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Analysis of Sri Lanka's Ethnic Inequality Through the Lens of Polarities of Democracy

Samanga Amarasinghe
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Health Sciences and Public Policy

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Samanga Prasannajith Amarasinghe

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the review committee have been made.

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Walden University
2024

Abstract

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by

Samanga Prasannajith Amarasinghe

MPhil, Walden University, 2020

MA, Bellevue University, 2011

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

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January 2024

Abstract

Sri Lanka, despite gaining independence in 1948, has been plagued by ethnic separatism, negatively impacting 29.9% of its ethnic minorities and causing violence and civil unrest throughout the nation. This has hindered the nation's sustained growth and development. This study addresses Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism by examining three stages of its history through the lens of the polarities of democracy model. The research question for the study is "How has the balance of polarities of democracy contributed or detracted from Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance in terms of sustaining ethnic harmony?" The study took the form of a qualitative historical-comparative case study to examine Sri Lankan history in three periods: pre-colonial (5 BCE–1505), colonial (1506–1948), and post-colonial (1949-Present). Data were collected through documentative sources and analyzed through qualitative document analysis and frequency tables. The results of the study confirm that pre-colonial Sri Lankan governance, which leveraged the overarching values of the polarities of democracy model, thrived in sustaining ethnic harmony. However, neglecting to leverage these polarities during the colonial and post-colonial periods led to a cycle of failed governance from 1948–2022, resulting in Sri Lanka becoming a failed state in 2023. This study fills gaps in existing literature on Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis by building a polarities of democracy model specific to Sri Lanka's crisis. This information can encourage positive social change, allowing future leaders to balance the polarity pairs, recover the state, and sustain its growth.

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Dedication

My father, Dr. Y. Ranjith Amarasinghe (PhD), Mother Mrs. Malika Amarasinghe, mother-in-law, Mrs. Anula Gunaseela, my wife, Mrs. Dilrukshi Amarasinghe, my loving daughters Olu Grace and Leela Ruth and, my mentor Dr. David Winograd (PhD)

Acknowledgments

In completing this study, I closed a significant chapter in my life and contributed valuable knowledge. I owe this achievement to the unwavering support of those who believed in me. My father, the late Dr. Y. R. Amarasinghe (PhD), was the first to join me on this journey. His love, patience, and elevated expectations shaped my fearless approach and drive for excellence, culminating in obtaining my Doctor of Philosophy by completing this manuscript.

This historical comparative case study delves into Sri Lanka's past, a daring endeavor supported by few. Dr. David Milen, my committee chair, stood by me from the start, guiding and ensuring I stayed on course. Dr. William Benet, my second committee member, contributed immensely with his enthusiasm and went beyond his role, offering unwavering support and resources.

Gratitude extends to the Walden University Institutional Review Board for upholding ethical standards and to the editorial staff, especially Ms. Angie Drennen, for refining this study. Dr. Rebecca Stout, Associate Dean & Program Director, remained a guiding light during my Walden University tenure.

Though I completed my degrees at Walden University, the foundation was laid at Bellevue University. Dr. Mary Hawkins, Dr. Matthew Davis, and the faculty at Bellevue University played crucial roles in my development. Thank you; Dr. David Levy, Dr. Paul Poppler, Dr. Dawn Owens, Dr. Rebecca Murdock, Dr. Sharon Rea, Dr. Tony Jasnowski, Dr. Mary, Dobransky, and Dr. David Byers for their roles in mentoring me.

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and Dr. Douglas Frost, whose legacy continues to inspire me to date. Similarly, a special acknowledgment goes to Dr. Adrian S Petrescu and Dr. Pamela Imperato for their expertise that influenced my exploration in Public Policy and Administration.

Academia thrives on mentorship and guidance. As I conclude this journey, I seize the chance to convey my deepest gratitude to my mentor, Dr. David Winograd, to whom I dedicate this study. Sir, your mentorship has been invaluable, guiding me through every step to reach this conclusion. Thank you for taking me under your wings and leading me to the finish line.

To my family, my mother, Mrs. Malika Amarasinghe, my mother-in-law, the remarkable Mrs. Anula Gunaseela, brother Dhanusha Amarasinghe, and daughters, Olu and Leela, I express my deep gratitude for their patience.

Finally, I want to express special thanks to my wife, Dilrukshi. Her unwavering support during the years I spent immersed in compiling this study, while simultaneously pursuing multiple terminal degrees, has been invaluable. Her love and encouragement have been the bedrock of my journey.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The existing political and social turmoil within Sri Lanka has been observed as an ongoing issue from 1948 to date without a resolution. Despite having obtained its independence on February 4, 1948, Sri Lanka has yet to enjoy a sustained state of actual political, sociological, economic growth and development due to ongoing conflicts between the ethnic majority and minorities (Holt, 2016). This study was authored to promote a better understanding and encourage post-colonial ethnic harmony in Sri Lanka by scrutinizing the pre-colonial, colonial, and the post-colonial Sri Lankan forms of democracy. Polarity management (PM) addresses problems that are considered difficult or impossible to solve (Jones, 1996), like the conditions in Sri Lanka. But PM theory does not assess governing and democracy. Because of that, the current study used polarities of democracy as its theoretical framework that utilizes the PM conceptual framework.

In shedding light on the problem and the study's purpose, I sought to answer in what ways polarities of democracy has detracted or contributed to Sri Lankan pre-colonial (5 BCE-1505 AD), colonial (1506-1948), and post-colonial (1949-Present) governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony to support its future socioeconomic growth and development. This study was designed to address multiple periods of Sri Lanka, which were used as individual cases to be scrutinized through the lens of polarities of democracy as an historical-comparative case study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). I investigated the data needed and then reviewed it through document

analysis that supplied adequate data (V. Jupp, 2006). I considered three periods in history as trigger points for change.

This study's significance includes being among the first to explore the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods of Sri Lanka through the lens of polarities of democracy. The results present new research, contributing to studies already completed. The study can also support future Sri Lankan leaders seeking social change by allowing them to be better informed (Midtbøen, 2018). This study's findings support my efforts to present, implement, and support multi-ethnic laws for Sri Lanka as obligations to social justice within Sri Lanka.

Background

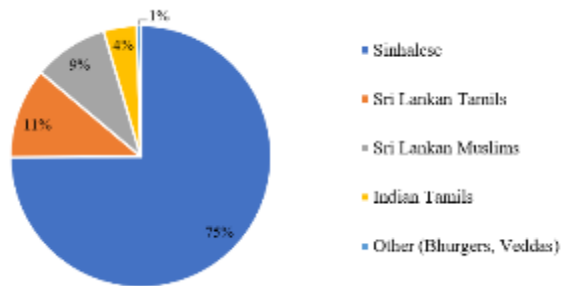
The background information included in the study contains various research addressing Sri Lanka's ethnocratic regimes and the systematic marginalization of the Sri Lanka Tamil minority population. The present study, building on preceding research, offers new perspectives through current materials integrated into the research, enriching the existing knowledge of the topic. This is the first study using all 10 values of the polarities of democracy theoretical framework, and its conceptual framework PM, addressing ethnic separatism within a state. In exploring this topic, I noticed two gaps. First was the absence of addressing Sri Lanka's ethnic problem from the polarities of democracy lens, and second, I noticed a multitude of gaps in the compiled research work on Sri Lankan studies due to political influences and censorship.

I expanded on these findings and developed the present study to explore Sri

Lanka's persistent ethnic separatism through the lens of polarities of democracy because ethnic marginalizing is one of the primary causes for insurgencies (Nacos, 2016). The ongoing political turmoil, the marginalizing of Sri Lankan Muslims, and the lack of opportunity and growth within the state makes it vulnerable for another insurgency. Therefore, it is vital for Sri Lanka to seek a resolution to its ongoing ethnic separatism in sustaining a solid economic and development plan.

Problem Statement

The area of inquiry for this research is how Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism, which continues to intimidate its ethnic minorities of 29.9%, causing violence and unrest throughout the nation, hindered its sustained growth and development (see Figure 1). From the 5th century BC, much of the written evidence found to date depicts a nation with multiple ethnicities coexisting while sustaining a sound economy until 1815. Following its independence in 1948, ethnic separatism kept the nation in a state of political and civil unrest twice in two internal uprisings and one large scale ethnic conflict from 1983 to 2009. The current phase of history shows ongoing communal unrest, victimizing the Sri Lankan Muslims from 2009 to 2019 (Rather & Jhariya, 2016).

Figure 1*Sri Lanka's Ethnic Distribution*

Note. Adapted from *Sri Lanka, CIA World Facts Book, 2021*. Copyright 2021 by Central Intelligence Agency.

The growth and development of a nation are dependent on its economy. Ethnic tension, despite not directly correlated to economic growth, can still affect the economy by influencing other social institutions that directly impact its economy (Choudhary & Reksulak, 2011; Sonntag, 2016). The internal struggles, fueled by ethnic unrest in Sri Lanka since the 50s, caused an eruption of violence in July 1983, affecting its economy by acquiring a national debt of US\$ 68.58 billion and loss in human capital of 65,373, hindering its future growth and development (UCDP, 2018). However, Sri Lanka has the potential for securing a strong economy, as it features abundant natural resources and a favorable geographical location.

The first studies done on this topic from 1948 to 1983 focused on the post-colonial elitist governing system, the conventional Westminster model, and the enforced monolingual, mono-religious, and mono-ethnic policies that marginalized the minorities

(Balasundaram, 2016; Barter, 2015; Welikala, 2015). Having significant lapses in literature from 1983 to 2019, much scholarly research focused on addressing the question of Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism from a devolution aspect of distributing power or failed efforts of reconciliation following the Eelam conflict of 2009 (Amarasinghe et al., 2010). This study sought to provide an in-depth historical assessment of Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism and its evolution, addressing gaps in the literature on the nation's ethnic dilemma to further the understand the value of ethnic assimilation through the management of polarities of democracy.

Purpose of the Study

This qualitative historical-comparative case study's purpose was to enhance the understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism since 1948 by observing each of three crucial stages of its history, considered as individual cases through the lens of polarities of democracy in support of the nation's future growth and development. This study contributes its findings to writings on polarities of democracy theory as well as being a guide for present and future leaders of Sri Lanka seeking positive social change. This study pursued a deeper understanding of the value of ethnic assimilation and national integration by emphasizing economic value.

Research Question

In what ways have the polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony?

Conceptual Framework

Polarity Management Theory

I explored, through the lens of polarities of democracy, Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism, a problem that has persisted for almost a decade. The theoretical framework for this study is based on the conceptual framework of PM theory. In addressing PM, Johnson (1996) argued that many of the issues observed in various stratum as unsolvable are polarities to manage rather than problems to solve. The Sri Lankan ethnic crises are polarities to manage rather than problems to solve. To visualize problems, Johnson created PM in which a square is divided into four parts. The right and left halves of the square are identified as poles, and the upper levels are positive or upsides, whereas the lower levels are negative or downsides. Once a problem is assessed as a polarity to manage, both interdependent poles are taken into consideration, and an effort is placed to balance the polarity pairs, maximizing the upsides while minimizing the downsides of both poles (Johnson, 2014).

Adhering to the PM concept, Sri Lanka's growing post-colonial ethnic separatism is a problem without a solution. Following Sri Lankan independence on February 4, 1948, it has operated as a Democratic Republic with a functional government in the most undemocratic form (Balasundaram, 2016). A government, by definition, holds the responsibility of meeting the needs of the governed equally, setting aside ethnicity and religion (Mikesell, 2017; Slaughter, 2017). Not adhering to this, the post-colonial leaders favored the Sinhala Buddhists choosing majoritarianism as their governing philosophy.

Sri Lanka being a historic monarchy, had maintained sound governance and economic growth as well as managed to secure ethnic peace among its minorities (Mendis, 1951). In 1815, the monarchy was ended, and colonialism was ended in 1948 with the promise of democracy, but the nation has yet to see it in action among its minority population (K. M. De Silva, 1981). Therefore, it is important to explore Sri Lanka's existing democracy through the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. A theoretical framework such as the polarities of democracy supported this effort.

Polarities of Democracy

The theoretical framework for this study is Benet's (2013) polarities of democracy, which recognizes 10 values contained within a democracy. These values are freedom, authority, justice, due process, diversity, equality, human rights, communal obligations, participation, and representation. Because of the interdependent nature of these values, Benet proposed to pair them into five interdependent pairs that include freedom and authority, justice and due process, diversity and equality, human rights and communal obligations, and participation and representation. The chosen theoretical framework provided a tool to compare and assess Sri Lankan pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods in seeking the answer to the research question and problem statement (Benet, 2012).

Nature of the Study

This study observed Sri Lanka's growing ethnic separatism in three cases, or periods, to gain a better understanding of the problem through the theoretical framework

of polarities of democracy (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Benet, 2012). The design chosen for the present study was a historical-comparative case study (HCCS). In general, within qualitative methodology, case studies are most often used to test specific theories and models and apply their findings to the real world. Document analysis and survey-based case studies provide for the use of multiple sources while keeping the costs of travel down; but such case studies are bound to the observation of one-setting (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Danzl et al., 2016; Kleining & Witt, 2000; Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

A case study is an experimental investigation used to examine a recent occurrence in depth within its actual setting (Yin, 2009, p. 18). The cases are bound by time and activity (Creswell, 2013; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009) as well as definition and context (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The bounding factor poses a challenge to the present study of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. However, general case studies not considering the “dead past” (the time in the past where there were no people to interview) does contain valuable patterns of real-world phenomenon (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 29; Yin, 2009), such as Sri Lanka’s ethnic separatism. Comparative case studies (CCS) present the best solution, which do not start with a bound case; instead, a case is formed by drawing information across sites and measures to develop an understanding of how the situation came to be in Sri Lanka’s separatist ethos (Street & Heath, 2008). CCS emphasizes how different players adopt the central issue, and how CCS has been altered in practice, to take into consideration the contextual information as historical circumstances, or daunting concepts, from one site onto another (Van der Veer, 2016).

Considering all factors, I deemed a historical comparative case study an appropriate design to focus on Sri Lankan history by describing three periods using the polarities of democracy theoretical framework.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions clarify and restrict the meaning of the terms for the purposes of this case study.

A Wewa: Sinhalese for a human-made irrigation water reservoir, many such reservoirs were widespread throughout the country which served in supporting Sri Lanka's ancient Argo-economic system (Needham et al., 1971, p. 368).

Bandaranaike - Chellanayagam pact of 1957: Signed on July 26, 1957, is an agreement between Prime Minister S.W.R.D Bandaranayke and S.J.V Chelvanayakam, to address the discontent over the Sinhala only Act 1956 (Manogaran, 1987, p. 49).

Black July of 1983: The name given to the anti-Tamil riots in Sri Lanka on July 23, 1983, that became a turning point in Sri Lankan history that became the foundation of the Eelam conflict (Ananthavinayagan, 2019, p. 49).

Bodu Bala Sena (BBS): Is an ultra-nationalist Buddhist organization founded by Reverend Kirama Wimalajothi. Today advocating an anti-minority agenda for the nation's future, it is led by the radical monk Galagoda Athe Gnanasara (Jerryson, 2017, p. 533).

Burghers: Is a Sri Lankan Eurasian minority group consisting of the most male-line descendants of Europeans who colonized Sri Lanka from the 16th to 20th centuries

(Elsby, 2014; Brohier, 1985, p. 1).

Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948: First mono ethnic law passed by the post-colonial legislature of Ceylon. Enacted on November 15th, 1948, denied Indian Tamils of Sri Lanka their citizenship, making 11% of the total population stateless (Greenwood & Lauterpacht, 1952, p. 60).

Ceylon: The name by which Sri Lanka was identified during the British Colonial Period (CIA, 2021, p. n.p).

Chena: An area of virgin or secondary timberland in a tropical region cleared and cultivated for only a few years and then abandoned (Squires, 2013).

Differential modernization: Is prioritization of modernizing one ethnic group over the other, due to ethnicity. It is known side effect of British colonization, and a deep-seated cause for ethnic separatism (Horowitz, 1985, p. 66).

Elahara canal: This is among many of Sri Lanka's most extensive irrigation canals located in the Northeast of Sri Lanka (Brohier R. L., 1955).

Gal Oya: A locale in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka where the first anti-Tamil ethnic riots occurred (Tambiah, 1996, p. 87).

Gross domestic product: The total value of goods and services of a country during a given period (Charmes, 2005, p. 70).

Hartal: The first large-scale political action in Ceylon, organized by pro-left political parties on August 12, 1953, to protest the United National Party (UNP; Mehta, 2010, p. 45).

Indian Tamil: Subcategory of the Sri Lankan Tamil minority consisting of Tamil people from South India brought to Sri Lanka as plantation workers by the British (Denham, 1912, p. 10).

Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP): Known as Peoples Liberation Front, is the Sri Lankan Marxist-Leninist Communist political party founded on May 14, 1965, by Rohana Wijeweera. Backed mostly by Sinhalese youth, this party deployed two armed uprisings in Sri Lanka against the ruling administrations of the time (Peebles, 2015, p. xix; Gunaratna, 1990).

Lankapura: The name used when referring to Sri Lanka in the great Indian epic story written by Hindu sage Valmiki, the Ramayana (Valmiki, 1894, p. 17).

Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP): The first official political party of Sri Lanka on, founded December 18, 1935, by Dr. Philip Gunawardena is A Trotskyist political party that maintains a policy of neutrality that advocates multi-ethnic and multi-cultural legislatures (Gunavardhana & Goonewardene, 2004).

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): Known as the Tamil Tigers, was an aggressive separatist organization based in the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. Having an international notoriety as a ruthless terrorist organization until 2009 the LTTE led a 26-year insurgency against Sri Lanka, seeking to create a separate state for the Tamils in Sri Lanka called the Tamil Eelam (Murari, 2012).

National Thowheed Jamath (NTJ): Is the Sri Lankan Muslim jihadist group led by Zahran Hashim, which was implicated in the 2019 Sri Lankan Easter bombings and is

believed to have ties to the Islamic State (Chattoraj, 2021, p. 32).

Pali: An Indic language, closely related to Sanskrit, in which the sacred texts of Theravada Buddhism are written. Pali developed in northern India in the 5th–2nd centuries BC (Oberlies, 1971, p. 1).

Ramanna: Another name in Pali for present-day Burma or Myanmar, once occupied by King Parakramabahu I of Polonnaruwa kingdom (Malalgoda, 1976, p. 164).

Saya: Sinhalese for a Buddhist Stupa (dome shaped structure) in a temple complex, a Saya consists of a mound-like structure typically claimed to contain sacred remains of Buddha, a prominent monk, and worshiped by the Buddhists (Snodgrass, 1985, p. 37).

Sinhala Only Act: The 1956 Act No. 33 declared Sinhala, the majority ethnicity's language, to be the only official language of Sri Lanka (Ghosh, 1999, p. 35).

Sinhalese: The majority ethnic group of Sri Lanka, with a native language of Sinhalese—they are predominantly Indo-Aryans (CIA, 2021, p. n.p).

Sri Lanka University Standardization Policy of 1973: A policy introduced in 1973 by the Sirimavo Bandaranaike administration to increase university enrolment among the majority Sinhalese community, specifically, the Sinhalese Buddhists by limiting the slots allocated for the Tamils and other minority groups (Pegg, 1998, p. 54).

Sri Lanka: Also known as, the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is an independent island nation located in Southeast Asia 6°54'N 79°54'E (Gunawardena, 2005, p. 342).

Tambapanni: Is a name derived from Tamira Varni or Tamirabarani (in Tamil). Meaning the color of copper or bronze, the name prince Vijaya gave the location where they landed, which is suspected to be close to modern-day Puttalam (Barker A. , 2010, p. 4).

Taprobane: Was the name Onesicritus gave to Sri Lanka and used by Ptolemy in his map, the meaning, according to Charles Pridham (1849), is “the wilderness of prayer” (p. 1).

Temple and Devale Lands Registration Ordinance of 1856: The ordinance demanded the Temples register the lands belonging to the Temples and assign officers to ensure that they were registered. Before the British colonization, every monarch has enabled land use for the maintenance and upkeep of various temples; under the ordinance of 1856, many of the temple lands were taken by the crown (De Silva K. M., 1963, p. 312).

The Colebrook & Cameron reforms of 1833: Named after two royal British commissioners sent to assess the administration of Sri Lanka. The reforms are legal proposals that radically caused significant social changes in Sri Lanka, especially on land ownership and agriculture (Nubin, 2002, p. 113).

The Crown Land Encroachment Ordinance of 1841: A British Imposed law that banned all activities of Chena cultivation, Peeling (hand processing) cinnamon in lands belonging to the crown (Arunachalam, 1910, p. xxviii).

The Donoughmore Constitution of 1931: The second constitution of Ceylon’s

crown colony named after the British commissioner sent to assess the nation and establish a constitution toward enabling limited self-government. Under this constitution, the British worked on enculturating in Sri Lanka the British way of life and governance (Russell, 1982).

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP): This is the major political party of Sri Lanka founded by the late prime minister S.W.R.D Bandaranaike in 1951, today is the governing political party (Peebles, 2015, p. xxi).

The Waste Land Act of 1840: One of the first laws passed in Sri Lanka by the British Colonists. It was a radical law which allowed the British crown to cease any land that did not have 'good' (British approved) land deeds. Because of this law, many natives lost their homesteads and the income from chena cultivation causing a ripple effect impacting separatism (De Silva K. M., 1967, pp. 46-47)

United National Party (UNP): The main ruling party of post-colonial Sri Lanka until 1956 today headed by Mr. Ranil Wickremesinghe, the Prime Minister from 2015-2019 (Peebles, 2015, p. xxii).

Vamsa: The vamsa's are a collection of texts written between 5th century BC to 14th century AD containing the lineages of past Sri Lankan kings, families, and communities (Chattopadhyaya & Ray, 2009, p. 54).

Veddas: These are Sri Lanka's indigenous forest-dwelling people, who claim to be the original Neolithic community's decedents (Seligmann & Seligmann, 1911).

Assumptions

Assumptions are unexamined beliefs, and it is important to become aware of such by objectively determining whether they are based on fact, bias, or stereotyping (Khalsa, 2007). There are three assumptions made in this research. The first of which is an assumption that the literature selected for the study by me is valid. The second assumption is that the trigger points for changes I consider valuable could be seen differently by another because I was not present at all the events captured within the study. The third assumption is that the study's findings will support Sri Lanka's future efforts to introduce ethnic harmony. These assumptions are due to me being Sri Lankan.

Scope and Delimitations of the Study

Scope of the study

The purpose of presenting the scope within a study is to explain the extent to which the research area was explored and to specify the parameters explored within the study (Chetty, 2020). The scope of this research is to present an understanding into Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism by exploring socio-politico-economic developments in three crucial stages of Sri Lankan history in the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. These periods encompass a vast pool of data, so the present study was rescaled to observe the phenomenon 5 years before and after each shift in periods. I used qualitative document analysis on sources that include gazettes, memoirs, personal journals, and scholarly journals.

I observed data through five pairs of the 10 values within the polarities of

democracy theory. I compared each period, not exploring other aspects that have the potential to influence ethnic separatism. The study took into consideration only two factors: ethnic harmony and democracy. This leaves other aspects such as economy, political mindset, and technology for future research. This limit was done to assess the levels of democracy and ethnic harmony/disharmony through lens of polarities of democracy within the chosen periods.

Delimitations

Delimitations define the boundaries of research (Cassuto, 2018). Within the present study, limitations were balanced by choosing authoritative materials and providing a thorough analysis of their contents by triangulation, along with findings by academics of the subject in the United States and Sri Lanka, thereby enhancing the validity and credibility of the results.

Limitations

Limitations are characteristics that can affect the results (Price & Murnan, 2013). This study, addressing 5 years pre- and post-shifts within three chosen periods of Sri Lankan history, was limited due to the small sample size (Baxter & Jack, 2008). There could be an infinitely possible number of sources containing details of Sri Lankan history. Choosing only textual materials for this study is also limited to the materials chosen (Atieno, 2009). Choosing to explore, in depth, 5 years before and after each shift, further limits the population and the sample of documents analyzed, compared to all documents globally accessible with modern technology (Libicki, 2016). Due to the

periods taken into consideration, the study was limited to a tiny population that could be interviewed. Further, being a Sri Lankan native and cultivated by the Sri Lankan society, might have presented some biases toward my choices in choosing literature for the study.

Significance of the Study

Most previous researchers have focused on delayed growth in economic development and ongoing internal turmoil between ethnicities as the major cause that hindered the post-war development of Sri Lanka (Adriana, 2014; Athukorala, 2016). This study is one of the first to discuss this problem through the unifying theory, of polarities of democracy. This study is also among the first to explore a nation and its ethnicities through the lens of polarities of democracy which will further test and contribute to the theory itself (Benet, 2006). The current study places an emphasis on presenting a solution to Sri Lankan post-war development through historical context (Devananda, 2010). The significance of this study is also valuable for presenting errors in pre-existing documents.

Summary

In Chapter 1, I introduced the research problem: how Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism. This continues to intimidate its ethnic minorities of 29.9%, causing violence and unrest throughout the nation and hindering its sustained growth and development. I then presented the purpose of this study, which was to explore Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism by analyzing the data pertaining to its pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods through the Benet's (2006, 2012, 2014) polarities of democracy theoretical framework.

I also expressed within this chapter that this is one of the first of its kind to explore Sri Lanka's condition through the polarities of democracy model making its findings valuable in furthering polarities of democracy research. I explained the background studies with regards to the Sri Lankan dilemma and their contribution in supporting the present study. The present chapter established the use of qualitative document analysis as the primary form of data gathering to populate a relevant sample, which, after undergoing a phase of theoretical sampling, was analyzed.

The next chapter, the literature review, will explore search strategies utilized to acquire the materials, the literature utilized in determining its theoretical framework, and the gap in the research, while exploring the literature used to assess the study's methodology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The area of inquiry for this research is Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism, which continues to intimidate its 29.9% ethnic minority, causing violence and unrest throughout the nation, hindering its sustained growth development. In support of this purpose, the present historical-comparative case study was aimed to enhance the understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism since 1948 by observing three crucial periods of its history through the lens of polarities of democracy in support of the nation's future sustained growth. Because this study takes the form of an historical-comparative case study, the literature review is its foundation. The literature review will first explore the search strategies utilized to find the materials, followed by exploring the literature utilized in determining the study's theoretical framework along with gaps in the research. Additionally, the current chapter will explore the literature used to assess the study, the methodology, and the literature supporting the chosen methodology.

Literature Search Strategy

In obtaining source materials for the present literature review, many searches were done through various electronic databases to explore accurate details for Sri Lanka and other nations and their economic indicators using databases such as the CIA World Factbook, World Bank, International Monetary Fund Country Database. In searching through online scholarly journals, search engines including Google scholar, JSTOR, Springer Link, ProQuest, Bellevue University and Walden University Library databases, EBSCO, International Security & Counter Terrorism Reference Center (EBSCOhost)

were utilized. In seeking valued peer-reviewed online journals, SAGE Journals, Walden University Political Science Complete, Data USA, and Taylor Francis online were used. Due to this study's nature and its limitations in utilizing texts to support the study, Google books, Bellevue University and Interlibrary loans were also used.

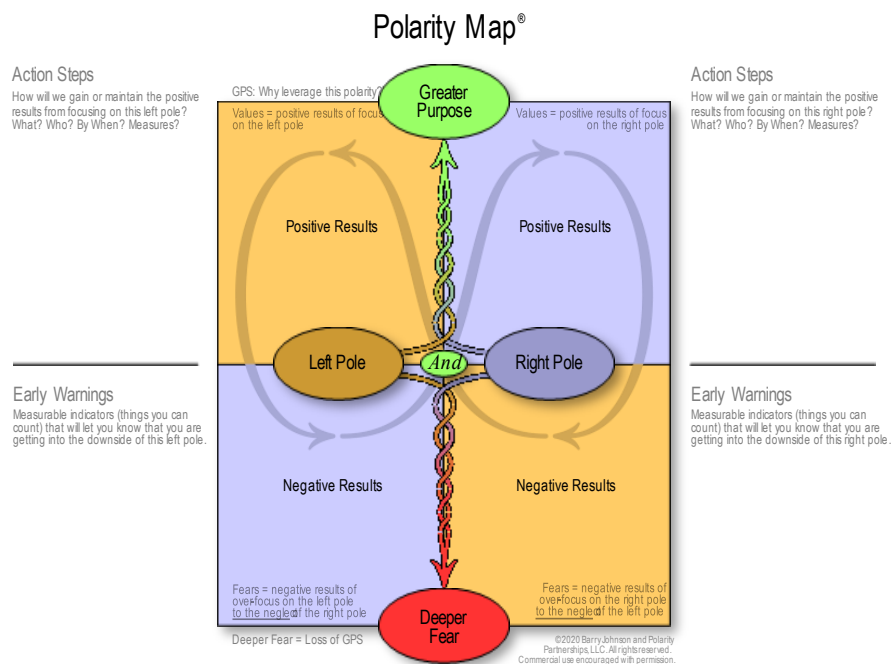
To capture Sri Lanka's ancient details, a short field study was conducted where documents such as ancient land and title deeds (Sannas), authentic ancient literature accounting for public life before colonization contained in Ola leaf books were explored within the temple and museum archives in Kandy and Colombo. Researching the colonial period, gazettes, newspapers, government records, memoirs, and other documents in the Sri Lankan national archives in Colombo and Kandy were utilized.

In finding valued journals, texts, and ancient documents, capturing firsthand accounts of Sri Lanka during the three periods chosen for the study, the keywords used in the literature review include but are not limited to: *Sri Lanka civil war, Sri Lankan ethnicity, Sri Lanka Vedda, Sinhalese, Tamil, Malay, LTTE, Tamil Tigers, post-colonial India, Post-Colonial Sri Lanka, post colonialism, Polarity management, and Sri Lanka, Polarity Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka bombings, post-war trauma, post-colonial trauma, and JVP*. In expanding search criteria, multi phrases or Boolean search phrases, such as *ethnic conflict AND British AND colonization, Decolonization AND federalism, Devolution AND Sri Lanka, Ethnic conflict AND Sri Lanka* were utilized to expand the findings. In capturing details on topics where there were limited peer-reviewed journals, time-based journals such as the Royal Asiatic Society, or books written by authorities filled the gap.

Theoretical Framework

The present study observes Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism, using Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013) polarities of democracy as its theoretical framework. Benet's polarities of democracy theory used Johnson's (1996) PM theory as a conceptual framework and explained the systematic utilization of polarities of democracy theory in seeking solutions. Using the conceptual framework and the model of PM, Benet (2012) outlined 10 polarity values essential in achieving and supporting sustainable just communities: freedom and authority, justice and due process, diversity and equality, human rights and communal obligations, and participation and representation.

As noted, the theory of polarities of democracy is grounded in the conceptual framework of Johnson's polarity management (see Figure 2). Based on Johnson (1996, 2014), PM deals with lingering problems that are unavoidable and impossible to solve, because the polarities to manage are a set of interdependent opposite forces. One cannot observe one aspect as a solution and omit the other or vice versa. In naming some of these popular polarities, those of optimism-reality, caution-courage, self-other, and mission-margin, stand foremost. Because of these polarities' dependent nature, many are observed as problems individually, and if handled in traditional problem-solving methods, will become a bigger problem (Johnson, 2014; Levknecht, 2013).

Figure 2*Polarity Management and the Infinity Loop*

Note. Image reproduced with permission of Polarity Partnerships and the Polarities of Democracy Institute.

Most individuals are trained to look at only one right answer and become blinded to the two or more right answers existing within the polarities (Gelfand & Schulte, 2016; Johnson, 1996, 2014; Levknecht, 2013). When attempting to solve perceived problems with PM, the first step begins by asking the question: “Is this a problem we can ‘solve’ or is it an ongoing polarity we must manage?” (Johnson, 2014, p. 90). The second step of PM is identifying the essential polarity set and naming each of the dependent poles. This is followed by brainstorming on the content by exploring what should go in each

quadrant as well as its higher purpose (positives) and its deep-seated fear (negatives; see Figure 3; McKanders & Johnson, 2009). Using the presented model will present an action plan to see early warning signs while giving time to improve and maintain balance to secure a sound solution (Johnson, 2014).

Figure 3

A Polarity Pair Usage



Note. Adapted from, “Managing the Polarities of Democracy: A Theoretical Framework for Positive Social Change”, by W. Benet, 2013. Copyright 2013 by Walden University.

Working on a polarity map consisting of four quadrants, with each side having an upside and downside, the top half of the quadrants, considered the positives, while the bottom quadrants, or the downside, consists of negatives. Placing the polarities within the map, using the presented model will present an action plan to see early warning signs while giving time to improve and maintain balance to secure a sound solution (Johnson, 2014).

Application of Polarity Management in Previous Research

The first noted application of the PM theory was in the health care sector in 2013, when the Center for Polarity Management with Barry Johnson and the Polarity Partnerships (PPLLC, 2020) supported identifying essential polarities that occur during health care transformations in 13 organizations (Levknecht, 2013). Because all polarities work the same way, observing both sides of the polarities supported their efforts to achieve their desired goals and sustain needed changes over time, paving the way for a smooth transformation (Levknecht, 2013).

Another occasion PM was used was when a lone-wolf terrorist with the intention of starting a race war went on a shooting rampage, killing nine members of a prominent African American Church on June 17, 2015, in Charleston, SC. Law enforcement officials used PM to avoid such occurrences in the future by strengthening community relations (Mullen et al., 2017). Here, PM teams, working with law enforcement, using public safety and individual rights polarities, deployed project illumination, which resulted in solidifying community-police relationships (Mullen et al., 2017). The most critical implementation of PM derives from Dr. William Benet choosing to utilize the PM concept in finding a method to measure democracy. But a prominent call for social change, at the time of this study, had not been measured (Benet, 2006).

Theoretical Framework: The Polarities of Democracy

The present study observing Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism used Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013) polarities of democracy as its theoretical framework. The

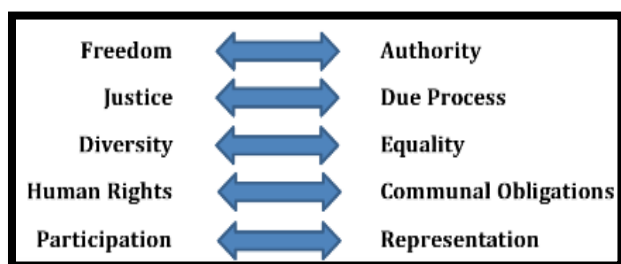
foundation for polarities of democracy started when Benet (2013) observed that for a democracy to be a useful tool to achieve positive social change, a unifying theory that binds the differences within democracy was needed. He began the research for polarities of democracy in two phases; the first phase was conducted from 2002 to 2006 for his PhD dissertation. Benet conducted the second phase of the research to support the Community/University Partnership Project (CUPP) Social Economic Working Group. In developing polarities of democracy, the theory critical to his findings was taken from Bohman (2012), who argued that a concept is critical, to the extent that it seeks human liberation by diminishing authority and increasing freedom.

Embodying the conceptual framework, Benet relied on the new emergent theory of PM by Johnson (1996), who wrote that the purpose of PM is to leverage the positive aspects of both poles while minimizing the negative aspects. When there is a sudden push to the upside, the downside is proportionally affected and vice versa (Benet, 2013; Johnson, 1996). In establishing this framework, hunting for the needed sets of interdependent opposites, Benet (2013) used the grounded theory approach. He scrutinized literature related to democratic theories and concepts. After analyzing the literature utilizing a complex coding process, 10 predominant values associated with workplace and societal democracy were identified: freedom, authority, justice, due process, diversity, equality, human rights, communal obligations, participation, and representation (Benet, 2013; see Figure 4). Benet (2013) stated that his findings strongly support the idea that democracy is a concept for the overall workplace or society and

stands as a solution to the problem of oppression. When applying his theory, Benet (2006, 2012) found that it required all 10 values of polarities of democracy to be operated successfully using five sets of interrelated polarities.

Figure 4

The Polarities of Democracy Model with the Values Arranged

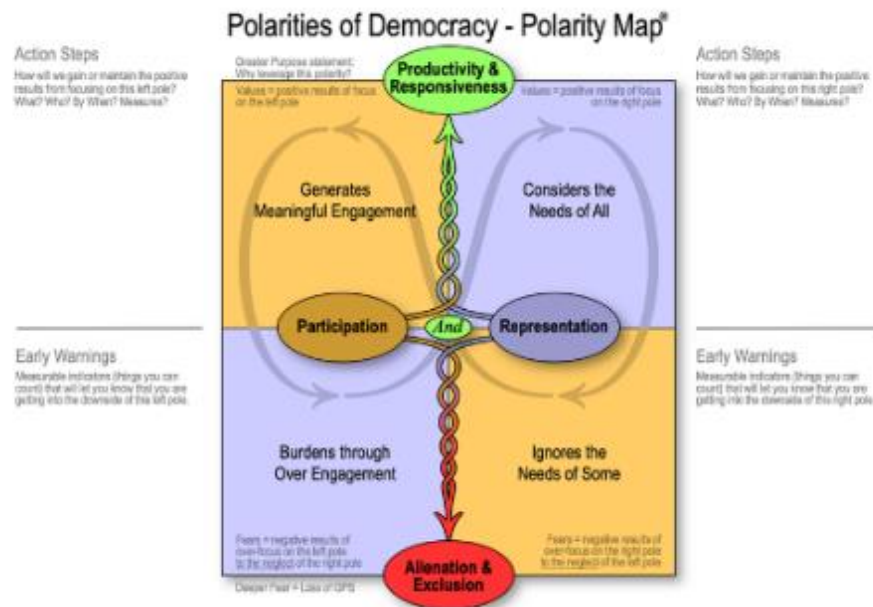


Note. Adapted from “Managing the Polarities of Democracy: A Theoretical Framework for Positive Social Change”, by W. Benet, 2013. Copyright 2013 by Walden University.

Both Benet (2006, 2013), and Johnson (1996) argued that in the absence of a polarity structure, neither progressives nor traditionalists will have the language to maximize the positive aspects of both poles while minimizing the negative aspects. Benet embedded Johnson’s PM conceptual framework into his theory, which has the language and the method to measure and observe the interdependent pairs of polarities of democracy. According to Benet (2013), when used as the theoretical framework, polarities of democracy will support planning, guiding, and assessing positive social change efforts, providing a fundamental understanding of creating a just society. However, when balancing these interdependent polarity pairs, some leeway for human nature must be taken into consideration (Benet, 2013). A free society, compliant with

human nature, systematically pushes individuals toward better rational and moral conduct through education rather than force (Ebeling, 2019). Nations with higher living standards such as Switzerland, Norway, New Zealand, and Denmark, have successfully sustained such free societies with higher rational and moral conduct (De Jong, 2015). Conversely, nations such as North Korea, Iran, China, and Venezuela, place a higher consideration on authority. This upward push alone has made them into rogue states (Coe, 2018). Cases where more emphasis toward freedom with less emphasis toward authority include Libya, Somalia, and Iraq, which have become failed states because they have chosen anarchy as freedom, as true freedom contains constraints (Anyia & Kelechi, 2020).

Benet's (2006) polarities of democracy theory was chosen as the theoretical framework for this study because it focuses on building just communities by addressing oppression. This causally relates to the ongoing situation in Sri Lanka. Benet's theory emphasizes supporting democratizing workplaces and societies to defy social and environmental issues at the national, state, and local levels (Benet, 2013). Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013) polarities of democracy provide a sound framework to extend the understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism in support of its future sustained growth. When applying the theory, the values are arranged by their polarity relationships (see Figure 5). Each of the dependent values that have negative and positive aspects, must be managed to maximize the positive aspects while minimizing the negatives.

Figure 5*The Participation and Representation Polarity Pair in Depth*

Note. Image reproduced with permission of Polarity Partnerships and the Polarities of Democracy Institute.

Past Research Conducted Through Polarities of Democracy Theory

The polarities of democracy theory established in 2006 captured the interest of many scholars worldwide seeking social change in their affected regions from 2006-2021. A total of 21 PhD dissertations were compiled using the polarities of democracy theory as the framework for those studies. The first was the study by Tobor (2014), who compiled an ethnographic case study observing the Urhobo Nation and the Amnesty Program in Niger Delta. Tabor (2014) used the polarities of democracy theory to explore the Urhobo culture to find if there were values that could support strengthening the

amnesty program and avoid an internal conflict with the Urhobo militant veterans (Tobor, 2014).

For his study, Tobor (2014) obtained observations of 20 'ex-militants' and collected the data through semi-structured interviews in assessing what reasons would prevent them from resorting to violence. Then he used content analysis to identify the significant themes. Tobor's finding showed that values, such as communal obligations, respect for elders, commitment to social justice and equality embodied within the Urhobo culture would support Amnesty International and prevent adverse reactions from 'ex-militants' (Tobor, 2014). This study's findings were used to educate policymakers on the value of Urhobo culture and extend knowledge on how it may further strengthen the amnesty program.

The next study was a comparative case study exploring the effects of racism on social capital in African American communities in America by Strouble (2015), who utilized data collections from two majority African American communities of Florida, and analyzed samples taken from twenty residences. Strouble, scrutinized reviews of local news reports, voter turnout reports, community health assessments, along with conducting focus groups and semi-structured interviews. He then used the Polarities of Democracy theory to examine the relationship between racism and social capital (Strouble, 2015).

When analyzed using inductive coding and pattern matching, the findings of the study presented two reoccurring themes. One was that the perceived ethnic inequality

linked with social capital in the selected communities. The next theme observed by Strouble was that racism created social capital insufficiencies and a dysfunctional community culture that reduced the capacity to address common issues. Strouble's findings were collectively used in presenting policy recommendations to increase the participation of African American communal members in the democratic processes (Strouble, 2015).

The next study utilizing polarities of democracy theory addressed the Niger Delta Amnesty Program Enactments and its consequences on Nigeria's Upstream Petroleum Industry. Ezeocha (2016) developed the study to fill the program's research literature gap. Framed under the PM conceptual framework this study utilized the polarities of democracy theoretical framework and obtained a participant pool of 29 contributors from the senior ranks of trade unions in the petroleum manufacturing sector, relevant government agencies, and a district university (Ezeocha, 2016). Face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions were then conducted with the selected sample. The data were coded inductively as part of content analysis. When processing the data, it became evident that the amnesty policy was poorly conceived and implemented, due to negative consequences arising from its implementation.

Ezeocha (2016) suggested that stakeholders might reduce unintended consequences and position the Nigerian upstream petroleum sector for sustainable growth by utilizing study recommendations regarding the faulty policies. The next study utilizing the polarities of democracy theoretical framework was the work of Kaka (2018) on

‘Decentralization of Local Government and Rural Development in Rivers State, Nigeria’.

Kaka’s study investigated local stakeholders’ perceptions of the factors that have contributed to further policy failures in Nigeria. In obtaining the data, Kaka (2018) interviewed 22 participants who answered questions regarding why the Community Development Committees (CDC) failed to promote rural development in the Khana Local Government Area within Rivers State, Nigeria? Analyzing the data concluded that the CDCs protected personal and political interests of the elites, excluded the voice of the local citizens, lacked representation from the minority, and CDC officials mismanaged funds and resources (Kaka, 2018).

In aligning this study with the previous studies, utilizing the polarities of democracy theoretical framework, the study compiled by Tabor (2014) and Strouble (2015) stand most relevant. Because Strouble (2015) addresses racism, which aligns with ethnic separatism, while Tabor (2014) brings forth the debate of centralization and decentralization, which is something that occurred with colonial governance. The present study differs, as it considered all the ten values of polarities of democracy theory and compared their existence in each chosen period of Sri Lankan history: seeking answers to the evolution of Sri Lanka’s ethnic separatism.

The Rationale for Choosing the Polarities of Democracy Theory

The evolving problem with Sri Lanka that stands as an obstacle, since its Independence in 1948, is its lack of ethnic tolerance and the ongoing separatist mentality. Such is a clear sign of dysfunctional democracy (Balasundaram, 2016). In having faced a

decade long conflict with the Sri Lankan Tamils, who are the largest ethnic minority from 1950 – 2009, due to separatist mentality, failed to seek corrective action, showing a lack of understanding of the five interdependent pairs of the polarities of democracy in Sri Lanka (Benet, 2013, Ibrahim & Irfan, 2016;). Continued separatism toward Sri Lankan Muslims, building anti-Muslim legislatures, boycotting trade owned by Muslim proprietors, spreading anti-Muslim propaganda, and suppressing the Muslims as an ethnic minority, show Sri Lanka's lack of understanding of true democracy (Keethaponcalan, 2019).

In explaining such cases as in Sri Lanka, Benet (2013) argues that the concept of democracy serves as a solution for oppression. But democratization would require ten values successfully managed, as five sets of interrelated polarities. These ten values are presented as five interdependent pairs: freedom and authority, justice and due process, diversity and equality, human rights and communal obligations, and participation and representation. embodies every aspect of democracy (Benet, 2006; 2012;2013).

Benet also argues that the fundamental purpose of democracy is to overcome oppression within nations, like Sri Lanka, with matriarchal underpinnings. These factors present clear answers to the value of choosing the polarities of democracy model as the theoretical framework for the present study. Scholars of the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis, despite assessing Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism through various angles including political, and sociological, failed to capture it through the lens of polarities of democracy.

In these cases, Benet (2006) argues that when one attempts democratizing without

a clear understanding of the polarity nature of the values and the structure, it cannot be professionally managed. Such is the case of Sri Lanka, evident through the present research gap on the topic. This study sought to fill the gap by utilizing the polarities of democracy theoretical framework to observe Sri Lanka's ethnic dilemma and consider, as Benet (2006) observes, all the ten values through the five interdependent polarities pairs.

Literature Reviews Related to Key Variables

The current study expands understanding into Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism since 1948, by observing three crucial periods of its history through the lens of polarities of democracy. Benet's theory is used to analyze the results in determining how polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony. Therefore, a more in-depth understanding of democracy is needed because it is the foundation of the theoretical framework for this study.

Democracy

A democracy, Benet (2013) argues is "the rallying cry for people seeking positive social change" (p. 1). In defining such, Post (2016) indicated that a "democratic form of government is one in which the laws are made by the same people to whom they apply", making them autonomous (p.2). Democracy is a unique form of authority by majority, which aspires to realize the value of collective self-determination bound in an endless knot, mutually strengthening and being incompatible (Post, 2016, p. 26). The exact nature of democratic governance values and protects the principles of citizen participation,

equality, accountability, and transparency (Post, 2016). Scrutinizing these valued entities encompassed within democratic governance observed, as Post quotes Rousseau (2016), “the wills of individual citizens and the general will of the collectivity” (p. 27). In getting individual determination to become general motivation, a democracy asks citizens to participate in the governing process by standing for election, voting, becoming informed, debating issues, paying taxes, and even protesting (Christiano, 2018).

Citizen participation is vital for a healthy democracy. Without majority citizen participation, democracy would be, as Rousseau states according to Post (2016), “a poor state of oppression”. The next valued entity of democracy: ‘equality’ is defined as the notion that all individuals are “valued equally, have equal opportunities, and no one should face discrimination because of their race, religion, ethnic group, gender, or sexual orientation” (Christiano, 2018). Because of the autonomy and self-determination of the citizens being vital to operating a democracy, everyone has been given the same rights in making autonomous participation a valued element of self-governing, which makes it vital to democracy (Post, 2016, p. 29).

Even with a good body of willing participants with an equal mindset, a democracy cannot function without the essential values of accountability and taking responsibility. ‘Accountability’ is the ideology that “elected officials must make a decision and perform their duties for the will and the wishes of the people and not themselves” (Oni et al., 2019). When considering democratic governance, it is understood to be a condition where the laws are established by the same individuals to whom they apply. If the elected

officials acted differently, it degrades the general will alongside the individual will that defines democracy (Post, 2016; Shah, 2018). Governments are created to provide services and goods, and be accountable to the people, because funding for the government to provide these services and goods is paid for by the people (Mikesell, 2017).

‘Transparency’ is the government's willingness to be accountable to its citizens in what is happening in the country and daily national decision-making. "In a democracy, through the press, people can get information about what statements are being made, by whom and why" (Bell & Machain, 2018). A democracy made through individual will eventually become general will, so misinformed citizens could improperly direct the path of the nation and the collective good, making transparency a vital segment of a democracy (Bell & Machain, 2018).

Conceptions of Democracy

In having presented democracy and its purpose in the simplest form, the scholars of democracy, including Benet (2013), argue that there are variations of democracy existing. The most noted variations are the Electoral, Liberal, Majoritarian, Deliberative and Egalitarian types of democracies, each containing their unique characteristics observed by various cultures in various forms (Coppedge et al., 2011). The (Table 1) below summarizes these democracies’ basic guiding principles and questions each variation of what these democracies focus upon, and their significant conceptions.

Table 1

Conceptions of Democracy

Conception or type	Basic principles	Guiding question
Electoral	Competition Elite	How are officials elected for public office?
Liberal	Limited government Civil liberties Transparency	Is political power decentralized?
Majoritarian	Majority rule	Does the majority rule?
Deliberative	Government by the people	What role do ordinary citizens have in politics?
Egalitarian	Government by reason	Does public deliberation impact political decisions?

When Benet (2006) developed his theory, he took into consideration all the variations of democracy in developing the means of measuring a democracy. This study focusses solely on polarities of democracy, exploring the ten values and their application to the chosen periods of Sri Lankan history.

Freedom and Authority

‘Freedom’, depending on the context, has many interpretations. Freedom is described as the free capacity for choice, or free will, and the ability to act on one’s own, without being driven by external forces (Baumeister & Monroe, 2014, Demenchonok, 2019; Omoregie, 2015;). Free will is the foundation of democracy; when an individual actively participates with others, it becomes the common will that paves the path for democratic governance (Mehdiyev, 2019). Free will-oriented behaviors such as: helpfulness, restraint of aggression, learning via counterfactual analysis, thinking for oneself, effective job performance, and appropriate gratitude allow for a functioning

democracy (Bowring, 2015).

Benet (2006) explains the positive aspects of freedom to be: human dignity, security, self-fulfillment, and the promotion of justice, freedom, and equality for others. Conversely, the downsides of freedom can be seen as being lazy, resistant to performing assigned tasks, being unmotivated, argumentative, unresponsive, uncooperative, and unable to perform tasks well, dishonest, malingering, unreliable, irresponsible, and noncompliant. Benet (2006) proposes that the downside of freedom from the perspective of a state is visible to those who are searching; it is the result of "abuse of authority" by those in positions of authority.

‘Authority’ is commonly understood as lawful power within a democracy. It derives openly or incidentally from the people. Authority within a democracy is expressed through the rules of law, constitution, statutes, treaties, executive orders, and judicial opinions (Wayne et al., 1995; Woods, 2016). ‘Free will’, is considering reason, personal values, and conscious reflections, while accepting the consequences and moral implications if in violation of active control of authority (Baumeister & Monroe, 2014). Freedom demands common sense, with moderation, and restraint or self-control in ensuring that an individual’s free will does not hinder others. The upsides of authority are the freedom and the right to control, judge, or prohibit the actions, influence, or control of others. The downsides of authority, occurs with oppression, including the inability to seek true freedom, helplessness, exclusive prerogatives, paternalistic behavior, trying to appear infallible, hiding mistakes, mistrustfulness, limiting the freedom of others,

secrecy, withholding information, and the corruption that accompanies power (Benet, 2006).

Considering the relationship between the two, Dai (2009), according to Mills (1996), argues that while freedom and authority are antagonistic. They are mutually compatible because authority invades upon freedom and freedom is an inevitable erosion to authority (Dai, 2009). The purpose of freedom is not to eliminate authority and vice versa the purpose of authority is not to end freedom; in fact, they complement each other making both authority and freedom two strong poles of democracy (Benet, 2012; Dai, 2009).

Justice and Due Process

Defining 'Justice', the term evolving from Judean literature, has many descriptions evolving through the ages and the context of which it is applied. The modern philosophical definition is "how human rights manifested itself in the everyday lives of people at every level of society" (Hemphill, 2015, p. 2). However, when addressing it through the scope of democracy Justice is defined as a set of doctrines whose purpose is to distribute entitlements to valued resources such as: liberties, opportunities, income, and wealth among a multitude of mediators contending over them (Valentini, 2010; Miller, 2017). One of the main upsides of justice is overcoming oppression, and its downside is increased oppression.

The notion of 'Due process' evolves from the Magna Carta. Within clause 29 of the Magna Carta, the king promises: "No freeman is to be taken or imprisoned or

disseized of his free tenement or his liberties or free customs.... nor will we go against such a man or send against him save by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land" (Holt, 1992, p. 4). Due process states that there should be a balance of power within the law of the land and serves as individual protection from the law of the land. It also assures all legal matters be resolved according to the rules and principles established (Kenton, 2020; Williams R. C., 2010). The upsides of 'due process' moderates' power to overcome oppression, while regulating the law of the land to provide individuals protection from risk, over taxation, crime, privacy, and other governmental influence (Benet, 2006).

When considering the relationship between due process and justice, due process ensures the right to be treated fairly, efficiently, and effectively when administering justice. It places limitations on the laws and the legal proceedings to guarantee fundamental fairness and justice (Ge'linas et al., 2015). If too much emphasis is put on the due process, it will hinder the application of justice, and if too much emphasis is put upon justice, it will hinder due process.

Diversity and Equality

Observing 'Diversity', Daft (2008) argues that diversity is the differences among people in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, race, and other dimensions. One of the dimensions of diversity are genetic differences, people's world view, and self-image (Wills, 2020; Daft, 2008). The other dimension is lived life experiences acquired within an individual's upbringing and changes throughout their lives (Wills, 2020).

These changes have more impact on an individual's worldview and others' view of them. Benet argues, "arduous work, diligence, competitiveness, commitment to excellence, protection of an individual's rights and personal beliefs to be forces for creativity and the upside of diversity". The downside of diversity is the "creation of rigid hierarchical relations of power, leading to the institutionalization of dominance and oppression in both the workplace and society" (Benet, 2006, p. 160).

Assessing the strengths or upsides of equality, Benet (2006), argues that it is a remedy for the special privileges of the ruling elites with the potential for purging poverty while elevating self-esteem among all citizens in society. Equality's downsides lead to the hardening or lacking essential values needed for growth: motivation, creativity, challenging work, diligence, and commitment to excellence (Clutterbuck et al., 2016). If they are not balanced, it will lead to severe discrimination (inconsistent with democratic workplaces or societies) based on race, gender, and class (Benet, 2006).

Human Rights and Communal Obligations

When observed within the democratic context, a 'right' refers to the "freedom from interference" by an individual or the government (Roberts C. , 2017). Human rights refer to the rights (Freedoms) belonging to every human, such as the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (Mende, 2019). Each person belongs to a community, defined as a group of people with shared interests and values, regardless of their geography, an individual can belong to one or more communities (Flint, 2011). An individual, being part of a community, is held accountable and responsible to their

community, which is understood as community responsibility. Some responsibilities include cooperation, respect, and participation (Hyttén, 2017). Each community is also a part of other communities, such as family, neighbors, village, city, county, region, and on a grand scale, the world (Benet, 2006; Ekanem, 2020). A community's obligation is to the Nation. Such obligations include active participation, voting, and supporting a sound democratic government (Benet, 2006).

The polarity pair of rights and obligations, despite being the primary polarity for human rights and communal obligations, is also embodied within the other eight pairs, as a sub-polarity. By presenting an example, Benet (2006) demonstrates that since both justice and due process become human rights for the individual worker, they also become obligations that an organization must seek to ensure for all workers.

The human rights and communal obligations polarity pair in-depth, have prominence in human development, which is the core element of self-actualization and self-governance supporting overcoming oppression, and promoting the common good (Benet, 2006). The downside of this pair leads to discrimination, suppression, and marginalization of various groups residing within a state or an organization which degrades democracy (Hans-Otto & Broberg, 2018).

Participation and Representation

A functioning democracy needs informed, organized, active and peaceful citizens and their participation to maintain its course in supporting the greater good or the public good (Carson & Elstubb, 2019). Participation refers to people's acknowledgment of their

political membership and membership in other social units (Schonfeld, 1975). It is an instrumental driver of democratic and socio-economic change and acts as a means of empowering citizens because it requires citizens to participate in decisions that affect public welfare (Fischer, 2016). Representation encompasses a large part of the international debate on democracy. Representation according to Pitkin (1967) is “make present again” (p.241). Within this context Political Representation is the activity of making citizens’ voices, opinions, and perspectives ‘present’ in public ‘policy-making processes’ (Dovi, 2018).

When considering the relationship between the two, as Benet (2013) argues, representative and participation within a democracy are not opposites. Instead, they are entities that complement one another. The opposite of representation is not participation, it is exclusion, and the opposite of participation, is not representation, but abstention (Plotke, 1997). By electing a representative, a citizen cannot abandon the other responsibilities such as both participation and representation are equally crucial for an effective democracy (Benet, 2013; Benet, 2006). For a state to address complexity and changes in sustaining democracy and providing goods and services to its citizens and communities, it must pave the way for citizen engagement to flourish (Benet, 2006).

Literature Review Related to Concepts

This study considers only the data containing crucial socio-politico-economic changes that affected each period. It takes into consideration an approximate five-year period. Because it is more feasible since the events that are crucial to the turning points in

Sri Lankan history do not fall into that range.

First 5 Years Pre-Colonial Period Under Study (1444-1449)

By 1444 Sri Lanka's pre-colonial period had reached a pinnacle. Exploring the ancient literature such as: The Dipavamsa, Mahavamsa, Chulavamsa, Salalihini Sandeshaya and The Mandaram Puwatha, indicated that Sri Lanka sustained a sound socio-politico-economic underpinning evident through the undertakings of the ancient monarch's (Henry, 2019; Kumari et al., 2013). Most notable of these are the large-scale irrigation canals and tanks constructed throughout the nation in support of paddy cultivation which would have cost billions even then (Mahanama et al., 1837).

Visible ancient ruins of elaborate building and religious complexes, palaces, public gardens, and advance water management systems, also boast of a solid economic foundation and advancements in sciences and technology of the time (Geekiyanage & Pushpakumara, 2013). The foundation for this study and its theoretical framework, polarities of democracy, looking at the precolonial Sri Lankan government, although being a monarchy it did have a constitution which was later known as the Kandyan Constitution (D'Oyly, 1833).

The Kandyan constitution contained systematic guidelines on the delegation of powers, land management, ownership, and other duties of various departments and administration of justice (D'Oyly, 1833). Exploring the power between the king, his chiefs, and the sub-chiefs, managing different divisions of the nation shows that the feudalistic monarchic system of governance was used (De Silva K. M., 1981).

Scholars of geopolitics argue that sound functionality of a state is dependent upon the actions of its cities, towns, villages, and locales, which are the nucleus that influence all other aspects of governance (Flint, 2011). Sri Lanka's pre-colonial localities were communal societies founded on agriculture as its economic foundation which was specifically rice cultivation.

The literature shows that these communal societies embraced diversity, both gender and ethnic (Fleet, 1912). This diversity was due to inherent communal aspects of rice cultivation as written by Hilary Clinton "It takes a village" (Clinton, 2006). The focal point of the ancient social system; the village council or the Gam-Sabaha, was where membership consisted of residence in a village regardless of their gender, ethnicity, or occupation (Krishnamohan, 2016).

The Sri Lankan village council differentiates from the Indian Panchayat. Where Sri Lankan village council was more methodical and decided over irrigation as well as village disputes while attending to other village affairs (Appleby, 1962; Brahmanandam & Ambedkarnagar, 2018; Sirinivasa, 1962; Tinker, 1990). Executing the functions of the village councils, supporting the nation's infrastructure and its development, a unique form of labor was utilized by the pre-colonial Sri Lankan known as Rajakariya or king's duty (Jodhka & Shah, 2010). Rajakariya, the labor, which supported Sri Lanka's ancient infrastructure, is identified with the polarities of democracy pair as communal obligation and participation (Benet, 2006; 2012; 2013).

Paddy cultivation, dependent upon water moderation in ancient Sri Lanka was

done by capturing, into reservoirs, the eastern and the western monsoon rains that replenished both in turn every year (Shaw, 2018). Having ample time between these seasons, the ancient's utilized it for their Rajakariya where each citizen volunteered time, to support various undertakings needed for the village, city, and the state (Dayaratne, 2018). These undertakings included building roads, city complexes, irrigation tanks and painting the village temple complexes as well as supporting the efforts of guarding the villages and cities (De Silva K. M., 2015).

Binding all segments of the ancient world was Theravada Buddhism introduced to Sri Lanka in the third century; the advocacy of this philosophy being peace, harmony, self-control, and moderation, it became the dominant religion of the state (Voss, 2016; Claveyrolas et al., 2018). Buddhism, a philosophy of acceptance and adaptation, unified all the ethnicities and other religious traditions of Sri Lanka until the introduction of Christianity in the mid 1500's (Ashiwa, 2015).

Pre-Colonial Period Under Study (1500-1505)

Due to constant attacks from Indian invading forces from 933 to 1500 AD, the old dynamics of Sri Lanka's glory had slowly faded with time, and the great monarch's seat of power had been pushed southwards (Rasanyagam, 2003). Lacking strong leadership to reclaim the lost territories, these Indian invaders assimilating with the Jaffna kingdom (1215-1619) continued expanding, further causing the Sri Lankan seat of power to be migrated southwards (Branfoot, 2015).

This marked the end of the dominant rule by Sinhalese kings, starting the era of

south Indian rule of Sri Lanka who later fought other South Indian monarchs for power. Most devastating of these, was the invasion of Kalinga Magha in 1215 destroying the infrastructure and the economy that supported the growth and success of the ancient monarchy (Strathern, 2017). Magha's occupation saw the dawn of the Jaffna Kingdom known as Kingdom of Arya Chakravarti (1215 -1624) and gained control of the northeast, northcentral and northwestern regions of Sri Lanka until it was occupied by the Portuguese in 1624 (Strathern, 2017).

Last 5 Years Pre-Colonial Period Under Study (1506-1511)

In reaching 1505, when the Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka, the prominent seat of power was the kingdom of Kotte. It was founded by descendants of a Tamil merchant family named Chandra Banu of Yapa Patuna (Jaffna Peninsula) who identified himself as King Parakramabahu VI (Roberts M. , 1982). However, due to sibling rivalries over the throne, the kingdom of Kotte was in chaos. At the same time, the growing power of the Jaffna kingdom now reach its golden years, slowly seeing the downfall of the Sinhalese kingdoms of the south (Berkwitz, 2016). These factors played crucial roles in events leading to the Portuguese colonization. Internal turmoil, lack of unity among the existing kingdoms of Jaffna and Kotte allowed the Portuguese to easily manipulate the Sinhalese monarchy in securing their strong holds (Strathern, 2017).

First 5 Years of Colonial Period Under Study (1815-1820)

The Sri Lankan colonial era started with the commercialization of Sri Lankan spices and goods as being part of the East Indian Trading Company, administered

successively by the Portuguese, Dutch and British, the dominating sea powers of the time (Kingwell-Banham et al., 2018; Pieris & Arasaratnam, 2019). Geographically, Sri Lanka is abundant in valued flora and fauna, which are scarce and highly valued in Europe. Because they grow throughout the nation, colonists had a low to no overhead cost to harvest, so Sri Lanka became a fountain of wealth for the colonists that exploited these resources (Serrao, 2015). Sri Lanka was colonized successively by the Portuguese in 1505, the Dutch in 1658 followed by the British in 1796. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch were unsuccessful in toppling the Sri Lankan monarchy that reigned over the Kandyan kingdom. Their influences were contained to the coastal regions (Pieris & Arasaratnam, 2019). The Portuguese and the Dutch influences are worth noting, as they not only helped the arriving British to secure dominance of the whole nation by 1815, but they also contributed immensely to creating the systematic rift between up country Sinhalese and the low country (Coastal) Sinhalese as well as the Tamil population.

The Colonial Period Under Study (1821-1826)

The first of the pre-British colonial influences was the toppling of the Jaffna kingdom by the Portuguese in 1624. Now isolated, the natives had no alliances to support their efforts to rid the invading colonial powers of the Dutch or the British (Pieris & Arasaratnam, 2019). The second pre-British colonial influences were that the Portuguese and the Dutch, due to the constant threat of being attacked, very rarely wandered inland or occupied territories beyond the coast.

The Portuguese and the Dutch not having total dominance over the country,

maintained old governing methods and traditions as the 'Rajakariya' to continue uninterrupted inland and sheltered the native population from western influences (Pieris & Naish, 1999). By having a strong navy, the Portuguese were able to continue exploiting inland resources along the Sri Lankan coastline and secure trading by building a chain of fortresses (Boxer, 1974). These fortresses, later served as strong holds for the Dutch and British colonists in maintaining pressure on the natives and disrupting any efforts of securing support from enemies of the colonists such as the French, Americans, or Spanish.

The third and most notable influence on Sri Lanka was the introduction of Christianity. This was done in a brutish manner by the Portuguese, so that even at present Sri Lankans are indifferent to Christian evangelical efforts (Pearson, 1990). The introduction of a new ethnicity known as the Sri Lankan Burghers, which was the result of Portuguese that has sexual intercourse with local women or due to rape (Brohier, 1986). By classification, the Burghers being Eurasian, mixed with the Dutch and the British were esteemed at a higher level during the Dutch period and reduced during the British colonial period (Crossette, 1988). This was the first time the natives experienced social alienation where more privileges were granted to a sub-ethnicity over a majority, due to their birth and skin-color (Ankony & Kelly, 1999).

The Dutch occupation in Sri Lanka, akin to the Portuguese occupation, has its foundation in securing exotic Asian, goods such as spices, ivory, silk, gems, and pearls, from the Dutch East India Company bringing substantial revenue to Europe (Wahab-

Salman, 2016). Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch, gaining more control of the land, established the first bureaucracy. In doing so, they separated their territories into three administrative districts: Colombo, Galle, and Jaffna (Pieris P. E., 1995). The Dutch administering these districts, introduced the title of authority of Mudaliar and a new caste the Salagama (cinnamon workers) and elevated them as lower country elites, which competed with the upcountry elites (De Silva K. M., 2015; Roberts M. , 2008).

The Dutch also introduced Roman- Dutch Law, the foundation to Sri Lankan common law today, and applied it within their dominion. It was the first form of western law observed by natives (Cooray, 2009). However, despite the Dutch making considerable contributions, their dominion was contained only within the coastal areas, while most of the territories continued under village council administration (Jayawardana & Wijithadhamma, 2015).

The Dutch being experts in water management, specifically canals, like the ancient rulers of Sri Lanka, supported the lower country rice cultivation and agricultural efforts (Jayawardana & Wijithadhamma, 2015). The British being the last colonial masters gave prominence to the southern elites, fathered by the Dutch, and slowly began a systematic dismantling of the old systems that were dependent on the Kandyan nobility and the monarchy (De Silva K. M., 2015). The British eventually did away with the existing monarchy by capturing the king and exiling him. Utilizing the Kandyan convention of 1815, the British gained total dominion over the whole nation (Amarasingam, 2015).

The British allowed the Kandyan nobility to keep their titles, although their status and their powers were limited, causing a clash between the Kandyan elites and the Southern elites now elevated in status (Aldrich, 2016). The main purpose of the British colonization of Sri Lanka was founded on monopolizing east Indian trade through the British East India Company; all British undertakings within Sri Lanka was in support of that effort (Amarasinghe P. , 2018).

The first of the changes that affected the whole nation was the Kandyan convention, signed by dignitaries and nobles of the Kandyan kingdom on March 02, 1815. The convention was written in both English and Sinhala. The English version deceitfully favored the British, who gained direct control over every aspect of Sri Lanka, including local authorities and religion (Godden & Casinader, 2013). The British never had any intention of keeping their side of the convention, as all they wanted was dominion to do as they pleased with minimal cost, and the convention provided a means toward that end.

Last 5 Years of the Colonial Period Under Study (1943-1948)

In the last five years of Sri Lanka's colonial period under study, Sri Lanka was governed by the British. They exercised a highly centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratic style of administration from 1815 – 1948 and enforced lasting changes within the Sri Lankan socio-politico-economic infrastructure. The Colebrook-Cameron reforms of 1829–32 transformed Sri Lanka from having a rational political system, to a mercantile sovereignty, and then to a governmentality which ended the ancient feudal

authority. After the Colebrook-Cameron reforms, the British, enforced the infamous Land Encroachment Laws, also known as the Crown Land Encroachment Ordinances No.12 of 1840 and No. 9 of 1841 with no time for the natives to comply (Ordinance Nos, 12 of, 1840).

Under these new land enactments, any land that did not have a deed, would be considered crown property according to the British Law of the Land. The British confiscated many of the ancestral lands belonging to the Natives. The British then handed these lands over to British planters who chased away the upcountry villagers from their ancestral homes, which in turn deprived the native nobles of their property and source of wealth (Paranage, 2018). Sri Lanka's economy and infrastructure thus far being bound by land cultivation and rice paddy cultivation, was decreased dramatically by the British taking these lands. This also impacted the Buddhists and their institutions that depended on these lands for sustenance and wealth (Fernando D. , 2016; Peebles, 2006).

The 'Rajakariya', the ancient system of community service understood as the king's duty, was abolished by the British who needed additional labor for their industries in tea, rubber, and coconut (Lowe, 2007). In recruiting, local labor, to sustain the systems of the British, they dismantled the Temple education system and introduced Christian education. This was done by giving prominence to scholars of western education over others, which were dominated by Southern families, and Tamils of the lower country, now westernized through their exposure to the Dutch and Portuguese (Golding, 2018; Wettewa, 2016;).

In the 1920's animosity toward the colonists spread, with Buddhist monks alongside foreign supporters, such as Colonel Henry Steel Olcott who founded the Theosophical Society. The Sinhala Buddhists began calling for independence from colonization (Tweed, 2015). As first steps toward self-governance, the British implemented the Donoughmore constitution of 1931 and gave representation to members of the new elites to represent each ethnic group and to address respective domestic affairs. The constitution, identified by then minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike as the "Do No More" constitution, because despite the appearance, local members had no actual power.

First 5 Years of the Post-Colonial Period Under Study (1943-1948)

Having a voice and a platform, new elites from the Jaffna youth congress named the 'All-Ceylon Tamil League' began complaining about vital matters that needed attention (Jupp J. , 1970). Some of these items included: the abolishment of communal governments, in favor of individual, representation, elimination of the Caste system, adoption of national dress, a native language that was not English, and securing a native government (Mukerji, 1953). The Donoughmore constitution systematically dismantled every aspect of Sri Lanka's ancient culture that bound the citizens to each other, encouraging, as Benet (2006), argues, active participation, and the upholding of communal obligations.

The growing demand for independence soon began to embody feelings of nationalism, with local leaders compelling deep debates within the state council. In

bringing to light a sensitive but realistic issue, G.G. Ponnambalam debated the question of the Indian Tamils and their citizenship (Rambukwella H. , 2018). Majority Sinhalese MPs within the council, opposing citizenship to the Indian Tamils, caused a rift in the governing body who then fought to create a British style hierarchical cabinet. As a result, riots began forming everywhere demanding independence and change.

The growing anti-British feelings among the people compelled the British to re-assess the Donoughmore constitution (Gunaratna, 2018). Seeking a resolution, the British appointed a commission to address constitutional reforms, named after the British governor. The commission was known as the Soulbury Commission of 1944. The suggested reforms focused on the draft made by the board of ministers, headed by D.S. Senanayake and its chief architect Sir Ivor Jennings, gaining support from the Kandyan Sinhalese, as the reforms favored the 78% Sinhala majority (Abeyratne, 2015).

Notable Tamil members as G.G. Ponnambalam opposed these reforms. They claimed discrimination of the Tamils in public Service within the policies of the newly opened settlements, which favored the Sinhalese (The Soulbury report, 1945). The opposition claimed that the limitation on the use of ports in the Northern peninsula, as depicted within the reforms as discriminatory, showing biases in education, medical services etc., favoring the Sinhalese (The Soulbury report, 1945). Nevertheless, the Soulbury commission concluded: "the evidence submitted to us provides no substantial indication of a general policy on the part of the Government of Ceylon of discrimination against minority communities" (The Soulbury report, 1945, p. 131). The commission,

which was drafted July 5, 1944, with the majority Sinhalese supporting it, replaced the Donoughmore constitution of 1931 and became the first constitution of Independent Sri Lanka on February 4, 1948.

Post-Colonial Period Under Study (1949-1954)

Neglecting Tamil concerns from 1931 to 1948 during, the process of implementing the Soulbury Commission, showed the foundation for Sri Lankan independence in a negative light. The constitution of post-colonial Sri Lanka becoming the recommendations of the Soulbury commission, contained no charters for human rights, nor any significant protection for the minorities, which would later prove to become a grave error on behalf of the Sinhalese policymakers (Devanesan, 2017).

Taking over independent governance, Sri Lanka had two challenges, first to seek a resolution to Indian Tamil citizenship, next was to establish a national language other than English. Addressing the first, the lawmakers of the time influenced with post-colonial insecurities exacerbated by pro-Sinhala Buddhists, invoked Article 29 of the Sri Lankan constitution, and passed the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, depriving citizenship to Indian Tamils (Shastri, 2007; Wolozin, 2015;). In disagreement, the Tamil population peacefully appealed this legislature, but anti-Tamil riots, spearheaded by radical Buddhist monks, spread throughout the nation, and destroyed any attempt for a peaceful resolution (Jones D., 2013).

The action of the majority, in neglecting the Indian Tamils their citizenship and rights, caused a rift inside the Sri Lankan parliament, paving the way for the ultra-

nationalist Sri Lankan Tamil movement to break off and establish the Federal Party in 1951 (Balasundaram, 2016). By 1951 the parliamentary majority, under the United National Party (UNP) was held by Sinhala elite family members who sympathized and favored Westernization. Recovering from colonization with an intense sense of nationalism, most of the public, led by Buddhist monks, were against the politics of westernization and strongly advocated nationalism (Bryce, 1950).

S.W.R.D. Bandaranayke then a member of the parliament, saw this as an opportunity to compete for power, which was then dominated by family members of the first Prime minister of Sri Lanka: D.S. Senanayake and their loyalists (Abeyaratne, 2015). S.W.R.D. Bandaranayke broke off from the UNP and established the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) with the support of the rural population which upheld anti-western, pro communal, nationalist ideals formed by the monks (Casinader et al., 2018).

S.W.R.D. Bandaranayke was a strong orator, and the symbolic foundation for uniting the up country, the low country, and the Kandyan Sinhalese majority. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayke leaving the United National Party changed the tides of Sri Lanka's post-colonial governance migrating majority support with him. This caused an imbalance that further worsened when Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake died due to a riding accident in 1952. Senanayake was a sound political leader that operated quietly behind the curtain, ensuring that the minorities would, to a certain extent, agree with the majority party (Patnaik, 2011). D.S. Senanayake gained support from both Tamil leaders including Ponnambalam, the colonial powers and constitutionalists like Dr. Ivor Jennings.

Senanayake's death marked an end to any form of balanced reforms within post-colonial governance (Chandrasekaram, 2017).

Following the death of Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake, the colonial Governor-General of the time Lord Soulbury appointed Mr. Dudley Senanayake, son of late D.S. Senanayake, as the second prime minister of Sri Lanka on March 26, 1952 (Pieris G. L., 1996). Suffering from poor health, Dudley Senanayake's administration (1952-1953) became unpopular as it soon began to face the economic challenges of a now import dependent economy (Kadirgamar, 2020). The great shortages in rice imported from India at the time, compelled the administration to increase the price of rice; Sri Lanka's staple diet, with no subsidies (Kadirgamar, 2020). Increases in unemployment, foreign debt, and loss of import capacity due to changes in trade, caused civil unrest that led to the 1953 Ceylonese Hartal (large-scale political action) and resulted in Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake resigning on October 12, 1953 (Kadirgamar, 2020).

The UNP still holding prominence, appointed Sir John Kotelawala as the third Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. The Kotelawala administration (1953 -1956) managed to defuse civil unrest by giving partial rice subsidies to those affected and introduced various foreign policy initiatives. These initiatives not only broadened Sri Lanka's image internationally, but in 1955 brought agreements from global economic powers to support the Sri Lankan economy. The growing internal tensions and Sinhala Buddhist nationalism was systematically on the rise. The issues from 1948 had created two forces within the Parliament aligning themselves to safeguard their interests (Bass, 2009; Weerawardana,

1952). The pro Sinhala anti-western policy took the side of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, while the Tamils, demanding autonomy under a 'federal system' aligned with the Federalist Party. With no sound leadership to mediate concerns, by 1953, Sri Lanka's post-colonial national politics, had polarized along Sinhala Buddhist and Tamil nationalist lines (Kadirgamar, 2020). The polarized politics and the enforced mono-ethnic, monolinguist and mono-religious legislatures such as the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, and the Standardization Act of 1970 and 1971 heavily restricted many cultural aspects of the Tamil minority population (Anshiya, 1996; Wickramasinghe, 2012). Leading to an array of communal violence, the then prime minister S.W.R.D Bandaranaike attempted reconciliation with the Tamil minority through the proposed Bandaranaike Chelvanayakam pact of 1957.

But this, failing to take form, added to the growing rate of unemployment, increased both foreign debt, and losses to local industries which brought about a state of civil unrest from 1957 to 1982 that eventually led to the Black July Massacre of Tamils in 1983. By 1984 the unrest had escalated to a full-fledged war between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) known as the Eelam Conflict that ended with militaristic defeat of the LTTE in May 2009.

Last 5 Years of the Post-Colonial Period Under Study (2015-2020)

In reaching 2015, the inability to bring about a sense of ethnic harmony within the state, negatively influenced each stage of the post-colonial history of Sri Lanka. This includes two insurgencies by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the first in 1971 and

the second between 1987-1989, alongside an ethnic conflict from 1983-2009 (Gamburd, 2014). When Sri Lanka gained victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam on May 18, 2009, the ongoing turmoil within the state, having impacted tourism, the economy, development, and growth Sri Lanka was brought to its knees in every aspect (Graves, 2015). Sri Lanka was left with only a hope of an economically and ethnically stable future. This hope faded rapidly as the pro Buddhist Rajapaksa Administration (2005-2015) under President Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR) began to use the Buddhist monk led Sinhala Hela Urumaya (Sinhalese National Heritage) party, and their extremist wing the Bodu Bala Sena (BBS) to marginalize the Sri Lankan Muslim population (Gunaratna, 2018; Dharmawardhane, 2015).

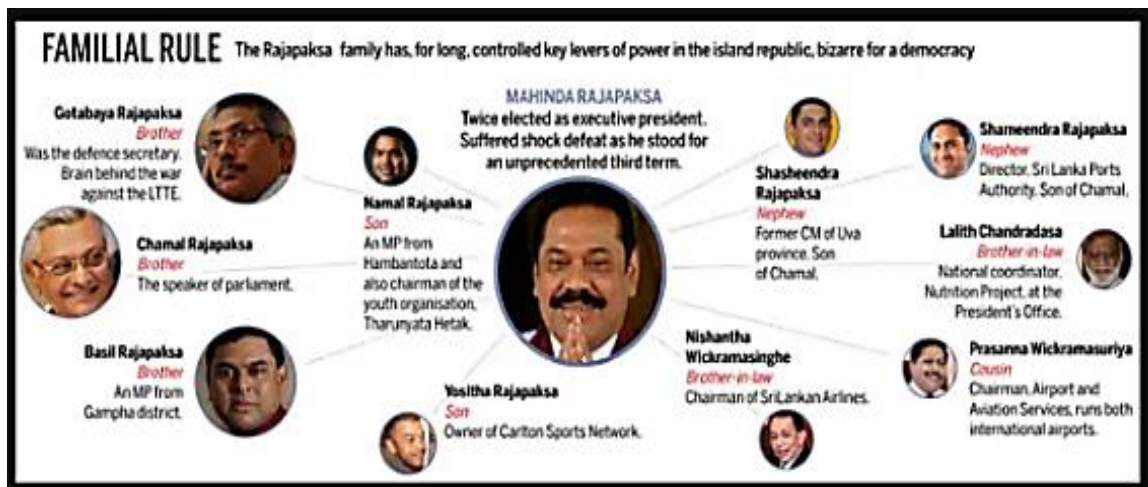
On July 28, 2012, the BBS began advocating for special handling of university admission of students who took Buddhism as a subject, as well as using monks in government schools to teach history and other classes (Edirisinghe, 2012). On October 14, 2012, storming an evangelical church and threatening a pastor with claims that Christians were attempting to convert Buddhists by force and treachery, seven people were arrested on charges of abduction (Fernando J. A., 2012). Between 2013 - 2014, the BBS began a systematic campaign against processing and distributing halal food products in Sri Lanka and called to action the prohibition of wearing Burqas and Abayas (Serasinghe, 2013). The worst of these actions, discriminating against the Sri Lankan Muslim population, happened on August 2014 where the BBS, inviting radical Ashin

Wirathu and the 969 movement of Myanmar to establish a Buddhist alliance in protecting the Buddha Sasana (Order) (Gao, 2014; Wickramasinghe, 2014).

From 2014 -2015, taking discrimination to the next stage, the BBS, advocating for violence, began burning Muslim religious sites, rallying in the streets, spreading anti-Muslim propaganda, and including the Christian minority in their efforts (Gunasingham, 2019; Gunaratna, 2018; Stewart, 2014;). Under President Mahinda Rajapaksa's (MR) administration (2005 -2015) which contained most of his family members holding prominent position within Sri Lankan governance, despite being the obligation of the state to act, maintained a position of no response to the rampant human rights violations by the BBS (see Figure 6).

Figure 6

The Rajapaksa Family Rule in Sri Lanka



Note. From, *India Today News Article, Familial Rule, 'Rajapaksa Family Members who control the key levers of power in Sri Lanka'*, by F. Samath, 2015. Copyright 2015, India Today, Copyright 2015 by public domain.

On March 9, 2013, at the opening of the BBS cultural training center known as the 'Meth Sevana', both the president Rajapaksa as well as his brother, defense secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa expressed their support to the BBS as the guest of honor (Haviland, 2013). This televised event clearly indicated to the Muslim and the Tamil minorities where the Sri Lankan leadership stood when it came to their rights and demands for equal justice, which further pushed them to band together in silence (DeVotta, 2016).

The war ended in 2009 giving Sri Lanka enough years to address its post war economy and growth by deploying sound foreign policies and establishing valued alliances among the global powers (Hensman, 2015). The MR administration, unfortunately, having total control of the media, presented a fake sense of victory and a growing sense of nationalism. But defaulting on various human rights agreements with international organizations such as, the United Nations and Human Rights Watch, this contradiction lost Sri Lanka valued support from the West (Hensman, 2015).

The administration driven by greed to create elaborate projects, which include building a second airport and harbor, got caught up in China's Belt and Road Initiative and managed to drive the nation further into debt to China (Hillman, 2018). Making matters worse, President Rajapaksa adamantly attempted to introduce the 18th amendment, which would grant the presidency extreme powers that include: the ability to appeal re-election any number of times and gaining full authority over the parliament (Edirisuriya, 2017). In changing the direction of the Sri Lankan political path, President Rajapaksa called for a presidential elections two years earlier due to a soothsayer's false

claim than the assigned date to run for his third term would be unlucky (Dibbert, 2015). It backfired. As the opposition decided to introduce a candidate loved by many as a moderate politician that equally understood rural and urban needs, as well as a candidate with a solid post war reconciliation and development plan.

The January 8, 2015, presidential election of Sri Lanka succeeded in ending the authoritarian Rajapaksa administration as Mr. Maithripala Sirisena won by receiving 57.28% popularity against Rajapaksa 47.58% (see Table 3). The results of the 15th presidential election in Sri Lanka and the UNP victory were clearly decided upon ethnic lines (Dominguez, 2015). The election results showed that Maithripala Sirisena had the popular vote at 51.28%, Mahinda Rajapaksa only had 47.58% (*Sri Lanka's 15th presidential election Data, 2015*).

The regions that gained the winning votes for the Sirisena Administration came from the areas with majority Tamil and Muslim populations, which included international votes mailed in from Tamil and Muslim citizens living abroad. The Sirisena administration 2015 – 2019, maintained an ethnically harmonious government, providing a secure path toward sound post-war development and reconciliation. The administration also managed to maintain a low crime and corruption rate for the first time in Sri Lankan history, but within a few years, internal turmoil between the governing forces began to surface again (Graves, 2015). In 2016, Rajapaksa, through political influences, unconstitutionally entered parliament as a Member of Parliament for Kurunegala District.

Using his political influence with loyalist that include the BBS and majority pro-

Sinhala Buddhist radical sects within each community, he hurled false accusations at the Muslim and Tamil minorities (Rambukwella H., 2018). The main debate presented by the agitators during 2016 -2019, was that the majority Sinhalese are being marginalized by the minority ethnicities, specifically the Sri Lankan Muslims (Pollmann, 2018).

Using pro-Sinhala media, the majority Sinhalese pro-Rajapaksa, agitators began televising fictitious programs, masked as documentaries or research work, on how the minority Muslims are attempting to eradicate the majority Sinhala Buddhist race. One of the main weaknesses of the Sri Lankan Sinhala majority was their unconditional loyalty to the Buddhist religion, and their blind obedience to the monks, whom they deem as authorities (Geiger, 1912). The monks, using this opportunity to their benefit, started advocating for these topics in the media as sermons. The claims of Muslims destroying Sinhala heritage and causing impotence among the Sinhalese population soon began to take a life of its own (Tekwani, 2020).

February 2018 opened another period of communal violence in Sri Lanka. Monks began burning themselves and angry mobs led by monks, began charging into Muslim villages. Pro-Sinhala Buddhist factions, backed by the Bodu Bala Sena (BBS), began violently taking to the streets, targeting the Muslims (Tekwani, 2020). On March 3, 2018, a simple dispute over an accident, exacerbated by the monks of the BBS, went bad, along ethnic line on both sides, rapidly progressing to communal violence against the Sri Lankan Muslims (Gunasingham, 2018; Ruwanpathirana et al., 2018). The pro-Buddhist radicals, under the guidance of the BBS monks, using this opportunity, began burning

down shops, houses and other properties belonging to those of the Muslim ethnicity, bringing repetition of the Black July of 1983 (Perera A., 2018).

As death rates for Muslims began to rise, President Sirisena declared martial law, and imposed curfews throughout the whole country, ordering the military, alongside the police, to secure peace (Gunaratna, 2018). Due to the deteriorating condition within the country, the international community 'red flagged' Sri Lanka as one of the most dangerous states to travel and unsuitable for investment. Tourism is one of Sri Lanka's primary industries, the international community's 'red flagging' of Sri Lanka, added with widespread power cuts, growing civil unrest, and delays in foreign investments caused the Sri Lankan economy to plunge (Saxena et al., 2020).

The parliament, also splitting along the same ethnic lines, caused disruption to a smooth administration, compelling continual parliamentary shutdown, further weakening the administration, and causing differences between the president and the Prime Minister (Gamsakhurdia, 2017). Ultimately, President Sirisena, on December 2018, fired the prime minister, and appointed past president Mahinda Rajapaksa, now an MP, as the interim prime minister, and then dismissed parliament. The action by the President caused unrest among the members of the parliament and their loyalists, who expressed disagreement through riots and protests. The justice department immediately reversed the executive actions by January 2019. Scholars of insurgencies argue that insurgencies are grounded on people's grievances, weak governance, and greed. Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism, now marginalizing the Muslim minority population, gave reason for another

national tragedy (Jones S. G., 2019).

In March 2019, the ongoing communal violence against the Muslim minority of Sri Lanka, and persisting weak governance from 2009, gave rise to a new insurgency (Demuynck et al., 2020). On Easter Sunday, April 2019 the radical Muslim faction National Thowheed Jamath (NTJ) claimed alliance with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and conducted a systematic suicide bombing campaign killing 350 people (Basit, 2019). These bombings, became a huge local and international crisis as the death toll, including citizens from Germany, Holland, and the United Kingdom placed intense pressure on the Sri Lankan government. The growing internal turmoil and international pressure caused President Sirisena to cave and make harsh decisions such as irrationally dismissing the Inspector General of Police, and replacing the defense secretary, all to no avail (Basit, 2019).

President Sirisena recovering from this crisis was considered incompetent for office and ended his career in politics. His unpopularity with the voting populous determined the next presidential candidate. In 2019 Maithripala Sirisena, lost to Ret. Lt. Col. Gotabaya Rajapaksa (GR) again on majority 'Sinhala' ethnic preference. The newly elected President Gotabaya Rajapaksa (GR) a pro Sinhala Buddhist is alleged to have founded and supported the BBS. He is the brother of the past president MR and the last defense secretary 2005 -2015 (Carothers & O'Donohue, 2020).

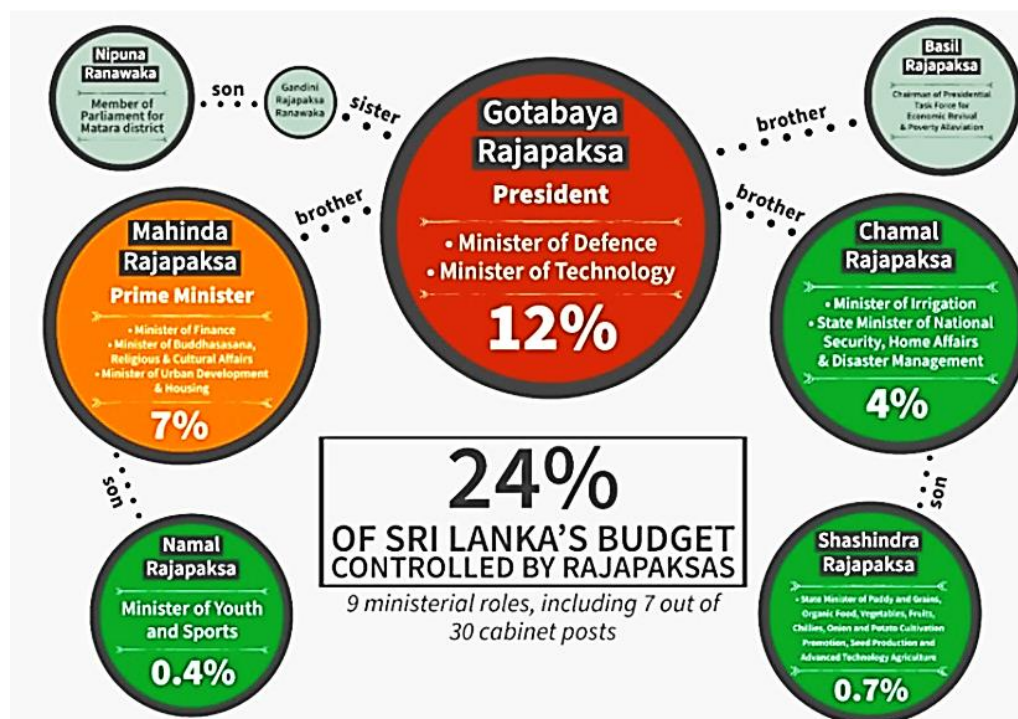
Despite their aversion of the Rajapaksa family, the reasons that rallied a majority of Sinhala Buddhist, in supporting GR, a member of the Rajapaksa clan, was his

advocacy to guide Sri Lanka in a new direction. GR, in his candidacy for the presidency, promised to end political nepotism, corruption, strengthen industries, rebuild broken international ties, reduce foreign debt, and establish a well-trained workforce.

In taking over the office, Gotabaya Rajapaksa (GR), re-elected his brother Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR), former president, as the prime minister and appointed other family members to various high offices of Sri Lanka (see figure 7). GR began placing his loyal generals into senior positions within the government as well as using the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic to appoint additional members of his family to positions of authority (Kodikara, 2021). At the time, most of the prominent positions within the government were held by the Rajapaksa family, who alone controlled 24% of Sri Lanka's finances (see Figure 7). On March 9, 2021, the Rajapaksa family (Clan) majority Administration, passing Regulations No. 01 of 2021 Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) raised concerns with 'Human Rights Watch' and the minority communities of Sri Lanka (HRW, 2021).

Figure 7

Dynastic Politics - Rajapaksa Family Control of Sri Lankan Budget



Note. From *Dynastic Politics*, in *Sri Lanka Campaign website*, by R. Thevakumaran, 2021, public domain access.

Because under the PTA the state can easily target religious and racial minorities, in violation of their basic rights. The PTA allows for “authorities to detain and “rehabilitate” anyone who “by words either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representations” (Ganguly & Jayawardena, 2021). They are no longer tried under a court of law. The violators of PTA will be held in a police facility in Colombo, known as a notorious torture site, for two years without a trial (HRW, 2021).

On March 12th, 2021, public security minister, Adm. (ret.) Sarath Weerasekara

announced, the plans of the PTA to ban Islamic face coverings, which he claimed was justified on “national security” grounds (Ganguly & Jayawardena, 2021). Minister Weerasekara stated the intention to “shut down over 1,000 Islamic schools in the country” a serious violation of the right to religious freedom if such were to be passed (EU Resolution RC-B9, 2021). Currently, the state has already used the PTA, who were in violation, in cases including the illegal detention of ‘Hejaaz Hizballah’, a Muslim human rights lawyer jailed on April 14, 2020, and detaining a Muslim poet ‘Ahnaf Jazeem’ for publishing a book promoting peace and toleration (Ganguly & Jayawardena, 2021).

Because insurgencies are threats coming within a state and can go on ten times longer than any inter-state conflicts, they are the worst form of conflicts for a state to endure (Jones S. G., 2019). If a state actor allows for an insurgency to start, it will drain the blood and the treasures of governments alongside their outside backers (Jones S. G., 2019). The scholars of terrorism and insurgencies offer that the lack of opportunity within a state, and the marginalization or suppression of ethnic minorities are leading causes of insurgencies (Bongar et al., 2007; Nacos, 2016;). It can be argued that Sri Lanka, contains both economic and political push factors including ethnic marginalization. While the present global pandemic has halted a second insurgency in Sri Lanka. There is a high probability of another ethnic insurgency.

The Conclusion to The Literature Review

Sri Lanka's current crushing national debt of 66.58 billion US dollars, with the parliament in turmoil over ethnic lines, and the impact of the Corvid-19 pandemic, the gap between imports and exports will continue to suffer more debt (Shepard, 2016). The Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) based in Geneva Switzerland calculates that approximately 42,000 displaced people following the Eelam conflict, which are still held in detention, need resettlement. Another 135,000 displaced people were added to this list in 2017 due to natural disasters in Sri Lanka (IDMC, 2018). The growing instability within the state, added to friction between the Sri Lankan Muslims and Sinhalese, places Sri Lanka in a vulnerable position for another ethnic conflict (Keethaponcalan, 2019).

The evolving problems with Sri Lanka, being its lack of ethnic tolerance and ongoing separatist mentality is a clear sign of a dysfunctional democracy (Balasundaram, 2016). Sri Lanka's ongoing debates over contested Sinhala Buddhist identity failing to restore peace within the state in 2009, have driven rifts between the third largest minority group: the Muslims, and the fourth: the Christians (Ibrahim & Irfan, 2016). Having assessed Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis through the presented texts and journals until reaching the point of saturation, it was noted that scholars of the topic observed the issue from an ethnic, political, and sociological angle. From 1956 to 2020 all studies on the topic of Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis, being government run, I found serious gaps in the research, failing to specify a cause or resolution for Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis. The years 1994 – 2005 did

show studies addressing some form of ethnic assimilation and power distribution as a possible solution, but nothing using the lenses of the polarity management model or the polarities of democracy theory. Benet's theory of the polarities of democracy is a unifying theory that presents itself as a guide to social change.

It presents ten core values of democracy as measurable interdependent pairs of 5 (Benet, 2006; 2012; 2013). These five interdependent pairs being freedom and authority, justice and due process, diversity and equality, human rights and communal obligations, and participation and representation, embodies every aspect of what is identified as a democracy (Benet, 2012; Johnson, 1996). Sri Lanka's ethnic dilemma is an ongoing condition due to its lack of having an established functioning democracy. The present study, in supporting the efforts of filling the gaps in research, sought to observe Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis, through the lens of polarities of democracy in support of its research question.

Summary

The present chapter explains the literature search strategies exploring various databases and keywords to obtain data in support of this study. This chapter also defended the value of the chosen theoretical framework by exploring how it has assisted a multitude of similar studies conducted globally, using the same methodology in the past. This study explores each selected stages of Sri Lankan history by scrutinizing a multitude of documents, uncovered growing post-colonial ethnic separatism in Sri Lanka.

The chapter also talks about the chosen conceptual and theoretical frameworks, emphasizing their values and the rationale for utilizing them in the present study. I discuss how a lack of democracy, as presented within polarities of democracy, caused Sri Lanka's ongoing crisis. Considering all ten values and five interdependent polarity pair of polarities of democracy, show that Sri Lanka, in trying to achieve positives, have only forced negatives of each of the pairs within the polarities of democracy model.

In chapter three, I will describe the methodology chosen for the study, the research design, the rationale, the role of researcher, limitations, and the validity of this study as well as other aspects to be compiled in chapter four.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The purpose of this historical-comparative case study was to enhance the understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism since 1948 by observing each of three crucial stages of its history, considered as individual cases through the lens of polarities of democracy in support of the nation's future growth and development. The guiding research question for this study was "In what ways has polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony?" This chapter will provide in depth the research design and the rationale, methodology, my data collection and data analysis procedures, and various aspects of this study that include presentation of the results, protection of participant rights, and the researcher's role. Chapter 3 also includes the actions taken to address potential ethical considerations that could arise from the study in support of the research question.

Research Design and Rationale

Research studies conducted to explore what is perceived, and the reality of what is perceived, have three methods of exploration (Creswell & Poth, 2018). One of these methods is a quantitative methodology, which involves systematic inquiries using numbers to uncover patterns and formulate and test hypotheses to uncover patterns. The second method, qualitative methodology, mainly uses words instead of numbers. It focuses on a constructivist perspective, where the interpretation of reality is based on the collected data and the researcher's perspective (Walliman, 2006). The last is a

combination of both qualitative and quantitative and among the most extensive and costly of all studies as it encompasses both paradigms, compelling two individual studies to be conducted for each method and later combined (Giddings, 2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

This research conducted in the United States addresses phenomenon in Sri Lanka. Most of the primary sources for the ancient period under scrutiny such as the 'Gal Potha' are available in print and can be explored through document analysis (Erlandson, 1993; Lavrakas, 2008; Mills & Birks, 2014; Reviere, 2013). Any subjects that could be interviewed are now deceased. Therefore, I decided that the qualitative methodology was the most appropriate means of study for the research question (Bowen, 2009; O'Leary, 2014). Using qualitative methodology, grants the freedom of choosing any data and any analysis method. Scholars have argued that the historical-comparative case study method is most suited for such efforts (Lange, 2013; Mahoney & Thelen, 2015; Neuman, 2009). This study, observing multiple sources viewed through multiple periods, followed the qualitative historical-comparative case study method, with me as the primary instrumentation in analyzing the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Because qualitative research does not confine the researcher to only one medium of gathering data, having multiple methods to gather data, such as patterns of economic progress, social development data related to wars, human rights, and human conditions, will further enhance the present study's credibility (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Most studies on ethnicities have used the qualitative case study method.

The present study addresses multiple historical periods and multiple cases, directing me to choose the historical comparative case study (HCCS) method as most appropriate.

Role of the Researcher

A qualitative researcher's role is crucial, as they are the instrument of data collection and the human mediator through which the findings of a study derive (Creswell & Poth, 2018). My role in this study was that of an observer-participant as I was the primary instrument of data collection and analysis who collected, coded, and analyzed the data from a multitude of documents to uncover the emerging concepts and patterns within relevant documents, such as scholarly ancient rock and wall engraving, palm leaf texts, journals, memoires, and governmental documents.

There is always the potential for researcher bias that could influence the outcome of the study, making it challenging to maintain objectivity and be open-minded in thoughts, interpretations, and actions (Creswell, 2009). This potential bias could derive from being a born and raised in Sri Lanka for most of my young and adult life. That is why it was essential to utilize introductory field notes, memos, and categorizing field notes to report and analyze the data. In controlling other researcher biases, I utilized peer evaluations through my professors and fellow students at Bellevue and Walden University and gained support and advice from my committee during data collection and analysis.

Methodology

The methodology for the study is qualitative. Because the present research study

addresses Sri Lanka's pre and colonial past from 5 BC to 1948 AD having no human participants, I obtained the information from existing sources. These sources include ancient scrolls, rock carvings, engraved pillars, and paper documents as well as archived government documents such as gazettes, parliamentary proceedings, journals, and case studies. The qualitative method provides a structure the researcher can utilize in analyzing the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative research allowed me to gather data on various patterns of economic progress, social development data related to wars, human rights, and human conditions (see Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Further, most studies on ethnicities have used the qualitative case study method.

Sample and Population

The population is commonly understood to be the collective of whatever phenomena one would like to study; it can vary from a crowd of people to events or things (Levy & Lemeshow, 2013). In assessing an entire population, a researcher is compelled to deal with large numbers of subjects. From those subjects a representative sample is chosen (Cargan, 2007). Researchers use sampling techniques to help them choose the correct sample or samples needed for the study to be accurately conducted (Blackstone, 2012). This study did not use any human participants. The study used document analyses to obtain the needed samples 280 in total and analyze them until saturation.

For the precolonial periods, under study, the population is all the information I could obtain through sources that existed from 1444-1506. The population included rock

engravings, rock books, palm leaf books, temple drawings, and other textual carvings in ivory, and bronze along with academic books on the subjects from which the sample included textual material written about governance, economics, religion, and social culture. For the colonial periods under study (1815-1926), the population is all the information I could find through sources that existed then. The population included memoirs of colonial governors, memoirs of government agents, memoirs of foreign visitors, memoirs of native officials, government gazettes, parliamentary debates, other textual engravings in cemeteries and monuments, along with academic books on the subjects from which the sample included textual material written about governance, economics, religion, and social culture. In the post-colonial periods under study (1943-2020), the population is all the information I could find through sources that exist now. The population included periodicals, scholarly journals, academic research documents, memoirs of foreign visitors, memoirs of government officials, government gazettes, parliamentary debates, online and offline multimedia contents, along with academic books on the subjects from which the sample included textual material written about governance, economics, religion, and social culture.

Data Collection Procedures

Qualitative document analysis (QDA) is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice or meaning (Bowen, 2009). Document analysis can be used as research on its own to provide background information, to add context, or to triangulate other types of data (Maccarella, 2018).

Within QDA, three primary types of documents are taken into consideration: public records, personal documents, and physical evidence (Bowen, 2009). The advantage of document analysis is in its ability to cover a broad range of topics efficiently and cost effectively (Bowen, 2009). There are potential challenges to appropriate document analysis due to insufficient detail and biased selectivity. Knowing that, I took this information into consideration when applying the method. The positives outweighed the negatives.

QDA begins with the first document and evolves in data collection from findings within a text source. As more texts are read, information from texts analyzed earlier may be modified by the researcher (Bowen, 2009). Strict QDA notes that the population and the sample are not declared until the research is analyzed. Then, using known categories, the researcher will grow the study as the data are collected and processed until saturation (Altheide et al., 2008). I used a modified form of QDA. Since QDA disallowed defining an initial population, it was unfeasible to use strict QDA, which provided no direction. For data collection, I utilized databases including JSTOR, Google Scholar, and the resources available from the Bellevue University Library, the Walden University Library, and the Sri Lankan national archives. Development of modern information technology has made the world a global village (Walsh, 2018), helping to obtain textual data or documents, interlibrary loans, various e-books (Libicki, 2016). This provided access to explore texts needed for this study.

The Google Books search engine also made available in electronic format prints

of old manuscripts from libraries such as Cambridge, Yale, Stanford, Oxford, and the University of Peradeniya Sri Lanka, which also supported the data collection effort. Sri Lanka contains an elaborate written history starting from the 5th Century BC. Language and writing, introduced as early as 10 BC, was due to Indian influences and migration (Bohingamuwa, 2017). The standard texts of Sri Lankan history are the Deepavamsa, the Mahavamsa, the Chulavamsa, the Rajavalia, and the Mandarampuwatha, which incorporate the contents of rock engravings, rock books, and palm leaf books among other sources that were created during the pre-colonial periods under study from (1444-1506).

For the colonial period under study, (1815-1926), alongside with other documents, I utilized memoirs and writings by various colonial officers, including Governor North, Henry Cave, Brohier, John O Doyle, John Ferguson, John Bennett, James Legge, De Bussche, and James Tennent. Regarding the post-colonial period (1948-2021) sources used contain peer-reviewed journal articles within the *Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, *Royal Historical Society*, *Modern Asian Studies*, *Journal of the Economics*, and *Social History of the Orient*. I also explored various works compiled by authorities of the subject that include Dr. Kingsley De Silva, Dr. Navarthne Bandara, Dr. G.C. Mendis, Dr. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambaiyah, Dr. Tessa Bartholomeus, Dr. Adele Barker, and Dr. John Holt.

Data Analysis

The present study advances the understanding of a post-colonial ethnic harmony

in Sri Lanka through the lens of polarities of democracy; it is an historical comparative case study. The study included document analysis with an evolving sample and population (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Scholars of qualitative data analysis argue that data analysis is the identification, investigation, and clarification of forms and themes in textual data which a researcher uses progressively to assess how the emerging themes assist the research question (Bernard & Ryan, 2010; Crinson & Leontowitsch, 2016). I, being the primary research instrument, in identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns or meaning (i.e., themes) from the data collection, used a structured form of QDA to explore the data until saturation (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Data Saturation

Saturation is the point within a research process where no added information is discovered (Faulkner & Trotter, 2017). QDA is a repetitive process that builds the sample starting with the first data sources used within the analysis growing with the topics and patterns that emerge. While this may seem like a challenge for visibly observing saturation, there is a finer and more individual-oriented standpoint on data saturation (Saunders et al., 2018). Theoretical saturation uses the development of categories and the emerging theory within the analysis process as the criteria for collecting additional data (see Table 2; Saunders et al., 2018). Inductive thematic saturation focusses on detecting new codes or themes and considers ‘the amount of such codes or themes rather than the fullness of the existing categories (Saunders et al., 2018). In a priori thematic saturation the data are collected at the level of lower-order codes or themes to exemplify the theory

rather than to build or refine the theory (Saunders et al., 2018). Data saturation is built on the notion of informational redundancy; such a model is ideal when using a repetitive data analysis method as QDA bound on themes and categories. Using QDA for data collection and analysis, I chose the data saturation model to assess saturation for this study (Suter, 2011).

Table 2

Models of Saturation and their Principal Foci in the Research Process

Model	Description	Principal focus
Theoretical saturation	Related to the development of theoretical categories; related to grounded theory methodology	Sampling
Inductive thematic saturation	Related to the emergence of new codes or themes	Analysis
A priori thematic saturation	Related to the degree to which identified codes or themes are exemplified in the data	Sampling
Data saturation	Relates to the degree to which new data repeat what was expressed in previous data	Data collection

Note. Adapted from “Saturation in Qualitative Research: Exploring its conceptualization and Operationalization”, by B. Saunders, J. Sim, T. Kingstone, S. Baker, J. Waterfield, B. Bartlam, H. Burroughs, & C. Jinks, 2018, *Quality & Quantity*, 52. Copyright, 2018 by Springer.

Data Analysis Procedure

In beginning the data analysis process, I used the 10 values of polarities of democracy in its 5 interdependent pairs which are: freedom - authority, justice - due process, diversity - equality, human-rights & communal-obligations, and participation & representation as the key themes or preliminary codes to gain the needed data (Benet, 2013). The periods chosen for the study expand through multiple centuries. In reducing

the data collection to a manageable size, I have limited exploring archival and secondary material to five years before and after each shift (see Table 3).

Table 3

Sample Data Analysis Plan

Poles of POD	Last 5 years pre-colonial	First 5 years colonial	Last 5 years colonial	First 5 years post-colonial	Most recent 5 years post-colonial
Freedom	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Authority	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Justice	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Diversity	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Communal obligations	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Human resources	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Participation	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Representation	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Equality	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Due process	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No

Note. The table presents hypothetical data regarding how I plan to analyze the data secured through document analysis.

For the Pre-colonial period, I chose the great chronicles of Sri Lanka which are the Dipavamsa, Mahavamsa, Chulavamsa (Vamsa) and the Rajavaliya as the foundation (Fleet, 1912). These four texts contain successive eyewitness accounts encompassing Sri Lanka's pre-colonial socio-politico-economic history from the 5th century BC to 1687 AD. Other textual materials including ola leaf books, various rock carvings (Gal Potha) as well as research literature by Dr. S.U. Daraniyagala, Dr. K.M. De Silva, Dr. P.V.J Jayasekara, Dr. Raja De Silva, Dr. G.C Mendis, and the Sri Lanka Department of Archeology were explored to triangulate the findings and acquire other data. When analyzing the data pertaining to the colonial periods, compiled literary works by various

colonial officials, including John Ferguson, Patrick Peebles, Alastair Mackenzie Ferguson, Henry Parker, William Knighton, Horatio John Suckling, and colonial Governors Robert Brownrigg, Fedrick North, Edward Barnes, Viscount Torrington, James. E. Tennant were studied to procure the needed data.

Other textual information contained within colonial gazettes, parliamentary debates, and various enacted reforms by the colonists, were investigated to triangulate the findings. Considering the post-colonial period, enacted legislatures by the Sri Lankan government, parliamentary debates, information incorporated within authoritative journals such as The Journal of Asian Studies, Asian Survey, International Legal Materials, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, India Quarterly were explored to obtain the needed data.

When exploring the most recent post-colonial period I have studied various authoritative newspapers, blogs, and internet news sites including TamilNet and the Colombo page, alongside research literature compiled by authorities of the topic including late Dr. Y.R. Amarasinghe, Dr. Navaratne Bandara, Dr. Gamini Keerawella, Dr. Gamini Samaranayake, Dr. N.M. Pereira, Dr. Colvin. R. De Silva, Dr. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, Dr. Ambalavanar Sivarajah to triangulate the discoveries and procure data as needed. This study captures the human experiences from three periods of Sri Lankan history through textual materials to filter the relevancy of what is a viable source, I considered some guiding questions to reflect on the study's purpose, research question,

and potential (Berkowitz, 1997). The guiding questions used by me during my data analysis to filter what is relevant or not, aligns with the questions presented as suggestions by the National Science Foundation (NSF):

- What forms/familiar leitmotifs develop around specific things in the data?
 - In what way do these forms (or lack thereof) help to learn or broaden the study inquiry
- Do these trends have any deviations?
 - If yes, what causes can explain the atypical reactions?
- What type of exciting stories come out of the data?
 - How can these stories help shed light on the broader issue of the study?
- Do any of the results / emerging trends imply the need to collect additional data?
 - Do any of the inquiries need to be reviewed?
- Is there a need to update any of the study questions?
 - Do the patterns that emerge help other people's findings?

The above questions guided the study. I also developed another set of questions using the ten values of polarities of democracy to sift through the plethora of data, reducing it to only relevant sources.

- How did the 10 values of polarities of democracy present themselves during the Pre-colonial period within a monarchy?

- Which values were clearly visible?
 - Example Justice, Freedom
- If there was a lack in any of the values of polarities of democracy which ones, were they and why did they cease to exist?
- Were there any factors such as religion, governance, or laws to balance the interdependent polarity pairs?
- How did the ten values of polarities of democracy present themselves during the colonial period?
 - Which values were clearly visible?
 - If there was a lack of any of the values of polarities of democracy which ones were they, and why did they cease to exist?
 - Were there any factors such as religion, governance, or laws to balance the interdependent polarity pairs?
- Did the ten values of polarities of democracy exist during the post-colonial period?
 - Which values were clearly visible?
 - If there was a lack of any of the values of polarities of democracy which ones were missing, and why did they cease to exist?
 - Were there any other factors such as religion, governance, or laws to balance the interdependent polarity pairs?

Taking the information found by answering the questions regarding the ten values of polarities of democracy, I placed the findings within a frequency table to observe phenomenon debated within the research question and the purpose statements (see Table 4).

Trustworthiness

Qualitative research focuses on capturing values that cannot be measured by numbers as it deals with the phenomenon of humanity as feelings, needs, wants, and ideas that develop with one's upbringing; more is dependent on the data trustworthiness than on the data itself (Nowell et al., 2017). In assessing the study's verisimilitude, the four critical values taken into consideration are its credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, where credibility addresses the connection "Fit" between the respondent's views and the researcher's representation of them (Nowell et al., 2017).

Transferability

Transferability addresses the ability of the data to be transferred. Dependability addresses the ability of the researcher to assure that the research process is logical, traceable, and well documented (Nowell et al., 2017). Finally, confirmability is how well the interpretations, and the findings align with the research, compelling the researcher to demonstrate how conclusions were reached (Nowell et al., 2017). For this study, I used data triangulation. This is commonly understood as using different participants, methods, and data sources for the same research question (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

I have also established access to primary sources of many of the academic and historical authorities of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic crisis, specifically the ones who worked on the peace process between 1994-2005 including Dr. Navaratne Bandara, Dr. Gamini Keerawella, Dr. Gamini Samaranayake, and Dr. Y.R Amarasinghe. Using these

rare opportunities, I have done peer checks in validating the resources to further secure credibility (Burkholder & Cox , 2016). While it is impossible to ensure complete transferability of the data, the way the data is gathered and processed, using qualitative data analysis supports the efforts of the study to be transferred to a similar study (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Dependability and Confirmability

In addressing the dependability of the study, scholars of qualitative methodology argue that credibility and dependability are aligned. If the study has presented its credibility there is no need to justify further dependability (Morse et al., 2002). In this study, confirmability is understood to be the ability to replicate works done previously; the scholars of the methodology argue that it is essential for another researcher to replicate the work (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study contains a frequency table (see Table 4) as well as an elaborate literature review, and my data sample in chapter 4, to support the efforts to replicate the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). If further data is needed, I have made available my used dataset within this study (see Appendix A).

Presentation of the Results

A qualitative methodology, which guides the study, is commonly understood as one of the most useful methodologies for policymakers as it describes the settings in which policies are implemented (Anderson, 2010). This study is an historical-comparative case study (HCCS) utilizing qualitative document analysis (QDA) in obtaining the data, which was analyzed using multiple means to present the findings. For

presenting economic data, tables and figures were used. In addressing the theoretical framework, figures, and tables unique to polarities of democracy model were used to depict the polarities of democracy concepts. Under this methodology, which has multiple means of presenting data, the study utilized a frequency table to present data analysis and figures as well as appendices as needed.

Protection of Participant's Rights

The purpose of any research is to contribute factual new knowledge in adding, amending, or denying various debates within the existing pool of academic knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2015; Leavy, 2020; Pope & Mays, 2020). Learned lessons from the past compel that new knowledge, secured for the betterment of humanity, should be obtained ethically and morally (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Myself, being the primary researcher of the study, possessing the National Institutes of Health (NIH) training certification awarded on March 30, 2017, certifies me of having knowledge regarding obtaining information ethically and morally. To ensure I meet every possible means to ethically obtain the materials for my study I submitted the details to the Walden University IRB. The University IRB, in verifying and ensuring that no unethical means of data gathering was done, assessed my work and granted me an approval number 09-30-21-0710042. The study adheres to using only textual and documented history of Sri Lanka available in multiple academic disciplines and does not use any live human participants (Regents, 2019). This omits the study from any concerns of psychological or physical harm to live participants (Regents, 2019).

Transparency is a crucial factor for any study. To maintain transparency, I have presented all the consents to access reference materials obtained through the proper channels and presented them within Appendix F and shared it with the IRB and the dissertation committee (IRB, 2018). The research, in collecting materials needed for the study, adhered to using commonly accessible textual and digital sources such as Bellevue University library catalogs, Walden University Library catalogs, EBSCO, JSTOR, Google Scholar, SAGE Database, Google Books, and my personal Amazon Kindle to access Amazon's catalog of books. For archival documents, the study utilized the resources of the Sri Lankan National Archives in Kandy and Colombo (Endicott, 2010). As advocated by the authorities of qualitative methodology, the main concern about ethics is within the analysis process, where the interpretation of data and the relevancy can compromise its validity (Creswell, 2009).

In addressing this concern, the study utilized methodically repetitive processes of Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) guided by a set of questions developed by me using the National Science Foundation's suggestions to ensure the correct interpretation of the findings (Creswell, 2009). With most documents of the study being in electronic format, data privacy was ensured, since all data were placed securely within a highly encrypted password protected backup drive locked inside my study table. The other materials are stored in a metal file cabinet with a lock situated within my home study.

I categorized my home library of around three thousand books by topic for easy retrieval. When using commonly accessible textual and digital sources, the study strictly

adhered to all copyright laws on the usage of public domain and adhered to the American Psychological Association (APA) standards in obtaining the needed information and presenting its findings (IRB, 2018). The study also used triangulation to ensure the validity of facts within 280 documentative materials and include them within the research of Chapter 4 (IRB, 2018). Because of the above, the study provides full transparency and a sensible understanding of ethics.

Summary

The current chapter discussed, in depth, the methodology used by me. This chapter confirmed the use of the qualitative historical comparative cases study method to address its research question and purpose. This chapter also proposes to use qualitative data analysis without using live participants, to obtain a growing sample through document analysis, and then, using the same method of document analysis, to analyze, code and interpret findings.

The researcher's role would be that of participant observer as well as being the instrumentation in which the data would be obtained and analyzed. This chapter, giving a broad idea of the methodology used within this study, also elaborates on the credibility and transformability of the study. The chapter addresses the chosen sample, and the population. It also expands, in depth, the systematic processes followed in obtaining the ethical standing of the study in support of the IRB process. The next chapter of this study will concentrate on the data analysis process, which includes an overview, the setting, data collection and the findings of the materials scrutinized. The next chapter will also

elaborate on my data analysis, as well as evidence of its trustworthiness.

Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this historical comparative case study was to enhance the understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism since 1948 by observing each of three crucial stages of its' history through the lens of Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013) polarities of democracy theory to support the nation's future growth and development. The three crucial stages of Sri Lankan history taken into consideration, within the study, are Sri Lanka's pre-colonial period (1500-1505), colonial period (1821-1826), and post-colonial period (1949-1954). The research question for the study was "In what ways has polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony?" To reduce the data to a manageable size for QDA, the phenomena was rescaled to observe the same phenomena 5 years before and after each shift in periods:

- first 5 years of the pre-colonial Period (1444-1449)
- pre-colonial Period (1500-1505)
- last 5 years of the pre-colonial Period (1506-1511)
- first 5 years of the colonial period (1815-1820)
- colonial period (1821-1826)
- last 5 years of the colonial period (1943-1948)
- first 5 years of the post-colonial period (1943-1948)
- post-colonial period (1949-1954)
- last 5 years of the post-colonial period (2015-2020).

The chosen 5-year periods before and after each shift was more feasible, since the events that are not crucial to turning points in Sri Lankan history do not fall into that range. The study, taking into consideration multiple periods within Sri Lankan history as individual cases, took the form of an historical comparative case study rather than an ethnographical case study. The current chapter is a representation of the results of the data collection procedures, the processes of data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, and results of the study.

Pilot Study

A pilot test is a small-scale test conducted to examine the application of theories, the arguments, and to test the results of the predicted outcomes of a study (Burns & Grove, 2005). A pilot study can avoid costly, time-consuming problems, and strengthen the study's validity and reliability (Harris, 2010; Quinones et al., 1998). At the same time, scholars argue that despite conducting a pilot study and getting positive results, it does not prove the workability of the theories presented, nor a successful scale of implementation (Huey-Tsyh, 2005).

The present historical comparative case study (HCC) exploring Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods through the lens of polarities of democracy, adheres strictly to the use of authoritative textual and archival document data. In building the sample, and in drawing conclusions by observing parallels within the study as the primary instrumentation, I used QDA. The entire data sample is presented in Appendix A. The study, observing events in Sri Lankan history, do not have any potential to

change. Because the study observed all data until data saturation through QDA, the obtained sample represents at least 90% of the population. This study is easily transferable no matter how many times it is repeated.

Any form of quantifiable data used within the study, such as population distributions, or economic progressions, were used only to clarify findings, or to triangulate the findings. They do not have a direct bearing on the conclusions. The theoretical framework for this study is Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013) polarities of democracy. The conceptual framework for Benet's theory is Johnson's (1996, 2014), Polarity Management theory, which requires the use of numerical data or surveys. Collectively, all the above not only support the research's validity, but also present reasoning to not have a pilot study.

The Study's Setting

The purpose of any research is to add or amend to the existing pool of knowledge, and it evolves from a researcher's world view and its orientation as well as their chosen area of interest (Burkholder et al., 2019). The present study, examining Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism, became an area of interest from my world view, as a participant observer of the Eelam conflict (1983-2009), a result of post-colonial ethnic separatism and the recent marginalization of Sri Lankan Muslims (2009-Present). Sri Lanka, once hailed as one of the most powerful states in Southeast Asia, which shared equal economic, and developmental platforms with the West, today is a third world country with a rapidly growing national debt. Due to ongoing corruption, ethnic

separatism, and terrorism, the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic have exacerbated its conditions (Arnolds & Jones, 2021).

Insurgencies are commonly understood as a process of alternate state building and are defined as “a political and a military campaign by a non-state group to overthrow a regime or secede from a country” (S. G. Jones, 2019, p.9). Known as one of most persisting form of conflicts, if a regime enables an insurgency, it will take a long time to suppress or get rid of the malice (Kilcullen, 2013; Martin, 2003; Nacos, 2016). Unlike an international conflict, an insurgency could persist for more than 10 years while draining the resources of the state and their external supporters (Kilcullen, 2013). The factors leading to an insurgency are crucial to both the state actors and the insurgents. During its initial phase, an insurgency is at its most vulnerable when state actors find an ideal window of opportunity to direct their efforts to suppress an insurgency (S. G. Jones, 2019). These noted grievances, which give potential to creating insurgencies, include inequality, authoritarian governments, ethnic and religious diversity, and ethnic marginalization by a state (Kilcullen, 2013; Martin, 2003; Nacos, 2016).

The efforts of Sri Lankan authorities to force social distancing and delay vaccinations, causing substantial number of losses in lives, opportunity, and wealth, place Sri Lanka in a vulnerable position to erupt into an insurgency (O’Donnell et al., 2018). It is vital that Sri Lanka change its course of action toward its ethnic minorities and seek an alternate means of establishing a healthy, sustainable, and just democratic governance. In support of such efforts to guide social change in Sri Lanka, I explored the literature for

the current study, and noted that the polarities of democracy theory is a unifying theory supporting building just communities (Benet, 2006, 2012, 2013). Exploring more literature on Sri Lankan history, key phrases such as *the contested Sinhala Buddhist identity*, *negating minority rights*, and *Ethnocratic legislature* began to emerge repetitively within texts pertaining to the British colonial period (1921-1948) and the post-colonial periods (1948-1983). But when observing the precolonial period and the Portuguese and Dutch colonial periods, such phrases were not visible. Instead, unified efforts by the natives—Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslims—were found to challenge the invaders, such as Kalinga Maga (5BC-1596 AD), and the Europeans (1597-1796). With having polarities of democracy as my theoretical framework, I chose the question “In what ways has polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka’s pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony?” to guide the study.

Demographics

Demographics refer to the characteristics of a population (Salkind, 2010, p. 346). The current study does not take into consideration any live human participants and focused on observing various human conditions that existed within three crucial periods of Sri Lankan history (1444-2020) through textual and documentative materials. Observing Sri Lanka’s ongoing ethnic separatism through the lens of polarities of democracy to better understanding the present and the progression of this condition, I focused on its evolution by highlighting the main political rifts: the decline of the

Sinhalese dominion, the fall of the Sri Lankan monarchy, multiple colonial occupations, the fight for independence, and post-independent governance. Early on as I embarked on the data collection for this study's literature review, I noted that exploring such would include a broad array of topics. Because of that I first broke these rifts in Sri Lankan history into three segments the —pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods— and chose to observe only governance related matters viewed through the lens of polarities of democracy. To further reduce data to a manageable size, and to avoid periods when nothing happened, I chose to explore 5 years before and after each rift:

- first 5 years pre-colonial period under study (1444-1449)
- pre-colonial period (1500-1505)
- last 5 years pre-colonial period under study (1506-1511)
- first 5 years of colonial period under study (1815-1820)
- the colonial period (1821-1826)
- last 5 years of the colonial period under study (1943-1948)
- first 5 years of the post-colonial period under study (1943-1948)
- post-colonial period (1949-1954)
- last 5 years of the post-colonial period under study (2017-2022)

The study, attempting to capture various human conditions within the dead past, having no live participants, included only textual, visual, and documentative materials to build its sample.

Data Collection

In collecting the data, I explored all the textual, visual, and documentative materials for each period and put them through the repetitive process of QDA obtaining a sample of 280 authoritative textual documents (see Appendix D). The primary instrumentation for categorizing and analyzing the data for this study was myself. When observing the authenticity of gathered data, peer-reviewed journals stood foremost. When collecting the data an emphasis was placed on maximizing the use of 84 pertinent scholarly journals. These contained political-sociological-economic contents pertaining to all three periods relating to the study. Some of these journals I took into consideration include the *Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, *Asian Survey*, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, and *Economic and Political Weekly* (see Appendix A).

In building the study sample, and to strengthen the findings with more sources, I incorporated a large dataset collected in two stages from 1994-2010. The data set was then re-analyzed and triangulated to update the current data set as well as to assure reliability and relevancy when applied to the current study. The following pages will describe, in depth, systematic data collection, the frequency in which the data were collected, the nature of the data explored in building the sample, and the method in which they were recorded.

The Nature of the Collected Data

The first academic journal, *journal des savants* was introduced in January 1665. It was followed by *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in March 1665, which

was the first fully peer-reviewed journal. *Medical Essays and Observations* was on the English-speaking world. As a result, to capture valued human experiences within Sri Lanka's pre-colonial and early colonial periods, 47 authoritative textual works were explored. These books include the *Depavamsa*, *Mahavamsa*, *Chulavamsa*, *Mandaram Pura Puwatha*, and various Sandesh Kawya messages exchanged through the agency of a messenger (Mukherjee, 1998). Other works by visitors to Sri Lanka include the traveling Chinese monk Fa-Hien, Ptolemy (Alexander the Great's General), and the works of Pliny the Elder. To triangulate finding, as well as to capture new re-occurring themes, research compiled by past archaeology commissioners including Dr. S. U. Deraniyagala, Dr. Raja de Silva, Dr. Raj Somadeva, and works of historians such as Dr. K.M. De Silva, Dr. W.I. Siriweera were scrutinized.

Sri Lanka was colonized by the Portuguese (1505-1655), the Dutch (1660-1796), and the British (1802-1948). Due to prioritizing the capture and exploitation of the land over administration and governance, the Portuguese period contained the least number of textual and other physical contents such as ruins or buildings. The Jaffna fort, being the last stronghold of the Portuguese, held most of the textual contents within the fort and was later transferred to the Jaffna library, the national archives in Colombo, and the University of Peradeniya. When political aggressors set fire to the Jaffna library on June 2, 1981, the Portuguese collection, along with another 95,000 books, rare palm-leaf manuscripts, and a vast collection of other materials were destroyed (Venkatesh, 2016). Today, only the contents within the University of Peradeniya library and the national

archive in Colombo remain. To capture the contents of the lost collection within the current study, authoritative literature incorporating details from the Jaffna library, such as the works of Donald William Ferguson, Paul Edward Pieris, Tikiri Abeysinghe, Chandra Richard, and George Davison Winius were studied.

The Dutch colonists, on the other hand, governed Sri Lanka (1660-1796) as a mercantile enterprise comprising of three administrative divisions: Colombo, Galle, and Jaffna. Like their Portuguese predecessors, the Dutch controlled the Sri Lankan coastline. The Dutch were adamant in maintaining their lucrative spice trade with Sri Lanka on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Because of this, the Dutch for the most part, maintained diplomacy with the Kandyan kingdom, which in turn limited conflicts with the natives giving the Dutch more time to establish themselves (Paranavitana, 1999). Exposing Sri Lanka to mercantilism, bureaucracy, and revenue collection, the Dutch also introduced the printing press (Diehl, 1972). With the use of the government press, unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch produced many records related to various aspects of their administration. With ample textual material to observe the Dutch colonial period, the data sample contained archival documents from the governor's office from 1640 to 1796, under Colombo Dissave, (The Government office) (Jurriaanse, 1943). The contents of these documents include Land Tombos (deeds), correspondence with natives, journals and ledgers, treaties, as well as other documents related to Kandy and the king (Jurriaanse, 1943).

The British colonization of Sri Lanka (1797-1948) expanding 151 years is the

longest colonial occupation in Sri Lanka. The British, like the Dutch, arriving in Sri Lanka to trade in spices and goods for the British East India company (1600-1874), extended that effort in 1815 by incorporating Sri Lanka as a colony of the British empire (Mendis, 2005). To maintain their dominance, the British deployed an extensive ruling effort incorporating all socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka and maintained detailed records of these efforts. Capturing these efforts academically, I took into consideration various government gazettes, reports, legal documents, censuses, postdated scholarly journal articles, and research work compiled by scholars including Dr. G. C. Mendis, Dr. K.M. DeSilva, and Dr. N. DeVotta.

In studying discussions, debates, and edicts pertaining to colonial governance, Memoirs of governors including James Emmerson Tennent, Governor North, Brownrigg, Joseph West Ridgeway, William Gregory, and Robert Percival were explored. To investigate the results of these edicts I added to the dataset reliable works of many colonists and authoritative colonial officials including the works of J. W. Bennett, D. B. Augustus, Horatio John Suckling, Henry Marshal, L. E. Blazer, R. L. Brohier, M. Burrows, D. Butts, Samuel White Baker, and John Ferguson. Taking into consideration the nature of the British occupation in Sri Lanka from an outside perspective, various publications by visitors to Sri Lanka were also added. These publications, capturing non-biased eyewitness accounts of the British colonial Sri Lanka, include the writings of Carolyn Wilson, François Valentin, Robert Knox, Robert Townshend Passingham and Jonathan Forbes.

Sri Lanka was granted its independence by the British on February 4, 1948. To acquire literal works for the post-colonial era (1949 – 1954) through document analysis and view the westernization efforts of the British colonists, who enforced strong record keeping throughout Sri Lanka's political-sociological-economical aspects, enabled me to acquire 56 authoritative documents. These documents, used for the post-colonial periods, include parliamentary proceedings, Hansard reports, scholarly journals, censuses, country reports, administrative reports, financial records, and memoirs of politicians and prominent leaders including military leaders from 1948 -2020.

The memoirs of military leaders include memoirs of General Cyril Ranatunga, late General D. L. Kobbekaduwa, works of Ret. General. Gamini Angammana, Ret. General. Kamal Gunaratna, and Ret. Col. Gotabaya Rajapaksa (President of Sri Lanka). Studying Sri Lanka's post-colonial governance firsthand. I also explored the memoirs of prominent political leaders of the time such as Dr. N.M. Pereira, Dr. Colvin R De Silva, Sir Ivor Jennings, and Philp Gunawardena.

The Westminster parliamentary system, which governed post-colonial Sri Lanka granted substantial authority to the office of the prime minister. I scrutinized the work of prime ministers Sir John Lionel Kotelawala, S.W.R.D Bandaranaike, Madam, Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Following the independence in 1948, until 1972 Sri Lanka remained a commonwealth realm with Queen Elizabeth II. In 1972 Sri Lanka declared itself as a republic and abolished the Monarchy. Then in 1978 Sri Lanka moved from a Westminster system to a Presidential system with an executive president as the head of

state. To capture details of Sri Lanka's executive office from 1978 - 2021, I included authoritative memoirs of presidents: J.R. Jayewardene, Ranasinghe Premadasa, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, and Mahinda Rajapaksa.

The developing post-colonial ethnic crisis firstly impacted members of the Sri Lankan Tamil minority. When collecting data for the post-colonial periods, works by the members of these ethnic groups were included. These works were compiled by Rajan Hoole, Daya Somasundaram, K. A. Sritharan, Rajani Thiranagama, Stanley Tambaiiah, Shankar Krishna, and works of the late Hon. Lakshman Kadirgamar.

Since the 1990s, there has been a significant surge in technological advancements. This has led to numerous entities, including governmental bodies, news media platforms, university publications, and peer-reviewed journals, to present data through websites (Libicki, 2016). In Chapter Two, I conducted various web searches to collect data from 96 different websites related to Sri Lanka. Some notable sources included Al Jazeera, BBC, CNN, the United Nations, the *Foreign Policy Journal*, Human Rights Watch, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the International Center for Ethnic Studies.

The Locations and the Recording Methods

This study has taken into consideration only textual, documentative data and does not consider any human participants. I am the primary instrumentation within the study to analyze the data and interpret the findings as a participant observer. The dataset for the study was built using qualitative document analysis (QDA).

Born and raised in Sri Lanka, its history was a vital part of my education. In having observed, firsthand, Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism and its impact from 1983 – 1999, Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism became a phenomenon of interest to me. The initial data collection was done within the Global Sri Lankan Congress Youth Front (GSCYF) from 1994 - 1999 which sought a peaceful means of ending the Eelam conflict by including the minorities (Orjuela, 2008). The Sri Lankan (GSCYF) spearheaded various workshops educating Sri Lankan youth on the value of ethnic unity (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005). This was done in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Colombo University, and the National Integration Program Unit (NIPU) under the Ethnic Affairs Ministry. As a youth front leader, I collected a large pool of data from 1994 -1999 for presentations, study sessions, and lectures, to be delivered at various locations throughout the country. In doing so, I exhausted the library catalogues at the University of Peradeniya, Trinity College Kandy, the British Council as well as the D.S. Senanayake public library in Kandy.

My hometown was the Historic Kingdom of Kandy, located within a short distance from other kingdoms of Sri Lanka's past. Growing up around such history from 1994 -1999 I also explored various sites of interest, collecting as much imagery and textual data as possible on colonial Sri Lanka, as well as other previous kingdoms. A few of these sites are the famous 'Balana' Fort, Kandyan palace complex, Garrison cemetery and the site where the Kandyan convention of 1815 was signed. Expanding to other provinces took me to the ancient ruins of Sri Lanka's past kingdoms including

Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Gampola, Yapahuwa, Kurunegala (my ancestral village), and Kotte. During this period, I studied a substantial number of document archives within various temples that functioned as libraries in their glory days.

The temple archives visited include the temples of Kelaniya, Kotte, Mahiyangan, Mada Maha Nuwara, Asgiriya, and the Kandy Temple of the Tooth now housing the largest Ola Leaf book collection open to the public. Other sources found between 1994 - 1999 include the Government Agent's (GA)'s office in Kandy, Batticaloa, Jaffna, Galle, Colombo, Matara and Trincomalee. The first colonists of Sri Lanka, the Portuguese, (1517-1600) maintained their strong holds in Colombo, Batticaloa, Jaffna, Galle, Matara and Trincomalee, all the records were kept within of the strongholds of their fortresses.

The Dutch, occupying in 1602, used the same strongholds as the Portuguese and collected various documents and records. They then stored them with Dutch records inside the archives of 'Kachcheri' or the Dutch district secretariat office. The British, taking dominance over the Dutch in 1796, converted these offices to operate as the Government Agent's (GA) office, which houses these records to date. The administrative details of the Portuguese, Dutch and the British were easily accessible through the archives stored within governmental agencies available to the public.

Data collected between 1994 -1999 was mainly geared toward observing Sri Lanka's past, specifically ancient history and colonial periods leading to Sri Lanka's independence in 1948. Much of the data was photocopied or taken from handwritten notes indicating the text and the page(s), then placed within binders and categorized

according to the period and the kingdom.

I built the data set to contain information on socio-politico-economic details as well as other aspects of Sri Lankan culture including folk tales, Buddhist dialectics and mythology. To easily search the data, from 1995 – 1999 using the most advanced technology of the time, I developed a digital catalogue using the dBase III plus software program. With a few keystrokes I would be able to get the binder number, the location within the binder all marked within tabs i.e., Binder Number 1 – Kingdom Anuradhapura – Topic Economy.

The second phase of the data collection for this study was done between 2009 – 2011. This was to support my master's research. I compiled a five-chapter dissertation with a literature review observing Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis from a leadership perspective. By 2009 Google books acquired a vast archive of digitized books, and other textual material from libraries such as Harvard, Stanford, Oxford, Yale, and Cambridge and made them accessible through 'Google Books'. Because of this, between 2009-2011, I was able to explore the information I needed within multiple volumes using various search criteria from one geographical location.

When more information was needed, other databases like EBSCO, ProQuest, Google Scholar, and SAGE were utilized. Then between 2000-2010 advancements in technology allowed us to buy books internationally through agents such as Amazon. By using such vendors, I started buying documentative and textual materials and adding more texts to the initial data collection.

In August 2010 I visited Sri Lanka with the purpose of obtaining more data to support my master's thesis work. There, I obtained valued data within the national archives in Kandy, Colombo and the museum archives in Colombo, Kandy, and Galle. It filled in missing data, which was missed in the initial data collection.

I was able to grow the initial data collection to an updated, better organized data set by 2011 from newly found data including: digital images, digital maps, bound books, housed within my library and scholarly journals contained within my secure drive. Through this data, I was able to clearly view pertinent information unfolded from the 5th century BC to 2012, including the communal riots from 1954 to 1983, the Eelam conflict 1983 -2009 and the evolving post war Sinhala Muslim tension. The third and final phase of data collection was done from 2016 – 2021, to support the current research addressing specifically socio-politico-economic data pertaining to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods.

Reaching my Walden residency session in August 2017, I already had my dissertation premise prepared along with a dataset containing reliable sources from the second stage of my data collection (1994 -2010). During this residency, our faculty advisors Dr. Milen, Dr. Sheppard, and Dr. Jones reiterated the value of having a clear phenomenon of interest and started collecting data early on in our academic journey. The mentors also suggested incorporating the phenomenon of interest chosen for the dissertation within our future classes to gain more perspective of the phenomenon of interest.

After speaking with them, I immediately began working towards updating my dataset compiled in 2010 for the literature review presented for my graduate studies research. There onwards between 2017 – 2018 as I completed various sessions of my curriculum, I incorporated my area of interest into them. Within this effort I began a systematic process of observing, gathering, and categorizing, more current information specific for this study. Some of these incorporated works include publications by Brigitte Nacos, Seth Jones, Collin Flint, Eli Berman, and Kees van den Bos all observing ethnic separatism from multiple angles that include insurgencies and terrorism.

I exhausted the library databases in both Bellevue University, and Walden University as well as other digital archives including google books, EBSCO, JSTOR, SAGE, and ProQuest. Collectively, reaching my second residency in August 2018, I not only had managed to refine my existing data set, but also acquired more materials along the way. In 2018, searching for a theoretical framework, during the second residency in August 2018, I came across Dr. Benet and the polarities of democracy theory, “a unifying theory with the capacity to support building and sustaining just communities” (Benet, 2006).

I found this to be an ideal theoretical framework to observe Sri Lanka’s Ethnic Crisis. Meeting with Dr. Benet during the August 2018 session and with his guidance from 2018 – 2021 I began entering materials on polarity management and polarities of democracy to my data collection. These materials consisted of publications by Barry Johnson, William Benet, Muzorewa Tabor, Bruce Struble and Paul Bernstein as well as

research works compiled by Ronald McDaniel, Michele Greene, Nicole Hayes.

By August 2019 I had completed my prospectus using the materials I obtained and started my dissertation journey working toward compiling the literature review. To support my literature review I started collecting and refining the existing dataset by categorizing them based on their relevancy to the study. The same year, coordinating with my committee Chair Dr. Milen, I traveled to Sri Lanka and explored the archives within the sacred temple of Tooth, the National archives in Kandy, the University Library at Peradeniya where I copied a manual list of more updated sources.

Returning to the US in 2020, I managed to obtain these items through Amazon, Abe Books, eBay, and other local and international vendors, and included them to complete my in-house library. These materials added to the data set include publications by Mariam Shakil, Asoka Bandarage, Patrick Grant, K.M. De Silva, Neil DeVotta, Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, as well as works compiled by Deborah Winslow, and Michael D. Woost.

My home library contains over one thousand volumes and holds 103 of the authoritative texts published on topics directly used within the current study. During the final phase of collecting the data, findings were recorded in multiple forms digitally by installing Calibre Version 5.29 and using the same application to store and organize all digitized eBooks, on one hard drive.

I then used Microsoft Windows 95 through 10 to store all the images and maps within the 'Pictures' folder and categorized them in order, transferring meta data such as

the date and time the image was taken. During the initial and secondary phase of data collection I also recorded data using Microsoft Windows versions 3.0 – 10 using its capabilities to store data in folders. Journals, textual articles, and other digital materials were stored within folders categorized by topic.

Whenever possible I also took digital notes using MS Word 365 and built the literature review in Chapter II where the findings were then incorporated into the current study. I maintained a personal journal of my observations as I took notes from various archived texts and researched diverse topics pertaining to the study to build an expanding bibliography (Appendix A).

Building the Data Sample

In building the data sample for the current study, I began with an existing dataset I previously collected from 1994 – 2012 to explore Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial, governance through the lens of polarities of democracy. Then, I incorporated more recent data, collected between 2016 – 2021. The initial dataset contained a multitude of documentative materials on pre-colonial, post-colonial and some aspects of colonial Sri Lanka directly obtained from Sri Lanka itself.

The second dataset was compiled mainly from within the United States between 2016 and 2021. In gathering the data for the second dataset, I heavily depended upon using the advancements in Google books, Amazon, JSTOR, and other digital databases such as Google Scholar. Upon incorporating both the datasets and analyzing them as one and reducing them to one data sample, I took into consideration only the data containing

socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance.

To maintain a manageable sample size, and to go through the surplus of data, reducing it to only relevant sources for the study, I took into consideration a modified form of guiding questions presented as suggestions by the National Science Foundation (NSF). The set of questions used the ten overarching values of the polarities of democracy model and assured the obtained 280 documentative materials remained relevant to the study (Appendix A). I also present below the findings from the texts (my data sample) which I examined to further assist the readers.

Data Sample

A traditional qualitative analysis on a topic would require presenting a questionnaire to a selected pool of live participants (Sample) and obtaining the answers to explore a phenomenon. The findings of the interviews presented would allow the reader to obtain an understanding of various connections that lead to the results. Such presentation of data would also support increasing the transformability, credibility, and the dependability of the study. This Qualitative Historical Comparative Case Study did not use live participants, instead adhered strictly to exploring documentative materials to capture socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance through the lens of polarities of democracy. Despite the method I used, the value of maintaining transparency remains the same. So, I chose to present the

findings within the data set of Sri Lanka's socio-politico-economic history chronologically as uncovered during the QDA process.

The Pre-Colonial Period (1445-1505)

The current study an historical comparative case study, was developed to explore: 'In what ways has polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony'. The study explored only textual, visual and documentative materials. Choosing qualitative document analysis (QDA) to build the research sample, guided by a specific set of questions adhering to the ten values of polarities of democracy to sift through the data, I reduced it to only the relevant sources.

Pre-Colonial Governance

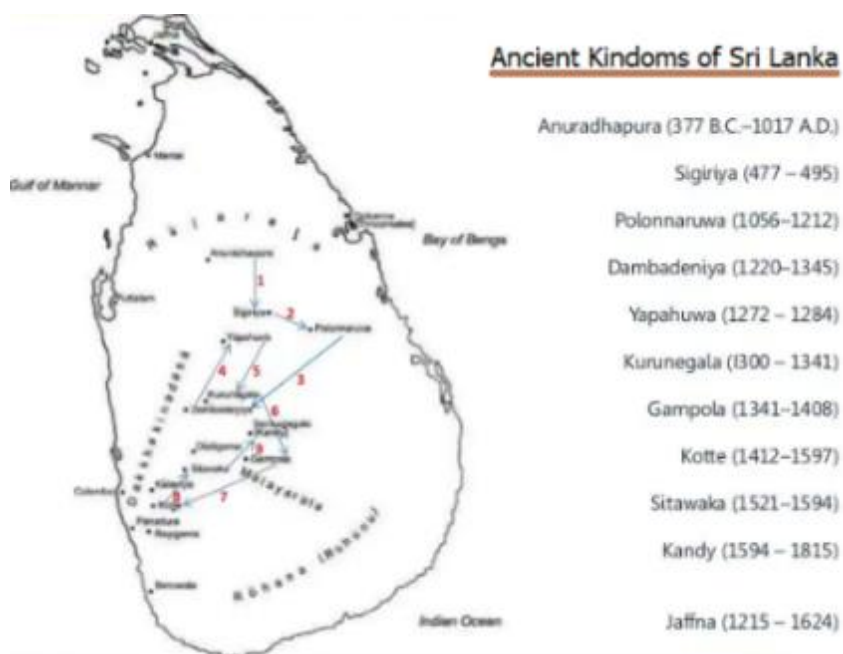
Sri Lanka, until the fall of its long-extended monarchy, was not united under a central government or ruler. Until the British occupation, which dominated the nation as whole from 1815, Sri Lanka always maintained a decentralized form of governance. The traditional way of life, inside a pre-colonial Sri Lankan village, was very much affected by the monarchy, the hierarchy of chiefs, headsmen, caste, Rajakariya and the village council (Kurukulasuriya & Ivor, 1971). Exploring Sri Lanka's pre-colonial governance, a monarch, as seen today, would be the federal authority overseeing the lower ranked chief's (nobility) that acted as state authorities. The chiefs ascended to the seat of power either by war, marriage, or lineage (Mendis, 1951).

Under the monarchy, chieftains of different power bases, upon establishing

themselves through marriage or war, would constantly expand their authority to other parts of the country (see Figure 8). Acting as a state authority they would, through a micro system of a centralized government, oversee the village councils that stood as the basis of the local government from the earliest time (Kurukulasuriya & Ivor, 1971).

Figure 8

Ancient Kingdoms of Sri Lanka



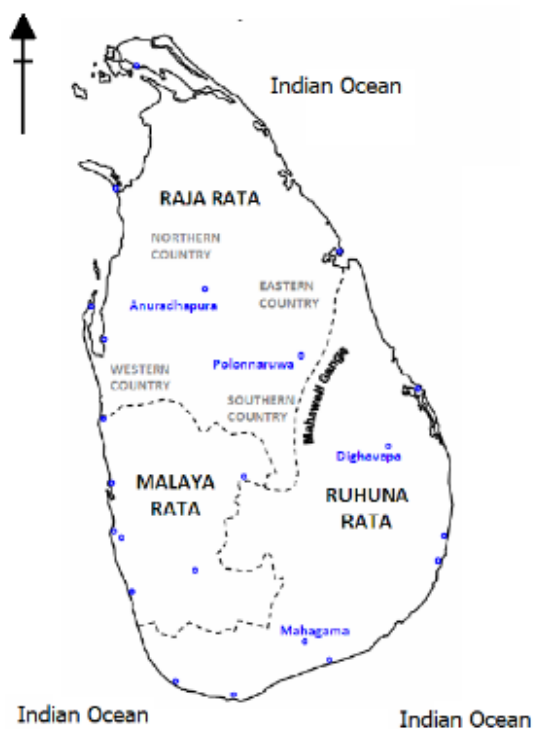
Note. Author created using the data sample, *Kingdoms of Sri Lanka*, By S.P Amarasinghe, *Authors Private collection*, July 2019, Copyright, 2019.

A ‘Kingdom’ within the ancient context, was a region where a strong monarch maintained his or her dominance. Located within a kingdom, the capital city was not only the main economic hub but was also the key location from where the residing monarch executed his authority. Some of these notable kingdoms within ancient Sri Lanka include

Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Yapahuwa, Kotte and Kandy. Sri Lanka, until the fall of the ancient monarchy, following British occupation, and the Kandyan convention of 1815, always had multiple kingdoms within the nation (see Figure 9).

Figure 9

Three Major Kingdoms of Precolonial Sri Lanka



Note. Author created using the data sample, *Three Major Kingdoms of pre-colonial Sri Lanka*, By S.P Amarasinghe, *Authors Private collection*, July 2009, Copyright, 2009.

The earliest kingdoms being the Ruhunu (Southern Kingdom), Maya (Western Kingdom) and Pihiti (Northern Kingdom) due to various invasions and threats by foreign forces, including the great Kaling and Maga, migrated to the central hills by the end of the 14th century. In such Kingdoms both the monarchy and citizens held a collectivist

understanding of power. Despite commanding a higher level of authority, monarchs did not go beyond the popular interest of the people. This is because, if they did, another ruler would seize the throne with the support of its discontented followers (Mendis, 1951).

The Sri Lankan monarchs, trained in various philosophies during their upbringing, understood the Buddhist philosophy of cause-and-effect, so they lived a life remarkably like the Indian monarchs, and were held accountable to multiple obligations. These obligations included maintaining order and peace, protecting the nation from outside forces, and supporting the progress of agricultural needs to sustain the nation's economy (Kingwell-Banham et al., 2018). They were also expected to be involved with supporting the religious institutions of the people by encouraging the maintenance and progress of temples and other religious edifices (Geiger, 1912).

In meeting the obligation placed upon him, a monarch, was bound by the laws of governing called the 'dasa-raja-dhamma' or ten duties of the king. They used these governing laws to delegate power virtuously (Pethiyagoda, 2021). The monarchs, despite the power they commanded, were not exempt from being accountable for their actions. They were constantly monitored, criticized, corrected, and guided by the 'Purohita' Vedic priesthood and the 'Pandit's', the wise or learned people in the court. These, Purohit's and the Pandit's were responsible for educating and mentoring a young monarch and continued this effort until their demise (Naik, 1961). The Purohit's, the Pandit's and the guiding principles of the ten duties of the king acted as an unseen force that assured a

monarch conformed to the 'separation of powers' and executed his powers favoring the popular interest of the people (see Figure 10).

Figure 10

The Ten Duties of the King (Dasa Raja Dhamma)

Duty No	Duties in Pali	In English	Explanation
1	Aviroda	Non-revengefulness	The ruler should not oppose the will of the people. He must cultivate the spirit of amity among his subjects
2	Khamthi	Patience	The ruler without losing his temper should be able to bear up hardships and insults.
3	Avhimsa	Non-violence	The ruler must practice non-violence to the highest possible extent so long as it does not interfere with the firmness expected of an ideal ruler.
4	Akkodha	Non-hate	The ruler Without harboring grievances he must act with forbearance and love.
5	Tapa	Restraint	An ideal monarch keeps his five senses under control.
6	Maddava	Courtesy	The ruler should not be over - harsh or cruel.
7	Ajjava	Honesty and integrity	The ruler must be straightforward and must never take recourse to any crooked or doubtful means.
8	Pariccaga	Recognition of talent	The ruler must be ready to make sacrifices if they are for the good of the people.
9	Sita	Morality	The ruler must observe at least the Five Precepts, conduct himself both in private and in public life as example to his subjects.
10	Dana	Charity	The ruler should be able to give away wealth and property wisely without giving in-to craving and attachment. He or she should not try to be rich making use of his position.

Note. Author created using the data sample, *Kingdoms of Sri Lanka*, By Amarasinghe, *Authors Private collection*, July 2010, Copyright, 2010.

When governing their kingdoms, adhering to the ten duties, a monarch followed a constitution. The most recent one uncovered is the constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom (Nadaraja, 1972). Translated to English in 1833 this constitution covers an array of topics

pertaining to all aspects of governing a state, as well as executing justice (D'Oyly, 1833). Some of the noted topics include, the duties and authority of the chiefs, honors, privileges, division of the kingdom, duties allocated to castes, allocation of land, responsibilities of the courts, crimes, punishment as well as the administration of justice.

Within the context of administering justice by an ancient monarch, the Pandit's and the Purohit's physically stood within the court as an unseen force in ensuring due process. The Gam-Sabaha (Village Council) and the Rata- Sabaha also played a key role to balance power (see Figure 11). A basic form of self-governance, the ancient village council consisted of 'raiyats' or those who hold land belonging to the king for purposes of agriculture. These raiyats, at the ground level of ancient Sri Lanka's judicial hierarchy regulated the affairs of the village, enforced its ancient customary laws, and delegated to each cultivator his or her share of land for the use and preservation of irrigation works.

Figure 11

Interior of a Village Courthouse in Session (Gam Sabaha)



Note. Adapted from Ceylon: An Account of the Island, “*Interior of a village courthouse*”, By Sir James Emerson Tennent, Longman and Roberts Publications, Copyright, 1681.

The people, in protecting one’s trade, and when faced with challenges, would first present their case to the village councils, and by voting on a motion accepted the decision of a majority. If dissatisfied, the issue was then presented to the ‘Rata-Sabha’ (District council), an entity consisting of delegates from each village of a particular district with authority over caste, marriage, and social status. If these two councils failed to provide a solution it would then be taken to the king’s court. Making the village councils and the district councils the first and second level levels of the judicial hierarchy, as well as a force, which ensured due process. The membership of the village council consisted of

residence in a particular village without regard to caste, creed, gender, or ethnicity.

The ancient monarchs of Sri Lanka endured several challenges. Most importantly was their inability to effectively communicate with all parts of their dominion which stood in the way of expressing authority, and in unifying the nation under one monarch (Geiger, 1912). When responding to threats, having no standing armies, the monarchs were dependent upon regional chiefs to provide people and arms. This afforded a good deal of power to the chiefs (Siri Sumangala et al., 1998). The distance between kingdoms, the monarch's inability to communicate with their followers, and the dependency on the chiefs in time of crisis, all compelled the people to organize themselves in small communal sects to provide for their needs (K. M. De Silva, 1981).

Pre-Colonial Societal Dynamics

The nucleus of the ancient communal sects of Sri Lanka consisted of one's family and their trade. Each family, identified by a trade or a service they provide, formed the Sri Lankan caste system and other dynamics of a village (Jabbar, 2005). The Sri Lankan caste system differs from the Indian caste system. The Sri Lankan caste system is guided by the Buddhist principals, and separate people based on the value of their industry and their family's ability to manufacture goods at an elevated level (M. Roberts, 1982).

Industries within the cast structure include merchants, woodcutters, flag-bearers, jewelers, drum manufacturers, and farmers (Nubin, 2002). Trade secrets of their crafts were handed down from father to son, and through inter marriage (K. M. De Silva, 1981). Even the localities in pre-colonial times were named after the industry for which that site

was popular. For example, 'Panideniya', a village of the people engaged in honey production, 'Wewaldeniya', of those engaged in weaving, 'Madurawela', is a village of those engaged in pottery (Kumbal) industry (Jabbar, 2005).

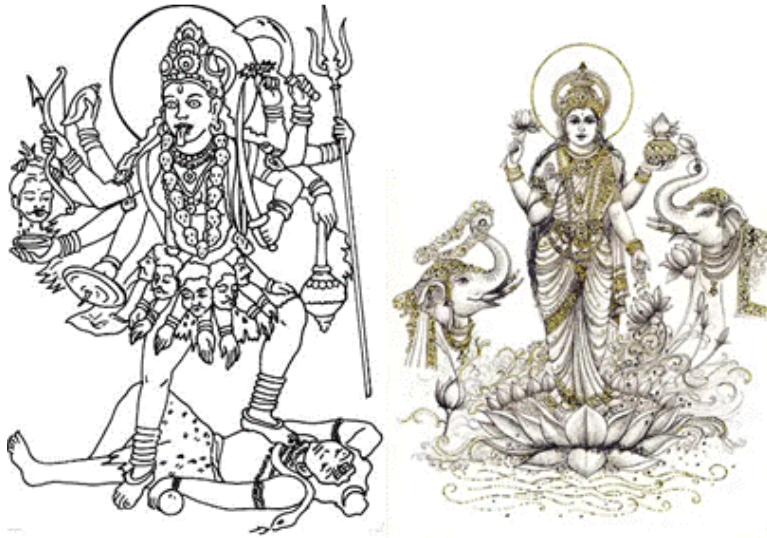
Based on the Sri Lankan caste system, lineages that supported the nation's economy, through rice cultivation, and or counseled the monarchs and the chiefs, were considered higher than jewelers or one's manufacturing 'Chunuk' (calcium carbonate) for painting or eating (Knox, 1681). The lowest within the Sri Lankan caste system were associated with those incurably sick, and those engaged in cannibalism. They lived as gypsies, occupied in industries such as tanning, rope making, and disposing of the dead (Gilbert, 1945).

Role of Women in the Pre-Colonial Period

Another aspect of the pre-colonial society was the prominent role women played as mothers and wives. Historical evidence indicates that other faiths and other tribes including the Yakshas (demon) and Nagas (Snake) have existed in Sri Lanka since the fifth century BC. These early systems of worship embodied strains of ancient Hinduism, where women played a key role. In many instances women were portrayed as either equal to their male counterparts or as in the case of the goddess 'Kali', stronger (see Figure 12).

Figure 12

Goddess Kali is portrayed standing on Lord Shiva & Goddess Lakshmi



Note. Adapted from, Hindu Mythology, Vedic and Puranic, “*Goddess Kali and Lakshmi*”, By William Joseph Wilkins, Missionary Society Publications, Copyright, 1882.

Buddhism, the majority religion of Sri Lanka, was introduced in the 3rd century BC by the great emperor Asoka. Even though Buddhism gained prominence, it incorporated other existing religious beliefs, which included Hinduism, Yaksha, and the Nagas (Rahula , 1966). The crucial roles played by notable women such as Buddha’s mother Mahā Māyā, wife Yaśodharā, stepmother Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, and the chief laity Sujata, strengthened the Buddhist order. Because of their support to Buddha, Buddhism portrayed women as worthy of veneration and as ones equal (Nyanaponika Thera & Hecker, 2003). The Buddhist jataka tales, describe in detail, 550 reincarnations

of Prince Siddhartha who attained Buddhahood, illustrates loyalty, dedication, and the bravery of his wife in these reincarnated births. These tales were integrated into the Buddhist catechism 'Tripitaka' (Triple Basket of knowledge), to use as examples for laymen. Because the way they were used by the monks, they were perceived as reality within the ancient Buddhist spirituality.

Women in pre-colonial Sri Lanka had attained equal footing to men and were not treated as second-class citizens. Sri Lankan history records queen Anula, the sister-in-law of King Devanam Priya Tissa of Anuradhapura, spearheading the establishment of the order of Buddhist nuns in the 3rd century BC (Geiger, 1912). The initial mission, under the leadership of the Venerable Arahata Mahindra, consisted of all male monks of the brotherhood. Anula, observing the interest of the native women in joining the order, expressed her concern to King Asoka (Anālayo , 2012). King Asoka, understanding the request, sent his eldest daughter Sangamitta, a nun of the Buddhist order, to Sri Lanka, and established the "Buddhist Female Monastic Order of Theravāda Buddhism" which continues to date (Cheng, 2007).

This account is followed by the bravery of King Kavan Tissa's wife Queen Vihara Maha joining her husband in planning for the impending war against the great King Elara of the Tamil kingdom of Jaffna (Schrijvers, 1986). Annals describe her efforts to set up check points, as well as strengthening the nation's capacity to endure a prolonged war by filling store houses, organizing secondary withdrawal points, and other diplomatic endeavors to ensure victory (Schrijvers, 1986).

Considering more devious, and strong female monarchs of Sri Lanka, Queen Sugala or Sugala Devi stand foremost. Sugala Devi, the mother of King Manabharana, was the last monarch of the Kingdom of Ruhuna (Southeast Region) (C. R De Silva., 1997). She reigned over the kingdom when King Parakramabahu I of Polonnaruwa (1153–1186) gained dominance over all Sinhalese territories (Geiger, 1998). Following the death of her son, she rallied the support of the people, and deployed devastating campaigns against King Parakramabahu I to secure control over Ruhuna (Serrao, 2015). Accounts depicting these campaigns show Sugala Devi's wit, intelligence, and cunning, making her a worthy adversary to Sri Lanka's greatest monarch, the great Parakramabahu I, who launched a campaign against Burma (Siriweera , 2002).

Next came the reign of the notorious Queen Anula in 44 BC, who poisoned her partners to maintain her reign. Beyond these account during the pre-colonial period, women played an active and equal role within in Sri Lanka because of rice cultivation.

Pre-Colonial Economy, Rajakariya, and Wealth

Proof of International trade can be found in coins from Greece, China, Rome, and Persia, uncovered in Sri Lanka through various archeological digs. This indicates that the circulation of currency was common in Sri Lanka when most of the world was using the barter system. The reason behind this is Sri Lanka's natural geography and location within southeast Asia (see Figure 13). Sri Lanka was known to many ancient seafarers because it is located a short distance from India, the doorway to the Overland Silk Road. The natural geography of Sri Lanka contains both natural harbors, which provide access

and protection for the Arabian sea trade from all sides.

Figure 13

Sri Lanka in Ptolemy's World Map 150 AD



Note. Adapted from, History of Currency in Sri Lanka, “*Extract of the world map by Ptolemy*”, Central Bank of Sri Lanka website, Copyright, 2018.

Sri Lanka was able to export cinnamon, cardamom, nutmeg, pepper, ivory, and valuable timber such as Teak, Mahogany, and ‘Jack tree’ considered valuable in the European market. Because Sri Lanka contained both good soil and ample water from a multitude of rivers widespread throughout the country along with eastern and western monsoons, these commodities grew in abundance (Bandarage, 2020). This, and Sri Lanka’s natural harbors, along with its strategic location to both the Arabian Sea and Overland trade, made it an ancient trading hub (Beck, 2006).

Along with this, the ancient system of land ownership and the tenurial practices connected all socio-politico-economic aspects of pre-colonial Sri Lanka. The main type of land used within Pre-colonial Sri Lanka was for paddy cultivation (see Figure 14). Other types of land use included backyard gardens and ‘Chena’ or dry cultivation, to

consume between rice harvests (Macmillan, 1914). With almost 70% of land being covered by forests, arable land was scarce. Arable land was considered the most primary and valuable resource within precolonial Sri Lanka and supported the forming of the Sri Lankan land tenure system. Widespread farming communities throughout the country used the available arable land and water resources to their maximum capacity.

Figure 14

Pre-Colonial Social Organization Bound Around an Irrigation Tank

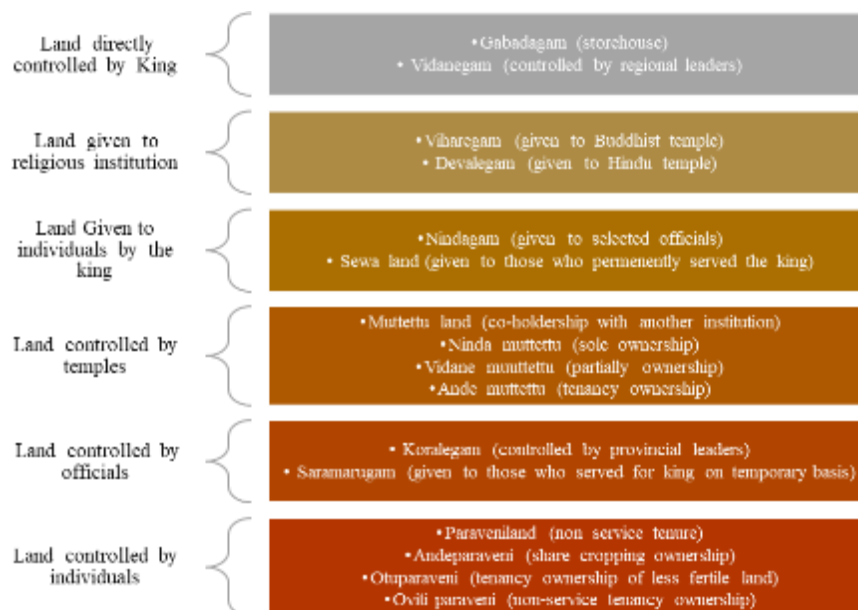


Note. Adapted from, *Ecology of ancient Tank Cascade Systems in island Sri Lanka*, Fig. 5, in *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, By Geekiyanage, Pushpakumara, Dharmasena (2010), Institute of marine and island culture, Copyright, 2010.

Multiple debates are presented by the academics on pre-colonial land ownership in Sri Lanka, and the role of the monarchy. Some scholars, including Siriweera (1994), Abeysinghe (1956), and Codrington (1938), say that within the ancient Sri Lankan tenure system the monarch was the sole proprietor of all the land within his or her Territory. But

most academics argue that despite being identified as the owner of land (“Bhupathi”), monarchs stood only as the custodian and not the sole proprietor of the land (Kumarasinghe & Samkin, 2018).

Research by academics including Doyly (1883), Hayley (1923), Codrington (1938) and Peiris (1956) show that land ownership and tenure was seen as four categories under the control of a monarch (see Figure 15). The nobility and aristocracy and others of prominence controlled the land to which the monarch granted them controlling rights. The monarch could obtain services and income from the land outside of the three categories above, and land held by religious institutions. The Rajakariya is the basis of the ‘king’s duty’, it is a unique form of land tenure system that supports both the individual and the state (Lowe, 2007). For this, the monarch used the land allocated to him in exchange for services and income.

Figure 15*Land (Gam) Ownership and Tenure*

Note. From Codrington (1929), D’Oyly (1833) and Abeysinghe (1956) within the data sample, *Land (Gam) Ownership and Tenure*, By Samanga Amarasinghe, July 2017, Copyright, 2017.

The services expected by the king for the land granted were in two forms. One was services rendered for public works, such as in the construction of roads, bridges or irrigation works. The other was for obtaining services based on an individual’s caste-related occupation (Toynbee, 1946; Wickramasinghe, 2020). In this manner, the land tenure system of Sri Lanka connected the pre-colonial socio-politico-economic paradigms. This system incorporated a fair distribution of land by means of ‘Pangu’ (equal shares) based on one’s need and family trade. This land distribution omitted religious or ethnic preferences, so ethnic harmony was sustained (Aiyangar et al., 1921).

The pre-colonial economy continued to grow because of these systems such as the Rajakariya and the land tenure system. Today, most of these pre-colonial cities, beyond Kandy, are in ruins, masking the hidden glory inside the overgrowth. Various accounts by visitors to Sri Lanka from ancient times, give a glimpse of these marvels. One such visitor to ancient Sri Lanka was Fa Hein, a Chinese Buddhist monk who traveled to all the Buddhist kingdoms between 337 BC – 422 AD. During his journey Fa Hein landed in Sri Lanka and described its diversity: “... the people of various countries heard how pleasant the land was and flocked to it in numbers until it became a great nation (sic.)” (Fa-Hien, 1886, p. 101). Sri Lanka’s abundance of vegetation, and agriculture, according to Fa Hein (1886), was that “The vegetation is always luxuriant.... Cultivation proceeds wherever men think fit, there are no fixed seasons for it (sic.)” (p. 101). The wealth of pre-colonial Sri Lanka was such that the “king built a large tope (platform), 400 cubits high, grandly adorned with gold and silver, finished with a combination of all the precious substances” (p. 102). Fa Hein also gave us a glimpse of the wealth and prosperity of the time when describing the historical Abhayagiri vihara (Temple complex) site frequented by pilgrims even today. According to Fa Hein (1886), “...he (the king) further built a monastery, called the ‘Abhayagiri’. In it a hall of Buddha, adorned with carved and inlaid works of gold and silver... which there is an image (of Buddha) in green jade, more than twenty cubits in height, glittering all over with those substances” (pp. 102-103).

Fa Hein presents a rare glimpse of the ancient monastic way of life with some

details about the ancient capital of Anuradhapura during the reign of king Mahanama of Anuradhapura in 422 A.D (Codrington, 1926). Ven. Thotagamuwe Sri Rahula Thera, through his text the ‘Salalihini Sandesh’ (Message of the Mina bird), also portray a splendid view of Jayawardena, the last pre-colonial capital of Sri Lanka (see Figure 16).

Figure 16

Description of the City of Jayawardena in the ‘Salalihini Sandesh’

ජයවද්දන සුර වැනුම්		The city of Jayawardena
පොහොසද්දන ඇති තුනුරුවන බැති මුළුවද්දන සුරපුර පිරි සිරිත්	පෙමා හැමා	Here live the elite pious, devoted to the triple gems. A city beside whose affluence heaven pales, the city of Jayawardena justifies its name by deed
ජයවද්දන කැරුමෙන් සුසැදු කම	නමා	
සිහිල් සපු සුවඳ ගෙන එන උයන් සිහිල් නෙලෙන් හඬවන මිණි කිකිණි විසුල් රත් සෙමෙර බඳ රත් දඳ ළකල් මෙපුර තුළ වළඟා රිචි	වල කැළ සසල කැවුල	Abundance are parks in this great city, filled with flora carrying with the winds the fragrance of sandalwood, and Sapu flowers. Bringing out the tranquil sound from the wind chimes hung everywhere, while fluttering many, large, golden flags raised from above the rooftops shading the city from the sun rays.
කරසර තිචි මහල් මෙහි පහ පෙළ සුරසිදු විදුරන් සැදි සඳලු කරවන මහුල් කෙළියෙන් නොමැති සුරසිරි බලන ලෙස බව සුර විමන්	නිතොර මනහර අවසර සුර	Here are many enchanting balconies of lofty, storied abodes, adorned with figures of fairies, and other celestial beings. Seem like mansions descended from heaven to view the colorful and perpetual, city festivals
සොළුරු සිය නදන් අනුකුරු දෙස කිනුරු නිසසරන් කදහස වෙක ඉසුරු දනද සිය නිකෙලෙස් තැන උකුරු දිගිසු පුර දිනි මෙපුර	සිටින නොවන රඳන වැජඹෙන	This city lying opposite the north holds hundreds of treasures; yet demigods and nocturnal spirits dare not enter here, as leaders of men and the rich, live here: Thus, by its splendor, out plays even ‘ Alokapura ’ the city of Kuvera and the king of the North.

Note. Adapted from, *Salalihini Sandesh*, By Thotagamuwe Sri Rahula, translation Edmund Jayasuriya, (2002), PP 40-41, Post Graduate Institute of Archeology, (Copyright, 2002)

The kingdom of Kotte, during the reign of king Parakramabahu the VI (1412 – 1467), was considered one of the richest kingdoms since Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa (Somaratna, 1969). The wealth of this kingdom was found in its strategic location and its openness to diversity (see Figure 17). It was located close to the port of Kolon Tota

(Colombo), situated toward the west. This was a well-known port frequented by Roman, Arab, and Chinese traders for more than 2000 years (Pieris & Naish, 1999).

Figure 17

The Kingdom of Kotte with the Annexed parts from the North



Note. Adapted from, *Remains of Dark Days*, By Sagara Jayasinghe, Helder Carita and Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos, (2019), P.20, Atris Press, (Copyright, 2019)

Various historical records indicate that by the 8th century, many Arab Muslim traders had settled in Colombo, making it their base to conduct trade for that part of the

world (Peebles, 2015). The King of Kotte captured the Jaffna and Vanni territories by 1450 and as a result, had access to resources within the Northern region including coconuts, pearls, and salt, all considered valuable trade goods. This enhanced the agrarian economy of the Kingdom of Kotte (Somaratna, 1969).

The pre-colonial Sri Lankan kingdoms always managed to sustain the economy because the monarchs of the time placed the wellbeing of their people a priority. The monarchs adhered to an ancient form of decentralized governance that worked to maintain both economic growth and the development of these kingdoms. The pre-colonial monarchs, the chiefs, and the people working together within the Gam Sabah, Rata Sabah, and the land tenure systems enabled values such as equality, justice, and due process to flourish. The most relevant observation of the pre-colonial period is that they valued humanity beyond things that separate people, such as religion, creed, color, and birth. They welcomed diversity such as Buddhism when it first arrived in the 3rd century BC, so peace reigned within these kingdoms. But, due to prolonged internal conflicts, and various colonial interventions, these ancient governing methods changed.

The Colonial Period (1505 -1948)

Sri Lanka was colonized successively by the Portuguese 1505-1658, the Dutch 1664-1795, and the British from 1796 – 1948. These colonial powers would exploit the once isolated precolonial Sri Lankan socio-politico-economic structure to meet their geopolitical, geostrategic, and economic needs. Despite not making an impact at once, these changes, over time, began to shift various paradigms of the socio-politico-economic

structure of Sri Lanka.

Portuguese Colonial Governance

The Portuguese, Sri Lanka's first colonial power, found Sri Lanka by accident when Lourenco de Almeida's ship was swept away to the coast of Sri Lanka during a storm in 1505. Almeida observed Sri Lanka's commercial potential and returned it in 1518. Then, with the permission of king Vijaya Bahu VII, opened a trade post in Colombo as part of the Portuguese East India Company and converted it to a fort.

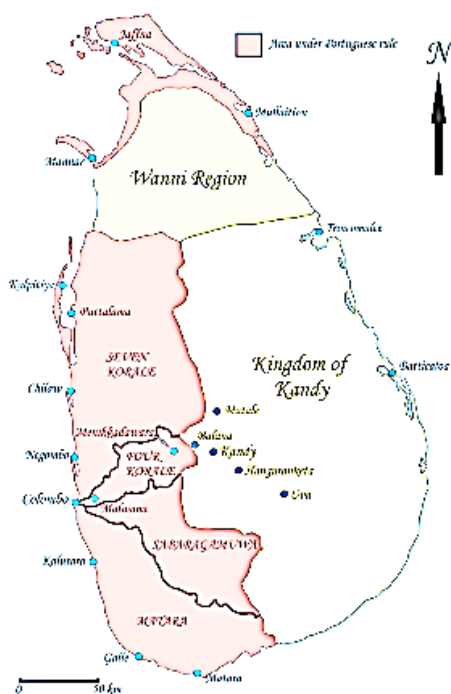
By 1543, there were four kingdoms within Sri Lanka. To the south the kingdom of Kotte under Bhuvanaikabahu VII, Raigama under Raigam Bandara and Sitawaka under Maya Dunne. The Jaffna kingdom dominated the Northern provinces. Because of familial hierarchical troubles within the Sinhalese, once Raigam Bandara was assassinated by the domineering Maya Dunne, he turned his attention to the kingdom of Kotte (Ribeiro, 1998). The king Bhuvanaikabahu VII, fearful and isolated, unsure as to whether his forces could defend him against his brother, requested help from the Portuguese who supplied labor and armaments, eventually increasing the power of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka.

The Portuguese started to exploit resources within the territories of the Kotte kingdom, claiming them as war tribute (Ribeiro, 1998). This was made easier by the constant infighting of Maya Dunne and Bhuvanaikabahu VII. In 1560, omitting the territories under the Jaffna and the Kandyan kingdoms, the Portuguese had extended their dominion across all coastal territories belonging to the Kotte kingdom (Pieris & Naish,

1999). In 1619, after multiple attempts to capture other parts of the country, the Portuguese annexed the Jaffna kingdom, as well as the eastern coastal ports of Trincomalee and Batticaloa (Blaze, 1999). The central high lands, and most parts of the eastern coastlines remained under Sinhalese monarchial rule, known as the Kandyan Kingdom, until 1815 when it was finally incorporated into British dominion (Mendis, 2005). The Portuguese governance within Sri Lanka was done by maintaining local governance of the Kingdom of Kotte, which consisted of four provinces and various other subdivisions each under a Dissave (Chief; see Figure 18).

Figure 18

Portuguese Rule in Sri Lanka



Note. From the data sample, *Portuguese Rule in Sri Lanka*, By S.P Amarasinghe, *Authors Private collection*, July 2011, Copyright, 2011.

Portuguese Colonial Societal Dynamics

Under the Dissave, the Portuguese further delegated their power by appointing local officials, taken from the Sinhalese nobility, who were loyal to the Portuguese and the Burghers (McGilvray, 1982). They also maintained the pre-colonial system of land tenure that sustained the local economy and procured essentials needed for Portuguese trade (Mahroof, 1997). The old payment system by land allocation, was also used by Portuguese officials to pay the native loyalists and the colonists for their services (Serrao, 2015).

During the Portuguese occupation, the native caste system was retained and a new ethnic group, the Portuguese Burghers, were included as a preferred ethnic group. The local economy continued to function through the paddy and dry cultivation seasons. The international trade that supported the native economy to flourish was now completely under Portuguese control (Pieris & Naish, 1999). Within these areas, certain indigenous goods, such as elephants, pepper, and betel nuts becoming part of the Portuguese monopoly, and was denied to the native king and his subjects. The Portuguese governance within Sri Lanka, was based upon exploiting the abundant natural resources for profiteering, lacked a proper understanding of the pre-colonial Sinhalese social and economic structure, so they were not able to turn it to their advantage (G. C. Perera, 2007).

Another effect seen negative to the populous was the Portuguese effort to evangelize the natives to Roman Catholicism. This left a lasting negative effect on Sri

Lanka's ethnic harmony. Since 1211, most of the Portugal's population (97%), followed Roman Catholicism, and only 3% followed other religions. Portugal predominantly remained a Catholic state. This influenced every aspect of Portuguese culture including governance in Sri Lanka (Solsten & Keefe, 1993, p. XVI). With no separation of state and religion, the Portuguese efforts to maintain control of Sri Lanka, deployed a fierce campaign to forcibly convert the natives to Roman Catholicism by destroying any other forms of worship (Keefe et al., 1977).

Portuguese Colonial Economics

The Portuguese, during these rampages, set fire to rice fields, chena cultivations, and homesteads. They decapitated noncombatants, destroyed Buddhist, Hindu, and other religious buildings, and burned Ola Leaf books within temples and shrines (Biedermann, 2018). During this period, the destruction of land allocated for use in the land tenure system fomented a sense of resentment toward both the natives, who submitted to Christianity, and the Portuguese (Wickramasekara, 2004).

In furthering this disharmony, the Portuguese enforced land taxes that would eventually lead to aggression against the colonists and their loyalists (G. C. Perera, 2007). The Portuguese enforced taxes was different from the monarchial land tenure laws which compelled 'volunteer labor' or 'caste-based services' for the collective good of state and country (G. C. Perera, 2007).

The Portuguese, within their territory, enforced taxes on natives after reviewing all their possessions. They compiled a register of grants (Tombo) containing each

holding, the title of those who held it, the income it yielded, and the dues to which the holder was liable. This was then collected with severity (Berkwitz, 2013). Portuguese taxation was based on profiteering. It used a Hapsburg system to earn profit for the ruling class based on one's harvest, land size, and the profits made using the land (Berkwitz, 2013). Excessive demands placed by the Portuguese on the natives, led to various hardships, compelling the natives to become hostile (G. C. Perera, 2007).

When faced with hostility, and disobedience by the locals, the Portuguese responded with force. This exacerbated the conditions and led to constant turmoil between natives and the Portuguese colonists. Some of these known conflicts include the Vijayabā Rebellion of 1527, the battle of Nallur in 1560 and the toppling of the Jaffna Kingdom in 1619 and annexing it to the Portuguese (De Queyroz, 1982; Winus, 2013). In between these conflicts, the Portuguese, to extend their domain, deployed a full military offensive against the Kandyan Kingdom: the last Sinhalese stronghold in 1592. Noted battles of this offensive include: the celebrated Danture campaign of 1594, and the battle of Gannoruwa on March 28, 1638 (Winus, 2013).

The native population of Sri Lanka, who endured centuries as an agrarian society by challenging the jungles for their livelihood, were masters in guerrilla warfare (G. C. Perera, 2007). Guerrilla warfare became a way of life for the locals, who responded to the invading Portuguese forces, by using the natural setting of the Kandyan kingdom, of thick jungles, deep gouges, and other obstacles, to their advantage, and caused heavy losses to the Portuguese.

The impact of the Kandyan response was so devastating, that the Portuguese not only retreated, but never attempted another military offensive of the Kandyan Kingdom. Instead, they sought diplomacy by signing the convention of Malvana in 1598 with the Kandyan Kingdom and retreated to their territories which include the Kotte and the Jaffna.

With pressure building from all sides, including threats on his life, the last executive action by the king of Kotte Bhuvanaikabahu VII, in protecting his lineage, was to have his son Prince Dharmapala (Dom João Dharmapala Pereira Bandara 1541 –1597) baptized and placed under the guardianship of the Portuguese until he was ready to rule (Seijas & Xavier, 2020). Prince Dharmapala embraced Roman Catholicism, legitimized Portuguese forced religious conversion, and granted the Portuguese total power over local governance to protect himself from his uncle Maya Dunne and the enraged Kandyan monarchs (Seijas & Xavier, 2020).

When Dharmapala died on May 27th, 1597, the Portuguese briefly gained authority over the kingdom of Kotte, but most of Kotte's divisions were still under Sinhalese nobility loyal to the local monarch (Abeyasinghe, 1964). To solidify Portuguese authority over the Kotte kingdom, and to gain loyalty of the locals to the king of Portugal, Governor General, Jeronimo de Azevedo initiated the Malvana convention of 1598 (Ribeiro, 1998). The edicts of the convention stated, that in return for native authorities recognizing Philip I of Portugal as their king, he, as the authority of Portugal in Sri Lanka and India, will respect the native way of life, including laws and customs (Abeyasinghe,

1964). In response, eight Christianized Sinhalese delegates, and representatives of the royal house of Kotte professed their loyalty to the king of Portugal (Pieris & Naish, 1999). This enraged the Kandyan monarch.

The Malvana convention of 1598 was the first of its kind introduced to Sri Lanka. It was highly criticized for granting the Portuguese an open door to exploit the land and plunder local treasures in their efforts to force the native population to convert to Christianity (Pieris & Naish, 1999). What the convention granted the locals, was the freedom to administer justice according to Sinhalese laws, even within the Portuguese dominion (Niriella, 2013). Unlike times leading up to independence in 1948, the Portuguese Colonial period, beyond its brutalities and resource exploitations, kept most of the old pre-colonial ways.

When considering the Portuguese Colonial period of Sri Lanka (1505 – 1658), history denotes it as an era of violence, unrest, and turmoil, and an era that compelled prolonged change (K. M. De Silva., 1981). The change came in the form of ethnic separatism that haunted the nation for decades. With the Jaffna kingdom falling under the Portuguese in 1619, only the Kandyan Kingdom survived, as a strong hold for natives to seek refuge (Ross & Savada, 1988).

Those who suffered and escaped the Portuguese dominion, considered the actions of the Kotte monarchy to integrate Portuguese ideas in internal politics, as an act of high treason (Welhengama & Pillay, 2014). The up-country people were unsympathetic toward the residents of the low country, who were suppressed into submission by the

ruthless Portuguese, and began to look down upon the low country people as traitors who betrayed the once glorious nation (Aspland, 1851). As a result, beyond the trading of goods between low country and up-country natives, social attachments, such as marriages ceased and “things went south” in all aspects (Booth, 1978). Causing another form of separatism, based upon religious belief. Christianity became in disfavor among both the upcountry and low country Buddhists. Even today, Christians are not openly welcomed within dominantly Buddhist Sri Lanka.

Dutch Colonial (VOC) Governance

The Kandyan Monarchy, despite having the manpower to deploy a full-scale attack in dealing with the Portuguese, lacked a strong navy, which challenged the Monarch’s ability to contain growing Portuguese power. Examples of this can be seen in the attack on the Colombo fort in 1521, when the Portuguese, on the verge of complete loss, retreated to the sea (Black, 2011). Within the safety of their armada, the Portuguese used their naval battery to devastate attackers, causing many casualties. They then requested reinforcements from other nearby forts and reclaimed lost territory. In 1602, due to the actions of Phillip of Spain, the politics between the Dutch and the Portuguese had turned sour (Anthonisz, 2003). Phillip deprived the Dutch of their trade rights in 1602. In return, the Dutch collaborated with multiple other trade organizations and established the Dutch East India Company or ‘Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie’ (VOC) (Anthonisz, 2003). Since the Portuguese Navy maintained total dominance over

the Indian ocean, the VOC lacked enough territory to expand their trade, and secure a monopoly on Asian goods (Dijk, 2006).

On May 31st, 1602, VOC Admiral Joris Van Spielberger landed in Batticaloa and changed the history of both the VOC and Sri Lanka for good. The king of Kandy, Vimala Dharma Sūriya I (1590-1604), finding the Portuguese menacing, established communication with Van Spielberger. Both agreeing that they share a common enemy, Van Spielberger agreed to help the monarch to get rid of the Portuguese and agreed to send another envoy with details. But when the envoy arrived in 1612 with Marcellus de Boschhouwer, Vimala Dharma Sūriya I, had died. The Kandyan Kingdom was now under Rajasinghe II, who finalized details and signed the famous Kandyan Treaty of 1638. The treaty grants the Dutch the freedom to trade anywhere within the country and Rajasinghe II agreed to annually deliver the country's best cinnamon, at a fixed price to the Dutch, to be paid with money or goods. In return, the Dutch agreed to support the king in his campaign against the Portuguese, by providing military needs, such as men, weapons, and ammunition (Da Silva & Beumer, 1988).

From 1638 -1658 the Kandyan monarchy, along with the Dutch, systematically removed Portuguese strongholds throughout the coastline of Sri Lanka. By 1655, all the Portuguese fortresses, including Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Negombo, Matara, Galle and Colombo were liberated from the Portuguese. But, by 1658, the Dutch placed a larger burden of the war costs on the Kandyan Monarch, and requested that payment be either in cash, or resources. The monarch's refusal to pay caused a rift between the two factions.

In response, from 1664 to 1795, the Dutch commandeered and held the regions once occupied by the Portuguese, including most Sri Lankan harbors, and used them for VOC industries within in Sri Lanka (Nierstrasz, 2012).

Sri Lanka, abundant in cinnamon, was the most important commodity for the VOC so they chose Sri Lanka as their site of operations for the cinnamon industry (Da Silva & Beumer, 1988). By 1658, the Dutch controlled over 470,000 people residing within the two coastal provinces of Sri Lanka. The Dutch controlled territories to the south including Galle and Colombo, then to the north, the territories included Jaffna, and Mannar (see Figure 18).

The VOC, having their main base of operations in India, governed Sri Lanka as part of a Mercantile system, which is a system of overseeing the economy of a country by controlling its foreign trade. The colonies were mandated to only trade with their parent nations, making them dependent on the parent nation (Kenton, 'Mercantilism', 2020).

As a result of ongoing internal turmoil between the colonists and the natives from 1500, by 1658 the ancient infrastructure now within Dutch dominion was neglected and destroyed (Goonaratna, 1971). The ancient rice fields that sustained the local economy of the once Kingdom of Ruhuna were now abandoned, their dams and waterways destroyed. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch took a keen interest in developing the state in which they governed. They were the first to introduce westernization into Sri Lanka, incorporating the Sri Lankan ancient economic system (Arasaratnam, 1985).

Dutch governance was more socially relaxed and financially methodical than the

Portuguese. According to Ferguson (1883), the Dutch... “pursued a far more enlightened administrative policy... but with regards to commerce, it was selfish and oppressive” (p. 5). The main goal of the Dutch occupation of Sri Lanka was to obtain a monopoly of the cinnamon trade on behalf of the VOC. They valued ideas that encouraged economic growth such as peace within their colonies (D. Ferguson , 1927). Because it would be too expensive to bring in reinforcements and maintain stability within the region, native conflicts were deemed unprofitable.

The Dutch, like the Portuguese, were dependent upon native labor. Benefiting from this dependence, the Dutch, unlike the Portuguese, were more open to the native system of governance (Gam Sabha and Rata Sabaha), which supported paddy-based industries, and native social hierarchy based upon trade. The Dutch introduced Roman-Dutch Law, allowing the administration of local justice on the regional level (Ross & Savada, 1988).

Dutch Colonial Societal Dynamics

By 1660, the loyalty of the natives was split between the Kandyan monarch and the Dutch. In retaining their loyalty, the Dutch used tact. They manipulated the well rooted social dynamics of Pre-colonial Sri Lanka to their advantage and focused on agriculture (Codrington, 1926). Agriculture not only supported the local economy to grow, it also gave the colonists their cash crops. Prioritizing the cinnamon industry to meet their needs, the Dutch extended their trade to other industries profitable within the European markets. They industrialized pearls, pepper, and spice cultivation, as well as

profiting from other cash-crops such as coffee, coconuts, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco (R. B. Herath, 2002). The Dutch colonial mercantilism, within Sri Lanka, was based upon the cinnamon industry. The Dutch introduced low level localized bureaucracy to Sri Lanka which rallied supporters to their efforts (Reddy, 2003). The Dutch, observing the ancient societal systems of Sri Lanka, added a new industry 'cinnamon production' to the caste system (Reddy, 2003).

When the Portuguese colonial period ended, once ethnically united Sri Lanka was divided along regional lines (see Figure 19). The upcountry natives looked down upon the low country natives seeing them as traitors. This severed any opportunity for the low country people to obtain any form of socio-politico-economic privileges, or even obtain favor from their upcountry relatives (Maetsuycker, 1908). The new caste they introduced to the Sri Lanka caste system was associated with the cinnamon industry and was known as 'Salagama' or Salagama Brahmana (Dewasiri et al., 2020). The low country caste system, created by the Dutch, used cinnamon peelers as the base, and ratcheted up to owners of the estates.

Figure 19

Map of the Dutch Controlled Regions Between 1658-1796



Note: From Some Historical Aspects of Leprosy in Ceylon During the Dutch Period 1658 – 1796, by C. De. F.W. Gooneratne, Medical History, 1971; 15(1), P. 69, Copyrights 1971

Above all other castes in the low country, the owners of these estates, along with industrialists, were favored by the Dutch (Senaratne & Pathirana, 2020). The Dutch, when delegating the duties within their administration, kept all high offices for themselves, and the Dutch burghers. Lower offices were delegated to the local elite by assigning them specific duties, such as providing manpower to guard the gate “Gate Mudaliar” (M. Roberts, 1982).

The invention of the printing press in 1450 marked a turning point in the world. It brought books to the world giving prominence to education and higher education (Barker,

1978). Dutch clergymen, in their efforts to conduct research and publish various religious documents, found it hard to do it using 'Ola Leaves'. They requested a portable press to be delivered to the Colombo fort in 1736 (Kularatne, 1995).

The press completely changed the dynamics of the Dutch colonial efforts in Sri Lanka. The Dutch East Indian Company (VOC) printed multitudes of religious, educational, and non-educational books in Sinhala, Tamil, and Dutch. The press, active from 1737 to 1796, not only supported the development of proper records kept on the growth of various industries and state policies, but it also enabled the Dutch to introduce westernized education in Sri Lanka (W. Brown, 1823).

The Dutch education system introduced to the natives, was a more liberal and broad form of education than the Portuguese, with all its restrictions and limitations (W. Brown, 1823). Dutch education divided the occupied areas into two hundred and forty parishes, with one Protestant School for each parish. The Dutch further established their education and religion, by constructing a seminary. Dutch education was accessible to any prominent student, who could obtain an extensive education, enabling them to secure careers as schoolmasters, catechists, or preachers (W. Brown, 1823).

Some of the students chosen from these Dutch seminaries were even sent to Europe to get a complete European education (Maetsuycker, 1908). Upon their return they assisted in academia or joined various sectors within the Dutch administration (Schrikker, 2007). The Dutch, along with their education system, in contrast to the Portuguese, allowed, local temple-based education to continue.

Equally, native religious tolerance of the Dutch was much more lenient; while they prohibited Buddhist and Hindu religious observance in urban areas, they did not interfere with such in the rural areas. This retained the local population within the Dutch dominion (R. B. Herath, 2002). However, the Dutch were not that sympathetic towards Roman Catholic practices, they harassed Catholics whenever possible, and constructed protestant religious edifices on land obtained from the catholic ministries (R. B. Herath, 2002).

Dutch Colonial Economics

The maintained peace between the Dutch and the Kandyan kingdom, allowed various industries, including cinnamon, coconut, cotton, and coffee to flourish and enabled the Dutch to develop the low country regions within their dominion. This brought in large revenues to the VOC (Arasaratnam, 1985). The progress of the low country was increased with the Dutch having control over all the ports and international trade. The Kandyan kingdom having dominion over the inland remained an agrarian society. By continuing to hold onto the pre-colonial methods and traditions, the Kandyan kingdom lost its once flourishing economy (Dewaraja, 2008).

For the Sri Lankan low country, it was a time of revival. Unlike within the Kandyan kingdom, dominated by the upcountry elites, Dutch dominion granted the freedom of social upward mobility to anyone who contributed to the VOC (Kotelawele, 1995). Many ambitious young natives including Mr. Don Carolis, Christoffel de Seram, Don Bartholomew, and James Edward Correa began emerging within the elite ranks of

the south (Wright, 1999). Others residing within various regions who sought fame and adventure, began embracing the Dutch authority, and their ways, migrated to areas within Dutch dominion. This caused the Kandyan's and the upcountry citizens to look down upon the Low country people even more (R. Pieris, 1956).

War and economy do not go hand in hand. If there is turmoil within a state it discourages economic growth and development, the Dutch understood this more than the Portuguese. In a situation where a foreign power is attempting to procure goods for a mercantile venture that will benefit them more than the native state, internal conflicts are inevitable. The Dutch attempted to maintain peace with the monarchy, they used the nation's Indigenous traditions, cultural traits such as the caste system, prominence placed for education, mythology, and religion to lure support. But the Dutch, having dominion only within the coastal regions, like their predecessors the Portuguese, despite their best efforts could not create imposing change within Sri Lanka.

British Colonial (EIC) Governance

By the latter part of the 18th century, the world having changed through various advancements in science and technology was now in a period of economic growth and internationalism. In Sri Lanka, successive conflicts with the Portuguese, and the Dutch for almost 200 years, added to various other internal turmoil over kingship. The Kandyan Kingdom was now on the verge of economic collapse. Bordered by Dutch territories, with no access to the world, the center of native governance of the Kandyan Kingdom,

remained isolated inland. The Kandyan Kingdom was omitted from all global affairs and trends while the low country was becoming modernized.

In further damaging the economy of the Kandyan Kingdom, developments within the low country created many opportunities for workers engaged in industries such as plumbago (graphite), coconut, cocoa, coffee, cinnamon, and pearls. People from the up country, seeking these opportunities, migrated to the low country (Pirani, 2016). This loss of valued human capital further tilted the socio-politico-economic balance within the Kandyan kingdom which was dependent upon the pre-colonial land tenure system and rice economy (K. M. De Silva, 2007). These challenges obligated the Kandyan Monarch King Kirti Sri Raja Sinha (1747-1782) to seek new allies willing to operate against the Dutch and began communicating with the British from 1762 (Pybus, 1862). The British were the emerging power within in Southeast Asia, who could match the naval power of the Dutch Armada and its military might (Pirani, 2016).

In 1795, following the fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780-1784), British emissaries arrived bearing news that the British will support the Kandyan kings' effort to remove the Dutch dominance within the coastal regions (Pybus, 1862). In return for their support the British requested that the Kandyan monarch hand over the Sri Lankan cinnamon trade and Dutch controlled areas to the British (Pybus, 1862). Unaware of the disaster to unfold, Sri Rajadhi Raja Sinha (1782-1798) agreed and together defeated the Dutch by 1796. In 1797, Dutch dominance was reduced, and the British took over the role of the colonial administration within the low country coastal regions of Sri Lanka (Mendis,

2005). By the end of 1798, the British replaced the Dutch East India Company (VOC), with the British East India Company (EIC) which became the dominant power over Southeast Asian Trade.

Sri Lanka, with its natural harbors now well established by the colonial predecessors, its proximity to India, and richness in resources was soon noted by the British. Between mid-1700s and early the 1800s, the EIC was responsible for half of the world's trade in basic commodities including cotton, silk, indigo dye, sugar, salt, spices, saltpeter, tea, and opium (Keay, 1993). They methodically began to exploit various existing conditions within Sri Lanka to their advantage. They extended their dominance to support their economic endeavors in Asia and Europe (Thakur, 2013).

In 1874, following the negative impacts of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, under the Government of India Act 1858, the EIC was dissolved. All its possessions would be taken over by the British Crown to be administered by the State (Thakur, 2013). The exploitation of the existing conditions by the British within Sri Lanka, and their other colonies, is a repeated topic noted throughout the British colonial administration by the EIC and the Crown (Webster, 2007). This shift of power over the Southeast Asian territories by the EIC to the Crown is a valuable observation when considering various legal changes done within Sri Lanka and other states during the British Colonial past.

The EIC administered all territories as a vehicle for profiteering. The EIC did not consider the colonies as individual states. When the crown took over, the administration was guided in establishing colonies mimicking the British model. Rule by division and

exploitation of existing conditions within the nation guided the foundation of the British colonial administration model (Davy, 1821).

From 1798, the British EIC further expanding their dominion to obtain more inland resources, exploited the rift between the Nayak dynasty rule and the Kandyan nobility (Davy, 1821). The Nayak dynasty (South Indian) established themselves into the Kandyan Monarchy when King Vira Narendra Sinha (1707 – 1739) died nominating his brother-in-law, a Madurai Nayak, for the throne (Gopalakrishnan, 1988). Until 1739 the strength of the Kandyan Kingdom was in the blood. The monarch and all the nobility were related to each other through marriage, so family loyalties held the kingdom (Gopalakrishnan, 1988).

But the events of 1739, putting a foreign power over the Kandyan kingdom, rapidly deteriorated the relationship between the Nayak and the Kandyan Nobility who commanded the support of the people (Sivasundaram, 2010). By establishing communication with both these parties, the British not only further exacerbated the distrust between the Nayaks and the Kandyan Nobility, but also set the Kandyan elite against each other (Dewaraja, 2008). By 1805, distrust between the monarchy and the nobles, along with discord within the nobility, had withered within the Kandyan kingdom. A family dispute between three prominent families of the Kandyan nobility over territorial control erupted into riots in 1811 and completely severed what was left of the dwindling relationship within the Kandyan court (Dewaraja, 2008). Threatened by the 1811 riots, and the conspiracy to remove him from the throne, the last king of Sri Lanka

and Kandy 'Sri Wickrama Raja Singha' a Nayak, became increasingly suspicious of his chiefs and courtiers (Dewaraja, 2008). He would deploy brutal punishment on those assumed or found guilty and was becoming unpopular even among the most loyal supporters of the throne (Beck, 2006).

One such punishment that changed the course of history in Sri Lanka was the execution of the well-connected and highly respected Ehelepola Family. Under suspicion of treason, the king Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha had the wife of the Great officer Ehelepola, Lady Ehelepola watches her two sons beheaded, and forced her to crush her infant baby in a large mortar & pestle before drowning her in the Kandy Lake with a rock tied around her neck (Vimaladharma, 2000).

This public execution became the last straw that decided the fate of the Nayak dynasty (P. E. Pieris, 2001). Following the event, riots broke out throughout the Kandyan kingdom, compelling the king to flee to Hanguranketha, which was the secondary withdrawal point for the then Kandyan monarchy. With the seat of power vacant, and unity among Kandyan chiefs in disarray, British loyalists within the Kandyan court allowed the British to capture Kandy, its capital, in January 1815 (K. M. De Silva, 1981).

The great officer Ehelepola, who escaped death by the monarch, joined the ranks of the British with the intention of returning with a large force to overthrow the British, but it was in vain. On March 2nd, 1815, the Kandyan nobility signed the Kandyan Convention of 1815 (Godden & Casinader, 2013). Drafted in both Sinhala and English it agreed that the Sri Lankans recognize the British monarchy. In return the British will

recognize the Kandyan nobility and govern Sri Lanka through them (Godden & Casinader, 2013). But as soon as the convention of 1815 was signed, and the Kingdom was ceded to Britain, it opened a new era in Sri Lankan history that was unfavorable to all, including the naïve Kandyan Nobility.

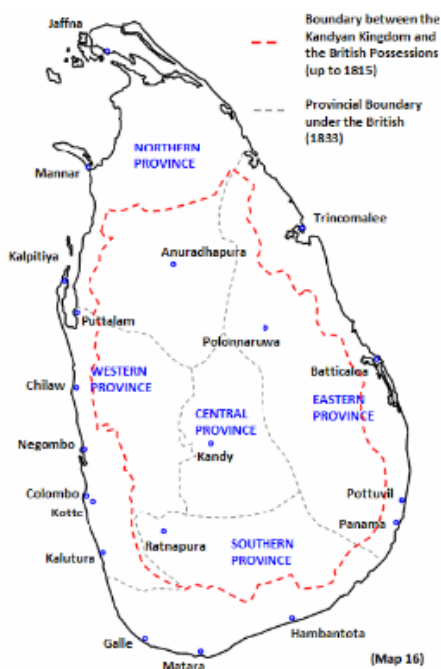
As the first order of business, assisted by the Kandyan nobility, the British ventured to Hanguranketha then captured the King, Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha with all his relatives the Nayaks, and exiled them to India (Phath, 1896). He remained in the Vellore fort, South India as a political prisoner until his death on January 30, 1832, due to dropsy at the age of 52 years. The British then directed their attention to their new dominion, imposed various rules to contain the Kandyan chiefs and the nobility, banning them from various duties including riding on horseback. In retaliation, the Kandyan nobility, led by noted chieftains including Keppetipola, Pilimathalawa and Ehelepola, embarked on the Great Rebellion of 1817–18 with the intention of taking back the Kingdom (Powell, 1984). But the British, with the support of loyal Kandyan chiefs, such as Molligoda Maha Adikaram and Ratwatte Adikaram held strong and turned the tide by November 1818. For the first time in Sri Lankan history the whole nation was united under one governing authority (Powell, 1984). Steadfast in their efforts to use Sri Lanka for economic growth, the British colonist under the EIC administration methodically began to change the existing socio-politico-economic structure to support the British Empire.

In 1818 the British abolished the pre-colonial village council system of the Gam Sabaha, Lok Sabaha, and Kings Council (Raja Sabaha) administrations. Thereafter, in

1833 the British introduced the Colebrook Cameron Reforms (CCR) 1829-1832. Through the suggestions of the CCR reforms, begin a systematic process of westernizing Sri Lanka. Suggested by the reforms, for the ease of management, and in reducing the power of the Kandyan nobility, the British divided the Kandyan kingdom into five provinces (see Figure 20). On March 19, 1833, the British established an executive and legislative council. This was considered the first step for instituting a representative government within Sri Lanka and executing power and justice. This also ended all native and historical colonial authority (L. A. Mills, 1964).

Figure 20

British Introduced Provincial Systems



Note: From, Map 16, Campaign for Peace & Unity in Sri Lanka, the abuse of an islands history to propagate a myth, Page 22, copyrights Campaign for Peace & Unity in Sri Lanka, 2009

The initial executive council of Sri Lanka consisted of the British Governor, considered the head of state, and five other senior British officials, including the General Commanding Officer, the Colonial Secretary, the Kings' Advocate, the Treasurer, and the Government Agent for the Central Province (Mellor, 1868). In 1840 the Government Agent for the Central Province position was replaced by the Auditor-General and in 1883 the Queen's Advocate post was renamed Attorney General. While the initial council contained only one representative from the natives, the 1924 reforms of the executive council added four unofficial native members (Mellor, 1868).

The legislative council replaced the village council system. The Kandyan constitution, kangaroo courts of the Dutch as well as the king's council became the official legislative body of Sri Lanka (Hereford, 1900). The executive council and the legislative council combined, formed the first representative government in Sri Lanka up until 1931 when the legislative council was replaced with the state council of Ceylon (Gunawardena, 2005). Going forward, the British governing body of Sri Lanka would bring about rapid changes, in favoring the economic growth of the EIC, and the crown. These changes were based on both collecting land revenues and profiteering through the cultivation of cash crops.

The British, to maintain total control over the land, enforced the Crown Lands (Encroachments) Ordinance No. 12 of 1840. This was a form of an enclosure movement, where one claims landownership by annexing common land and enclosing it, and by doing so deprives people of their ancient rights of access and privilege (Kain et al., 2004).

This enforcement of Ordinance No. 12 deprived the native majority and the Kandyan peasantry of their ancestral lands and the land used for Chena cultivation. This marked the downfall of the ancient land tenure system which eventually would deprive the natives of their means of sustenance, wealth, and trade (Mendis, 2005).

In 1856, the British enacted the Registration of Temple Lands Ordinance No. 10 of 1856. This ordinance “required all land claimed by Temples to be surveyed for the preparation of a Register of Temple Lands, partly at the expense of the Temple and partly of the Government”. When executing Ordinance No. 10 many of the temples that owned large land plots were forced to relinquish them to avoid paying heavy survey costs. These unclaimed lands, belonging to the temples, consisted of underdeveloped forest and overgrown unused land/areas (Waste Land) which would eventually be incorporated into the crown.

Under complete British dominance of the nation in 1815, and from 1840 to 1856, substantial amounts of land were procured. They converted these lands to cash crop plantations favoring the European market (C. W. Kannangara, 1948). They then handed this land over to the European planters for an incredibly low cost. The British, like their predecessors, depended on local labor for their endeavors. To procure the maximum labor they abolished the ‘Rajakariya’. The Rajakariya (communal obligations) was the backbone of both the pre-colonial land tenure system and the socio-politico-economic infrastructure of the nation at the time.

The ‘Grain Tax Ordinance of 1878’ imposed a tax on owners of paddy land

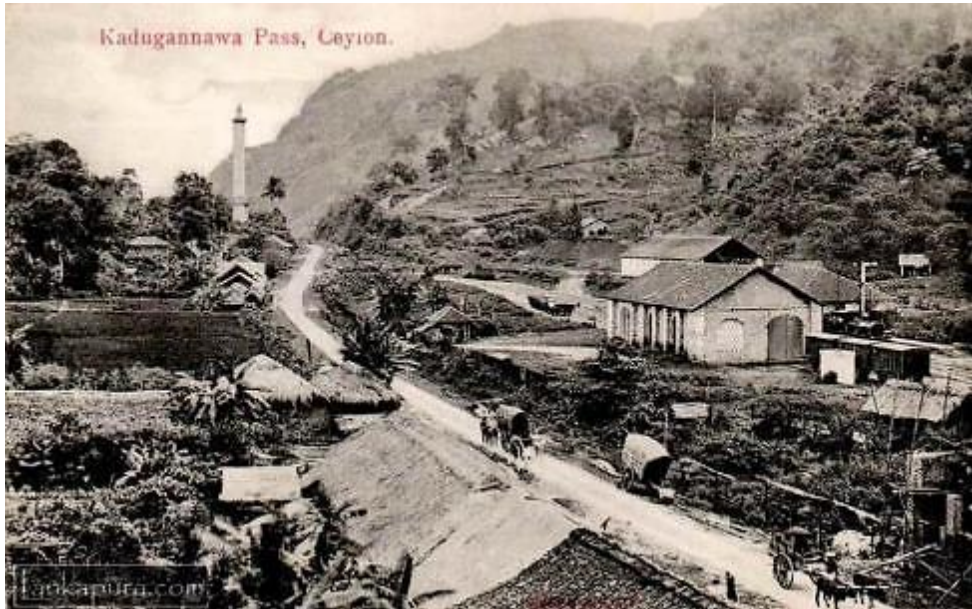
requiring them to pay a tax to the Government which was assessed based upon the income from their fields (M. Roberts, 2011). Most, unable to pay this tax, abandoned rice cultivation for good and joined the ranks working under the British Administration and their plantations. This was the turning point to today's economic struggles of having to import rice from India and accruing international debt to support the nation's staple diet.

The British introduced another land ordinance known as the Waste Lands Ordinance, No. 1 of 1897. This land Ordinance gave the British crown, through its agents, such as the governor, the capacity to declare vast areas of land in the country as Crown land (Waste Land Ordinance, 1897). Collectively these Ordinances toppled every aspect of Sri Lanka's socio-politico-economic infrastructure that was bound on the land tenure system created by the Rajakariya. The British, then began working on infrastructure. They used local informants and British surveyors to map the island and build a network of roads to open the central region and interconnect all the ports including Trincomalee, and Galle.

The British also incorporated into this interconnected network of roads, their coastal military strongholds, such as the Colombo, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Jaffna fort (see Figure 21). These efforts by the British not only furthered the lucrative trade monopoly of the EIC, but also strengthened their dominion within Sri Lanka, by bolstering their military presence within the country. The Ceylon Railway Company (CRC) established in 1847 also began connecting main cities and expanding throughout the country (Cave, 1854).

Figure 21

The City of Kadugannawa in Early 1900s



Note. From Historic Images of Sri Lanka “Kadugannawa Station Early 1900s”, Lankapura Website, Public Domain, 2011.

By mid-1870 the CRC had interconnected all the urban trade hubs and all the ports around the country with the main port of Colombo (Cave, 1854). This made the export of valuable products such as tea, coconuts, and rubber quickly available to the European market. Because of the professionally managed supply chain, by 1880 the British immediately gained the monopoly on the then global Tea, Coconut and Rubber market, bringing in a vast revenue to the EIC and the British Crown. This made Sri Lanka a valued colony of the empire which the British developed further under their Model.

British Colonial Economics

The British economic efforts within Sri Lanka were grounded on upholding the British mercantilism system and sustaining the crown. Despite scholars, such as Arasaratnam (2021), considering the British colonial period in Sri Lanka, and their economic endeavors as an historical turning point toward modernization, other sources explain it as the start of its downfall. Until the 18th century, the European market demanded Asian spices and cinnamon. So, an emphasis was placed by the authorities of the East Indian Company to procure and only export these goods to Europe. Growing with abundance, the British did not place a large emphasis on these industries which were maintained by the Dutch throughout their dominion.

In the 19th century, the European market expanded; other commodities such as coffee, tea, and rubber became in demand. As a result, all the colonial land within British Sri Lanka (Ceylon) were converted to establishing elaborate plantations to support these crops, commonly known as cash crops. The manufactured goods from coffee, tea, and rubber generated a remarkably high income within the European market between 1800 to 1950s (Lipton, 1912).

To maximize income, efficient cultivation, production, and procurement processes were needed (Lipton, 1912). Soon the Sri Lankan countryside was converted to large tea, coconut and rubber estates and production facilities for these crops while valuable resources within these lands such as timber were exported to Britain and the crown colony of India (Cordiner, 1807).

From 1873, tea became the most prominent cash crop in Sri Lanka. When 23 pounds of tea was valued at \$28.00 by 1911 over 186,000,000 pounds of Lipton's tea alone was shipped from Sri Lanka to various parts of the world" including the US (Lipton, 1912, p. 5). From 1898, with more experiments done on the product, the rubber market started to bring in profits. By 1901 the acreage allocated for Rubber cultivation also began to increase, from 2500 acres in 1901 to 150,000 in 1907 then to 200,000 in 1910 (Willis, 1907). To meet this growing demand, Britain was compelled to increase their production capacity of tea plantations, coconut, and rubber estates.

In losing their land, along with their food source and wealth, many residents of the upcountry migrated to the low country in search of work. This caused a great labor shortage, which was essential to supporting the growing Tea industry, the primary cash crop of the crown at the time. The British, from 1820 - 1930 brought in 'Indentured' immigrant workers from South and Southeast India (Tamilnadu) to work in these upcountry tea plantations as laborers (Sahadevan, 1993). These laborers were settled within these plantations established on the land previously occupied by the majority native Sinhalese who were chased off their ancestral land in 1840. The Industrial revolution gained momentum from 1760 – 1913. The advancements in technology and various processes of manufacturing needed a new caliber of educated workers.

British Colonial Societal Dynamics

In 1870, to meet this need, the British introduced, the British education model in Sri Lanka. The pre-colonial education for the public was geared for purpose of building a

socially conscious population in meeting the needs of the pre-colonial socio-political-economic infrastructure.

The pre-colonial education system consisted of subjects that include Asiatic languages such as Pali, Sanskrit, Indigenous medicine, history, religion, and wisdom through ancient texts such as Chanakya Nitti, Kawi Silumina and Dhammapada. The initial phase of transforming the temple education to a modern westernized one began early within the British colonial period (1796-1948). Anglican priests who arrived with the colonist from 1796 first initiated their missionary work within the occupied coastal areas (Ruberu, 1962). When the British dominion expanded throughout the nation from 1796 -1815 these missionaries expanded their operations throughout the state and by the 1830's was well established within the central hill country (Ruberu, 1962).

In 1833, the Colebrook-Cameroon commission mandated English to be the medium of instruction in all the schools, and English educated youths to be given government jobs (Corea, 1969). Many of these schools established under the British authority were multiethnic, single sex schools, pitched specifically to educate the native children of the Sri Lankan elite (Daniel, 1992). Some of these early missionary schools include Trinity College Kandy, Royal College Colombo, St. Thomas' College Mount Lavinia, Girls High School Kandy, St. Anthony's College Kandy, and Hillwood College Kandy. With the growing demand for skilled workers from the 1870's, the curriculum of these schools was changed to a standardized western education enabling students to continue or complete their higher studies in Great Britain through the University College

of Sri Lanka (Ruberu, 2007).

Even though graduates of these schools were given preference in any occupation, the primary requirement to join such institution was embracing Christianity or having a Christian upbringing (Tennent, 1850). This was no different for obtaining a good occupation within the British Administration. Because Buddhism contained every aspect of the Kandyan culture, most residing within this region, including a large pool of the Kandyan nobility, were not willing to denounce their traditions, heritage, and culture (S. G.Perera, 1941).

But this was not the case for the Tamil population living in these regions, especially the Indian Tamils. Already second-class citizens, the Indian Tamils of the upcountry, seeking better opportunities within the British Administration, began to embrace Christianity (Kanapathipillai, 2009). Compared to the upcountry Tamil population, only a handful of upcountry Sinhalese were given the privilege of entering to these schools and thriving within the British Administration (Jayawardena, 2012). As a result of the Portuguese and Dutch influence 1505 – 1796, most low country Sinhalese and Tamils had already embraced Christianity and were well versed in European ways (Golding, 2018; Wettewa, 2016). The British, needing fluent westernized native workers in various fields, that include bookkeeping, management, and hospitality immediately favored these Christians of which a large population was of Tamil origin (Kanapathipillai, 2009).

The British took the Christians under their administration, then mentoring, and

modernizing them, created a new social class of educated elites (Jayawardena, 2012). Reaching the 20th century most of the middle administrative positions in judicial, agriculture, education and various other industries were held by English-speaking Christians who graduated from these schools (Jayawardena, 2012). On the flipside, because the temple education was systematically abolished from 1840, in reaching the 1880s, most of the rural Sri Lankans that remained loyal to Buddhism, were deprived of both a good education and various privileges within the colonial administration.

The British enforced land ordinance laws, depriving the native Sinhala Buddhist population of their land, forced them to abandon paddy cultivation, which was their main source of sustenance. By 1890, Sri Lankan Sinhala Buddhists were left with only two choices for survival. Either work a mediocre occupation under the British administration or commit to hard labor within the colonial plantations established in their ancestral land now owned and managed by the British and Sri Lankan Christians. Even the monastic order, which guided the pre-colonial way of life was crippled. The knowledge of the ancient Asiatic languages such as Pali and Sanskrit was fading. Only a handful of old monks could read, write, and translate these ancient texts, and many passed away, carrying with them their knowledge.

Wealth of ancient knowledge containing Sri Lankan history, and other disciplines including ancient medicine, astronomy, astrology, engineering, and agriculture compiled in annals by the ancients, became mere objects of veneration inside temple libraries.

By the early 1900's illiteracy was large among the Sinhalese majority. People's

knowledge of the nation's past became limited to village folk tales, and little-known Buddhist stories narrated by monks who learned them through word of mouth. Even those who were literate, by obtaining a westernized education, were limited in their knowledge of native history because they followed a modified version of Sri Lankan history through the British curriculum.

The early part of the 20th century was a crucial turning point for both British colonial rule and the Sri Lankans. By the year 1900, colonization, and the incorporated changes to the socio-politico-economic infrastructure by western powers since 1597 had negatively impacted Sri Lankan nationalities. The British from 1815-1900, dominating the whole country, and imposing rapid changes, toppled every aspect that bound the pre-colonial agrarian society of Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese were deprived of their land, the Muslims, of their trade, and the Indian & Jaffna Tamils of their freedom, causing great animosity towards the British (Paranage, 2018). In further exacerbating this condition from 1890 – 1912, progress by the department of Archeology under commissioner H.C.P Bell, uncovering various buried remains of the ancient cities that include Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, and Sigiriya, uprooted national pride among the locals.

By 1930, this growing sense of nationalism among all ethnicities, the animosity toward the British, and lack of understanding of the pre-colonial past being uncovered, give life to a new ideology. The contested Sinhala Buddhist Ideology started to surface, and it would soon become the incubus of Sri Lankan history, causing great disadvantages to its future sustained growth. Its evolution goes back to the British who eliminated

temple education from 1840, and much of precolonial history of Sri Lanka getting lost among the annals within temple archives.

With only a handful of novice monks attempting to interpret and incorporate the lost history of what was uncovered, they found it easy to connect every aspect of Sri Lanka's past to Buddhism and the ancient Sinhala Monarchy. This was a grave fallacy because these monks, did not take into consideration other aspects of Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, socio-politico-economic infrastructure. The land tenure system, (Rajakariya), decentralized governance, and distribution of power were not considered supporting factors for the sustained growth of pre-colonial Sri Lanka. In having no other means of acquiring knowledge to challenge them, the large rural population of Sinhala Buddhists naively believed these emerging pundits and united under the Sinhala Buddhists identity.

They called into action the revival of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and India because they believed the liberating lifestyle of the ancients can only be achieved through Buddhism and its institutions. In response, the Theosophical Society (TS) of the United States lead by Colonel Hendry Steele Olcott, established a branch in Sri Lanka in 1880. The Theosophical Society is an international organization of wealthy patrons' residing in the US and Europe. Their sole mission was to advance the ideas of Theosophy around the world, and within that effort, chose to support reviving Buddhism in both Sri Lanka and India from May 19, 1880.

The TS, in collaboration with the Sri Lankan Buddhist community deployed a public awareness campaign to revive Buddhism in 1889. They would hold public debates,

and workshops in educating the masses, and emphasize the virtues and values of Buddhism. For the Theosophical Society, extending their operations would also provide funding for the development and the maintenance of various Buddhist pilgrim sites in both Sri Lanka and India. Their most influential project was establishing prominent Buddhist schools throughout the country. By 1907, approximately 205 schools had been completed.

Colonel Olcott was a prominent individual who held multiple roles. He was a Senior American civil war officer, a journalist, a lawyer, a Freemason, and held the office of special commissioner to the US war department. Olcott also gained fame in 1865 for being one of the investigators of President Lincoln's Assassination. To further strengthen the efforts of reviving Buddhism in Sri Lanka, Olcott used his influence to present the Buddhist cause to the British government. In gaining support, he was able to obtain sanctions to some of the restrictions on Buddhism, including the prohibition of processions, establishing Buddhist schools and restrictions on temple properties.

By 1915, the activities of the TS within both urban and rural communities throughout Sri Lanka united many scattered Buddhist communities and advanced the progression of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism. Because of Tamil and Muslim nationalism gaining momentum, conflicts between three groups started to emerge. Communal riots between the Sinhalese and Muslims breaking out on the west coast in 1915. In response the British tightened their grip on Sri Lankan politics. They put down the unrest with so much excessive zeal and brutality, that it shocked both the British, and the Sri Lankans.

Blaming the majority ethnic group for conspiring against the government, the British indiscriminately arrested many prominent Sinhalese including Mr. D.S. Senanayake.

The British response to the riots of 1915 became a turning point for Sri Lankans to adamantly demand self-governance and act to that effect. Soon, anti-British activists began mobilizing for coordinated action against the British by aligning themselves with the nationalist movement in India. In 1919, major Sinhalese and Tamil political organizations united in forming the Ceylon National Congress. Their first actions were to demand a new constitution that would increase local control over the Executive Council and its budget.

The crown, despite turning it down, did declare a new constitution in 1920 and then in 1924 made amendments to it allowing for an increase in Sri Lankan representation. The British increased membership to represent only 4% of the native population. The Ceylon National Congress also brought about a new constitution, which was geared toward self-governance and support of a large representation of the Sri Lankan population. In response, on November 13, 1927, the British Parliament appointed a commission. The purpose of this commission was to interview the people of Sri Lanka and through its findings, develop a constitution directing Sri Lanka toward self-governance.

This marked the first stage in ending British colonial authority in Sri Lanka. The Donoughmore Commission, meeting thirty-four times with the locals, and interviewing 140 people, presented the Donoughmore Constitution (DC) to Sri Lanka in 1931. This

constitution was the first of its kind that enabled general elections with universal suffrage (Barron, 2008). Considered a pilot project, the DC granted, within the empires of western Europe, a dependent, non-Caucasian country, which allowed one-person, one-vote and the power to control domestic affairs (Collins, 1950).

Due to various colonial influences from 1505, by 1931 each ethnicity in Sri Lanka was separately developing their own sense of nationalism. The Donoughmore commission, during their research, noted these underlying power struggles between the ethnic groups were on the rise and was on the verge of drifting toward ethnic separatism (Russell, 1982). The commission to address growing ethnic tension established a committee system of government exclusively to focus on the multi-ethnic challenges (Barron, 2008).

Under the system of government, every department of the administration was managed by a group of legislators, each representing one ethnicity. This ensured one ethnic group would not dominate the political sphere. Multiethnic management would act as a built-in sequence of checks and balances, ensuring that the needs of all ethnicities are taken into consideration (Collins, 1950).

In 1931, this committee system of government obtained Crown authority to handle all domestic affairs regulated under the Donoughmore Constitution (1931-1947) (Barron, 2008). When selecting the candidacy, it was made sure by the British that those western educated and westernized youth of the new elite class from all ethnicities were chosen. Naming some of these candidates, include D.S. Senanayake, S.W.R.D.

Bandaranaike, and G.G Ponnambalam. Because it kept the British influence in national decision making to the minimum, this system of governance gave the committee a great platform to develop solid plans toward Sri Lankan independence (Kannangara A. P., 1984).

The suppressive British governance in Sri Lanka for almost 122 years was founded on separatism. The British, separated communities through land, trade, locale, and education. By 1937, a separatist communal mentality had evolved among the people. Instead of addressing the needs of the nation as a collective, this committee became a platform for splinter political groups evolving around influential personalities to address nationalism among the ethnicities.

To support the Sinhalese nationalism, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike formed the Great Council of the Sinhalese (Sinhala Maha Sabha) in 1937. The Burghers established the Burgher Political Association in 1938 to protect their interests. The Tamils, to protect their interests, established both the Ceylon Indian Congress in 1939 and the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress in 1944.

By 1940, island wide activities sponsored by organizations such as the Theosophical Society had made remarkable success in building a strong Buddhist following among the Sinhalese majority. Yet, the upcountry and low country Sinhalese remained divided in their loyalties due to Portuguese and Dutch colonial influences. On October 3, 1940, all this changed when S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, a low country Sinhalese married Ms. Sirimavo Ratwatte, an upcountry Kandyan. The nuptial unification between

these two forced the separated Sinhalese Buddhist factions to settle their differences and unite.

Inequality between the rural and urban Sinhalese populations remained the same. Between 1931–1948, 84% of Sri Lanka's total population was rural (see Figure 22). From this, 63% of Sri Lanka's total rural population were Sinhala Buddhist, and 13% consisted of rural Tamils. When the upcountry and low country Sinhalese united, it created a substantial population of Sinhala Buddhists without a representative to advocate for their interests within the commission.

This was the same for the minority Tamil population. The representatives of the 1931 commission, especially Bandaranayke, and G.G. Ponnambalam, finding this condition ideal, continued acting upon emergent ethnic and communal issues to guide their agendas. The majority of Sri Lanka's rural population owned no land or shared any loyalty to the British. They were left with only their ethnic identity to protect, so they rallied alongside these two representatives who claimed to support their interests along ethnic and communal lines (Collins, 1950). This caused a deeper rift between the Sinhalese and the Tamils and led to numerous communal uprisings throughout the nation until 1947.

The Post-Colonial Period (1948-Present)

Post-Colonial Governance

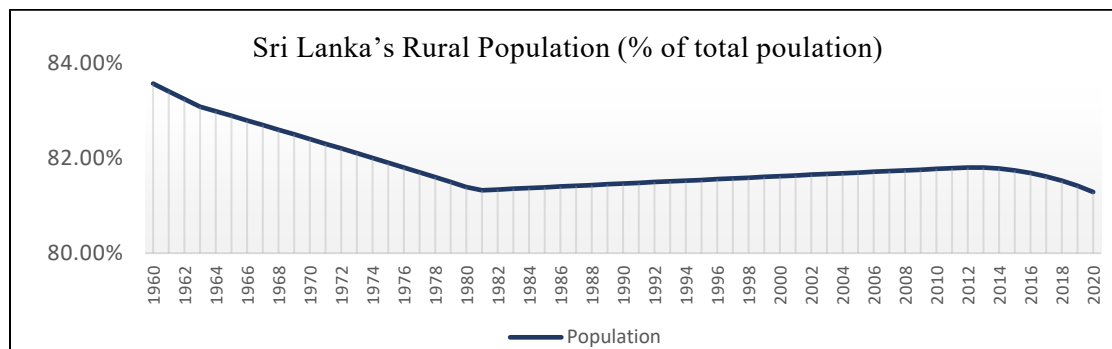
In 1947, led by Mr. D.S. Senanayake, the Soulbury Commission of 1944 went into effect. This allowed for Sri Lanka to gain its independence under the Soulbury

constitution on February 4, 1948. But Sri Lanka decided to remain a dominion of the British empire until 1972. The 1948 constitution arranged for Sri Lanka to have a bilateral legislature with an elected House of Representatives and a Senate, both partly nominated and partly elected indirectly by members of the House of Representatives (Soulbury, 1945). Both the prime minister, the head of state, and his cabinet were chosen from the largest political group in the legislature. Jointly, they held responsibility for executive functions (Hall, 1945).

As part of the British empire, the governor-general, resided as the head of state, representing the British monarch and upheld the conventions of the United Kingdom, intervening only on matters that the constitution failed to address (Manor, 1988). The United National Party (UNP) was the largest political party at the time, so they had most of the seats. Most within the UNP consisted of a Sinhalese majority from its urban population of 16.5% (see Figure 22). In choosing the prime minister, the governor general appointed Mr. D.S. Senanayake, as the first prime minister of Sri Lanka from 1948 to 1952 (Rajasingham, 2001). The role Mr. Senanayake played within the legislature from 1915 held together the deteriorating Ethnic unity among its membership.

Figure 22

Sri Lankan Rural Population (1960-2020)



Note. The author reproduced the figure “*Sri Lankan Rural Population (1960-2020)*” from “*World Bank staff estimates based on the United Nations Population Division’s World Urbanization Prospects: 2018*”. By Samanga P Amarasinghe, Copyrights 2021

In 1948, a modern democratic form of governing was officially introduced to Sri Lanka. The Westminster parliamentary system of governance gave an upper hand to the largest political group (Party) (Galyan, 2017). The established parliamentary system remained within Sri Lankan governance from 1948 to date. So, when ethnic differential modernization experienced by the Sinhala Buddhist majority, transformed into to post-colonial insecurities, it challenged both the equality and diversity within Sri Lanka’s post-colonial governance (Horowitz, 2000).

When the parliament, passed the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, Sri Lankan democracy went into a downward spiral. This was the first direct act of aggression toward Sri Lanka’s smallest minority at the time, the Indian Tamils. Later reversed, in October 2003, as ‘Grant of Citizenship to Persons of Indian Origin Act of 2003’, the enforced Citizenship Act of 1948, had the outward purpose of supplying means of

obtaining citizenship in Sri Lanka (Shastri, 2007). But its true purpose was to deny citizenship to the Indian Tamil population.

Prior to its enactment the Citizenship Act of 1948 was fiercely opposed by both the Ceylon Indian Congress and the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress. But the Sinhalese majority supported it with a majority vote (Jennings, 1954). So, despite strong opposition by minority groups within the parliament, the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 was passed (Jennings, 1954). Even Mr. Senanayake, despite his best efforts, could not alter the course of it, becoming law on November 15th, 1948. As a result of this, by 1951 more than 11% of Sri Lanka's total population, 700,000 people, became stateless and completely split the parliament along ethnic lines (Jennings, 1954). This was followed by a series of political and civil unrest until 1956.

In 1956, the S.W.R.D Bandaranaike administration took over Sri Lankan governance. Bandaranaike, caving to the demands of his constituency, consisting of majority Sinhala Buddhists, implemented the Official Language Act No. 33 of 1956. Known as the Sinhala Only Act of 1956, this bill replaced English, the national language of Sri Lanka, with Sinhala, the language of the majority ethnic group (H.Rambukwella, 2018). In enforcing this act on July 7, 1956, this law immediately went into effect and allowed no time for preparation or re-education.

This act affected most of the Tamils who maintained fluency only in English and the Tamil languages. Many of the Tamil youth, continuing their preliminary education, abruptly had to change schools or learn Sinhala overnight. Unable to accomplish their

duties in Sinhala, a large population of Tamils occupied within government sector were forced to resign their positions with no hope of another job (Tambiah S. J., 1992).

On July 11, 1956, responding to Tamil concerns, members of the United Front (UF), led by S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, peacefully protested in front of the parliament only to be met by angry pro-Sinhala mobs who attacked them (Tambiah, 1992). The attacks starting at the parliament grounds, escalated into island wide communal riots between July 11, and July 16, 1956, leaving a death toll of 150 Tamils (Bush, 2003).

As a result of these attacks, to address the Tamil concerns on equality the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam (B-C) Pact of 1957, was brought onto the negotiation table. The B-C pact, had it been enacted, would have given the Tamil minority their own territory(s) to govern under a federal umbrella, and ended tension between the two parties (Mainuddin & Aicher, 1997). Unfortunately, it was opposed by both the Tamil and Sinhala leadership within the legislature. In 1958, Bandaranaike succumbed to pressure by his Sinhala only supporters and scrapped the B-C pact.

The impacted Tamil minority, deploying a campaign to protest Bandaranaike's actions, led to the infamous 'anti-Tamil pogrom of 1958' bringing a death toll of 1500 Tamils (NESOHR, 2009). On September 26, 1959, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a monk. His widow, Sirimavo Ratwatte Bandaranaike, immediately took over the party leadership in 1960, and contested the general elections. She won by a landslide and become the first female prime minister in the world (Richardson, 2005).

During Sirimavo's first term (1960–1965), in following a strict socialist

governance, she geared toward converting Sri Lanka to a socialist republic and withdrawing from the United Kingdom. Her policy of nationalizing various privately owned organizations and other institutions such as education from 1961, became another obstacle for the Tamil minority to gain equality (Chattopadhyaya, 1994). When the Official language Act No. 33 of 1956 was enforced, it only impacted state-owned organizations such as the railway department.

The private sector remained using English as their official language and used translators when they needed to work with the government. This enabled most English-speaking Tamils to retain their occupations and provide occupations for those Tamils who lost their jobs in 1956 (Montiel et al., 2012). When Sirimavo nationalized these organizations within the private sector, mandating the use of Sinhala as the official language, more Tamils lost their jobs (Richardson, 2005). Responding to this, the Tamil population deployed a campaign of civil disobedience. In worsening the discontent between the two ethnic groups, the campaign was met with another wave of clashes between the Tamil protestors and the Sri Lanka police (Richardson, 2005).

Worse, from 1961, Sirimavo began enforcing the language policy of 1957 with an iron fist. She nationalized Sri Lanka's education through the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges Act or 'Special Provisions Act of 1960' and created the National Education Commission (NEC) (Gamage & Suwarnabroma, 2017). She also enforced a Sinhala medium curriculum with a heavy emphasis on Buddhism to all Parish Schools (Farmer, 1963). In 1962 Sirimavo, marginalized the Christian minority of Sri Lanka.

Since 1500, to obtain labor for their colonial efforts, westernized Christian education was used, to model native elites. To decrease the Christian influence within Sri Lanka, Sirimavo, removed the Christian curriculum and introduced a series of educational reforms that expanded the Sinhala Buddhist presence within these institutions (Farmer, 1963).

She also implemented similar policies within the armed forces and the Police. Unlike the educational sector these policies had immediate consequences, such as depriving senior Christian officers their promotions, and giving them to Sinhala officers (Kearney, 1962). This marginalized Christian faith educators, religious leaders, and senior officers within the civil service sector. With so many of them having membership among the old elite population, clashes between the old elites and the growing Sinhala speaking Buddhist elites began to surface (De Silva & Wriggins, 1990).

These clashes escalated to an attempted coup d'état, (Operation Holdfast) on January 27th, 1962. The way the Sirimavo administration handled it, clarified to the Christian minority the government's favoritism toward the Sinhala Buddhists of Sri Lanka (Bandaranaike, 1994). By the end of 1962, most of the Christian ethnic minority joined the marginalized Tamil population to challenge the 'Sinhala only' movement within the nation (Kearney, 1962).

By 1964, ongoing turmoil, between ethnic groups, began to impose upon the economy of Sri Lanka, leading to increased numbers in unemployment, taxes, and a severe food shortage, that included, rice (the nation's staple diet) (Petris, 1963). Amidst

the growing discontent in Sri Lanka, India started putting pressure on Sirimavo to seek a resolution regarding the Indian Tamils who were stateless since 1948 (Phadnis & Kumar, 1975). In responding to this request, Sirimavo signed the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact of 1964 and gave Sri Lankan citizenship to 300,000 of the stateless Indian Tamils, and their descendants (Phadnis & Kumar, 1975). In return, by September 1964 India also absorbed another, 525,000 of these stateless Indian Tamils residing in Sri Lanka (Kanapathipillai, 2009; Kumar, 1977).

In the general elections of 1965, Sirimavo and her coalition the UF (United Front) lost to the UNP. On March 25, 1965, Dudley Senanayake was sworn in as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1965-1970 (Fink, 1965). As he was elected, the ongoing inflation, trade imbalance, joblessness, and lack of foreign aid, worsened discontent within Sri Lanka (Lelyveld, 1967). Adamant to seek resolution for ethnic unrest, Senanayake met with Chelvanayakam, and signed the Dudley Senanayake – Chelvanayakam (D-C) Pact of 1965. The D-C pact satisfied the needs of both parties and allowed various special provisions to be granted to the Tamil populations of Sri Lanka (Appendix E). This helped contain friction between the Sinhalese and the Tamils for the time being.

With withering economics, the country, taking precedent, both parties failed to finalize the D-C pact (Lelyveld, 1967). The Senanayake administration, unable to contain the growing economic crisis, and its resulting civil unrest, would lose to the United Front in 1970. The leader of the opposition, Sirimavo, would resume her second term (1972-1977) as the prime minister of Sri Lanka (De Alwis, 2008). Sri Lanka's budget deficit

reached an all-time high of US\$195 million in 1970, Sirimavo began building economic relations beyond the nations of the British commonwealth (Seneviratne, 1975). Soon, Sri Lanka started to gain prominence within international forums such as the United Nations (Phadnis, 1971). Because the new relations with other states, not within the commonwealth, presented the possibility to break off with the United Kingdom without hindering Sri Lanka economic growth, Sirimavo became more active in the international arena than at home (Commire & Klezmer, 1999).

In preparing for the break off, she started re-evaluating all trade agreements and proposals, made favoring the British. The D-C pact of 1965, being such, it was immediately dissolved. The D-C pact of 1965, like the B-C pact of 1957, aligned with the federalist ideology (Sarvananthan, 2007). If this pact granting the Tamil minority equality, as well as participation and representation within the Tamil majority regions, would have suppressed ethnic tension by 1965 (Mohan, 1974). Sri Lanka missed another opportunity to sustain sound ethnic harmony.

As a result of dissolving the D-C pact, Ponnuthurai Satyaseelan established the Tamil Students League (TSL), to further Tamil demands for Equality, and laid the foundation for Tamil militancy in 1972 (Froerer, 2006). The ongoing challenges faced by the rural population of Sri Lanka, due to lack of opportunities for good education, good infrastructure, and resources began to surface with Sri Lanka's depleting financial conditions (Moore, 1993). This gave cause for the 1971 Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) Insurrection, led by left-wing rural youths (Moore, 1993). An insurgency is a

process of alternate state building. It is defined by Jones (2019), as ... “a political and a military campaign by non-state group(s), to overthrow a regime or secede from a country” (p. 6).

Insurgencies are found in various grievances that include weak governance, ethnic and religious polarization, and in cases such as Sri Lanka, Cuba, Colombia, and Malaysia, low per capita income (S. G. Jones, 2019). During its initial phase, an insurgency is at its most vulnerable stage; this gives a state actor the window of opportunity needed to direct efforts to suppress an insurgency (Jones 2019). This was the case with the JVP Insurrection of 1971. On March 17, 1971, the Sirimavo administration declared a state of emergency and immediately deployed the military and Police to counter JVP advances (Obeyesekere, 1974).

On May 1, 1971, pausing the government offensive, Sirimavo would offer amnesty, in ending the insurgency. Thousands of JVP cadres responded by surrendering (Warnapala, 1975). Demands made by the urban youth, regarding a lack of opportunity for growth, clearly indicate the inequality faced by a majority of 83% of Sri Lanka’s rural population (Hettige, 1995). Both the Sirimavo and the Jayawardena administrations, neglecting this, would lead to a second large scale JVP insurrection in 1987, it would hold the state hostage to violence, until being suppressed by the state in 1989 (Pfaffenberger, 1988).

In May 1972, under the Sirimavo administration, Sri Lanka declared itself as a Socialist Republic, by ratifying a new constitution (Kapferer, 2012). This was another

terrific opportunity for Sri Lanka to reconcile with the Tamil minority and tighten the rift between the urban and rural population. The constitution of 1972 was better drafted than the Soulbury constitution of 1948, because it granted equal protection to all religions within the state (N. M. Perera, 1979). But it maintained Sinhala as the only official language of Sri Lanka, neglected the demands of the Tamil population for equality through Federalism, and overlooked the production a charter of rights (C. R. De Silva, 1987).

By not producing a charter of rights, (a list containing fundamental rights granted to a citizen), Sri Lanka was in violation of human rights, under The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) Articles 1, 6 and 15 (UN, 2020). In producing the new constitution, Sirimavo introduced the new Standardization Policy of 1972. This policy was designed to limit the representation of Tamil undergraduates in engineering and the sciences, which deprived many Tamil students, an opportunity for higher studies (J. A Wilson, 2000).

By 1973, the Tamil youth population had seen the systematic marginalization of the Sri Lankan Tamils from 1948 and witnessed the ineffective nature of using civil protests to demand equality. Inspired by the JVP insurgency of 1971, most of the Tamil youths within the Northern provinces, as a last resort to address their demands, turned to militancy and established the Tamil Youth League (TYL) in 1973 (Vaitheespara, 2009). The TYL was the first operational Tamil militant group in Sri Lanka. In their initial phase, their activities remained contained within the northern province. But when the

Sirimavo administration respond by militarizing the Northern provinces of Sri Lanka, an armed struggle between the two factions erupted increasing both the militant activities and the number of militant groups operating within the region (Staniland, 2014).

Emergent militant groups included the Tamil New Tigers (TNT), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO), Tamil Liberated United Front (TULF), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and Tamil Eelam Army (TEA) (Staniland, 2014). By 1976, growing militancy in the north, and perpetual spurs of civil unrest throughout the country, started affecting Sri Lanka's economy (Balasingham, 2004).

Growing inflation, unemployment, and high taxes impacted everyone, irrespective of their class, creed, and ethnicity. Political and civil unrest spread throughout the country, uprooting their characteristics of weak governance (Ross & Savada, 1988). Seeing this as an opportunity, the Tamils immediately abandoned their battle for equality.

On May 14, 1976, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) now led by S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, uniting with Tamil militant groups, adopted the Vaddukoddai Resolution (VR) of 1976. The VR demanded an independent Tamil state known as 'The Tamil Eelam' (Derges, 2013). By 1976 the LTTE emerged as the strongest of all Tamil militant groups (Graeme & Rohan, 1961). Velupillai Prabhakaran its leader, adopting the 'Tamil Eelam' ideology in May, directed the LTTE to support this effort. Members of other militant groups guided by the Tamil Eelam ideology, joined the LTTE from 1976 – 1984, strengthening the LTTE and increasing militant activities within the Northern province (Moorcraft, 2014). Increased militant activities, depletion of economic

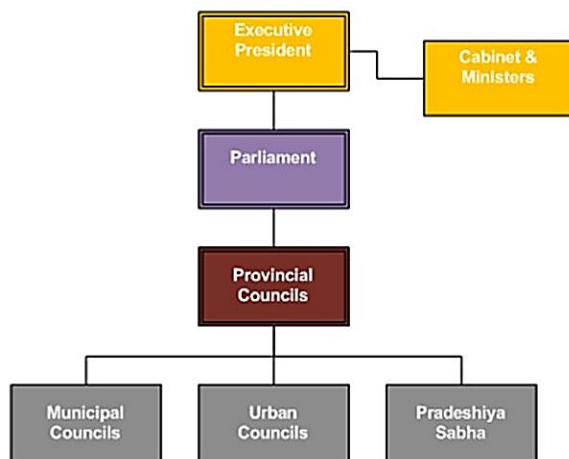
conditions, and island wide civil unrest brought Sirimavo's second term to an end during the general elections of 1977.

Following this election, J.R. Jayawardena replaced Sirimavo as the seventh prime minister of Sri Lanka until 1978. Left with the task of recovering Sri Lanka's failing economy, and seeking a resolution to widespread ethnic separatism, Jayawardena introduced a new constitution on July 21, 1978 (Warnapala, 1979). The new constitution resembled the French presidential system, which contained a declaration of fundamental rights, guaranteeing equality for all citizens of Sri Lanka for the first-time since the precolonial period (see Figure 23; Sharpe & Roach, 2009; Warnapala, 1979).

To address the prolonged national language question, the new constitution, acknowledged both Sinhala and Tamil as national languages. After ratifying the constitution in 1979, Jayawardena extended reconciliation efforts between the Tamil and the Sinhalese by removing the Standardization Policy of 1972 (Coomaraswamy & Reyes, 2004).

Figure 23

The Political System of Sri Lanka from 1978 to Date



Note. From “Present Scenario in Sri Lanka”, Including the ‘excluded’, including the marginalized groups in the decision making, By Upali Pannilage, International Symposium on Community Governance Practices (ISCGP), Sri Lanka.

With so many broken promises, since 1948, the Tamil population had lost faith in the state, and the period of negotiation was dead (Prabha, 2016). They did not trust political parties such as the Federal Party and the TULF to have the best interest of the Tamils in their agendas (Malathy, 2012). So, they continued to support Tamil militant groups such as the LTTE, now gaining momentum within international platforms in their call for a separate state (Tangram, 2018). Responding to growing militant activities, on July 11, 1979, Jayawardena enacted the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) of 1979.

Much like the US Patriot Act of 2001, the PTA granted, Sri Lankan police and armed forces wide-ranging powers to search, arrest, and detain suspects as needed

(Eager, 2008). Sri Lankan authorities used these powers to deal with suspects and capture militants. This infringed on both the fundamental and human rights of the Tamil population and further fueled hostilities (Hattotuwa, 2009). From 1981-1983, these hostilities would lead to various state sponsored aggressions against Tamils (Aruliah & Aruliah, 1993). One such is, the riot of 1981, when the Sri Lankan police went on a rampage between May 31 – June 1, 1981, setting fire to Tamil owned property including the Jaffna library containing over 97,000 irreplaceable manuscripts (Dixit, 1998).

The worst of these state sponsored acts of terrorism towards the Tamil minority, was the Black July of 1983. In self-fulfilling a prophecy of an impending Tamil offensive, following the LTTE attack on a Sri Lanka military patrol ‘Four-Four-Bravo’, the Jayawardena administration deployed a weeklong pogrom targeting Tamil non-combatants from July 24, 1983 – July 30, 1983 (Hoole et al., 1992). Over 400 to 3000 Tamils (under 6% Tamil population) lost their lives as result of these attacks, causing a significant impact on the Sri Lankan economy. Over 18,000 buildings and commercial properties were destroyed (Bose, 2007).

Strongly impacting Sri Lanka’s economy and its work force, due to worker inequity, over 2% of Tamils fled Sri Lanka. They then sought asylum within countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia (Dissanayaka, 2005). Within those nations, these migrant Tamils would support the LTTE by providing funds and other resources, to deploys a full-fledged insurgency against the Sri Lankan government from 1984 to 2009 (Perera S. , 2016). Known as the Eelam Conflict of 1984,

or the Tamil Insurgency, clashes between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government from 1984 to 2009 would consume all socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka (S. Subramanian, 2015).

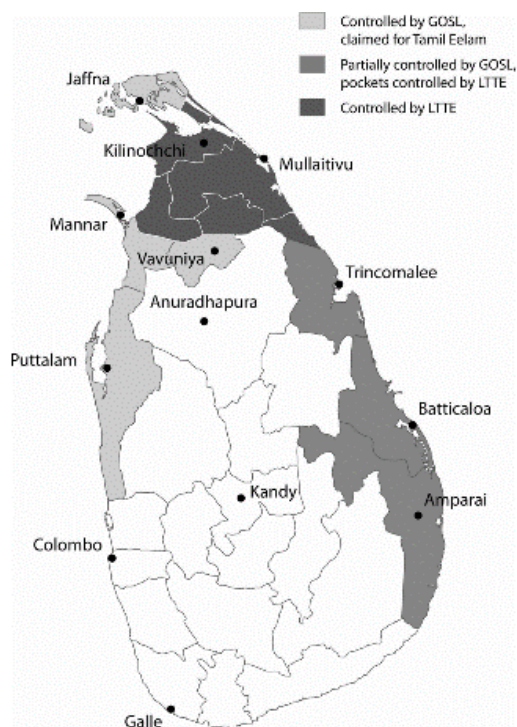
Countering a well-organized and well-funded insurgency such as the LTTE, Sri Lanka, with its dwindling economy, became indebted to nations such as China, Russia, the United States, and India. This put a stop to all future enactments of mono-ethnic, monolingual, and mono-religious legislature marginalizing Sri Lankan minorities and depriving them of equality, communal obligations, and human rights, until the end of the Eelam conflict in 2009 (Uyangoda, 2007). Because of this the Black July of 1983 and the LTTE insurrection of 1984, make the year 1984 a crucial point within post-colonial history of Sri Lanka (Samaranāyaka, 2008).

During the next phase, from 1984 – 1994, the Eelam Conflict would take precedence over all socio-politico-economic aspects of post-colonial Sri Lanka. In 1994, during the general elections, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (CBK), gaining a landslide victory over the UNP, become the first female president of Sri Lanka. Kumaratunga, holding the presidency for two terms, from 1994 to 2005, works alongside authoritative scholars of various disciplines, including Political Science, Public Administration, History, and Economics. Adhering to their advice, Kumaratunga deployed a series of programs to reform Sri Lanka's withering socio-politico-economic conditions (Zompetti, 1997). Some of these programs include the National Integration Program Unit (NIPU) and the Centre for Peacebuilding and Reconciliation (CPBR)

(Feyen, 2020). As result of her efforts from 1994 – 2005, despite the ongoing armed struggle between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government, all communal aggressions ceased (Wilson G. H., 2005). Amidst spurs of suicide bombings targeting noncombatants, peace began to govern throughout the interior of the state and people went about their lives as normal (see Figure 24).

Figure 24

Areas Controlled by Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE in 2006



Note. From “*Building the Tamil Eelam State: emerging state institutions and forms of governance in LTTE-controlled areas in Sri Lanka*”, By Kristian Stokke. 2006, copyright 2006 by Stokke.

Various umbrella operations within the United Nations (UN) started emerging to support Sri Lanka’s socio-politico-economic infrastructure from 1995 – 2005 (Peiris,

2009). In addressing various social welfare activities, multitudes of international and local non-governmental organizations such as CARE, Sarvodaya, and World Vision also started to emerge. These created a profound impact within the state and transpired to stabilize ethnic harmony.

But when Mahinda Rajapaksa took over the presidency of Sri Lanka in 2005 and paved the way for a highly nepotistic, autocratic rule to govern Sri Lanka from 2005 – 2022, Sri Lanka slowly returned to its former state. Taking over the state, President Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR), placed family members, including Gotabaya Rajapaksa (GR), Basil Rajapaksa (BR), Chamal Rajapaksa (CR), Namal Rajapaksa (NR), and his relatives including Jaliya Wickramasinghe (JW) within prominent positions of the state.

By 2008, as result of ideological differences, and individual ambitions various factions started to emerge and weaken the LTTE. Taking this window of opportunity, the MR administration, with the support of many nations including the US supporting their efforts, the Sri Lankan armed forces deployed a blitzkrieg offensive against the LTTE in 2009 (K. M. De Silva, 2005). After months of heavy fighting, on May 16, 2009, the LTTE was defeated. This defeat, and the last days of the war were riddled with multitudes of human rights violations, completely muting Tamil voices, and the Eelam ideology within Sri Lanka (Ivan, 2008).

But large groups of migrant Tamils living in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada continued their call for a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka. Between 2010 – 2018, there was a substantial increase in demonstrations held by the pro LTTE supporters

in front of the Sri Lankan embassies in both the United Kingdom and the United States (Mehta, 2010).

Immediately ending the war, the Rajapaksa's (MR and GR) started a campaign to claim victory over the LTTE. They used their established political influence on various authoritative personnel occupied in education, cinema, media, and the military, to launch a media campaign, claiming the Rajapaksa family as guardians of the nation (Short, 2016). A multitude of books backing these claims, such as 'Gota's War', and 'Road to Nandikadal' emerged as top sellers within the country (Wickramasinghe, 2009).

Prominent celebrities, including the late Jackson Anthony, advocated in various media platforms, that the Rajapaksa's were descendants of King Dutugamunu of Sri Lanka and the Shakya dynasty of India, revising both Indian and Sri Lankan history (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019). In further boosting the Sinhala Buddhist Nationalist ego, these celebrities used their influence in the cinema industry to have movies made from the Mahavamsa (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019). The stories of king Dutugamunu, and king Parakramabahu, were dramatized to promote nationalism and the contested Sinhala Buddhist identity (Wickramasinghe, 2009).

Television was used in popular daily talk shows, to further glorify the administration, and to lay claim to an emergent golden age of Sri Lanka. Their promoting of Buddhism, and Nationalism, soon attracted prominent Buddhist monks and chief incumbents within multiple Buddhist sects, including the Malwatte, Asgiriya and Dambulla (Wickramasinghe, 2009). They endorsed the administration in their daily

televised sermons. By 2010, through the advocacy of these prominent monks, and popular media, a majority of Sinhala Buddhists, approximately 52% of the total, population living within rural areas of Sri Lanka, bought into the Rajapaksa ideology (Andak, 2022).

This gave the Rajapaksa's a large constituency to back them up in their efforts to set up a powerful political stronghold within the country from 2010 - 2015. But with opposition to their administration surfacing, the Rajapaksa's, under the pretext of cleaning up organized crime, deployed a reign of Terror (Wickramasinghe, 2009). Those who were outspoken against the Administration, such as Mr. Lasantha Wickrematunge, and Sripathi Sooriyarachchi either met with a premature death or were made to face prolonged imprisonment for high treason (Wickrematunge, 2013).

By the end of year 2010, hype of the war victory had faded. Concerns about soaring prices of commodities and other essential items started gaining prominence within all local political platforms. International pressure started to mount by demanding the hastening of resettlement efforts, and to answer for the alleged war crimes against the Tamils during the last phase of the war (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019).

By middle of 2011, a new imminent threat to Sri Lanka began to appear in all media platforms. The Rajapaksa Administration considered the Sri Lankan Muslim population as an emergent threat. The Muslim's were accused of expanding their dominion over Sri Lanka from 1948, by growing in numbers to strategically make the country into an Islamic state living under Sharia law. The Sri Lankan Muslims now faced

the same fate as the Sri Lankan Tamils who were forced to endure various forms of marginalization from 1948 - 2009 (Frydenlund, 2018).

This marginalization resulted in large groups of extremist Buddhist monks from the Bodu Bala Sena (BBS) and their secular supporters, uprooting the contested Sinhala Buddhist ideology and taking to the streets to demand justice (DeVotta & Stone, 2008). Some Buddhist monks resorted to burning themselves in public for their demands to make Sri Lanka a mono-ethnic, mono-religious state. Others used various media outlets, including YouTube and Facebook, to spread threatening fallacies and to unite the Sinhala Buddhist masses in campaigning against Muslims. Fortunately, before the Rajapaksa administration could impose any mono-ethnic laws against the Muslims, Maithripala Sirisena (MS) won a landslide victory through minority votes during the 2015 presidential elections (Dibbert, 2016).

The MS Administration (2016-2019) was a reformed westernized form of a democratic government (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019). In March 2016, taking over the state, MS put in place various laws to ban ethnic marginalization within the country (Dibbert, 2016). Prominent members of various extremist movements including Galagoda Aththe Gnanasara, were arrested for their part in trying to rile ethnic tension (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019). Then on April 20, 2016, MS restructured the Sri Lanka police under a well-educated and cultured Inspector General of Police (IGP) Mr. Pujith Jayasundara, who began cracking down on corruption and other criminal activities using advanced modern technology (C. R. De Silva, 2016). For the first time in Sri Lanka, in

2016, the general population had direct access to proper police authorities of the country using a webservice, at once deterring all police corruption and misconduct (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019).

But economic blunders caused by the MR Administration from 2006 -2014, by borrowing through China's (BRI) to constructing large scale projects had increased Sri Lanka's debt (G. Herath, 2018). By the middle of 2016, repaying these loans weighed heavily on Sri Lanka's high import and low export economy. Mahinda Rajapaksa, using Sri Lanka's evolving economic crisis to his advantage, unconstitutionally returned to politics as a member of parliament in 2016 (G. Herath, 2018). From 2016 - 2019, Rajapaksa and his supporters deployed a mass campaign, blaming the minority Muslims and the Sirisena administration for the country's economic struggle (Abdul & Mohamed, 2021). By 2017, as Anti-Muslim demonstrations started to spread throughout Sri Lanka, tensions built. People were affected by withering economic conditions, increased taxes, inflation, constant power cuts, and other disruptions to essentials services (Roy-Chaudhury, 2019).

MR's ongoing campaign to discredit the Sirisena administration gained momentum and caused a rift within both Political and Social paradigms of Sri Lanka by the end of 2017 (Pawar & Manoharan, 2019). Building for a year, the pressure erupted during an Anti-Muslim demonstration on February 26, 2018. A wave of violence victimizing the Muslim noncombatants, starting in the Ampara district, spread throughout the country until March 10, 2018 (Gunasingham, 2019). By the end of the anti-Muslim

riots of 2018, Sinhala Buddhist rioters had destroyed more than 486 houses and property belonging to Sri Lankan Muslims (Abdul & Mohamed, 2021). The MS administration's response to the violence caused the Parliament to split between Sinhala Buddhist and Muslim ethnic lines. The parties that sided with the Sinhala Buddhist consisted of all the Rajapaksa supporters; the rest were the loyalists of Sirisena administration who kept ethnic neutrality (DeVotta, 2017).

Between February – September 2018, when spurs of Anti-Muslim violence, spread throughout country, instability within the parliament caused multiple parliamentary shutdowns until 2019 when anti-Muslim propaganda dominated all the media and political platforms (Gunaratna, 2018). During the early part of the year, by creating a state of unrest, various pro-Sinhala Buddhist extremists took to the streets. They demanded a mono-ethnic state (Gunasingham, 2019). On Easter Sunday 2019, a well-coordinated suicide bombing attack on two upscale hotels and a prominent church shook the nation. The Easter Sunday Bombings left over thousands of casualties and a death toll of 269 civilians (Steed, 2019).

Investigation of the attack revealed that the bombing campaign was the work of a Sri Lankan radical Islamic organization called the 'National Thowheeth Jama'ath' (NTJ). The Easter Sunday attacks, and the events following the incident, such as the harsh restructuring of Sri Lanka's defense authorities seriously damaged the reputation of the Sirisena Administration by May 2019 (Wong, 2020). These events led to Islamophobic sentiments within the country, and an aggressive wave of anti-Muslim riots began to

spread throughout the country from May 09, 2019, to June 25, 2019 (Wong, 2020).

These growing sentiments further worsened, adding over US\$ 4 million in property damage to the Muslims. This fragile condition caused Muslim leaders within the parliament to step down (Aguilera-Carnerero, 2019). Because of this the Sri Lankan parliament was shut down until the next presidential election. In November 2019's presidential elections, MR's brother Gotabaya Rajapaksa (GR), former secretary of defense (2005 – 2015) won a landslide victory over Maithripala Sirisena (MS) and the UNP (Johansson, 2019).

Even though, GR campaigned against a nepotistic governance, in taking over the presidency in 2020, he immediately placed his brother(s) Mahinda, Chamal, Basil and various other loyal associates from the Sri Lanka army, within prominent positions of the state (Handunnetti, 2022). This made Sri Lanka world famous for becoming the second nation in the world, next to Poland, to have a combination of brothers governing as president and prime minister at the same time (Norman, 2019).

President Gotabaya Rajapaksa was a retired Sri Lankan army lieutenant colonel who served during the first phase of the JVP insurrection and the Eelam conflict from 1971 – 1991 (Chandraperuma, 2012). Retiring from the military in 1991, GR took up a career in Information Technology and migrated to the United States. There, he worked as a Unix Solaris administrator at Loyola Law School (Marymount) in Los Angeles. In 2005, after his brother Mahinda Rajapaksa became the 7th executive president of Sri Lanka, he returned to Sri Lanka, obtained dual citizenship, and took over the role of

Defense Secretary until 2015 (Chandraperuma, 2012).

GR was not a politician, nor was he ever involved in political decision making until 2005. So, when he became president of Sri Lanka in 2019, he was very much dependent upon his brothers who were all career politicians with long portfolios expanding back to the 80's. Gotabaya, to further compensate for his inadequacies in political thinking, appointed military colleagues in upper management positions to oversee civilian administrators (Rising & Pathi, 2022).

This resulted in various problems within the Rajapaksa family and by 2020 weakened the highly corrupt, nepotistic, and autocratic GR Administration (Themner, 2020). In March 2020, when the global impact of the Covid-19 pandemic started to effect Sri Lanka, the GR administration was caught off guard which caused worsened political and economic conditions (Francis & Kurtenbach, 2022). Onwards, the Sri Lankan economy went into a severe downward spiral leading to the ongoing crisis from January 2022.

Post-Colonial Economic and Societal Dynamics

From 1948, the societal and economic dynamics of Sri Lanka became heavily intertwined with the post-colonial political thinking guided by 'Sinhala only' ideology. Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike laid the foundation for this ideology (Manor, 2011). In 1937, to further his political career, he embraced nationalism and created the Sinhala Maha Sabha, his first political party. Bandaranaike hoped it would become his voice within the rural communities of Sri Lanka (Weligamage & Tisdell, 2002).

These tight knit rural communities consisted of many who refused to assimilate into the western world introduced by the colonists. They remained loyal to the ancient ways. They sheltered throughout the centuries, adhering to the Buddhist traditions advocated by the monks within their communities (Francis A. , 1980). They held Buddhist monks in veneration, and their temples as the leading authority for knowledge and wisdom (H. R. Perera, 2016).

The emerging politicians of the colonial period and the post-colonial period, wanting a large voting base, became obligated to the rural monks and institutions of the Buddhist faith (H. Rambukwella, 2018). Ambitious monks, such as Mapitigama Buddharakkitha, and Talduwe Somarama, used this indebtedness to their advantage in leading a lucrative life, rubbing shoulders with politicians which was not allowed (Pinto, 2015). Many monks who joined the Sinhala Maha Sabha, eventually would become its steering force overruling the political authorities that set up the organization (Ross & Savada, 1988).

Previously mentioned colonial laws, such as the Registration of Temple Lands Ordinance of 1856, caused many Buddhists centers of education to shut down. Monks, who aligned with the Sinhala Maha Sabha, were passionate, but lacked a true understanding of their profession (Pinto, 2015). This and the needs of the people who had lost everything to colonial authorities gave rise to the "Sinhala Only" ideology. This allowed religion to dictate terms to the state, which was a recurring theme in the post-colonial period (Venugopal, 2018).

The 'Sinhala only' ideology, demanded that a priority must be given to the Sinhala Buddhist sect within all aspects of Sri Lanka's governance (J. A. Wilson, 1979). The Sinhala Maha Sabha, which promoted the ideology of "Sinhala only," gained a considerable number of supporters among the majority Sinhala Buddhist group leading up to Sri Lanka's independence in 1947 (Manogaran, 1987). After gaining independence on February 4, 1948, tensions arose between the majority Sinhala Buddhists and the Tamil minority due to the influence of extremist Sinhala Buddhist factions and the country's close relationship with India, the homeland of the Tamil people.

This resulted in post-colonial insecurity toward the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, and enabled the Sinhala Maha Sabha, the driving force of the "Sinhala only" ideology and its future branches, to dominate all political, sociological, and economic aspects of post-colonial Sri Lanka until 2019 which started the rift between the two ethnic groups (Krishna, 1999; Sitrapalam, 2009;). The Maha Sabha would use S.W.R.D Bandaranaike's influence within the Donoughmore Commission (1937 – 1949) to enact a series of mono-ethnic legislatures that would severely marginalize the Indian Tamils (Sitrapalam, 2009).

The following legislatures: the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, the Indian-Pakistani Residents Act No. 3 of 1948, and the Ceylon Parliamentary Elections Amendment Act No. 48 of 1949, made the Indian Tamils stateless. They also assured that the Indian Tamils remained exempt from all state affairs of Sri Lanka (Bass, 2009). In April of 1956, the S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike Administration enacted the Official Language

Act No. 33 of 1956 and worsened ethnic tension within the state (Wijeyeratne, 1998).

By June of 1956, about 56% of Sri Lankan Tamils, occupied within the public sector, lost their jobs and most Tamil students, who were receiving an education within public schools, were forced to join private institutions causing a huge vacuum in skilled labor (Wijeyeratne, 1998). The public sector consisted of Tamils who were fluent in English. Because of their fluency, they were well trained under the British and had years of experience in their occupations.

After 1956, when Sinhala Buddhists took over the vacancies, they did not possess the language skill set, the training, nor the experience of those whom they replaced. The quality of products and services within past colonial industries such as the plantation sector, agriculture sector, and the industrial sector drastically fell in impacting the Sri Lankan economy from 1960 to 1970.

On June 5th, 1956, the Tamil members of the Federal Party (FP), in responding to the inequality endured by them, gathered in front of the Parliament to peacefully protest the language policy of 1956 (DeVotta, 2004). The pro 'Sinhala only' advocates saw this as an act of defiance, and deployed a series of anti-Tamil pogroms, from 1956 – 1958. These island wide anti-Tamil pogroms, randomly surfacing for a period of two years. They took a toll on both the economic and social aspects of Sri Lanka. Even after September 26, 1959, when Bandaranaike was assassinated, the anti-Tamil violence did not stop (Hennayake, 2006). Instead, they became the socio-politico-economic backdrop of Sri Lanka until 1984 and crippled the already wilted economy.

By 1969 Sri Lanka's declining economic conditions, ongoing communal violence, and the developments within the university system, uprooted existing inequalities between urban and rural youths leading to the first People's Liberation Front (JVP) insurrection of 1971 (Kearney, 1975). Starting on April 5th, 1971, during Sirimavo's second term, she immediately called for a state of emergency. The Sri Lankan army under late Gen. Cyril Ranatunga responded to the emergency promptly. By June of 1971, the JVP insurgency was completely disbanded (Moore, 1993).

The short lifespan of the JVP insurrection did not do much to change the inequalities between the urban and rural populations of Sri Lanka. Nor did it achieve its purpose, of forcing Sirimavo to change her assertive policies. But it did inspire the Tamil youth of Sri Lanka to address their concerns through a different means (Stokke, 2006). In 1972 when Sirimavo introduced the 'University standardization policy of 1972', the impacted Tamil youth started forming into Militant groups. Sirimavo responded by militarizing the northern regions, which exacerbated the fragile situation in the North and Northeastern provinces (Cronin-Furman & Arulthas, 2021).

The ongoing turmoil between the government and Tamil militant groups, coinciding with the ongoing anti-Tamil communal violence, started to increase their membership within militant groups and militant activities (Siriweera, 2002). This distracted the Sirimavo Administration from focusing on the conflict from 1971-1977, causing her to neglect the economy and worsen the economic crisis within the state (UPI, 1976). These placed the Sri Lankan economy behind all the emerging trends of the time,

and made Sri Lanka's once lucrative exports in Tea, Rubber, and Coconuts nearly obsolete.

In 1977, when J.R Jayawardena, took over from Sirimavo, the Sri Lankan economy was still dependent upon the mercantile system with no profits yielding from either local industries or exports (Jayewardene, 1979). The deficit ballooned to US\$195 million. Immediately taking over as the prime minister in 1978, Jayawardena introduced Sri Lanka to the open market concept with more liberal economic policies (Krishna, 1996). Then from 1978-1983, emphasizing the private sector led developments, Jayawardena changed old policies to create an environment beneficial to foreign and local investments (De Silva & Wriggins, 1990).

To facilitate these export-oriented enterprises and to administer Export Processing Zones (EPZ), Jayawardena also established the Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC). These efforts, when combined with advancements in international travel and the development efforts in the middle east, started to lift the Sri Lankan economy (De Silva & Wriggins, 1990). Introduced through Jayawardena's economic policies in 1978, migrant labor in the middle east and other European countries became Sri Lanka's most lucrative commodity.

But shortsighted in domestic politics, Jayawardena enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979 to address Tamil Militancy, that demanded a separate Tamil State (Eelam). In response, Jayawardena deployed multiple campaigns of state sponsored terrorism against the Tamil minority from 1979-1983 causing them to become a full-

fledged insurgency in 1984 known as the Tamil Insurgency (1983-2009) or the Eelam conflict (De Silva & Wriggins, 1990).

The Eelam conflict, erupting with the Black July of 1983, postponed Sri Lanka's post-colonial national building efforts completely (Murai, 2012). By accruing another US\$200 billion in debt, the Eelam conflict also caused billions in human capital losses through the death toll of 100,000 people between 1983 -2009. In ending the Eelam conflict in 2009, the nepotistic, autocratic, and corrupt Rajapaksa Administrations (2005 - 2022) did not use the opportunity to reverse the adverse economic conditions. Instead, they exacerbated it even more (Edirisuriya, 2017).

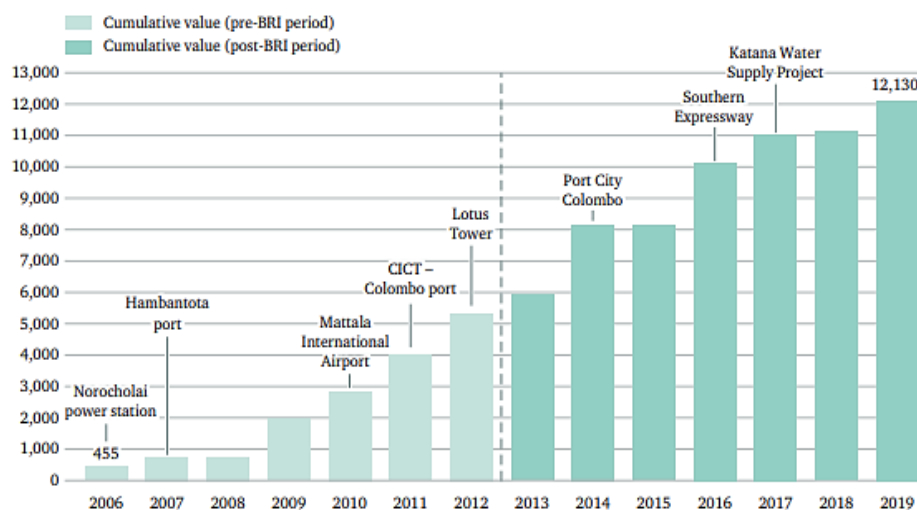
When the Eelam conflict ended in 2009, victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) caused a sudden burst of nationalism among the Sinhala majority. For President Mahinda Rajapaksa and his family, now well established within various influential positions of the Sri Lankan government, this became a smoke screen (Uyangoda, 2019). Immediately following the war, they took the victory hostage, and claimed it as their personal achievement. They used their influence on authorities in various disciplines to solidify these claims and suppress any opposition to their regime (Handunnetti, 2022). Blinded by the smoke screen, people began to rally behind the administration.

From 2009 – 2011, various building and infrastructure projects, to glorify the Rajapaksa family, started to emerge. These include the Rajapaksa Lotus tower, the Lotus Pond Rajapaksa stadium, the abandoned Hambantota airport, and the Harbor

(Senanayake, 2016). All were completed through public funds obtained from the Chinese Belt Road Initiative (BRI) loans (Saeedy & Wen, 2022). By 2011 Sri Lanka's national debt reached a high of US\$68 billion. This situation was made worse by the fact that projects contracted out by the government benefited the Rajapaksa family and did not bring a positive return on investment for the country's economy (Figure 25).

Figure 25

Value of Chinese development finance to Sri Lanka (\$ million)



Note: From, Figure 1, in Value of Chinese development finance to Sri Lanka (\$ million), from “Chinese Investment and the BRI in Sri Lanka”, by G. Wignaraja, D. Panditaratne, P. Kannangara, and D. Hundlani, P.4.

With a multitude of other loans obtained to support the war efforts from countries such as the United States, Great Britain, and India needing repayment. This led to a systematic increase in inflation (Wignaraja et al., 2020). This started to drive up the prices of everyday essential purchases by 2011, which impacted people who started to

complain and demand answers. A new smoke screen was needed. In having no enemy to blame, members of the Rajapaksa family introduced a new enemy of the state between 2011- 2015, the nation's third largest minority, the Sri Lankan Muslims. By 1956, Sinhala Maha Sabha, had incorporated another wing, which was the United Front of Monks (UFM/ UBF). By 2005, the UBF, evolving with time, increased in membership, and even had candidates within the Sri Lankan parliament. The Rajapaksa's indirectly supported these extremist factions for their benefit from 2005 used the politically ambitious monks of the UBF such as Galagoda Aththe Gnanasara of the Bodu Bala Sena (BBS) to increase animosity toward the Sri Lankan Muslim minority (Ramakrishna, 2021). The same Sri Lankan social backdrop as experienced in the 60's, 70's and the 80's started to reemerge, and the economy followed in the same downward spiral from bad to worse.

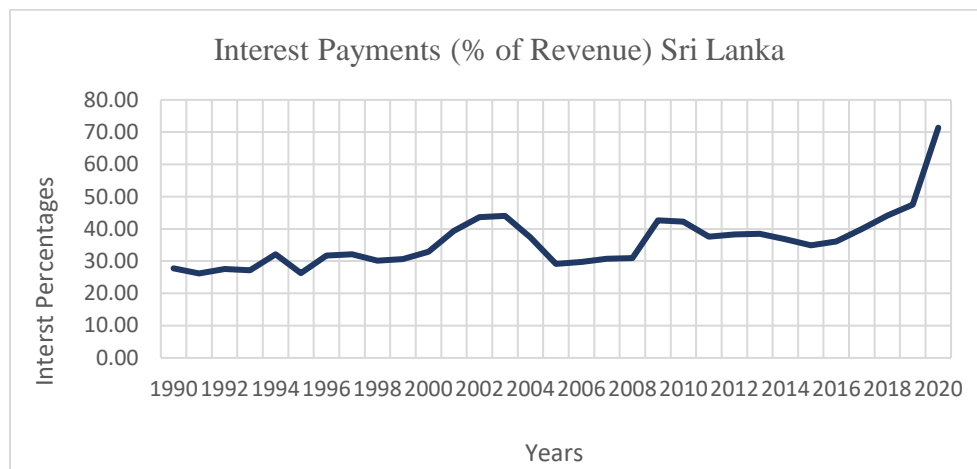
For this reason, the presidential election of 2015 in Sri Lanka was a decisive victory for the minorities. Since independence in 1948, all prime minister and presidents of Sri Lanka gained landslide victories as the result of a Sinhala majority vote. But during the 2015 presidential elections Mr. Maithripala Sirisena gained a landslide victory over Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR) through the minority votes. The autocratic, and corrupt nature of the Rajapaksa Administration became a key factor for MR losing an unconstitutionally attempted third term. When the MS administration took over the state, Sri Lanka's payment of interest (% of revenue) was 34.9% (GDP). With so much foreign aid arriving, a sound nation building effort was anticipated. But past international debt

accrued by MR through the BRI for all his construction projects, and the war efforts reached re-payment of US\$50 billion in 2016, caused new economic hardship (Bhowmick, 2022). The large construction projects undertaken by the MR Administration, such as the Mattala Airport costing US\$209 million, did not bring in a return of investments (ROI). The debt was rolled over increasing the percentage of debt of Sri Lanka.

By 2015, Sri Lanka had completely become an import dependent economy with no exports. The marginalization of the Sri Lankan Muslims from 2010 – 2015 caused constant civil and political unrest within the state (Clarance, 2007). This stopped all tourism, and foreign investments in Sri Lanka and contributed to migration of human capital to other states with better opportunities. So, by 2016 Sri Lanka had nothing to counter the growing economic crisis due to debt repayment on the excessively high interest loans taken by the Rajapaksa's through the BRI. In 2016, the interest on the foreign loans had risen to 36% of Sri Lanka's revenue, in 2017 it became 40%, and in 2019 it was 72% (see Figure 26). The MS Administration decided to seriously cutdown on government spending to pay the growing interest and avoid going into default. This led to severe shortages in essential services such as power and forced price increases in other goods and services.

Figure 26

Interest Payments (% of revenue) - Sri Lanka (1990-2020)



Note. From data obtained in the ‘*International Monetary Fund, Government Finance Statistics Yearbook and data file*’ dataset.

Meanwhile, Mahinda Rajapaksa unconstitutionally returned to politics by revamping a minor political party under the name of the Sri Lanka People’s Front (SLPF) in 2016 (Aneez & Roy, 2018). From within the SLPF, he started a campaign, criticizing the decisions made by the incumbent MS Administration and indirectly started fueling Sinhala-Muslim ethnic tension from 2016-2018. This forced the Sri Lankan economy further into the abyss. By April 2019, the majority Sinhala population, blaming the minorities for their choice in leadership during 2015, aligned with the SLPF (Aneez & Roy, 2018).

Ethnic tension between the Sinhala and the Muslims increased to a new height and when the inevitable April easter bombings by the radical Islamic faction ‘National Thowheeth Jama’ath’ (NTJ) happened on April 21, 2019, the MS Administration fell out

of favor among the people. This allowed the past defense secretary Ret. Lt. Col. Gotabaya Rajapaksa, brother of Mahinda Rajapaksa to gain a landslide victory during the 2019 presidential elections.

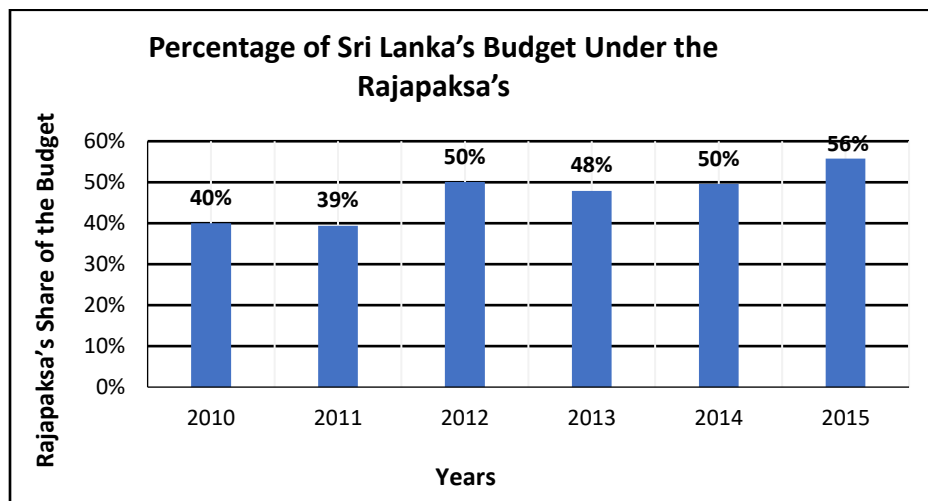
Collapsing State of Sri Lanka (2020-2022)

By 2020 Sri Lanka's foreign debt had reached 88% of its GDP (Yeung, 2022). With Covid-19 numbers starting to increase, in having no prior experience in politics, instead of working toward procuring the needed vaccinations and distributing them in a timely manner, Rajapaksa declared a nationwide curfew to combat the spreading (Wignaraja, 2022). Initially it was a successful strategy to combat and contain the spreading of the virus. But continuously enforcing island wide curfew from March 2020 to January 2021, severely damaged the economic infrastructure (World Bank, 2021). This put immense pressure on the already dwindling economy of Sri Lanka and accelerated the foreign debt crisis (Ishak, 2022).

By 2021 Sri Lanka's debt rose to 101% of GDP. By August 2021, this led to the most severe economic crisis so far (Yeung, 2022). Responding to the economic crisis and injecting money back to the people, Gotabaya imposed some substantial tax cuts (Shih, 2022). With no income to match these tax breaks, it significantly reduced the government revenue, intensified the budget deficit, and led to even more inflation. Acting on this, despite multiple warnings by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Gotabaya, authorized the Central Bank of Sri Lanka to continue printing money to cover ongoing, government spending, until 2022 (Arudpragasam, 2022).

In making matters worse, in April 2021, the Gotabaya administration announced that Sri Lanka would only allow organic farming and banned all agrochemical-based fertilizers (Nordhaus & Shah, 2022). This caused a serious drop in Sri Lanka's main export of tea production and led to over US\$425 million in economic losses (Nordhaus & Shah, 2022). Within six months, this drop also contributed to a 20% drop in local rice production, forcing Sri Lanka to import rice at a cost of US\$450 million (Nordhaus & Shah, 2022). In this manner GR's efforts to stabilize the economy and use non-agrochemical-based fertilizers only pushed Sri Lanka further into debt.

With most of the Rajapaksa family and their associates installed in Sri Lankan governance, starting at 40% in 2010 and by middle of 2021 almost 56% Sri Lankan wealth was managed by the members of the Rajapaksa family (see Figure 27). On top of this, the Rajapaksas had stakes in 80% of Sri Lanka's industries, which included Sri Lanka's primary supplier of liquefied petroleum (LP) gas 'Litro Gas Lanka'. In November 2021, an issue with the quality of these manufactured gas cylinders caused them to explode (Jayasinghe, 2021).

Figure 27*Rajapaksa Family Control Over the Sri Lanka's Budget*

Note. From data obtained within the dataset through the *Ministry of Finance and Planning, Sri Lanka*'.

LP-Gas was the primary source of heat for preparing food in Sri Lanka.

Constantly exploding tanks increased the numbers of burned victims, resulting in a great upheaval (N. Rambukwella, 2014). This led to the complete shutdown of Litro Gas Lanka. With the company shutdown, all its productions ceased, and created great shortages of LP Gas by December 2021 (Jayasinghe, 2021).

In January 2022, while the people waited in line for miles to refill their Gas tanks, the GR Administration announced the impending fuel shortage because of the lack of funds to pay the tankers and their unloading. In attempting to recover from Covid-19, on May 2021, the IMF offered Sri Lanka funds as aid. Because such funds come with strict restrictions, the GR administration turned down the support (Ondaatjie, 2021). The

justification he gave was, trying to rely on its own resources to reduce the government's dependence on foreign aid (Ondaatjie, 2021). By February 2022, Sri Lanka was impacted with a severe shortage of food, fuel, and gas along with record levels of inflation and blackouts (Ghoshal & Jayasinghe, 2022).

Helpless, people from all over the country, took to the streets blaming the president and his family for mismanagement of public funds. In April 2022 people demanded that the opposition party file a motion of no confidence against the government, and asked GR Rajapaksa, and other family members to render their resignation (Buddhavarapu, 2022). Because the parliament consisted of a majority of Rajapaksa family loyalist's, the people's demands for representatives fell onto deaf ears, only to be met with excuses and no resolution. Responding to this, for the first time in Sri Lankan history, between April 2022 – May 2022 everyone, irrespective of their ethnicity, joined in the streets, demanding that the president and his family step down (Kuruwita & Rasheed, 2022). These protestors, considering themselves apolitical, included teachers, students, doctors, nurses, IT professionals, farmers, lawyers, social activists, sportspersons, engineers, and a few police officers without any direct political affiliations (Kuruwita, 2022).

These protestors chanted slogans such as "Go home Gota" and 'Go Home Rajapaksas" as they rallied throughout the country carrying banners with similar slogans. Most of Sri Lankan youth also joining in on the protests, camped at the 'Galle Face Green' in front of the old parliament and chanted slogans like: "You have messed with

the wrong generation" and "Don't play with our future" (Subramanian N. , 2022). Both groups targeted the Rajapaksa family, and incumbent politicians of the Sri Lankan parliament. In responding to the unrest, on April 2, 2022, the Rajapaksa Administration declared a state of emergency. This allowed the military to respond and arrest civilians, imposing curfews, restricting social media (such as Facebook), assault protesters, and journalists, as well as arresting online activists (Kuruwita & Rasheed, 2022).

By April 3, 2022, tension began to build throughout the country. Despite the power cuts, and gas shortages, people started to help the protestors by providing them the necessities to sustain them and encouraging them to persist (Subramanian N. , 2022). Internationally, Sri Lankan communities in Australia, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, United States, and Canada also joined in on the protest within their respective nations.

This put immense pressure on the incumbent administration, so that by the end of April 3, members of the GR cabinet, except for Prime Minister Rajapaksa, were forced to resign. On April 4, 2022, because it was deemed unconstitutional, several members of the parliament unrelated to the Rajapaksa family, were reinstated in different ministries (Vaidyanathan, 2022). The protestors, adamant in removing Gotabaya from the presidency, continued their efforts more aggressively when the president announced to the public that he will not step down. In responding to Gotabaya's claims, on April 19, 2022, people who were waiting in line to obtain fuel were denied. In their frustration, they staged a protest by blocking a major railway intersection named the 'Rambukkana crossing' (Gnana, 2022).

From there, the protestors decided to block all entry and exits to the town of Rambukkana for 15 hours. But when a local police detachment was sent to the location to bring order, it exacerbated the situation (Gnana, 2022). The police, in responding to the peaceful protestors, started to fire tear gas. Responding to the tear gas attacks, the irate protestors started hurling stones at the Police. In turn, the police responded by opening fire at the crowds and killing one civilian and wounding another twelve (Ghoshal & Jayasinghe, 2022).

The whole event going viral on social media, the autocratic methods used by the state in suppressing the peaceful protests, and evolution of the protests reached international media and backfired on the governance of Sri Lanka. Soon, the international human rights organizations, the United States, Germany, Canada, and the United Kingdom responded in condemning the act (Associate Press, 2022). They demanded that the Administration adhere to the demands of the people and cease all unorthodox actions against the protestors. Within a matter of hours, the state of emergency was lifted, and the protestors were allowed to continue as before (Associate Press, 2022).

On May 9, 2022, members of the Sri Lanka People's Front (SLPP) arrived at the prime minister's house and staged a protest to demand that the Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapaksa not resign (Basnayaka, 2022). Intoxicated, during the protest, some of these protestors crossed over to Galle Face Green, where youth members were camped out protesting for the 'Rajapaksas to Leave', started to destroy their tents and assaulted them (Basnayaka, 2022). Within moments, the youth at the camping Galle Face Green

responded by brutally attacking their foes and chasing them back. Attempts by the SLPP members to suppress anti Rajapaksa protestors backfired and exacerbated the fragile situation even further. Upon discovering that pro-Rajapaksa MPs had orchestrated attacks on peaceful protestors, the international community swiftly imposed sanctions on the administration (Masih & Shih , 2022). These protestors, retaliating on the unorthodox attacks, led to a nationwide wave of rioting against the Rajapaksa's and their loyalists.

By mid-day, on May 9th the anti-Rajapaksa protestors, and youth groups throughout the country joined forces and went on rampages destroying property belonging to the Rajapaksa's and their loyalists (Kodikara, 2022). The protestors set ablaze all assets belonging to high profile SLPP Parliament Members, and the Rajapaksas, including their ancestral home in Hambantota. The demands of the protestors were made noticeably clear, to the incumbent administration, "Rajapaksa's Go Home". The next day, May 10th, 2022, Mahinda Rajapaksa handed in his resignation, and fled to the Trincomalee Naval Base with his family for security reasons (Jayasuria, 2022).

On May 12, 2022, Gotabaya Rajapaksa appointed Mr. Ranil Wickramasinghe (RW) as the prime minister of Sri Lanka. In having held the title of Prime minister for four consecutive terms intermittently, Wickremasinghe is known for his ability to work alongside the West and the IMF (Ellis-Petersen , 2022). While the protestors continued their efforts to remove GR, as the president of Sri Lanka, and to do away with the executive presidency. By choosing Wickramasinghe as the prime minister, Sri Lanka hoped to use his abilities to get out of the existing debt crisis (Pal & Jayasinghe, 2022).

But the crisis remained.

Data Analysis Results

The Qualitative Document Analysis method (QDA) was used to build the data sample for this study. QDA is a systematic procedure for reviewing and evaluating documents, both as printed and electronic material (Fischer, 2006). It is a repetitive process, which triangulates every source taken into consideration by the researcher in building a strong data sample. The Triangulation process that occurs innately within QDA allows the researcher to corroborate findings across data sets and reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study (Armstrong, 2021).

The Epistemological Theories of Research under Document Analysis takes both the Positivistic and the Phenomenological approach to document analysis, and presents six methods used in QDA (Armstrong, 2021). I, the primary instrument for this study, chose the 'Framework analysis' method to analyze the data. This method allowed me to collect all the data and analyze them during the collection process by sifting and sorting in accordance with key issues and themes. Considering the periods chosen for the study, I had the understanding that polarities of democracy identified with the modern context did not exist during the pre-colonial and colonial the post-colonial periods.

Democracy is a political philosophy that emphasizes the importance of citizens taking an active role in their government, whether directly or through elected representatives. It was first introduced by the Greeks in 5 BC and is based on the fundamental principle that the people should have a voice in the decision-making process

(Brown T. , 2022). In essence, democracy empowers individuals to participate in shaping the policies that affect their lives and provides them with a platform to express their opinions, needs, and aspirations.

In agreement, Benet (2006) elaborates in detail, outward conditions that are visible when the overarching values encompassed within a functioning democracy are balanced to their positives and negatives regardless as to when they occurred (Appendix D). For example, a nation or an organization that balances the values of freedom and authority to their upsides will display outward signs of justice, freedom, and equality for others. Such governance will prohibit control of others and will be free from oppression (Appendix D).

Taking the above factors into consideration, I used the constant comparative method to reduce the codes to ten themes (Ten values) within the polarities of democracy model (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). To investigate three key periods in Sri Lankan history, I examined 48 authoritative books on the pre-colonial and colonial periods, as well as 54 books on the post-colonial period. Additionally, I analyzed 84 scholarly journals to corroborate the findings across all three periods. To capture current events, including Sri Lanka's ongoing crisis from March 2020 to April 2022, I utilized 95 web sources and databases.

In this study, I focused on observing the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods of Sri Lankan history through the lens of the polarities of democracy. To analyze the data, I thoroughly read all the materials and employed the QDA method to re-analyze

the data sample. By developing a questionnaire based on the ten overarching values of the polarities of democracy model, I aimed to identify the presence or absence of these values during each selected period. The questionnaire served as codes to merge the historical data with the theoretical framework of polarities of democracy.

For the pre-colonial period, I examined texts such as the Mahawamsa, which revealed the establishment of justice and due process by the monarchs. The Rajavaliya highlighted the role of village councils in resolving disputes and maintaining social order. The Chulavamsa shed light on communal obligations during this era.

Moving to the colonial period, I studied texts on Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonial rule. The text 'Ceylon and the Portuguese' depicted oppressive policies, while 'Ceylon and the Hollanders' indicated a level of participation and representation. 'The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka' highlighted the social and political structure, including the role of village councils and the farmer aristocracy. 'History of Sri Lanka' emphasized the British dismantling the old land tenure system and introducing policies that caused resentment. 'Nobodies to Somebodies' examined the emergence of the colonial bourgeoisie and the influence of majoritarianism. For the post-colonial period, 'Ethnic Groups in Conflict' discussed the dynamics of ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka, particularly the favoritism of the British towards Tamils and minority groups, leading to disparities and demands for autonomy.

Overall, the analysis revealed the presence or absence of the overarching values of the polarities of democracy model, validating the findings and ensuring their validity,

confirmability, and dependability. The observations highlighted instances of justice, due process, communal obligation, oppression, resentment, and disparities, reflecting the impact of historical periods on Sri Lanka's governance.

After coding all the materials until saturation, I placed my findings, combining both codes and themes, within a table (see Table 5). This table was used to explore the answer to the research question by breaking each period within the table into separate entities.

Table 4

Findings

Overarching values within the Polarities of Democracy Model	Pre-colonial Sri Lanka (1444-1505)	Portuguese Sri Lanka (1505-1658)	Dutch Sri Lanka (1658-1796)	British Sri Lanka (1658-1796)	Post-Colonial Period (1948-1984)	Post-Colonial Period (1994-2005)	Post-Colonial Period (2005-2019)
Freedom	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Authority	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Justice	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Due process	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Diversity	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Equality	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Human rights	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Communal obligations	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Participation	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Representation	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No

I then expanded on the findings for each period under the heading Results. Conducting the data analysis, three main themes surfaced, I have expanded on these three themes below.

Emergent Theme 1: Ethnic Differential Modernization

The major theme that emerged throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods

of Sri Lanka was 'Ethnic Differential Modernization'. An aspect of modernization which occurs when sects within an ethnically diverse colony are separated from one another due to colonial influence and other factors, such as education, economy, and privileges (Horowitz, 2000, p. 66). Scholars of modernization theory explains that differential modernization is a common phenomenon of colonization and has been known to create a contrast between backward and advanced groups (Horowitz, 2000, pp. 191-194; Young, 1994).

This contrast is created because most majority ethnic groups already having advancements, due to trade and administration positions, challenge the colonial administrations (Horowitz, 2000). On the flipside, the backwards groups, mostly minorities slow to develop anticolonial feelings, eventually got backed by colonial administrators (Wimmer, 1997). A minority group, within a state, being developed and favored by a powerful ally, such as a colonial administrator, caused ethnic tension between the two groups, and had the potential to evolve into postcolonial ethnic conflicts (Young, 1994). Ethnic Differential Modernization is a common phenomenon of colonialism; and this was the case with Sri Lanka. Ethnic differential modernization by the colonial powers from 1505 – 1948 marginalized most of the up country and low country Sinhalese and modernized the Sri Lankan Tamils (Kearney, 1978).

These Tamils, citizens of the ancient Jaffna kingdom (1215-1624), were westernized through colonial authorities. They were then backed by dominating colonial powers over the Sinhalese population from 1505 to 1931 (Horowitz, 2000). Various Land

ordinances imposed by the British from 1841 -1889, destroyed the agrarian economy and all societal dynamics of pre-colonial Sri Lanka and, the Sinhalese were brought to destitution (Obeyesekere, 1967). A proud majority population (Sinhalese), with an elaborate history from the 5th century BC both visual and textual, during the colonial period, especially during the British dominion, were forced to struggle to make ends meet within their own nation, making the Sinhala Buddhists feel like second class citizens.

The Sinhala population started to resent the British and Tamil minority. This study shows that during the British colonial period between 1815 – 1931 the Sinhala Buddhist identity was indeed contested. But from 1880, the Theosophical Society's efforts to revive Buddhism, taking a lead, brought hope to the Sinhala Buddhists, and gave them cause to fight. This fight, to regain their status as a majority, gave life to the unfavorable 'Sinhala Only Ideology', and animosity toward Sri Lankan minorities.

Under British authority, the majority of Sinhala Buddhists living within the rural areas of Sri Lanka, did not have participation or representation within the governance process. So, the disagreements between ethnicities in Sri Lanka did not surface until the 1930's (Horowitz, 2000). In 1931 under the Donoughmore Constitution, when human suffrage was introduced to all citizens of Sri Lanka, the dynamics changed. People of Sri Lanka, now having the ability to choose their candidate within the governing commission, both Sinhala, and Tamil nationalism united the commissioners and the constituents.

The Soulbury Constitution of 1947 that evolved from the Donoughmore

Constitution of 1931, became the governing constitution of Sri Lanka during the independence of 1948. Once independent, many scholars of the discipline argue that Sri Lanka only changed places with the British Raj. Instead of the colonists, Westernized natives, mimicking the colonists, took over seats of power. To support their efforts to sustain power they immediately reversed Ethnic Differential Modernization (a phenomenon of colonization) by prioritizing the majority over the minority.

The Sinhala only ideology, and growing nationalism leading this effort, caused the post-colonial majoritarian legislature to give prominence to the majority and started marginalizing the minority groups. By mimicking the colonial powers, from 1948 – 1984, the native authorities enforced mono-ethnic, monolinguist, mono-religious legislature to contain the minorities. In doing so, they deprived the minorities equality, as well as representation and participation within post-colonial governance.

As mentioned previously within this chapter, under key findings on the colonial period, the efforts to enact these mono-ethnic, monolinguist, mono-religious legislature, systematically started to put pressure on all socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka. Since 1948, each government aimed to create a single ethnic state, and ignored other aspects of governance, resulting in a decline in effective government and ethnic harmony during the post-colonial period (1948-2022).

Emergent Theme 2: Gender Equality and Ethnic Inequality

The second theme that surfaced during data analysis was, that Sri Lanka remained a matriarchal society throughout the periods scrutinized. Gender equality remained the

same despite ethnic separatism that emerged during the last phase of British colonial rule. During the pre-colonial period, in adhering to the culture of the time, women were highly respected; they were worshiped as feared, compassionate, and wise deities. Women were incorporated within the monarchical rule as wise advisors to the monarchs, with some of the pre-colonial women even governing kingdoms and posing serious challenges to their male counterparts in warfare i.e., Queen Sugala.

There are many monastic complex's such as "Situl Pauwa", erected by Monarchs to honor the support of their partners, as equals, during times of crisis. Even during the colonial period 1505 – 1948, the prominence given to women remained. Since 1931, when Mrs. Adline Molamure and Mrs. Naysum Saravanamuttu were elected to a previously all-male legislature. Sri Lanka is famous for breaking the glass ceiling. From 1935 onwards, the women activists such as, Doreen Wickremasinghe, Violet Vivienne ("Vivi") Goonewardene, Kusuma Gunawardena, and Selina Perera are notable examples of the independence movement. Sri Lanka even produced the world's first female prime minister 'Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike' in 1960. Her youngest daughter, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, won by a landslide and become Sri Lanka's 4th executive president from 1994 -2005.

The fact that Sri Lanka remain a matriarchal society to date, brings some hope for democracy within Sri Lanka in the future. Because Benet (2013) indicates that... "patriarchal societies have prevented us from attaining a full expression of democracy on a national or global level" (P.7).

Emergent Theme 3: Participation and Representation

The next theme that emerged was that, from the pre-colonial period through the postcolonial period was the systematic deterioration of active participation and representation. Pre-colonial Sri Lanka was dependent upon its ancient agricultural economy, found within the villages, bound to each other through village paddy cultivation. They knew that things that affect the village would impact everyone. Village councils that delegated the activities of each village had active participation and representation. The members of these councils had a sense of ownership because of their link to the village.

The image of Sri Lanka slowly changed during colonization from 1505 to 1931. The Portuguese and Dutch colonial authority from 1506-1796 were limited to coastal areas and their influences. The introduction of Christianity and westernized education were confined to major cities under their control, such as Galle, Colombo, Trincomalee and Jaffna. Meanwhile, the Kandyan kingdom, which controlled a large territory inland, preserved its pre-colonial system of governance. The village council systems remained the power base for the native population, allowing for participation and representation in local government until 1815.

In 1815, when the British gained control over Sri Lanka, they took away the native population's right to participation and representation. They instead created a new social class of those loyal to their rule and gave them representation, which only accounted for 8.5% of the population. When Sri Lanka introduced universal suffrage in

1931, many citizens were unfamiliar with the concept of active participation in the political process. They based their voting decisions on factors such as ethnic identity and Buddhism and supported candidates who advocated for these issues.

On February 4, 1948, when Sri Lanka gained its Independence, the British handed the nation to a few westernized local elites, by swinging a pen. There was no election. A true majority of 83%, did not have a say in the decision-making process of independence. Under the constitution of 1948, Sri Lanka, claiming its independence, decided to remain a dominion of the British empire, so the British chose the prime minister and the cabinet. This gave Bandaranaike who was backed by a large constituency for advocating the Sinhala only ideology which enjoyed a prominent place within the Sri Lankan parliament. He became a key decision maker, and 'Sinhala Only' ideology began dominating every layer of Sri Lanka's political, sociological, and economic aspects from 1951 – 1984.

Because a majority never learned anything about the value of voting, from 1931 only 17% of Sri Lankans, living within urban areas voted through active participation. The other, 83% voted through blind loyalty to the representatives who freely used the ethnic card to advance their political careers but remained indifferent to the happenings within Sri Lanka as a nation. This allowed for a hand full of representatives, mostly members passed down through the lineage of those selected in 1948, to become lifetime politicians. Within each election the same candidates changed seats within a majoritarian two-party system until Sri Lanka's political, sociological, and economic foundation

collapsed in June 2022.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

The present study is a qualitative historical comparative case study. Unlike other research methods dealing with definitive numerical data, qualitative research, attempting to address various human conditions or phenomenon, has the potential to be misdirected. So, in Qualitative research addressing credibility, transferability, and confirmability is crucial.

Credibility

The credibility of this study depends on ensuring that “the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the participants’ original data and is a correct interpretation of the participants’ original views” (Korstjens & Moser, 2018, p. 121). I used the Qualitative Data Analysis method. QDA is a repetitive process, that constantly cross-checks materials as it builds the data sample. This process also automatically triangulates each finding and assures the data sample to be a valid representation of the three periods under scrutiny (Matthew et al., 1997). The data used within the study was collected within multiple periods from 1994 – 2022, for various academic endeavors including my Master of Arts. Exploring the data for the current study through QDA, using the questions developed by me (see Appendix B) I was able to filter out irrelevant materials and deeply analyze the data triangulated findings until saturation.

Using data saturation as my clue to end the data collection, I built a dataset from materials taken into consideration by using various scholarly journals, such as the Asian

Survey, Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses, East-West Center, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka and Economic and Political Weekly. The study capturing multiple periods, when journals were not available, I opted to use publications by notable publishers, such as Sage, Taylor Francis, and various university publications that include Oxford, Cambridge, and University of California to ensure credibility. In further strengthening the credibility of this historical comparative case study, most publications chosen by me for the analysis were from authorities of their disciplines such as Dr. K.M. De Silva, Dr. S.U. Deraniyagala, Dr. Y.R. Amarasinghe, Dr. Gamini Keerawella, Dr. William Benet, Dr. Brigitte Nacos, and Dr. Seth Jones.

The current study focuses on Sri Lankan history from 1400 – 2022. So, the credibility of the study is further assured by the fact that the events explored within the study have already happened. The outcomes have already been witnessed and authenticated through many decades from 1445-2022.

Transferability

The scholars of qualitative research methodology explain that “Transferability, addresses the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts or settings with other respondents” (Korstjens & Moser, 2018, p. 121). In such a study complete transferability cannot be assured. This is because the specific circumstances of the assessing reader are unknown. The current, historical comparative case study provides a rich account of descriptive data, which includes the study’s setting, the data collection procedures, data analysis procedures, methodology, as well as the

studies limitations collectively to support transferability.

When I compared the finding from the study with other nations, such as Somalia, Rwanda, and Myanmar, the results strongly correlated. Their political, sociological, and economic aspects during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods align with Sri Lanka's conditions. Just like Sri Lanka, in obtaining independence from the colonial powers, ethnic separatism started to dominate their post-colonial governance. The majority deprived the minority groups of justice, due process, diversity, and equality that would force ethnic conflicts within these states.

Just like Sri Lanka, autocracy would dominate these states during their post-colonial period, and eventually would force them to become instable nations with collapsing economies. This further strengthens the applicability of the polarities of democracy theory to explore any non-democratic form of governance, and to present suggestions to re-direct toward democratic governance.

Confirmability

Confirmability is the “the degree to which the findings of the research study could be confirmed by other researchers” (Korstjens & Moser, 2018, p. 121). Transparency being a crucial factor for this study, I made sure to document by adhering to the American Psychological Association (APA) style. This style has guided the study to clearly present all the materials and methods used to draw conclusions by citing them. This allows anyone reading the study to cross check (through triangulation) the validity of the sources used within the study and draw out any discrepancies (Lincoln & Guba,

1985).

Adhering to this style, the study presents within Chapter 2, an elaborate literature review and within Chapter 3 the details of the research method. The study then in Chapter 4 presents details regarding the data analysis process, which include details on data collection frequencies, the study's setting, and the findings. In presenting the findings, this study contains multiple tables as well as my dataset (shown in Appendix A). All this should support any efforts to validate my interpretations.

Dependability

Dependability within qualitative methodology refers to “the extent to which the findings can be considered consistent and trustworthy” (Moon et al., 2016, p. 3). To ensure the dependability of this study I clearly stated the research question, the data collection methods, and the sampling strategy.

Using Qualitative Document Analysis, a known systematic and structured data collection method, assured that the same process was followed when analyzing data for each case within this historical comparative case study and maintained consistency.

To make sure that the findings of this study were not influenced by one individual's interpretation, my committee, the university research review board, and the ethics committee scrutinized this study through each phase until its final stage. Also, my mentor Dr. David Winograd (PhD), acting as a second researcher working with me as I proceeded through the study, assured that multiple data codes were used in completing the study. Bound on textual and documentative materials I made sure to utilize multiple

sources and triangulated the data, supporting the dependability of this study.

The Results

The main research question for this Qualitative Historical Comparative Case Study (HCCS) is: In what ways has polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony?

The foundation for the research question is grounded in the polarities of democracy model. It is also the theoretical framework of this study. I used the polarities of democracy lens to explore three crucial periods (Pre-Colonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial) of Sri Lankan history. Because the polarities of democracy model guide social change by supporting healthy, sustainable, and just communities. The polarities of democracy theory are fundamental in exploring topics such as ethnic separatism, something which challenges Sri Lanka to date (Benet, 2012).

The polarities of democracy theory use polarity management as its conceptual framework and identify ten overarching democratic values deemed essential to fully attain a functioning democracy. These ten values are Freedom, Authority, Justice, Due Process, Diversity, Equality, Human Rights, Communal Obligations, Participation and Representation. The study primarily sought to find the existence or non-existence of the ten values critical to the polarities of democracy theory within each period, and the governance of these periods, using the guidelines presented within the theoretical framework (see Appendices B & C). Next, I presented the findings related to the research

question by listing them chronologically as pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods.

Pre-Colonial Period

Every aspect of pre-colonial Sri Lanka was bound within the pre-colonial land tenure system. Beyond a handful of land allocated for religious use, and the needs of the monarchy, all other land was allocated among the citizens for various uses. The decision making and implementation of justice for the kingdom started at the village, the Gam-Sabaha (Village Council), then evolved to the state level the Rata- Sabaha (State Council) and eventually the Raja-Sabaha (Kings Council) of the respective kingdoms. These three councils also acted as the justice system, handling judicial matters, and passing judgements through majority vote. This industry-based caste system of Sri Lanka consisted of families living within each village, specializing in various traits that were passed down from generation to generation.

Sri Lankans engaged in paddy cultivation, would render their services to meet the needs of the people and the kingdom. For example, the ‘Navandanna’ or ‘Achari caste, consisting of migrant Indian crafts workers, were artisans. People of the Berava caste were traditional drummers and agricultural wage laborers. Diversity flourished within precolonial Sri Lanka. The socio-politico-economic values of pre-colonial Sri Lanka were connected through the Rajakariya, a form of communal obligations.

Benet (2006) explains communal obligations (human rights – communal obligations) as being embodied in the other eight pairs as sub polarities, because a

community's obligation is to the Nation; that includes active participation, voting, and supporting a sound democratic government. The Rajakariya mandated that every citizen volunteer service to the state, either through their specialized family trait (caste), active participation within the councils or various state commissioned work.

The Rajakariya demanded participation, or representation on matters that impacted the land. Because everyone in pre-colonial Sri Lanka was invested in the land, it allowed for a sense of ownership, and a sense of belonging, in enacting the duties of the Rajakariya. This ensured villagers make decisions on behalf of the common good which balanced the five polarity pairs and allowed the system to last for hundreds of years, until being dismantled in 1817 (see Table 6).

Table 5

Ten Poles of the Model During Pre-Colonial Period

Ten Poles	Pre-colonial Sri Lanka (1444-1505)	Nature of the overarching values
Freedom	Yes – Existed	Balanced
Authority	Yes – Existed	
Justice	Yes – Existed	Balanced
Due process	Yes – Existed	
Diversity	Yes – Existed	Balanced
Equality	Yes – Existed	
Human rights	Yes – Existed	Balanced
Communal obligations	Yes – Existed	
Participation	Yes – Existed	Balanced
Representation	Yes – Existed	

Colonial Period

The colonial period of Sri Lanka started with the Portuguese occupying coastal land near the Kotte kingdom to establish a trade post in 1505 and ended when Sri Lanka declared independence from the British colonists in 1948. Sri Lanka was successively governed by the Portuguese (1505-1658), the Dutch (1659-1796) and the British (1797-1948). Their enforced changes to the pre-colonial socio-politico-economic infrastructure caused ethnic separatism to govern its post-colonial period (1948 – To date) (De Silva R. K., 1968). Portuguese governance within Sri Lanka, was contained to the coastal regions. Their focus was limited to exploiting the resources of Sri Lanka and expand Christianity (see Table 7; Casinader et al., 2018).

Because the Kandyan kingdom (1597-1815) commanding the interior of Sri Lanka, upholding the pre-colonial land tenure system, and the industrial caste system also remained untouched. This also contained the Portuguese influence on Sri Lanka to its coastal regions. The Portuguese, dependent on native labor, converted the Rajakariya to use local natives to obtain goods for them to export, but prominence within their administration was given to the Portuguese burgher population over the natives (Wickramasinghe, 2014; Caplan, 2020).

Table 6*Ten Poles of Model During Portuguese Colonial Period*

Ten Poles	Portuguese Sri Lanka (1505-1658)	Nature of the overarching values
Freedom	No	Maximized to Authority
Authority	Yes – Existed	
Justice	Yes – Existed	Mostly Maximized to Justice
Due process	Yes – Existed	
Diversity	No	There was no Diversity and Equality
Equality	No	
Human rights	No	There was no Rights and Obligation
Communal obligations	No	
Participation	No	There was no participation and representation
Representation	No	

This is the first noted case within Sri Lankan history of preferential treatment toward an ethnicity. Earlier, this preferential treatment was allocated only to the Royal household, monks, and the chiefs (Riswan, 2014). The Portuguese period though, observed through the polarities of democracy model, can be identified as a period of chaos and constant turmoil (Pieris & Naish, 1999). The Portuguese placed an emphasis on maintenance of authority over freedom and did not allow for any participation or representation (Perera G. C., 2007). By prosecuting anyone who was not of their faith in the most inhumane method, it was evident that the Portuguese neither cared for human rights or diversity.

Ending Portuguese colonial governance, the Dutch took control over Sri Lanka (1659-1795). The Dutch, defeating the Portuguese by 1659, controlled all Portuguese territories and resumed their colonial endeavors. The Dutch interest in Sri Lanka was to

obtain all their abundant goods such as elephants, ivory, pearl, gems, and cinnamon in support of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (Abeydeera, 2008).

Advocates of the mercantile system and bureaucracy of paperwork, the Dutch maintained good relations with the Kandyan kingdom. The reduced turmoil between two parties allowed the Dutch to better establish themselves (Abeydeera, 2008). The Dutch, just like the Portuguese, heavily depended upon local labor for various tasks (Tambiah S. J., 1989). These tasks included acquiring goods from the jungle, providing general labor, and manufacturing goods within colonial industries. To cope with this reliance, both the Portuguese and the Dutch, integrated skilled workers into their administration and introduced these natives to the advancements of modern Europe. Scholars of modernization referred to this process as "Ethnic Differential Modernization" (Kasfir, 2021). The Dutch, after establishing their dominion in Sri Lanka, removed the Kings court of final appeal from the natives and introduced Roman Dutch Law, to be the authority in executing justice (Cooray, 2009). Contained within rural regions of their dominion, the Dutch allowed for the pre-colonial land tenure system and the village council systems to exist and serve its purposes.

The Dutch made significant contributions to Sri Lanka, including the establishment of a sophisticated hospital system. They also utilized the printing press in Dutch, Sinhalese, and the Tamil languages (Kularatne, 1995). In terms of education, the Dutch introduced a westernized approach that aimed to promote social upward mobility. They provided western education to the locals and allowed the privileged to travel to

Europe and complete their education. Upon returning, these individuals were given preferential treatment in various Dutch owned occupations, as compared to those without such education (Palm, 1847).

The Dutch governed Sri Lanka through a mercantile system. They kept all the senior positions to themselves, and unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch delegated various other duties of local administration, including matters of their cinnamon industry to the natives (Abeydeera, 2008). Those who held these administrative positions ‘Mudaliar’ were identified as the southern elites. Highly westernized, these low country elites were given prominence within the Dutch dominion and would play a key role within the British Administration (Schrikker, 2007). Exploring the Dutch colonial administration through the polarities of democracy model, compared to the Portuguese occupation, the native population within their dominion had some level of freedom (see Table 8).

Table 7

Ten Poles of the Model during Dutch Colonial Period

Ten Poles	Dutch Sri Lanka (1658-1796)	Nature of the overarching values
Freedom	Yes - Existed	Balanced
Authority	Yes - Existed	
Justice	Yes - Existed	Balanced
Due process	Yes - Existed	
Diversity	Yes - Existed	No equality. Burghers were treated to elevated status
Equality	No	
Human rights	Yes	The Dutch allowed for Rajakariya
Communal obligations	Yes	
Participation	No	Primarily allocated for Dutch & Portuguese Burghers
Representation	No	

Unlike the Portuguese, who tortured non-Christians and terrorized the state, the Dutch, embraced diversity, obligations, human rights and allowed some participation and representation within the administration (Kenton, 'Mercantilism', 2020). By allowing for the three pre-colonial council systems and incorporating them into the Roman-Dutch judicial system as replacement for the Kings Council, the Dutch also guaranteed Justice and due process (Cooray, 2009).

In 1796, the British defeated the Dutch and occupied their territories within Sri Lanka. The British, initially maintaining their dominion within the occupied coastal areas in signing the Kandyan Treaty of 1815, expanded their dominion over the whole country (Casinader et al., 2018). Two years later in 1817, after making Sri Lanka a colony of the British Empire, the British established governance within the state. In 1831 the Colebrook Cameroon Reforms were introduced. Within these reforms, the British establish an executive council to represent Sri Lanka to the crown, take control of the nation's education system, and change the language from Sinhala to English (Godden & Casinader, 2013).

The council of 1833, that represented Sri Lanka, contained a majority of British with one local representative chosen from the minority population (Samaraweera, 1972). There were no elections to choose this representative, nor were there any term limits. Non-appointed locals would not get a chance to participate or be represented within the council until 1909, almost 78 years later. There was no true representation or

participation of the locals (Samaraweera, 1972).

In 1831, under the Colebrook Cameron reforms, the British abolished the Rajakariya (Lowe, 2007). The Rajakariya, within the polarities of democracy model, represents communal obligations and is the independent polarity of Human rights. By abolishing Rajakariya the British enabled a degraded democracy to govern with increased oppression, poverty paving the way for discrimination, suppression, and marginalization. Because together, rights-obligation are also embodied within the other eight pairs, as a sub-polarity, the impact endured by this effected the other polarity pairs equally.

Land was the foundation of pre-colonial society, and its land tenure system ensured the five polarity pairs of the polarities of democracy model were leverage to their positives ends. Following the Colebrooke Cameroon reforms of 1831, The British, by introducing a set of land reforms, including the Crown Lands (Encroachments) Ordinance of 1840, took ownership of all the lands within their dominion (Ordinance Nos, 12 of, 1840). In doing so, they completely stripped the land from the Kandyan farmers who depended upon these lands for their main sources of sustenance and wealth by 1841, reducing them to destitution (Nanayakkara, 2019). This infuriated the natives who were deprived of their lands which were sold to British planters to cultivate cash crops including Tea, Coconut, Coffee, and Rubber, in support of the British crown's economy (Shanmugaratnam, 1981).

The land-based economy and the agrarian culture were critically important especially when it came to equality and diversity. Irrespective of one's class or creed the

natives depended upon resources it yielded. Everyone residing within the tight knit rural communities of the Kandyan kingdom (1505 -1815) welcomed diversity and considered everyone equal; this thinking even extended to religious institutions (Wickramasinghe, 2014). Evolving from pre-colonial days, each Buddhist temple contained within them, Hindu shrines. The Buddhist institutions welcomed the Hindu priests tending to these shrines (Meegama, 2010). Both parties saw their occupations as the same and did not advocate any inherent differences; instead, they found their faiths to complement each other.

This unity was challenged when the British, on January 1st, 1857, introduced the registration of temple lands ordinance of 1857. Under this ordinance most of the Buddhist temples lost the inherited lands that sustained them (Registration of Temple Lands, 1856). One by one, these temples were abandoned, and lost influence over the communities that depended upon them for their education and religious services (Evers, 1969). Soon, there was a great lack of those who understood the ancient languages, traditions, and culture. Knowledge and wisdom of the past soon became lost within the libraries of withering temple complexes and with time, became dust. This was also the case with Buddhism and Buddha's teachings that evolved from the pre-colonial times. Until the Buddhist revivalist movement in the 1900, various texts containing scriptures were carried by monks to religious events as objects of veneration, with no understanding of their contents. This was a massive blow to a large population of Sinhala Buddhist who refused to surrender their religion to embrace to Christianity (Fernando D. , 2016;

Peebles, 2006). The primary goal of the British within Sri Lanka was to utilize the state to support the East India Company's (EIC) efforts to maintain a monopoly in Asian goods, and then to support the British cash crop industries (Ross & Savada, 1988). In recruiting local labor to sustain British commercial institutions within Sri Lanka, the Temple education system was dismantled, and the Christian education system was introduced, and given prominence to western educated scholars over others (Aiyangar et al., 1921).

The Sinhala Buddhist majority, resisting changes rather than adopting them, became victim to Ethnic Differential Modernization within the British administration (1815-1921). According to Horowitz (2000), by 1815 the ethnic minority groups of Sri Lanka, the Tamils, and the Muslims immediately became the backward group. The past split between upcountry and low country Sinhalese, further weakened this ethnic group. By submitting to the previous colonial powers, the Portuguese, and the Dutch from 1505-1796 the backward group had become westernized and immediately gained the backing of the British who further modernized them despite the upcountry Sinhala population being a majority (Melson & Wolpe, 1970).

Without any participation or representation within the British government to alter the decision-making process this caused a subliminal rift between the ethnicities, fueling anti-colonial feelings. By 1921, each ethnic sect began to unite to protect their own interests and collectively began demanding self-governance (Bandarage, 2020). But the British, to protect their interests, kept a tight grip and denied granting the majority population, any participation or representation. Going the extra mile, they also deprived

the majority population their communal obligations and human rights.

Instead, they choose from all the ethnicities, a sect of new elites that favored the British to represent the nation within the new executive council established in 1909, which deeply aggravated the Sinhalese majority (Jayawardena, 2012; Roberts M. , 1982). These events paved the way for emerged thinking about the contested Sinhala Buddhist identity, which dominated all the socio-politico-economic paradigms from 1900 to 1948. With the rise of Sinhala Buddhist identity demanding a voice from 1900 defying and challenging the withering British authority, other ethnicities also followed suit. By 1931 the nation slowly began to separate between ethnic and communal lines. Collectively all ethnicities began demanding independence (Kannangara A. P., 1984).

In 1931, responding to the natives, and demands for independence and self-governance, the British introduced the Donoughmore Constitution which granted all natives the right to vote and elect officials to the commission (Collins, 1950). Under the British from 1931, members of the commission would address the needs of local governance until 1947.

But this did not reverse the downside values of obligation and rights polarity pairs that were deprived during the British colonial period (see Table 9).

Table 8*Ten Poles of the Model During British Colonial Period*

Ten Poles	British Sri Lanka (1658-1796)	Nature of the overarching values
Freedom	No	Imbalanced
Authority	Yes - Existed	
Justice	Yes - Existed	There was no due process
Due process	No	
Diversity	No	Diversity was not accepted nor was there equality
Equality	No	
Human rights	No	There were no Obligations
Communal obligations	No	
Participation	No	There were no Participation or representation for majority
Representation	No	

Between 1941- 1960, 83.5% of Sri Lanka's total population consisted of rural farmers who resided in villages throughout the state. Only 16.5% of the total population were urbanized. This substantial majority of Sri Lanka's total population were dependent on agriculture, specifically on rice and chena cultivation for their sustenance and wealth (Casinader et al., 2018). As a result of the British bureaucracy dominating rural Sri Lanka from 1817 and indenturing 83.5% of the rural population with various imposed sanctions, including the use of land and rice income. They had lost their sense of ownership of the land (Parker, 1910). Similarly, they did not trust any innovations by the British or their loyalists (Peebles, 1990).

Conversely, the Buddhist revivalist programs gained momentum within rural Sri Lanka. The majority rural population found one thing which no state actor can deny them, which was their 'Sinhala Buddhist identity'. Under British rule (1815-1931), unlike

the precolonial period, the rural population had no representatives from their locale, and because they were not represented, they did not participate (Williams L. M., 1948).

By 1931, Sri Lanka was still under the British. Unlike a modern democracy, until 1948, it was the British who nominated candidates to run for office within the commission (Peebles, 1990). In choosing the candidates for office, the British picked only those who were loyal. This consisted of a small minority of less than 16.5% of Sri Lanka's total population living within urban settings. Between 1921 to 1947 only a handful had the decision-making capacity to decide the fate of the nation (Mills L. A., 1964).

With senior politicians such as D.S Senanayake supported by both the British and the urban Sri Lankan population, between 1932-1947, emergent politicians such as Bandaranaike remained invisible. In 1932, Bandaranaike, an Oxfordian at heart, and a native aristocrat, with a strong links to rural Sri Lanka, decided to represent the 83.5% of the rural population and adopt 'Sinhala only' ideology (Manogaran, 1987).

To establish his position further, Bandaranaike reached out to Buddhist monks, identified as the village authority, to advocate on behalf of him, and establish the United Front of Bhikkhus (UFB). This, action by Bandaranaike to incorporate religion and state, to the transitional governance exacerbated already existing negative aspects of five interdependent polarity pairs of the polarities of democracy model (Kulasekera, 1984). It allowed for a highly hierarchical, oppressive, irresponsible, unreliable governance that encouraged marginalization, and suppression to dominate Sri Lanka's post-colonial decision making until the state finally collapsed in 2021 (Appendix D).

Post-Colonial Period

Sri Lanka's post-colonial period, beginning in 1948, was marked by the transformation of past colonial influences into post-colonial insecurities that targeted the Tamil minority (Kadirgamar, 2020). The Westminster system of government, which favored the majority Sinhala representation, systematically enforced mono-ethnic, mono-linguistic, and mono-religious laws directed towards the minority population until 1984 (Balasundaram, 2016). These laws included the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, the Official Language Act 33 of 1956, and the University Standardization Policy of 1972. As a result, the Tamil minority was marginalized, leaving many Tamils stateless, jobless, and deprived of a sound education.

When the minority groups peacefully protested these regulations, demanding justice, and equality from 1948 to 1972, they were met with violence sponsored by the state to suppress and force the Tamils into silence. Noted acts of terrorism by the state against its Tamil minority include the anti-Tamil riots of 1956, anti-Tamil pogrom of 1958, Sri Lankan police-led attacks on Tamils of May 1981, and the Black July of 1983. These enacted laws and widespread anti-Tamil violence created a state of political and civil unrest and began to impact the economy.

However, the administrations from 1956 to 1972 placed too much emphasis on the minorities and neglected the rural population that then consisted of 82% of Sri Lanka's total population. As a result, they were deprived of equality. This led to the attempted coup d'état of 1962 and the first JVP insurrection of 1971. When viewed

through the polarities of democracy model, the post-colonial Sri Lankan majority rural population and minority groups were deprived of equality, participation, and representation (see Table 10).

Table 9

Ten Poles of the Model during the Post-colonial Period (1948-1984)

Ten Values	Post-Colonial Period (1948-1984)	Nature of the overarching values
Freedom	No	Maximized to Authority
Authority	Yes	
Justice	Yes	Maximized to Justice
Due process	No	
Diversity	No	There was no Diversity and Equality
Equality	No	
Human rights	No	There was no Rights and Obligation
Communal obligations	No	
Participation	No	Participation and representation were given only to a handful of elites
Representation	No	

Instead of addressing these issues, politicians caved into pressure from their majority constituency and focused on furthering their individual political ambitions. This is evident in lost opportunities with the Bandaranayke – Chelvanayakam (B-C) pact of 1957 and Dudley – Chelvanayakam (D-C) pact of 1965. In scrutinizing the B-C pact of 1957 through the polarities of democracy model, by granting the Tamil minority self-governance in areas with a majority Tamil population, the B-C pact acknowledged both the overarching values of diversity and equality. A federal umbrella would have ensured the other four polarity pairs and their values to be directed upside and halter all ethnic tensions by 1957 (see Appendix D).

Instead, following S.W.R.D Bandaranaike's assassination in 1959, his widow Sirimavo Bandaranaike, taking over the office of prime minister in 1960, pushed Sri Lanka's political, sociological, and economic conditions even deeper down the abyss. Her efforts to promote the Sinhala only act of 1956 to the private sector, and nationalize various public industries that included banking, petroleum, and transportation during her first term (1961-1965) further contributed to the Tamil-Sinhala tension. Sirimavo, using Sinhala nationalism to drive her campaign as prime minister, had completely disregarded any form of democratic efforts to reverse growing ethnic tension. In January 1961 she ignored due process and sent the military to suppress a 'Federal Party' rally protesting the Sinhala only policy. Her various efforts to rule Sri Lanka as a patchwork economy, while spending more time abroad to gain international fame fell through and caused the economy to crumble by 1965.

By the end of her term in 1965, she had fallen out of favor with her supporters, at every level. They immediately replaced Dudley Senanayake as the prime minister of Sri Lanka in the 1965 election. More worldly than his predecessors, he immediately identified with the Tamil minority and their demands for equality. In seeking some form of a resolution to the growing Sinhala-Tamil tension, he introduced the Dudley-Chelvanayakam pact on March 23, 1965. But the withering economy, growing inflation, widespread political and social turmoil within the state hindered Dudley Senanayake from solidifying the D-C pact (see Appendix E). By failing to reverse the economic crisis through international support, and other diplomatic venues, Dudley also became

unpopular, and was replaced by Sirimavo in 1970 as prime minister.

Sirimavo, was well respected within the international community. By electing her as the prime minister, people hoped it would bring international support to stabilize the growing economic crisis. But, in taking the seat of the prime minister, Sirimavo placed the economy on the back burner. She immediately deployed a mass campaign from 1970 – 1971, to undo, various enactments of the Dudley Senanayake Administration including the D-C pact of 1965. Which like the B-C pact of 1959 would have given the Tamil minority a level of autonomy in areas highly populated by them. Operating under a Federal umbrella, these regions would have enabled both representation and participation for the Tamils and resolve growing tension. Instead, the D-C pact became another neglected attempt toward ethnic reconciliation.

During Sirimavo's second term as prime minister from 1970 to 1975, ethnic tensions between the Sinhala and Tamil communities in Sri Lanka escalated significantly. Sirimavo, determined to promote the Sinhala Only ideology, immediately nullified all laws and agreements signed by the previous Dudley Senanayake Administration, including the 1965 Dudley-Chelvanayakam Pact (D-C pact). These actions eroded the Tamil population's trust in the government and created an environment conducive to Tamil militancy between 1972 and 1984.

In 1972, Sri Lanka decided to sever ties with the British Commonwealth. However, Sirimavo failed to address the concerns of the Tamil community in the new constitution of 1972. She also omitted the declaration of fundamental rights that should

have applied to all citizens, displaying a clear disregard for human rights. Additionally, she nationalized Christian-based Western education institutions, by converting them into Buddhist education centers. In causing a rift between the Sinhalese and the Christians she forced senior non-Buddhist officials in the armed forces to retire and gave those positions to junior Buddhist officers.

Sirimavo then implemented a quota system for university admissions, specifically aiming to restrict Tamil students from pursuing studies in science, medicine, and engineering. This decision became a turning point for Tamil youth, who increasingly turned to militant activities, resulting in both political and civil unrest. The mounting instability within the country eventually led to economic collapse by 1974, marking the end of Sirimavo's second term as prime minister.

In 1975, J.R. Jayawardena became the prime minister of Sri Lanka. Prior to his appointment, Jayawardena was a long-standing Minister of Finance. Understanding the relationship between the collapsing economy and the Sinhala-Tamil ethnic tension, he immediately reversed many mono-ethnic, monolingual, and mono-religious enactments and acknowledged Tamil as a national language. But it was too late. The Tamil Militant groups, especially the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was adamant in demanding a separate Eelam state. To deal with the growing aggravations by these militant groups Jayawardena enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) of 1979. This enactment gave Sri Lankan law enforcement agencies and military unconditional rights to detain, question, and prosecute suspects, and as a result heavily violated the

fundamental rights of the Tamil minority.

From 1981-1983 various state sponsored acts of terrorism toward the already enraged Tamil minority, show that justice, due process, freedom, equality, and diversity as well as other overarching values were not to be found within Sri Lankan governance. In reaching a conclusion, Sri Lankan post-colonial governance from 1948 -1983 did not balance the overarching values within a democracy (see Table 10). The lack of balancing these values in a democracy as Benet (2006) presented, would further exacerbate conditions within the country that lead to demoralization of the Tamil people and sow the seeds leading to the Eelam war of 1984, an insurgency that would eventually bring Sri Lanka to its knees. The LTTE changed their tactics in 1987 embracing suicide terrorism and militaristically governing the areas that had a strong LTTE presence. These actions by the LTTE lost favor with most of the Tamil population.

Alongside the ongoing fighting between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed forces, led to widespread suicide attacks targeting noncombatants and various other entities (Richards, 2014). This imposed heavily on Sri Lanka's open market economy now dependent upon international trade, which began putting pressure on the economy leading to another JVP insurrection from 1987 – 1989 (Moore, 1993).

President Ranasinghe Premadasa took over the presidency in 1989. To avoid a three-front war, he immediately enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) of 1979 and granted the same broad array of powers to governmental agencies that included the Rapid deployment force of the Sri Lankan army (Bray, 1989). At the cost of violating

human rights through killings, torture, abductions, and disappearances, the Sri Lankan government was able to militaristically suppress the JVP by 1990 (Senaratne & Nürnberger, 1997). After the JVP was defeated, to contain and expand his power from 1990-1993, Premadasa again used the PTA of 1979 to lead a reign of terror by deploying a campaign of unrestrained acts of violence against any known or perceived opposition to his authority (Juergensmeyer, 2008).

On May 1, 1993, Premadasa fell victim to a LTTE suicide bomber. The state sponsored reign of terror and violations of human rights ceased until 2006. Following the general election of November 12, 1994, Chandrika Bandaranayke Kumaratunga (CBK), youngest daughter of S.W.R.D and Sirimavo Bandaranaike took over as the first female president of Sri Lanka (Schaffer, 1995). Educated and levelheaded, Kumaratunga, during her two terms (1994- 2005), started working alongside authoritative scholars from various disciplines and deployed a series of programs to reconcile and end the Eelam conflict through peaceful means.

Some of these programs geared toward that effort include, the National Integration Peace Unit (NIPU), and the Peace Building Project (PBP). She also deployed a nationwide education campaign to bring awareness and to educate various governmental, and nongovernmental agencies on human rights, and made provisions to reform the 1979 constitution to incorporate equality and protection for minority groups (Banerjee & Manoharan, 2003).

During her second term 1999-2005, she introduced amendments to delegate

powers to the provincial councils to address the needs of the rural communities, and those communities with a large population of minorities (Amarasinghe et al., 2010). Even though random suicide bombings would take place, and the Eelam war (1984 – 2009) continued, Kumaratunga, during her two terms, managed to contain the LTTE within the north and the northeastern regions.

Her continued efforts to work with the majority and minorities in meeting their needs brought stability within the interior (Servranck & Schuman, 2005). This encouraged tourism, and other global organizations such as the United Nations Development Project (UNDP), World Health Organization (WHO), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and UNESCO to establish nationwide development projects to support Sri Lanka's growth (Servranck & Schuman, 2005). International financial agencies that include, the Asia Development Bank (ADB), World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund, worked together supporting Sri Lanka (Wilson G. H., 2005).

Kumaratunga's endeavors, include introducing advancements in technology and banking to Sri Lanka, opening more opportunities and jobs. By the middle of 2004 all the over-arching values of a sound democracy began to emerge (see Table 11). In 2005, Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected as the 6th president of Sri Lanka. The Rajapaksa administration 2005 - 2015, led by President Mahinda Rajapaksa, was an authoritarian, nepotistic government. This government was accused of corruption and abuse of power, as well as committing human rights violations, particularly during the final stages of the

country's civil war with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

The United Nations and various human rights organizations documented numerous instances of alleged killings, forced disappearances, and torture by government security forces during this period. All of this toppled the progress made by the Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (CBK) administration and returned the values of the polarities of democracy model to its previous chaotic state (see Table 11).

Table 10

Ten Poles of the Model during the Post-colonial Period (1994-2005)

Ten Values	Post-Colonial Period (1994-2005)	Management of the Polarity Pairs within this Period
Freedom	Yes	Balanced
Authority	Yes	
Justice	Yes	Balanced
Due process	Yes	
Diversity	Yes	Balanced
Equality	Yes	
Human rights	Yes	Balanced
Communal obligations	Yes	
Participation	Yes	Balanced
Representation	Yes	

In 2015, President Rajapaksa was defeated by Maithripala Sirisena who promised to investigate and address killings, forced disappearances, and torture by the MR administration during the presidential elections. The Sirisena administration (2015-2019) established several mechanisms to investigate and address human rights abuses committed during the Rajapaksa era (Gunaratne, 2020).

But the Sirisena administration was marked by political instability. Infighting within the ruling coalition, and several high-profile defections contributed to the government's inability to effectively address many of the challenges it faced, such as the increasing levels of debt, a slowing economy, and rising prices (Pappe, 2022). The administration implemented several economic reforms and agreed on an International Monetary Fund (IMF) bailout package. But these measures faced resistance from some quarters and had mixed results (De Votta, 2016). The imposing economic challenges, as well as the political and social instability within the state, paved the way for another Rajapaksa administration from 2019- 2022 (see Table 12).

Table 11

Ten Poles of the Model during the Post-colonial Period (2005-2019)

Ten Values	Post-Colonial Period (2005-2019)	Management of the Polarity Pairs within this Period
Freedom	No	More toward authority
Authority	Yes	
Justice	No	Did not exist
Due process	No	
Diversity	No	Neither diversity nor equality was accepted by the regime
Equality	No	
Human rights	No	Did not exist
Communal obligations	No	
Participation	No	Only to handful of loyalists
Representation	No	

In 2019, Mahinda Rajapaksa's brother, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, was elected President. Some have raised concerns about the potential for a return to the human rights abuses and authoritarianism of the previous Rajapaksa administration. The elevated level

of corruption, and the nepotistic nature of the administration, allowing family politics to govern the state, forced the Sri Lankan economy to completely collapse in April 2021 (Arudpragasam, 2022).

Simplified Answer to the Research Question

This historical comparative case study examines the ways in which the polarities of democracy have contributed or detracted from Sri Lanka's governance in sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony during its pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. The study finds that during the pre-colonial period, the polarities of democracy contributed to sustaining ethnic harmony due to the land tenure system that assigned equal shares for use by citizens in turn for services and the Sri Lankan caste system that did not consider race, creed, or color. The decentralized interdependent nature of governance and the execution of justice through the village council system encouraged active participation and representation, while limiting corruption and maintaining the separation of powers.

However, during the colonial period, autocratic governance by colonial powers limited natives from having majority values of the polarities of democracy model, leading to the deprivation of diversity and equality, human rights, communal obligations, and participation and representation (see Tables 5, 6 and 7). This led to animosity towards minority groups and the emergence of the Sinhala Only ideology, which demanded a mono-ethnic, mono-religious, and mono-linguistic state. The Sinhala Buddhist majority dominating Sri Lankan governance since independence in 1948 has perpetuated this

ideology, leading to corruption, authoritarian governance, ethnic conflicts, and economic crises, detracting from Sri Lanka's ability to maintain a steady state of ethnic harmony (Benet, 2006; 2012;2013;).

The study concludes that the negative aspects of the five interdependent polarity pairs of the polarities of democracy model freedom–authority, justice–due process, diversity–equality, human rights–communal obligations, and participation–representation, to have surfaced, leading to the country's vulnerability to another insurgency. The study highlights the importance of balancing the polarities of democracy and ensuring active participation and representation of all groups to sustain ethnic harmony.

Summary

The chapter provides a detailed account of the data analysis process for a research study on Sri Lankan history using qualitative document analysis of data collected between 1994-2022. It emphasizes the validity of the study and notes that no pilot study was conducted. The study's setting, topic, and theoretical framework are also discussed, as well as the demographics considered. As no live human participants were involved, the subtopic explains why only textual, visual, and documentative materials were used.

The chapter delves into the data collection process, including frequency, location, and storage, and presents three themes that emerged. Each finding was triangulated and filtered through a set of questions developed by me to ensure accuracy and relevance.

The chapter also provides clarifications on the evidence of trustworthiness.

The next chapter will present the interpretations of the findings, limitations to trustworthiness, recommendations for further research, implications for social change, and reflections on the study. Data collection and analysis are crucial components of research studies, and this chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the process used for this study.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This qualitative historical comparative case study was conducted to deepen the understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism. Through the lens of the polarities of democracy model, the study explored three critical stages of Sri Lankan history, with the goal of supporting the nation's future growth and development. The study exclusively used documentative textual materials and a repetitive process of QDA to build the data sample, which was triangulated until saturation was achieved.

The study revealed that pre-colonial Sri Lanka sustained ethnic harmony by managing the polarities to maximize the positive aspects and minimize negative aspects. However, changes imposed by colonizers forced the negative aspects of the 10 overarching values within the polarities of democracy model to become maximized, leading to separatism during the post-colonial period. The negative aspects continued to reach their maximums repeatedly through the years until 2022 when a "man-made" economic crisis forced the Sri Lankan economy to collapse. Still ongoing, this made the nation vulnerable to another prolonged conflict.

This chapter presents a thorough interpretation of the findings, recommendations, and conclusions of the study. Through this research, the factors that contributed to Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism can be better understood. Further, I suggested ways that can be developed to address these issues for Sri Lanka's future growth and development.

Interpretation of the Findings

This study is based on my experience growing up in Sri Lanka from 1983-2000. I

chose polarities of democracy as my theoretical framework to better understand the phenomenon in question because it is a unifying theory and gives measurable and comparable values in observing a functioning democracy. I also used the polarities of democracy as the basis to develop my research question which is “In what ways has polarities of democracy detracted or contributed to Sri Lanka’s pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance from sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony?” In answering the research question through the findings, I observed the findings discussed in the following sections, which reiterated the literature in Chapter 2 and consistently conformed with the polarities of democracy theoretical framework.

Pre-Colonial Native Governance (1445-1505)

Within the pre-colonial period (1445-1505) geography and technology at the time forced a decentralized form of governance. Multiple kingdoms existed within various regions of the country governed by a monarch. In cultivating the land and providing numerous services needed to sustain these kingdoms, the monarch was dependent upon the hierarchy of chiefs. This gave people freedom from being directly influenced by the power of the monarch. Having more than one kingdom neighboring each other kept monarchs from asserting too much power over the people. The rulers knew that if the people were discontent, they would rally with another monarch causing him to lose his authority, the kingdom, and more. When executing justice, rulers were compelled to adhere to the *Dasa Raja Dhamma*, which was a philosophy within Buddhism that guided how a ruler should govern.

Further restricting the monarch from abusing power, these monarchs were held accountable by those within the court such as the Purohiths to lead righteously and act as the observers of due process. When justice was administered during the pre-colonial period, it started at the ground level through the village council system (*Gam Sabaha* and *Loka Sabaha*). A governing mechanism where the people administering justice were chosen by people within a community. This vote was by majority rule. If two entities failed to provide justice, the case would be presented within the *Raja Sabaha* (Kings Court) where the monarch would proceed to execute justice. This limited corruption and maintained the separation of powers within the pre-colonial government.

Land was the most valued asset in pre-colonial Sri Lanka. The land tenure system, where equal shares were assigned to citizens in turn for services rendered to the state, *Rajakariya* (communal obligations) played a key role in both the economy and society. This tenure system was connected to the Sri Lankan caste system, founded on trade and industries, together they provided for the pre-colonial rice paddy economy and maintained the infrastructure. The Sri Lankan caste system, unlike the one based on religion, did not take into consideration one's creed, color, or race, and was based on the gravity of services rendered to the state.

Pre-colonial Sri Lanka, despite being a monarchy, conformed to the modern-day idea of democracy and contained the 10 overarching values of democracy. The changing nature of events within Sri Lanka and India, which included invasions, family feuds over power, and acts of nature, forced monarchs and the people to constantly leverage the

overarching values to maximize the positive aspects of the 5 interdependent polarity pairs while minimizing their negative aspects. Constant leveraging of the five interdependent values discussed within the polarities of democracy model contributed to sustaining a steady state of ethnic harmony during the pre-colonial period in Sri Lanka. This confirms Benet (2006), who argued that within any organization, when the overarching interdependent values of the polarities of democracy model are leveraged to their positive attributes, just communities thrive.

The Portuguese Colonial Governance (1505-1658)

The colonial period in Sri Lanka (1505-1948), was based upon finding rare resources such as spices, ivory, and gems abundant throughout the nation for profit in Europe. Sri Lanka was colonized by the Portuguese in (1505-1658), the Dutch (1658-1796), and the British (1796-1948). Each of these colonial powers administered a different form of governance and had various colonial influences on the pre-colonial socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka.

The colonial efforts by the Portuguese and the Dutch were contained only to the coastal areas of Sri Lanka. This was due to the Kandyan kingdom commanding almost 90% of the inland territories until it was dismantled by the British in 1815. Because of this, the crucial values of the pre-colonial socio-politico-economics that include the land tenure system, Rajakariya, and the caste system remained intact until 1815. All three of the colonial governments were autocratic and limited privileges for the people; participation, representation, communal obligations, and human rights are some of those

privileges that were limited.

The Portuguese colonial administration deprived people of all fundamental rights within their dominion. The Portuguese experience was Sri Lanka's first exposure to the West. This introduced Christianity and ethnic differential modernization to Sri Lanka. The way the Portuguese converted natives to Christianity made them and their loyalists (Southern Sinhalese), unpopular among the unconverted natives (Kandyan's; Christie, 1998). This was the first time the natives experienced indifference toward another ethnic group. Efforts to exploit Sri Lanka's valued resources and convert natives to Christianity forced constant clashes between the Portuguese and the Kandyan monarch, halting their dominion from progressing further. This conforms with the polarities of democracy model, as Benet (2021) indicated that depriving the people of the overarching values that include participation and representation, diversity, and equality, leads to alienation, anger, greed, and disparities (see Appendix C). Such feeling accumulated through time, will result in conflict, such as with Portuguese governance.

The Dutch Colonial Governance (1658-1796)

As far as the polarities of democracy model is concerned, comparing the Portuguese and the Dutch colonial governance (1658-1796), despite being confined to the coastal region, the Dutch experience was different than that experienced by the Portuguese. The Dutch understood that conflicts are bad for business and how such conflicts bring challenges to economic endeavors that lead directly toward profiteering. To obtain high profits and reduce conflicts with the Kandyan kingdom, the Dutch

allowed the natives to continue their pre-colonial traditions. The Dutch also granted the natives within their territory many of the overarching values within the polarities of democracy model.

Under the Dutch administration people had freedom and authority. The village council system, and the caste systems operated alongside the Dutch courts exercising Dutch Roman Law. This took the role of the Kings Court. People also enjoyed justice and due process. The Dutch also welcomed diversity. They encouraged skilled workers within the nation to contribute to their trade endeavors by providing goods through the industries associated with one's caste and skills. But equality was not that easily welcomed. Elevated status was given to the Dutch and the Portuguese burghers over the natives. Compared to the Portuguese administration, people enjoyed human rights and had communal obligations, through Rajakariya, that demanded service to the Dutch efforts instead of the monarch.

Benet (2021) explained that granting people diversity and equality will promote opportunity and sufficiency. This was the case with Dutch governance of the coastal regions. Growing opportunities within the areas dominated by the Dutch caused a migration of skilled workers, even from the Kandyan kingdom, seeking profit from their trade. Many of these migrant workers eventually gained upward social mobility as noted lawyers, industrial tycoons, and businessmen. Some of these names such as Don Carolis furniture still dominates the trade (Arasaratnam, 1996).

Benet (2021) further claimed that in granting human rights and communal

obligations, people will feel a level of belonging to the community. This contributed in many ways to the split within the Sinhalese majority ethnic group, which socially broke into two sects, the up-country Sinhalese, and the low-country Sinhalese. Even today, despite uniting in 1941, southerners are equally proud of their heritage and their colonial experience and do not regret the split (Jiggins, 2010). The Dutch governed Sri Lanka as a business under the Dutch East India Company (VOC) participation and representation as in the modern context was not present. In support of their administration the Dutch recruited natives under the colonial title of *Mudaliyar*, they acted as the local authority for the Dutch governor operating under the VOC India (Rasanyagam, 2003). Within this context, even the overarching values of participation and representation were present, because various contributions by the people and their commitment to the commonwealth was evident.

The Dutch were traders who clearly understood profit and loss. This compelled them to balance the interdependent polarity pairs to which the people within their domain were privileged. As a result of this, the Dutch occupied areas within the Sri Lankan coastline progressed economically. Sri Lanka was again placed on the world map as a cosmopolitan trade hub (Anthonisz, 2003). Collectively, the Dutch experience in Sri Lanka confirm the explanations presented within the polarities of democracy model. Even without privilege to all values, having some aspect of freedom and authority, human rights and obligation, justice and due process, diversity, will support peace. The findings were triangulated many times over multiple texts and aligned with the research

works found in Chapter 2 of the current study.

The British Colonial Governance (1796-1948)

The British colonial period (1796-1948) ended all aspects of Sri Lanka's pre-colonial way of life. The British arrived in Sri Lanka through an invitation extended by the Kandyan Monarch in 1796. Seeing the ample resources abundant in Sri Lanka, the British wanted to govern the whole nation to do as they wished and secure a monopoly on all Asian trade (Dewaraja, 2008). Because the Jaffna kingdom had completely collapsed within the latter part of 1600, occupying the Kandyan kingdom and the territories governed by the Kandyan monarch became their primary objective. From 1796 to 1814 the British placed a great emphasis on capturing the city of Kandy and diminishing its power over the state.

Authority of the Kandyan kingdom was held by three power bases, the monarch, the Kandyan nobility interrelated by blood, and the loyal followers of the Kandyan constitution, adhering to decades old Sinhala Buddhist traditions (Vimalananda, 1973). These three entities were inseparable. To capture the Kandyan kingdom one must first capture the city of Kandy and occupy it, then from within, isolate and dismantle the power bases (Powell, 1984). Surrounded by treacherous terrain and many geographical and natural obstacles, occupying the city of Kandy was next to impossible. The Kandyan natives took advantage of their environment to wage guerrilla warfare. This made it impossible for any conventional force to occupy Kandy. Between 1803-1815, the British attempted to occupy Kandy and endured the same outcome as the others (Powell, 1984).

In 1814, when notable members of the Kandyan nobility defected to the British, an opportunity was presented. With the help of these defectors, the British captured and dethroned the Kandyan monarch on February 14, 1815. On March 2, the British made an agreement with the Kandyan nobility and signed the deceptive Kandyan Treaty of 1815 which made Sri Lanka a crown colony of the British empire. The British governor was named the head of state under the British crown (Codrington, 1917).

Agents of the British empire was granted authority over Kandyan nobility to oversee British operations in various districts (Codrington, 1917). By 1816, the British managed to disable one power base and crippled the second power base of the Kandyan kingdom which was the people (K. M. De Silva, 1981). The polarities of democracy model explains that such actions would lead to animosity and retribution.

From 1817-1824, the Kandyan nobility, with the help of the people, retaliated against the British authority. A series of rebellions and minor uprisings followed which were known as the Kandyan wars. Thinking of their American experience of 1776, the British took these rebellions as reasons for completely breaking the power of the Kandyan nobility (Egerton, 1897).

People's loyalty to the nobility was found within pre-colonial land tenure systems. Land was considered the most valued asset, so it gave the people a reason to align with the nobility and retaliate against the British. In response, the British started to dismantle the pre-colonial infrastructure found in the Land tenure System (Egerton, 1897). Immediately following the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission of 1841 the British

abolished the *Rajakariya* (communal obligations). The British next introduced a modern central government with an executive and a legislative council with all whites, and one unofficial native member to represent the resident native population until 1921.

The British then modeled the Sri Lankan education system after their own. They took complete control over the church-based education system of Sri Lanka and mandated the curriculum to be delivered in English (Jayaweera, 2007). Supporting this, they established the Colombo Academy and made it the main public school for English education and teacher training. The British then implemented a series of land ordinances starting with the Crown Lands (Encroachments) Ordinance, No. 12 of 1840, which commandeered all land within the nation including those lands inherited by the natives (Ordinance Nos, 12 of, 1840).

Using this land to cultivate cash crops they developed an elaborate network of roads and railroads to support and sustain their cash crop industries as well as their authority within Sri Lanka. On January 1st, 1857, with the intention of adding more the land under the crown, the British enforced the Registration of Temple Lands, Ordinance No. 10 of 1865. The land registered would then be taxed. To avoid paying the imposed high taxes, many religious institutions did not register their land (Registration of Temple Lands, 1856). This allowed the British to lay claim to much of the land given by pre-colonial monarchs to the religious institutions. Without adequate land to maintain the elaborate network of temples throughout the country, multitudes of Buddhist and Hindu temples were neglected and fell into decay. By placing a great emphasis on two

overarching values of the polarities of democracy model—authority and justice—the British deprived the Sinhala Buddhist population of all the other eight values.

Post-Colonial Native Governance (1948-1984)

Findings within the study depict that, the Sri Lankan Tamils did not endure such harsh experiences until the post-colonial period. Their experience with all the colonial powers from 1505 was manageable. When the Jaffna kingdom fell to the Portuguese in 1624, the Sri Lankan Tamils lost their homeland. The geographical condition within the region, demanding work outside of farming, forced these Tamils to assimilate with the dominating colonial powers of the region (Kearney, 1978). If not wholeheartedly, at least through their actions, they showed loyalty to these colonial authorities, and their laws (Hudson, 2001). Because of this, the members of the Tamil minority gained favor over the Sinhala majority who constantly challenged colonial authorities. The close association with the colonists for decades, made the Tamils more advanced and worldly in comparison with the Sinhala Buddhist population of Sri Lanka. During the British colonial period (1815-1948) the Tamils became the go to population to procure labor for various colonial endeavors.

Their lack of cooperation, and reluctance to assimilate with the colonists, caused the Sinhala Buddhist majority to become the target of all colonial aggressions, especially during the British colonial period. It also made the Sinhala Buddhist population more backward in comparison to the Tamil minority. This characteristic of colonialism, where one ethnic group within a colony is favored and modernized over the other, is commonly

known as Ethnic differential modernization (EDM) (Horowitz, 2000).

When explored through polarities of democracy, factors that directly contribute to the Ethnic differential modernization is the lack of rights-obligations, within a governance, this was truer during the British colonial period in Sri Lanka (Appendix C). According to Benet (2013,2012, 2006), rights-obligation are also embodied within the other eight pairs, as a sub-polarity. This is because rights and obligations have prominence in human development. Human development is the core value within self-actualization and self-governance which supports overcoming oppression and promotes the common good (Benet, 2006).

When the downside of the ‘rights-obligations’ pair is forced, it also uproots the downsides of other polarity pairs, which in turn leads to discrimination, suppression, and marginalization of various groups residing within a state or an organization that degrades democracy (Benet, 2021; Hans-Otto & Broberg, 2018). This was the situation with postcolonial Sri Lanka. The suppressed majority, by gaining their independence from the colonists on February 4, 1948, allowed their past colonial experiences, such as alienation, resentments, and anger to dominate post-colonial thinking.

India, being the large land mass within the region, and the ancestral home of the Tamil minority, had a profound influence in fueling post-colonial insecurities, deracinated by majoritarian Sinhala Buddhist advocates (Krishna, 1999). It is within this context that the Tamils became the focus of Sri Lanka’s post-colonial ethnic separatism. The enacted monoethnic, monolinguist, and mono-religious legislature, became the path

to gaining true control over a state. Between 1948 – 1972, ethnic differential modernization had forced most prominent occupations in medicine, engineering, military, law enforcement, and banking to be occupied by members of the Tamil minority (Krishna, 1999).

The majoritarian ‘Sinhala only’ advocates were threatened by this. Because they believed that as a majority such occupations should be inherently theirs and predicted that allowing such would cause more Tamils from India to migrate to Sri Lanka (Manogaran, 1987). In avoiding this, the Sinhala only supporters pressured their representatives, and law makers to deprive the members of the Tamil minority of these occupations and their means of securing them. This led to the enacting of both the Official Language Act (No. 33 of 1956) and the University Standardization Policy of 1971 (C. R. De Silva, 1979). These policies severely marginalized and effected the Tamil minority.

Blinded by post-colonial insecurities, and pressure from the majority Sinhala only constituency, the state resorted to committing violence against the Tamil minority and deployed a campaign of anti-Tamil communal violence from 1956- 1984 (Byman & Kreps, 2010). The purpose of this, was to bend the will of the Tamil minority into submission. A casebook scenario in *Insurgencies*, the state also aligned with the majority extremists making matters worse. In 1972, when Tamil youth lost faith in the state it gave rise to Tamil militancy (DeVotta, 2009).

From 1976 onwards, multiple Tamil insurgencies that opposed the state, united under the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and by 1983 started demanding an

independent 'Eelam' state (DeVotta, 2009). The areas that they wanted were once dominated by the Jaffna kingdom. Instead, of negotiating with the militants, the state under President J.R. Jayawardena decided to deploy one last act of state sponsored terrorism on July 24th, 1983 (Staniland, 2014). Following a two weeklong pogrom of targeting innocent Tamils, and destroying their property, a decade long ethnic conflict, known as the Eelam conflict, haunted Sri Lankan history until 2009 (Sivakumar, 1989).

Immediately following the Eelam conflict (1984 -2009), Sri Lankan law makers stopped imposing any legislature that would marginalize its minorities. This made 1983 a turning point in Sri Lankan history observing post-colonial governance from 1948- 1984 through the polarities of democracy model. In doing so, this confirmed Benet's (2006, 2021) explanation, and reiterated his predictions. It also established the findings presented within the literature review of chapter 2 of this study and clearly defined the evolution of post-colonial ethnic separatism.

The British governance in Sri Lanka imposed its authority on the whole state. Their autocratic rule was found on only two values of the polarities of democracy model, 'Justice and Authority', this deprived the people of all the other values for 152 years (see Table 9). The British, governing through imbalanced polarities for a decade, and neglecting the other overarching values of the polarities of democracy left a lasting impact on the people of Sri Lanka. Omitting the interdependent polarity pairs 'rights-obligations', it uprooted a condition (EDM) which favored the Tamil minority over the Sinhala Buddhist majority. This gave rise to the contested Sinhala Buddhist identity, and

animosity, alienation, and anger, building within the Sinhala majority that evolved into Sri Lanka's post-colonial separatist mentality.

In creating a vicious cycle, from 1948, despite gaining independence, as Tambiah (1986) elaborates, the Sinhala majoritarian parliament rather than resorting to developing an indigenous governance started to replicate the British administration. By mimicking the British, the native governance from 1948 – 1984 governed Sri Lanka by placing a high emphasis on only two individual overarching values, those of 'Justice and Authority', neglecting the rest (see Table 9). This came at a heavy price and forced Sri Lanka to endure constant political and social unrest from 1951 -1984. A condition, explored through group dynamics by Benet (2006), and became applicable at the state level.

Last Years of Native Governance (1984-2022)

The resentment towards the minorities continued even after the post-colonial authorities stopped enacting mono-ethnic, monolinguist, and mono-religious legislature in 1984. Aligning with the literature review that, explored Sri Lankan history to 2019, I took the liberty of continuing to explore the data until 2022. There, I noted that between 1994 – 2005, despite the ongoing Eelam conflict and random suicide bombings by the LTTE, Sri Lanka showed great socio-politico-economic progress.

The period in question was governed by the fifth President of Sri Lanka, the Hon. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (CBK). It was a minor renaissance in Sri Lankan history. More worldly compared to her predecessors, who entered politics during the

period immediately following independence, CBK took a different approach. She attempted to resolve Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis through a more rounded approach and deployed a mass campaign of granting equality to the Tamil minority population. She allowed freedom to flourish, and even encouraged scholars within various disciplines to join in on political decision-making as advisors (see Table 11). They introduced human rights and incorporated it into all legislatures. The results conformed to Benet's (2006, 2021) findings and what was noted in the literature review. Immediately, all political and social instability stopped. Tourism started to flourish, and foreign investors started to flood in. Even a mass migration of Tamils to regions controlled by the state was noted.

Western educational institutions started emerging and broadening the decade old educational system of Sri Lanka, they also granted numerous opportunities for social upward mobility through external educational venues. Various advancements in technology, which coincide with modern global trends such as electronic banking, and international marketing emerged.

When CBK's second term ended and the presidency fell into the hands of the Mahinda Rajapaksa Administration (2005-2015), the face of Sri Lanka rapidly changed. The autocratic nature of this administration forced fear and uncertainty to dominate all socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka. In 2009, during the Mahinda Rajapaksa Administration, Sri Lanka gained a military victory over the LTTE and ended the Eelam conflict (S. Ganguly, 2018). Most Sri Lankans, living within rural areas, conformed to the strong nationalistic ideas advocated by local Buddhist institutions. These institutions had

aligned with the politics of Sri Lanka and preached that the Rajapaksa administration alone was the reason for ending the war. This resulted in the Rajapaksa Administration gaining a large pool of supporters from 2009 - 2019.

Sri Lanka's political structure, introduced in 1972, granted the presidency immense power over all aspect of Sri Lankan governance. With the backing of his loyal supporters, Mahinda Rajapaksa started abusing the power of the presidency to its maximum. By 2010 most top positions within the Sri Lankan government were held by the members of his family i.e., Gotabaya Rajapaksa (Defense Secretary), Chamal Rajapaksa (Speaker of the house), Basil Rajapaksa (Senior Advisor) or his supporters (Keethaponcalan, 2019).

Having a solid footing within the parliament, and other institutions, enabled the Rajapaksas, and their loyal followers, to abuse their powers even more. From the polarities of democracy model, the Mahinda Rajapaksa regime (2005-2015) was a casebook scenario of an autocratic state but looked like a functioning democracy. The overarching values within a democracy were visible and were made available to the people but only in appearance. Justice-due process prevailed, but only to those favored by the Rajapaksa's (Arudpragasam, 2022).

If anyone connected to the Rajapaksa family broke the law, they would be cleared of all accusations. This was observed with multiple government officials who were arrested for corrupt and fraudulent activities and released, despite overwhelming evidence of their guilt. Similarly, the press and the public had the freedom to express

their opinions, but if they said anything critical of the government or its members, they would be killed or disappear without a trace. Two examples of this are the cases of Lasantha Wickrematunge and Prageeth Ekneligoda (George & Liew, 2021).

Between 2009 -2015 Sri Lanka had become what the polarities of democracy model describe as a dysfunctional democracy. Within this context the greatest blunders committed by the Mahinda Rajapaksa administration during this period was turning toward the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Using the BRI funds, the Mahinda Rajapaksa administration embarked in various construction projects to glorify the family name.

In 2019, during the Gotabaya Rajapaksa Administration (2019-2022), the impacts of Covid-19 started to effect Sri Lanka. Various shortages in food, resources and funds impacted the economy. Corruption and mismanagement of public funds by the Mahinda Rajapaksa administration would bring the state to its knees by January 2022. But family politics governing the Gotabaya Rajapaksa administration, that continued profiteering even amidst the crisis, caused great civil unrest within the state and the economy causing a collapse in April 2022 (Shih, 2022). The unrest continues to date, people struggle daily with a lack of gasoline, cooking gas, electricity, and other essentials, making Sri Lanka vulnerable to another outbreak, or insurgency as the days proceed.

Because the Sri Lankan economy started collapsing between 2021-2022, after the literature review of this dissertation was completed, the documents incorporated, only predict such outcomes but do not give details. The initial stages of the economic crisis

and the path to its current situation are captured within Chapter 4 of this study. The polarities of democracy model conform with the current situation in Sri Lanka. Healthy, sustainable, and just societies can only be accomplished if an emphasis is placed on managing the polarities to maximize the positive aspects and minimize the negative aspects (Benet, 2006).

In Sri Lanka, ending colonialism as an independent state, from 1948, focused only on separatism. Morphing into a majoritarian state from 1951, politicians of the time focused on maximizing the negative aspects of the five interdependent poles. The administrations that governed Sri Lanka from 1948 beyond the CBK administration only focused on marginalizing the Tamil minority into submission. Then, from 2009, after ending the Eelam conflict and silencing Tamil voices, the leadership chose another minority, the Sri Lankan Muslims, to marginalize. Had Sri Lanka focused on balancing the interdependent polarity pairs that include participation-representation, diversity-equality, Sri Lanka would not have been the collapsed state it is today.

Limitations of the Study

The current historical-comparative case study which explored five years pre- and post-shifts within Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods had multiple limitations. With an infinite number of sources to explore, this study was limited to a small sample size obtained from a total of 280 textual and documentative materials that include 84 scholarly journals. Sri Lanka, with an elaborate written history dating back to the 3rd century BC, contains a large source pool of documentative materials. By

choosing to explore only five years before and after each shift, this study was limited to its chosen population and sample of documents analyzed with modern technology. This study explored ‘the dead past’ of Sri Lanka; no live subjects were interviewed. With so many avenues of research to address a situation within a state, the study is limited to the materials and information I chose to explore.

Recommendation

The current historical comparative case study, sought to enhance the understanding of Sri Lanka’s post-colonial ethnic separatism by observing each of three crucial stages of its’ history (pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial), through the lens of polarities of democracy. The polarities of democracy model, according to Benet (2013), provides a “strong framework to direct positive social change in our environmental, industrial, economic, and militaristic challenges” (p. 1). It takes into consideration ten overarching values within a democracy, and based on their interdependent nature, organize them into five polarity pairs: freedom- authority, justice-due process, diversity-equality, human rights-communal obligations, and participation-representation (Benet, 2006).

When applying the polarities of democracy model to a persisting problem, polarity thinking, which is different from our conventional way of thinking, takes into consideration both the positive and the negative aspects of these interdependent polarity pairs (Benet, 2012). It then attempts to manage these interdependent polarity pairs, so that it maximizes the positive aspects and minimizes the negative aspects. Because of this, the

polarities of democracy model can be immersed into various human and social conditions within their unique surroundings.

Findings within this study showed that Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism, and other related turmoil, including the Eelam conflict, were direct results of unbalanced polarities, giving way to their negative aspects. It also confirmed that the polarities of democracy model, designed to explore organizations, can be applied to observe conditions within various states and multiple ethnicities.

I recommend further research using mixed methods of analysis focusing on polarities of democracy as the theoretical framework and using a much larger population (Newman & Newman, 2007). With regards to polarities of democracy, this study took into consideration only the socio-politico-economic aspects of Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial governance. Much of Sri Lanka's post-colonial dilemmas from 1948 were grounded in religion, which goes hand in hand with the equality and diversity polarity pairs (Benet, 2006). I further recommend a study be conducted capturing the religious aspects of Sri Lanka's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial societies using the polarities of democracy as the theoretical framework.

Within the current study, I noted the interrelated nature of rights and obligations, but did not explore this deeply. Because rights and obligations are fundamental to any governing democracy, I also recommend a future study to be conducted focusing specifically on these two pairs and their interrelated nature in supporting and guiding positive social change (Dye & Zeigler, 2009).

Implications for Social Change

The findings of this study substantiated that Sri Lanka has witnessed significant social and political changes since its post-colonial era, and it is important to emphasize the positive aspects of these transformations. This study reinforces the notion that ethnic separatism experienced in Sri Lanka can be attributed to British colonial rule, specifically their failure to effectively balance the interdependent polarity pairs. By maximizing the positive aspects and minimizing the negative aspects of these polarities, a more inclusive and harmonious society could have been fostered (Horowitz, 2000).

The findings of this research support existing literature on the subject. The British employed a divide-and-rule strategy to diminish the power of the Kandyan nobility. They segregated the Sinhala Buddhists and Tamils, creating an elite class within each group based on education and religion (Aruliah & Aruliah, 1993; Balasundaram, 2016; Brown, 1823; Chattopadhyaya, 1994; K. M. De Silva, 1981). The introduction of the limited right to vote in 1931 further exacerbated the divide, as only a small percentage of the urban population was granted voting rights (Jayawardena, 2012).

Ambitious representatives exploited these divisions for their political gain, leading to the dominance of the Sinhala Buddhist majority and subsequent marginalization of minority groups. This trend continued until Sri Lanka's independence in 1948. The mono-ethnic governance system that followed, favored the Sinhala Buddhists, leading to marginalization of other ethnic and religious minorities until 1983 (Benet, 2021).

However, amidst these challenges, Sri Lanka has shown positive signs of change. The country has maintained a matriarchal society that upholds gender equality, achieving notable milestones such as producing the world's first female prime minister in 1961 and electing the first female president in 1994. Sri Lanka has surpassed many advanced western states in terms of gender equality.

Examining the results following key agreements and administrations, such as the B-C Pact of 1957, the D-C Pact of 1965, and the CBK administration from 1994 to 2005, reveals the emergence of positive change when efforts are made to manage interdependent polarity pairs. By maximizing the positive aspects and minimizing the negative aspects of these polarities, Sri Lanka can experience transformative outcomes. Transitioning from a centralized and hierarchical governance model to a decentralized form of governance, as suggested by Chelvanayagam, can guide positive social change (Amarasinghe et al., 2010; Benet, 2006).

Conclusion

The main objective of this historical-comparative case study was to enhance understanding of Sri Lanka's post-colonial ethnic separatism since 1948. The study aimed to examine three crucial periods in Sri Lanka's history through the lens of polarities of democracy to contribute to the nation's sustained growth in the future. The research question focused on how the balance of democracy influenced Sri Lanka's ethnic harmony in the precolonial era and whether this balance was maintained later, during colonial and post-colonial governance.

The study employed a qualitative document analysis method, examining only documentary and textual materials. The findings of the study confirmed the existing literature and the polarities of democracy model, indicating that precolonial governance successfully maintained ethnic harmony by balancing the interdependent polarity pairs of the polarities of democracy model. However, both colonial and post-colonial governance failed to prioritize this balance, leading to a systematic decline in various socio-political and economic aspects of Sri Lanka. In alignment with Benet's (2006, 2012, 2013,) theory, this imbalance ultimately resulted in Sri Lanka's man-made economic collapse of 2022.

Previous research on Sri Lanka's ethnic separatism, primarily focused on disciplines such as economy, governance, and anthropology, neglected the crucial aspect of democracy in analyzing the issue. They also used the traditional form of thinking to explore the subject rather than utilizing polarity thinking. As a result, these studies failed to consider the fundamental element of sound governance. In contrast, this historical comparative case study highlights the significance of managing polarities of democracy to address the prolonged struggles hindering Sri Lanka's growth. The findings support the idea that polarities of democracy can serve as a unifying model at the state level to plan, guide, and evaluate policies for the development of a healthy, just, and sustainable community.

This research stands out as the first of its kind utilizing the polarities of democracy theory, comparing all ten overarching values or five interdependent pairs

within the model, to understand a persistent problem within a state (Sri Lanka). To ensure the credibility of the study and its data sample, the selection of authoritative documentary materials was rigorously conducted, employing repetitive qualitative document analysis to triangulate and filter the data until saturation was achieved. The study aligned with the theoretical framework, by developing a set of questions based on the polarities of democracy model.

The literature review of this study provided documentary and textual materials that corroborated the events and human experiences described in the findings. However, none of the literature presented a holistic explanation for the occurrence of ethnic separatism, or a corrective method to reverse this pattern. Benet's (2006, 2013, 2021) polarities of democracy theoretical framework, filled this gap by highlighting the significance of the 'rights and obligations' polarity pair. According to Benet (2006) the 'rights and obligations' pair is not only an independent polarity pair, but it is interconnected with the other polarity pairs.

By balancing these polarities toward their positive aspects, a sense of belonging and community can flourish within a society. Due to their interdependent nature, positive characteristics in one polarity can also positively impact other overarching values. When examining Sri Lanka since 1948, post-colonial ethnic separatism has been a hindrance to its growth. Benet's (2006) polarities of democracy model provides guidance on how to achieve positive attributes of equality and diversity, addressing the social, emotional, political, and cultural challenges faced by minority groups within a state.

The study highlights polarity thinking as the most essential tool for driving social change in Sri Lanka. This approach involves considering both the positive and negative aspects of an issue. By overcoming ethnic separatism and fostering ethnic unity, Sri Lanka can once again establish itself as a thriving state, drawing from the historical example of pre-colonial Sri Lanka, where ethnic assimilation and unity played a crucial role in sustaining the nation.

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Appendix A: The Textual Dataset Explored for the Current Study

The present study taking the form of a qualitative historical comparative case study, adhering strictly to exploring the crucial stages of Sri Lanka chose Qualitative document analysis as its means of collecting and analyzing data needed for the study. In adhering to the guiding principles of trustworthiness reliability, dependability, and transformability below I have presented all the textual material explored for the present study.

Collection of scholarly journals scrutinized by me in exploring the details for the chosen three periods of Sri Lankan History

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Appendix B: Questions I Used to Combine Polarities of Democracy and the Dataset

I used the following questions developed by me to guide the QDA to filter irrelevant materials in building the data sample, analyze the data, and then to triangulate findings until saturation. These questions are drafted to merge, historical data of Sri Lanka explored within the sample dataset with the theoretical framework of polarities of democracy.

- How did the ten elements of POD present themselves during the Pre-colonial period within a monarchy?
 - Which elements were clearly visible?
 - If there was a lack in any of the elements of POD which ones, were they and why did they ceased to exist?
 - Were there any factors such as religion, governance, or laws to balance the interdependent polarity pairs?
- How did the ten elements of POD present themselves during the colonial period?
 - Which elements were clearly visible?
 - If there was a lack of any of the elements of POD which ones, were they and why did they ceased to exist?
 - Were there any factors such as religion, governance, or laws to balance the interdependent polarity pairs?
- How did the ten elements of POD exist during the post-colonial period?
 - Which elements were clearly visible?
 - If there was a lack of any of the elements of POD which ones were missing, why did they ceased to exist?
 - Were there any other factors such as religion, governance, or laws to balance the interdependent polarity pairs?

Appendix C: Leveraging the Polarities of Democracy

Within the polarities of democracy model Benet (2021) gave a set of questions with both the negative and positive outcomes of the polarity pairs. In having placed an emphasis on group dynamics, they are applicable to explore any group even ethnic.

<p>Freedom and Authority Are we free OR Must we follow the rules of Authority?</p>	<p>If we apply “OR” Problem-solving Thinking to this “AND” Polarity, the result is impunity and irresponsibility.</p>
	<p>Leveraging BOTH Freedom AND Authority ensures initiative and productivity</p>
<p>Justice AND Due Process Should we enforce the rules of Justice OR provide Due Process to ensure Justice is just?</p>	<p>If we apply “OR” Problem-solving Thinking to this “AND” Polarity, the result is retribution and privilege.</p>
	<p>Leveraging BOTH Justice AND Due Process supports protection and restoration!</p>
<p>Diversity AND Equality Do we respect the Diversity of individuals OR treat everyone Equally?</p>	<p>If we apply “OR” Problem-solving Thinking to this “AND” Polarity, the result is privilege and disparities</p>
	<p>Leveraging BOTH Diversity AND Equality promotes opportunity and sufficiency!</p>
<p>Human Rights AND Communal Obligations Do we respect Human Rights OR our Communal Obligations?</p>	<p>If we apply “OR” Problem-solving Thinking to this “AND” Polarity, the result is greed and indifference.</p>
	<p>Leveraging BOTH Human Rights AND Communal Obligations creates belonging and community!</p>
<p>Participation AND Representation Are we Participants in decisions OR do we rely on others to Represent us?</p>	<p>If we apply “OR” Problem-solving Thinking to this “AND” Polarity, the result is alienation and anger.</p>
	<p>Leveraging BOTH Participation AND Representation develops contribution and commitment!</p>

Note: Author created from, *polarities of democracy model*, By Benet, in *Polarities of Democracy, website*, 2021, Copyright, 2021 by Polarity Partnerships LLC.

Appendix D: Upsides and the Downsides of the Polarities of Democracy Model

The polarities of democracy theory taking into consideration 10 overarching values within a democracy, Benet (2006) gives detailed account of the upsides (Plus) and downsides (Minus) of these 10 values. They are essential to anyone exploring any governing democracy.

Freedom	Plus: The promotion of justice, freedom, and equality for others Minus: Malingering, unreliable, irresponsible, and noncompliant
Authority	Plus : The freedom and right to control, prohibit control of others Minus : Oppression, includes the inability to seek true freedom
Justice	Plus: Overcoming oppression Minus: Increased oppression
Due Process	Plus : Power over Oppression, Individual protection from risk Minus: No Power over Oppression, Places individuals at risk, Abuse
Diversity	Plus: Protection of an individual's rights and personal beliefs Minus : Creation of rigid hierarchical relations of power
Equality	Plus : Omit the special privileges of the ruling elites Minus : Lacking, motivation, creativity, challenging work, diligence
Human Rights	Plus : Self-actualization, self-governance, promoting common good. Minus : Discrimination, suppression, and marginalization
Obligations	Plus : Self-Respect, mutual Respect, Increased productivity, Minus: Degrades democracy, increase oppression, poverty.
Participation	Plus : Controlled of decision-making, Human development Minus: Low Productivity, Bad decision-making, Weak Governance
Representation	Plus : Political Equality, Political legitimacy, Minus: Autocratic Governance, Oppression, Civil unrest

Note. Adapted from Benet (2006).

Appendix E: Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact (D-C Pact of 1965)

Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam met on the March 24, 1965, and discussed matters relating to some problems over which the Tamil-speaking people were concerned, and Mr. Senanayake agreed that action on the following lines would be taken by him to ensure a stable government:

- (1) Action will be taken early under the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act to make provision of the Tamil Language to be the language of Administration and of Record in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Mr. Senanayake explained that it was the policy of his party that a Tamil-speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the island.

- (2) Mr. Senanayake stated that it was the policy of his party to amend the Language of Courts Act to provide for legal proceedings in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be conducted and recorded in Tamil.
- (3) Action will be taken to establish District Councils in Ceylon vested with powers over subjects to be mutually agreed upon between two leaders. It was agreed, however, that the government should have power under the law to give directions to such councils under the national interest.
- (4) The Land Development Ordinance will be amended to provide that citizen of Ceylon be entitled to the allotment of land under the Ordinance.

Mr. Senanayake further agreed that in the granting of land under colonization schemes the following priorities be observed in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

- a. Land in the Northern and Eastern provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the district.
- b. Secondly, to Tamil-speaking persons resident in the Northern and Eastern provinces.
- c. Thirdly, to other citizens in Ceylon, preference being given to Tamil residents in the rest of the island.