, this film introduces her training in Human Rights at Van Women's association. Then she is able to stand for her rights and even help other women.

Victoria police project is somewhat different from the other two stories presented in the film, *A Path to Dignity*. This part of the film brings out a debatable aspect with regard to human rights of professionals. The police is often accused of human rights violations in investigations, arrests, detentions and the use of force.[12] It is difficult to break down the general perception that the police might not be absolutely focused on human rights. In order to overcome the negative perspectives, Victoria Police in Australia introduced a Human Rights training programme. This programme has begun to comply with *the Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006*[13]. *Policing and human rights: Standards for police cells* introduced by Office of Police Integrity, Victoria starts by phrasing Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities; "All persons deprived of liberty must be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person"[14] This emphasizes the need of treating human beings with dignity and their rights ensured. In this instance, specially people who are arrested and 'deprived of liberty' should also be considered on the same principle.

Ellen Bruno has keenly observed their progress in all aspects of policing and educates Victoria Police employees on human rights. Charlie Allen, an

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[12] Human Rights Watch, New York reports many cases/news under the topic 'Police Brutality' (These news can be retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/tag/police-brutality). All these news contains violations of human rights during investigations, custody, arresting, using force or firearms and victim's assistance of Police in Thailand, Russia, US, Palestine, Yemen, Zambia etc. This website covers reported news/cases from all over the world.

[13] *Victoria's Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities* is a Victorian law that sets out the basic rights, freedoms and responsibilities of all people in Victoria. It is about the relationship between government and the people it serves.

[14] Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act (Vic) 2006 s 22(1) and United Nations 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Article 10

inspector explains “Human rights training forms part of our foundation training programme now,” (A Path to Dignity, 14:58). This programme includes all officers from the top of the hierarchy to the bottom. They have identified key issues related to the diversity of the community including immigrants. In presenting the background to the context, Ellen Bruno shows the opinion of a Sudanese youth leader, David Jada. He explains the sociocultural, economic and political challenges that they faced as new immigrants. He acknowledges that most of the youth have difficulties in understanding the country. On the other hand, there was a complaint about Victoria police that they over police the Sudanese youth and children. In this instance, it appears that there is some misunderstanding between the two parties. However, as a remedy, the police officers discuss the human rights programme with the youth leader. In the open dialogue it becomes evident to the youth that the only difference between the police and them is simply the uniform. This breakthrough emphasizes the need for dialogue to build trust between communities and minimize discrimination.

Ellen Bruno has taken opinions from all levels of the community including those that represent authorities and protective mechanisms of human rights. The statements of the UN high commissioner for human rights[15], and the president of Costa Rica[16] bring out what they expect from the community. At the beginning of the film Navi Pillay, the UN high commissioner for human rights explains the task of human rights as; “Full realization of Human rights requires all human beings to be aware of their rights and also of other people’s rights and of the means to ensure their protection.” (A Path to Dignity, 2:00-2:07) This gives an insight to the need of knowing one’s own rights and those of the others. As concluding remarks of the film, responsibility of civil society to protect and promote human rights is emphasized by the statement of Laura Chinchilla, the President of the Republic of Costa Rica. She explains that the responsible agents for protecting and promoting human rights in the world. First and foremost, the responsibility of the government is highlighted, because they must lead the cause, set the legal framework and monitor the implementation of the commitments. But the responsibility of civil society is equally important. Organized civil society can play an effective and important role in protecting and promoting human rights. By bringing the aforesaid human rights mechanisms and stressing the importance of individual and

[15] UN High commissioner of Human Rights is esponsible for coordinating United Nations education and public information programs in the field of human rights

[16] A country which for the past 15 years has promoted human rights education on the United Nations agenda.

community responsibility leads the audience to think further about the path to dignity through human rights.

Conclusion

The main purpose of the three stories of the film is to show how education *about, through* and *for* human rights play a vital role in the lives of those marginalized and vulnerable individuals of society. All three stories explain various phases of ignorance and present issues related to social and gender discrimination and how HRE provides the know-how to empower victims and strengthen communities against discrimination. The path from being victims at the grassroots of society to activists and educators of human rights is clearly depicted in "A path to *dignity"*. The role of NGOs as presented in this documentary in advocating change and empowerment of victims also highlights the importance of volunteering in community building and in promoting human rights culture in marginalized communities. Therefore, cinematography that depicts this empowerment in their settings through cases studies is also effective as a pedagogical strategy or tool in HRE.

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The Health Cost of Urban Air Pollution in Sri Lanka: An Empirical Analysis in the City of Kandy

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Abstract

Outdoor air pollution remains a major environmental health problem in Kandy in Sri Lanka, which is one of the congested cities in Sri Lanka. Despite the high levels of pollution in the city, which has been documented, the published evidence of its impact on health is as yet scarce. This study investigates the health cost attributable to air pollution in the Kandy city area. The study uses survey data gathered in 2017 covering 401 respondents who work in the inner-city limits of Kandy. The burden of diseases calculated as attributable to air pollution is approximately 2.7% of their monthly income. It has been found that the health cost of the residents in the city area is relatively higher than the people whose residences are located outside the city area. Regression results show that exposure level, number of sick days, distance to the road, mode of travel, location of dwelling, household income, education, and age serve as the key determinants of the health costs. The results have important policy implications.

Keywords: *Air pollution; Health Problem; Exposure Level; Health Cost; Sri Lanka*

Introduction

Air pollution, both indoor and outdoor, is one of the major environmental health problems affecting people in both developed and developing countries (American Thoracic Society, 2000). Although air pollution is recognized as an emerging public health problem in developing countries, most of these countries do not have adequate data to evaluate the actual magnitude of the problem (Dockery and Pope, 2006; Nandasena et al.

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2010). The main reason may be that air pollution co-exists with other grave public health problems, such as communicable diseases, vector borne diseases, malnutrition and poor sanitation, which are given higher priority in circumstances where economic resources are limited. This has delayed the action needed to adequately assess, evaluate and control air pollution in those countries (Colls and Micallef, 1997; HEI, 2004). The Sri Lankan situation is no different to other developing countries. Ambient air pollution, especially in urban environments, arises from an array of different sources, which can be categorized as stationary, mobile and area emission sources. The main source of ambient air pollution in Sri Lanka is vehicular emissions, contributing to over 60% of total emissions in Colombo and over 90% of total emission in Kandy (Karunarathna, 2019).

Air pollution has a serious toxicological impact on human health and the environment. According to the WHO, six major air pollutants include particle pollution, ground-level ozone, carbon monoxide, sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and lead (Ghorani-Azam et al. 2016). The effects of air pollution involve a large variety of illnesses, starting with the simple irritation of eyes, nose, mouth and throat or headache and dizziness, but also potentially more serious conditions such as premature death, asthma attacks cardiovascular disease, lung cancer etc. Some studies provide enough evidence about the relationship between long term exposure to air suspended toxicants and respiratory diseases, cardiovascular diseases, neuropsychiatric complications, eye irritation, skin diseases, and long-term chronic diseases such as cancer (Vlachokostas et al. 2009; WHO, 2013; Ghorani-Azam et al. 2016). It is evident now that the concentration of air pollution in urban areas is not only associated with health but socioeconomic aspects as well. Reliable estimates of health effects due to air pollution are important to support a better and focused public health action in alleviating them.

Air pollution is an expanding environmental issue in Sri Lanka which is the cause of many of the health problems of the residents in most urban areas of the country (Nandasena et al. 2010). Due to the heavily congested traffic in urban areas of Sri Lanka, the amount of primary air pollutants and smog that is emitted to the atmosphere is increasing exponentially (Karunarathna, 2019). Motor vehicles continue to be the most significant contributor to air pollution where the fleet sizes have almost doubled during 2000-2015. Particulate matter is the primary pollution of concern in Sri Lanka because it has consistently exceeded WHO guidelines. At present the impact of the decreasing air quality on the environment, climate and people are inadequately understood in the country. Given this background, this study

attempts to estimate the costs of ill-health arising from exposure to pollution in Sri Lanka. The research questions to be addressed in this study are (1) What is the cost of ill-health arising from exposure to pollution? (2) What is the residents' willingness to pay (WTP) to avoid direct exposure to pollution? (3) What are the variables that determine the direct health costs[4]? The study uses data from field surveys covering 401 employed people in the city of Kandy in Sri Lanka. The study will use the assessment of willingness-to-pay (WTP)[5] which is a common approach to valuate individual preferences and non-market goods such as environmental quality (Hoevenagel, 1994).

The remainder of the paper is set out as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature while Section 3 presents a theoretical model of willingness to pay (WTP) to avoid ill-health due to direct exposure to pollution. Section 4 discusses the survey and data collection methods. Section 5 presents the results of the analyses of the survey data. In this section we also report the results of the econometric analyses which examine factors influencing ill-health and health expenditures. The final section summarises and present the conclusions thus drawn.

Literature Review

It is quite astonishing to find the impact air pollution has on human health and the severity of the consequences of exposure to polluted air prolonged periods. Numerous studies have found that air pollution has a positive association with increased morbidity and mortality in human from respiratory diseases, cardiovascular diseases, exacerbation of asthma among children, allergic reactions, and irritation of the mucous membranes of the eyes and nose, leading to ultimately reducing their life expectancy (Colls and Micallef, 1997; Kunzli et al. 2000; Katsouyanni et al. 2001; Brunekreef and Holgate, 2002; Hoek et al. 2002; Holland et al. 2005; Mukhopadhyay and Forssell, 2005; Dockeryand Pope, 2006; World Health Organization, 2013). Enger and Smith (2000) have found that deaths from air pollution occur primarily among the elderly, the infant, and the very young. According to HEI (2004) age, cultural practices, life style and socio-economic status may also influence exposure to air pollutants. As one's sensitivity to pollutants increases, the severity of the response will increase for a given pollutant. Hence the population sensitivities result in

[4] Health costs due to exposure to pollution include medical costs, averting expenditures and loss of wage income due to ill-health.

[5] It is largely recognized by the WHO that in order to manage the environmental quality efficiently and effectively, it is necessary to take into account all costs and benefits of alternative policy scenarios for use in rational planning procedures (Randall, 1986).

the effects of air pollutants and the severity of health outcomes in a given population (American Thoracic Society, 2000). According to the WHO (2004) some people can be more vulnerable to the effects of air pollutants while others may become victims as a result of their environmental, social and personal behaviours.

According to Künzli et al. (2000) traffic-related air pollution has become a key target for public-health action in Europe. This study emphasizes the importance of economic valuations in guiding the assessment of environmental health policy options. Premarathna et al. (2002) studied the effects of air pollution on the health of residents in an industrial area in Sri Lanka using a cross-sectional design and found that the adult population living in the industrial area was 2.1 times more likely to have an unexplained episodic cough. Alberini et al. (1997), Dickie and Ulery (2001), study the willingness to pay (WTP) to avoid acute illness in different countries. According to them, WTP to avoid acute illness increases less proportionately with duration and with the number of symptoms avoided. Mallikarachchi et al. (2004) and Manawadu and Wijesekara (2009) showed that land transport density, population and building density have significant association with the air quality of the Colombo district. Outdoor air pollution levels in home environments of school children in urban and rural areas in the Kandy district were measured by Sirithunga et al. (2006) to assess the respiratory symptoms over a one year period on a daily basis.

As a priority area of public health intervention, air pollution is identified by many international organizations (Ezzati et al., 2002). These concerns have an impact on the lives of many people. Approximately 1 billion people live in poverty (World Bank, 2002). According to the WHO (2000), 1.5 billion people currently live in polluted urban areas and 65% of the world's population is expected to live in cities by 2025. As Davis and Saldiva (1999) highlights, more than 40 % of the world's children are estimated to live in polluted cities of the developing world and the WHO estimates that 2 million children under age 5 die each year from acute respiratory diseases exacerbated by air pollution (Cunningham et al., 2005). This suggests that there are large attributable risks related to air pollution in both developed and developing countries. Iman and Hamidi (2005) found that unless there is a collective demand from the whole population, for cleaner air as a consideration when buying property, property prices will not be influenced. Azmia et al. (2012) studied the trade- off between a comfortable house in an air polluted urban area and a house with clean air. Accordingly, residential areas in urban environments are generally expensive and cannot

guarantee the two aspects of convenience in terms of neighbourhood, good accessibility, proximity to work place, amenities, utilities, and clean air. In this case, the quality of the environment they live in as well as their quality of life are compromised for opportunity and convenience.

Meisner et al. (2015) studied the magnitude of health impacts and economic costs of fine particulate matter (PM) of air pollution in the Republic of Macedonia. In this study, ambient PM10 and PM2.5 monitoring data were combined with population characteristics and exposure-response functions to calculate the incidence of several health impacts. Accordingly, interventions that reduce ambient PM10 or PM2.5 have significant economic savings. Lu et al. (2018) showed the importance of the role that can be played by policy makers and organizations in the smog risk perception of skilled workers as well as the importance of government taking environmental responsibilities in China. Pimpin et al. (2018) quantify the total health and social care cost burden due to fine particulate matter ($PM_{2.5}$) and nitrogen dioxide (NO_2) in England. According to their results, for the 18 years after baseline, the total cumulative cost is at £5.37 billion for $PM_{2.5}$ and NO_2 combined.

Assessment of the effects of air pollution on health is an area where a combination of science and policy are needed in where quantitative health impact assessment/cost benefit analysis methods are most strongly developed and used. At the same time, it is important to include monetary valuations of health impacts attributable to air pollution. Otherwise the range of adverse effects attributable to air pollution and the benefits of health from reducing it will not be captured. A review of previous literature finds that there are various studies covering various aspects of air pollution induced health effects. However, most of those studies focus on the large cities in developed countries. In this context, this study evaluates the health impacts of air pollution in Kandy in Sri Lanka using survey data.

Theoretical Background

Values of reduced morbidity risk have been estimated using two approaches in the literature (Freeman, 2003). They are based on individual preferences and resource opportunity costs (cost of illness approach). Individual preferences were either revealed by direct questioning (the contingent valuation method) or by using the indirect observed behaviour method such as replacement cost approach. In this section the cost of illness approach which accounts for cost of illness due to exposure to pollution was used. It also explains peoples' willingness to pay to avoid exposure to pollution in the study area. In addition to this, the econometrics

methods that are used to estimate the determinants of costs of illness are also explained.

A model developed by Harrington and Portney (1987) was used in this study to derive the WTP to avoid an increase in pollution. According to the model introduced by Harrington and Portney (1987) an individual's well-being increases with aggregate consumption (C) and leisure (L), but is negatively affected by sick days (S).

$$U = U(C, L, S; Z_u) \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(1)$$

Where the utility increases in C and L while it decreases in S. Z is a vector of individual characteristics capturing preferences for income, leisure and health (Alberini and Krupnick, 2000; Athukorala, 2013). It is assumed that the health of a person is measured by the number of sick days. The number of sick days depends on the level of exposure to pesticides (P), averting activities (A) and medical treatment (M).The relationship between pollution (P) and health outcomes (S) can be summarized into a dose-response function. It is assumed that health outcome is a function of pollution level (P), medical expenditure (M) and averting expenditure (A).

$$S = S(P, M, A; Z_S) \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(2)$$

$$\partial S/\partial P > 0 , \quad \partial S/\partial A < 0 \text{ and } \partial S/\partial M < 0$$

It is hypothesised that the number of sick days is negatively related to averting expenditures and medical expenditures, while sick days are positively related to levels of exposure to pollution (Freeman, 2003). It is assumed that an individual allocates his total time (T) between work (W) and leisure (L) and spends his/her income on aggregate consumption, medical care and averting activities. An individual choose the level of C, L and A to maximize utility subject to the following budget constraint.

$$Y + w[T - L - W(S)] = C + P_m M(S) + P_a A \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(3)$$

$$Y + wT = C + P_m M(S) + P_a A + wL + wW(S) \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(4)$$

Where P_m, P_a are price of medical care (M) and averting activities (A) respectively, while *w* denotes wage rate. The price of a unit of the aggregate consumption good is normalized to one. This budget constraint assumes that an individual allocates his time between work and leisure (Athukorala, 2013). The left hand side of equation 3 gives the sum of income earned by working and the value of leisure while the right hand

side of the equation gives the total possible expenditure.[6] According to the equation three, time allocation to work as well as medical care expenditure is expressed as a function of the number of sick days. Using the above simple utility maximization problem Harrington and Portney (1987) and Alberini and Krupnick (2000) decompose the willingness to pay for a small change in pollution as follows:

$$\text{WTP} = \frac{dS}{dP}\left[w\frac{dW}{dS} + P_m\frac{dM}{dS} + Pa\frac{dA^*}{dS} - \frac{U_S}{\lambda} \right] \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (5)$$

Equation 5 says that WTP can be expressed as the product of the dose response function (dS/dP) times the marginal value of illness. The term in brackets is the marginal value of illness, broken down into its four main components (Freeman, 2003). Accordingly, the marginal value of illness is comprised of the values of marginal lost earnings (dW/dS), marginal cost of medical expenditure (dM/dS) and of the marginal cost of the averting activities (dA/dS). In addition, WTP includes the disutility of illness (U_S/λ), converted into money value through dividing by the marginal utility of income (Freeman, 2003). This basic theoretical model has been used to assess the willingness to pay to avoid the existing pollution level in the Kandy urban area.

Empirical Approach and Data

In the analysis, firstly the costs of illness estimate for the comparison under different illnesses related scenarios have been explained. Furthermore, it is also important to identify factors influencing pollution induced health costs. For this purpose, OLS and Tobit methods were used. The use of Tobit models to study censored variables has become increasingly common in applied social science research over the past two decades. Tobit regression estimates a linear regression model for a left-censored dependent variable, where the dependent variable is censored at zero. It is used to describe the relationship between a non-negative dependent variable and an independent variable. In this study we used WTP as a dependent variable and it takes zero or positive values. This will allow us to compare the results in a more accurate way. A vector of explanatory variables to identify the determinants of variable is used in the regression analysis. The details of the explanatory variables are given in Table 1.

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[6] For further details refer Alberini *and* Krupnick (2000) Cost-of-Illness and Willingness-to-Pay Estimates of the Benefits of Improved Air Quality: Evidence from Taiwan *Land Economics, Vol.* 76 (I): 37-53

General specifications of the OLS and Tobit models are as follows:

OLS - $Y_i = X_i^{'}\delta + \varepsilon_i$ …….(9)

Tobit- $Y_i = X_i^{'}\beta + u_i$ if RHS >0……..…….....(10)

= 0 otherwise

The dependent variable Y indicating WTP which is a censored variable as some have said that there was no significant impacts of pollution on them. For example, the dependent variable is zero for respondents who have incurred zero costs. X_i denotes a vector of explanatory variables which are explained in Table 1.

The present study is based purely on primary data using survey research technique. The study uses non-probability sampling methods namely convenience sampling technique. In this case the researcher selects samples based on the subjective judgment of the researcher rather than random selection. It is evident that in non-probability sampling, not all members of the population have a chance of participating in the study unlike in probability sampling, where each member of the population has a known chance of being selected. As our study population is the working people in Kandy city area, there is no way of getting the list of all the people who work in different sectors such as government office, formal or informal private sector, businessmen and drivers in the Kandy city. Therefore, the sample was selected based on the subjective judgment of the research team after considering the representatives of different employment categories in the city. This method was used as it was easy to recruit and because the researcher could accommodate the heterogeneous views of different group of people who work in the city area.

A survey was carried out by covering 420 respondents who worked in various places in the Kandy city area in Sri Lanka. The survey was carried out covering public sector offices, private sector offices, workers in the shops and vehicle drivers. Information was collected on health status, health expenditure, hospitalization incidents, averting activities and related costs, certain habits (i.e. smoking, alcohol abuse etc.), exposure level, travel time and attitudes on pollution level in the area. In addition, socio-economic information and other details such as mode of travel, distance to the main road, nature of the jobs and WTP to avoid pollution were gathered at the same time. Key informant interviews were used to gather some information for the validation of data. Data were collected through face-to-

face interview with the respondents. However, around 19 questionnaires had to be dropped out from the analysis as erroneous and some untruthful were found. The questionnaire used in the survey was validated in a pilot survey and through focus group discussions. The final questionnaire was adjusted following the pilot survey and focus group discussions. The gathering of data was conducted by a trained group of researchers under the close supervision of the research team. The interviews took place in the interviewee's office or working place. The participants were informed about the purpose of the study and they provided verbal consent to take part in the study. A field supervisor reviewed the quality of the data gathered and entered it into a database for analysis.

Table 1 Definitions of the Variables used in the Regression Model

Variables	Definition
Health cost (monthly / Rs.)	Health expenditure due to pollution induced illnesses of the respondents
Exposure level (number of hours / per month)	Number of hours that respondent is in the open space (in the city area, road or vehicle)
Proximity (M)	Distance from home to main road
Income (monthly / Rs.)	Income of the respondents per month
Sick days (number)	Number of sick days due to pollution induced illnesses
Family size (number)	Size of the family of the respondents
Age (years)	Number of years
Education (number of years)	Formal education of the respondents
Gender	Dummy, 1 if male, otherwise 0
Job_nature	Whether work station of the respondents is in an open space or not. Dummy, 1 if open, otherwise 0
City limit	If place of residence is within city limits or not Dummy, 1 if city limit, otherwise 0
Born	Respondent born in Kandy or Not Dummy, 1 if born in Kandy, otherwise 0
Mode of travel	Daily travel mode is Car or Not - Dummy, 1 if car, otherwise 0

Source: Data for all variables explained above are taken from the survey

The questionnaire used in the survey had six main sections. Section A covered general social-economic information while Section B dealt with environmental attitudes of respondents. Section C sought details of health

impacts of air pollution in the area under study. In this Section short-term private health costs resulting from air pollution induced (arisen mainly from vehicles emission) illnesses is collected while Section D sought information about defensive/averting costs of minimizing the harmful effects of pollution. Section E asked the Contingent Valuation Question: i.e. "In view of the large short-term and long-term and precautionary costs which we saw in the preceding sections, what is the yearly value to you of avoiding direct exposure to air pollution and the resulting illnesses in this area?". This question is strictly hypothetical. The aim of this question is to measure the value people placed on a pollution free environment where one's health is not affected or, in other words, to measure how much people are willing to pay to avert illnesses that arise from direct exposure to air pollution in the area.

Results and Discussion

The characteristics of individuals responding to survey are explained below. As the survey was carried out on weekdays in the different office/ work station/ open working areas in the Kandy city, the response rate to the every question was very high. The average age of the respondents is 42 years with a minimum of 16 and a maximum of 67 years. Male respondents are 65% while females are 35%. All these people are employed in different places and 58% is employed either private or government sector in permanent positions. Approximately 24 per cent of the respondents are engaged in various businesses in the area. The mean monthly income of the respondents is Rs. 44,300. Bad habits have a significant influence on the health of people. Our survey data reveals that 37% of respondents smoke (cigarette, *beedy etc.*). However, of those only 67% is smoke regularly. Around 9% takes alcohol everyday while another 24 take at most 2 days per month. Most respondents have secondary level of education (74%) and 26% of the sample of the respondents have hold degrees.

Table 2 shows summary of statistics of the data used for the analysis. Results show that the average medical expenditure was Rs.1214 (month) per person and the average exposure to the polluted environment was 170 hours per person per month. The general information about other variables such as proximity to the main road, household income, family size, age and number of sick days can be significant determinants of health expenditure related to air pollution in the area under study. Descriptive statistics of those variables are given in Table 1 in order to get a general idea about the sample.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics of the Survey Data

Variables	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Health cost (monthly / Rs.)	1,214.00	0.00	2,500.00
Exposure level (number of hours / per month)	170.00	25.00	350.00
Proximity (M)	564.34	20.00	2000.00
Income (monthly / Rs.)	44,301.00	10,000.00	300,000.00
Number of sick days	2.91	0.00	8.00
Family size (number)	4.00	1.00	9.00
Age (years)	42.30	16.00	67.00
Education	13.00	5.00	18.00
Gender: dummy, 1 if male, otherwise 0	64.8 %		
Job nature: dummy, 1 if open, otherwise 0	54.7 %		
City limit: dummy, 1 if city limit, otherwise 0	36.5 %		
Born: dummy, 1 if born in Kandy, otherwise 0	42.8 %		
Mode of travel: dummy, 1 if car, otherwise 0	32.7 %		

Source: Field Survey
Note: Descriptive statistics of all important variables are given in this Table.

As the first step of the analysis, the variation of cost was considered to residents who have different experiences of illnesses due to direct exposure to air pollution. It is evident that exposure to air suspended toxicants has a different toxicological impact on human including respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, neuropsychiatric complications, eyes irritation, skin disease, and long-term chronic diseases such as cancer (WHO, 2006). Air pollution is considered a major environmental risk factor in the incidence and progression of some diseases such as asthma, lung cancer,

ventricular hypertrophy, Alzheimer's and Parkinson's diseases, psychological complications, autism, retinopathy and low birth weight (WHO, 2006). In the survey, information was obtained of all the illnesses of the respondents over the last one month period and their perceptions about the main courses for those diseases. Information was also collected regarding their medication expenses, doctor visits and hospitalization due to those diseases. Based on these findings different scenarios were identified and costs were separately estimated.

Table 3 Costs of Illness Estimates under Different Scenario (Rs. per month)

Scenario	Average costs	Number	Percentage
A	2608.00	6	1.50
B and C	1152.50	24	6.00
B	872.50	26	6.50
C	228.45	164	41.00
Zero Cost	0.00	180	45.00
N		400	100

Source: Survey Date

Note: Monthly total costs for residents who have different experiences are reported in this table. Zero costs mean the residents who did not have any experience of the above cases over the month period.

The average cost was calculated for households classified as serious (A-hospitalisation), moderate (B - a doctor is consulted, but no hospitalisation is required) and mild cases (C - no visits to the doctor, yet medication is taken). In this case, the private costs due to illnesses arising from air pollution induced illness were estimated for a period of one month[7]. The results show that 1.5% of respondents have mentioned that they have been suffering from pollution induced ill health and have been hospitalized within the last three months. Another 12% has mentioned that they have taken medicine from doctors due to pollution related ill health. Approximately 41% of respondents have taken some kind of treatment for

[7] We collected data for three months period and estimated monthly expenditure.

pollution induced health issues. However, as their issues are not serious, they have not met doctors.

A resident may have experienced one, any two or all three of the above. As can be seen, there is considerable variation in the costs incurred for different categories. As the next step of the analysis, we estimated respondents' willingness to pay to avoid direct exposure to air pollution and the resulting illnesses in this area. These values are taken for a year and converted into monthly figures. We estimated WTP figures under different scenarios. Estimated average WTP compensation values are given in Table 3. Given that it is a developing country, it is evident that WTP values are relatively lower even to the medical costs of the respondents. Theoretically, WTP includes medical costs, cost of labour loss, averting expenditure and value of disutility. However, the results of the study show that WTP is marginally higher than the medical costs of the sample.

Table 4 WTP under Different Scenario (Rs. per month)

Scenario	Average WTP	Number	Cost/WTP ratio
A	2,714.00	4	0.961
B and C	1,225.52	16	0.940
B	945.75	18	0.923
C	373.68	64	0.611
Average	1,314.74	-	-
Zero WTP	-	298	-
N		400	-

Sorce: Survey Data

Note: Cost of illness estimates, and WTA compensation ratios are calculated to show the magnitudes of the different between these two variables.

The results show clearly that in each case medical cost of illness is marginally higher than the peoples' WTP values. For example, the average WTP value of the respondents who have hospitalized experience is Rs. 2,714 per month. However, the medical cost of illness estimates show that the value of their true medical cost of illness is approximately Rs. 2,608 per month. The study finds that the average monthly medical cost of illness per person was Rs. 1,215. However, mean willingness to pay was Rs. 1,314 per person per month of the respondents who have experience of some kind

of illness. Results show clearly that mean WTP estimates tend to underestimate the true cost.

In general people's knowledge, attitudes and behaviour about the pollution on health are essential to support evidence based government policy in this important area. Therefore, we included some statements to investigate people's attitudes and knowledge during the survey. The results of these are summarised in Table 4. When considering the environmental damage of the pollution in the area, around 91% of the respondents mentioned that road traffic congestion induced vehicle emissions has had a severe impact on the pollution levels in the area. However, majority of respondents (92%) agree that traffic congestion in the city area is the most important problem that the government should solve immediately. Approximately 67% of respondents suggest that the government must develop the road infrastructure for solving this problem while 26% believe that implementation of a proper traffic management plan can solve the problem. A further 89% and 61% of respondents are aware that air pollution causes illness and even death.

As the final step of the analysis we attempted to identify the factors affecting pollution induced health cost of the sample. Estimation results of the OLS and Tobit regression model are shown in Table 5. In our model as dependent variable (WTP) can take zero or positive values, we used Tobit model in addition to the OLS. This will allow us to compare the results in a more accurate way. We ran OLS model by controlling different variables. Each slope coefficient in the OLS model is a partial slope coefficient and measures the changes in the estimated unit change in the value of the given regressor holding other regressor constant. The coefficients in the OLS model are interpreted as the marginal impact of the right hand side variable on the dependent variable. Accordingly this result reveals that all variables except gender in the health damage (cost) function have turned out to be significant. The coefficients of all variables have expected signs in this equation.

Among all the variables, number of hours of exposure, number of sick days and income have positively related with health cost while proximity to the road has a negative sign. Although it is not rational to compare the Tobit and OLS results, the signs on the coefficients and their significance levels can be comparable. In addition, the relative magnitudes of the coefficients across variables in the Tobit model are comparable to the relative magnitudes of the OLS model. The key difference between two result can be seen in the mode of travel variable. According to the OLS results this

variable is significant under 10% level of significance while Tobit results identify it as an insignificant variable under 5%.

Table 5 Respondents' Attitudes and Knowledge

Statements	Fully agree or Agree (%)
Air pollution is a serious issue in Kandy city	96.50
Kandy is the city most affected by the air pollution in Sri Lanka	80.50
Air pollution has an effect on respiratory diseases	89.00
Air pollution causes serious illnesses and even possible death	60.75
My family including a suffer every day due to air pollution	95.50
The main reason for the air pollution in Kandy is the number of vehicles in the city	91.25
Existing traffic congestion has seriously affected air pollution	97.50
Air pollution has serious impacts on school children in the city area	86.25
The government needs to take immediate measures to reduce air pollution	91.75
I am happy about the existing pollution control strategies in Sri Lanka	8.00

Source: Survey Data

Note: Only fully agree and agree are reported in the Table

Among the significant variables under different significance levels, exposure level and proximity have positive effects on the health expenditure while proximity have negative effects on it. The negative sign of the proximity variable confirms that the households farthest from the main road are less likely to incur pollution induced health cost as their probability of getting sick is less.

Table 6 Results of OLD and Tobit Models

	M1	M2	M3	M4
VARIABLES	OLS	OLS	OLS	Tobit
exposure	22.572***	10.839***	8.153***	8.132***
	(2.149)	(1.896)	(1.456)	(1.573)
proximity	-1.786***	-1.139***	-0.809***	-0.882***
	(0.262)	(0.213)	(0.165)	(0.181)
income		0.010***	0.008***	0.008***
		(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
sick days		893.204***	354.202***	401.087***
		(70.124)	(69.651)	(74.189)
family size			170.392***	212.045***
			(55.414)	(58.869)
age			52.369***	59.400***
			(6.654)	(7.014)
education			81.879***	102.333***
			(27.714)	(29.817)
gender			40.903	-18.362
			(234.669)	(252.217)
jobe_nature			485.207**	540.844**
			(215.289)	(224.037)
citylimit			1,040.670***	1,119.485***
			(176.254)	(185.297)
born			477.362***	523.874***
			(162.080)	(173.536)
mode of travel			474.090*	537.650**
			(248.232)	(268.499)
Constant	2,032.189***	105.227	-3,440.966***	-4,465.796***
	(444.091)	(374.974)	(410.196)	(57.503)
Observations	401	401	401	401
R-squared	0.343	0.587	0.770	

Note: i. Standard errors are shown in brackets. * Denotes the significant variables under 1% level of significance while ** and *** show the significant variables under 10% and 15% levels respectively. This output was created by Stata directly.

ii. OLS estimators are with robust standard errors.

iii. Marginal effects on the latent dependent variable are reported for the Tobit model. These coefficients indicate how a one-unit change in an independent variable alters the latent dependent variable.

Among the insignificant variables, number of sick days, job nature and city limit variables are important. These variables further confirm that health

costs are mainly determined by the pollution level in the area. We also investigated whether people are using averting activities and our observation about the averting expenditure found that the averting activities are not commonly used in the area. An insignificant gender variable suggests that pollution induced health costs was independent from respondents' gender difference.

An econometrics analysis in this area has shown that some explanatory variables are often multicollinear[8] (Greene, 2000). As a consequence, estimating accurate and stable regression coefficients may be difficult. In order to test multicollinearity we obtained the colinearity matrix of our variables. Although multicollinearity is a classical problem in most studies in this area, our results show that it is not a problem in this sample. Here, the condition index of 0.62 indicates a medium collinearity according to Belsey et al. (1980), but it does not seem to harm the estimation considering the relatively high t values. Correlations between most of other variables are less than 0.5 which help us get accurate results without violating one of the important OLS assumptions.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

This study examines the health costs of air pollution induced illness and its determinants using cost of illness approach. The data covering a sample of 401 respondents who are working in Kandy city limit were collected. In addition to estimate the WTP to avoid pollution related issues in the area and costs of illness estimates, OLS and Tobit regression model estimates determinants of respondents' pollution induced health expenditure. Results showed that the average monthly cost of illness was Rs. 1,214 per person. However, we find that the monthly mean willingness to pay for avoiding pollution induced health risk as Rs. 1,314 per person per month. This represents the average amount of income the household would be willing to pay each month to avoid the risk of any household member being sick. It shows clearly that the willingness to pay value underestimates the reality confirming previous studies. This general result about the underestimation of WTP drawn from our study follows that of the results of many other contingent valuation studies reported in the literature. In general peoples' valuation of exogenous factors including future expectation can have a significant impact of making divergence between those two. As a result, policy-oriented research covering some of the excluded variables in our model in this field is needed to have a better understanding of the problem.

[8] Bad habits (smoking and drinking alcohol) were dropped due to high multicollinearity from the model.

The results of the regression models show that together all the regressors have a significant impact on health expenditure. We also found that exposure level, proximity, income level, number of sick days, family size, age, education, nature of the job, residing in the city limit, being born in Kandy and mode of daily travel as some of the significant determinants of health expenditure. When analyzing qualitative data, it is found that most people are aware of the issue in the area and that they strongly believe that the government should come up with some concrete solution to the issue immediately. The results show clearly that pollution control is an essential task in the city area. For this purpose the government can use various methods such as legal, social, economical and technological measures, which help to prevent pollution by various methods of operations. In addition to that, steps need to be taken to create awareness among people about the short term as well as long term health impacts of pollution in the area. This type of awareness program will encourage people to use more averting activities such as masks or reducing exposure levels. Furthermore, the government should take steps to increase efficiency in energy use in the transport sector while encouraging people to use more public transport in order to reduce vehicle related emission in the city area. It also appears that pollution causes more damage to houses, plants and cultivated crops in the area, however it is difficult to obtain the exact monetary values related these factors.

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Factors Which Have Influenced on Trauma Coping: A Review of Different Domains of Traumatic Conditions

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Abstract

Exposure to traumatic events gives people post-traumatic conditions which result in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Post Traumatic Growth (PTG) which is optimistic rising right through the trauma in the opposite direction. Some of them may reports Acute Stress Disorder and some may have many grievances with the loss of closed one. However, most people overcome their traumatic condition by using their Emotional Intelligence and Resilience capacities. Three different models have been discussed which can explain the process of overcoming trauma using the emotional, resilience, and coping competencies. This paper focuses on basic mechanisms and resources which can be used to achieve a better rehabilitation along with Emotional Intelligence and resilience capacities with using different kinds of literature and models. Some findings to have been discussed of a study done among university students from Germany and Sri Lanka related to trauma coping.

***Keywords**: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, Post Traumatic Growth, Emotional Intelligence, Resilience, Coping*

Introduction

Traumatic events are not just events, but they are events in our life which can be caused by many psychosocial issues. Not all the people who face traumatic events end up with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or any other psychosocial issues. Most people overcome their life traumas using their emotional and resilience capacities. Meanwhile, the coping mechanisms and the various patterns of copings that we use are key factors in this regard. Emotional Intelligence has indicated a resource for wellbeing. But as per the definition of Emotional Intelligence, it is our ability to recognize emotions and ability to utilize emotions to enhance other thoughts (Bar-On, 2012). Person's emotional strength and resiliente skills, is interplay between genetic and environmental factors (Vernon et

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al., 2009). The coping mechanism also plays a huge role in terms of adaptive and maladaptive coping styles to determine the overcoming of trauma (Nydegger & Nydegger, 2011).

The main objectives of this article are to figure out the contribution of these different factors in overcoming trauma and their collective contribution towards trauma healing and overcoming the consequences of trauma including PTSD. Different articles pertaining to the matter of traumatic stress in three different domains (Family, daily stress, university education) were systematically reviewed in order to find the in-depth factors behind traumatic stress.

Trauma Research

Bennet (2010) has concerned the different findings of the Emotional Intelligence'(EI), Resilience, Coping mechanisms. According to his definition resilience is believed to be muscle and can be taught or strengthened. Bio psychosocial model, psychological processes, the nervous and immune systems within the body and the individual within society are interconnected. Post traumatic events (PTEs) may have varied psychological and social magnitudes beyond the PTSD. Trauma healing process can be done using the certain steps and resilience, EI, and coping mechanisms should be appealed by the process (Van der Kolk, 2015).

Trauma and related researches have been occurred on the domain of general public in most cases. Salami (2010) explains emotional Intelligence, self-efficacy, psychological wellbeing has an impact on student's attitudes. This study points out Emotional Intelligence, self-efficacy, happiness and life satisfaction which we experience while we are depressed and before the depression have a tendency to envisage students' behaviours and attitudes. Salami (2010) concluded that students' attitudes are shaping up by the EI, Resilience and coping mechanisms they owned with is a matter of their dealing with traumatic situations and aftermath.

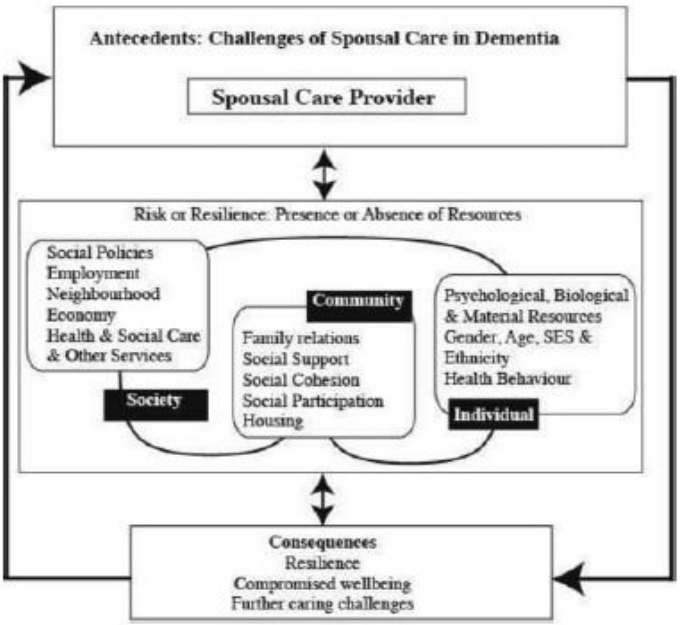
Handley and colleagues (2015) have examined the long-standing consequences of lifetime trauma experiences, consisting of factors matter of developing PTSD, with a rural adult sample. About 623 rural community residents exposed to, life trauma, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and other Psychological disorders and suicide ideation were evaluated using world Mental Health Composite International Diagnostic Interview. Using this qualitative approach and the quantitative nature combined with regression analysis pointed out that Post Traumatic events (PTEs) may have various psychological and social concerns beyond developing PTSD.

Sufficient provisional service which obtainable in rural zones may have long term consequences of reducing long lasting influence of traumatic experiences. Bessel van der Kolk (2015) presented numerous literatures concern about the trauma related risk factors and protective factors based on "Four Concrete Steps for Working with Trauma. According to him resilience is more than a cognitive process.

Contribution of Resilience

According to Windle and Bennet (2011) Resilience is not only important in psychological disorders but the disorders which have some psycho-biological roots. We know of many factors which make caring for a spouse with dementia burdensome d. According to Windle and Bennet (2011), there is a little understanding of factors which help some spouses to turn out to be resilient. Windle and Bennet (2011) define resilience as 'the process of negotiating, managing and adapting to significant sources of stress or trauma'. Windel and Bennet (2011) study focused on to assess spousal dementia carers achievement tendencies of resilience and to highlight properties and possessions in which they could draw on to enable or thwart resilience, using their ecological framework.

Figure 1 The Resilience Framework



Source: Windle & Bennet, 2011 as cited in Hedwig Eisenbarth, 2015

The Framework of Resilience (amended from Windle& Bennett 2011) shows the relationships between the precursors of resilience and the manifestation (or nonapperance) of posessions at individual level, community basis, and societal basis, and their magnitudes for resilience.

How does resilience help to recover from traumatic conditions? The Windle and Bennet model (2011) explains the contribution of resilience on trauma coping based on the society, community, and individual resources which can interact with spousal care and consequences which can result in wellbeing and further caring challenges. Society, community, and individual represent as a source of resource provider or a source that don't provide resources. The sources that provide resources from the basis of society level can be social policies, employment, neighborhood, economy, health & social care, and other services.

Social policies are essential for general wellbeing of the public. These sources can be provided right through government level and community basis. Relationships among the family, support from the society, social consistency, participation on social contexts, and accommodation can be considered as community level resources which can be considered the community level contribution for your bounce back process of personal trauma.

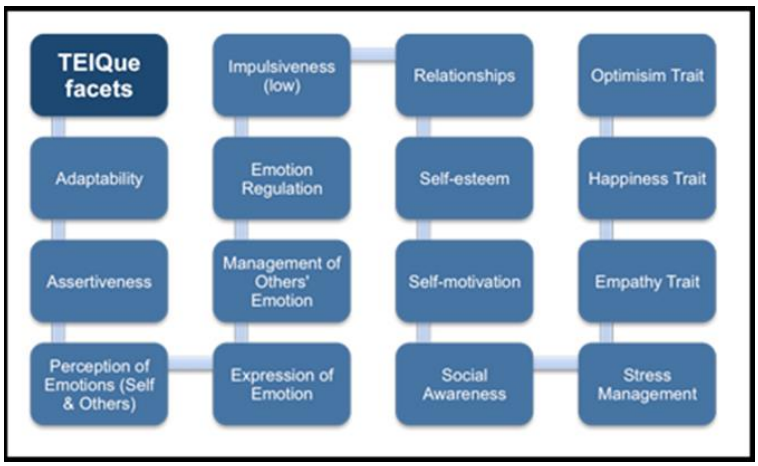
Individual level factors which lead to overcoming trauma are also important for trauma resilience. These individual factors are social economic status, psycho-biological factors, ethnicity, and health behaviors. Frequentl, our mental framework based on the factors come from society level and community level as man-made or natural trauma have rootin such domains. Even though dementia is personal trauma it can spread outward to society level as it is a challenge for the compromised wellbeing and further caring challenges among such patients. Therefore, according to the model proposed by Windle and Bennet (2011) personal trauma has two polar. It is risk or resilience.

Contribution of Emotional Intelligence

Contribution of Emotional Intelligence (EI) on trauma coping is widely discussed in the domain of stress coping and as a health-related variable. Emotional intelligence is considered a matter of skills or ability (Mayor & Salovey, 1990). However, the the perception of the Emotional Intelligence now directs towards to personality. As per Petrides (2010) points out Emotional Intelligence considered to be a a personality dimension in which person can be shown. It includes the adapatablity as a personality

dimention, assertiveness, perception of emotions, impulsiveness, emotional regulation, management of othersemotions, relationships, self management, expression of emotions, optimism trait, happiness trait, empathy trait, stress management as personality dimentions of emotions.

Figure 2 Path Diagram of Facets of Trait Emotional Intelligence



Source: Free -Management – eBooks, 2015

According to the Free Management E books (2015) Trait Emotional Intelligence (Trait EI) consist of features such as assertiveness, emotion perception, emotion expression, emotion management, emotion regulation, impulsiveness (low) relationships, self-esteem, self-motivation, social awareness, stress management, trait empathy, trait happiness, and trait optimism

Adaptability figures out the flexible and willingness to adapt to new conditions. At the same time *Assertiveness r*epresent personal qualities such as, forthrightness, frankness, and willingness to stand up for their rights. *Emotional perception (self and others) is a personality quality, which is clear on their own,* and other people's feelings. *Emotional expression* is capable of communicating their feelings to others. *Emotional management (others) is* capable of influencing other people's feelings. *Emotion regulation is being* capable of controlling their emotions. *Impulsiveness (low)* reflective and less likely to give in to their urges. *Relationships* are capable of fulfilling personal relationships. *Self-esteem is a capability of* successful and self-confident. *Self-motivation is a personality quality of being* driven and unlikely to give up in the face of

adversity. *Social awareness* is personality factor in which accomplished networkers with excellent social skills. *Stress management* is also a personality component, which is capable of withstanding pressure and regulating stress. *Trait empathy* is capable of seeing someone else's perspective. *Trait happiness* cheerful and satisfied with their lives. *Trait optimism* confident and likely to "look on the bright side" of life (Emmerling, 2015).

Emotional Intelligence is also a very important factor which determines the individual's capacity on trauma coping. Adaptability, assertiveness, perception of emotions, impulsiveness, emotional regulation, management of other's emotion, relationships, self-esteem, self-motivation, social awareness, stress management, empathy trait, happiness, trait optimism. Traits are really important in terms of using emotional intelligence in overcoming traumatic situation.

Table 1 shows the key findings of Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) pointing out the initial difference of level of trauma symptoms and using their emotional intelligence on trauma coping.

It is depicted approach and avoidance coping due to trauma and how they use them with emotional Intelligence collectively with resilience. Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) study indicated trauma coping among university students. It was a cross cultural study between Germany and Sri Lanka. Some of the Undergraduate students from the University of Leipzig, Germany who were the bachelor level and master's level were chosen as the sample amid bachelor students in Sri Lanka from two conventional universities (University of Peradeniya and University of Colombo) chosen as the sample. University students reported the different levels of trauma which showed a great variation and some similarities. Hypotheses of this research were developed through using of approach coping, level of using avoidance coping, level of Emotional Intelligence, level of resilience between the two culture while they are overcoming traumatic condition.

Emotional Intelligence always plays a role to determine our wellbeing. In trauma our emotional state is severely impact by them. Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) pointed out cultural differences of emotional intelligence, resilience, and coping mechanisms shown by university students from Germany and Sri Lanka when they come across traumatic experience in their lives. Here in the model used by Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) Emotional Intelligence, resilience plays a predictor

role while the coping mechanism play an outcome role. Both Emotional Intelligence and resilience collectively approach overcoming trauma symptoms. University students from two different countries use their Emotional Intelligence levels. University students from Sri Lanka Emotional Intelligence (M=4, SD=0.69) is relatively high. But their level of trauma symptoms were higher than German students' level of trauma symptoms (M=2.77, SD=0.72).

Table 1 Results of the t-test of two countries. (Germany and Sri Lanka)

Research variables	Min	Max	Sri Lanka		Germany		t	d
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Traumatic symptoms	0	300	0.98	0.45	0.55	0.50	-8.353	0.40
Emotional Intelligence	30	210	4.97	0.69	2.77	0.72	-29.02	0.84
Resilience-I(SOM)	0	80	2.93	0.41	2.81	0.50	1.204	0.13
Resilience-II(ER)	0	80	2.12	0.64	2.75	0.49	4.062	0.48
Approach coping	28	112	2.93	0.48	3	0.43	-2.453	0.06
Avoidance coping	28	112	2.10	0.35	2.26	0.38	10	0.21

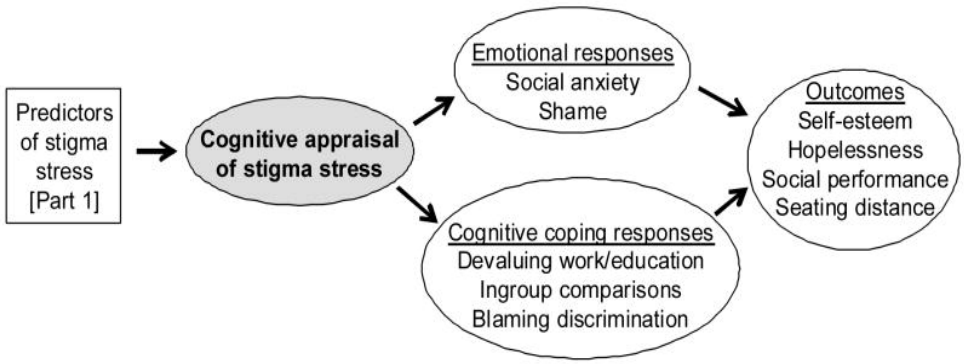
Source: Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016)

The same research points out resilience also as a predictor for determining coping strategies to overcome trauma symptoms. However, as it emerged in Emotional Intelligence two countries (Germany & Sri Lanka) in two different ways. These colleagues used two different scales (Sense of Mastery scale and Emotional Reactivity scale). On the contrary Emotional Intelligence resilience sub scales shown somewhat different results (German students' sense of mastery capacity (M=2.81, SD=0.50) is lower than the Sri Lankan students' sense of mastery capacity (M=2.93, SD=0.41).

Coping Mechanisms

Stigma is considered as the major stress source for many psychological struggles, such as schizophrenia. Stigma is considered as major stressors for people with psychotic illnesses and other mental illnesses and they leads many emotional stress reactions and cognitive coping strategies. Stress responses, coping and consequences of the events determined by the predictors of stigma stress (Rüsch et al., 2009).

Figure 3 Cognitive Appraisal of Stigma-related Stress, Stress Reactions and Outcomes

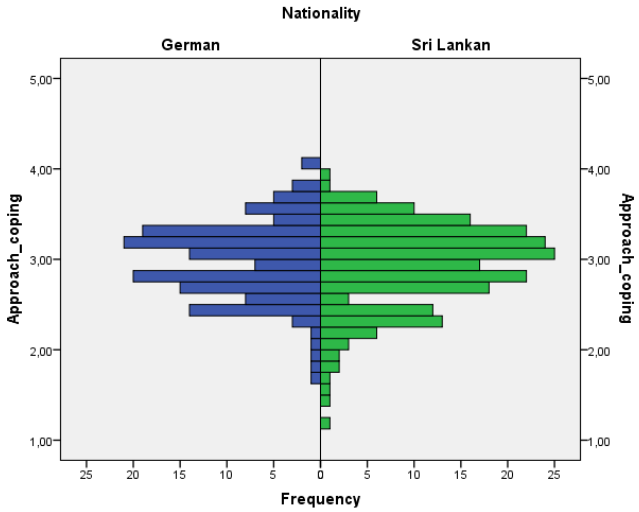


Source: Major and O'Brien, 2005 as cited in Rüsch et al., 2009

Traumatic situations and stress related to them is also considered stigma stress. People with mental illnesses have diverse responses to 'dishonor' stress and it affects on self-esteem, desperateness, and social presentation. The impact of coping strategies cannot be ignored during the process of traumatic experience. Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) pointed out that there is a significant variation in terms of approach and avoidance coping strategies during the traumatic events and coping process. Coping mechanism together with Emotional Intelligence capacities and Resilience capacities was measured with the predictive capacities and impact level. Based on this predictive value the hypotheses were created. (Bulathwatta Witruk, and Reschke (2016) study based on the hypotheses; Emotional Intelligence is a positive predictor of approach coping during the process of traumatic experiences; EI shows a direct negative impact on Avoidance

coping; Resilience has a direct negative impact on Avoidance coping; Resilience shows a direct negative impact on Avoidance coping.)

Figure 4 Approach Coping Style Among University Students (Sri Lanka and Germany)



Source: Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016)

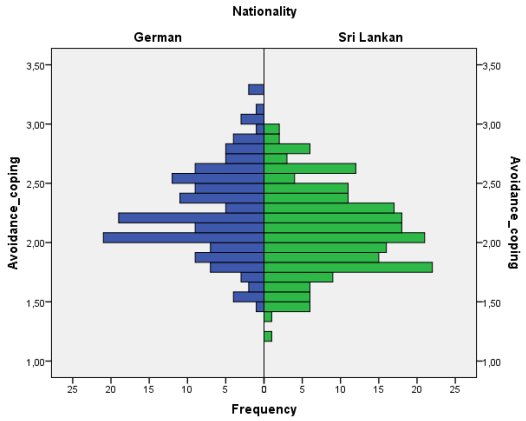
It is clear from the Figure 1 that Approach copings in Sri Lankan university students reportedly advanced than the German students. However, standard statistical analysis should be implemented in order to identify the causes and effects of approach coping. Specially the variables considered in the current study. Emotional Intelligence was not predicting (R^2=0.16) approach coping strategies in Sri Lankan students. However, emotional reaction as a resilience capacity has significantly negative relationship between Approach coping. (B=-0.220, p<0.001). Hypothesis one which specify that Emotional intelligence and significant relationship with the approach coping is not proved with the Sri Lankan student sample.

Avoidance coping in two countries

Coping skill during and after trauma is determined by person's emotional strength and resilience skills, which is an interplay between genetic and environmental factors. These factors may start influencing right from intrauterine period, mostly, during the early days of childhood. The

intensity of insults and the result after it, further determines the level of anxiety and tolerance to stress, the person will develop in life. It is very essential to evaluate the level of exposure to the stressors in the past to determine the risk of developing the PTSD after traumatic exposure. Coping skills in traumatic situation, is another key matter in traumatic condition. Coping mechanism can be determined in two main approaches:(Approach coping and Avoidance coping). Using approach coping is quite highly emerge in German context during the process of overcoming traumatic situation which was it seems opposite in Sri Lanka.

Figure 5 Avoidance Coping Among German and Sri Lankan Students



Source: Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016)

Table 2 Summary of Regression Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Regression variables	Approach Coping (β)		Avoidance Coping (β)	
	Germany	Sri Lanka	Germany	Sri Lanka
Age	0.016	-0.002	0.002	-0.01
Emotional Intelligence	-0.23***	0.053	0.14***	-0.13***
Trauma symptoms	-0.21**	0.219	0.097	0.15
Sense of Mastery	0.37***	-0.009	0.151	-0.048
Emotional reaction	0.39***	-0.220***	-0.200	-0.22***
Regression summary	F=13.569***	F=8.97	F=5.262	F=11.48
	R^2=0.37	R^2=0.01	R^2=0.18	R^2=0.27

Source: Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016)

p<0.05. **p<0.01, p*<0.001.*

Note. B are the unstandardized regression coefficients.

Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) suggest that using approach coping in Germany lead to have less trauma symptoms in German university context (M=2.93,SD=0.48,t=-2.453, *p*>.0.05,d=0.06). Cultural factors also mediate using approach and avoidance coping style. As Bulathwatta, Witruk, and Reschke (2016) point out in 2016 that German students had higher tendency to use avoidance coping as well. (Germany:M=2.26,SD=0.38), Sri Lanka:M=2.10,SD=0.35).

Table 2 points out that there is a significant difference in terms of impact levels of resilience, Emotional Intelligence, trauma symptoms, and the predictor variable which is the coping styles. The impact of the approach coping is quite significance in Germany. University students from Sri Lanka have a higher impact in terms of Emotional Intelligence.

Discussion

Traumatic events result many psycho-social troubles including difficulties in finding accurate coping strategies. However, emotional Intelligence, resilience, as well as coping styles and their involvement towards the trauma coping is researched within trauma researches. Emotional reactions are the key factors determining how to get rid of trauma and preventing the trauma situation getting worse.

In most cases resilience, emotional Intelligence, and coping strategies have been frame-worked in certain ways to facilitate our way of overcoming traumatic situations. Most people were go through traumatic situations thorough out their lives. Some people are stuck in it. And some are not. In severe case some people suffer from these traumatic conditions the whole of their lives. Some are move beyond it. Trauma is considered a big deal for many people. This article is based on Emotional Intelligence models, resilience model and Trust/safety is a key factor in the coping model according to the literature sources. Considering Bulathwatta , Witruk and Rechske (2016) study it was found that Sri Lankan university students show a higher level of power distance in which the power is distributed hierarchically among different populations(The Hofstede Center, 2018). But other cultural factors such as individuality, manliness, uncertainty avoidance, long term orientation, are higher in the German cultural context. More specifically indulgence level does not emerge at all among Sri Lankan cultural context. This may also influence on determining German university students Emotional Intelligence and Resilience. Trauma symptoms were higher in Germany compared to Sri Lanka. Nevertheless,

Emotional Intelligence and resilience factors (Sense of Mastery and Emotional Reaction) are higher in the Sri Lankan context.

Conclusion

Developing the required skills to overcoming trauma determines wellbeing after the trauma as an essential life matter. Traumatic experiences are really unpredictable and there are results such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorders, Post traumatic growth aftermath a traumatic experience. But developing skills that require overcoming trauma is facilitated by Emotional Intelligence, Resilience, and Coping capacities that people possess. According to the models introduced by Windle and Bennet (2011) Exposure to a traumatic experience and not having PTSD is determined by many other factors such as a social support system and government facilitation of the wellbeing afterwards the trauma. Here in this article the basic components of Emotional Intelligence, Resilience, and coping mechanisms have been considered as the major factors. There are certain levels of ethnic differences of showing Emotion and resilience capacities among university students. Comparing the German and Sri Lankan university students using emotional Intelligence and Resilience showed significant differences and the level of approach and avoidance coping also showed significant differences. However, resilience and Emotional Intelligence capacities are not only applicable to healthy people but also can be helpful for certain other people who show some dementia symptoms. In this case spouses who were shown dementia can be positively facilitated by the framework of traumatic health conditions for a person's life span.

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Buddhist Nuns and Gendered Practice
Nirmala S. Salgado
Oxford University Press, 2013
326 pages (Hardback), £ 30.49, ISBN 9780199760015

Review by Ven. Bhikkhuni W. Suvimalee[2]

Introduction

Nirmala S. Salgado's book is a critique of Western ways of looking at the subject of Asian Buddhist nuns. Feminist authors writing on the subject, Salgado says, "forge a feminist Buddhism that addresses a Western academic audience while presenting new ways of thinking about texts and providing new empirical data" (p.1). The author grounds her critique on a wide, well informed reading of Western feminist writings on the subject of Asian female renunciants and on her own twenty five years of research regarding the subject.

Salgado's book is richly textured with views of other contemporary critics as well, references to which she has skilfully woven into her own work, when emphasizing a point. As she says, "using works that scholars of Buddhism and gender have hitherto largely overlooked, such as those by Talal Asad, Arvind Pal-Mandair, Saba Mahmood, Chandra T. Mohanty, and Dorothy E.Smith and by giving some attention to the intellectual influence of Michel Foucault and select Social-Movement and Subaltern-studies theorists, this book considers contemporary female renunciation in Buddhism differently from the existing literature" (p.5). She also cites other thinkers and critics such as Edward Said (*Orientalism*, New York, 1979); Abeysekera (*Untranslatability*); Arvind Pal-Mandair (*Religion and the Spectre of the of the West*, New York, Columbia, UP (2009); Gayatri Chakravarti Spivak (*Can the Subaltern speak*?) (p.6).

It is an academic book of good caliber and at the same time most readable because of the many facets and perceptions the subject refracts. It focuses on the futility of super-imposing liberal feminist frameworks on the "renunciant everyday" of Buddhist nuns which tends to neglect their everyday concerns. Salgado bases her perception of Sri Lankan renunciants

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on the stark reality of their lives lived in the midst of hardships concerning housing, inclement weather, travelling, studies, performing religious rites and rituals for supporters, etc. These accounts reveal that their struggle is not for feminist freedom or justice from patriarchal structures in society but for freedom in the ontological sense – i.e. freedom from *samsāra*. It is an account that depicts truthfully their lives of self-abnegation. She says: "What I want to suggest is their primary concerns as well as the disciplinary paradigms that scholars (and English speaking nuns) use to frame nuns' lives which need to be re-assessed" (p.4).

But Salgado takes on a great deal more than irrelevant paradigms that frame Asian Buddhist renunciants in the works of Western scholars. For instance, she points out the near impossibility of culturally translating the religiosity of these nuns. Moreover, she takes on the question of empowerment which is associated with "such notions as agency, autonomy and independence – which remains central to feminist senses of politics." or when she raises doubts about the claim that higher ordination of women in Buddhism instantiates an essentially global or transnational "movement" (p.5).

It is surely a book that belongs on the library shelves of universities, religio-cultural institutions and private homes where residents appreciate scholarly books of excellent quality. To read it was a journey of exploration for me. It is not possible, of course to give a detailed review that does justice to this book in the limited space allowed for reviews. I wish therefore, to present selectively a few chapters that I think should be highlighted.

"Decolonizing Female Renunciation" is the title of Chapter One, which I found absorbingly interesting. In this chapter, the author critiques three feminist writers, Rita Gross, Tessa Bartholomeusz and Wei-yi Cheng. The chapter begins with a bouquet for Gross in acknowledgement of the fact that she is a scholar who has contributed in a ground- breaking manner to studies on women in Religion.

The main argument in Salgado's critique of Gross' "Feminism and Asian Religions" is that she does not engage contemporary practices of women in the Asian societies she purports to discuss (p.29) and in "Buddhism After

Patriarchy" she is devoted to a textual Buddhism and a theoretical reconstruction based on it" (p.29).

The critique on Gross' work as containing colonialist and even imperialist views is justified when considering her statements that "Buddhism requires transformation that may ideally derive from the West…Western Buddhism … may be the most fertile ground for the development" (p.31).

According to Salgado, Tessa Bartholomeusz and Wei-yi Cheng echo orientalist and colonialist perceptions. Salgado begins her critique of Tessa Bartholomeusz' book, "*Women Under the Bo Tree"* with an acknowledgement of her pioneering studies on contemporary Buddhist nuns in Sri Lanka. Salgado says she is to be commended for having lent a certain cachet to research in that area" (p.31-32). Apparently, she began research studies on DSM's at a time when everyone thought they were unworthy "subjects of study".

About Cheng, Salgado says that she "persists in framing her work with reference to the very Western feminist discussions she wants to undermine…Cheng by placing her empirical study within such frameworks, fails to adequately question the rhetoric she adopts, and consequently falls short of focusing on concerns that seem central to the everyday lives of the renunciant subjects of the research" (p.40).

Invisible Nuns

The above chapter in the second part of the book also interested me profoundly. It deals with the religious identity of nuns which seems to be a grey area for it involves an inquiry into the meaning of renunciation.

The author states that contemporary studies on nuns in many parts of the world demonstrate how and why nuns occupy an "anomalous" position. Referring particularly to *Dasa-Sil-Matas*, she states that "they appear to conform neither to a cultural role model of wife and mother nor to that of a fully ordained nun. However, their celebrate life and their appearance seem to point to the embodiment of a religious ideal" (p.103). A significant statement she makes is "an inquiry into how questions of the meaning of "renunciant" and "renunciation" emerge within the conditions of the lives nuns live would be useful." (p.103). This again is underscoring the *leit motif* of the book – the religious practice of nuns which most scholars ignore. The author mentions three indicators of renunciation,

1.The Ten Training precepts and their form as either 'renunciant' or 'householder';
2. The ascetic attire worn by nuns; and,
3. The nomenclature used for nuns by householders, monks and nuns themselves (p.108).

In Buddhism an important aspect of renunciation is leaving home to follow the "homeless" life. (*āgarasmā anagāriaṃ pabbajito*) The author reminds us that "home" involves attachment, the two words being almost synonymous. Therefore, drawing on the works of Steven Collins, she presents the following 3 aspects of renunciation for consideration:

1. Leaving the home physically
2. Leaving the home mentally (i.e. leaving attachment)
3. Leaving the home ontologically (i.e., leaving *saṃsāra*, the cycle of rebirth and re-death. (p.104)

These indicators and aspects of 'renunciation' are helpful for the general public to understand the meaning of Buddhist renunciation. Of course, what renunciation means in Buddhism is discussed in depth in Buddhist discourses.

In this chapter, the author presents a brief cameo of a female renunciant whom she calls Mäniyo – the usual Sinhala term applied to an *upāsikāwa.* After the death of her twenty two year old son, Mäniyo had been living in the same premises of her home in a *kuti* (hut) a little distance away from the house, no doubt engaging in religious rites and rituals, meditating and healing the sick with the ability she had of communicating with *devas* (gods) (the latter occupation is not an usual activity among Buddhist renunciants). The author draws attention to the fact that the Mäniyo's renunciation shows how nuances in female renunciation defy a strict householder/monastic dichotomy (p.106).

Further, the author says, "The presence of female renunciants has remained largely invisible to public attention for several decades if not centuries. Women who have renounced marriage and lived lives of piety within households are women whose life stories have generally not been recorded" (p.106.) she further comments, "The renunciation of those women was both hidden and isolated because they did not live in communities of renunciants and also did not contribute to a village community to the extent that even Mäniyo did" (p.106). Here, Salgado seems to draw a connection between white clad female celebate renunciants living within households and ten

precept nuns living in communities that were established by Rev. Sudharmacari in the early 20th century. Both types of renunciants have a parallel origin in the white clad celebate or non-celebate devotees (*upāsika-upāsikās*) that people Buddhist Nikaya literature. They were greatly respected for their piety like Citta Gahapatty, Mātika Mātā, Ghatikāra, the potter, Anāta Piṇḍika, Nakula Mātā and Nakula Pitā, Purāna and Isidattha, Visākā Mahaupāsikā, King Suddhodana and King Bimbisara, etc. The acceptance of these people as having attained stages in the path, supports Buddhism's stand that there is no dichotomy between monastic/laity in the spiritual sense. Salgado should be commended for bringing out this fact clearly.

In this chapter the author also presents for the benefit of the general reader the ten householder training precepts and the ten renunciant training precepts and gives an insightful account of the rituals in the ten renunciant training precepts (*sāmanera* or *sāmaneri*) ordination ceremony. There are 6 distinct ritual elements in the ten renunciant training precept ordination ceremony which sets it apart from the ten householder training precept ordination ceremony which the author rightly mentions (p.110-112). She also seems to point out (pp.108-109) that in essence the precepts and their practice are the same.

It is granted that there is no real difference between the householder precepts and the renunciant precepts and the only differences are the ritual elements in the ten renunciant training precept ordination ceremony which sets it apart from the ten householder training precept ordination ceremony. The differences create a distinction between the novice monks and the novice nuns on the one hand and the householder precept ordination ceremony on the other. It shows society at large that the novice monks and novice nuns belong to the Buddhist Sangha proper and are under the supervision and guidance of their respective *ācāriya* and *upajjāya* monks and nuns in order to practice the path, to teach, to be an example, to be a refuge, to be a field of merit for the Buddhist community at large, in short to fulfill the role of the Sangha. It is an organizational and management matter and a reflection of hierarchical structure.

Subjects of Renunciation

The chapter with the above title was equally absorbing for me as the previous one. Here, the author critiques feminist writers for perceiving Sri Lankan (and Asian) renunciants with feminist notions of agency and subjectivity. They see the subjectivity of the renunciants as arising from patriarchal structures in society and imagine they are in need of freedom

through feminist doctrines and intervention. The author says "That sort of common understanding of new religious phenomena – an understanding based on a hastily adopted notion of agency and subjectivity – deserves closer scrutiny"(p.123) and she goes on to say "seeing Buddhist nuns as participants in a movement is misleading for at least two reasons. First, it assumes that the agent lives a life of resistance…such a view of agency quite simply masks an understanding of the lives nuns live and the conditions in which they find themselves…it is something that a notion of agency superimposed on such practices cannot capture"(p.123) and she continues "while movement theory maybe of some usefulness in understanding the significance of modern female renunciation in Sri Lanka, it nevertheless detracts from the focus of nuns' lives of renunciation and tends to concentrate on their engagement in some type of collective activism and protest" (p.124).

Thus, in this chapter, the author not only focuses on social movement theories but also how the female renunciant subjects are constructed by researchers, development discourses, state officials, academics, and sometimes also the president and cabinet ministers." (p.123) The author adds, "Central to the identification of female renunciation as a movement is the construction and representation of the subject of female renunciation" (p.126). On the question of higher ordination she says "although the possibility of receiving the *upasampadā* was attractive to some *Sil-mātās*, the *upasampadā* should be considered not a 'goal' for which *Sil-mātās* themselves struggled" (p.126). And she goes on to state that from 1970 to 1980's the state helped to create the subject of female renunciation in two ways, (1) by defining nuns as a collectively identifiable category for the purpose of raising funds for their welfare and their education, and (2) by constructing an infra-structure that would become the base of national and district level organizations of *Sil-mātās*. The author remarks that at first the state promoted bhikkhuni ordination but changed the state's view with regard to that matter in consideration of the many debates on the issue in the country. It side-stepped *upasampadā* and concentrated on promoting the idea of a responsible and uncontroversial renunciant subject that was not a bhikkhuni" (p.134).

The author records that during this period newspapers were highlighting the re-establishment of the bhikkhuni order, providing a background of acrimonious debates regarding higher ordination (P.134). However, she says "state involvement in the organization of *Sil-mātās* continued "and ironically "that involvement later led to the planning of the first bhikkhuni ordination in Sri Lanka that took place at the turn of the century" (p.134).

The author also informs us that a great deal of research studies were done on female renunciation between 1980's and 1990's by K.M.Lily Beatrice Thamel, (*A study of the Dasa-Sil Maniyo (consecrated women) in the Buddhist society of Sri Lanka*" diss. U. of the Philippines, 1983, Print.); Lowell W. Bloss (*The Female Renunciants of Sri Lanka, the Dasa Sil Mattawa*" Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, 1987) and Kusuma Devendra, "*The Dasa Sil Nun: A Study of Women's Buddhist Religious Movement in Sri Lanka With an Outline of its Historical Antecedents",* Diss.U. of Sri Jayawardenepura, 1987, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka,) and of course the author's own research work, (Salgado, *Buddhist Nuns, Nationalist Ideals and Revivalist Discourse*, NETHRA, 1998).

All these research studies and interviews with state officials would have helped also the state to construct the 'Renunciant Subject' for state purposes of providing them welfare and education. The author relates from interviews conducted with state officials how it involved locating *Sil-matas* all over the island through the *Kachcheri* networks, registering them, organizing meetings with them in temples with the permission of monks at district level, issuing identity cards for them and imparting skills in conducting meetings, electing office bearers and representatives at national level: "members from district committees in the island met in Colombo and chose from among themselves an electoral committee that in turn appointed the first ever national organization of *Sil-matas* in Sri Lanka. Thus, the Sil- Mata Jatika Mandalaya (SMJM) or the National Sil-Mata Organization was founded in 1986" (p.136) (Quoted from Salgado, "*Buddhist Nuns*").

Finally, the author says that "registration, control and patronage of female renunciants involved, *ipso facto* the construction of definable subjects of state" (p.138).

Renunciants and Empowerment

The above title is given to the penultimate chapter of the book, chapter 7. In it, the author gives a clear understanding of what empowerment means for a female Buddhist renunciant. She says, "Liberal feminist meanings of empowerment cannot simply be equated with a notion of nuns' renunciation. In effect, the praxis of Buddhist nuns whose lives are not governed by modern notions of sovereign selfhood defies interpretation within a liberal feminist framework. For them, what is central is the idealization of renunciant practice – namely, the cultivation of *sīla* (moral or disciplinary practice)" (p.185-6).

Further, the author points out that empowerment has multiple connotations. Empowerment can be officially sanctioned by the state or a bureaucracy. Empowerment can also come from without. The kind of empowerment that the author is concerned in this chapter arises from renunciation of selfhood, marriage and property – that is, from the very practice of *sīla* (p.186). Salgado also states that ownership of property was unthinkable for those DSM's she met between 1980-1990: "The land on which they live is not a marketable commodity. Rather, it provides them with a place where they can engage in religious services, perhaps a means of growing food for sustenance and a physical nexus for maintaining relations with family and community that support them. For the nuns with whom I conversed in the 1980's, the very prospect of inhabiting land apart from renunciant practice was unthinkable, moreover, they did not see the capitalist "ownership" of property as an end in itself. Ownership with its acquisitive connotations of selfhood, is after all what they had professedly renounced" (p.191).

To make the situation clear between monks and nuns in today's context, Salgado presents Pierre Bourdieu's (Pierre Bourdieu, *Power Language and Symbolic*, Ed. and introd. John B. Thompson, Trans. Gino Raymond and Mathiew Adamson. Malden, Mass.: Polity, 1991, Print.) conceptualization of 'symbolic capital' which refers to the support from householders that monks and nuns seem to earn for their religious services.

I must comment here that reciprocity between supporters and nuns does not work in quite that way. Supporters when seeing that a renunciant or a certain community of nuns are genuine in their practice like to give them alms, or provide the four requisites, etc. On the part of the supporters it is "*āmisa pujā*" to acquire merit. In turn, the nuns being given sustenance or the four requisites by their supporters are obliged, when requested, to perform certain religious services for them. When religious services are performed there ought not to be any expectation of 'symbolic capital' accumulating in the future, because that would mean attachment to worldly, material gains, the very things renunciants are renouncing. It is, at best, a free giving, a duty, an expression of self-abnegation, originating from *mettā* and *karunā.* This is another example of the difficulty in cultural translation of religiosity vis-à-vis religions.

Further, Salgado says, nuns only want a niche in which to follow their practice. They operate from a position of weakness because they often come into an area that is new to them in a vicinity where a temple has established itself over a long period of time. So, nuns usually follow the

tactics of diplomacy where monks are concerned. The scholar de Certeau (De Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkely, U. of California, 1984) observes that there is a distinction between tactics and strategy where tactics operate from a position of weakness and strategy from a position of power. Salgado says "tactics center on a mode of survival, whereas strategy centers on a perception of power. We may say that female renunciants live by only in a manner akin to the tactics mentioned by Certeau". Thus, Salgado makes clear the conditions in which nuns live.

This chapter reveals the contradiction between the stand taken by Sri Lankan renunciants and the perceptions of Western feminist scholars. For the latter, the renunciant's religious principles may not make sense because the renunciant has "renounced" worldly life. It is an ideal that Sri Lankan Buddhist renunciants attempt to live by and achieve more or less successfully, depending on the individual. The author presents here glimpses which come alive with the direct, unembellished prose she uses regarding renunciants who struggle to live those ideals. This is the struggle they are engaged in, not the struggle to gain higher ordination and feminist liberalism in a patriarchal society. With regard to the conflict between the two opposing ideals, Salgado's book forms an incisive candid appraisal. I must say that Salgado makes fine distinctions like a true Vibajjavāḍi Theravadin.

Thus, Salgado presents accounts of several nuns who have encountered various difficulties in places of residence. These nuns she has intervened, Salgado says, do not speak of feminist freedom nor autonomy from male dominated family. "Their settling down is rooted instead in the very landlessness that constitute their renunciation, paradoxically, "grounded" in the same kind of kinship and village network they supposedly renounced" (p.191-2). This is a very important stage in Buddhist renunciation, in the path to liberation, called *nekkhamma* or *paṭnissagga* (giving up), in other words, self-abnegation. If there are eremitical DSM's practicing this principle, we are fortunate to learn about them from Salgado's researches. She has rightly highlighted them.

The Sri Lankan female renunciants she encounters reveal the fact that they abnegate legal rights to property. If attempts are made by greedy neighbors to chase a nun away from the space in which she is living, she denies herself "legal" rights of ownership because she has renounced ownership of property and other forms of capital.

Global Empowerment and the Renunciant Everyday

The author says that academic and popular literature often assume that the debate on higher ordination began in 1987 with the founding of SIABW (Sakyadhita International Association of Buddhist Women) in Bodhgaya. SIABW meet every two years and its publications are widely publicized. In 2007, the conference in Hamburg initiated and organized by ICBW (International Congress of Buddhist Women) Germany, was another important event in transnational conferences. Less publicized discussions on higher ordination, however, have been held before 1987. Resources such as websites, Facebook, Twitter and blogs are re-enforced at these transnational conferences. They also promote a mandate of equality, rights and global sisterhood. However, she emphasizes "a vision of an idealized female renunciant informed by textual precedents conceal the renunciant everyday of contemporary nuns who do not speak in such a manner" (p.213). It is Salgado's opinion that "the need for a specific type of empowerment of female renunciants, while not unanimously recognized by Buddhist nuns, has become a universalized shibboleth" (p.212-213). Does this mean an intransigent *divide* between the East and the West? I do not think so. Here, the author seems to be announcing passionately the frustrating fact of the difficulty of culturally translating religiosity and it being heard and understood.

What comes through in this chapter is that wanting higher ordination varies between Western Buddhist women and those in Asia. The Buddhist renunciants of Asia are not motivated by a need for equality or resistance. They are renunciants of all property ownership as well as notions of selfhood. Their "renunciant everyday" suffices them to get through the day's work of religious activities and service to the community. They are not overly worried about the male-female struggle, patriarchy and equality of opportunities, etc. The point the author makes is subtle. She says the disembodied ideal of a *bhikkhuni* that rises out of textual traditions is a mental construction that evokes an egalitarian vision of a global sisterhood among Buddhist nuns across the globe. But what the author is concerned with is that "It is the effectual erasure of the lived life of the renunciant everyday – that is, the renunciation that permits the creation of the ideal that can, at least, theoretically be instantiated by all nuns" (p.213).

The author emphasizes in this chapter on global empowerment that the empowerment of the renunciant everyday of a Sri Lankan nun (which speaks for Theravada and Tibetan lineages and therefore could represent nuns of Asian origin) is essentially freedom from the sufferings in *saṃsāra* which is written into the renunciants' vows and which they voice when

requesting the ten renunciant training precept ordination. Thus, the divide becomes clear between the materialist demands of equality in the economic and political sphere and the spiritual struggle for effacement and non-selfhood which the author is pointing out. It is a significant difference in religiosity which should be taken notice of. The Asian female renunciant appears to resist a colonialist type of agency being super-imposed on their lives. What Asian Buddhist nuns seek is an internal empowerment not an empowerment from an external source.

In this chapter, the author gives a factual, eye-witness account of an international conference organized by ICBW with the theme articulated on the desirability of the higher ordination for Tibetan Buddhist Nuns. But the Asian Tibetan Buddhist nuns were not enthusiastic about higher ordination at the conference. Their silence was profound (p.225).

"What is of note is the relations of power involved in the proceedings of the formal and informal sessions at the conference, and, in particular, the language that guided the conversation about higher ordination as well as the cultural translation (or lack thereof) that ensued. In the English idiom there appears to have been a focus on furthering gender equality among Buddhist monastics. Yet the conversations were embedded in a problematic cultural translation of the issues – a translation that ignored the asymmetrical relation of power among the renunciants involved," (p.225). The problem seemed to be that the Asian Tibetan nuns had other immediate concerns than higher ordination. Gender equality did not rank high in their priorities. The organizers of the conference wanted a mandate to get on with the work of higher ordination and when the agenda was met with silence and no consensus was forthcoming, they were baffled.

As a Sri Lankan bhikkhuni, I would like to state that there are some few Sri Lankan Bhikkhunis, both English speaking and non-English speaking, who did and do opt for higher ordination. We must remember that the first Sri Lankan bhikkhunis at the turn of the century originated from the community of DSM's, and a number of them are candidates even today. It is a matter of choice, of course and should be kept that way.

I recommend this book as a highly erudite piece of scholarship written with a deep understanding and sensitivity to the real genuine practice of female renunciants. It is a courageous call for a return to the independence and autonomy that comes from self-abnegation and the true path.

The Broken Palmyra: The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka –
An Inside Account.
Rajan Hoole, Daya Somasundaram, K. Sritharan and
Rajani Thiranagama.
The Sri Lanka Studies Institute, Claremont, CA, 1992
468 pages (Paperback), Rs. 525, Catalog Card No. 90 - 61314

Reviewed by Arathiya Pushpalingam[1]

The book "the Broken Palmyra**:** The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka - An Inside Account" was written by four authors from the University of Jaffna. This book is a chronological account of the ethno-nationalist crisis in the state of Sri Lanka. It was published immediately after the atrocities committed by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Jaffna.

This book has two volumes. The first volume provides the political and historical background of the ethno-nationalist crisis in Sri Lanka. It focuses mainly on the armed struggle of minority militant groups and touches the non-violent acts of the ethnic minority polity for thirty years. This volume ends with the description of Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987. The second volume explains the atrocities committed by the Indian Army and it analyses the motives and the results of their occupation and operation. It describes the psychological impacts the events had on the people rather than the physical, socio-economic and cultural impacts and mainly focuses on the socio-psychological situation of women rather than that of men during and after the war.

The ultimate aim of the authors of this book is to be frank about each and everything that took part in the ethnic crisis. This book does not only consider the ethnic crisis; it assumes that the prevailed ethnic armed conflict in Sri Lanka was a result of geopolitical interest in powers. It shows how the passive nature of each party in Sri Lanka and the ethnic conflicts of the time were used by India for its own political and economic benefits.

This book explains that the pro west policy of Sri Lanka irritated India which is a regional power in the Indian Ocean region and shows how India destabilized the state of Sri Lanka and threatened its internal sovereignty by encouraging and aiding Tamil militant groups finally taking control over the fate of Sri Lanka. Any reader realizes that the bloody conflict that took

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place in Sri Lanka after the 1980s were not just local politics or an ethno-nationalistic crisis; these conflicts were geopolitically fueled.

Although the book's aim is to bring out the truth behind the dynamics of the Sri Lankan Government, the Indian Government, Sri Lankan Tamil militant groups and the Sri Lankan Tamil politicians, its main theme is the subjection of ordinary people to instability and consequent suffering. People were dominated by the Sri Lankan Government and Tamil militant groups while the Sri Lankan Government and Tamil militant groups were dominated by the Indian Government. Anyhow, the overall loss is not to anybody other than the ordinary people.

Volume 1 has nine chapters. The first three chapters (pp. 1-62) talk about the pre 1980s period. They quickly list down the politically important events in chronological order. Political mistakes of the Tamil polity are slightly emphasized. (*Example: "Where the Tamil leadership went wrong is that, having failed to obtain the unreasonable 50-50 representation…")* (p.12). Chapter 4 (pp. 63-70) is an account on the 1983 riots. It gives a list of incidents which took place in the subsequent days in various places. There is no criticism or justification in this chapter. It is only a factual narrative. Just like these words any written record cannot hide these incidents in the history of Sri Lanka. Chapter 5 (pp. 71-98) describes the emergence of militant groups in Jaffna.

All the militant groups (LTTE - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam; EROS - Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students; EPRLF - Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front; ENDLF - Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front; PLOT - People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam; and, TELO - Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization) are criticized for various reasons such as internal conflict among the militant groups, recruiting teenagers, including girls, into the military operations, disturbing the public by their 'hit and run' tactics etc. There can be identified many places where the militant groups' actions are criticized by authors from their own point of view giving different interpretations. For example, if people joined a militant group without invitation, it was said that it was because of both the faith and the fear. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 differ from each other in the way of the story is told. Chapter 4 - *The July 1983 violence against Tamils* is just a narrative whereas the 5th chapter – *The growth of the Tamil militancy* is an interpretation rather than a narration. These differences can create doubts whether this book supports one party and counters others.

LTTE – TELO conflicts are highly criticized. The LTTE is specifically blamed for killing TELO members. Later, the secret relationship between India and TELO is brought out. There the authors do not make any attempt to justify the previously mentioned LTTE – TELO conflicts. It is an example of the united view of authors of this book.

The last chapter (143- 186) of the first volume ends with the arrival of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. And the first chapter of the second volume begins with the breakdown of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. This entire volume explains the consequences of the Indo-LTTE war. The second volume has nine chapters including the *'epilogue'* and *'postscript'* which are the concluding sections of this book.

The second chapter (pp. 195-209) of the second volume expresses the expectations of people about the Indian Peace Keepers' role. The third chapter (pp. 210-280) describes the destructions caused by the Indian Army in various villages of Jaffna in the name of disarming operations. Here, it describes how the 'hit and run' tactics of militant groups irritated the Indian army and how the Indian army showed their anger on the innocent people. Here, the authors give some of the statements of the people in which they compared and contrasted the characteristics of the Sri Lankan army and the Indian army.

According to this book, the Sri Lankan army had an age bracket and other defined criteria in selecting targets among the ordinary people. But the Indian army did not consider any such limitations. They killed all who belong to the human species including infants. These facts are verified by other sources.

This book also mentions that India did not carry out such violence in Punjab and Bangladesh. This kind of information is very useful, and it will be helpful to enhance patriotism among the Sri Lankan Tamil readers. Even today, many Sri Lankan Tamils think that they have a close relationship with India. But the nature of the military operation, which was carried out by Indian army, which came to save the Tamils as they called it themselves, did not show any symptoms of a close tie between Indians and the Sri Lankan Tamils. This can make Sri Lankan Tamils realize that no other country can treat them well except Sri Lanka. There are many examples where the Sri Lankan army saved the people of Jaffna from the Indian army. The authors of this book failed to collect such information. The period of Indian army in occupation, Jaffna gave opportunities to the Sri Lankans to help each other and to work together. This book gives many

such examples (pp. 83, 129-131). It explains how the traders in Jaffna and the Sinhalese traders in the border villages helped each other during the war.

The fourth chapter (pp. 281-304) of the second volume analyses the psychological aspects of the Indian military operations. It focuses mainly on children and women. And it analyses both the long term and the short-term psychological effects these operations had on people. The psychological impacts of war differ from place to place. Socio-cultural aspects should be analyzed in order to predict the psychological impacts of war in a particular place. This book has successfully done this job. This chapter has many subsections. 'Rape' is one of them. This section talks about the inability or unwillingness on the part of society in accepting a molested girl. The affected girls were unable to rejoin mainstream social life. In another chapter too, the same problem is discussed.

This book openly states the reason for the unreported rape of women and girls. It is mostly the middle-class families who hid such incidents in the name of fear and shame and the impact on future social life. This book comes up with another reason. According to the analysis of the book, if a victim of a rape case came forward to complain about it, the Indian army claimed that the victim had to have some militant connection to be so bold as to complain. Even though India's cultural background is similar to that of Jaffna, the Indian army did not follow their cultural norms in Jaffna. It shows that the Indian had no compunctions violating the cultural norms of Jaffna.

The fifth chapter (pp. 305-330) of the second volume is all about women. Not only this chapter but also various sections in both the first volume and the second of this book speak about the women's role and the impacts of military movements and the war on women. The authors of this book respect women and they praise the women's role and their small but much needed acts of heroism during the war period.

Through the incidents which are noted in this book, it is clear that in the freedom struggle, men organized militant groups and took up arms to achieve their long-term goal. And in doing so, they undermined the existing small but basic problems of society. But the women's actions were much different from those of men. Women dealt with the day to day problems. They were the real peace keepers of that time. This book has registered some incidents where the women stopped the conflicts between different militant groups. It also notes down the unselfish dedication of women

during the war. Many women had saved the lives of many by sacrificing themselves. In addition to the services of women to their own society, this book has registered some heart touching statements of mothers of Jaffna in which they expressed their sympathy for the group which was considered their enemy. It was only because these mothers fed that army since it is the habit of hospitality and an urge of mothers to eradicate the hunger of children who are the age of their own children.

Women played an important role during war time. Their role in the freedom struggle also can be appreciated. This book has registered some examples of that. Women too started some movements which were temporary. They fought against the Indian army. They fought against the militants. And they also fought against the all the other form of dictatorships, dominations and violence. It would be very peaceful if the women took the leadership of the freedom struggle. Women's psychology is different to that of men. Women know the pain of losing relatives. It is always the women who save the entire family and manage the needs of the family while all the young and able men go to the battlefield to fight. So it is only the women who can understand the difficulties in continuing life during the war while facing both physical and mental struggles. This book did not forget to show how the women run their family, their husband's family and sometimes their abandoned elderly neighbours and children during the war time.

Another group which really cared for the people was the students, especially the students of the University of Jaffna played a major role. This book has registered the contribution of students for their land and people and it shows clearly the ideology and the expectations of students on the freedom struggle. This book shows how the students encouraged and helped the militant groups in the freedom struggle, how they questioned the militant groups and the politicians when the freedom struggle went in the wrong direction, how they dedicated themselves in refugee works, how they organized supporting movements and organizations, how they participated in politics and how they helped the whole society. Most of the time the students were disappointed by the wrong path of militant groups, but they did not show their opposition strongly. The women did that well, but they were not so well organised. Women's movements during that period were spontaneous.

This book 'The Broken Palmyra' has been reviewed by a scholar, Sachi Sri Kantha. In his review he quotes from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi who is famous for his non-violent fight for independence. Mahatma Gandhi's

explanation for the need of violence in society as Sachi Sri Kantha gives in his review article is given here.

"Taking life may be a duty. We do destroy as much life as we think necessary for sustaining our body. Thus for food we take life, vegetable and other, and for health we destroy mosquitoes and the like by the use of disinfectants, etc,, and we do not think that we are guilty of irreligion in doing so... for the benefit of the species, we kill carnivorous beasts... Even man-slaughter may be necessary in certain cases. Suppose a man run amuck and goes furiously about, sword in hand, and killing anyone that comes in his way and no one dares to capture him alive. Anyone who dispatches this lunatic will earn the gratitude of the community and be regarded as a benevolent man".

Sachi Sri Kantha also feels that violence is a need of society in some situations. The book 'The Broken Palmyra' harshly blames the Tamil militants for choosing violence as their path. But the non-violence of Tamil militants cannot be blamed as much as this book criticizes, since all remember the non-violent fights of Tamil politicians nearly for twenty years and the bloddy pograms of which many were well organized against the ethnic Tamil minority. Violent riots were given as the answers for the non-violent political movement of Tamils. In such a situation, the rise of an armed struggle from the affected society is very natural and the very same story can be seen throughout the history of this world. There is nothing new in the case of the ethno-nationalist crisis in Sri Lanka. In this point of view, the struggle for freedom in a non-violent path is justifiable. But, the evolution of the militants into a terrorist organization should be criticized.

This book criticizes the militant groups for recruiting young teens to their organization which is very true. According to different articles, in the early periods of the armed struggle, militant organization did not force youngsters to join them. Such events took place during the period of intensified war. This book was written before that period. So, this book shows the recruitment of teen boys and girls as the more serious issue. Using children for violence is child abuse and a violation of rights. Those organizations which used children have been named as terrorist organizations and they have been banned but it is important to mention that the states, especially India killed not only the children but also infants by shooting all of them individually which entitled them to 'state terror'. Those violent operations on ordinary people pushed society to support and join the militant groups. Severe shortage of man power and lack of supports induced the militant groups to recruit the teens.

Young girls tried to join the freedom struggle since they suffered within traditional society. This book mentions the reasons for this: "*our social set up, its restriction on creative expressions for women and the evils of the dowry system, are some of the social factors that led to their initial recruitment"* (p. 326). Women wanted to liberate themselves from the traditional bonds of the society. This book says that *"many Tamil girls had a gloomy future resulting from the breakdown of a society where women were dependent"* (p. 326). The name, given by the LTTE to the women's wing is "Birds of Freedom". This attracted many young girls. The harassment by the Indian army were also a main cause which induced girls to join militant organizations.

At one point, this book states that the "*the response from boys' schools was of a noticeably low order in comparison with that from girls' schools*" (p. 133) to a boycott movement. And it also states that *"middle class girls were quite prominent in the boycott movement"* (p. 133). This kind of gender based, and class-based differences are identified in this book, but the reasons behind them are not analyzed.

This book notes that girls were not recruited for the freedom fight at first. Even after the girls were taken into the organization, they were insulted and undermined in a way which they experienced in their society. This book also says at one point that *"...neither our material reality nor our history had the basis to support a fully blown women's section in the armed movements"* (p. 181).

So, there is nothing strange to discuss seriously about the gender discrimination within those military organizations as this book claims. But it would be appropriate if this book analyzed the characteristics of modernity and modern ideologies such as secularism and Marxism which were considered by the militants and if it compared those qualities of modernity to the case of females rather than simply indicating the gender discriminations which are usual in society. Teen girls and boys willingly joined the militant groups, but they quickly become fed up with the struggles. They were not allowed to rejoin society by the militants and especially the girls who returned were not accepted by society.

In addition to that, many knowledgeable students who finished their advanced level studies willingly joined the militant organization in a order that the war would finish in two years and they could return to their normal life. When the war continued for years and years, those young men became

fed up and worried about their future (p. 80). At the same time their friends who fled to other parts of the world and continued their studies became well settled and enjoyed normal lives in main stream society. This irritated the young men who joined the militant group and because of their inability to rejoin the main stream social life, they started to pretend that they are the heroes of society and put them themselves at the top of social hierarchy. This is a common psychology. But it is true that their domination earned a very negative reception.

Leaders and the prominent members of the militant groups too did not respect ordinary people. This book notes how the militants carelessly replied to students who questioned them on the disappearance of a student of the University of Jaffna (pp. 90-92). Militants thought that they had no need to worry about the death toll of ordinary people when there were so many freedom fighters dying in the battle. There are people who still support this argument by militants. For them the death of ordinary people is a result of their inability and is of no consequences. At the same time the death of fighters is meaningful as they did something for the country. But here one should question for what and for whom they fight if they did not care for the loss of society. There, the ultimate aim of the freedom struggle becomes meaningless. Through the examples, given in this book, it becomes clear that the goal of the freedom struggle of Tamil militant groups is not for the people but only for the land. They fought for the ultimate power over the space which they defined as their territory. Betterment of life, peacefulness, quality of the society and all the other indexes of development were not considered by both the militants and the Tamil politicians post 1980s. It shows that the ethno-nationalist crisis in Sri Lanka emerged not for any socio-economic reasons which were then used to justify the struggle; it was only for political reasons. It was born as a result of local politics and it was magnified and burst out because of the geopolitics of regional powers.

‘The Broken Palmyra’ is a very accurate record of the chronological events which were the results of ethno-nationalist crisis. This book has recorded the events which took place in Jaffna during the 1983-1989 periods as a response to ethnic majority chauvinism. It talks moderately about the Eastern Province. If a similar study is carried out about the Eastern province, it will be a great book in the history of Sri Lankan Tamils nationalism. Since the freedom struggle of Tamil militant groups was dominated by Jaffna, the overall contribution of this book in collecting reliable information can be appreciated even though the entire study is limited to Jaffna.

The authors of this book successfully analyze the role of very important groups such as women and students during the time of conflict. They have done a great job by identifying the role of women and the issues relating to women. There are many studies on the impact of war on women, but a few studies analyze the contribution of women to war and peace. This book did not interpret or analyze the women's participations but, it emphasizes the incidents where women were in leading positions.

This book succeeds in displaying the difficulties of ordinary people during the war. The way the authors collect the information through the interviews and discussion with affected groups and with the active participants (organizers of various non-violent movements, members of militant groups and some of the Indian army) are sources of reliable data. Since the book was written immediately after the Indian military operation, it can be believed that there would be fewer chances for alterations and modifications or exaggerations in the stories contained in this book, considering that people always develop their original story by adding some extra and imaginary or creative thoughts which is a very natural thing in human behavior. Fortunately, this book has recorded almost everything about the Indo-LTTE war period before the truth is "decorated".

However, the authors narrow down their interpretations to those collected information only to the negative view, especially when it comes to the militant groups. The authors criticize the Indian army in the same way. But in the case of the Indian army operation, many other sources including international organizations and ordinary people have the same criticism. It is not the case with the militant groups. A group of ordinary people including those who were directly affected by them and various scholars, observers and books still accept those militant groups or some of those militant groups such as Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) either completely or partially. So, the authors of this book had to carefully analyze the role of militant movements since it is a sensitive and problematic topic. But, this book has a singular focus in that sense.

Furthermore, this book lacks coherence in terms of events in putting all the incidents in a chronological order. That is why it fails to give valid sociological and psychological interpretations relating to the development of the armed struggle of an ethnic minority in Sri Lanka.

This book will be helpful to those who are interested in conflict analysis, geopolitics, ethno-nationalism, sociology and anthropology, gender studies

and other social sciences. It will be pleasant to read to peace lovers and those who vehemently critical of violence. Even though this book criticizes the armed movements and the prominent members of those movements, no reader will bother themselves neither in agreeing nor in disagreeing since the people in the present day, especially the Sri Lankan Tamils have realized that the separate state which was the goal of Tamil politicians, Tamil diasporas, South Indian Tamils and the militant groups was just an illusion. Furthermore, they are tired of fighting or supporting the fighters. The affected society and the entire country have already started working on their individual development and achievements. So, it can be said that this book will not hurt anyone's emotions. It will be useful reading for future generations to know the history of the ethno-nationalist crisis during 1980s. But, one should look to some other sources as well to understand the nature of ethnic crisis and ethno-nationalism in Sri Lanka.

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