

Buddhism, Welfarism and Social Development in Sri Lanka

Dr. L.D. Sarath Vitharana (*)

INTRODUCTION

In Sri Lanka, a small South Asian independent nation situated close to the southeast coast of the Indian subcontinent, social indicators in the areas like health care and education were on a par with those for much richer countries in the world even in the 1980s. At present, the level of social development achievement in relation to health care, education, housing, sanitary facilities, public utilities and other public facilities in Sri Lanka are in far beyond the level of other developing countries, and, therefore, Sri Lanka has often been sited as an exceptional case in the developing world in terms of its high-level human development record which is similar to some developed countries (Sen, 2004; Austin, 1994; Bjorkman, 1985). The level of this social development in Sri Lanka has exceeded even some of the “Millennium Development Goals”, when those were adopted by the UN in 2000. The rationale behind the exceptional element

(*) Department of Sociology, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka

of human development of Sri Lanka can be considered mainly as the cumulative effect of state intervention to uplift its population under the distributive welfare mechanism which included distribution of lands, free education, extensive health care schemes, state subsidies on food and other necessities. Most of these welfare distribution schemes started in the mid-1930s, even before the country gained its independence in 1948. After independence in 1948, Sri Lanka has allocated a considerable amount of its revenue as welfare expenditure.

This paper is mainly concerned to examine the influence of Buddhism,¹ and Buddhism movements on these remarkable social development achievements in Sri Lanka. In this study, the relationship between Buddhism, Buddhist movements and the country's social change and social development is discussed through a historical perspective. Public documents and academic literature on social change and social development process of the country and other relevant material are utilized for this purpose. In addition to secondary sources, present level of social development in the island and its expansion are considered with the primary data gathered from an ethnographic study of a dry zone village, 'Kurulubedde,' situated in Northwestern Sri Lanka.

BUDDHISM AND WELFARE

Buddhism, which is practiced mainly in South Asia and Southeast Asia but now found throughout the world, has numerous pointed out the importance of services to others, a just and equal society. Quoting to the *Anguttara-nikāya* of *Pali Tipitaka*, Walpola Rahula pointed out that "Numerous ideas for the well-being of society are frequently stated. Liberality (*dāna*), kindly speech (*peyyavajja*), service for the benefit of others (*atthacariyā*), equality (*samānattatā*) - these are well known as the four Bases of Assistance (*sangrahavatthu*) (Rahula, 2003: 3). "According to the Buddha, protection of others is the protection of oneself (*Sanyutta nikaya, Sedaka Sutta*). Buddhism treat donation as an item of wealth. Apart from the mental satisfaction one derives from a donation, it reduces the

1. Buddhism is the religion of 70.9% of the country's population (Department of Census & Statistics, Sri Lanka, 2010)

cost of enjoying wealth as will be shown latter. The Buddha showed the benefits of donation to both the donor and the society thus “If others too realize the virtues of donation as I do, nobody would have a meal without sharing” (Wickramasinghe, 2002: 29). Donations and selfless services of welfare work offer *pin* (merit) that would help to gain good birth or other benefits in next life. The story of Maghava who rose from ordinary person to the lordship of gods is good example regarding this.²

Although Buddhism was quoted in some occasion as a religion which is not supported to the economic development, teaching of the Buddha numerous points out the importance of socio-economic development in relation to reduce the crime. As it is pointed out by Dammananda, “In the *Kutadanta Sutta*, the Buddha suggested economic development instead of force to reduce crime. The government should use the country’s resources to improve the economic conditions of the country. It could embark on agricultural and rural development, provide financial support to entrepreneurs and business, provide adequate wages for workers to maintain a decent life with human dignity” (Dhammananda, 1993: 232-3). And, Buddha pointed out that righteous government as the government that rule through compassion. In this sense, Buddhist concepts of governance such as “*Dasa Raja Dharmaya*” (ten virtues of kings or ten rules for good government) promote a form of just government that promote the well-being of the subjects through sacrifice of one’s own pleasure (Rahula, 2003: 3; Dhammananda, 1993: 232-3). What has happened in Sri Lanka since 1930s is that these basic Buddhist sentiments favoured for the social welfarism has strongly influenced to the Sri Lankan political scenario that implemented numerous distributive welfare mechanism since 1930s.

ROOT CAUSE FOR THE STATE WELFARISM IN SRI LANKA

Since 1505 AD, Western Europeans; Portuguese, Dutch and British made

2. “Maghava is synonymous with Sakka, king of the gods. The Maghamānawaka Jātaka relates that in the remote past a public spirited person, who had spent his whole lifetime in welfare work with the cooperation of his friends, was born as Sakka as the result of his good actions” (Narada Thera, 1993: 31).

their appearance in Sri Lanka. However, by far the greatest European influence on the country came in the century and a half period of British rule that consolidated their power all over the country from 1815 to 1948. With its control of the whole island since 1815, British paid particular attention to finding ways to make the colony profitable. In that sense, the policies of the crown government strongly influenced the promotion of the plantation economy in the country.

However, new plantation economy and social and economic transformations related with it were not favourable for the majority of rural population who lived in the interior areas of the country. As a result of these conditions, by the first decades of twentieth century, poverty, indebtedness, landlessness and unemployment became intrinsic features of the population in interior rural areas of the country. In the beginning of 1930, C.V. Brayne, an imaginative colonial official, pointed out, “the standard of living of the peasant is low, his existence is often precarious, he is seldom deeply and chronically in debt, and his wage earning capacity, if he is forced to sell his labour, is poor” (1934: 35; quoted from Samraweera, 1973: 447). According to a survey conducted by P.B. Das Gupta (1939) in eight rural districts, in the beginning of 1930, 21% per cent of rural families were landless and 30% per cent of rural community had less than one acre. And, 33% per cent of rural population suffered from indebtedness (quoted from Dharmasena & Karunarathna 1993). On the other hand, devastating epidemics like ‘malaria’ was inherent to the interior rural areas. Due to this situation, “the surviving rural population became so enfeebled by anemia and malnutrition that people could scarcely maintain themselves even at a subsistence level” (Bjorkman, 1985: 542). This was the state of rural community that represented the majority of the population during the first decades of twentieth century. But, “The existing evidence seemed to indicate that British policies, in the nineteenth century, had made little or no impression on the mass poverty of the rural areas” (Samaraweera, 1973: 446). This is because the fact that ‘welfare’ was not the operative term where the colonized were concerned under the colonial governmental policy (Sharma and Gupta, 2006: 25).

INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM IN SOCIAL WELFAREISM IN SRI LANKA

It is in this context that there were public debates on the condition of peasantry in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Particularly, in the beginning of twentieth century, the new political elites, who were demanding political reforms, were concerned with the condition of rural peasantry. Thus “the reformist and nationalist leaders carried on a much-publicized campaign of bringing the problems of the peasantry before the public and government. Though the primary concern of the nationalist leaders was a constitutional advance, there was an increasing realization that political development had necessarily to be accompanied by improvement in the well-being of the people” (Samaraweera, 1973: 446). More radical Ceylonese nationalist leaders were also motivated by a belief that it was primarily the responsibility of the state to take these problems into consideration. Here, the contribution of Buddhist nationalism against the British rule and its favour for social wellbeing of the native population was essential.

Since the mid of 19th century, Buddhist nationalist movement against the consolidation of vigorous expansion of catholic missionary organization had been started. Public debates between Christians and Buddhists held at the various places of the country after 1860s gave the particular strength to the Buddhist nationalist movement in 19th century. Newspaper reports of these public debates reached to the other countries in the other end of the world and gained the attention of co-founder and first President of the Theosophical Society, Colonel H.S. Olcott from America and many other influential foreign characters to Sri Lanka. Their arrival to Sri Lanka was of many significance, but particular in education. And, their arrival gave new strength to the Buddhist nationalist movement in the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. Leaders of this Buddhist nationalist movement were in favour of social service. “Another theme, expressed strongly by one of its leaders (Anagarika Darmapala), was that monks should engage in social service activities to improve the economic and social conditions of the people, especially the impoverished peasantry” (Senevirathne, 2001; quoted from Jayasuriya, 2010: 92). Many native politicians who were

active in politics in the beginning of the 20th century came from this Buddhist nationalist movement and, therefore, they were in favour to uplift the living condition of the impoverished peasantry of the country.

The year 1931 was a turning point for the drastic social, economic, and political transformation in the island in coming years. Two equally important constitutional reforms were implemented in the country under the Donoughmore political reforms in 1931. First was the introduction of Universal Adult Franchise for citizens over 21 years of age; one of Asia's earliest experiments with universal franchise; the second was the introduction of a new constitution, partly modeled on the structure of a semi-autonomous parliamentary system, publicly known as 'State Council,' with constituency-based election system of representation based on universal adult suffrage. This political innovation simply made up the political crucible of mass politicking on elected politicians; and, therefore, those elite politicians who were ambitious with national politics at that time had to adjust to a new form of mass politics with a view to stabilizing their political existence among the masses. Hence, this was the inception of the implementation of extensive welfare services for the socio-economic upliftment of the masses. And, Buddhist nationalist movement was in very favour to this implementation of extensive welfare services. Particularly, "The concept of free education designed as a measure of social justice had an irresistible attention to the electorate, and both radicle and socialist groups on the one hand, as well as representatives of Buddhist opinion welcomed it and became its ardent advocates" (Wickremeratne, 1973: 486).

Gaining political independence was a defining point for state-run welfarism in postcolonial Third World countries. Political independence gave new aspiration to both people and ruling elites of those new states. People of these countries relied on state for gaining socio-economic benefits such as lands, education, salaried employments, or the acquisition of more influential and better-rewarding positions.

Accordingly, re-distributory element became a measure of the 'progressive' character of the successive post independent governments of Sri Lanka. The social service component including free education,

free health and medical services, subsidized food items and other relief measures were the poor man's share of the budget. It appealed to the basic Buddhist sentiment such as equity, *dana* (literally meaning is alms giving) and to socialist objectives of distribution of wealth among all citizens, and the creation of a 'just society,' which has its parallel in the modern concept of the welfare state (Marga, 1974). For instance, in his budget speech in 1948, the first finance minister of Sri Lanka who represented United National Party (UNP) remarked, "Free Ceylon may justly and proudly call itself a social service state" (quoted from Marga, 1974: 6). Further, in his budget speech, he said,

We do not intend to stop or to starve any of the progressive social and economic schemes of development such as free education, free milk feeding, and free meals for children, subsidies in essential goods... While holding to these principles we shall further attempt to close from both ends the gap which separate the standard of the living of the great mass of our fellow citizens from that of a small privileged minority (quoted from Marga, 1974: 12).

Influence of Buddhism and Buddhist movement on state-run welfarism in Sri Lanka came to a new juncture since mid-1950s when the Mahajana Eksath Peramune (MEP) came to power in 1956 under the leadership of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who initiated pro-Sinhala Buddhist nationalist "Sri Lanka Freedom party" (SLFP) in 1951. When SLFP led MEP coalition government came to power in 1956, it was a great event for poor man's redemption from his sufferings. The MEP government granted a privileged position to Buddhism which justified the benevolent welfarism of the state through the basic Buddhist concept of equity and distribution of wealth.

Interestingly, equivalence of Buddhist sentiments such as equity, distribution of wealth among all citizens or *dāna* (alms giving) and creating a 'just society,' to socialist objectives and the modern concept of the welfare state and mobilization of rural population became common not only to the political parties but also to the leading local level non-government organization such as '*Sarvodaya shramamadāna*,' movement. According to A.T. Ariyaratne, the leader of '*Sarvodaya*,' Sri Lanka's

ancient society was based on the concept of ‘*dāna*’ or sharing, which stressed, “the equitable distribution of wealth and an exploitation-free society...Long before the socialist economic theories were formulated in the West as a reaction to extreme capitalist exploitation, our people practiced a socialist way of life based on the Buddhist philosophy...” (Ariyaratne, 1970).

INFLUENCE OF WELFARE DISTRIBUTION TO THE MASSES: “KURULUBEDDE” VILLAGE

How this distributive welfare mechanism of Sri Lanka that followed since 1930s has influenced to uplift the life condition of the masses. “Kurulubedde,” a village situated about 65 kms away to the North of the capital city of the country provides a distinct case that helps us look at the impact of the changing state policy from a colonial administrator to a benevolent distributor since 1930. This is a dry zone village belongs to Pallepitiye Divisional Secretariat Division (DSD), Puttalam district, Northwestern province of Sri Lanka.

The area where Kurulubedde village is located has a long history that can be traced to the first Aryan civilization of Sri Lanka. Kurulubedde and the surrounding area belonged to the flourishing irrigated civilization of Rajarata Kingdom (Rajarata, literally means king’s country). During the period between 6th and 13th century when Rajarata kingdom was free from external destabilizing influences, the territory between Daduru Oye (literally Oye means river) which marked the southern boundary of the present Puttalam district as well as Northwestern province, and Kala Oye which is situated close to the northern boundary of the district as well as province, was one of the two territories of Rajarata kingdom which had a considerable economic and political importance (Codrington, 1922: 74). During that time, a network of hundreds of minor village tanks had been built up in this area by the ancient kings. And, this tank system was life nerve of the flourished agricultural economy of that time.

However, by the beginning of 20th century, maintenance of the minor level village tank system of the area had been neglected. Thus, most of

these tanks did not function properly. Therefore, they could not contain water in its full capacity. Subsequently, the rural communities who lived under the minor village tank system were affected by the uncertain dry zone climate that prevailed in the Kurulubedde area. Therefore, paddy cultivation could not be followed successfully. Instead of paddy cultivation, most of the people in this area depended on *chena* cultivation, traditional form of shifting or swidden cultivation. It produced their foods such as *kurakkan* (kind of millet grown in chena as main crop), maize, sorghum, manioc and kinds of vegetables.

How one can envisage the life in the Kurulubedde area during the beginning of twentieth century through the Administration Report (AR) of the colonial administration. In his annual Administrative Report (AR) for 1904, Assistant Government Agent (AGA) for Puttalam district has reported;

Chena cultivation is only practiced in the Kandyan portion of the district...there is no doubt that chena cultivation in the poorer portion of the Demele Hatpattu³ is necessary to enable the people to live...From the chenas they obtain not only dry grain, but meneri, gingerly and chilies which they barter with traveling Moorman for coconuts, dry fish and curry stuffs (Bowes, 1904: 22-23).

Along with that, the next main problem faced by the population of the interior dry zone villages like Kurulubedde in Puttalam district as well as whole Northwestern province during this time was epidemic diseases like malaria fever and *parangi* (yaws). Hence, the AR of AGA for Puttalam district in 1909 says, "The health of the Demele Hatpattu was, as always, not satisfactory, *Parangi* and fever prevailed" (italics are mine). Due to this condition, in 1908, when the birth rate was 37.5, death rate was 40.7 and in 1909, when birth rate was 35.7, death rate was 39.66 in Puttalam district (AAR for Puttalam in 1909). But, the prejudiced British colonial administration tried to convince that this unpleasant situation of the province was not a result of degeneration of the economic and health condition and neglected state by government, but as a result of

3. Traditional administrative division that Kurulubadda village belonged

the staple food of the people in the dry zone. They argued that the main chena product, *kurakkan*, had little nutritional value and was responsible for the malnutrition and various diseases. For instance, AGA of Puttalam district, F. Bowes, pointed out, "I am convinced that a large proportion of the fever and sickness in the district is due to an unvaried and heating diet, of which *kurakkan* as the staple" (1904: 27).

According to the AR of AGA for Puttalam district in 1925, the outbreak of malaria epidemic in Demele Hatpattu was exceptionally severe. Due to its severity, the government had to appoint special officers to itinerant supplies of quinine in Demele Hatpattu. But in his report, AGA of Puttalam district in 1926, he provided a depressing description of the failure of provision of medicine for malaria. He reported that most of the interior areas of the district suffered badly from malaria due to the failure of efficacious treatments. Therefore, he has firmly requested a hospital be built in Serumaduwe of Demele Hatpattu (Whitehorn, 1925: 16). However, requests for the development of health care facilities were not successful. Therefore, the same request was again made by AGA of Puttalam district in 1932 (Rodrigo, 1932). When malaria epidemic spread over the entire island in the early years of 1930s, one of the worst affected districts from the epidemic was Puttalam district (Census of Ceylon, 1946: 122). Conversely, the economic condition was also considerably damaged in Demele Hatpattu during this time. According to Whitehorn (1925: 14), the AR of AGA for Puttalam district, paddy and the chena cultivation in Demele Hatpattu of the district was considerably damaged due to the poor and late arrival of rainfall in the district. This situation severely caused the food scarcity of this area during this time.

The above socio-economic condition and the state of neglect by the colonial government shaped Kurulubedde village by the beginning of twentieth century. Particularly, the malaria epidemic made some hamlets of Kurulubedde an uninhabited landscape. However, official records significantly do not mention the influence of malaria epidemic on the village. Therefore, the recounting has to depend on the oral versions.

Revealed by oral accounts, by 1930s, there were four hamlets in Kurulubedda village including Kurulubedda as a separate hamlet.

However, Nelligahawile, situated in central part of the present Kurulubedde village, Halpanwila, situated in southeast boundary of present village, was completely abandoned due to malaria epidemic. In Harumanwile, which was situated in the northern side of the village, only four families remained. The abandonment of the other hamlets of Kurulubedde village influenced the remaining villagers making their life difficult in different ways. They had to face difficulties in protecting their paddy and chena cultivation from wild animals, especially from wild elephants. As neighboring hamlets were abandoned, these two hamlets were the only small settlements that remained in Kurulubedde area surrounded by the jungle. Conversely, people of these hamlets had to walk long distances to buy their necessities. If it was not so, they had had to exchange their produce with traveling Moore businessmen. But, in this exchange, the villagers were often cheated.

STATE ACTIVITIES AND KURULUBEDDE SINCE 1940S

However, since the mid 1930s, this situation of dry zone areas of the Puttalam district began to change significantly. This was the notable outcome of pervasive state activities in the county under the Donoughmore political reforms of 1931. Within this context, health care improvements and development of roads facilities improved the general atmosphere in the interiors of Puttalam district which was plagued by epidemic diseases in the past. For instance, since the mid 1930s, preventive and curative health measures and DDT (Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane; the popular mosquito-killer chemical) application in rural areas of Puttalam district were enhanced. In 1940, the government built up two rural dispensaries in surrounding area with an itinerant medical officer who came twice a week. With these improvements, the government paid a good deal of attention to distribute state lands in the interior dry areas of Puttalam district under the LDO of 1935. And post-independent successive governments not only maintained these facilities, but also enhanced them. These growing state involvements resulted in significant changes in Kurulubedde village.

State land distribution has been one of the most important state

activities in Kurulubedde since 1940s. In the first place, as a response to the request of the remained villagers of Kurulubedde, the government intervened to resettle these villagers in a more secure place in the village itself. According to the Land Registry of Provincial Land Commissioner Department (PLCD) of Northwestern province, in 1942, under the Land Development Ordinance (LDO) No.19 of 1935, fourteen remained families of Kurulubedda were settled down in both side of the road which was running via Kurulubedde. During this time, this road was only a cart track infrequently used. Each of these settlers was given two acres of high lands. Another three families from Harumanwile also had been granted land from a safe place of the village itself. At this point, these lands were distributed among the allottees as a *badu* (Crown Leasehold) scheme and subjected to a charge of Rs: 3.50 for each acre at the beginning and after that 50 cent as an annual fee to the state (Land Registry, PLCD of Northwestern province). In the next phase, in 1953, under the Middle Class Schemes of LDO of 1935, 102 plots of land with 1250 acres in Kurulubedde area were distributed mostly as twenty-five to fifty acres each for landless people who had sufficient income to develop these lands (Land Registry, PLCD of Northwestern province). Some parts of the lands of the old hamlets of Kurulubedda were distributed under this scheme. Further, with the development of health facilities in the interior part of Puttalam district and the land distribution policy of the state, Kurulubedde was significantly subjected for state sponsored inter-rural migration. In 1955, the government distributed ninety-five plots of lands to landless people and settled them in the southern and western side of present Kurulubedde village. Many of the settlers came from densely populated intermediate areas of Northwestern province. They have been given five acres each for coconut cultivation and other permanent cash crop cultivation. At present, this is the biggest hamlet of present Kurulubedde.

With these land distributions, the government intervened in the development of infrastructures and other social services in the area in different ways. And it affected the village immensely. For instance, until the beginning of 1950s, the road which is running via Kurulubedda and connected two market places that villagers generally went was graveled.

In 1955, when the lands were distributed in Kurulubedde village, the government had developed this road further. Between 1959 and 1960, the Department of Public Works macadamized this road. However, until 1957, there was no public or private passenger service to Kurulubedde or closest area. After the nationalization of bus service in 1957, a bus service was started via Kurulubeddat. However, as villagers stated, it was an erratic bus service. In the early 1960s, regular bus services started via Kurulubedda. In the end of 1950, government vernacular school was also established in the village.

CONCLUSION: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND TRIUMPHS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA

The foregoing analysis underlines how the shift of policies of the state from colonial administrator to benevolent distributor has affected the changes in Sri Lankan society. Kurulubedde village is a good micro cross-section to understand these changes. As such, the picture of Kurulubedde village before 1940s can be summed up as: an isolated and neglected interior dry zone village which was inhabited by a small face-to-face community. They lived in a subsistence agricultural economy which was limited to a small geographical location. The village suffered from the negligence of colonial administration, poor economic condition, malaria and other epidemics, lack of health facilities, lack of road and transport facilities, unpredictable dry zone climate, and wild animals etc. But, this whole picture of the village rapidly changed from the beginning of 1940s. It is obvious that during the past decades, benevolent state policies and activities have played a significant role for the development of social infrastructure such as healthcare facilities, communication facilities, and so on in Kurulubedde. This made Kurulubedde area attractive for human settlements. The state sponsored land distribution to deal with landlessness and poverty expanded the population of the village. At present, except very few old villagers, all most all villagers are literate. There was not any infant or maternal death in the village for the last fifteen years. According to village servants' reports as well as my observations, great majority of housing structures of the village have been constructed

with brick walls, cemented floor and tile or asbestos roof. Almost all houses of the village have water-sealed sanitary facilities.

According to the above discussion, it is evident that distributive welfare mechanism influenced has covered very essential segment of needs of the masses of the country. Therefore, it is clear that paternalistic role of Sri Lankan state has affected the achievements of social indicators of the country considerably. As showed by table No. 1, since the mid-1940s, crude death rate and mortality rate were reduced. Life expectancy and literacy rate increased. “A system of social benefits that included cheap staple foods and free schooling and medical services helped to produce a healthy, literate populace. Inequality was kept relatively low, and despite low-income levels; the worst manifestations of poverty (premature death, malnutrition, illiteracy) were avoided to a remarkable degree” (Dwight et al, 2001: 136). These changes during past decades kept the country in a position diverged from other South Asian countries and proximate with some extent to developed world.

According to the sociological point of view, there are many factors that consistently influenced social change. Among them, cultural factors are essential. In sociological literature, religion is considered as a cultural factor. In this context, the main purpose of this paper was to analyze relationship between Buddhism, Buddhist movements and remarkable social development achievements in Sri Lanka. it does not mean that Buddhism is the only factor that contributed to initiate distributive welfare policies of the state during past decades, but, there are some other significant factors. However, as it is pointed out in above discussion Buddhism and Buddhist movements 19th and 20th century have significantly influenced to the social development process of the country.

However, there are some other trends related with this changing process of social development that should be deeply penetrated. “Buddhists do not believe in a benevolent god” (Wickramasinghe, 2002: 14). But, a process of creating mentality of clientalism on political structure in the society has developed. “The Buddha has never encouraged people to be lazy; in fact he has condemned laziness” (Wickramasinghe, 2002: 30). Distributive welfare mechanism followed in Sri Lanka during past

Table No. 1: Historical changes of Sri Lankan Social Statistics

Year	1946	1950	1960	1971	1981	2005	2011
Life expectancy in year	43	48	62	66	69	73.9	77.87
Infant mortality per 1000 live births	141	101	71	45	43	13	9.4**
Maternal mortality per 1000 births	16	9	3	2	1	0.09*	--
Birth rate per 1000 population	37	40	37	30	28	18.9*	17.4
Death rate per 1000 population	20	14	9	8	6	5.9*	5.9
Literacy %	58	58	75	79	87	92.5*	92.2

* 2003 information ** 2009 information

Sources: Central Bank of Sri Lanka (2005) *Annual Report-2004, 2012*; UNDP (2005) *Human Development Report 2005*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Bjorkman, J. W. (1985) "Health Policy and Politics in Sri Lanka: Developments in the South Asian Welfare States", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 25, PP 537-552.

decades has created dependence of its citizens on the state, political parties and particularly on politicians. This situation has to be examined further in detail.

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