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VOLUME 2

1971

NUMBER 1

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This issue was published in July 1973

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Water transfer * The Control

The Law, The Constituent Assembly and The New Constitution*

By L. J. M. COORAY

The Two Methods of Constitutional Reform

There are two methods of Constitutional reform. (1) It is possible to proceed within the existing constitutional legal structure, i.e. by following the procedure for amendment prescribed in the Constitution. In Ceylon this would entail relying on section 29 (4) which gives power to Parliament to amend the Constitution if an act is passed which receives a two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives. (2) The other method is to make a complete break with the past; to bring about a revolution; to set up a new and distinct constitution, ignoring the existing constitution and legal order. In other words a completely new constitution may be proclaimed after a revolutionary process. Revolution means change—and it must be noted that change may occur peacefully as well as violently. In Ceylon the present government has chosen the second of the two methods referred to above.

Reform within the existing legal order

Bearing in mind the above two methods of reform it is intended to briefly discuss the pros and cons of the first method—reform by constitutional amendment within the existing structures. The question was posed in an article written in the Times of Ceylon¹ "Why Bypass the Constitution," where it is suggested that the Constitution be reformed by reference to existing constitutional structures. The answer to this question is simple. The Constitutional documents have been so drafted that it is very doubtful whether fundamental changes can be effected by amendment to it.

There are many legal problems which stand in the way of fundamental constitutional changes being carried out within the present legal order. The basic constitutional principles are contained in two documents, The Ceylon Independence Act, 1947 and the Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council, 1946.

The Ceylon Independence Act is an Act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom and contains an abdication of legislative power in

^{*} Editors' Note: This essay was presented to us sometime ago when the Constitution was being drafted and doubts had been expressed about the procedures which were being followed and the ultimate validity of the Constitution once it was proclaimed. The essay highlights some of the issues which arose during the period of Constitution making.

^{1. &}quot;Why Bypass the Constitution", in Times of Ceylon of 5th October, 1970, page 4.

relation to Ceylon by the United Kingdom Parliament and confers certain powers on the Parliament of Ceylon. The abdication of legislative power by the Imperial Parliament is contained in section 1 (1) of the Ceylon Independence Act which enacts that the United Kingdom Parliament cannot in future legislate for Ceylon "unless it is expressly declared in that Act that Ceylon has requested and consented to the enactment thereof." This Act cannot be repealed by the Ceylon Parliament because the draftsmen of the Ceylon Constitution has not conferred on the Parliament of Ceylon the power to repeal it. Section 1 (2) of the First Schedule to the Ceylon Independence Act gives the Parliament of Ceylon the power to repeal, "....existing or future Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." By comparison the Indian Independence Act refers to "....this or any existing or future Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." Thus the omission of the word "this" in the Ceylon Independence Act means that while Ceylon can repeal "existing" (in 1947) and "future" (after 1947) legislation of the United Kingdom Parliament, it cannot repeal the Ceylon Independence Act, 1947 which is not caught up by the above words. The words "present" or "this" would have been required to draw in the Ceylon Independence Act."2

The apparent solution appears to be to resort to the provision referred to above and to request the Parliament of the United Kingdom to repeal the Independence Act. But further legal problems arise. The provision regarding legislation for Ceylon by the United Kingdom Parliament refers to "consent of Ceylon." The Act does not refer to the Parliament of Ceylon. The question arises as to how "Ceylon" should manifest her consent. It is not clear whether it is the Parliament of Ceylon, the people of Ceylon or the government of Ceylon (i.e. the executive arm) which must "consent." This raises a knotty legal problem and it is not clear whether it can be resolved at all.

There is another reason why it is doubtful whether the United Kingdom Parliament can repeal the Ceylon Independence Act despite the specific words in the Act. Dicey³ takes the view that, after a colony has obtained independence, the United Kingdom Parliament would be considered to have abdicated its sovereignty to the Parliament of the Dominion, another sovereign body, and can in no circumstance legislate for it. Anson⁴ agrees. Wade⁵ takes a similar view. It is implicit in Amerasinghe's analysis⁶

^{2.} L. J. M. Cooray, Essays on the Constitution of Ceylon (1970) pp. 54 and 58.

^{3.} A. V. Dicey, England's Case against Home Rule (3rd ed., 1887) pp. 241-46.

W. R. Anson, "The Government of Ireland Bill and the Sovereignty of Parliament" in (1886) 2 L.Q.R. 427, 440.

H. W. R. Wade "The Basis of Legal Sovereignty" in Cambridge Law Journal (1955) pp. 172-89.

C. F. Amerasinghe, "The Legal Sovereignty of the Ceylon Parliament" in Public Law (1966) pp. 66-69.

of the sovereignty of the Ceylon Parliament that the United Kingdom Parliament has no power in any circumstances to legislate for Ceylon.

Thus there is much to be said for the conclusion that the Ceylon Independence Act cannot be repealed by the United Kingdom Parliament or the Ceylon Parliament. The conclusion is that a part of our constitution is completely unalterable. Even if the United Kingdom Parliament can repeal it, it is a serious reflection on the powers possessed by the Parliament of Ceylon during the last 22 years and scarcely in keeping with the self-respect of the nation, if a request must be made to the United Kingdom Parliament to resolve Ceylon's constitutional problems and help in reforming the Constitution.

The other Constitutional document is the Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council of 1946 which contains the basic principles relating to the organs of government. Here too constitutional reform raises a number of problems. Amerasinghe takes the view that section 29 (2) which was intended to confer some protection on minority groups cannot be amended in any way—in other words not only cannot the minority rights contained in it be taken away, but they cannot also be added to or increased.⁸

The view has also been expressed that a fundamental reconstitution of Parliament may be invalid. Parliament consists of the Queen, the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Queen is given a special legal status by provisions in the Constitutional documents and if that status is removed the entire balance of the Constitution may be irretrivably destroyed. It is perhaps because of this difficulty that Ceylon was not declared a Republic. Amerasinghe in a different context also takes the view that a fundamental reconstitution of the House of Representatives would be invalid. Parliamental reconstitution of the House of Representatives would be invalid.

The principle derived from judicial decisions that judicial power is vested in the judicature and cannot be exercised by the executive or the legislature has limited (to an extent which is not quite clear) the powers

^{7.} But despite above view, in fact, the Parliament of the United Kingdom has legislated after independence for Canada in 1960 and Cocos Islands in 1959 at the request of those countries. The validity of such legislation has not been questioned in the Courts. See O. Hood Phillips, Constitutional and Administrative Law, (1962, Sweet and Maxwell) pp. 67-68.

^{8.} Op. cit., pp. 73-78.

^{9.} Amerasinghe, op. cit., pp. 85-88.

^{10.} Ibid, p. 95, note 98.

^{11.} See especially Queen v. Liyanage (1962) 64 N.L.R. 313; Liyanage v. The Queen (1965) 68 N.L.R. 265. P.C.; Kariapper v. Wijesinghe (1966) 68 N.L.R. 529 S.C.; (1967) 70 N.L.R. 49. P.C. and other cases discussed by L. J. M. Cooray, op. cit., p. 187-206, who submits that the courts have "added" this principle to the Constitution. Distinguish from above decisions the "tribunal cases" which proceeded on an analysis of the words "judicial officer must be appointed by the Judicial Service Commission" in section 55 (1) of the Constitution and held therefore that any person who exercises judicial power must be appointed by the Judicial Services Commission. See Bribery Commissioner v. Ranasinghe (1964) 66 N.L.R. 73; Senadira v. The Bribery Commissioner (1961) 63 N.L.R. 313. See L. J. M. Cooray, op. cit., p. 174-78 and 187.

of the legislature,¹² and has also cast doubts on the extent to which the procedure in section 29 (4) can be used to amend the Constitution.¹³

It is not intended to discuss the merits of these views. It is sufficient to say that doubts have been expressed as to whether fundamental reforms can be effected within the present legal structures and these doubts can only be resolved by a litigation which would be completed only about three years after the amendments were passed. In view of these doubts it would be unwise to proceed to amend the Constitution. The government and the country would be in doubt for a number of years as to whether the amendments were valid or not-and in the interim the functioning of the executive and legislative organs would be seriously affected. Constitutional changes may be effected—a new legislature may be constituted. This legislature would pass acts implementing government policy. One of these Acts could be challenged on the ground that the amending procedure followed is invalid. The litigation arising from the challenge would drag on for years and the conclusion may be reached many years later than the amendments to it were invalid. The effect may be that every act passed by the legislature during this period is invalid.

Autochtony

The legal problems involved are such that the government is wise in not proceeding to reform the Constitution by amendments following the prescribed legal procedures.

There is another reason why the legal method has been rejected. The Constitution of Ceylon of 1948 is found in an Order in Council issued by the Queen and an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Constitution, the basic legal document, derives its authority from a foreign legal source. Ceylon after 1948 enjoyed a system of government which was in no way subordinate to the Government of the United Kingdom. But the framers of the new Constitution emphasised that they sought to draft a Constitution which had the force of law and, if necessary, of supreme law within Ceylon through its own native authority and not because it was enacted by the law making authorities of the United Kingdom. In other words they wanted a Constitution deriving its authority from Ceylonese legal sources, a Constitution which is "so to speak 'home grown', sprung from the native soil, and not imported from the United Kingdom." In other words what is asserted is not the principle of autonomy only (which the 1948 Constitution conferred) but also a principle of something

^{12.} See L. J. M. Cooray, op. cit., pp. 187-206.

^{13.} See L. J. M. Cooray, op. cit., pp. 203-06; C. F. Amerasinghe, "Sovereignty of the Ceylon Parliament Revisited" in Colombo Law Review (1970) pp. 91, 101-02.

K. C. Wheare, The Constitutional Structure of the Commonwealth, (1960, Clarendon Press, Oxford) p. 89.

stronger, of self-sufficiency, of constitutional autochtony or a principle of Constitutional autonomy, of being constitutionally rooted in the native soil of Lanka.

Though the word "autochtony" has not been used this idea has been referred to frequently by our Constitution makers. And this in itself is a valid reason for ignoring the present Constitution and setting up a Constituent Assembly.

Reform by Revolution

The first method of constitutional reform (reform within the constitutional structures and by references to the prescribed constitutional procedure) which was referred to at the outset cannot be followed in Ceylon for fundamental reforms. The other method, which in this eventuality must necessarily be adopted, is extra-legal and extra constitutional—a political method which aims at drafting and proclaiming a new constitution, creating a complete break with the pre-existing order. This is the method which the present government has chosen.

A discussion of the second method has to be preceded by an analysis of legal concepts. One must begin by asking the question, from where does law originate, or to use a legal phrase one asks-what are the sources of law? To which one would give the answer legislation, case law, custom, equity. Legislation is by far the most important and accounts for the bulk of the laws of a modern state. What is legislation? It may be defined as the act of a legislature. From where does the legislature derive its powers and authority? It may be said that the legislature derives its powers from the Constitution. Section 29 of the Constitution Order in Council gives the Parliament of Ceylon power to legislate for the peace, order and good government of Ceylon. The Constitution gives Parliament the power to enact laws. But from where does the Constitution derive its authority? Why is the Constitution valid? This is the crucial issue. Before answering the question let us examine the foundations and origins of two very famous democratic Constitutions-those of the United States and the United Kingdom.

In the eighteenth century the American States were colonies of Great Britain. The United Kingdom Parliament was the supreme legislative authority—the legislatures in the colonial American states were subordinate to it. The British Government was the chief executive authority, which possessed the legal power to control and direct the executive arm of government in the colonial states.

But after the War of Independence this legal structure was ignored. An Assembly drafted a Constitution, which came to be venerated by the citizens of the country. But it is significant that this Constitution was proclaimed in flagrant disregard of the existing legal Constitutional structures.

In Britain in 1688 a group of politicians deposed the existing King, in violation of the legal principles of the Constitution regarding succession, and then they imported a king from Holland placed him on the throne—on condition that he agreed to a number of fundamental Constitutional changes, which were enshrined in the Bill of Rights of 1688 and the Act of Settlement of 1701.¹⁵

Sir Ivor Jennings¹⁶ has to this say about the 1688 Revolution:

"It is easy to show that the Parliament summoned by William of Orange was not a Parliament, that accordingly William and Mary were not lawfully made joint monarchs, that the Parliament which pretended to ratify the Bill of Rights was not a Parliament, that the Bill of Rights was not law, that Anne was not Queen of England, that the Act of Settlement and the Acts of Union were not law, that all succeeding rulers had no right to the throne, that therefore Elizabeth II has no right to the throne and the United Kingdom does not exist—provided only that the "law" in question was that of 1687. In fact, however, the Revolution settlement was a revolution settlement, and revolutions if successful always make new law. What made William and Mary monarchs instead of James II and the person who called himself James III was the fact of recognition, not a pre-existing rule of law. All revolutions are legal when they have succeeded, and it is the success denoted by acquiescence which makes their Constitutions law."

From these two examples we can draw the clear inference that the validity of a Constitution does not flow from law. Where this validity flows from is a complicated jurisprudential question. Kelsen¹⁷ says it is based on the "grund norm or fundamental postulate of a legal system." Salmond¹⁸ calls it the "ultimate legal principle." Wade¹⁹ says that "the true basis of the sovereignty of Parliament as understood in British Constitutional law, is that it is a political fact which can only be changed by revolution." In simple language or non legal language it could be said that the ultimate validity of a Constitution does not flow from law; the validity of a Constitution flows from acceptance by the people, the courts and the administration. The validity of a Constitution initially is a political fact. It is not a legal question. If a new Constitution is accepted after a successful revolution, it becomes legal.

^{15.} Though it is often asserted that the British Constitution is unwritten important provisions are contained in written law—and among these the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement which mark the victory of Parliament over the Crown are the most basic and fundamental, the consequence of which was that the claim of the Kings to govern arbitrarily by prerogative was replaced by a constitutional monarchy. Among the principles established by these two statutes were: that the suspending of and dispensing with laws at the discretion of the sovereign was illegal that the King could not without consent of Parliament maintain or raise an army; that there could not be taxation without the consent of Parliament; the rules regarding succession to the throne; the guarantee of freedom of speech and debate in Parliament; that Parliament and not the King could take a decision to wage war. The idea of The Independence of the Judiciary could also be traced to provisions in the Act of Settlement. See further Wade and Phillips. Constitutional Law, (1965, Longmans) p. 7-8.

^{16.} W. I. Jennings, Law and the Constitution, (1959, University of London Press) p. 85.

H. Kelsen, General Theory of Law and State, (trans. by Anders Wedberg), 20th Century Legal Philosophy Series: Volume 1, (1961, N. Y., Russel & Russel).

Salmond on Jurisprudence. (by P. J. Fitzgerald) (1966, Sweet and Maxwell, London), pp. 43-57, 111-12.

^{19.} Wade, op. cit., at-p. 189.

The word "revolution" as used above is used as a synonym for change. A revolution could result in violent change—the War of Independence which preceded the American Constitution—the Russian Revolution or the Chinese Revolution. But a revolution could be a peaceful and bloodless one as in Britain in 1688. Wade²⁰ takes the view that whenever a colony becomes independent a legal revolution takes place. Thus for instance the constitutional document of a newly independent former British Colony derives its original legal validity from the legislation of the United Kingdom Parliament and/or Orders in Council. But subsequently the constitution is recognised by the courts and the people and becomes the basic instrument and its former legal pedigree becomes irrelevant and the constitution is not regarded as deriving its legal validity from United Kingdom sources.

Wade²¹ goes on to make an assertion which is very relevant in the present context, namely that when a revolution occurs the courts follow"......the movement of political events.....When sovereignty is relinquished in an atmosphere of harmony the naked fact of revolution is not so easy to discern beneath its elaborate legal dress. But it must be there just the same."

The distinction between Constitutional changes which have been effected in accordance with Constitutional structures, and those which have been effected by revolution has been emphasised. It is only the latter that are relevant as comparisons to the Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka of today. But sometimes the neat classification which has been drawn is not observed in practice. There are constitutions which have come into being partly as a consequence of reliance on existing Constitutional structures, and partly by a revolution which brings into existence a new grund norm. Such Constitutions do not fit into the classification drawn above, e.g. Ireland and India. And these are also different and are not relevant as comparisons to Ceylon's current experiment.

The Indian Independence Act, 1947, passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, set up two independent Dominions, namely India and Pakistan. The Government of India Act, 1935, was amended to suit the new situation created by the grant of independence. Under the Indian Independence Act, the Indian legislature received full powers to make laws for the two countries including the power to repeal or amend any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. That Act also provided that the powers of the legislature of each Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the Constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of each Dominion, and that references in the Act to the Legislature of the Dominion, shall be construed

^{20.} Ibid. at p. 191.

^{21;} Ibid.

accordingly. The constitutional measures as well as the Constitutions themselves which were adopted by these two Assemblies were, however, deliberately not submitted to the Governor-General for his assent. Legislation under the existing legal structures would have been valid only if assented to by the Governor-General. In India the question whether the Governor-General's assent was required under the then existing legislation for constitutional measures passed by the Constituent Assembly was never raised in the Courts. In Pakistan, on the other hand, this question was raised and it was held by the Federal Court that such assent was necessary in order that the constitutional measures of the Constituent Assembly may have the force of law. Thereupon a new Constituent Assembly was summoned in that country by the Governor-General. This assembly considered and approved the Constitution which was duly presented to the Governor-General for his assent. In India it is now too late to raise the issue. In the unlikely event of the issue coming before the courts, the courts will take the view that a legal revolution has taken place which the courts, the people and the administration have recognised.22

Ghana after she attained independence in 1957 was, like Ceylon, governed under a Constitution Order in Council made by the Queen in Britain. The Constitution also safeguarded certain fundamental rights and provided for a special method for the amendment of the Constitution, namely, by not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members of the Assembly. This special procedure for constitutional amendment was repealed by the Constitution (Repeal of Restrictions) Act, 1958, so that amendments could be made by a simple majority of the Assembly. The requirement that Bills became law only when the Royal assent was given remained, however, in the Constitution Order in Council.

The first step taken by the Government to establish the republican Constitution was to introduce the Constituent Assembly and Plebiscite Bill in the House of Assembly to transfer the supreme power to make law, so far as the Constitution was concerned, from Parliament to the National Assembly alone. The Assembly when sitting to consider the Constitution became a Constituent Assembly. It was explained that while in strict law it was for the Constituent Assembly finally to enact into law the new Constitution, the Government considered that the Assembly would be morally bound by the decision of the people after the constitution had been submitted for their approval in the proposed plebiscite. This Bill provided that Bills passed by the Constituent Assembly did not require the Royal assent. A White Paper was then issued by the Government containing the Draft Constitution of the Republic and a motion for its

W. I. Jennings, Constitutional Problems in Pakistan (1957, Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-75; A. Giedhill, "The Constitutional Crisis in Pakistan (1954-55)" in (1955) Indian Year Book of International Affairs, p. 1; S. A. de Smith, The New Commonwealth and its Constitutions (1964, Stevens, London).

approval was passed by the Constituent Assembly. After the electorate gave its approval, the Constitution Bill was presented in the Constituent Assembly and given its three readings.²³

The Ghanian example is one which is apparently similar to Ceylon but is in fact very different because in Ghana existing constitutional amending procedures were followed and there was no break in legal continuity. In Pakistan too there was no break in legal continuity.

In India a link was maintained with the existing legal order in that the Constituent Assembly was set up by an Act of Parliament enacted by the sovereign legal authority at that time. But the Constitution prepared by the Assembly was not enacted by the legislature of the old legal order, but was proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly. Thus the procedure followed in India may be regarded as partly legal and partly extra-legal and does not fit into the distinction drawn at the outset.

The Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka

The Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka does not owe its origin and powers to the existing legal order. It is wrong to say that the House of Representatives has constituted itself into a Constituent Assembly, citing Ghana as an example. In Ceylon the House of Representatives by resolution or Parliament by Act did not set up a Constituent Assembly. A Constituent Assembly was convened by the Prime Minister. At its first meeting the Prime Minister said²⁴ "In the name of the people of Sri Lanka, I have called upon you as Members of the House of Representatives to assemble here today......We have met in order to constitute, declare and proclaim ourselves the Constituent Assembly of the People of Sri Lanka.....to adopt, enact and establish a Constitution." A resolution to this effect was passed at the meeting. The members of the Constituent Assembly happen to be members of the House of Representatives, but this is merely the method of identifying them. They can be regarded as representatives of the people. In the Constituent Assembly they are not regarded as members of the House, but as representatives of the people summoned to draft and proclaim a constitution. It was for the purpose of establishing and identifying the Constituent Assembly as a distinct entity, separate from the House of Representatives and Parliament, that it met for the first time at the Navarangahala.

There is a subtle but real distinction, between saying that the House of Representatives constituted itself into a Constituent Assembly, and that a Constituent Assembly was set up, the membership of which is drawn from the House of Representatives.

^{23. &}quot;Constitutional Autochtony in Ghana" in Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies (1961) 51; S. A. de Smith, op.cit., p. 111.

^{24.} See Ceylon Daily News, July 20th page 1.

If one reviews (the problems of space forbids such a review) the various methods by which new constitutions have been established by extra legal procedures—it is clear that there is no uniformity in the procedures adopted. Each country, has followed a different procedure. And Ceylon has the right likewise to follow its own unique procedure. And no one can claim that because a particular procedure has been followed in another country, it should be followed here.

In some countries referrenda have been held before the adoption of a constitution. But it must be noted that in most situations where referenda have been held, changes were being effected within constitutional legal structures and such precedents are not relevant where extra-constitutional and revolutionary methods are employed. In the latter instance a Referendum is not essential. A Referendum was not held in the United States or in the United Kingdom after 1688 or in India after the Indian Constituent Assembly drafted and proclaimed a Constitution.

It would be a natural demand for a new Constitution to be placed before the people in a Referendum in countries where there is a tradition and constitutional practice of resort to the referendum in relation to important issues. Thus the French would think it natural and indeed essential, that a new Constitution be referred to the people because that is a part of their constitutional ethos. But there is no justification for a demand that the Constitution of Sri Lanka be placed before the people in a referendum, because no such tradition or practice exists in the country.

Acceptance by the people may be signified by a referendum—but it may be manifested in other ways—peaceful acceptance by the people, the courts and the administration, and the mere fact that the draftsmen of the constitution were the elected representatives of the people.

There has been much speculation, on the basis of number of votes cast, and in view of the complex issues examined by the voters at the last general election, whether there was a mandate to set up a Constituent Assembly. A direct mandate is not essential to the setting up of a Constituent Assembly. The draftsmen of the Constitution of the United States had no direct popular mandate. It is a misleading question to ask "Did the United Front government have a mandate to set up a Constituent Assembly." The fact that the issue was included in the manifesto of the United Front is just one factor which, in common with other factors, may be relied on to support the right of the Assembly to draft and proclaim a Constitution. Though there may be no express and unambiguous mandate—yet the popular acclaim that accompanied the setting up of the Assembly leaves no doubt as to the wishes of the people.

^{25.} See "Why Bypass the Constitution? in Times of Ceylon of 5th October, page 4.

It is relevant that the constituent parties of the United Front refused to participate in the Select Committee for Constitutional Reform chosen by the last Parliament, on the grounds that they wanted a new Constitution. This view was embodied in the Common Program, reiterated in the manifesto, and was actively canvassed during the election campaign. In the perspective of such public conduct, a strong moral claim and justification for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly can be established.

It is also very significant that every political party participated in the formation of the Assembly, and this meant that they accepted the basis on which it was constituted. Some political parties were at first inclined to boycott the Assembly but did not do so because they felt it would be impolitic to do so. In other words the pressure of public opinion forced them to participate. All sections of the community have accepted it, and memoranda have been submitted to it from all quarters. No group can say that its acceptance of the Assembly is dependent on the Assembly accepting its views on any issue. No group, minority or otherwise, said so at the time the Assembly was constituted, and a fortiorari no group can later on make such an assertion. All that the members of the Assembly itself and the public can ask is that the Assembly functions democratically in coming to its decisions.

It appears from the above analysis that there are a number of factors which give the Constituent Assembly a moral and political right to function.

Is the Constituent Assembly legal? The answer is clear from what has been said. The question of the legality of the Constituent Assembly does not arise. You might just as well ask, was the American War of Independence legal? The Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka is part of a revolution which aims at overthrowing the existing constitution.

The ultimate question will be—is the constitution legal? And this is initially a political question as the quotation from Jennings referred to above shows. It will in course of time become legal if it is accepted by the (1) the people (2) the courts and (3) the administration.

The view has been expressed²⁶ that the Constitution drafted by the Constituent Assembly will bear the stigma of illegality. It is hoped that this view has been effectively rebutted. But it could be answered by posing another question—does the stigma of illegality apply to the United States Constitution or to the Bill of Rights and the Acts of Settlement which followed the 1688 Revolution in England? The 1688 Revolution is referred to as the Glorious Revolution and the Bloodless Revolution.

It may be argued that a Constituent Assembly is a device which offers any Government an easy method of overthrowing a Constitution. It is conceded that a Constitution should have some degree of permanence and not be amenable to change to suit the needs of the moment. But our present constitution (1) cannot be amended fundamentally within the present legal order, (2) is of British origin and does not derive its authority from local and indigenous legal sources and is (3) unsuited to present conditions. Therefore there is no alternative but to adopt the procedure which has been resorted to.

Academic exercise or political dialectic?

A criticism may be levelled against this analysis on the grounds that it uncritically supports the establishment of the Constituent Assembly, and cannot therefore be regarded as an academic analysis.

The issue discussed in this analysis are (1) the legal principles related to the establishment of the Constituent Assembly and the adoption of a new Constitution and (2) the political issues raised and the interpretation and application of legal principles in a political context. The lawyer cannot compromise with (1) and what is stated in relation to (1) is based on and supported by legal authorities. As regards (2), in the particular circumstances, there is no scope for anything but an unequivocal approach. Suggestions for the procedure which could with advantage be followed, may have been put forward before the Constituent Assembly was established. But once a particular procedure has been followed and a Constituent Assembly established, the realist must take an unequivocal standto accept or reject the particular method adopted. It is futile to accept the establishment of the Constituent Assembly, subject to reservations or conditions or to suggest new or alternate procedures which should be followed, both of which carry the implication that the establishment of the Assembly is valid in part or conditionally valid. The new Constitution cannot be partly valid.

Conclusions

There are two methods of Constitutional reform—the legal method and the extra-legal method. Extra-legal constitutions arise consequent to a revolution or a revolutionary process. The establishment of a Constituent Assembly without reference to the existing legal order is a revolutionary act. The deliberations of such a Constituent Assembly are part of a revolutionary process and it is irrelevant to ask whether it is legal. It is futile to question whether a revolution is legal. A Constituent Assembly may adopt a Constitution. The validity of such a constitution or indeed any constitution does not depend on law—but is based on an "ultimate legal principle" or a "fundamental postulate of a legal system." In non-legal language it may be said that the validity of a Constitution is initially a political fact and legality is derived from acceptance of the Constitution by the people, the courts and the administration.

The Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka is part of a revolutionary process which aims at overthrowing the present²⁷ constitution and drafting and proclaiming a new one. This process was adopted for two reasons: (1) Reform of the present constitution within the existing legal framework posed insuperable legal problems; (2) the Constitution of the Sovereign Republic of Sri Lanka should derive its authority from the people of the country and local legal sources, rather than from an Order in Council and an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

There has been no historical uniformity in the establishment of Constituent Assemblies in other countries. Therefore any country is free to follow its own unique procedure, provided it derives support from the popular will.

The Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka has a moral and political right to function because: it consists of the elected representatives of the people elected in an election in which an exceptionally large proportion (87%) of the population turned but to vote; one of the issues before the people in the election was the setting up of a Constituent Assembly; all political parties, representing the significant strands of political and social thinking in the country at large, associated themselves with the establishment of the Assembly by accepting the Throne Speech in Parliament and voting for the Resolution moved by the Prime Minister in the Assembly itself; the establishment of the Assembly was accompanied by the manifestation of an overwhelming degree of public support and confidence; all sections of the community have submitted memoranda to it.

The Constituent Assembly cannot include in the new Constitution every view put forward. No group can make its participation in the Assembly dependent on the Assembly accepting its proposals. If the Constituent Assembly considers memoranda submitted to it and functions democratically in coming to its decisions, the Constitution must necessarily be accepted by the people, the courts and the administration.



^{27.} Editors' Note: This essay was written at the time the Republican Constitution was being drafted. The reference to the present Constitution is to the Constitutions of 1946 and 1947. The tenses as used by the author have also been retained.

Perspectives of Dispute-Settlement: The Conciliation Boards of Ceylon

By R. K. W. GOONESEKERE

Conciliation Boards¹ are the subject of an article which appears elsewhere² and which deals with the background and working of Conciliation Boards and a great many technical questions arising from the implementation of the Conciliation Boards Act. It is not my intention to cover the same ground in this essay. I propose instead to consider certain broad issues which have been thrown up by the functioning of Conciliation Boards for some time in many areas. I shall deal with three specific questions:

- (1) Are Conciliation Boards courts?
- (2) Does the creation of Conciliation Boards restrict a citizen's right of access to the courts?
- (3) How do Conciliation Boards affect the legal profession?
- (1) The question whether Conciliation Boards are courts may appear to be strange because we all know that they are not. My reason in posing this question is to draw attention to certain salient features of the Conciliation Board which may otherwise be overlooked. Being the creature of a statute with a definite objective in mind one does not make the mistake of expecting the proceedings before a Conciliation Board to be completely informal as in the case of a voluntary association having the same object. Certain provisions of the Conciliation Boards Act make this clear. Section 16 states that proceedings before the Board are deemed to be judicial proceedings within the meaning of the Penal Code. This means that giving or fabricating false evidence at the inquiry is punishable (under section 190 of the Penal Code); to insult or interrupt members of the Board in the discharge of their duties is also an offence (under section 223). The Board is given power to 'inquire' into a dispute, a word which has definite judicial connotations. Most important, the Board is given power to compel the

^{1.} Conciliation Boards consisting of lay, unpaid, citizens, are established under the Conciliation Boards Act, No. 10 of 1958. The object of the Act is to provide a convenient and simply constituted forum for dispute-settlement at no cost and without the attendant bad feeling of a contested action in court. To strengthen this intent the Act also provides that no proceedings shall be instituted in a civil or criminal court without the production of a certificate from the Chairman of the Panel of Conciliators that the dispute was inquired into by a Conciliation Board and that it was not possible to effect a settlement (s. 14).

Goonesekere and Metzger, "The Conciliation Boards Act: Entering the Second Decade,"
 Journal of Ceylon Law, 35 (1971).

attendance of witnesses and others whose presence is considered necessary (section 8). It is this power to issue summons (which is an ornate and impressive document served by the Fiscal or Police) which creates in the minds of the parties and witnesses the impression that they are appearing before a court of law. When as sometimes happens the Board sits on a platform it is not difficult to imagine that proceedings take on the air of judicial proceedings. A provision in the original Act requiring witnesses to give evidence on oath or affirmation tended to confirm this impression but this provision was removed in 1963. Rules of evidence are not to be observed at the inquiry (section 7 (c)) except that witnesses are entitled to all the privileges as in a court of law (section 11).³

On the other hand, we find that members of a Conciliation Board are appointed by the Minister of Justice and not by the Judicial Service Commission. They are deemed to be public servants under the Penal Code (section 16). The proceedings before the Board in spite of section 16 are quite informal and intended to tax neither the parties nor the members of the Board. There are no pleadings as in a civil action nor a plaint as in a criminal prosecution, and only the dispute has to be stated. But the most striking feature about the Conciliation Board is that it lacks the power of adjudication. This makes the Conciliation Board unique in the history of legal institutions in Ceylon (if we leave out the highly specialised Debt Conciliation Board). Even the ancient gansabhava, which has been identified as a classic type of forum for dispute settlement by conciliation and from which the Conciliation Board drew inspiration, was in fact an adjudicating body. Although its object was amicable settlement the gansabhava had the power to impose a decision based on customs and usage. Its successor, the Rural Court, continues to exihibit this characteristic and in any case has been definitely brought within the system of courts of law empowered to deliver judgments.

While even a group like the gansabhava functioned as judges when necessary, the Conciliation Board is not composed of judges in this sense. The efforts of the members are directed towards helping disputants to arrive at a settlement, and where this is not possible the Board's functions come to an end with the issue of a section 14 certificate. This role is in sharp contrast to that of a judge. The latter operates at the level of legal rules and principles and his task is to discover the appropriate rules, to apply them to the conflict before him and arrive at a conclusion as to which of the parties is right. The value of his decision or judgment as putting an end to the dispute would depend on a number of factors—the authority of the judge, his impartiality, the power of the court to enforce obedience, the parties' respect for the rules and their desire to comply with the judgment.

It is not clear in what manner this last provision is likely to interpreted by the Boards, whose members are, it can be expected, innocent of the law of evidence.

The judge is not usually concerned with the interests of the parties or how the decision will affect them. Sometimes he may allow this sentiment to influence him but it will operate extra-judicially. Conciliation is different, for what the mediator seeks to achieve is the reconciliation of the parties by appealing, not to the rights and wrongs of the dispute, but to the real interests of the parties, or to canons of reasonableness and justness. In Ceylon it is not a common practice for parties to a dispute to meet for the purpose of arriving at an amicable settlement by the process of give and take. It is in the absence of reconcilement that conciliation which requires a third party becomes meaningful. The role of the third party in conciliation proceedings is different from that of an arbitrator. The latter is a person to whom the parties submit their dispute and who gives a decision on the merits. He performs a quasi-judicial function (see e.g. arbitration under Industrial Disputes Act). The third party who is a mediator however functions in a lower key; he helps the parties to reach an agreement. Conciliation Boards belong to this latter category and their object is to make the good offices of a neutral third party readily available to disputants.

How does the Conciliation Board discharge its role as mediator? Apart from ordering an inquiry into the dispute the Act is silent as to how the Board should proceed. The word 'inquiry' to describe the Board's function is unfortunate for it conceals its real function which is to "make every effort to induce such parties to settle such dispute" (section 12 (1)). In mediation the third party does not play a passive part and therefore the Conciliation Board may suggest the terms for reconcilement and work on the parties, minds as to where their common interest lies, or what is the just or decent thing for one party to do. It is inevitable that compromise solutions have the greatest chance of success but there is nothing to prevent the Board bringing pressure to bear on one side only. The success of all conciliation efforts lies in the confidence which the mediator can inspire in the parties. His status and prestige and ability to command respect are important considerations.

As already shown where the conciliation efforts fail the proceedings before the Board must terminate. The Act does not give the Board the power to decide on the merits and in this respect the Boards differ from the Rural Courts. The Rural Court, like the Village Tribunal and the gansabhava before it, although set up "to endeavour by all lawful means to bring the litigant parties to an amicable settlement, and to abate, prevent or remove, with their consent, the real cause of quarrel between them" (Rural Courts Ordinance s.23), has the power to render a decision binding on the parties. This dual authority has proved to be a failure for it has been the experience of the Presidents of Rural Courts that whenever they have tried to procure a settlement and failed, the resulting judgement has been viewed by the unsuccessful party as biased. Naturally, Presidents have

increasingly in recent years viewed their role as mediators with misgiving and make only half-hearted attempts at settlements. This confirms the view of a Scandinavian jurist that it is difficult to combine the role of the judge and the role of the mediator in a satisfactory way, and "By mediating one may weaken the normative basis for a later judgement and perhaps also undermine confidence in one's impartiality as a judge." Conciliation Boards are not courts of law nor are they courts of equity because even the latter conjure the application of norms by a judge.

Since Conciliation Boards are clearly not courts it is unfortunate if they should create this impression in the minds of the simple litigant (and the equally naive Board member) for it engenders the wrong attitude towards conciliation proceedings. It must be remembered that in Ceylon anyone in the position of a judge is accorded great respect and treated deferentially. The very limited scope given to Conciliation Boards in conflict resolving, on the other hand, is deliberate for there is no attempt to undermine the authority of the courts as the ultimate body with power of adjudication. The original Act was based on this scheme but an amendment in 1963 was responsible for blurring the somewhat simple picture of the Conciliation Board in the framework of the carefully graded systems of courts which were established by the British as an index of their passion for justice. Previously it appears to have been assumed that settlements agreed upon by both sides would be honoured by them. Indeed it would be correct to say that this is basic to the idea of conciliation. No provision was therefore made for enforcement of settlements although surprisingly there was provision for repudiation of a settlement by a party (section 13). This could be explained as confirming the view expressed above that there was no intention to oust the regular courts, so that persons who had second thoughts about a settlement were not prevented from recourse to a court of law. By the 1963 amendment provision was made for settlements, unless repudiated, to acquire the status of decrees of courts (section 13 (3). This was an important provision altering significantly the impact of Conciliation Board on the legal structure. It elevated the nature of the proceedings before the Board, and in particular the successful outcome of its mediation by investing it with the quality of a legal conclusion. The implications of this will be considered later. What is most significant is that a settlement drawn by laymen who are supposedly not looking backwards at the events leading to the dispute but forwards at establishing a harmonious relationship between the parties at the level of their interests should be given a force which is reserved for an entirely different kind of decision. In addition it must be noted that although the court in which a settlement is filed can be compelled to use its powers to enforce the settlement it does not appear to have any power to scrutinise the terms of the settlement.

Thorstein Eckhoff, "The Mediator, the Judge, and the Administrator in Conflict Resolution," Acta Sciologica, Vol. 10 (1966).

(2) Does the creation of Conciliation Boards restrict the citizen's right of access to the courts?

Judicial opinion whenever expressed has been in total agreement with the object of the legislation. viz., cutting down wasteful litigation. Even Alles J. who has consistently sought to minimise the impact of Conciliation Boards (see Wickramaratchi v. I. P., Nittambuwa (1968) 71 N.L.R. 121, Nonahamy v. Halgrat Silva (1970) 73 N.L.R. 110 (dissentiente) Wijetunga v. Violet Perera (1971) 74 N.L.R. 107) has referred to the Conciliation Boards Act as a 'salutary piece of legislation' (Wickremaratchi's case). But the same Judge expressed uneasiness, which may be more universally shared, if unexpressed, over the danger of Conciliation Boards curtailing a citizen's right to seek redress in a court of law, that they constitute an erosion of judicial power (Wickremaratchi's case). By contrast, the Chief Justice was inclined to take a more optimistic view and saw the Conciliation Boards as imposing only a slight restraint on litigants which may be to their ultimate advantage, (Nonahamy's case).

The latter view is consistent with the simple provisions of the Act which as pointed out above contemplate neither adjudication nor forced settlements. What is envisaged is that a dispute will be promptly inquired into with a view to reconciling the parties and that if this is not possible that a section 14 certificate will equally promptly be issued to enable the parties to go to court. It must be conceded that in practice this procedure is capable of misuse and abuse. There could be a delay in a dispute being referred by the Chairman to a Board (see e.g., de Silva v. Ambawatte (1968) 71 N.L.R. 348); what is worse, even if it is clear that one party is not amenable to a settlement, proceedings before the Board may be unduly protracted and the issue of a section 14 certificate deliberately delayed. In these events the possibility of a denial of speedy access to the courts is real and would cause more heartburn and frustration than the original complaint.

The root cause of malfunctioning of the scheme could be that conciliators do not properly appreciate their role and take every failure to bring about a settlement as a personal defeat. Such thinking can lead to Board members going beyond the permitted limits of mediating by skilfull inducement of settlement to forcing settlements on unwilling parties. The Chairman of one panel is known to have boasted that he enjoyed 100 per cent success because he summoned the parties to his home at 9 p.m. and if they were unwilling to settle he did not let them go but laid by the inquiry ostensibly to give them more time to reflect. By 2 a.m. even the most recalcitrant party was willing to settle!

There is only one way to counter this trend and that is by proper instructions given to conciliators not to regard each settlement chalked up by them as an index of their usefulness, although from a statistical point of view this may be correct. Mediation works best where both parties

are interested in a settlement when they will cooperate actively in finding a solution. Where mediation consists of exerting undue pressure on one party it defeats itself because an important characteristic of a mediator—impartiality—is invariably lost.

Another question which conciliators should ask, or receive instruction in, is whether they should use known, or vaguely understood, rules of law in the settlement of disputes. Undoubtedly there can be an advantage in referring to legal rules because the party against whom the legal rule operates can be made to drop an unreasonable attitude; conversely, even where a legal rule favours one party an appeal can be made to him not to insist on his legal rights but to temper them by other valid considerations. Compromises are helped this way. It is obvious however that, in the wrong hands, playing with legal rules in this fashion can be a dangerous business. It can turn conciliator into a judge who will use his little knowledge of the law and his position to browbeat ignorant parties into accepting settlements which are to his satisfaction sound in law. The danger is real in Ceylon because, however intricate the law may be, there are many persons in the village and in the town who profess to "know" the law, particularly land law, and who are able to sound convincing to the uninitiated. Even the parties may refer to legal norms and invoke their application to the dispute. Here too the conciliator should be on his quard against being drawn into an argument on the legal merits of a party's case. If he allows himself to be overly influenced by what he considers to be the rights and wrongs of the dispute under the law there is another danger, namely, he will render himself incapable of functioning as a conciliator. When therefore the parties dispute the correctness or applicability of legal norms, the conciliator should clearly adopt another approach, perhaps by referring to other norms. He should not substitute himself in place of a court or create in the parties the impression that the settlement he propounds contains a legal pronouncement. The whole point of conciliation is to create the belief that compromise is the better solution of disputes than the strict application of legal rules.

While this is generally true it has to be recognised that there are disputes which are more properly resolved only by a judicial decision. Such cases are best left to the courts. Unfortunately it does not appear that a Conciliation Board is given this power to terminate the proceedings on the ground that the dispute is not suitable for conciliation. The only remedy would be for the Board to suggest to one or both parties not to reach a settlement!

In the case of Conciliation Boards what is difficult to fit into the ideal of conciliation is the provision relating to judicial enforcement of settlements. At one and the same time it encourages and predicates the use of legal norms and can create in the parties the expectation of a judicial resolvement of the dispute. The other provision enabling unilateral repu-

diation of settlements while it should serve to spotlight the limitations of conciliation, is however not generally known, or if known, its function is not fully appreciated.

It is in the light of all these possibilities that one should examine the recent decisions of the Supreme Court on the effect of the jurisdictional bar created by section 14. The decision in Fernando v. Fernando (1971) 74 N.L.R. 57 implies that a section 14 certificate is not something that a court can insist on at the time plaint is filed, and that a defendant who does not raise an objection to jurisdiction in time is deemed to waive it. In effect this means that going through the conciliation process is not obligatory on a plaintiff. Gunawardene v. Jayawardene (1971) 74 N.L.R. 248 while following this went further and held that even where defendant takes objection, thereby intimating to court a possible jurisdictional defect to the action, it will not bar the court from entering a valid decree in terms of a settlement agreed upon by the parties. To compel parties at this stage to go before a Conciliation Board would be nothing short of ridiculous since the dispute has ceased to exist. As Silva J. observed, once the parties had agreed in court to settle the case, "nothing further could have been gained even by recourse to the Conciliation Board."

(3) How do Conciliation Boards affect the legal profession?

One of the notable characteristics in the administration of justice under the British was the place given to the professional classes of lawyers in the courts established by them. Lawyers made their appearance at the same time as the courts and have been prominent throughout the modern period in the adjudication of disputes (although for a long time trial court judges were drawn from a non-lawyer class). As far as parties to a dispute were concerned it was to the independent lawyers that they came for advice and who represented their interests in the various stages of litigation. The gansabhava was still available for the informal hearing of petty disputes but its usefulness waned with the increasing popularity of the courts of law.

The gansabhava was in any case outside the system of British-imposed courts and lawyers were in the main unconcerned with its functioning. They were a little more perturbed when Village Tribunals were established on the model of the gansabhava but with the difference that they were now part of the system of courts. What was disturbing was that for the first time lawyers were expressly excluded from a modern court possessing power to impose decisions affecting the rights of persons. But because of the very limited jurisdiction of the tribunals (or the Rural Courts of today) this did not matter. Besides it later became the practice for lawyers only to be appointed as Presidents of these minor courts.

A more recent development has been for certain disputes to be removed, initially at any rate, from the ambit of the normal courts. Thus we have Rent Control Boards, Debt Conciliation Board, Income Tax Board of Review, Land Acquisition Board of Review, Industrial Courts and Labour Tribunals. In all these cases however the right of a party concerned to be represented at the hearing by a lawyer has not been denied. In fact, some of these tribunals have been recognised as areas of specialised practice for lawyers. We can say that lawyers have got used to the fact that for a variety of reasons certain kinds of disputes are considered more suitably disposed of outside the regular courts or by the application of norms which are not legal norms.

Conciliation Boards however are quite different. There is absolutely no scope for the lawyer in the proceedings before the Board and practising lawyers are deliberately excluded from appointment to Panels of Conciliators. What was contemplated was that the parties could be induced to lay their dispute before the Board for a hearing without legal assistance on either side. In a number of disputes this is happening and the influence of the lawyer (and I include the judge in this term) as a central figure in dispute-resolving could very well diminish, particularly because of the all-embracing nature of the Boards' jurisdiction when compared with Rural Courts and special tribunals. But it is too simple a view to take that because of Conciliation Boards there would no longer be occasion to see a lawyer when one has a legal problem. The business of going to courts for the purpose of obtaining effective redress became less intimidating when there was the comforting presence of a lawyer to look after your interests. Even if litigation was not contemplated, it became a practice to consult a lawyer the reason being that a proctor is often able to suggest a course of action which does not involve litigation. Many more settlements are reached out of court in this manner than is commonly believed. Even after an action is instituted the percentage of settlements is high. mostly due to lawyers' efforts.

It is not at all unusual therefore to find that even in areas where Conciliation Boards have been established a party would consult a proctor before going to the Conciliation Board either to make a complaint or in answer to summons. Where it is the plaintiff who consults him the proctor can still perform his role of conciliator or give other advice pertaining to his problem—the implications of a settlement before the Board, the terms of a safe settlement, etc. The same holds true where he is consulted by the defendant. It may be argued that there would be a tendency to advise against settlements for purely selfish reasons but in the long run such conduct would only hurt the proctor's business. It is also possible for a party to seek the advice of a proctor after a Conciliation Board settlement if he has a doubt as to the wisdom of the terms of settlement. If this is done within the period given for repudiation a lawyer can advise him correctly as to what he should do. It is obvious that settlements induced by the

Board have a greater chance of survival if a party who in any case intends to consult a lawyer does so before he agrees to the settlement.

What should be the lawyer's attitude to Conciliation Boards? Most lawyers would agree that on the whole Conciliation Boards have had a salutary effect in keeping down useless litigation. Some have also had reason to view the Boards in their areas as a hindrance when a dispute is not suitable for settlement or the client insists on getting a judicial decision. Should the proctor institute an action without the requisite certificate? Such a course is practicable only if the other side will not take objection, either because it is of the same view in regard to the dispute or because it is unaware of the establishment of a Conciliation Board in the area and its powers. It is in this context that the tacit understanding prevailing in some bars not to object to the plaintiff's failure to attach a section 14 certificate to the plaint must be considered. Undoubtedly the decisions recognising a party's right to waive the jurisdictional defect arising from the absence of the certificate has given some effectiveness to these "gentlemen's agreements" among lawyers. But a note of caution must be sounded.

A proctor who institutes an action without the certificate runs the risk of being held liable in damages to his client if the action is dismissed on this ground. This may equally be the case if the defendant's proctor deliberately decides not to object. It will not be advisable in future for a proctor to rely on a 'gentleman's agreement' with his colleagues as defendants with increasing awareness of the purpose of Conciliation Boards can insist on the objection being taken. Only a joint decision by the parties themselves renouncing their right to take the dispute to the Conciliation Board can be safely acted on, but even this may be defeated if the Chairman of the Panel takes into his head to refer the dispute to a Conciliation Board, as he is empowered to do. On the whole such agreement between the parties is unlikely in the normal case, or, it may be that its existence could never be established to the satisfaction of the plaintiff's proctor. In the latest decision on the subject, de Kretser J. held that an objection to jurisdiction should be permitted at any point of time before judgment (Jayawickreme v. Nagasinghe (unreported). This certainly gives the defendant the upper hand for he is encouraged to postpone making up his mind on the jurisdictional defect until he can see which way the wind is blowing. Few plaintiffs are going to relish this prospect.

All that this means is that in spite of the Supreme Court decisions all persons with a grievance, big or small, will trek to the Conciliation Board, some of them only to get a certificate which will give them the green light to proceed to a court of law. This will not however be a simple exercise with Boards whose sittings are irregular and hours of business undefined. The person who has the misfortune to be enmeshed in a complicated legal dispute must take his turn not only with others like him but

with the many others whose problems are only 'sub-legal' or 'non-legal.' He must wait patiently while these are painstakingly resolved. The likely delays in this preliminary stage alone may induce in him the desire not merely not to litigate but even to desist from seeking conciliation. He may chose to deal directly with the other party. Whether in the long run this will be advantageous to society must necessarily depend on the nature of the dispute and what form this reaction takes. The very informality of the proceedings of the Conciliation Boards when coupled with their wide jurisdiction may ironically be the weakest point.

Lancarote De Seixas and Madampe: A Portuguese casado¹ in a Sinhalese village

By C. R. DE SILVA

At the end of the sixteenth century,² when the Portuguese came into possession of the south-western sea-board, Madampe proper, was a sizeable village inhabited by about a hundred families.³ Though situated some forty miles to the north of Colombo, the centre of Portuguese power and activity, Madampe was in some respects well located being within seven miles of the important port of Chilaw and within three miles of the sea, over which the Portuguese still had undisputed control.⁴ The village moreover, had twenty two minor villages attached to it, the whole forming the gabadagama⁵ or royal demense of Madampe, an area of approximately sixty square miles.

Evidence seems to indicate that when Portuguese took possession of Madampe its prosperity had declined somewhat from the level it had attained in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. During the hey day of the kingdom of Kotte, Madampe had profited by being on the land trade route from Kotte to the northern kingdom of Jaffna. Madampe was also in proximity to Chilaw and Negombo both of which developed as ports serving the Seven Korales and the western half of the kingdom of Kandy.⁶

The Chilaw-Madampe-Negombo region temporarily gained added economic importance in the mid-sixteenth century when the growing kingdom of Sitawaka, denied of its natural outlets to the sea was forced to

^{1.} A married Portuguese soldier.

The Portuguese seized control of most of the kingdom of Kotte on behalf of the Sinhalese king Dom Joao Dharmapala after the death of Rajasinha of Sitawaka in 1593. They claimed de jure control over this region after the death of Dharmapala in 1597. For further details see T. B. H. Abeysinghe—Portuguese rule in Ceylon 1594-1612. Colombo, 1966. pp. 8-22.

Archivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, codice 280. ff. 15-16 P. E. Pieris has summarised (rather inaccurately in some places) and translated the above codice in The Ceylon Littoral, 1593, Colombo, 1949. Codice 280 reflects the conditions in Kotte in 1614 and forms a part of the four volume tombo or land register completed by Antao Vaz Freire in that year.

^{4.} The Dutch had arrived in the East by 1596 but except for a Danish squadron which anchored off Ceylon's eastern shores in 1618-1619, no naval power challenged the Porguese in force in Ceylon's coastal waters till 1638, although hostile vessels were sighted off and on.

For further information on gabadagam see Ralph Pieris, Sinhalese social organization, Colombo, 1956. pp. 50-55. The twenty out of the twenty two villages mentioned in the tombo of 1614 can still be identified. See map.

Trade between Madampe and Kandyan areas persisted until well into the seventeenth century despite hostility between the Portuguese and the Kandyans. See Archivo Nacional do Torre de Tombo-Livros das Moncoes 45, f. 354.

divert its foreign trade through this region. However, the fall of Sitawaka, Portuguese hostility towards the king of Kandy, and Sinhalese resistance to the Portuguese in the Seven Korales, gradually led to a restriction of trade in the area.⁷

A more significant pointer to the economic decline of the Madampe area is the abandonment of cultivable land. The Portuguese *tombo* of 1614 records 122 *amunas*⁸ of paddy land as abandoned. It is almost certain that some of these lands were abandoned during the early years of Portuguese rule viz. 1597-1613 when Sinhalese resistance was particularly strong in this area. However, the process of abandoning land had started much earlier for 20 *amunas* at Tinipitiya are recorded as having been forested since the 1550's. 11

Nevertheless, even in the early seventeenth century, Madampe remained a relatively prosperous area. The total area of paddy land abandoned during the previous century was but a fraction of the 946 amunas still being regularly cultivated, though the seven fold yield was somewhat lower than in other parts of south-west Ceylon. The decline in paddy cultivation must in some degree have been offset by the increase in the plantation of coconut. Evidence in the tombo indicates that the coconut tree had been known to the inhabitants for a very long period before 1600. On the other hand until about the sixteenth century the number of trees planted would have been barely sufficient to pay royal dues and provide for subsistance.

- 7. According to the tombo of Kotte prepared by Jorge Frolim de Almeida in 1599 the revenues of the port of Negombo were at least double those of Colombo. De Almeida further states '...se diz q em tempo de Rajo era este porto o principal de Redimento e q rendia tres vezas mais.' (Archivo Nacional de Torre de Tombo, Lisbon, Manuscritos de Convento de Graca, tomo 6D. pp. 335-336. Within twenty years the situation was reversed. The customs revenue of Negombo fell, from three or four thousand pardaos to two thousand pardaos while those of Colombo rose to well over six thousand pardaos. (Filmoteca Ultrmarina Portuguesa, Lisbon, Livros das Moncoes 19D. 33/2-5; Biblioteca Publica Eborênse, Evora, GR Arm. V-VI. 14-5.f.169; Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisbon. 51-V-44.f.23v; Archivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Livros das Moncoes 6.f. 258)
- 8. An amuna equals five bushels of paddy or the extent sown by five bushels of paddy. The figures for paddy cultivation in Madampe given in P. E. Pieris, The Ceylon Littoral, 1593, page 19 are inaccurate.
- 9. AHU 280. ff. 15-25,
- Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo (captain-general of Ceylon, 1594-1612) is known to have devastated much of the Seven Korales in an attempt to regain it in 1596-1601 and 1603-1612. T. Abeysinghe 32; C. R. de Silva, The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638. Colombo 1972 p. 31.
- 11. AHU codice 280. f. 22v. It could be noted that much of the abandonment of land may be traced to the era of the conflict between Sitawaka on the one hand and the Portuguese sponsored kings of Kotte on the other.
- 12. AHU 280. ff. 15-25. Paddy yields as recorded in the Portuguese tombos of Kotte vary between five-fold and ten-fold. In the Madampe region the cultivation of dry grains was also important, 46 amunas and one pela being devoted to them in the area. Other items of food included white jaggery, curd and ghee. See P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593 pp. 12, 16; History of Ceylon, Vol. I, Part II, (University of Ceylon Press, Colombo, 1960) p. 722.
- 13. P. E. Pieris-The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 18.
- 14. The port regulations for Chilaw which detail the dues to be charged for various quantities of rice, dry grains, arecanut, betle, pepper, cloth, salt, opium and spices make no mention of coconut or coconut oil.

No contemporary estimate of the population of the area is available. The Portuguese *tombo* of 1614 being primarily a land register, mentions persons only in connection with land and/or revenue and thus the total of 617 families recorded may well be an underestimate. In any case the amount of paddy available for consumption by the local inhabitants (once taxes were paid and an allowance made for purposes of barter) could well have sustained a population of about four thousand five hundred people.

The inhabitants themselves included many who had migrated from India since the 13th century.

Some of them had been residents long enough to obtain land grants under the service tenure system. For instance five parea weavers are recorded as having paddy land in the villages of Madampe, Kumbukkana, Puruduwela, Hattiniya and Tinipitiya. The careas pascadores or karawe fishermen were another such group. In Madampe they had not as yet obtained paddy land although the tombo of 1614 records them as having obtained garden land planted with coconut. The twenty chaleas canaleiros or Salagama cinnamon peelers likewise have gardens with coconut but no mud land. There were also small communities of Muslims at Tinipitiya and Kadupiti Koswadiya. The strong Dravidian tinge in the population content is attested to by the fact that five of the thirteen local chieftains who came forward to aid the Portuguese to make the tombo answered to the name of Perumal.

The land tenure arrangements in Madampe while broadly in conformity to the traditional Sinhalese pattern, nevertheless present interesting variations. For example only 23.6% of paddy land was allocated according to service tenure, 1.7% formed nuttettu²⁰ land for the village holder and the vidanes²¹ and, all the rest, some 74.7% of paddy land was cultivated under otu.²² This was a reversal of the normal distribution of

AHU 280, ff.15-16v, 21, 22v. Three others at Wennappuwa, Katuneriya and Nambiratipati had only garden land.

The sixteen karawe families at Galamune and Galahitiyawa possessed sixteen gardens with a total of 1300 coconut trees.

^{17.} Their twenty gardens contained 965 coconut trees. The above imples that either parea weavers preceded the two other groups to Ceylon or were more successful in finding a niche in the local land tenure system.

P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 17. Twenty eight Muslim families owned 1800 coconut trees.

^{19.} Ibid. 9.

Muttettu=land of the king or village holder which had to be cultivated free of charge by
the villagers. For further details on muttettu and other Sinhalese land tenure nomenclature see H. W. Codrington, Ancient land tenure and revenue in Ceylon, Colombo,
1938. pp. 8-30.

^{21.} Vidane was the collector of revenue.

^{22.} Otu, a form of lease under which the cultivator paid a part of the crop to the owner. In Madampe the payment was one amuna of paddy for every amuna sown. If abandoned land are taken into consideration the percentages would be 11.4% abandoned, 66.2% otu, 20.8% service land tenure and 1.4% muttettu.

land in villages in the interior of Kotte where most paddy land was allocated in exchange for services, the *otu* tenure prevailing in only a few fields.²⁸

The lack of evidence hinders any assessment of the reasons for this variation. Perhaps the *otu* fields were those opened up by more recent immigrants.²⁴ Alternatively they might have been lands abandoned by their cultivators (*malapalu* and *nilapalu* lands) later converted into *otu* fields by the king or the village holder. Whatever the causes, this development had important effects, for now the nexus between the village holder and the villager was more the payment of dues (albeit in kind) than the performance of services.

Another curious feature in Madampe before Portuguese occupation was the unusually high tax on coconut trees in the region. The Portuguese tombo of 1614 refers to 'the very ancient duty of giving the lord one crop out of three collected every year.'25 If the total annual produce of one coconut tree is estimated at fifteen nuts, 26 this involved a payment of five nuts per tree. Apart from this the inhabitants had to pay an additional nut per tree to supply coconut oil for the lord. This stands in contrast to the standard pol aya or coconut tax paid in other parts of the country of one fanam²⁷ per ten coconut trees which is really the equivalent of one nut per tree.²⁸ Even when land with coconut trees standing was granted the practice had been merely to charge double the pol aya.²⁰

The combination of an unusually large proportion of *otu* fields and a high tax on coconut made Madampe an exceptionally lucrative area to possess. Although it had traditionally been a *gabadagama* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the king of Kotte began the practice of assigning this valuable area to one of their kinsmen at pleasure.³⁰ The earliest known of these holders was Taniya Vallabahu, a son of

^{23.} See P. E. Pieris on the Kiraveli Pattuwa in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XXXVI. Part 4. 1946.

Madampe however, was by no means an isolated case. Other instances of large proportions of otu lands were found in the coastal districts. For example see P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593 pages 5, 88 on Velihane (belonging to the Hindu temple at Munneswaram) and Bambaranda. But these cover areas of smaller size.

^{24.} Unfortunately the tombo does not mention the castes of those who cultivated otu land except in one case when it records that only the salagama people cultivated the 37 amunas of otu at Haligama.

^{25.} P. E. Pieris-The Ceylon Littoral, 1596. p. 18.

^{26.} This figure given in the Portuguese tombo of 1614 was perhaps an underestimate.

In the sixteenth century approximately seven fanams equalled one larim. By 1614 the
value of the fanam had fallen so that twenty fanams equalled one larim. For further details
see H. W. Codrington—Ceylon coins and currency, Colombo, 1924.

^{28.} P. E. Pieris-The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. pp. 35, 56.

^{29. &#}x27;E coando el Rey dava algua de reRa q tinha ja palmras lhes pagava de foro dobrado q era de cada dez palmr as dous fanoes...' ANTT Manuscritos da Convento da Graca, tomo 6D. page 330.

^{30.} P. E. Pieris-The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 10.

King Vira Parakramabahu of Kotte (1477-1496).³¹ This energetic prince was apparently able to transform Madampe into a semi-independent principality. He built a palace for himself on a small hillock near the modern township of Madampe³² and the area was held by his descendents for two further generations. Taniya Vallabahu's grandson, Vidiya Bandara eventually inherited Madampe and rose to great power by marriage to the daughter of King Bhuvaneka Bahu of Kotte, (1521-1557)²³.

The growth of Madampe as the centre of an autonomous principality was checked by the political upheavals of the mid-sixteenth century. The Portuguese had by this time won a position of great power and influence in Kotte, thanks to the disunity among the Sinhalese. Seeing in Vidiya Bandara the main obstacle to their complete dominance over Kotte. the Portuguese tried to imprison him but the chieftain made good his escape and tried to rouse the country against the foreigner. The Portuguese however soon regained the initiative, for not only did they retain their hold on Vidiya's elder son, Dom João Dharmapala, who was the Portuguese sponsored king of Kotte but they also eventually obtained the assistance of their erstwhile enemy Mayadunne of Sitawaka. Defeated by the combined forces of his enemies Vidiya Bandara eventually returned to the area that had traditional loyalties to his family. Unfortunately for him, he was swiftly followed by the forces of Sitawaka under Rajasinha. son of Mayadunne and with the final rout of Vidiya, Madampe passed into the hands of Sitawaka.84

The area nevertheless continued to be a prized possession. It is known to have yielded a revenue of thirty five thousand fanams about this time. 35

 Rajavaliya (trans., by B. Gunasekera) Colombo, 1900 p. 71; University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XIX. No. 1. April 1961 pp. 10-29; JCBRAS XXVIII, 1920, pp. 36-38.

32. The site of the palace today is part of a coconut estate appropriately known as the Maligawatte Estate. Inhabitants of the area report that pieces of pottery, bricks and the like are regularly unearthed in the neighbourhood. The site itself is approximately one and a half miles south of Madampe (old town) bazaar and is near the Kadupiti Ela. The identification of the site is confirmed by information in a late sixteenth century prose account Alakeswara Yuddhaya (ed. by E. V. Suraweera) Colombo, 1965 which states that Taniya Vallabahu lived at Kadupiti Madampe.

The autonomy gained by the local princes at the time of the advent of the Portuguese to Ceylon is an index of the weakness of the Kotte kingdom.

33. The Portuguese tombo of 1614 is confused on this subject. It mentions that Tribile Pandar (the name by which the Portuguese knew Vidiya Bandara) held Madampe, and then goes on to mention that it was his brother Trigu Pandar who married Samudra Biso, Bhuveneka Bahu's daughter. (P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 10). The tombo of 1599 however makes it clear that the same person held Madampe and married Samudra Biso. In 1619 the Bishop of Cochin commented 'Esta aldea com suas terras foi patrimento dos Reys de Ceilao e ali rezidia el Rey Dom João Pereapandar e com aquellas terra se sustentare sua casa...' (ANTT Livros das Moncoes 16, f. 210v).

34. For further details see Queyroz, The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, trans S. G. Perera, Colombo 1930. pp. 306-326; Rajavaliya 80-86.

Evidence in the Rajavaliya (80-86) Queyroz (318-319) and the Portuguese tombo of 1614 (AHU codice 280. f. 14v) indicate that the Portuguese and King Dharmapala gave up claims to the Seven Korales to Sitawaka in exchange for support against Vidiya Bandra. Thus the year 1555 would mark an important stage in the rise of the power of

^{35.} ANTT Manuscritos do convento da Graca, tomo 6D. p. 381.

Rajasinha showed his appreciation of the value of this region by conferring it on his brother, Prince Timbiripola. On the death of Prince Timbiripola in 1581, Rajasinha resumed the *gabadagama* and it remained a crown possession of the kings of Sitawaka until the conquest of that kingdom by the Portuguese in 1593 on behalf of Dom João Dharmapala, king of Kotte.³⁶

The restoration of Madampe to Dharmapala was in a sense a return of the family of Taniya Vallabahu to power in their ancestral domain, but Dharmapala was already aged and being without an heir, was continually pestered by both Portuguese and Sinhalese for various grants of lands and revenue in recognition of their services to him. Madampe was eved by many, including the much feared leader of Sinhalese forces, Simão Correa but on Dharmapala's demise in 1597 the gabadagama was granted to Bamunugama Appuhamy who apparently had a valid grant from Dharmapala. The matter did not end there for Simão Correa had his rival assassinated within a month and by 1598 obtained possession of Madampe for a quit rent of five hundred xerafims a year. 87 Simão Correa probably considered that he would be able to get away with such a high-handed act as he had the confidence of the captain-general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo. 38 Correa however, had reckoned without Dom Pedro Manoel, a Sinhalese nobleman who had also extracted a grant of Madampe from King Dharmapala before he died. 39 Dom Pedro appealed to the count of Vidigueira, viceroy of India 40 who promptly decreed that Madampe should be handed over by Correa to Dom Pedro. Dom Pedro came into possession on 1st June 1599.41

It was at this stage that Lancarote de Seixas Cabreira entered the scene. Little is known of his origins and early life. He apparently left his homeland for the East early in his life and like most Portuguese who wandered about in search of riches in the sixteenth century, he was never to return to Europe. Exponentime after reaching India, de Seixas married the daughter of a *casado* of Cochin. For the next twenty years Cochin was his home. Here, de Seixas, like other Portuguese settlers, no doubt made

^{36.} P. E. Pieris-The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 11.

^{37.} Ibid, page 11; ANTT Manuscritos do convento da Graca tomo 6D. p. 351.

^{38.} Abeysinghe, p. 81.

^{39.} Dharmapala in his last years either due to dotage or to satisfy all his followers apparently granted the same area to a number of persons.

Dom Francisco da Gama, a descendent of Vasco da Gama. He was the viceroy of India from 1597-1600.

^{41.} ANTT Manuscritos do convento da Graca tomo 6D. p. 381. On the 29th of November 1599 Jorge Frolim de Almeida, vedor of Ceylon commented as follows, "... E o Sor Conde Vissorey deu esta reRa por despacho Somie a DomP" o nal, e CoRe com el a de prim^{ro} de Junho de 599 em diante e nao declara ainda o q a de pagar de foro..."

^{42.} There is no evidence of his birth in Portugal but his numerous enemies never sneered at him for being a 'natural da India'.

^{43.} Simancas SP. 1523.f.3.

money in private trade but he also shone as a soldier. In 1597 he was specially rewarded for services in an expedition conveying aid to the Portuguese fort at Malacca. In 1599 he participated in the final battle against the Kunjalis, the admirals of the Zamorin of Calicut who had contested the Portuguese control of the Arabian Sea for almost a century.⁴⁴

It is not clear how de Seixas first obtained possession of Madampe. What probably did happen was that de Seixas petitioned the viceroy giving a record of his services and asking for Madampe as a reward. Whatever the method adopted the result was that Aires de Saldanha, the new viceroy of India (1600-1604) granted Madampe and its annexures to Lancarote de Seixas for 'three lives'. 45

Dom Pedro Manoel protested vigorously once more. His petitions were accompanied by those of another Sinhalese, Dom João Barreto who also presented a decree from his uncle King Dharmapala granting him the gabadagam of Madampe. However, it proved much more difficult to obtain justice against a Portuguese than against a Sinhalese. De Seixas apparently had powerful friends in Goa. He acted vigorously to maintain and strengthen his claims, making several journeys to Goa to present his point of view to the officials of the High Court (or Relação) of Goa to which the case was referred. He secured the withdrawal of the claims of Dom Pedro Manoel by promising to nominate him as his successor. De Seixas also promptly brought his family as well his wife's parents from Cochin and settled them in Madampe thus establishing de facto occupation. As the higher revenue and judicial officials of Goa admitted, in the face of evidence presented it was difficult to justify the grant of Madampe to de Seixas, but in view of the disturbed conditions in Ceylon⁴⁶ it was considered much better to keep a valuable area such as Madampe under a Portuguese than a Sinhalese and so Madampe remained in the hands of de Seixas. It was a measure of de Seixas' far sightedness that he did not rest content with this legal victory. Soon after he made a private agreement with Dom João, by which the Sinhalese nobleman handed over all his claims to the area to de Seixas.47

The achievement of de Seixas was that not merely did he take possession of Madampe in the face of contenders with far better claims than himself but he maintained his hold on the area till about the time of his

Ibid. f. 5v-6. In the battles against the Kunjalis died João de Seixas, brother of Lancarote de Seixas.

^{45.} Ibid f. 5v. It is not known whether de Saldhanha was ignorant of his predecessor's decree or whether he decided to ignore it.

A grant for 'three lives' implied the right to hold the village till death and to transmit it to two others in succession.

The rebellions of Akaragama Aratchi and Domingos Correa in the period 1594-1598
must certainly have inspired considerable distrust of the Sinhalese among the Portuguese.

^{47.} Simancas SP 1523 ff.4-4v; ANTT Livros das Moncoes. 16.f.211; 24.f.21v.

death in 1632.48 Continuous possessions of a village for such a long period was unusual in seventeenth century Ceylon for successive captains general and superintendants of revenue had developed the fine art of depriving both Portuguese and Sinhalese village holders of their possessions on relatively flimsy excuses in order to reward their relatives and favourites. 49 It was all the more creditable because de Seixas had a highly inflammable temper. He had open quarrels with two captains-general of Ceylon— Dom Jorge de Albuquerque (1621-1623) and Dom Filipe Mascarenhas (1630-1631).50 In disputes with lesser officials, de Seixas did not hesitate to use violence. In late 1621 he and a party of his supporters are known to have manhandled the ouvidor or judge and locked him in his jail house. 51 Nine years later de Seixas, when serving as the superintendent of revenue for the second time, waylaid another ouvidor João de Sequeira de Albuquerque who was killed in the scuffle.52 The intervention of de Seixas in the elections to the local Santa Casa de Miseriocordia53 in 1621 is known to have led to the death of one soldier and the wounding of several others in the clashes that followed.54

On the other hand de Seixas also had the knack of making influential friends. Antão Vaz Freire, superintendent of revenue (1608-1616) commended de Seixas in his letters to Lisbon. 55 Constantino de Sa de Noronha (captain-general of Ceylon, 1618-1621 and 1623-1630) thought so highly of him that he recommended de Seixas as his interim successor. 56 The key to the success of de Seixas was perhaps an innate sense of timing. He intervened at crucial moments and made an excellent impression on those who counted. For example when Dom Francisco de Menezes (captain-general of Ceylon, 1612-1614) started to rebuild the walls of the Colombo fort, de Seixas was the first casado to offer assistance. 57 Such promptitude did not go unrewarded. When the Mesa de Reparticão 58 set up according to

^{48.} ANTT Livros das Moncoes 30.f.183.

Madampe was resumed by the state as a gabadagama in 1632.

AHU Caixa VI. 2.11.1618; ANTT Livros das Moncoes 55, ff. 29, 114, 192; Livro 18.f. 244; C. R. de Silva, pp. 61, 136.

Assentos do conselho do Estado da India (ed. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar) Bastora, 1953. Vol. I. p. 353; Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, Fundo Geral 939 f. 39a; C. R. de Silva, p. 61.

 [&]quot;... o dito Lancarote de Seixas ajudado de outro homes seu parcial e tomando pollo cabecao o ouvidor o levou ao tronco e meteo nelle..." viceroy to the king of Portugal, 18.2.1622 (ANTT Livros das Moncoes 15.f.191).

^{52.} Ajuda 51-VIII-51.f.269-270; Assentos I. 299; Filmoteca, Livros das Moncoes 14. 114/3-5. In the struggle de Sequeira is said to have hit de Seixas with a bamboo whereupon de Seixas' servant stabbed him with a small lance.

The Holy House of Mercy—primarily a charity organisation which had branches all over Portuguese territories.

^{54.} ANTT Livros das Moncoes 15.f.191.

^{55.} AHU Caixa IV. 24.11.1615; AHU Caixa VI. 2.11.1618.

^{56.} C. R. de Silva, p. 116.

^{57.} AHU Caixa IV. 24.11.1615.

^{58.} Also called the junta. It was made up of the captain-general, the vedor da fazenda or superintendent of revenue and one other person. Its decisions were subject to confirmation by the king of Portugal.

royal instructions to deal with the allocation of villages met in 1614, it confirmed the grant of Madampe to Lancarote de Seixas, thus giving him a better title to the area than he ever had before. By 1617 de Seixas was appointed captain of the fort of Colombo. A year later he was unanimously chosen by the viceroy-in-council in Goa as the vedor da fazenda of Ceylon.

Similarly when de Seixas was under a cloud for his high handed activities in the early 1620's, he bounced back into favour by joining the incoming viceroy, count of Vidigueira (1623-1628) with a ship equipped at his own cost to fight the Anglo-Dutch squadron blockading Goa. Once again he was promptly rewarded, this time with the post of provedor mor dos contos (chief accountant) at Goa which post he held for a year. 62

De Seixas needed all the goodwill he had built up in combating the threat to his possession of Madampe which arose at the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century. This threat came not from any individual but rather from the Portuguese state itself. During the twenty years that followed the death of the last Sinhalese king of Kotte, the Portuguese administration was plagued with a recurrent deficit.63 As the expenses of the army rations formed a substantial part of the state expenditure, the authorities in Lisbon became convinced that if twelve of the best villages be set apart to meet this need the financial problems of Portuguese might well be solved. Unfortunately for de Seixas, Madampe was one of the areas recommended as most suitable for this purpose by the Bishop of Cochin in 1619 and for the next thirteen years, de Seixas had to spend much of his energy in preventing this step being taken. In this sphere he had the support of powerful vested interests, spear-headed by the Jesuits who feared the loss of their land at Munneswaram. No captain-general proved willing to challenge such opposition and therefore until the Kandyan invasion of the lowlands in 1630-1631 dislocated the pattern of landholding, His Catholic Majesty's most loyal subjects held on to their land,. at the expense of His Majesty's interests.64

^{59.} Simancas SP 1523.f.3.

^{60.} Ceylon Literary Register, Third series, Vol. II. p. 536.

^{61.} Documentos Remittidos da India ou Livros das Moncoes, Lisbon, 1884, Vol. IV. p. 221. The king had requested the viceroy-in-council to choose one of two names.

^{62.} Simancas SP 1523 ff.4v.6; ANTT Livros das Moncoes 17, f.59; 19.f.70v.

^{63.} Abeyasinghe, pp. 182-183.

^{64.} Other individuals who stood to lose included the captain-major-of-the-field (Dorawaka, Ulapane and Mandamarawita) the disava of the Seven Korales (Talampitiya), and the disava of Sabaragamuwa (Opanaiyake). The Bishop's list also included Gampaha, Gilimale, Visinave and the following unidentified villages—Apuvita, Uramala Kandangora, Cotapeti, Bandaravato, Anabulumtana, Cadangora and Canangora. João de Costa Perestello (former factor) in addition recommended the villages of Weligama, Urubokka, Katuwana, Bambaranda, Maggona-Paiyagala, Walgama, Wewalgamuwa and two other unidentified villages.

ANTT Livros das Moncoes 16,f.208; 23,f.237; 20,f.205; 24,f.21; 26,f.333; 28,f.184; 31,f.259; 45,f.354; AHU Caixa VI. (1619); Bib. Naç. FG 1983,ff.119v 125; Filmoteca LM 13a 11/5; LM 15 50/2-3; 54/3-4; LM 14 117/1-4.

From the point of view of de Seixas there is little doubt that the struggle was worth it. Before he obtained Madampe, de Seixas, despite his twenty years of service, was a relatively little-known soldier. Two decades of village ownership in Ceylon made him one of the wealthiest and most influential casados in Ceylon. Dom Frei Luis de Brito, Bishop of Cochin maintained in 1619, that Madampe yielded 6000 pardaos a year. Although this was obviously an exaggerated estimate designed to make the state official covetous of Madampe, it is very likely that the total gross revenue of 1010 xerafims recorded in tombo of 1614 was an underestimate. 65 In any case, the value of Madampe to de Seixas was by no means confined to land revenue alone. 66 It was the source from which he obtained supplies of cinnamon which he exported from the island in violation of the regulations imposing a royal monopoly of trade. 67 It was the base for a profitable trade with Kandy in cloth, salt and opium. 68 It was finally the stepping stone to such lucrative posts as that of the superintendent of revenue. 89 In short, Madampe was a key factor in the rise of Lancarote de Seixas to prominence.

The impact of de Seixas on Madampe is less easy to gauge but it should be borne in mind that after Lancarote de Seixas entered public life by acquiring high office in Ceylon he was to a large extent an absentee landlord. In fact even during the first sixteen years of the seventeenth century de Seixas was by no means continuously resident at Madampe. He is known to have visited Goa, Cochin, Jaffna and the eastern coast of Ceylon at various different times. During the periods 1617-1624 and 1628-1632 there is sufficient evidence to indicate that he did not have an opportunity to reside at Madampe for any long period. In his absence the affairs at Madampe would have been managed by one of his sons. Vevertheless, de Seixas was a man who had very definite views on most subjects and as

^{65.} De Seixas argued that the estimates in the tombo were just, pointing out that in the last years of King Dharmapala's reign Madampe yielded hardly 900 xerafims a year. On the other hand it is known to have yielded about 1250 xerafims to Rajasinha of Sitawaka. In 1628 de Seixas obtained a grant of Chilaw for life. This would have enhanced his private income considerably.

Simancas SP 1523 ff.3v.5; ANTT Manuscritos do convento de Graca tomo 6D p. 381; AHU Codice 280.f.15-25. ANTT Livros das Moncoes 16.ff.210v, 371.

According to the tombo of 1614 this after payment of quit rent, amounted to 876 xerafims,
 3 larins a year.

^{67.} AHU Codice 33.ff.16-17; Abeyasinghe p. 149.

^{68.} AHU Codice 33.f.17.

^{69.} The salary of the vedor was 4000 xerafims a year. The perquisites and fringe benefits came to another 2000 xerafims at least. De Seixas first tenure in this post roused great opposition as is seen from the following extracts of a letter sent to Lisbon, '...nunca convemq o vorda fzda seja casado em Ceilão por q se he casado ali roubesse mais de 15,000 cruzados ha fazda de V Mgde pa elle seus parentes a amigos...' (AHU codice 33.f.22).

^{70.} Simancas SP 1523 f.3.

De Seixas had at least two sons—Francisco de Seixas Cabreira and Lançarote de Seixas Jr., (Simancas SP 1523 f.3; AHU codice 445.f.41v).

^{72.} See for example his comments on policy towards Kandy, "...Eu lhe ouvi dizer q se sua Mage queria ser Senhor desta ilha q nao convinha aver nella outro Rey ne Sor eu digo que n h u home esta seguro q sua casa morando seu inimigo dentro della..." (Ajuda 51-VIII-f.224v).

such he was unlikely to leave the running of his domains wholly to others for any long period. He realized the need to keep the local inhabitants contented but he also strongly opposed giving them any measure of independence.⁷⁸

One of the spheres in which de Seixas made a definite impact on Madampe was that of coconut cultivation. In the first place, as Hapu Naide testified before Antão Vaz Freire in 1614, Lancarote de Seixas by an agreement with the local inhabitants commuted the old tax of 'one crop in three' for one nut per tree apart from which he received an additional nut per tree for coconut oil. 74 This sharp reduction in dues would undoubtedly have stimulated a further expansion in coconut. Lancarote de Seixas himself was active in planting coconut. When he took over the village there had been 11 muttettu gardens with a total of under 600 coconut trees. By 1614 he had four new gardens cleared and planted with a further 1200 trees. He claimed to have planted another 1200 trees by 1630. De Seixas was perhaps only accelerating an existing trend, for coconut cultivation had been spreading on the south-west coast of Ceylon during the two preceding centuries.75 However, his work in this respect acquires significance, for interest in agricultural pursuits among Portuguese in Ceylon has been little known.

The impact of the regime of de Seixas on paddy cultivation cannot be properly assessed for lack of evidence. Jorge Frolim de Almeida unfortunately omits to give the paddy yield for Madampe in his tombo of 1599 and thus the only set of figures we have are those from Antão Vaz Freire's tombo of 1614. On the whole however, evidence seems to indicate that the level of production of 1614 was maintained if not increased at least up to 1630.76 The Bishop of Cochin gives a glowing picture of the prosperity of Madampe in 1619 '...he hua aldea q tem en sy muittas e mais de 6 legoas a milhor terra q ha em Ceilão e tem annexas m'as e campos e mattos de canella, pimenta, areca, a m'as palmos de fruto e outros vaszeas em q se semeao e outors mantimentos a gente da terra gosta...'77 This would seem to indicate that Madampe had escaped the worst of the ravages that affected the Seven Korales at the time of the revolt of Nikapitiya Bandara (1616-1617).78

^{73.} He opposed the grant to the Sinhalese of the right to inherit and bequeath land. Ajudu 51-VIII-40,f,225-225v.

P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 10.
 JCBRAS XIX, 56-63; Simancas SP 1523.f.3-3v.

In 1630 came the Kandyan invasion of the Portuguese territories. This would have led to considerable dislocation.

^{77.} ANTT Livros das Moncoes 16.d.210v. There is however no indication of a spectacular rise in production as occurred in neighbouring Munneswaram under the Jesuits.

^{78.} The rebellion however did effect the neighbourhood of Madampe. At Kammala, on the southern border of Madampe the conversions for 1617-1618 were down to 1/10 their normal figure. At Munneswaram only 7 people were baptized for the whole year. The ruthless suppression of the rebellion is estimated to have left 7000 Sinhalese dead in the Seven Korales. The total population of the region could not have been much over 50,000.

The Portuguese impact on the production of two commercial crops cinnamon and pepper can be calculated with somewhat greater precision. According to the tombo of 1614 the cinnamon peelers of Madampe gave de Seixas twenty bahars of cinnamon in lieu of land held but the regimento given by the viceroy to the incoming vedor Diogo Mendes de Brito in 1639 states that the chaleas of Madampe produce a hundred to a hundred and ten bahars. 79 This five-fold increase in production within twenty five years could not have been made with the existing chalea labour force. As it was in 1614 the Salagama people of Madampe had the very high burden of one bahar per family, 80 and therefore in increasing production de Seixas must have followed the example of de Azevedo who forced people of other castes in the Seven Korales to peel cinnamon. 81 This increase in cinnamon production incidentally reveals another reason why de Seixas wished so much to retain Madampe. Even if the hundred bahars were sold to the Portuguese treasury at the official rate of four or five xerafims a bahar⁸¹ the income accruing to de Seixas would have been substantial. If smuggled to Cochin and sold even at the depressed level of cinnamon prices of the 1620's it would have fetched at least four times that amount. In the face of such profits, it is easy to see how the caste sensibilities of the Sinhalese were often forgotten.

If the story of cinnamon was one of successful adoption of orthodox as well as unorthodox methods to increase production, the history of Portuguese policy towards pepper cultivation, in Madampe as in the rest of Ceylon, was one of the failure of an unimaginative policy. The Portuguese had for long been interested in the stimulation of pepper production in Ceylon partly because pepper could be conveniently packed with cinnamon for export and partly because a secure supply from Ceylon would free the Portuguese from the vagaries of Malabar politics. 83 However, the instruments of policy used by them to attain this objective—compulsory purchase and compulsory cultivation—both ultimately proved ineffective. These policies were orginally proposed in 1599 by Jorge Frolim de Almeida who recommended that villages be granted only on the condition that a specified quantity of pepper is cultivated in them and moreover that

P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 18; ANTT Livros das Moncoes 45, f.352v;
 A bahar is about 500 lbs.

In the mahabadda the highest dues came to about 350 lbs, per land holder. Often the due
was as little as 1/5 of this amount. (See P. E. Pieris—The Ceylon Littoral, 1593. p. 64).

^{81. &#}x27;...pela partes de Negombo tanbe ha m¹a canela e ha m¹os servidores q davao erva para os alefantes do Rey de q tambe tinhao teRas de q vivem a quem a geral Dom Jrmo dazdo os obriga facao canela pois nao ha alifantes pera obrigacao da erva e tambe os cortadores dos matos e campos tem tras de q vivem por isso e pois nao ha ao presente tanta necessidade deste ouvirão tanbe se ocuparem em fazare a canela pera elRey...' ANTT Manuscritos do Convento do Graca tomo 6D. p. 333.

^{82.} P. E. Pieris-The Ceylon Littoral, 1593, p. 18.

⁸³ On the contemporary Malabar pepper trade see Jan Kieniewicz 'The Portuguese factory and trade in pepper in Malabar during the 16th century' in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. VI. No. I (1969).

this pepper be sold to the state at a fixed price. The proposed price was one larim for eight large measures (or 32 Portuguese measures).84

The Portuguese tombo of 1614 laid down a modified version of this scheme. In lands where pepper could be grown, 1/3 of the quit rent had to be paid in pepper within four years. The price offered was rather high—perhaps too high—a larim for every six measures. The result was that the village holders, both Sinhalese and Portuguese, intent on making more money simply confiscated all the pepper in their villages and sold it to the state. This is well illustrated in the case of Madampe where all pepper vines recorded were considered the property of de Seixas. The obvious result was that the Sinhalese farmers ceased the cultivation of pepper. The Portuguese at first tried to counter this by decrees enforcing compulsory cultivation by all classes. For example a proclamation of captain-general Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira laid down that each cully was to plant five pepper vines, each lascarin six, each mayoral seven and each senhor twenty.

Proclamations rarely have as much effect as incentives, but it was only in Constantino de Sa's second term of office (1623-1630) that the Portuguese began to consider giving the peasant a stake in pepper cultivation. De Sa laid down that each official should plant three pepper vines, each nilakaraya four, each mayoral five and each village holder eight. Failure to comply with these requirements was punishable by a fine of five chakrams. De Sa however, did not rely on compulsion alone. He held that land holders should be allowed to keep a part of the produce for consumption and should sell the rest direct to the royal treasury but this last measure proved difficult to enforce, for by this time the village holders had obtained a strong grip on the pepper produced in the villages. The Portuguese, therefore, never obtained the expansion of supply they required.

Within this structure however Lancarote de Seixas did what he could. When he took possession of Madampe there were 80 pepper vines to whose produce he was entitled. During the next twelve years he had a further 238 vines grown. 88 But this was a mere fraction of what could have been produced had the inhabitants been given a share of the profits.

^{84. &#}x27;Nas patentes dos aforametos se pode declarar q semearao pimenta segº a teRa fore venderao por este preco a el Reyou por mais algua cousa em desconto do foro q ouvere de pagar a sMgº por se teRa que dava mta pimenta...' TT. Manuscritos do convento da Graca, tomo 6D. pg. 331.

^{85.} JCBRAS XXXVI page 141; Doc. Rem. II.155-156; Abeyasinghe p. 123; P. da Trinidade Conquista Espiritual do Oriente, Lisboa, 1968. Vol. II p. 20.

^{86.} AHU caixa IV. 20.11.1615; ANTT Livros das Moncoes 22.f.87v; Queyroz p. 1088.

^{87.} AHU caixa 31.f.91.

culle=cooly or labourer, lascarin=native soldier, mayoral=headman, senhor=village holder.

^{88.} AHU codice 280.f.15-25.

It is clear that the greatest Portuguese economic impact on Madampe was therefore in relation to crops which had a commercial value—cinnamon, pepper, coconut and arecanut. ⁸⁹ While in some respects the inhabitants of Madampe may have benefited, ⁹⁰ in others Portuguese policy bore hard on the people. In this respect however, the people of Madampe were perhaps more fortunate than most, for de Seixas was a landlord shrewd enough to know the value of a contented peasantry. Therefore, although the Sinhalese peasants probably did have to toil to build 'huas casas nobres e grandes' they must have also appreciated his interest in the planting of jak, mango and pera trees. ⁹¹

The religious impact on Madampe was probably as significant as the economic one. In this respect however the role of de Seixas was minimal. It was not that he opposed the activities of the missionaries. On the contrary he is known to have actively supported them in other parts of the island but he always remained critical of some of their activities which he perceived had led to the alienation of the people. Per He was also critical of the extensive land grants held by the Jesuits and in 1621 made an unsuccessful attempt to deprive them of their villages in return for which he offered an annual stipend for all Jesuits in the field. Thus, it is likely that missionary activity in Madampe operated, though with his consent and approval, in a manner largely independent of de Seixas.

Madampe was part of the area allocated to the Jesuits soon after their arrival in the island in 1602. In the early years Madampe was looked after by the Jesuit stationed at Chilaw. The village of Madampe itself and Marawila were the original areas of activity. Fr. Emmanuel Barradas claimed that 200 people were converted during the year 1613 in Madampe. Gradually the Christian community grew. A seperate Jesuit priest was stationed at Madampe and awarded an allowance 90 xerafims a year from state funds. He was in charge of three churches in the area—Assumption of Our Lady at Madampe with a congregation of over 1100, the Church of Saint Francis Xavier at Marawila with 650 and the Church of Saint Ambrose at Katuneriya with 230. About half of Madampe's population had embraced the new faith.

On Portuguese policy in relation to arecanut see Abeyasinghe pp. 154-159; C. R. de Silva pp. 207-211.
 It proved to be extremely burdensome to the peasant.

^{90.} For example coconut cultivation.

^{91.} Simanneas SP 1523.f.3.

The above does not necessarily imply a contented populace. There is reason to believe that when the Kandyans invaded the lowlands in 1630, Madampe also joined in revolt against the Portuguese.

^{92.} ANTT Livros das Moncoes 28.f.274; AHU Caixa XII. 6.12.1635.

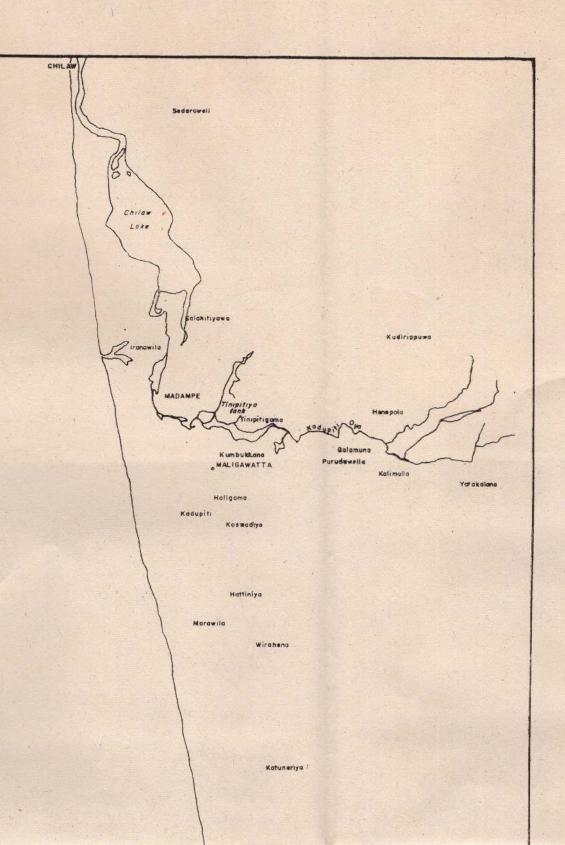
^{93.} AHU codice 35.f.40v.

^{94.} Queyroz p. 719; Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register. Vol. II. pp. 72, 86.

^{95.} Archivo Portuguese Oriental (nova edicao) Tomo IV. Vol. 2. Part I. p. 365.

^{96.} R. Boudens-The Catholic church in Ceylon under Dutch rule. Rome, 1957. p. 51.

The combined effect of the events of the first four decades of the seventeenth century had a tremendous impact on the people of Madampe. New masters had arrived and with them, a new religion and also new economic burdens. The old society was disrupted and men had to adjust to the new environment. Yet after all Madampe was experiencing only what the rest of south west Ceylon did at the same time and that in a somewhat less violent manner.



MADAMPE IN THE EARLY 17th CENTURY Neyinamadama Scale 2 Miles

The Urban Fringe of Colombo: Some Trends and Problems Concerning its Land Use

By PERCY SILVA AND KUSUMA GUNAWARDENA

Urban settlement in most countries during the last few decades has been characterized by the expansion of population into the areas surrounding the cities. While a part of this growth can be explained in terms of (i) natural increase and (ii) migration from rural areas to the urban fringe, the major part represents the movement of people from the cities to the fringe areas,—a movement facilitated by the development of automobile transportation and other technological developments such as the extension of electricity and water mains into these areas.

Although the areas surrounding the city have been commonly referred to as the 'rural-urban fringe', the term has been used in a number of different situations with varying meanings.¹ Nevertheless, the rural-urban fringe may, from an operational point of view, be defined as the 'area of transition between well-recognized urban land uses and the area devoted to agriculture''². In other words, it is the area of mixed urban and rural land uses, between the point where the entire range of city services ceases to be available and the point where agricultural land uses begin to predominate.

The rapid growth of population in the fringe relative to the central city is well illustrated in the case of Colombo. The purpose of this paper is to examine certain aspects of the economic geography of the urban fringe of Colombo with a view to focussing attention on some of the changes that are taking place within it. For the sake of statistical convenience the central city is defined as the area falling within the municipal limits, and the fringe as the area comprising the ten District Revenue Officers' Divisions in the Colombo District*. The paper is divided into three parts. Part I outlines the major characteristics of the economic geography of the fringe. Part II presents the results of a study carried out in a selected area within the fringe, while Part III includes observations and conclusions.

Kurtz, R. A. and Eicher, J. B., "Fringe and Suburb: A confusion of concepts", Social Forces, Vol. XXXVII, October 1958.

^{2.} Wehrwein, G. S., "The Rural-Urban Fringe", Economic Geography, Vol. XVIII, July 1942.

^{*} It should be noted that only a part of the area included in the ten D.R.O. Divisions constitutes the urban fringe of Colombo. However, since the necessary data were not available on a micro-level, the statistics for the ten Divisions are presented here.

PART I

THE URBAN FRINGE

Population Growth:—The rapid growth of population in the fringe relative to the central city can be seen from Table I, which gives the changes in the distribution of population in the city of Colombo and in the D.R.O. Divisions within the Colombo District between 1946 and 1963. The figures bring out two significant trends in the growth of population within the area: (1) In the period between 1946 and 1953, the D.R.O. Divisions of Aluthkuru Korale South, Siyane Korale West (Adikari Pattuwa) and the Colombo Mudaliyar's Division had a rate of increase higher than that of the city, while the population of Aluthkuru Korale North (A) and Salpiti Korale grew at a rate approximating that of the city. It is interesting to note that these five units represent the first tier of D.R.O. Divisions lying adjacent to the city (Fig. 1). (2) Between 1953 and 1963, in addition to the first tier of D.R.O. Divisions mentioned above, the second tier of D.R.O. Divisions, i.e. Hapitigam Korale, Aluthkuru Korale North (B), Siyane Korale West (Meda Pattuwa) and Hewagam Korale also showed a rate of increase higher than that of the city of Colombo.

It may be argued that, in the popular mind, Colombo covers an area larger than that included within the Municipality of Colombo and, therefore, if the population of some of the densely built-up areas is added the city would show a higher rate of growth than the fringe. That this assumption is incorrect becomes clear when we add the population of the Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia area (the largest local authority area lying adjacent to the city) to that of the city of Colombo. Between 1953 and 1963, the population of Colombo together with that of Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia increased by 23 per cent. However, the figures in Table I show that during the same period, seven of the ten D.R.O. Divisions showed a rate of increase that was higher than 23 per cent.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the urban places within the Colombo District have also shown a rate of increase greater than that of the city of Colombo. This can be seen from Table II which gives the percentage increase in population in some of the more important urban places within the district. The figures show that the population in all these except in Gampaha and Veyangoda increased at a faster rate than in the city of Colombo. It should be pointed out that the rates of increase cannot be calculated for Kandana, Hendala and Maharagama, all of which came to be treated as urban places after 1953. However, if data were available it is very likely that these three places would also exhibit a trend similar to that of the other urban places within the district.

It was mentioned earlier that the rapid increase of population in the fringe was the outcome of three sets of factors, i.e. natural increase within it, the outward migration of people from the city to it, and inward migration from other parts of Ceylon into it. Because of the lack of data it is not possible to measure the rate of natural increase in the fringe. Although a precise measurement is difficult even in the case of the other two movements, yet some idea of their significance can be had by examining the data on the place of birth and the place of residence given in Census Reports.³ It should be pointed out however, that even these data are of limited value partly because they often show only interdistrict movements thus failing to reveal the very significant movements within the district, and also because comparable data are lacking for successive census years.

The most obvious indicator of migration is the difference between the number born and that resident in a given district. These figures for the Colombo District for the last three census years are given in the table below.

TABLE A .

Number of People born and the number residing in the Colombo District for the Census Years 1946, 1953 and 1963

Cana	s Year	Born in Colombo	Resident in C	olombo District
Censu	is real	District	Ceylon Born	Foreign Born
19	46	 1,314,301	1,329,409	90,923
19	53	1,582,341	1,610,887	97,839
19	63	 2,062,788	2,160,705	46,715

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, Ceylon.

Migration occurs in two streams, inward and outward, and the difference between these indicates the nett effect of the movement. This nett migration balance shows life-time migration up to the year under consideration. The difference between the nett migration balances for two census years gives the nett intercensal migration balance, a positive figure indicating a nett gain and a negative figure showing a nett loss. A summary of the migration balances is given below.

TABLE B

Nett Migration balance and nett Intercensal Migration balance for the

Colombo District, 1946 to 1953

Year	Life-time In-migrants to Colombo District	Life-time Out-migrants Colombo District	Life-time Nett Migration Balance	Nett Intercensal Migration Balance
1946	 163,656	148,548	+15,108	
1953	 229,460	200,914	+ 28,546	+13,438
1963	 348,275	250,358	+97,917	+ 69,371

Source: Department of Census and Statistics.

Vamathevan, S. Internal Migration in Ceylon 1946-1953, Monograph No. 13, Dept. of Census and Statistics, Ceylon 1961.

The successive increase in the numbers given above can be explained partly by the difference in length of the intercensal periods and partly by the fact that in 1963 there were 20 urban places in the Colombo District, whereas in 1953 there were only 10. Yet, even after allowance is made for this fact, there remains a strong indication of an accelerated migration towards the Colombo District in recent years. Table III further indicates that Colombo is one of the districts that are affected by a heavy inflow of migrants and that the major proportion of the inflow is from the Wet Zone districts. Some data are available in respect of birth and residence in urban places (Tables IV and V) and tend to corroborate what has been said above. Their usefulness, however, is limited by the fact that the data for different census years are not always comparable.

Inter-urban migration data for 1953 are summarized in the table below:

TABLE C Inter-Urban Migration 1953

					The second second
	Allen A	i.	Resident in urban places in Colombo District	312,649	71.49%
Α.	Born in urban* places in Colombo District	ii.	Out-migrants to urban places outside Colombo District	13,777	3.15%
	437,318	iii.	Out-migrants to rural areas within or outside Colombo District	110,892	25.36%
		i.	Born in urban places in Colombo District	312,649	49.89%
В.	Resident in urban* places in Colombo	ii.	In-migrants from urban places outside Colombo District	26,279	4.19%
	District 626,671 (Ceylon Born)	iii.	In-migrants from rural areas within or outside Colombo District	287,743	45.92%

(*Municipal Council areas and Urban Council areas only)
Source: Department of Census and Statistics.

The figures show that 25 per cent of those born within urban areas had moved into rural areas and 46 per cent of those resident in the urban places had moved in from rural areas. Actual experience would suggest that the former is directed more towards the urban fringe while the latter originates more in other districts than in Colombo. The data given in Table C are not fully indicative of the migratory movements which exist in the Colombo District. A (i) and B (i) appear to be a static component of the urban population, but it should be noted that in 1953 there were 10 urban places in the district, and that the migration between these places has been ignored. It should also be remembered that interurban migration leaves out the rural-to-rural component altogether. The inward component of such a movement would obviously be directed towards the fringe.

If Colombo is defined as the central city, the remaining nine urban places would be contained in the urban fringe. Some of the migration characteristics of the fringe are likely to be revealed if the migration components of the city of Colombo are separated from those of the other nine i.e. Negombo, Avissawella, Dehiwala-Mt.Lavinia, Gampaha, Jaela, Kolonnawa, Kotte, Moratuwa and Wattala-Mabole-Peliyagoda (Table D).

TABLE D

Life-time Migration components of the Colombo District 1953

		i.	Resident in the city of Colombo	168,222	60.5%
		ii.	Out-migrants to the "Fringe Towns"	28,479	10.2%
A.	Born in the city of Colombo	iii.	district	8,781	3.2%
	278,157	iv.	Out-migrants to rural areas within or outside Colombo district	72,675	26.1%
		i.	Born in the city of Colombo	168,222	47.7%
			In-Migrants from the "Fringe Towns"	4,647	1.3%
В.	Resident in the	iii.	In-migrants from urban places outside the district	16,762	4.7%
	352,795 (Ceylon Born)	iv.	In-migrants from rural areas within or outside Colombo district	163,164	46.3%

Source: Department of Census and Statistics.

If we consider the people born in the city of Colombo the movement to the fringe would include A (ii) and a large part of A (iv). It should be noted that the proportion of outmigrants from Colombo is larger than that from other urban places (Tables D and E below). In-migration from fringe towns, i.e. component B (ii) in table D, is very small when compared with the out-migration, i.e. component A (ii) in table D, yielding a positive migration balance for the "fringe towns". As mentioned earlier, the in-migration from rural areas, i.e. component B (iv) in table D, is likely to be greater from outside the district.

It is interesting to note that there is a movement of people from the "fringe towns" to other areas. This can be seen from table E which gives the life-time migration components of the "fringe towns" in the Colombo District.

TABLE E

Life-time Migration components of "Fringe Towns" in Colombo District 1953

	i.	Resident in "fringe towns"	111,301	69.9%
	ii.	Out-migrants to the city of Colombo	4,647	2.9%
A. Born in "Fringe Towns" 159,161	iii.	Out-migrants to urban places outside the district	4,996	3.2%
139,101	iv.	Out-migrants to rural areas within or outside Colombo district	38,217	24.0%
	i.	Born in the "fringe towns"	111,301	40.6%
B. Resident in	ii.	In-migrants from the city of Colombo	28,479	10,4%
"Fringe Towns" 273,876 (Ceylon Born)	iii.	In-migrants from urban places outside the district	9,517	3.5%
	iv.	In-migrants from rural areas within or outside the Colombo district	124,579	45.5%

Source: Department of Census and Statistics.

The above figures show that there is a considerable movement from the "fringe towns" into rural areas. The in-migration from rural areas, i.e. component B (iv), is likely to be greater from outside the District than from within it. Tables A and B prove further that there is a considerable movement outward from the centre as well as a large influx into the district from other parts of the island. The tendency appears to be very strong for both these streams to terminate in the fringe.

Data for the intercensal period 1953-63 cannot be obtained because comparable data are not available for 1963. However, as shown earlier the life-time migration figures are considerably large for 1963. By that year, among the Ceylon-born population of 2,160,705 there were 348,275 in-migrants to the Colombo District of whom 238,395 went to urban places some of which are located in the fringe and the remaining 109,880 to the rural areas, parts of which would be included in the fringe (Table V).

Land use:—From the point of view of use the land in the fringe can be divided into two fairly well-defined categories, i.e. urban and rural. Generally speaking, urban uses predominate in the zone peripheral to the city whereas rural or agricultural uses become more important as one moves away from the built up area. The agricultural land in turn can be divided into two categories, the land devoted to peasant crops such as paddy and that devoted to plantation crops such as rubber. The proportion of land in these two categories is given in Table VI. The figures show that paddy, which is the chief peasant crop, plays a far less important role in the agriculture of the Colombo District than the plantation crops. In 1962, approximately 57,000 acres in the district were given over to paddy cultivation, of which nearly 65 per cent comprised

land in holdings below 5 acres in size. The paddy land is cultivated in both Maha and Yala although the acreage sown in Yala is generally less than fifty cent of that sown in Maha. Of the plantation crops coconut and rubber are the most important, the former covering approximately 220,000 acres and the latter 65,000 acres. As in the case of paddy, a sizeable proportion of the land devoted to plantation crops is in the form of very small holdings, presumably a reflection of the peasants' growing interest in the cultivation of money crops. Holdings below five acres for instance comprise 37 per cent of the land in the Colombo District as compared to 23 per cent for the island as a whole, 29 per cent for Galle, 27 per cent for Kalutara, 15 per cent for Matale and 11 per cent for Kandy. The process of fragmentation that has gone on in the case of plantation crops is brought out further by taking a specific crop such as rubber. Of the land that was given over to rubber in 1968, holdings below 10 acres accounted for 56 per cent of the acreage in the Colombo District as compared to 36 per cent in Kalutara, 34 per cent in Galle, 30 per cent in Kegalle and 25 per cent in Ratnapura.

Manufacturing: - Although not as important as agriculture, manufacturing is neverthless one of the major economic activities in the fringe. The industries in the area today may be divided into five broad groups: (1) Traditional industries such as brick and tile-making; (2) Service industries such as rice milling and foundry work; (3) Government sponsored small scale industries such as weaving; (4) Government sponsored large scale industries such as steel rolling and (5) Privately owned consumer goods industries. The absence of data makes it difficult to assess the relative importance of these industries in the economic structure of the area. However it is significant that nearly 80 per cent of the industries in the island today are located in the Colombo District* (Table VII). Of these, a greater proportion is located within the city and its immediate environs, but within the last few years there has been a tendency for industries to move into the fringe. Since enough land has not been reserved within the city and its suburbs to ensure efficient industrial growth, there is a general scarcity of good industrial sites and as a result many industrialists have had to move into the fringe in search of cheap land. This land has not only attracted new industries but also older established industries that have decentralized because of the scarcity of land within the built up area. The movement of industry into the fringe is well illustrated in the figures given in Tables VIII and IX. Of the new industries in the Food and Beverage Group that were started between 1961 and 1968, 26 plants found a location outside the built up area as compared to 30 within it. Similarly, in the Leather, Rubber, Wood and Paper Group, 67 of the new plants that were started between 1961 and 1968 found a location within the built up area while another 23 were

These represent industries that have been registered with the Department of Industries.

located outside the area. The evidence, therefore, seems to suggest that the fringe is becoming more and more attractive to prospective industrialists.

Transportation:—One of the significant characteristics of the fringe is the large daily movement of population to and from the city. This can be seen from Table X which shows the relationship of traffic volumes to distance on roadways around Colombo. The figures show that all of the volumes increase rapidly as the distance to the city decreases. Seventy eight per cent of the traffic destined for Colombo area is generated within a twenty mile radius of the city while fifty six per cent is generated within a ten mile radius.

With the rapid increase in population in the fringe during the past several years there has been a corresponding increase in the daily movement of people to and from the city. Although the absence of data makes it difficult to measure this trend, nevertheless some idea of the increase can be had from Table XI, which gives the number of passengers carried on certain selected bus routes between 1963 and 1967. The increasing growth rates of travel between the fringe and the city are also brought out in a classification count carried out by the Traffic and Planning Branch of the Public Works Department. The figures given in Table XII are based on a six hour manual count between 7.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. at Nawinna and Kotte in 1961 and 1967 and show that there has been an appreciable increase in vehicular traffic, especially buses, during this period.

Some of the commuters who move into the city from the fringe do so in private vehicles—mainly passenger cars. The significance of this movement is brought out in Table XIII which gives the passenger car and lorry trips between 8 selected interview stations around the periphery of Colombo and (1) Colombo Postal Zones (2) Urban areas adjacent to Colombo and (3) Western Province Zones outside Colombo. The figures show that the greatest volume of travel takes place within the municipal limits. However, it is noteworthy that travel from the urban areas adjacent to Colombo represent 66 per cent of the travel within the city while that from the other parts of the province represent almost 43 per cent. Thus, there appears to be a considerable volume of passenger cars moving into the city from the fringe.*

Urban Development:—It was pointed out earlier that the urban population in the fringe has been expanding steadily. This expansion, however, has not been uniform, some settlements having grown at a

This trend would have been more marked, and consequent problems greater, if not for the ban on the import of ears since 1960.

faster rate than others. This differential growth is at once a cause and a result of the development of some settlements as central places.

The most important function of these central places is the provision of services to the local inhabitants. A service centre serves not only the population of the centre, but also that of a complementary region around it. The gravitation of demand towards the centre has been likened to the crystallization of matter around a nucleus.4 This analogy has been used for working out patterns of "market areas" or "complementary regions" around service centres. In a homogeneous landscape the complementary regions would develop into hexagonal shapes, and each centre would have six main transportation lines radiating from it.5 Among service centres some move into positions of greater importance than others, giving rise to a hierarchical order among the centres. The smaller centres are those that provide services with a smaller range. Hence their complementary regions are smaller, and the centres are spaced closer together than are the larger centres with larger complementary regions. In addition to all the services which are provided by the smaller centres, the larger centres provided other services with a larger range, the presence of which elevates them to the higher hierarchical levels. The ideal pattern is never realized in reality, but yields a model for understanding reality. While the fringe falls within the complementary region of Colombo for a large number of services, several service centres have developed within the fringe and have risen to various levels in the hierarchy. All the "fringe towns" are service centres while other service centres are not recognized as "urban" places.

PART II

HEWAGAM KORALE-PALLE PATTUWA DIVISION

The Palle Pattuwa Division of the Hewagam Korale situated to the South East of Colombo could be treated as being representative of the fringe both from the point of view of population increase as well as the patterns of economic activity. In 1963, the area had a population of 122,353 which represented an increase of 41.4 per cent over the 1953 figure. Although the division as a whole had this high rate of increase a certain degree of regional variation is nonetheless apparent (Table XIV). In order to bring out this variation more clearly the villages have been divided into four categories: (1) Those showing an increase greater than that of the division but greater than that of the district; (3) those showing

Christaller, W., Central Places in Southern Germany (Trans. C. W. Baskin), New Jersey, 1966.

Losch, A., The Economics of Location (Trans. W. H. Woglom and W. F. Stolper), New York, 1954.

an increase less than that of the district but greater than that of the city and (4) those showing an increase lower than that of the city. It is significant that only five of the thirty three villages in the area showed an increase lower than that of the city.

Agriculture is the major economic activity in the area with paddy as the major crop in the lowland areas and coconut and rubber in the highland areas. According to the information released by the local gramasevakas there were approximately 7,500 paddy holdings in the area in 1967 of which 78 per cent were cultivated by owners and the remainder by tenants. Of these holdings 13 per cent were over one acre in extent, 57 per cent were below half an acre and the remainder between one half of an acre and one acre.

Of the operators, approximately 300 were interviewed on the field with the help of a questionnaire, representing a 5 per cent random sample. According to the information provided by the cultivators paddy was grown during both Maha and Yala although in certain years there has been a tendency for a smaller acreage to be cultivated during the Yala season because of such problems as floods and poorly drained fields. Apart from paddy, some cultivators also grew a variety of crops on the unirrigable highland areas and of these coconuts, rubber and vegetables appeared to be the most popular. A little over 75 per cent of these highland holdings were below two acres in extent.

The yields of paddy obtained by the cultivators were generally low throughout the division with approximately 65 per cent reporting a yield of less than 25 bushels per acre in both Maha and Yala. Some. however, did report yields of over 45 bushels per acre but these comprised less than 5 per cent of those who were interviewed. Almost all the cultivators reported the use of fertiliser although 60 per cent had adopted the practice after 1960. Only 16 per cent transplanted their paddy and nearly all of them had adopted this practice within the last five years. On the other hand nearly 55 per cent of the cultivators used insecticides, a practice that had become popular only after 1960. The use of machinery was relatively unimportant prior to 1963, but almost 60 per cent reported the use of machinery in their agricultural operations today. Most of the paddy that was produced was used for domestic consumption although a small proportion was sold when there was a little surplus or at times when they needed a little extra cash. Most of the highland crops, on the other hand, were produced for commercial purposes with rubber being sold mainly to dealers and coconuts and vegetables to local residents, either individually or at the local fairs. The paddy cultivators in the area have had to face a variety of problems. Of these, environmental problems such as drought, floods and poor natural drainage were the most important. Others included such things as difficulties in obtaining fertiliser and mechanical equipment, lack of agricultural instruction, shortage of capital and high labour costs.

Of the cultivators who were interviewed 46 per cent were engaged in other occupations. Of the latter 23 per cent worked as labourers, 22 per cent were in business and another 12 per cent were engaged in teaching. Although 54 per cent of the cultivators were not engaged in other occupations, the majority of them were nevertheless interested in doing a job. Some were uncertain as to the type of job they would like to do but, to the remainder, trade and carpentry appeared to be the most attractive.

The evidence drawn from the Palle Pattuwa Division seems to suggest that paddy cultivation in the fringe does not appear to be in a very healthy state. The multiplicity of holdings, the low yields and the slow spread of improved agricultural techniques show that there has been little change from the traditional pattern. Perhaps of greater significance is the growing importance of non-farm occupations. This shows that people in the fringe are becoming less dependent on paddy as a means of sustenance.

Although agriculture is undoubtedly the major economic activity in the Palle Pattuwa Division, a certain amount of industrial development appears to have taken place in the area over the past several decades (Table XV). All the industries characteristic of the fringe are represented in the area and of these the manufacture of brick and tiles appear to be the most important. With the exception of these two industries, which are essentially raw material oriented and hence located in close proximity to the Kelani River, the other industries in the area are irregularly distributed over the entire division. Of these, some have been located with reference to such factors as labour, cheap land, transportation facilities and local markets, whereas in the case of others non-economic factors, such as residence, appear to have played a more important role. Although there are over 230 industries in the area the majority of them are relatively small in size, employing on the average less than ten persons.

Despite the presence of a variety of industries in the area, the rate of industrial development measured in terms of employment has hitherto been rather slow, presumably a reflection of the slow rate of industrial development in the country as a whole. This situation, however, is bound to change in the future, partly because of the efforts that are being made to step up the rate of industrial growth in the country and also because industrialists have begun to move into the fringe in search of suitable industrial sites.

From the point of view of transportation the Palle Pattuwa Division is served by a network of major and minor roads and the Kelani Valley Railway running from Colombo to Opanaike. While a part of the commuters from the area travel in cars, the greater number apparently rely on buses and the railway. Of these two, bus transportation is evidently the

most popular. In 1961, for example, in the month of November the Kelani Valley Railway carried a total of 433,801 passengers which represents a fraction of the number carried on the different bus routes operating within the area. The Kelani Valley narrow gauge line which skirts this area has been the centre of a great deal of discussion. Because of the various problems associated with this line such as poor alignment, low speed of travel and low financial returns many people have recommended its complete abandonment. On the other hand some have argued very strongly for retaining the portion of the line from Colombo to Homagama as a broad gauge railway.⁶ The latest recommendation is the conversion of the line between Colombo and Homagama into a broad gauge so that it could be used for commuter traffic as well as for the transport of materials to and from the Steel Factory.⁷

One of the most important functions of the urban settlements in the Palle Pattuwa Division is the provision of services to the local inhabitants. There are several ways in which the structure of these services could be examined, e.g. the flow of wealth, but unfortunately the absence of suitable data precludes such analysis. Therefore, the most convenient and practicable method is to examine these centres with reference to the different establishments located within them. This technique provides the basis for an objective assessment of the relative importance of the different service centres within the area.

There are several urban centres in the area providing services to the local inhabitants. The number and types of service establishments located at the more important service centres in the division are given in Table XVI. It should be noted that only the built up areas of these centres have been considered and therefore the service establishments located away from the built up areas have been excluded. The centres have been arranged according to the total number of establishments present. The data for residential buildings are also included, but even if these statistics are excluded the patterns remain unaltered.

On the basis of the data provided in Table XVI, it is possible to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the relative importance of the larger urban centres in the area: (1) Homagama and Battaramulla, located on the eastern and western margins of the area, are the two most important service centres in the area; (2) Kottawa and Kaduwela, located on the southern and northern margins respectively, rank third and fourth but are of much less importance than Homagama and Battaramulla; (3) Athurugiriya, lying in close proximity to the Ceylon Steel Corporation, is only half as important as Homagama and Battaramulla; and (4) The other centres in the area are relatively unimportant except for perhaps Malabe and Pitipana (fig. 2).

^{6.} Ceylon Traffic and Planning Study, Wilber Smith and Associates, 1966.

^{7.} Report of the Transport Commission.

The relative importance of the service centres in the area was also examined with reference to their hinterland populations which were calculated on the basis of a sample survey. The data obtained are given in Table XVII (also figs. 3, 4 & 5). Although the results obtained are not very accurate, nonetheless they can be accepted as indicators of the relative importance of the various service centres in the area. Before drawing any conclusions however, it is necessary to point out the following: Firstly, the service areas of the more important centres such as Homagama, Battaramulla and Kottawa extend outside the area e.g. Palle Pattuwa comprises only one quarter of the hinterland of Homagama. Secondly, a section of the population of Palle Pattuwa obtains its needs from service centres located outside the area, e.g. Colombo, Maharagama and Meegoda. This feature along with the lack of some data in respect of a few settlements explains the discrepancies in the totals in Table XVII. Thirdly, a considerable number of the population was seen to obtain fish, vegetables and similar items from vendors and neighbours and therefore these figures had to be excluded from the hinterland population of the various centres. Despite these drawbacks, the hinterland populations bring out quite clearly the relative importance of the service centres in the area. Homagama and Battaramulla once again stand out as the two major nuclei in the area, followed by Kaduwela. Kottawa and Athurugiriya.

PART III

CONCLUSIONS

Since land in the urban fringe of Colombo constitutes one of our more important resources every effort should be made to plan and if possible to direct and control its future development. A pre-requisite to such planning is the need to find adequate answers to certain basic questions concerning the use of land in the fringe. It is on the basis of these answers that steps should be taken to find out the best uses to which the land could be put.

One such question is connected with the future of peasant agriculture in the fringe. A major problem facing peasant agriculture in the area is the accelerating conversion of agricultural land into non-agricultural uses. The majority of the people moving into the fringe from the city are in search of cheap land for residential purposes. Of these, some, especially those who rely heavily on public transportation, generally look for land alongside the main lines of communication, while others who own vehicles and therefore are not tied down to public transportation move deeper into the fringe. Admittedly, both groups are attracted to the fringe because of the relatively cheap land, but preliminary investigations seems to suggest that the greater competition for agricultural land comes from those who belong to the second group. On the one

hand, because of their greater mobility these people are in a position to move deeper into the agricultural areas in search of cheap land. At the same time, perhaps because of their greater affluence, they are also in a position to buy up more land partly for speculative purposes and also for other reasons such as the desire to determine one's future neighbours. Although the people from the city represent the major consumers of agricultural land in the fringe, others such as industrialists are also finding the fringe extremely attractive. In fact, the lure of cheap land has been so great that in some instances there has been a tendency to ignore other more important factors of industrial location thereby providing excellent examples of locational maladjustment in the fringe. Thus, competition for land in the fringe is on the increase and therefore the question arises as to what steps should be taken to allocate the land amongst competing uses.

A second problem facing peasant agriculture in the fringe is associated with the part-time nature of farming. Part-time farming has become a characteristic feature of peasant agriculture in the fringe and the evidence seems to suggest that it is on the increase. Therefore, the question arises as to whether the people continue to farm because of some intrinsic interest in this type of economic activity or are engaged in auxiliary occupations in an attempt to supplement their meagre earnings from the land, or for other reasons such as the insurance against some occupational disaster, the dictates of prestige or even of pleasure. A complete answer to this question is almost impossible at present. Nevertheless some thought should be given to this problem before any attempt is made to increase the efficiency of peasant agriculture on the fringe. To put it simply, there is not much point in encouraging people to improve the agriculture so long as they have only a tangential interest in their land.

Yet another problem concerns the structure of peasant agriculture in the fringe. Farmers in the fringe have hitherto been concentrating on traditional crops such as paddy, rubber and coconut. Little attention has been paid to other types of farming such as the commercial production of vegetables, fruits, eggs and milk. The question, therefore, is whether the present patterns of land use should be allowed to continue or some attempt be made to encourage farmers to produce more vegetables, fruit and poultry and dairy products. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that these types of farming represent a more intensive type of land use better suited to the fringe. However, what is more important is the fact that by encouraging the farmer to produce more fruit, vegetables, eggs and milk, it may be possible to meet at least a part of the demand of a rapidly increasing urban population.

Another basic question concerns the role of industry in the development of the fringe. It was pointed out earlier that there has been a trend towards the movement of industry into the fringe. Such a movement would not create any major problems if industrial areas are demarcated and the location of plants is specified. Unfortunately, there is no legislation at the present time that compels the industrialist to locate his plant at a particular point, and as a result there has been a tendency to locate plants indiscriminately throughout the fringe. This has not only prevented the land in the fringe from being put to its best social and economic use but has also provided several examples of industries that seem to suffer by being poorly located.

If the pace of industrial growth in the fringe is going to accelerate itself in the future, as it would in all probability if current trends are treated as indicators for the future, then there is an obvious need for comprehensive planning of industrial land use in the area. Basic to such planning is the understanding of the space standards of the new plants. Industrial land planning should be more than just broad estimates of space needs, and therefore detailed research must be carried out on land and space requirements by type of industry. Once the data on space standards is obtained, then it will be possible to reserve land for industrial uses through a process of zoning. The quantity of land reserved would depend on such factors as the types of industry intending to move into the area, population trends, the labour force, and transportation facilities. Furthermore, the selected land should be suitable for industrial development, with special attention being paid to natural features of the site. Consideration should also be given to the external connection of the area. i.e. present and future transportation patterns and plans for housing and services.

The selection of suitable areas for the location of industry is undoubtedly one of the most pressing problems in the fringe. However, before any attempt is made to demarcate land for industry it will be necessary to find adequate answers to two basic but related questions. Firstly, what types of industries should be encouraged to move into the fringe and secondly what industries could realize economies by being in close proximity to each other. If fairly large tracts of land are reserved for industrial development, then a nucleus of linked industries may have an opportunity to develop spontaneously. Furthermore, as more information is obtained about industries, steps could be taken to plan for industrial areas specifically designed for serving interdependent factories.

Another basic question concerns the future development of transportation in the fringe. As the population in the fringe continues to expand there will be an increasing demand for improved transportation facilities. One way in which this demand could be met is by improving the bus and railway services in the area. Already, steps have been taken to improve the bus services, partly by extending the period of service and also by providing more frequent services—especially during rush hours. At the same time several new bus routes have been opened to meet the needs of those living in less accessible parts of the fringe. Likewise, railway

facilities have also been improved in an effort to meet the increased demand for rail services.

It should be pointed out that the improvements of bus and rail services provides at best only a partial solution to the problem of transportation. Of far greater significance is the need to improve the existing road network. As the population in the fringe continues to expand there will be a corresponding increase in the number of motor vehicles using the roads. Even at present many of the roads operate at their possible capacities during peak hours, and unless they are improved these roads will not be able to accommodate additional traffic. Thus, the need for a more satisfactory road network is one of the more important problems associated with the future development of the fringe. It should be emphasized at this point that in planning the road network a great deal of thought should be given to future traffic patterns and in estimating these patterns attention must be paid to two important factors. Firstly, it will be necessary to take into account potential changes in land use within the fringe. As noted earlier, land use in the fringe is changing rapidly with agricultural land giving way to urban uses. Since these new uses will generate a larger volume of traffic than at present they will require improved access as development continues. Secondly, the economic trends in the area will have to be considered. As the standard of living increases there will be corresponding increase in the growth rates of travel between the fringe and the other areas and the greater use of road transportation in the movement of goods and passengers from the fringe.

The role of recreational land in the future development of the fringe is another important question that has to be considered. Recreational land is virtually absent in the fringe, most of the parks and playgrounds being confined within the municipal limits of the city. This scarcity can be easily explained in terms of the prevailing economic and social conditions in the fringe today. But the demand for recreational land is bound to expand in the future with the increase in the number of middle-class and richer people moving into the fringe. If so, there is an urgent need to measure this potential demand and demarcate areas which could be used for recreational purposes in the future.

These are some of the more important questions to which attention should be paid if the development that is taking place rapidly in the fringe area is to be purposefully directed towards a more rational use of space. Land in this area is becoming increasingly scarce and should be treated as an expendable scarce resource. To obtain the optimum benefit from it a land use policy is urgently required to allocate land between competing interests, such as farming, industry, recreation, low and high density housing and services. Such a policy and the scheme of zonation it will involve are necessary even for the economical provision of basic

services such as water, electricity, sewage, transport, schools and recreational facilities. It would be difficult to provide these services efficiently if development is haphazard and unplanned. The fringe, therefore, is an area in which land use planning should receive very high priority.

TABLE I

Changes in the Distribution of population in the city of Colombo and the District
Revenue Officers divisions in the Colombo District

	Increase Absolute	1946-1953 Per cent	Increase Absolute	1953-1963 Per cent
Colombo	64,053	20	84,820	20
Hapitigam Korale	8,766	15.8	13,594	21.2
Aluthkuru Korale North A.	19,242	19.6	26,813	22.8
Aluthkuru Korale North B.	13,796	15.6	21,238	20.7
Aluthkuru Korale South	30,232	24.2	43,870	28.3
Siyane Korale West (Meda Pattuwa)	10,402	11.9	59,357	60.5
Siyane Korale West	23,342	25.3	29,851	27.0
(Adikari Pattuwa)				
Siyane Korale East	12,115	13.1	11,720	11.2
Hewagam Korale	27,970	18.6	63,164	35.5
Colombo Mudlivar's Division	59,887	35.2	104,732	45.5
Salpiti Korale	19,589	19.1	38,838	31.8

Source: Census of Ceylon, 1953 and 1963.

TABLE II

Percentage increase in Population in some of the Urban centres within the Colombo District 1953-1963

	Percentage Increase 1953-1963
Colombo	20.0
Kochchikade	257.5
Wattala/Mabole/Peliyagoda	134.7
Battaramulla/Talangama	62.3
Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia	41.8
Piliyandala	40.8
Ja-Ela	35.6
Kotte	34.8
Minuwangoda	31.6
Moratuwa	29.3
Kolonnawa	28.4
Avissawella	26.8
Negombo	21.4
Gampaha	15.7
Veyangoda	11.3

TABLE III
Internal Migration of Population-Colombo District from 1953 to 1963

District	Life-t In-migrants to Colombo	Life-time Migration up to 1953 nts Out-migrants Bo nbo from Colombo	o 1953 Balance	Life-ti In-migrants to Colombo	Life-time Migration up to 1963 ants Out-migrants Ba mbo from Colombo	dance	Intercensal Migration 1953- 1963 Nett Migration Balance
Kalutara Kandy Moork	35,829 30,071	24,342 16,117	+ 11,487 + 13,954	48,431	34,554	+ 13,877 + 22,934	+ 2,390
Nuwara Eliya Galle	4,307	3,660	+ 38.782	2,000 8,003 54,463	4,526 3,416 10,461	+ 4,587 + 4,002	+ + 2,043 + 3,940 + 5,220
Matara Hambantota	27,802	3,838	+ 23,964	43,431	4,447	+ 38,984	+ 15,020 + 869
Jaffna Mannar	22,995	4,014 991	+ 18,981 - 561	27,528	4,819	+ 22,709	+ 3,728 + 229
Vavuniya Batticaloa	1,645	941	- 826 - 2,551	2,825	2,101 1,915	+ 910	- 781 - 1.567
Trincomalec Kurunegala	1,084	3,823	- 2,739 - 36,279	2,067	7,575	- 5,508 - 5,508 - 26,070	- 2,769 + 10,209
Puttalam Anuradhapura Polonnariwa	7,369	23,167. 12,966	- 15,798 - 11,014 	10,920 2,911 410	30,109 14,727 8,648	- 19,189 - 11,816 - 8,738	- 3,391 - 9,040
Badulla Moneragala	6,325	6,165	160	11,554	6,211	+ 5,343	+ 3,866
Ratnapura Kegalle	12,261	12,723	- 462 - 7,930	26,271 25,162	15,488 26,562	+ 10,783 - 1,400	+ 11,245 + 6,530
TOTAL	229,460	200,914	+ 28,546	348,275	250,358	+ 97,917	+ 69,371

TABLE IV

Life-time Inter-Urban Migration: Colombo District up to 1953*

(i)	District	To Urban Places in Colombo	From Urban Places in Colombo	Balance	
Ka	lutara	4,565	2,516	+ 2049	1000
Ka	ndy	4,717	2,804	+ 1913	
Ma	itale	346	265	+ 81	
Nu	wara Eliya	524	442	+ 82	
Ga	lle	7,202	1,343	+ 5859	
Ma	tara	2,631	484	+ 2147	
Ha	mbantota	414	148	+ 266	
Jaf	fna	2,515	812	+ 1703	
Ma	nnar			_	
Va	vuniya				
Bat	ticaloa	392	313	+ 79	
Tri	ncomalee	241	490	- 249	
Ku	runegala	577	1,195	- 618	
	talam	391 .	1,230	- 839	
An	uradhapura	98	837	- 739	
Bac	lulla	816	387	729	
Rat	napura	568	380	188	
	galle	282	131	151	
	TOTAL	26,279	13,777	*	

Source: Department of Census and Statistics.

(*Municipal Council and Urban Council areas only).

TABLE V
Life-time in-migration to Urban places up to 1963*

District	In-migrants to Urban Places in Colombo District	Out-migrants from Colombo District to other Urban Places
Kalutara	31,493	13,270
Kandy	29,967	7,281
Matale	3,462	1,364
Nuwara Eliya	6,323	1,094
Galle	41,574	4,181
Matara	34,207	1,458
Hambantota	2,870	612
Jaffna	25,551	2,784
Mannar	776	263
Vavuniya	267	400
Batticaloa	2,278	957
Amparai	111	140
Trincomalee	1,565	2,198
Kurunegala	8,921	3,594
Puttalam	5,584	3,690
Anuradhapura	1,545	3,949
Polonnaruwa	205	852
Badulla	8,113	1,833
Moneragala	106	185
Ratnapura	12,627	1,953
Kegalle	11,605	1,719
Unspecified	9,245	- 100
TOTAL	238,395	53,777

Source: Department of Census and Statistics.

(* Municipal, Urban Council and Town Council areas).

TABLE VI

The proportion of land under plantation crops and paddy in the D.R.O. Divisions within the Colombo District

	Area under crops (acres)	Paddy Land %	Plantation Crops %
Hapitigam Korale	37,317	13	84
Aluthkuru Korale North A.	26,442	-12	87
Aluthkuru Korale North B.	56,843	14	84
Aluthkuru Korale South	24,190	21	66
Siyane Korale West Meda Pattuwa	36,718	19	75
Siyane Korale West Adikari Pattuwa	22,839	17	74
Siyane Korale East	54,787	15	83
Hewagam Korale	80,998	15	80
Colombo Mudliyar's Division	6,352	17	50
Salpiti Korale	17,464	18	70

District Classification of 2245 Industrial units TABLE VII

TOTAL	244 44 44 44 44 44 44 44 44 44 44 44 44	
Miscella- neous Manufac- turing Industries	25 4 1 8 9 1 8 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
Electrical Machinery Apparatus and Supplies	<u></u>	
Manufac- tures of Trans- port Equip- ment	864411244-65- 4 6461	
c Base Metal tures of Manufac- F I Industries Trans- Manufactures Port Manufactures Equip- n of Metal ment	25 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	
Non Metallic Mineral Products of Bitumin and Coal	24 4- m - 4	
Leather, Rubber, Wood, Cork and Paper Products	245 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5	
Chemicals and Chemical Products	481 1887 180 180 180 180 180 180 180 180 180 180	
Textiles	088 481 400 x x 2 - 4 x x 2 - 1	
Food Beverages and Tobacco	481 20 0 0 0 0 0 4 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	
Rooms from		Industries.
DISTRICTS	Colombo Kandy Jafina Kahtara Kahtara Matara Galle Kegalle Puttalam Badulla Batticaloa Nuwara Eliya Ratnapura Trincomalee Hambantota Anuradhapura Mannar Vavuniya Amparai Polonnaruwa	Source: Ministry of In
	- 4444444444444444444444444444444444444	So

TABLE VIII

Regional Distribution of Leather, Rubber, Wood and Paper Industries in Ceylon

A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR			YEAR OF	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	MENT	*	
	Before 1950 1	1951-55 No.	1956-60 No.	1961-64 No.	1965-68 No.	68 Date not known No.	Total
Colombo*	42	15	29	57	10	7	091
Suburbs	17	5	12	77		2	59
Rest of the Island	13	7	7	23	CI	æ	55
Total	- 72	27	48	102	13	12	274

*Includes Dehiwela-Mount Lavinia, Ratmalana and Nugegoda.

Source: Industrial Development Board.

TABLE IX
Regional Distribution of Food and Beverage Industries in Ceylon

			YEAR OF	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	IMENT		
	Before 1950 No.	1951-55 No.	1956-60 No.	1961-64 No.	1965-68 No.	Date not know No.	n TOTAL
Colombo*	36	17	19	25	S	7	109
Suburbs	7	9	11	21	2	3	53
Rest of the Island	23	10	11	27	10	6	100
Total	999	33	41	73	20	19	252

*Includes Dehiwela-Mount Lavinia, Ratmalana and Nugegoda. Source: Industrial Development Board.

TABLE X
Traffic volumes near Colombo

Route	Municipal Limits	10 mile radius	15 mile radius	20 mile radius
A 3	10,650	5,700	3,200	3,100
A 1	8,750	4,600	3,500	3,300
A 4	12,050	5,000	2,900	1,000
A 2	17,700	6,500	4,500	3,300
	49,150	21,800	14,100	10,700

Source: Ceylon Traffic and Planning Study (1966)

TABLE XI
Number of passengers carried on certain selected Bus
routes in 1963 and 1967

	1963	1967	
Route 177			
Kaduwela-Pettah	2,347,421	4,059,926	
Route 174			
Borella-Kottawa	2,369,692	3,348,195	
Route 170.2			
Athurugiriya-Fort	2,101,055	2,607,357	

Source: Ceylon Transport Board.

TABLE XII
Six hour mannual classification count (7.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.)

Station	Direction	Route	Year	Passenger Cars	Motor Cycles	Buses	Total
Nawinna	w	A 4	1961 .1967	1103 1189	247 110	246 519	1596 1818
	E	A 4	1961 1967	1184 1315	302 117	245 591	1731 2023
	NW	30	1961 1967	221 171	65 22	1 12 73	298 266
Cotte	NW	B 2	1961 1967	915 917	102 72	299 466	1316 1455
	Ε	B 2	1961 1967	531 581	65 41	210 375	806 997
	S	9	1961 1967	509 361	37 54	69 110	315 525

Source: Traffic and Planning Branch, Public Works Department.

TABLE XIII

Passenger car and lorry trips between selected interview stations and (i) Colombo Postal Zones (ii) Urban Areas adjacent to Colombo (iii) Western Province Zones outside Colombo Urban Areas

						-	-		-
	Victoria Bridge	Kelani Bridge	Albion	Cotta	Narahen- pita Road	Kirilla- pone Bridge	Paman- kade Bridge	Dehiwala Canal Bridge	Total
Within Colombo Municipal Limits	7,600	069'9	4,920	5,130	3,980	9,320	2,890	13,520	54,050
Urban areas adjacent to Colombo	2,810	1,860	3,550	4,570	3,810	066'9	2,990	10,800	36,421
Western Province Zones-Outside Colombo	4,830	5,320	2,260	2,010	1,050	3,260	. 470	3,890	23,090
	The state of the s		The state of the s						

Source: Ceylon Traffic and Planning Study (1966).

Percentage increase in population in the villages in the Palle Pattuwa Division of the Hewagam Korale 1953 to 1963 TABLE XIV

	he city ise	19.8	19.1	17.7	17.1	13.4							
	Below the city increase	Ornwela	Ihala Bomiriya	Mullegama	Pitipana South	Mawatagama							
		28.7	28.3	26.4	25.4	25.2	24.8	24.7	21.0	20.5			
	Greater than the City increase of	Niyandagala	Weliwita	Navagamuwa	Hiripitiya	Pitipana North	Hokandara South	Dedigamuwa	Koratota	Uduwana			
		39.2	37.0	37.0	36.9	36.7	36.7	35.8	34.1	34.0	32.8	29.8	29.4
	Greater than the District increase of 29.1%	Talawatugoda	Нотавата	Athurugiriya	Makumbura	Kalalgoda	Malabe	Godagama	Habarakada	Hewagama	Pahala Bomiriya	Hokandara North	Pore-Walgama
		114.3	84.9	60.5	51.7	47.0	43.3	43.1					
6	Greater than the Division increase of 41.4%	a	oda	valla	awala	ena	wa	lale					
	Greate Divisio of	Ranala	Panagoda	Malapalla	Kotalawala	Talahena	Kottawa	Rukmale					

ABLE XV

Industries in the Palle Pattuwa Division of the Hewagam Korale

Printing Works		Poultry	Aluminium Industries	Tile Industries	Lime Works	Coir Industries	Dhal Mills	Papadam Mills	Soft Drinks	Coconut Oil Extractions	Cast Iron Works	Metal Industries	Motor Vehicle Body Repair Works	Electro-Plating Works	Soap	Picture Industry	Transport Industries		Drugs Industries	
22	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	
37	34	20	18	14	12	12	10	7	9	5	4	4	4	**	3	3	2	2	2	2
1 Brick Industrias	2 Clay Industries	3. Jewellery Works	4. Weaving Mills	5. Quarries	6. Rice Mills	7. Garages	8. Mattress Industries	9. Beedi Industries	10. Brass Works	11. Grinding Mills	12. Toy Industries	13. Firewood Depots	14. Carpentry Shops	15. Saw Mills	16. Foundries	17. Hardware Industries	18. Needlework Centres	19. Welding Works	20. Bamboo Industries	21. Joss-stick Industries

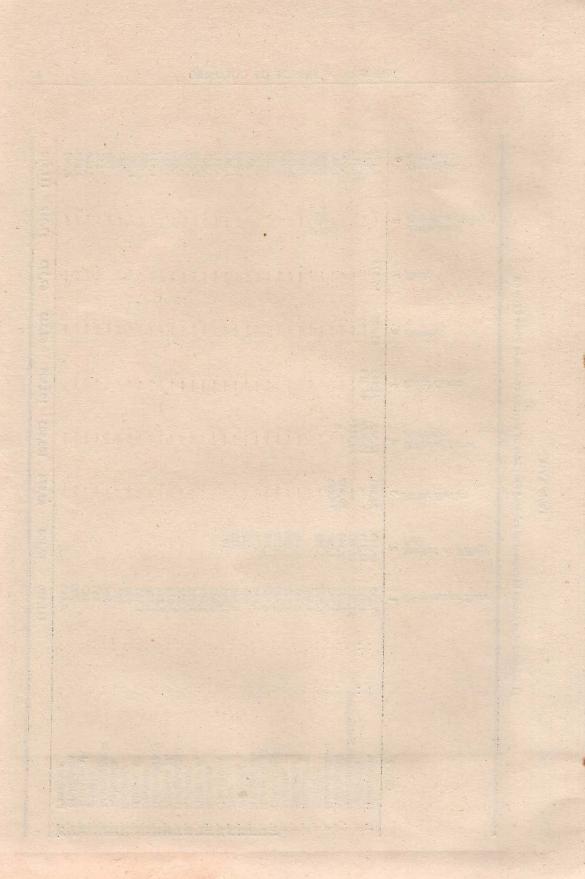
TABLE XVI

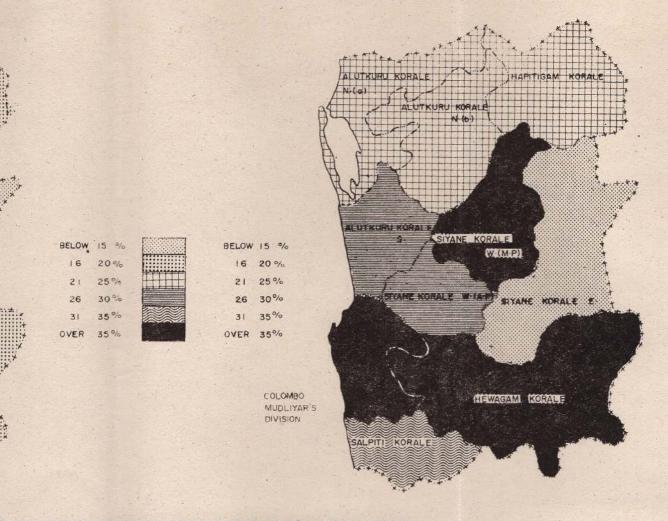
Analysis of the built-up area at important road junctions in Palle Pattuwa

-				(n	umb	er of	bui	lding	(s)			
	TYPE	Homagama	Battaramulla	Kottawa	Kaduwela	Athurugiriya	Malabe	Pitipana	Nawagamuwa	Godagama	Ranala	Bomiriya
1.	Commercial establishments	75	62	52	25	31	31	17	14	14	5	1
2.	Service establishments	52	28	27	22	16	17	16	11	12	9	2
3.	Public Service establishments	1	. 1	3	1	-1	1	1	_	-	1	_
4.	Educational establishments	3	7	2	2	_	3	_	1	1	-	_
5.	Industrial establishments	. 3	3	4	7	2	1	1	_	1	_	-
6.	Recreational establishments	1	1	-	3		_	_	1	-	_	_
7.	Village fairs	1	_	_	_	2	1	_	_		_	_
8.	Residential buildings	136 25	102 45	88 11	60 22	52 17	54 9	34 26	27 21	28 5	15 10	3 10
		161	147	99	82	69	63	60	48	33	25	13

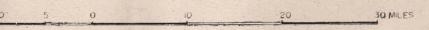
Hinterland Population in respect of selected functions of services centres in Palle Pattuwa

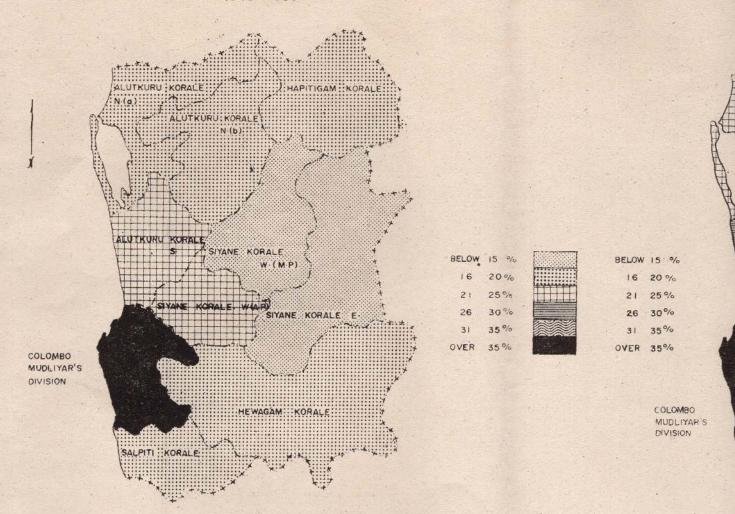
hops to synd or	2170	797	101	37,117	3,660	3,742	8,400	1,552	1,456	3,475	2,430	3.556	2 142	466	1 040	1,000	1,293	4,743	3,461	3,450	3,256	3,016	2,246	1,653	983	1,386	787	892	553	2,009	1,616	6,647	111,510
Agricultural Extension Centre		1	1	1	1	1	21,564	76,503	1	1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	i	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	190,76
d Bonk	00000	61,513	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	1	!	1	1	1	!	1	1	1	1	1	ľ	1	1	1	67,373
lotiqsoH @		65,555	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	. 1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	65,355
w Rural Courts		75,585	48,218	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	105,803
4 Office of Local vitrostuk		75,585	15,506	32,712	. 1	1	1	1	1			1	1	ĺ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	ı	1	1	1	105,803
notice Station w		24,681	1	1	29.907	15.286		1				1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	69,874
Market or Village Fair		18,133	11,721	17.962	9 343	1 069	5 244	1	2000	4000	1,090	2,219	016,1	6/1	632	222	172	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-1	1	79,100
Co-operative Store		7,253	1.612	32,712	3 695	3,747	680 9	1 745	1,17	2,033	2,707	2,430	4,140	3,758	943	1,397	1,293	4.943	3,461	3,335	3,255	3,016	2,246	1.540	1,167	916	787	584	553	362	200	6,647	111,510
	-				:		:					:																					
Contre	Commo	Homagama	Vaduumela	Dettoromillo Tolongoma		Aturuguiya	Nawagamnwa	Kottawa	Makubura	Malapalla	Malabe	Talawatugoda	Hokandara N	Habarakada	Waleama	Pore	Godavama	Doministra	Distracts C	Fittpalla 5.	Noialota Dedicements	Dedigamuma Ditional N	Filipand IV.	Chamala C.	Oluwana I Idameana	Durkmala	Valacada	Managoua	Mawatagama	Kallala Votolemele	Mulleman	Panagoda	
						-			7.			10.		-			2037					-	3:					22.	.07	.00	200	30.	



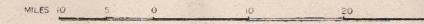


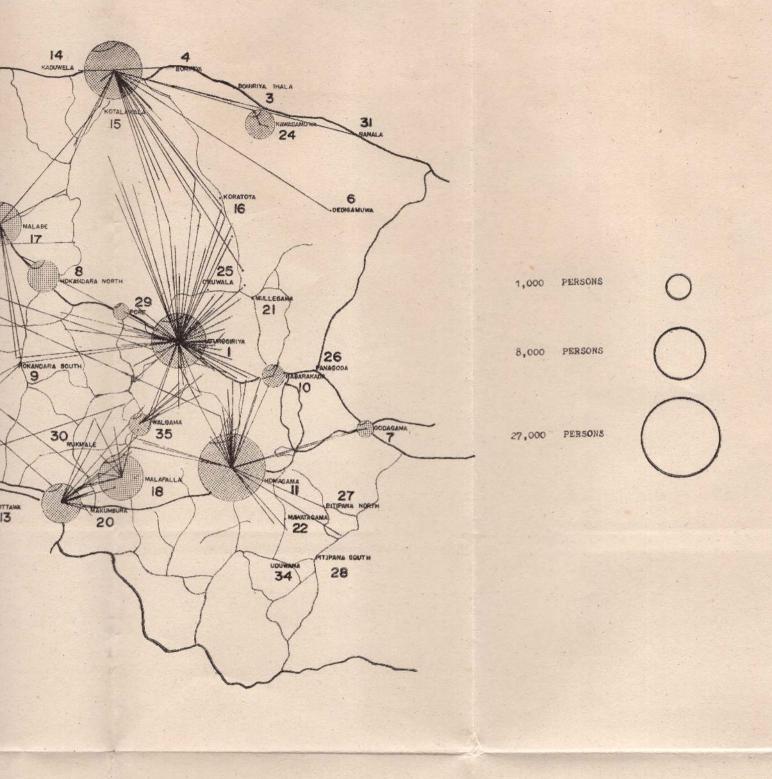
ES IN POPULATION IN THE D.R.O.DIVISIONS WITHIN COLOMBO DISTRICT 1946-1953 and 1953-1963





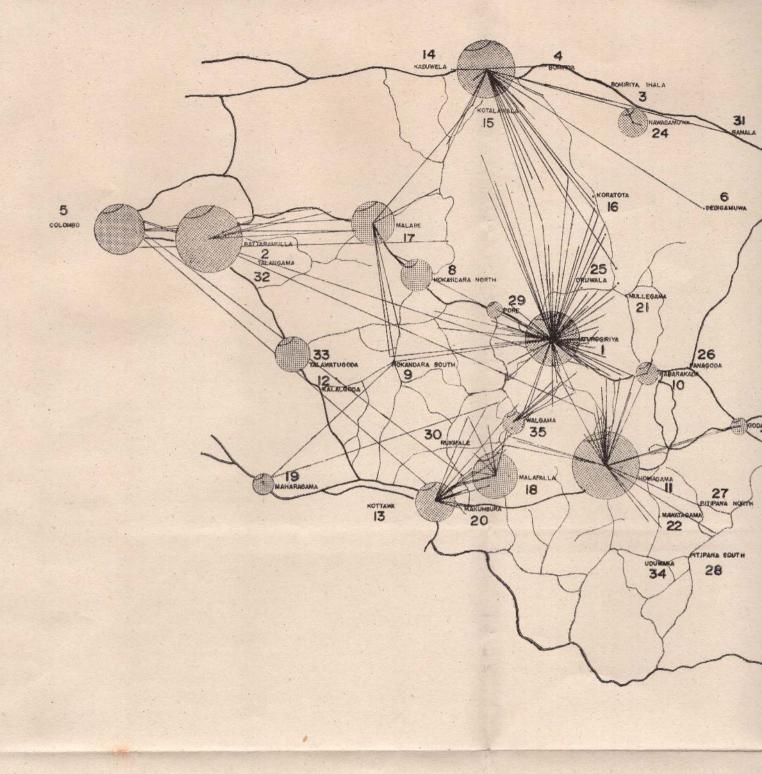
CHANGES IN POPULATION IN THE D.R.O.DIVISIONS THE COLOMBO DISTRICT 1946-1953 and 1953





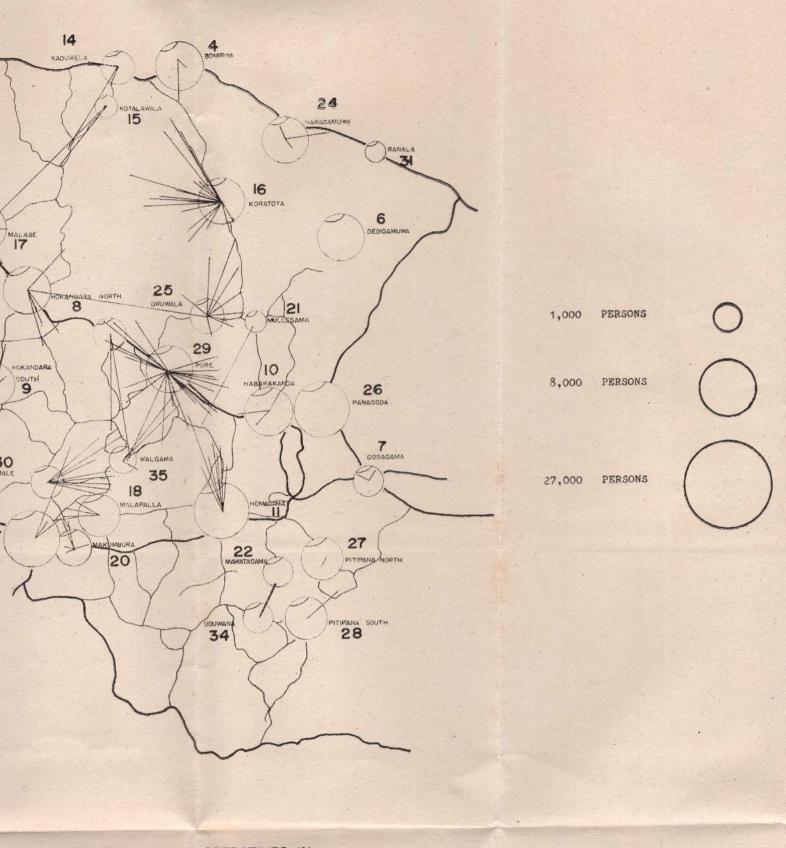
N AND HINTERLAND POPULATION OF MARKET CENTERS IN PALLE PATTUWA OF HEWAGAM KORALE

MILES 8 5/4 1/2 1/4 0 1 2 3 MILES



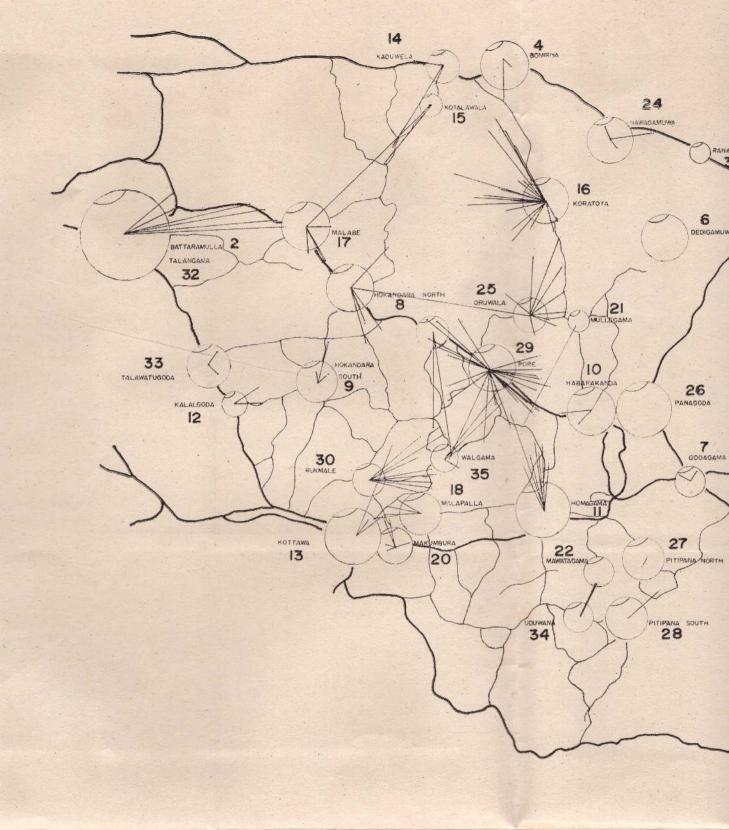
LOCATION AND HINTERLAND POPULATION OF MARKET CENTERS IN PALLE PATTUWA OF HEWAGAM KORALE

MILES | 5/4 1/2 1/4 0 | 2 8 MILES



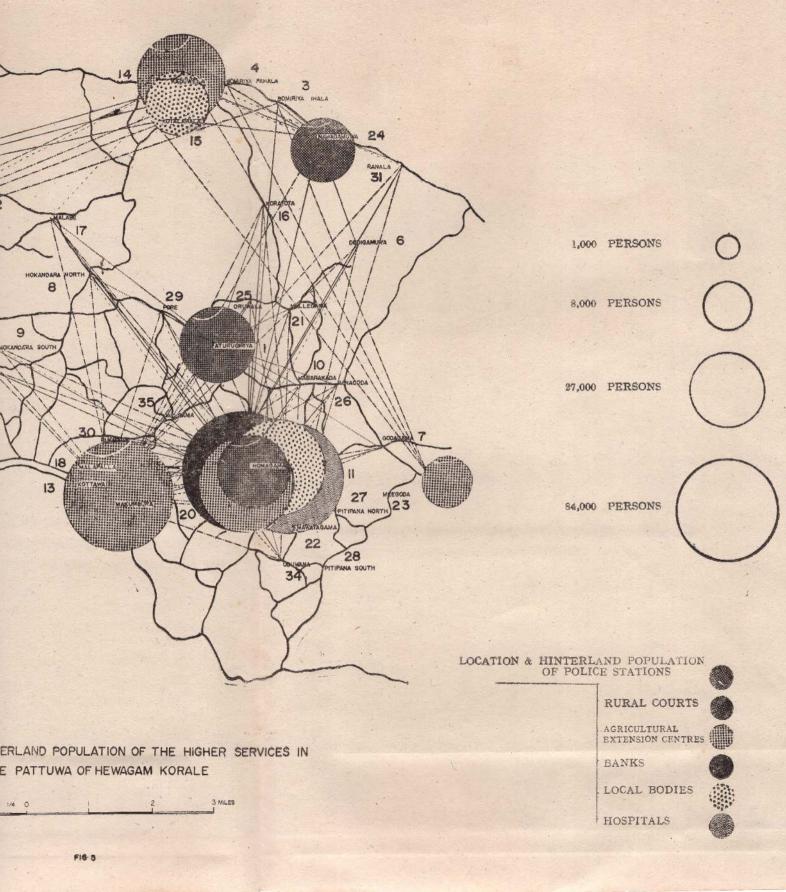
RLAND POPULATION OF CO-OPERATIVES IN TUWA OF HEWAGAM KORALE

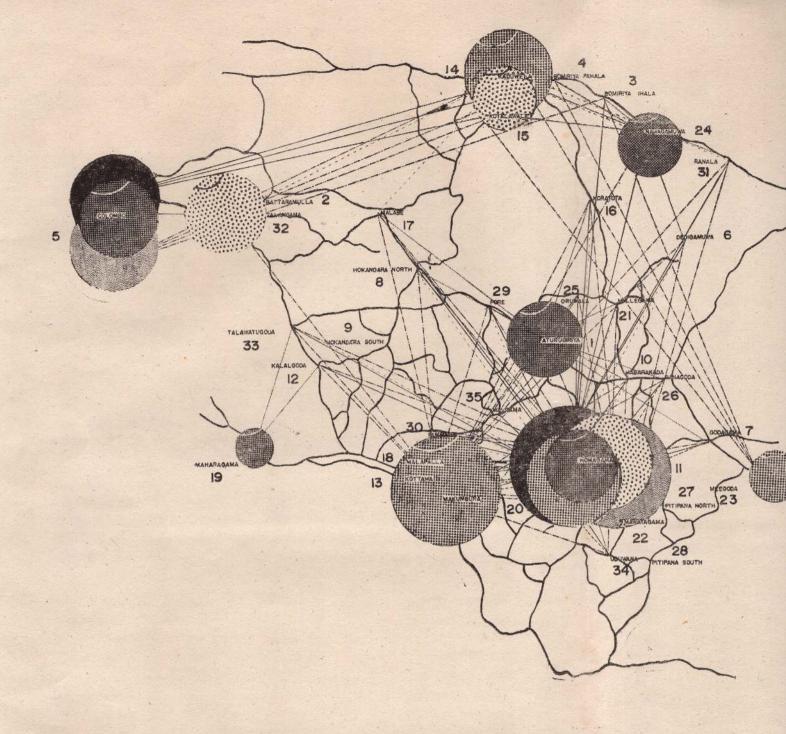
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LOCATION AND HINTERLAND POPULATION OF CO-OPERATIVES IN PALLE PATTUWA OF HEWAGAM KORALE

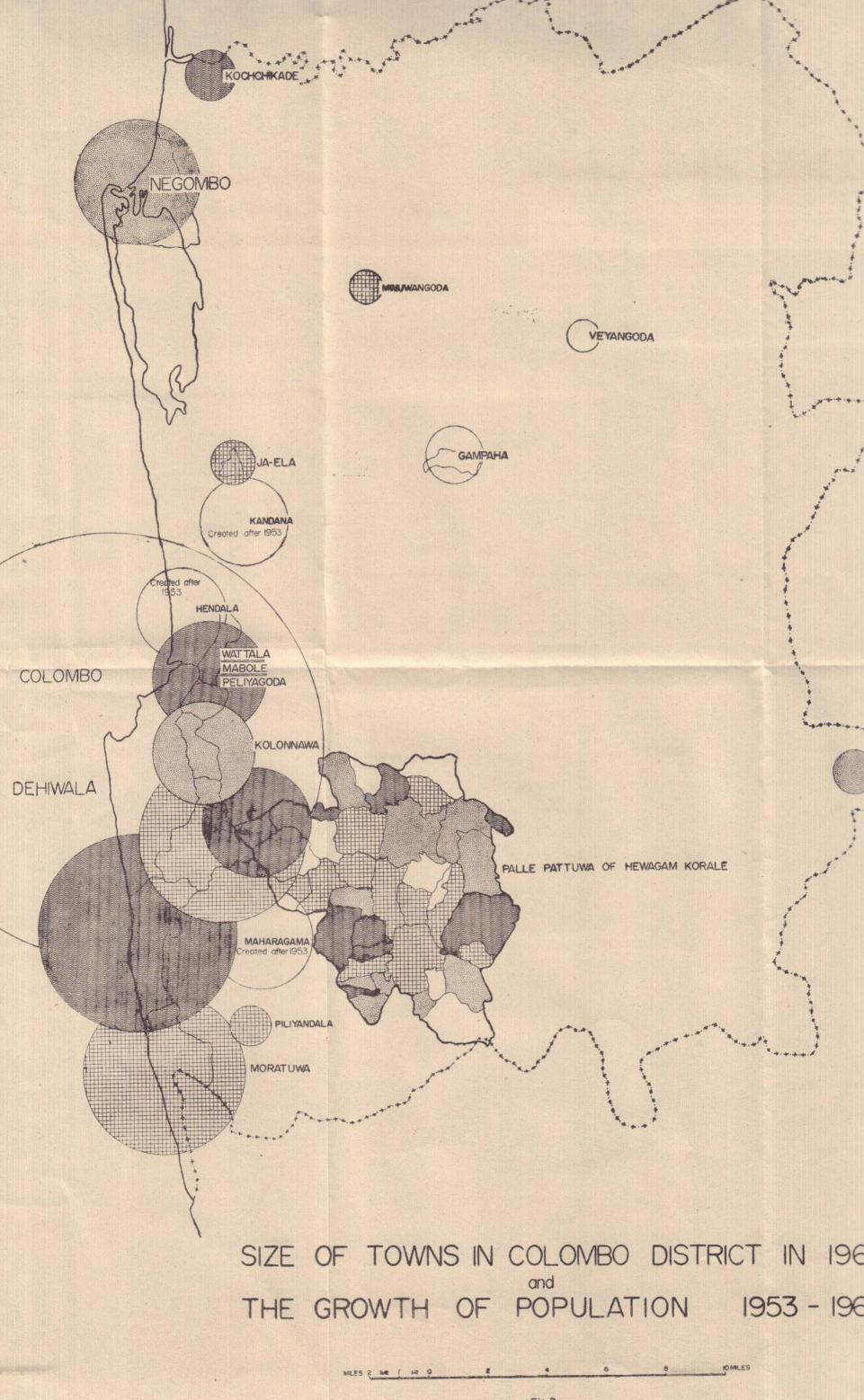
MILES 1 3/4 1/2 1/4 0 1 2 3 MILES

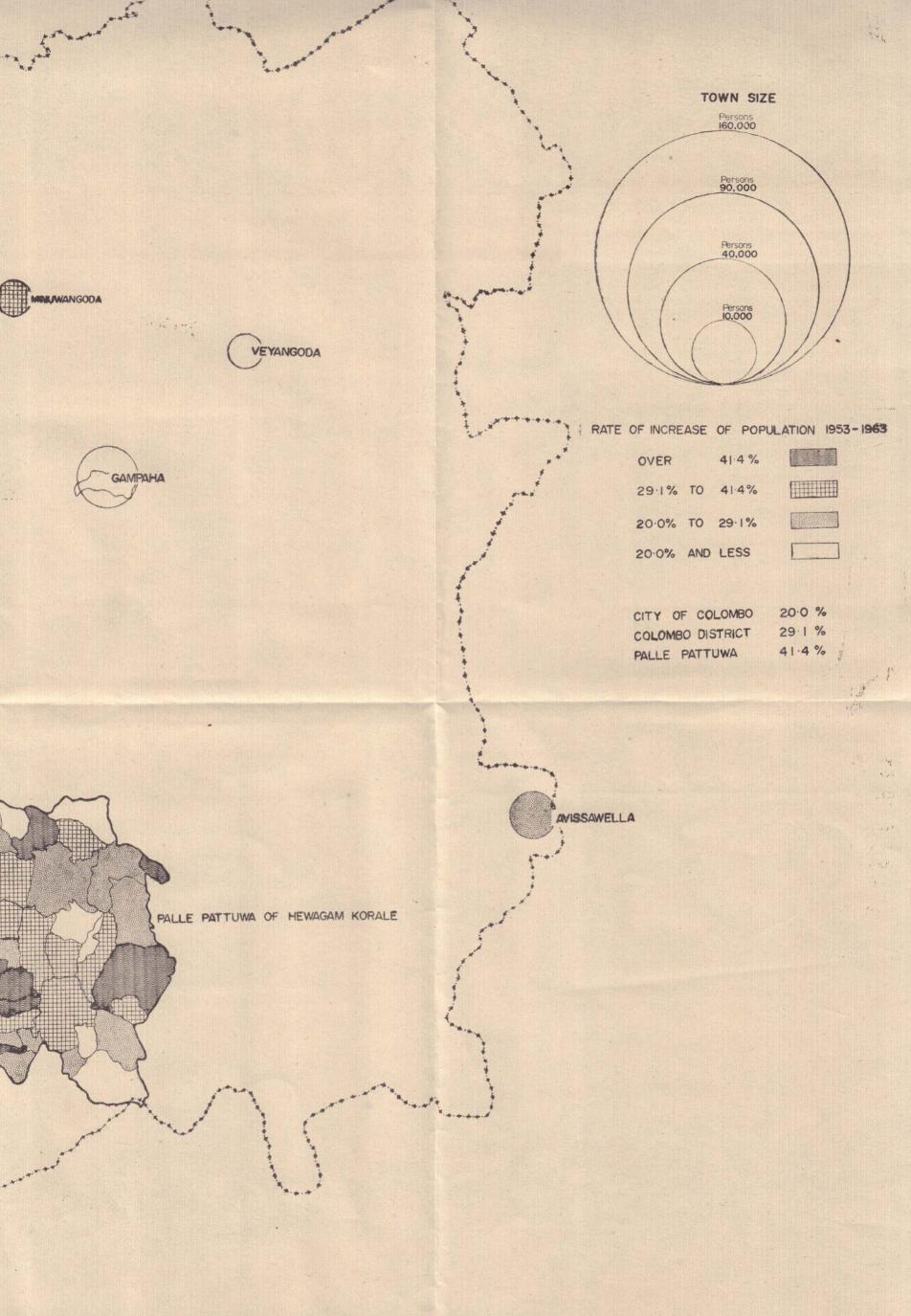




LOCATION AND HINTERLAND POPULATION OF THE HIGHER SERVICES IN PALLE PATTUWA OF HEWAGAM KORALE







TOWNS IN COLOMBO DISTRICT IN 1963 and DWTH OF POPULATION 1953 - 1963

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Problems of Agriculture in the Gal-Oya (left bank) Peasant Colony*

H. N. C. FONSEKA

The Gal-Oya (left bank) Colony, the foremost of the peasant colonies in the Dry Zone, covers an area of 24,884 acres under cultivation with a total colonist population of 4,897 in 1963. The allottees have been settled in 40 village units, each comprising approximately 150 families. Each allottee has received approximately three acres of lowland (irrigable land) and two acres of highland (unirrigable land). Paddy is the dominant crop cultivated on the irrigated lowland during both the *Maha* and *Yala* seasons. The River Valleys Development Board has encouraged the allottees to take up to the cultivation of subsidiary crops, especially tobacco, on the lowland during *Yala* in order to conserve irrigation water, but this has not been a success. The crops cultivated on the unirrigable highland fall into four main groups: (a) tree crops (b) rainfed paddy (c) dry grains and (d) vegetables. Allottees' animals are reared in the highland.

This paper is an attempt to analyse five problems in the system of agriculture practised by the allottees, in the light of the physical, economic and social factors responsible. It emerged from field investigations in six representative villages of the colony carried out in 1966-1967. The villages studied: one, four, seven, nine, 26 and 27, represent the three principal categories of allottees settled in this colony: (1) compensation, purana (old) villagers displaced from the area submerged by the Senanayake Samudra; (2) local, landless Tamil and Muslim villagers and those with little land in the densely populated East coast strip of the Batticaloa district and (3) immigrant, the colonists proper, consisting of people from the land-hungry villages of the Wet Zone. The principal method of investigation followed in this study was questioning the allottees. 204 allottees comprising 48 from village one representing the compensation category, 41 from village seven and 30 from village four, representing the local category, and 41 from village nine, 18 from village 27 and 26 from village 26 representing the immigrant category, selected on the basis of a random sample, were questioned.

The problems are now discussed.

1. Non-Cultivation of some lowland allotments during Maha and Yala

Parts or the whole of lowland allotments in the colony were not cultivated during *Maha* and *Yala*. 43 allottees out of the 204 interviewed reported non-cultivation during *Maha* and 101 during *Yala*. The more impor-

^{*}Paper read before section D, annual sessions of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, December, 1970.

tant reasons for non-cultivation arranged in order of descending importance are: lack of water, unsuitable soil, lateness for the season, lack of funds, illness, lack of labour, co-operative decision taken by allottees not to cultivate and stray cattle.

Lack of water was generally felt in the colony as a whole during Yala. It was also experienced during Maha over areas situated at the further end of the main irrigation channels.

Lack of water was due to two sets of factors: (1) defective field channels or situation of fields above the level of channels and (2) lack of adequate control regarding the distribution of water. The former has resulted in the unirrigability of entire lowland allotments, or parts thereof. The latter has two adverse effects. Firstly, irregular tapping of water by some allottees has created difficulties for others particularly to those at the tail end of channels. This may be due to the practice of using ponded water to control weeds and to the fact that the quantum of water received by the allottees is not dependent on a payment. Secondly, irrigation water is used to extend the areas of cultivation unofficially. Large extents of reservations and unirrigable highlands have been brought under paddy cultivation.

Disproportionate use of water by the Tamil allottees of village seven has reduced the Muslims of this village, who are in a minority here, to a helpless position. Being unable to cultivate due to lack of water many Muslims have leased their lands to the *podiyars*, the rich Tamil middle class land-owners, and have become agricultural labourers.

Lack of water was felt in Yala, particularly in villages further away from the reservoir. Thus in village seven, 33 out of 41 interviewed did not cultivate, in village four, 29 out of 30 and in village 26, 22 out of 26.

Soil has an important bearing on water requirements. Paddy soils in the Gal-Oya Valley are too light in texture and hence low in water retention capacity. Thus the gravelly and sandy soils in villages 26 and four have aggravated the shortages of water.

Lateness for the season was operative in village 26, where the allottees were too late for the Yala due to a delayed Maha harvest consequent on heavy rain interfering with cultivation operations. It was considered that commencement of a late Yala would expose the crop to a high degree of pest and disease attack.

Lack of funds, illness and lack of labour led some people to lease out their lands. Where land is leased, allottees get a lower income than when they cultivate the same land. A co-operative decision not to cultivate during Yala was taken by the majority of allottees in villages seven and four which are settled by the East coast Tamils. This was based on an anticipated shortage of water based on past experience. These two villages are situated at the furthest points of the channel system. Cultivation in isolation brought about threats from trespass by stray cattle, since the common fences around the yaya would not be erected. It was found too expensive for individuals to erect fences around their fields.

Limited cultivation of rotational crops on lowland during Yala

Allottees have been encouraged to cultivate tobacco as a rotational crop on the lowland during Yala for two reasons: (1) to conserve irrigation water and (2) to obtain a higher income. It has been estimated that an acre of tobacco would give a gross return of Rs. 1300/-. Average gross return from an acre of paddy would be about half this.

Only 29 allottees out of the 204 interviewed cultivated tobacco, on extents varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, during Yala. The reasons for non-cultivation by the greater majority of the allottees were (a) sandy, sandy loamy, gravelly and saline soils of their allotments not being favourable; (b) lack of sufficient knowledge regarding the cultivation practices pertaining to this crop; (c) absence of a proper organisation to market the produce; (d) cultivation of tobacco on paddy land is a risky venture whereas paddy is a safe crop assured of a definite profit; (e) tobacco needed more attention than paddy.

Inadequate utilisation of the highland

Development of the cultivation of tree crops were in different stages in the areas under study.

All areas were favourably placed for development of coconut cultivation to the high underground water table, conditioned by situation in proximity to tanks, irrigation channels and the lagoon.

Many allotments in villages one, four and 26 had between eight to 20 trees per allotment while several in villagers nine, seven and 27 had over 20 trees. There were a few single allotments containing 100-150 trees.

Murunga, though suited to the Dry Zone because of its drought resistant character, is not widely grown in the colony because of the poor market for its product. Most allottees did not have more than about 10 trees in their allotments.

Citrus cultivation was of significance in village one. The number of orange plants per allotment varied between ten and 30, while there were two allotments with nearly 100 plants in each. Lime was relatively less important than orange. Citrus cultivation was of little importance in the

other villages. Its greater importance in village one could be attributed to the fact that the allottees have grown citrus on an extensive scale in their villages of origin in the tank-bed area.

Paddy cultivation based on the north-east monsoon rains was practised in all villages, though in varying degrees of importance. The extents cultivated varied from a quarter to one acre. It was most important in village seven where several allottees cultivated the entire extent of the highland. It was least important in village 27 where only four out of the 18 interviewed cultivated paddy on quarter acre plots. The reasons for limited cultivation were (a) the unsuitability of lands due to their rocky nature and (b) the difficulty of cultivating seasonal crops along with tree crops.

The cultivation of dry grains was of some importance in villages one, 26 and 27. Several allottees have cultivated a Yala crop of maize on quarter to three quarter acre plots. These allottees had a background of chena cultivation in their home villages in the tank bed area, Badulla and Hambantota. The others had no tradition of cultivating dry rains.

Cultivation of vegetables was of some significances in the four Sinhalese villages. Many allottees cultivated small plots varying in size from small extents to about quarter to half an acre during *Maha*. The limited cultivation was due to unsuitable sandy soils, surfeit of water during *Maha*, consequent on the north-coast monsoon rains invariably augmented by depressions, shortages of family labour and the problem of eradicating the weed, *illuk*. Vegetable cultivation was hardly of any significance in the two Tamil/Muslim villages. These people had hardly any experience of cultivating subsidiary crops in their villages of origin.

Several problems confronted the allottees in the development of the highland. Infertile sandy and gravelly soils and lack of water during Yala were problems in general. The menace of the weed, illuk, was particular to village one, and salinity consequent on proximity to the lagoon to village seven. Everywhere lack of labour was a problem, in view of the limited availability of family labour. The average size of the family labour force is three. The allottees considered it uneconomic to hire labour for highland cultivation.

Lack of any significant development of animal husbandry

The allottees' animals consisted of buffaloes and neat cattle. There were more neat cattle than buffaloes. The allottees found it easier to rear neat cattle than buffaloes. Buffaloes need proper grazing ground whereas neat cattle can be reared on any open space. Neat cattle were reared primarily to do field work, since there was no prospect of development of dairying in view of the highly limited local demand for fresh milk,

Several problems confronted the allottees in rearing animals.

The chief of these was the lack of sufficient pasture within the colony. Animals were usually maintained in the highland allotments, in nearby forests or in uncultivated stretches in and around the villages. Forest areas are fast being cleared up for expansion of colonisation and are being occupied by squatters.

Friction among allottees were quite frequent due to cattle treaspass on one another's allotments and the resulting damage to highland and lowland crops. This resulted from the animals wandering astray due to frequent thefts of ropes and chains used to tie them and the absence of perimeter fences around most allotments.

During the dry season it was a problem to find sufficient feed for the animals within the colony as all vegetation got parched up. Feed has got to be brought from neighbouring purana villages several miles away. Even drinking water for the animals was a problem. Irrigation channels could not be used to sustain animals as it was contrary to the rules of cultivation committees.

Cattle diseases such as mastitis and foot and mouth disease were prevalent and tended to destroy the animals. The veterinary services available were inadequate.

These problems acted against any significant development of animal husbandry in the colony.

The demand for animals to plough and thresh was itself dwindling due to the increasing supply of tractors and the speed with which work could be done with their use.

Limited practice of improved methods of paddy cultivation

Improved varieties of seed paddy propagated by the Department of Agriculture were used by the allottees. During Yala 1967, the most popular varieties used were H₄ and H₅. However the allottees did not use fresh stocks of seed paddy, as advised, in order to maintain the purity of seed. They used paddy from each year's harvest as seed or obtained a stock from a fellow farmer.

The Government distributes seed paddy to the allottees through the net work of Co-operative Societies at subsidised prices. Stocks of seed paddy were not available at the Co-operative Societies at times when the allottees needed them. The Wavinna Co-operative Society distributed seed paddy last in 1963.

Even when available, the allottees considered the quality of seed paddy questionable. Some people were not aware of the benefits that would result if seed paddy is changed according to advice given. Many could not afford buying seed at unsubsidised prices from outside. Of the 133 allottees interviewed in the four Sinhalese villages, 53 allottees transplanted paddy during *Maha* and 26 allottees during *Yala*. This practice was hardly of any significance in the two villages falling within the local category since Tamil and Muslim women folk did not participate in transplanting. The extents transplanted varied from a half acre to two acres. It was exceptional to transplant the full extent of the allotment.

Factors which restricted the practice of this method were:

- (1) shortage of family labour;
- (2) expenditure of hiring labour from outside. Cost of a female labourer was Rs. 3/- per day plus free food. Ten labourers are needed to transplant one acre in a day;
- (3) sandy soils which lack water retention;
- (4) undulating nature of allotments encouraging an outflow of water, transplanting has to be carried out in standing water;
- (5) opinion that transplanting results in a better growth of the paddy plant, hence there is a greater chance of attack by pests and disease especially the stem borer, this could result in a greater expenditure on pesticides;
- (6) transplanting will pay only if the crop is well maintained and fertilised;
- (7) there is no incentive to transplant during Yala as the crop itself is not very successful due to shortages of water.

All the allottees interviewed in village nine weeded their fields using both weedicides and manual labour during Maha and Yala. Shortages of family labour hindered more intensive manual weeding. In village seven, 26 out of 41 interviewed weeded fields using weedicides during Maha and seven weeded the Yala crop. Hand weeding was of very little significance in this village. Weeding was least practised in village one where only seven allottees used weedicides during the two seasons. The reasons for the limited practice of weeding in villages seven and one were (a) lack of facilities in Co-operative Societies to obtain weedicides and the lack of funds to buy these from outside at unsubsidised and higher prices; (b) shortages of sprayers and (c) shortages of family labour, the daily wage rate for weeding involving much as rupees five per day and free food. Certain types of weeds berala and katugedara could not be eradicated by any means known to them.

The majority of the allottees in villages nine and seven used artificial fertiliser during both seasons. Only two allottees manured fields in village

one. The quantum used was about 2 cwt. per acre which the recommended dosage is 3 cwt. Reasons for restricted use were

- (1) Inability to obtain credit from co-operatives due to unsettled debts
- (2) Co-operatives had no fertiliser for sale. It was available in the open market but at a much higher price than the Government subsidised price and the allottees could not afford to buy it.
- (3) Some allottees considered that the sandy soil in their lands did not absorb fertiliser and when applied it was blown away by the wind.

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The Unit Farm Approach of Farm Planning in Ceylon: A Critique

NIHAL AMERASINGHE

1. Introduction

The unit farm approach or technique of farm planning has been adopted (consciously or unconsciously) to indicate the feasibility of various farm plans and other important aspects of land settlement to be undertaken under the Mahaveli diversion project in Ceylon. This approach of farm planning is inherently embodied in the "100 acre pilot project" initiated at the Maha Illupallama Dry Zone Research Station in 1970 in order to provide the necessary economic and technical information for planning future land settlement in Ceylon under the Mahaveli project. This technique of farm planning on which future farming in Ceylon is to be based is not a new tool in the kit of the agricultural economist and has been used intermittently since 1946. It has had a chequered history as a farm planning tool due to its many limitations and has been superseded by a host of more refined farm planning techniques. The object of this paper is to discuss the potentials and limitations of this technique in providing the necessary information for effective farm planning and settlement in Ceylon. An alternative approach will be suggested in the light of the limitations of the unit farm approach in providing the information necessary for effective farm planning in Ceylon.

2. The Unit Farm Approach

Agricultural science is essentially concerned with technical details of farming and not with the organisation of these techniques into an efficient farm business. The scientist cannot judge with any accuracy, nor for that matter is he greatly concerned with, how important a new technique may be to the operation of a farm or how its introduction will affect farm organisation in other respects. Wherever agriculture is technically less advanced the effect of any single innovation is likely to be correspondingly more fundamental. Therefore the need for subjecting it to economic tests within the farming system is even greater. Farm surveys which were in vogue in the 1940's could offer only piecemeal information on farming as the sources of such information were scattered and it was not possible to integrate the information so as to evaluate more efficient farming systems. The absence of a suitable technique to evaluate economically viable farm plans was a major handicap for effective planning

G. P. Hirsch, "Peasant Experimental Farms as a Research Technique", Farm Econ. Vol. 8, No. 9, 1957, p. 51.

in the early 1940's. An attempt to overcome this void was made in 1946 when five experimental farms of different types were established by A. L. Jolly² at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Tripidad. The object of this experiment was to ascertain the possibility of developing a system of peasant farming that could provide full employment and a reasonable level of living. This was both an experiment in land settlement and in technical feasibility. This technique of establishing peasant experimental farms to investigate the potentials of farming was referred to as "the unit farm approach". It was held that this technique enabled the setting up of a hypothesis based upon a priori information and also testing the same.* In this method the investigator has complete control over the farm on which he is experimenting. Control is not only exercised in respect of agricultural techniques but also in the more fundamental features of labour organisation, capital investment, enterprise combination, intensity of application of resources and so on. Moreover, by proper accounting procedures the investigator can collect all the facts about the economic viability of given farm plans. Also, he could control and exercise any re-organisation he may think desirable in order to achieve an economically more efficient farm. This approach therefore enabled the economist to move ahead of existing farm organisations to more efficient organisations in terms of resource use. It was considered a boon to farm economists since they faced the problem of having on laboratory to carry out experiments in farm organisation. Jolly postulated that the classical tools of economic research were essentially meant to measure conditions as they exist and changes as they occur and that they offered no solutions to farm reorganisation and argued that the unit farm approach could therefore make a significant contribution to farm planning methodology.

At a glance the unwary researcher might be enamoured by the unit farm approach and may consider it a panacea to all farming problems whether they be technical or economic. However, it has many deficiencies which vitiates its practical usefulness. These limitations will be discussed in the context of the "100 acre pilot project" which has been initiated to shed light on the possible farm plans to be pursued under the Mahaveli project.

3. The "100 Acre Pilot Project"

The objectives of the project are multifarious and are expected to provide the necessary feedback information to undertake effective farm planning under the Mahaveli river diversion scheme which is expected to

^{2.} A. L. Jolly, Report on Peasant Experimental Farms, Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad 1951.

E. S. Clayton, "Research Methodology and Peasant Agriculture", Farm Econ., Vol. 8, No. 6, 1956.

A. L. Jolly, "The Unit Farm as a tool in Farm Management Research", J. Farm Econ. Aug. 1957.

increase the irrigable land area in Ceylon by 70 per cent. The following are some of the main aims of the project:

- 1. To obtain information in order to determine the optimum size of holdings to be allocated to colonists and the cropping patterns which are feasible within this holding.
- 2. To select cropping patterns which would assure an income of at least Rs. 6000 per annum to a colonist.
- To indicate farm plans which could provide full employment for two persons.
- 4. To obtain information on the socio-economic problems associated with the settling of people as colonists.
- To provide information on the possibilities of mechanisation, particularly the economics of two wheel tractors and its labour saving potential and
- To evaluate various aspects of multiple cropping and the income potentials in different multiple cropping patterns.

It is therefore apparent that much is expected from this experiment and that the future development of the dry zone of Ceylon would be closely tied up with the success of this project. The period of experimentation has not been decided at present but it is envisaged that it would be continued for a period of about five years. Some individuals even contend that this project should be continued indefinitely to provide a laboratory for continuous experimentation.

During the Yala season in 1970 six farmers and subsequently a further twelve were selected for this project on the basis of farming background, size of family, age of farmer and spouse, landlessness, qualities of leadership and so on. These criteria of selection conform closely to the requirements for land alienation under colonization schemes specified by the Land Commissioner. However, in practice these criteria have been neglected.

Land preparation was completed before the colonists were settled. Each colonist was provided a cottage worth approximately Rs. 3000, but these were ready for occupation only later. The average size of holding is approximately five acres. Farm sizes have been intentionally made variable so as to gain an insight into the problems and potentials of having different sizes of holdings. The farmers do not enjoy any ownership rights to the land and merely operate as tenants who have been selected ad hoc for the experiment. The only incentive to production is the usufruct from the land. A peculiarity of the tenancy arrangement is the payment of wages to farmers and their dependents on a per diem basis at Government rates for their labour. This further reduces the status of the farmer to that of a wage labourer. In compliance with legislation a farmer and his wife are expected to work eight hours a day according to a strict time schedule. Another feature is that the farmer is 'free' for the weekend.

A basic requirement of those settled is to utilize each allotment fully. It was found that most of the farmers were unable to fully utilize their allotments and had to hire labour. Since hired labour was readily available through the board of management, this led to indiscriminate indulgence in the use of hired lands and consequent unprofitable cultivation.

The land utilization patterns prescribed for the two cultivation seasons are different. During the Maha season an average five acre holding has three acres under paddy cultivation and the rest is under subsidiary food crops. The homestead is located on half an acre of land and is cultivated with perennial crops such as bananas, passion fruit, grapes and so on. In the Yala season paddy is cultivated only in the ill-drained areas and the emphasis is more on subsidiary food crops. The choice of crops in both seasons is restricted to a few by the management in keeping with national food production policies, which curtails the freedom of the farmers to some extent. Moreover, once the crops have been selected it is incumbent on the farmers to adopt all the recommended practices in cultivating the crops and also to conform rigidly to a cultivation calendar which has been drawn up for them. Ample extension services to deal with technical problems are available. In this connection there is a full time project manager who visits each farmer periodically and also two field level extension workers.

Farmers are also provided with all the inputs they require, including an assured supply of water. There is also a machinery pool from which the farmers could obtain services readily. The cost of inputs and also land and water charges are recovered at harvest time when the crop is sold to the co-operative servicing the project. This is possible as the colonists are compelled to sell their produce to a centralized marketing agency (co-operative) servicing the project. Transport facilities, bags and other requirements for marketing the produce are available and the farmers experience no problems of marketing.

From this brief description of the "100 acre pilot project" it is apparent that this project is a repetition of Jolly's unit farm experiment. As in that experiment, this project also suffers from certain shortcomings and the object of the next section is to discuss these limitations in simulating realistic farming conditions and providing a foundation for feasible farm plans which would be readily acceptable to peasant farmers.

4. Limitations of the Unit Farm Approach

Since the unit farm approach is the theoretical framework on which the 100 acre pilot project is based, the criticisms which would be directly levelled at the pilot project would be ostensibly a critique of the unit farm method. As discussed above, the objectives of the pilot project are many and it would be impossible to elicit all the information required

from this experiment. Various crop combinations within the restrictions imposed by the board of management are practiced by the farmers and information on inputs, costs and returns of individual crops and crop combinations are being collected. It is likely that the variability amongst the farmers would result in the information being statistically unacceptable. It is apparent that it would be potentially dangerous to recommend information based on such tenous evidence to farmers. The information is bound to be piecemeal as various objectives would be satisfied under different conditions of farming. Moreover, this information would then have to be carefully examined and integrated into a coherent farm plan capable of satisfying all the requirements before it could be recommended. The problem is that this plan would remain untested and if it is to be recommended with any confidence it would have to be subjected to further experimentation. Also the fact that the information is based only on one year's experimentation makes the integrated farm plan an unsatisfactory foundation for any firm recommendations. Further experimentation would mean the wasteful use of scarce resources and loss of time, and this too would give information which will be valid under ceteris paribus conditions. Thus a change of prices, yields, technology and so on will require a new farm organization.

The 100 acre pilot project is both an investigation in technical feasibility and land settlement. However, it is apparent that the former objective has been given more weight. Technical feasibility is already known since the crops cultivated are not new introductions and there is already accumulated evidence on the potential of such crops. It would be therefore superfluous to incur such collossal expenditure to obtain information which is already available. The restriction of the choice of crops is also a highly undesirable feature. Farmers have their own preferences among crops and livestock based on socio-economic and cultural norms and it is unrealistic to expect them to accept an imposed system uninhibited. Risk and uncertainty and the likes and dislikes of farmers are important determinants of the farmers' ultimate choice of farm enterprises and it is too much to expect farmers to jettison their social and cultural values to satisfy national economic policies. Farmers' aspirations and attitudes would first have to be changed before they become primarily economic minded.

The basis of selecting farmers for this project also leaves much to be desired. The colonists chosen were mainly farm labourers from the experimental station with no genuine farming experience and with a different outlook altogether. This has already led to problems and five farmers have left the project for reasons such as alcoholism, work being too strenuous and so on. The 'human aspect' of settlement, which is imperative for successful land settlement, has been largely ignored. This shortcoming vitiates the credence which could be placed on this project as a feasible experiment in settlement. Moreover, if the idea was to develop workable

and profitable farm plans for peasant holdings it seems strange that the variations of the human factor have been neglected, there being complete control of management. The extension services available are completely out of proportion to what is observed under normal conditions. The supervision given by the project manager and two field assistants to eighteen farmers is nowhere near what actually is operative under field conditions where one field officer supervises about six hundred farmers on the average. The farmers have no problems in procuring their inputs in time although this is usually a problem for peasant farmers. Further, these farmers have no problems of marketing their produce, which again is often a limiting factor for peasant producers. It is therefore clear that the farmers in the pilot project farm under unusual and very exceptional circumstances. As stated earlier, the farmers have to adhere strictly to all the recommended practices and have no choice or any intimation of the costs involved. The principle of the unit farm is that the operator is only responsible for putting into practice the ideas of the economist and is no way concerned with the financial results of the experiment. This is an unacceptable situation under normal farming conditions where capital is a critical constraint in adopting innovations. It would therefore appear that this experiment has been only helpful in showing what the peasant farmer could do with unlimited capital and extension services.

The concept of family farming has also been neglected in this experiment. It is well known that farming and domestic work are closely linked. The allocation of labour between farm work and domestic work are intimately connected, and in farm planning the labour available for actual farming should be evaluated in this context. The requirement that the farmer should work eight hours a day and also keep to a time schedule borders on absurdity to anyone familiar with farming. Farmers have their own leisure-work preference schedules and to make simplifying assumptions about the labour time available for farm work without any appreciation of their values could only lead to impracticable farm plans. Further, the wages paid to farmers in this scheme are a bonanza, since they offer a security to farmers and an assured income throughout the year. Peasant farmers, it is well known, usually live from one harvest to another, depending entirely on their farm production as a source of income and sustenance, with little or no reserves to cushion the risks of farming.

Another unrealistic feature is the type of tenurial arrangement in operation. The farmers have no claim on the land and are merely entitled to the usufruct. It is well known that the Ceylonese peasant has an innate desire to be a cultivator-owner rather than a paid labourer and this type of tenurial arrangement is a violation of peasant values. Ownership of land or a secured tenancy is a basic pre-requisite for enhanced productivity. It is therefore likely that in this experiment farmers have neither made any efforts to increase production nor sought to maintain the fertility of

the land. This tendency would be further strengthened by the fact that the farmers are entitled to an assured income.

It would be clear from the discussion above that the conditions under which the 100 acre pilot project operates are at variance with normal peasant farming conditions. In this experiment it seems axiomatic that if peasant production is to be increased, labour must be balanced by larger inputs of capital. The socio-economic and cultural complex in which the farmer operates has been ignored and it has been assumed that the farmer is only economically motivated. Under these circumstances this experiment would only provide some insight into the technical aspects of production. But this too is limited since it has been carried out under one set of conditions. From the point of view of land settlement it does not help us to draw any worthwhile conclusions since the basic premises on which settlement would normally be based, such as cultivator ownership, family farming with restricted capital, inadequate technical know how and so on, have not been observed in this scheme.

5. An Alternative Approach

The factual implication of the unit farm approach is that peasant producers are not aware of economic incentives or that they do not act in response to them. This notion of peasant irrationality has been refuted under different situations.5 It would not be incorrect to suggest that peasant farmers in Ceylon are aware of economic opportunities and are sensitive to them. We may then inquire as to why agricultural production has not shown significant progress in the light of scientific progress. The failure of science in the last few decades to push agricultural production to satisfactory levels may be less attributable to scientific misinformation than to the fact that much of the information sought and found was irrelevant.6 Past failures to relate agronomic research to effective farm economic analysis has rendered much agricultural research abortive. Even when research is able to relieve existing constraints and push out the production possibility frontier, there are other economic reasons why farmers might objectively decline to adapt innovations. We might distinguish four such reasons:

- 1. that they increase gross returns by less than the increase in costs,
- 2. that they increase long run average net returns only at the risk of short run calamity,

D. Hopper, "Allocative Efficiency in Traditional Indian Agriculture", J. Farm Econ., Vol. 47, 1965, p. 611-624 and T. Jogaratnam, "Farm Planning in Ceylon: An Application of the Linear Programming Technique", J. Nat. Agric. Soc., Vol. 5, 1968, p. 30.

^{6.} L. Joy, "Diagnosis, Prediction and Policy Formulation", in Subsistence Agriculture and Economic Development by C. R. Wharton, ed., Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., Lond., 1970.

- that the prospective yield increases have unattractively low present net worth in the light of the farmers high rates of time preference and
- 4. that social and institutional constraints could prevent peasant farmers from accepting innovations.

As observed earlier, the unit farm approach ignores all these considerations and has merely concentrated on the financial aspects. Considerations of risk and uncertainty and the time preference of farmers have been assumed to be inoperative in this experiment. This is a serious drawback if we are to simulate acceptable peasant farm plans as farmers are generally averse to risk and consciously hedge against such situations due to their vulnerable financial position. It is suggested in this paper that peasant farmers should be studied in their own farming environment and on their own farms. And that a detailed and prolonged comparative study of the economic behaviour of peasants on their own farms would give more feasible information than the *ad hoc* creation and investigation of unit farms.

Let us now consider how all the objectives of the unit farm experiment may be more realistically achieved. From the unit farm experiment, or for that matter from farm surveys alone, it would be impossible to evolve a farm plan which could satisfy simultaneously all the objectives noted above. We would only have fragmentary evidence from different unit farms from which to derive the farm plan satisfying all our requirements. However, this too will be only an approximation. To overcome this problem as well as make a more realistic study of peasant farming possibilities it is felt that linear programming is more eminently suitable.

During the past decade, linear programming (LP) has been increasingly used to investigate problems of peasant agriculture and has established itself as a valuable technique. In the peasant context the basic profit maximizing model has to be modified to approximate the realities of peasant production. The problem is to find a analog of the peasant's decision making environment, a matrix or matrices into which we could feed the data about soil, climate, technology, yield and price fluctuations, social structures and values which will give us a fair approximation of the relevant choice situation and the feasibility of adopting innovations. As a first step it is necessary to obtain information on the socio-economic factors influencing peasant decision making. In this context subsistence production should be carefully analysed since the peasant would be averse to any change which could affect his consumer requirements. Risk of famine is not the only reason why farmers would objectively prefer to

N. Amerasinghe, "An Appraisal of Linear Programming in Studying the Peasant Decision Making Environment", J. Nat. Agric. Soc., Vol. 7, 1970.

produce their own food requirements, but also the question of price differentials between the price he receives as a producer and consumer. Further, the availability of markets for his produce and problems of marketing should be carefully examined as a faulty marketing system could be an impediment to greater productivity. The labour time actually available for farming should also be carefully evaluated. It is incorrect to assume that a farmer could work a fixed number of hours per day without a proper understanding of the demands made by non-farm work on the farmer's time. Labour migration patterns, social factors influencing labour supply, reciprocal labour practices and other factors influencing the actual labour available should all be carefully investigated. Further, soil fertility and its influence on production and the influence of climatic variation should be carefully explored. Experimental station conditions are seldom representative of what obtains in the field and it is imperative to understand the climatic and edaphic conditions under which proposed farm plans are to be tested. The more important social considerations involve kinship ties, caste, social status, land tenure, traditionalism, and religion which should be carefully studied and incorporated into the production model as far as possible.8

The basic data required for the formulation of a LP model are the technical relationships between inputs and outputs, input restrictions and resource supplies, prices, production alternatives, soil and climatic factors, and sociological and institutional restrictions on production. It is obvious that the above variables preclude the specification of a single model to study peasant farming in Ceylon. However, it is possible to indicate a general model which could be modified to accommodate the relevant variables under different situations.

The objective function to be maximized could be written as,

Maximize
$$\sum_{j=1}^{n} C_{j} X_{j}$$
(1)

Where C_j = Net revenue per unit of activity j X_j = Number of units of activity j

The condition that no resource constraint is exceeded as,

$$A_{ij} X_j \leqslant b_i$$
(2)

Where the matrix A_{ij} contains elements a_{ij} which represents the number of units of resource i that are used per unit of activity j.

^{8.} For further discussion on the methodology of incorporating social and economic factors in a LP model, refer Amerasinghe, op. cit.

Minimum requirements to be fulfilled by the model can be written as,

$$S_{ij} X_j \geqslant r_i$$
(3)

Where the matrix S_{ij} contains elements s_{ij} which represent the number of units of requirement that are contributed by the unit of activity j and r_i is the minimum requirement of i.

The condition that no activity enters the solution at a negative level can be represented as,

$$X_j \geqslant 0$$
 for all j (4)

Any rotational husbandry constraints could be written into the model if required. Any acreage restrictions on crops could also be accommodated in the model and written as maximum permissible constraints. Subsistence requirements could be written as minimum constraints in the model which will have to be satisfied. The LP model is amenable to modification to accommodate any economic or social consideration relevant for decision making. It could also handle risk and uncertainty within its framework to some extent. It would be therefore clear that a production model of the LP type is more flexible and would be more useful as a farm planning technique than the unit farm approach. The problems explored under the 100 acre pilot project could all be handled by a LP model more realistically.

The optimum size of holding could be determined, depending on the definition of an optimum size. If it were a target income, this could be written as a minimum requirement in the model and an optimum economic solution satisfying this and other requirements could be obtained. The requirement of full employment of labour could be written as an 'equality' constraint or 'greater than' constraint which would ensure at least the utilization of family labour. The feasibility of multiple cropping within the given resource endowment situation is automatically solved since LP provides an optimum combination of farm enterprises under a given set of conditions. The full utilization of land could be written as an equality constraint in the model. To study the labour saving potential of machinery it would be necessary to relax the constraint of full employment of labour and feed in the relevant technical input-output information. Besides providing optimal economic solutions, LP provides valuable by-product information, particularly on the constraining and abundant resources available via information regarding the marginal value products (MVP). It could therefore serve both as a prescriptive as well as a diagnostic tool and would be invaluable in indicating what could be done as well as what should be done to promote agricultural development.

6. Summary and Conclusions

The unit farm approach has been adopted to indicate the technical and economic feasibility of various farm plans to be undertaken under the Mahaveli diversion scheme. This technique was observed to be deficient in many ways and particularly in the light of the "100 acre pilot project" being carried out at Maha Illupallama, it was evident that farming conditions were highly artificial. The concept of family farming, management or 'human aspect', conditions of tenure and choice of farms had all been ignored. Moreover, the availability of inputs and extension services were far in excess of average conditions. In this project it is axiomatic that if production is to be increased labour must be balanced by larger inputs of capital, while the influence of the human factor as an important variable has been totally neglected. The objectives of the pilot project cannot be achieved within the framework of the unit farm planning approach. The only useful purpose, perhaps, of the project may be to indicate the technical problems involved but this too is very restricted since it is an experiment carried out only under one set of conditions. From the point of view of land settlement no worthwhile conclusions could be derived since the basic premises on which settlement is normally based have been overlooked. This experimentation cannot be therefore expected to be very worthwhile. At most it would be useful in indicating what a peasant farmer with unlimited capital and extension services could do.

The unit farm approach has ignored considerations of risk and uncertanity in farming, the time preference of farmers and the social and institutional factors affecting production. It is an unrealistic approach if one's intention is to simulate acceptable peasant farm plans. Farmers would not accept revolutionary changes. However, they have been found to be rational in accepting innovations. It could hardly be maintained that the unit farm approach of farm planning justifies the colossal expenditure involved in obtaining technical information which is more or less already known. It is suggested in this paper that peasants should be studied on their own farms and in their own environment and that a detailed and prolonged comparative study of the economic behaviour of peasants on their own farms would give more feasible information than the ad hoc creation and investigation of unit farms. LP has been suggested as an alternative approach where the peasants decision making environment could be accommodated within the framework of a production model. It would serve to indicate optimal economic plans under the relevant socio-economic and cultural matrix being investigated. Moreover, in addition to being a prescriptive tool it could also be an useful diagnostic tool and would help to indicate those factors that restrict agicultural development.

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Kalapura: The Colony of Craftsmen in Patha-Dumbara

By GERALD PEIRIS

1. A General Introduction to Kandyan Crafts

In Kandy district and elsewhere in Ceylon cottage industries form an important field of economic activity. Though usually auxiliary to agriculture in the village economy, they play a vital role as a source of income and in the production of goods and services demanded by the rural populace. The wide range of activities collectively referred to as cottage industries can be divided into three broad losely defined categories. Those engaged in 'service industries' whose main function, especially in the less backward rural areas, can be described as repair and maintenance, form one distinct type; the village blacksmith, the carpenter and the launderer provide typical examples of this type. Then there are the cottage crafts that reflect the cheapness of labour, the low level of technology and the low purchasing capacity of the consumer. A variety of crafts, such as pottery, brick and tile making, various types of spinning and weaving, beedi wrapping, illicit distilling and brewing, may be included in this category. Thirdly, there are those cottage crafts that are based on traditional artistic skills. Less frequent in occurrence than the other types of rural industries, they differ today from the others also in the extensiveness of their markets. Their importance is not merely in the numbers engaged in them or in the value of the goods they produce; they border on the fine arts, and are an integral part of the treasured heritage from the past.

In Ceylon, the Kandyan areas are uniquely endowed with a rich variety of rural industries that fall into the last category. The techniques and art forms followed in these crafts date far back into the island's history (Coomaraswamy, 1914; Wijesekera, 1962). Drifting along with the centres of culture and political power in the period following the collapse of the Raja Rata civilization, these crafts came to be established in the Kandyan areas around the 16th century. Certain writings contend

This essay presents the results of a survey of Kalapura carried out by me during February to April 1972 at the request of my friend Sudath Gunasekera, the Assistant Director of Small Industries stationed in Kandy. I thank him not only for his assistance in my field work but also for the access he gave me to the records relevant to this study maintained at his office. My reconstruction of the history of Kalapura is based largely on the latter source and on information obtained from the records of the Co-operative Society of Kalapura. The introductory discussion of Kandyan crafts rests on sporadic and incomplete field studies in which I have been engaged during the past two years. I also record my gratitude to Mr. Upali Kirimetiyawa, the officer-in-Charge of Kalapura at present who helped me in various ways, and to the craftsmen of the colony for their cordiality and tolerance of my repeated visits to their homes.

that the 'renaissance' of the traditional crafts in the Kandyan kingdom was associated with the settling down of the *Visvakarmans*, a clan of craftsmen from South India (Coomaraswamy, 1908; Reimers, 1950). Nurtured by royal patronage and infused into the traditional social organisation these crafts flourished for several centuries, till they receded into relative oblivion during colonial rule when they remained outside the mainstream of socio-economic change.

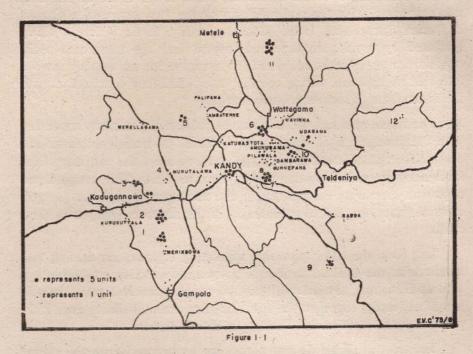
The recent past has witnessed an expansion of the crafts concerned with the production of ornamental artifacts of traditional form and design. Their market has grown largely as a result of the patronage from foreign tourists and from the wealthy local residents. This, coupled perhaps with increasing unemployment and under-employment in the agricultural sector, has led to an increase in the numbers engaged in these crafts.

Lak Sala, the state sponsored marketing organisation dealing with handicrafts, the ill-fated artificers' co-operative society established in 1951 at Giragama, several small training centres, and Kalapura, the subject of my study, represent the sporadic governmental efforts since Independence to assist this field of activity in Kandy district.

The data available do not permit me to be precise on the overall numerical aspects of Kandyan crafts. However, on the basis of field surveys which I have been conducting in craftsmen's communities, and information obtained from the records of suppliers to Lak Sala, the Kandyan Art Association and certain private dealers in artifacts in Kandy district, I would estimate that there are about 500 household units engaged in the manufacture of Kandyan ornamental artifacts. This includes not only those in Kandy district but also those in the neighbouring areas in Matale and Kegalle districts.

The craftsmen's settlements of today, shown on Figure 1.I, are identifiable in the lists of pattal vasamas (land grants made by the Kandyan monarch to royal artificers) compiled by Codrington (1909) and Coomaraswamy (1907). There are also certain scattered remnants of the artificers' panguwas (shares) in the nindagam and viharagam that are still occupied by families of craftsmen.

A majority of these craftsmen belong to the *Navandanna* caste. Smaller numbers also belong to other castes such as *Berava*, *Bathgama*, *Kinnara*, *Velli* and *Vahumpura*. In certain instances (for e.g. Kiriwaula, Embekke, Danture, Madawala, Henawala and Hapuwida) these caste groups live in village communities in which they outnumber the others.



Scale: 1 inch = 6 miles.

Fig. 1. I-The Distribution of Kandyan Craftsmen

- 1. Embekke-Arattane (light metal carving, brass casting, wood carving)
- 2. Gadaladeniva-Kiriwaula (brass casting)
- 3. Danture (light metal carving)
- 4. Dehideniya-Mangalagama (light-metal carving)
- 5. Embulpure-Ullandupitiya (light metal and ivory carving)
- 6. Madawala (light metal carving)
- 7. Polgolla ('art-line' weaving)
- 8. Nattarampota (light metal carving, brass casting, wood carving etc.)
- 9. Nilawala (brass casting and light metal carving)
- 10. Henawala-Huriekaduwa (mat weaving and light metal carving)
- 11. Palle Hapuwida (lacquer work)
- 12. Talagune (Dumbara rata and 'art-line' weaving)

Note: This map does not present the results of a comprehensive census of Kandyan craftsmen. The locations and the numbers shown are based on data obtained through field studies in the craftsmen's villages and from certain selling firms in Kandy. It is probable that a significant number of family units outside the main craftsmen's settlements have been left out of this map.

However in all these communities agriculture remains the main source of livelihood. Thus, even in the villages referred to here as craftsmen's settlements it is hazardous to assess the relative importance of agriculture and crafts. My field studies suggest that in the main craftsmen's villages, crafts form the main source of income for most family units that engage in handicrafts of the type under discussion. Thus although agriculture is the mainstay if the economy of the community is taken as a whole, for a majority of craftsmen's families, agriculture is probably less important than crafts. In this sense, I disagree with the view that "the artisanentrepreneur is essentially a cultivator who devotes his off-season time to domestic industry" (I.D.B., 1969, p. 51) insofar as the statement is applied to the Kandyan crafts.

Brief descriptive accounts of the different cottage industries that I refer to as "traditional Kandyan cottage crafts" are given below. They are based on my field work in Kandy town and in the craftsmen's settlements within the district.

1.1 Metal Carvers and Jewellers

In terms of the numbers engaged in this trade and the value of its output, this group is the most important. Their operations involve the manual conversion of brass, copper and silver sheet, and silver and gold coins and ingots, into a variety of articles on which traditional designs as well as patterns adopted from traditional designs are engraved, inlaid or carved in low relief. The finishing work is usually carried out at mechanised polishing and plating centres located either in Kandy or in proximity to the main metal carver settlements. Trays and plaques of various sizes and shapes turned out of brass and decorated with designs such as motifs from the sandakada pahana, liya patha, annasi-mala and hansa poottuwa are probably the most common products. A comprehensive list will however include over one hundred items.

The metal carvers, whose number can be roughly placed at 400 to 500, (or about 150 units) are distributed throughout the lower Kandyan areas (Denuwara, Patha Hevaheta, Harispattuwa, Patha Dumbara, and the adjacent parts of Matale district) with important concentrations at Embekke-Arattena, Danture, Ullandupitiya-Embulpure, Madawala-Huriekaduwa, Nattarampotha and Nilawala. Kandy town itself provides regular employment to about 50 persons drawn from this group.

Of those engaged in this field only a few have a reputation for excellence. The brothers Mudalihamy and Sonnandara of Dumbukawela, Abaran Appu attached to the Kandy museum, and Devesurendra of Danture are among those referred to frequently as 'exceptionally good.' In general it could be said that those whose work exhibit exquisite craftsmanship or creative talent are few in number, and that an overwhelming

majority, like their counterparts in and around centres of tourism the world over, turn out the repetitive souvenir and the trinket that attract the indiscriminate buyer.

1.2 Brassfounders

The next in importance numerically are the brassfounders who number about 100 to 150, and who are largely concentrated in the villages of Gadaladeniya-Kiriwaula and Nilawala, and in the implanted community of Kalapura, Nattarampotha.

They smelt brass scrap, and cast such articles as oil lamps, vases, betel trays, cuspidors, and decorative artifacts used in building construction. The motifs engraved and carved by them are similar to those of the light metal carvers. Except for polishing and plating all stages in the manufacturing process (making of moulds, smelting, casting and carving) are non-mechanised.

The produce of the founders lack the variety in form and design characteristic of those of the light metal carvers. Apart from occasional export orders which they supply through a hierarchy of middle-men, they cater mainly to a domestic market.

1.3 Wood Carving

The extensive use of wood is a characteristic of Kandyan architecture. The elaborate and exquisitely accomplished wood carvings at such monumental works as the Audience Hall in Kandy or the Embekke Devāle suggest that the services of wood carvers were much in demand during the time of the Kandyan kings. Since then it appears that their numbers have dwindled; and as far as it is possible to ascertain from the dealers in wooden artifacts in Kandy, today the craft is practised only by a few families scattered about the district. Besides the small groups at Udagama and Kalapura, there are isolated families of wood carvers at Gunnepanna, Embekke and Madawala. Among them, Navaratne of Gunnepana and his son Paul appear to have received wider recognition than the others.

Hard woods like ebony, teak, nedun and burutha are the raw materials in predominant use. Occasionally, the wood carvers (as well as carvers in metal) use ivory as a medium of sculpture.

The wood carvers usually produce diverse 'drawing room ornaments' and small items of furniture. Although their standard products such as the 'ebony elephant' bear the monotonous imprint of factory produced goods, at times one comes across sculptures of uniqueness and excellence.

I include within this category the few mask makers found in the district. Mask making is more widespread in the low country than it is in the Kandyan areas. With the exception of masks used in traditional theatre (Kolan Moonu), the variety of colourful masks described by Jayawardena (1970) appear to be native to the southern and southwestern

parts of the island. Most of the mask makers now living in the Kandyan areas are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the South. Although turning out masks from soft woods (kaduru, walla and ruk attana) and painting them in a standard colour scheme with Chinese lacquers, involves less skill and care than typical Kandyan wood carving, due to the fact that masks have a current demand from the tourist and the interior decorator, the few persons engaged in this craft in Kandy district find in it a lucrative source of income.

1.4 Lacquer Work

The manufacture of lacquered ornamental-cum-utility goods is a craft that has been traditionally allied to both wood carving and carpentry. Today there is a community of about 40 families at Palle Hapuwida (Matale District) and 3 or 4 families at Huriekaduwa, Menikhinna and Nattarampotha (Kandy District), engaged in lacquer work. Using traditional techniques of shaping and polishing the wood, and imported lacquers to paint, these craftsmen produce such items as parapet and balustrade railings, trays, bowls, vases and small furniture. The Department of Rural Development has set up a training school and a co-operative society of lacquer workers at Hapuwida.

1.5 Mat Weavers

The mat weavers who number about 15 to 20 family units are largely confined to the village of Henawala in Patha Dumbara. They use a locally available hemp as their raw material, and turn out mats and tapestries, which have of late been in increasing demand in interior decoration. The possibilities of adopting their techniques and designs to serve contemporary needs and tastes were demonstrated recently by Professor James Somerowski, of Kent State University, Ohio, through his work among the mat weavers of Dumbara.

1.6 Other Kandyan Cottage Crafts

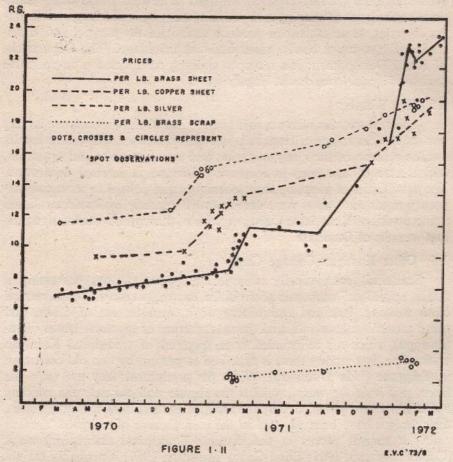
Scattered, economically unimportant, but at times possessing a quaint appeal and economic possibilities, are crafts such as Dumbara ratā cloth weaving, lace and embroidery work, manufacture of drums and allied musical instruments, and the manufacture of spectacle lenses (diyatharippu), which can be included in the spectrum of traditional Kandyan crafts. The first among these is practised at present by two old craftsmen in Talagune (Uda Dumbara). While the equipment they use (alge the loom, nūl heda the warp, nadāwa the shuttle and onkanda the winding beam) have been superceded by the modern handloom and its accessories, their designs have been adopted in the manufacture of so-called 'art line cloth' at several places in the district. Traditional embroidery work (Coomaraswamy, 1908; Ethel Coom raswamy, 1960) is probably extinct as a cottage industry, but lace weaving with simple implements is a small subsidiary source of income for many families in the district. Drum making

is a craft with limited potential, largely confined to the scattered communities of the *Berawa* (drummer) caste. The laborious process of making spectacle lenses out of crystal (*Diyatharippu*) is practised by a solitary craftsman at Gadaladeniya.

1.7 Supply of Raw Materials

The Kandyan craftsmen, with the exception of mat weavers and mask makers, purchase their raw materials in the open retail market where prices are subject to wide fluctuation. In the recent past there has been a steady increase in the price of all such raw materials. This increase has been most conspicuous in the case of metals.

The upsurge in the retail prices of metals during the past two years (Figure 1.II) cannot be accounted for by the increase in f.o.b. prices or import duties. The process appears to have resulted from the mono-



This figure is based on data obtained from purchase receipts that were available with certain craftsmen at Kalapura and elsewhere who have been interviewed in my field work. Each purchase receipt represents a 'spot observation'.

polistic control which the importers and retailers have over the market. As long as the craftsman can sell his wares at a price which gives some remuneration for his labour, he continues to buy raw materials at whatever prices the retailer demands. When the margin between money costs and selling prices narrows, the craftsman is usually compelled to produce more (if they can afford to 'invest' more on raw materials) in an attempt to counteract the fall in income. It will therefore be evident that the control which the private trader has over the supply of raw materials leads to adverse effects in two ways: on the one hand, the craftsman is deprived of a share of the increasing incomes generated by the recent expansion of his trade; and, on the other, the necessity to produce more imposed by the narrowing margin of profit invariably lowers the quality of the artifacts he can produce.

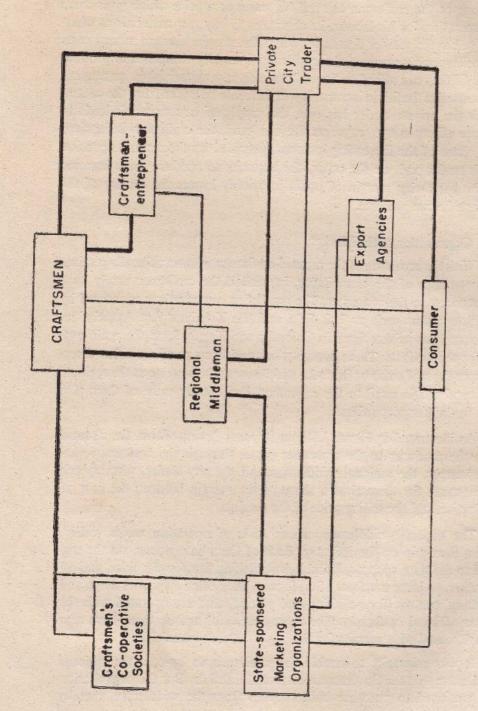
1.8 Organisation of the Market

With the exception of the reputed craftsman who occasionally receives the patronage of the connoisseur, in general the craftsmen rarely have direct access to the consumer. The marketing organisations sponsored by the government such as Lak Sala and the Kandyan Art Association, and numerous private firms in Colombo and Kandy form the main outlets for the artifacts. These organisations and firms purchase either directly from the craftsmen or from the middle-men who operate at the regional level, and sell in retail to the consumer. Periodically some of them also cater for bulk export orders.

As illustrated in Figure 1.III, in its most devious form, the channel from the producer to the consumer passes through the craftsman-cumentrepreneur, the regional middleman and the city trader, who at each stage extract for themselves a share of the margin between the cost of production and the selling price of the product.

The regional middlemen, whose scale of operation varies widely, have a firm grip on the industry. Each of them have access, on the one hand to the state sponsored and private selling firms in the cities, and on the other, to large numbers of craftsmen. They often own workshops and 'finishing' centres (for polishing and plating) that are operated with the labour of hired craftsmen. The more successful among them have also been favoured with permits for the import of raw materials.

It was primarily to enable the craftsmen to by-pass the regional middleman that the Government instituted Lak Sala. But this organisation has continued to purchase bulk supplies from the middlemen, thereby



THE MARKET OF KANDYAN CRAFTS Figure 1 . III - ORGANIZATION OF

strengthening their hold on the cottage crafts, while only a small proportion of the genuine self-employed craftsmen have been given the privilege of being its 'registered suppliers'.

1.9 Modes of Operation

Under the conditions that prevail at present, the craftsmen follow one or more of the systems outlined below in producing and selling their artifacts:

- (a) The craftsmen produce artifacts of various forms and designs and in varying quantities in accordance with their capacity and inclination. They are uncertain about the marketability of what they produce. They then hawk their produce among the middlemen, traders and firms. If the articles offered are accepted at Lak Sala or the Kandyan Arts Association, they receive a higher and more uniform rate of payment than from the private trader, who at best follows a rule-of-thumb system of evaluation. This is the only system of operation open to a majority of craftsmen.
- (b) The craftsmen cater for specific orders. Only the more reputed among them receive such orders directly from governmental or private firms. Usually, orders reach the craftsmen indirectly through the middlemen. Far less frequently, the orders originate from Lak Sala and reach the craftsmen through the craftsmen's co-operative societies in the area. When producing under this system, the craftsmen are ensured of their market. The rates paid however vary according to the source and the channel of the order. When the orders are those channelled through middlemen who 'farm out' the work among the craftsmen, which is most frequently the case, the rates paid are relatively low.
- (c) The craftsmen supply to large firms at which they are 'registered'. These firms practice the so-called "dispersed factory system" (Staley and Morse, 1965, p. 8), under which the firm advances the raw materials and specifies the artifacts it requires, and the craftsmen who are so "employed" supply their produce to the firm in semi-finished form. Finishing is carried out at central workshops owned by the firm.

Those who work under this system are certain of their sales. The system also helps craftsmen who lack funds to 'invest' in the purchase of raw materials. However, at the one large firm in Kandy which follows this system of operation, the rates paid to craftsmen for their semi-finished products (making allowance for costs of finishing which the craftsmen have to bear when operating under the other systems) are invariably less than the rates obtainable elsewhere.

- (d) The craftsmen are in employment at factories, worskshops and firms, and receive either fixed wages or piece-rate payment. The rates paid vary widely from place to place and according to skills.
- (e) The craftsmen are employed directly by the consumer or his agent. In building construction or restoration work, craftsmen are employed and remunerated on a piece-rate or contract basis. On rare occasions private patrons obtain the services of the more reputed craftsmen on the basis of mutual arrangements.

2. Kalapura in Retrospect

The craftsmen's colony at Nattarampotha in Patha Dumbara was conceived in early 1960. At that stage, its parents, the departments of Rural Development and Land Settlement, had no clear vision regarding its purpose and form. In official correspondence at the time, the project (which was referred to as either 'The Industrial Estate' or 'The Colonization Scheme' or 'The Rural Electrification Plan' of Nattarampotha) was variously visualised as a colony of carpenters, potters, blacksmiths and brick makers modelled on the weavers' colonies of India; a land alienation scheme similar in form and function to other village expansion schemes of Wet Zone Ceylon; or a scheme to moderzine and re-vitalize the traditional folk crafts in Kandyan areas.

Despite this uncertainty, financial allocations for a settlement project of some sort in Patha Dumbura were made in 1960-61, and the Department of Rural Development proceeded to acquire a block of 22 acres at Nattarampotha for the purpose of establishing a colony of 75 families. A public announcement calling for applications for allotments in the proposed colony made in March 1961, received responses from about 350 persons drawn virtually from the entire spectrum of handicrafts and cottage industries in Kandy district.

This period witnessed the gradual realisation that the proposed project did not have clearly-specified objectives. There were also certain misgivings in the minds of the authorities about the wisdom of establishing a large and socially heterogeneous community comprising of people uprooted from their 'natural habitats'. After some controversy on these issues, in late 1962 the Cabinet approved the establishment of a craftsmen's colony on a staggered process of development in which the settlement of 35 families was to be the first stage. Meanwhile the Department of Rural Development also arrived at a decision to restrict the Colony largely to those crafts concerned with the production of ornamental artifacts of traditional form and design (metal, wood and ivory carving, brassfounding, lacquer work) and to exclude potters, weavers, brick makers and beed makers from among whom a large number of applications had been received.

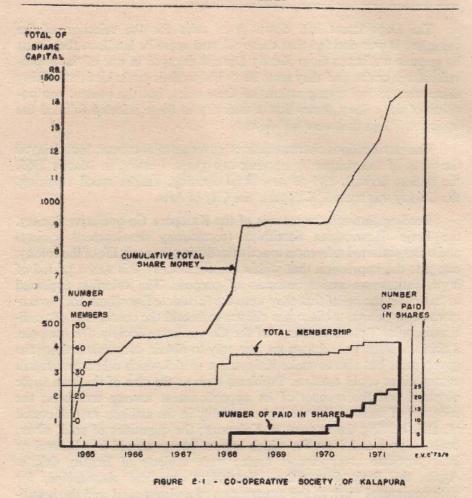
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The Department laid down three rules for the selection of the colonists. It was decided that those selected must be landless, they must be genuine craftsmen from Kandy District engaged in one of the approved cottage crafts, and they must be skilful in their craft. Understandably there were several transgressions of these rules, but the present composition of the colony shows that a majority of those selected fulfilled the basic conditions that were laid down.

The ramifications characteristic of governmental transactions delayed the birth of the colony by another two years. Finally, in March 1965, the settlers arrived, and at its official opening, amidst much rejoicing, the Colony was named 'Kalapura' the City of Arts.

Reading through the records of the Kalapura Co-operative Society, the Praja Sanwardana Samithiya (community development society) and other scattered references to activities during the early life of the colony, one gets the impression that within the community this was a period of hope, enthusiasm and seriousness of purpose. The colonists appeared to have held the belief that they were the fortunate few whom the government in its benign wisdom has chosen to herald the resurgence of traditional crafts. Thus at meetings of the Co-operative Society, for example, ambitious plans were drawn up, not only to obtain concessions from the government but also to make Kalapura a model which other craftsmen's communities could emulate. Problems such as the size of the loan to be obtained and the manner of its apportionment among members; the necessity of maintaining the highest quality in the artifacts manufactured at, and, bearing the imprint of Kalapura; the quantities of gold, silver, brass, copper and ivory for which import quotas should be obtained or bulk purchase arrangements made; were subjects of lengthy debate. Again, the Praja Sanwardana Samithiya organised shramadānas for such communal work as the construction of a playground and the beautification of the Kalapura neighbourhood.

It did not take long for this enthusiasm to wane and for the dreams of the settlers to be shattered. Their demands, requests and pleas went unheeded. Within the community there was the gradual emergence of a few individuals who unlike the representatives of the Co-operative Society found easy access to the powers that be, and who like their counterparts in the villages began to flourish and to dominate the economic life of the community. The Co-operative Society became ineffective and a tool of these favoured few. (The vicissitudes of the Co-operative Society discussed here are reflected in Figure 2.1 which shows the rates of payment of membership fees and the number of fully paid in shares since the inception of the society). Thus, soon the realization dawned on the colonists that Kalapura, though grandly named, is yet another of the numerous highland colonization schemes found scattered throughout the Kandyan areas.



Neglected by the government and the officialdom during the first 6 years, the prospects at Kalapura were dim for a majority of the settlers. They were probably worse off than before, and worse off than those outside, because of the significant difference that for the craftsmen who were part-time agriculturists earlier, that source of income, particularly important during the season of low demand for ornamental artifacts (April to about September) was largely lost. The isolation and separation from their kinsmen would have aggravated the difficulties of those in the minority occupational and caste groups. While a few were driven to abandon Kalapura and return home, most others plodded on amidst much hardship.

From my conversations with the colonists, I gathered that one reason for the absence of interest in Kalapura during this period was political. The scheme was inaugurated during a Sri Lanka Freedom Party (S.L.F.P.) regime and one of its chief spokesmen was the then M.P. for Kundasale.

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With the change of government in 1965 and with a new representative for the area in Parliament, Kalapura came to be looked upon as a S.L.F.P. project. Probably added to this was the difference in caste between the local M.P. and a majority of the colonists. It was also suggested to me by several persons that the few favoured individuals to whom reference has been made earlier were persona grata with the party in office.

Within the past one year or so there has been some revival of interest on Kalapura. In mid '71, the Co-operative Society received for the first time an order for the supply of artifacts from Lak Sala (Colombo), and by the end of the year the Society had supplied goods to the value of Rs. 19,965/- to Lak Sala (Table 6.2). This, coupled with the obtaining of a loan of Rs. 5,000/- from the People's Bank last year, has given the Society a new lease of life, and has led to a slightly more equitable distribution of income than before. There have also been some welcome changes in the officialdom both at the district level and in the colony. The craftsmen appear to feel that the attitude of their officials has changed from partiality and indifference to benevolence and active interest.

Yet, I cannot conclude that all is well at Kalapura and that it is on the path of self-sustained progress. Since early this year there appears to be a barely perceptible waning of interest. One wonders whether once again the debilitating forces are at work. Much remains to be done before this pioneer project is made viable, before it can justify its costs, and before it can have at least a marginal effect on the broader field of Kandyan crafts.

3. Population of Kalapura

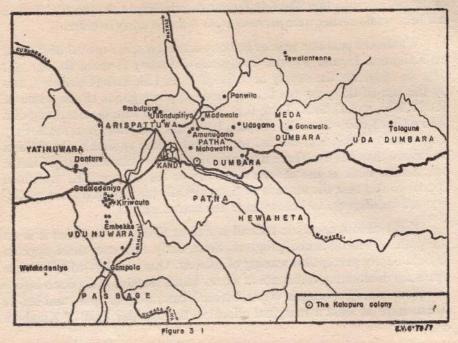
At present the craftsmen and their dependents residing at Kalapura number 259. They form 34 family units. The approximate average number of persons per family is 8. According to my investigations, 87 persons are engaged full-time in their respective crafts, 41 can be classed as part-time, while un-employed dependents number 127. Four persons are engaged in activities that fall outside the employment complex of the colony.

The following Table gives the Age-Sex composition of the population of Kalapura. It may be noted that in this respect the population of the colony is similar to the population of the district as a whole.

Table 3.1. Age and Sex Composition

Age Group	Male	Female
Less than 5 years	17	18
4 to 14 years	39	30
15 to 49 years	73	68
4 to 14 years 15 to 49 years Over 50 years	9	5
Total	138	121

In the next Table of statistics a classification of those employed into different fields of activity is presented. Those whom I have referred to as 'light metal carvers' are more numerous than the others. This group together with the brassfounders account for roughly 63 per cent of the



total employed. The 'wood, ivory and lacquer worker' group consists of 5 units engaged in wood carving, 1 in ivory carving, 1 in lacquer work and 1 in carpentry. (This sub-division is made on the basis of their main medium of work). The names given to the other fields of employment in my classification are self-explanatory.

Table 3.2. Structure of Employment

THE I	No.	Nos. En	gaged
Field of Employment	of Units	Full Time	Part Time
Light metal cavring	12	37	18
Brassfoundering	9	30	15
Wood, Ivory and Lacquer work	8	14	4
Iron work	2	3	2
Batik and art work	2	2	1
Weaving (Dumbara rata)*	1	1	. 1
Total	34	87	41

^{*2} part-time hand-loom cloth weavers belonging to family units in the 'metal carver' group have been excluded.

The villages from which Kalapura has drawn its present population are shown on Figure 3.1. Prior to their migration to the colony most families have belonged to 'communities' which have traditionally practised

their respective crafts. There are 8 exceptions to this point and of them 7 belong to minority occupational groups.

Twenty-two families have been resident in the colony since its inception in March 1965. On several occasions subsequently, others were brought in to fill the units that either remained vacant from the beginning or fell vacant after 1965 due to departures. Thus there have been 8 arrivals in 1968, 1 arrival in the following year, and 2 in 1972. Unit number 3 has been vacant since its abandonment by its former occupant in late 1965.

4. Standard of Living at Kalapura

A feature which was impressed upon me at the very early stages of my survey was the apparent presence of wide disparities in the standards of living at Kalapura. The task of expressing these disparities quantitatively is not simple. My experience both at Kalapura and elsewhere is that the direct 'questionnaire method' of eliciting information on income and expenditure does not yield reliable results, particularly in rural communities where there is a tendency for the haves to conceal and the havenots to exaggerate. In this context, in order that I may attempt at least a rough assessment of the *relative* standards of living, I collected data from all units in the colony on certain directly observable features on which, to some extent, are reflected the varying levels of living.

In 1965, each family settled at Kalapura was allotted a type-plan two roomed cottage of approximately 400 sq. ft. floor area. Within the past 7 years considerable extensions and improvements have been affected by the allottees in some of the cottages. Thus today those cottages that have undergone the greatest metamorphosis have a floor space of over 1000 sq. ft., 4 or 5 rooms, work sheds, outhouses and electricity (e.g. units 2 and 30). Yet another conspicuous variation is in the manner in which the residences are furnished. While certain homes are lavishly furnished with a variety of luxury and durable consumer items, there are others almost entirely devoid of furniture and 'non-essential' household effects. Since these were features which I was myself able to count and measure and upon which I could impute a monetary value with a fair degree of accuracy, I have used them as 'indices of affluence' to provide me with a rough measurement of variations in living standards within the community.

I am aware of the inadequacy of these criteria as indices of standards of living. It is obvious that what people spend on luxury and non-essential goods depend not only on their income levels but also on their spending priorities and saving habits. Nevertheless, since it is possible to assume a certain degree of homogeneity in values, habits and attitudes within the community of Kalapura, since data directly obtainable on income and all aspects of expenditure are unreliable, and since my criteria of assessment lend themselves to objective verification, it is possible to claim

some justification for treating variations in the level of expenditure on directly observable aspects of what may be loosely termed 'conspicuous consumption,' as an index of variation in the level of affluence. The presence of emperical evidence suggesting the prevalence of a positive correlation between income on the one hand and expenditure on luxury and durable consumer goods on the other (Central Bank of Ceylon 1953, Table 28; Central Bank of Ceylon 1963, p. 123; Department of Census and Statistics, 1971, Table 40.0) gives further justification to the use of the present index.

The results of my estimates of expenditure on 'conspicuous consumption' incurred by each family unit at Kalapura which are summerised on Table 4.1 show the following features:

- (a) There are wide differences in living standards.
- (b) Although a majority of the relatively more affluent families belong to the 'light metal carver' group (e.g. units 2, 15, 23 and 30), there is no clear relationship between the field of employment and the level of affluence.
- (c) The other socio-economic or demographic variables cannot consistently explain differences in the standards of living.

Thus, what is clear is that there is no simple answer to the question, why some at Kalapura are well off while the others are not.

With the intention of probing deeper into this problem, I included in the sample of families which were selected for detailed study those that are at either extreme in my Table of estimates. This more detailed study has led me to the conclusion that the following factors in a cummulative cause and affect process have contributed to the prevailing economic disparities:

- (a) The economic differences that were there to begin with appear to be one of the factors accounting for some of the present disparities. Although at the selection of the colonists, ostensibly, preference was given to the more depressed craftsmen, it seems unlikely that those finally selected were in the same economic stratum at the time they moved into Kalapura.
- (b) Most craftsmen who enjoy a higher 'standard of living' have a number of workers serving under them. Nominally, such workers are apprentices learning the craft from the master craftsman, but in reality they are invariably poorly paid or unpaid labourers working for an exacting employer-cum-middleman. Often, a system of piece-rate payment is followed by the master in the case of the more competent apprentices, while the remuneration of the tenderfoot is restricted to provision of board of

Table 4.1 Estimated Expenditure on durable consumer and luxury goods, and earner/dependent ratio

			FURN	TURE AND	ноизено	FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS (Rs.)	S (Rs.)		
Unis No.	Occupation	Estimated cost of improvements on residence (Rs.)	drawing room suites, chairs tables etc.	almirahs cupboards showcases	sewing machines	radios	Other items	Total (Rs.)	Earner) Dependent Ratio
22	Wood carver Light metal worker	450	50	250		19	18	750	3:3
m ·	1	1	1	200		3 1	00	Vacant	: 1
4 4	Brassfounder	09	25	1	J	150	1	235	5:6
nve	Brasslounder	550	08	450	1	1	1	1,080	5:5
70	Light metal washer	300	80	150	500	1	1	1,030	4:3
00	Blacksmith	200	30	525	1	1	1	755	3.4
6	Brassfounder	400	130	150	1	1 5	1	0.05	2.6
10	Brassfounder	150	125	650	11	100	125	1 050	0.0
	Light metal worker	200	95		1	3 1	1	295	2:8
12	Light metal worker		15	1	1	1	1	15	1:5
13	Weaver	1	50	1	1	1	1	50	4:1
4	Ivory carver	30	40	500	1	1	1	570	3:1
2	Light metal worker	3000	.460	650	500	300	300	4.800	5:6
10	Brasslounder	30	20	1	1	1	1	50	1:12
10	Light metal worker	1	02	1	1	1	250	320	1:5
00=	Wood carver	200	400	1	1	1	1	006	1:7
35	Wood	2000	170		1	1	1	2,520	4:8
216	Light	3000	180	1300	009	275	300	5,655	1:7
22	Laconom metal worker	98	45	155	1	1	75	170	2:11
23	Tight motel	3400	071	150	1 .	18	001	420	1:2
24	Jeweller & light	2400	3	6/9	061	009	90	4,905	6:3
	metal carver	1	10	1	1	1	-	10	2:2
9	Wood carver and								
36	carpenter	800	35	1	1	1	1	835	1:1
326	Brasslounder	2500	80	200	150	150	100	3,180	6:12
3,00	Blacksmith Boatt	1800	40	1	1	100	20	1,960	2:4
300	Battk maker	1000	09	1	200	100	1	1,380	2:4
38	Light metal worker	2200	140	350	1	200	1	2,890	3:2
312	Light metal worker	0099	730	850	1300	200	200	088'6	7:5
33	Light metal worker	30	21	15	1	100	1	205	1:5
i er	Broonformal	18	25	125	1	125	1	380	1:6
34	Bracefounder	3 8	0.00	1	1	1	15	30	1:2
35	Tioht motel most	07	OC .	1	1	1	07	2	1:2
-	Light metal worker	1	1	ı	1	ı	1	not available	1
			The Real Property lies and the Personal Property lies and the					-	-

- lodging. Where this system operates, I also observed that the artifacts turned out even by the less trained apprentices require only a little 'finishing' by the master or one of his senior apprentices before they are ready for the market. The system always leaves a wide margin of profit for the master craftsman.
- (c) Some of the wealthier craftsmen (especially units 2 and 30) unlike a majority at the colony have an easy access to the market. Even during the bleak period which Kalapura went through during the first 6 years of its existence (see 2, above) there is evidence that these persons supplied sizable consignments of artifacts to Lak Sala and other marketing organisations and that, periodically, when they received large orders from outside, they even farmed out some of the work among the under-employed craftsmen in the colony at low rates of payment. This advantage cannot be explained solely in terms of the skill and the reputation of the individuals who have been so favoured. The greater likelihood is that they possess the shrewdness, the business acumen, and the knowledge of the correct approaches to operate as middlemen in the highly competitive but lucrative trade in traditional ornamental artifacts.
- (d) In respect of some of the more successful metal carvers at Kalapura, superior skill is undoubtedly one of the factors that contributes to their higher earning capacity. In making this point I do not mean that they are always superior to the others in handling the tools of their craft, because the mastery of technique is something acquired usually early in life by hundreds of craftsmen. Nor do I imply that the artifacts turned out by the less well-to-do craftsmen are always of poorer quality. But what is probably true of Devendra, Wijeratne and Jayatillake is that they produce a greater variety of goods, they can afford the luxury of experimentation, and their produce generally have a better finish than those of most others.
- (e) The ability to invest more on raw materials is also a factor which accounts for the apparent higher incomes of those who have been referred to above. These craftsmen work more with silver than with other metals. As shown in Table 5.1, silver is a more profitable medium of work than brass and copper.
- (f) No clear generalization is possible about the family units that are at the other end of my economic gradation. The size of the family and, more specifically, the earner-dependent ratio has some relationship to standard of living, as evidenced by certain

families exhibiting a low level of affluence (e.g. units 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21, 31 and 32). The brassfounder Jeewathamy, the sole earner in a family of 13 and the juvenile blacksmith, Wijeratne, who carries alone the burden of supporting his mother and three sisters, are probably extreme cases of poverty in the colony. However, my data do not indicate a consistent relationship between living standards and the earner-dependent ratio. There are noteworthy exceptions where despite a high ratio there appears to be a low standard of living (e.g. units 24, 33 and 34), and conversely, at least one unit (20) at which the earner dependent ratio is low but the "standard of living" is high.

(g) Low output resulting from senility, sickness or inate laziness (e.g. units 14, 31), low marketability of the articles produced (unit 24), and under-employment which may result from a variety of causes (especially conspicuous in the case of the artist at unit 32) are some of the other factors that in varying degrees adversely affect individual family units.

5. Costs of Production and Profits

As stated earlier, although it is possible on the basis of certain observable criteria to examine variations in the standards of living at Kalapura, a number of factors confound any attempt to make accurate estimates of the craftsmen's earnings. Similarly, due to the wide variations that exist in the scale of operation, the skill and capacity of craftsmen, and the nature of the produce, it is difficult to make generalization on costs of production and profits that are derived from the different crafts.

However, on the basis of data which have been gathered mostly through direct observation, I have tabulated below (Table 5.1) estimates of money costs and of other inputs that go into the production of selected artifacts manufactured in the colony.

There are some limitations to the accuracy of my data. While the estimates of costs of raw materials, consumables, finishing processes, and selling prices can be regarded as accurate, labour inputs represent only rough assessments. Craftsmen in cottage industry rarely have regular hours of work; nor do they work continuously and at uniform intensity. Hence the difficulty of making accurate assessments of labour inputs. The present estimates are based for the most part on repeated observations made during successive visits to the colony. However, I have been compelled to lean heavily on the information supplied by the craftsmen—particularly in the case of objects that represent a relatively large labour input.

Despite these limitations in accuracy, the estimates could be used as the basis of certain general conclusions on costs of production and profits.

5.1 Raw Materials as a Component of Cost

A striking feature borne out by the data is that raw materials represent a large component of costs. The cost of raw materials, taken as a percentage of the selling price is seen to vary from about 40% to 75%. In crafts that are related to the fine arts and in which the 'value added' in the process of production lies in the skill and the aesthetic sense of the producer, one would not expect raw materials to be an important item of cost. That with a few exceptions, the contrary is true for the goods produced by the Kandyan craftsmen is a depressing phenomenon, and one that reflects the insignificant position accorded by the market to the creative contribution of the craftsmen in evaluating their produce.

5.2 Earnings

The 'earnings' estimated in relation to specific articles produced (Table 5.1) tend to give an exaggerated notion of what the craftsmen actually earn. For example, while most articles itemised in my Table suggest a possibility for the craftsmen to earn over Rs. 10/- per day, earnings on certain items (e.g. items 9 to 12) are seen to exceed Rs. 3/- per man hour. In reality several factors impose restrictions on earnings. The amount of work possible is restricted, on the one hand by the tedium and the intense concentration which the work involves; and on the other by raw material supplies and market demand. The restriction on earnings imposed by market demand is particularly important in the case of woodcarvers who, as suggested by the data presented in Table 5.1 (c), have a potential to reach a relatively high level of earning per man-day.

These restrictions imply, from the point of view of man-hours of work, that there is considerable under-employment at Kalapura. Outside the colony, in the Kandyan villages, it is possible for at least some of the under-utilised labour of the craftsmen to be channelled to agriculture and other avenues of employment. Kalapura provides no such outlet. This is probably the main defect of the conception of a colony devoted exclusively to cottage crafts.

The estimates of 'earnings' show that returns for the labour that goes into the production of artifacts vary widely on the basis of what is produced. In general, the light metal carvers earn more for their labour than the brassfounders. It is also seen that silver is a more profitable medium of work than brass and copper. The latter feature bestows on those capable of investing larger sums of money on raw materials a distinct advantage over the others. The craftsmen usually prefer to work with silver; but since silver is more scarce and more expensive, they are compelled to work with cheaper metals which give them a lower return for their labour.

Table 5.1 (a) Estimated Costs of Production and Earnings based on data obtained through field study at Kalapura during March 1972

Light Metal Carvers

bservations recorded 2 1.6,7"	Item Silver plates MS brass trays MS brass trays	Cost of raw materials & consumables	Cost of finishing 7.50	Approximate labour input (man hours)	sell sell	Average earnings per man hour .81
3. 14" 4. 1 sel 5. 1 sel 6. 1 br	5. 14 MS brass tray (potation) 4. 1 set, silver plates brass coffee spoons (3") 5. 1 set, brass chimes (polished) 6. 1 brass bottle cover (polished) 7. 1 silver plated brass casket (16" × 2")	29.50 1.00 8.25 17.00	2.00 2.00 3.50 3.50	0118799	42.50 48.00 30.00 52.50	2.22.10 2.82 2.82 2.82 2.82 2.82
8. Silv 9. 1, 1. 10. 1 sil 11. 1 pa with 12. 1 eb silve	Silver coffee spoons, 3" (1 set) 1, 12" silver MS tray 1 silver jewellery box $(9" \times 5" \times 3")$ 1 pair, ebony elephants $(4" \times 4")$ decorated with silver and semi-precious stones 1 ebony elephant $(8" \times 8")$ decorated with silver and semi-precious stones	64.00 178.00 300.00 258.00	7.00	58 48 08 55 88 08 55	510.00 504.00 575.00	3.80

All estimates of costs are at current prices.

Brassfounders

based on data obtained through field study at Kalapura during February-March 1972 Table 5.1 (b) Estimated Costs of Production and Earnings

Average earnings per maniday (Rs.)	9.70 15.00 11.10 18.45
Selling price (Rs.)	600.00 660.00 240.00 450.00
Approximate labour input man/days	30 16 15 15
Cost of finishing (Rs.)	25.00 12.00 15.00 25.00
Cost of raw materials and consumables (Rs.)	285.00 49.00 46.00 142.00
Ітет	10 Rose bowls (8") on elephant stand (brass polished) 4 dinner gongs 11" × 5" Makara Thorana design (brass polished) 12 (8") vases (brass polished) 1 pair of 24" brass vases (polished)
Number of observations recorded	2 - 21

All estimates of cost are at current prices.

Miscellaneous Products

based on data obtained through field study at Kalapura during February-March 1972 Table 5.1 (c) Estimates Costs of Production and Earnings

umber of servations ecorded	Item	Cost of raw materials and consumables (Rs.)	Cost of finishing	Approximate labour input man/days	Selling price (Rs.)	Average earmings per maniday (Rs.)
1	18" wooden Mask of Naga Raksha design (lacquered)	4.00	1	3	00.09	18.65
	Set of 10, 15" wooden masks, miscellaneous designs	35.00	1	20	450.00	20.75
	Carving a floral pattern on a teak door* $(8' \times 4')$	15.00	-1	22	850.00	37.95
-	Conversion of handles of large umbrella	52.00	1.50	3	100.00	15.50
 ,	Weaving 50 cloth bags (14"×16") (Dumbara-Rata)	190.00	1	25	450.00	10.40

*Payment was on the basis of a private contract with the door supplied by the client.

All estimates of cost are at current prices

6. Social Life at Kalapura

In so far as it is permissable to express an opinion after 12 days of observation extending over a period of two months, I would say that life at Kalapura is fairly peaceful. Scenes of wild abandon reflecting perhaps the mutual intimacy of communal village life, or drunken brawls following the tot of hooch after a hard day's labour, appear to be far less frequent in occurrence here than in other areas of which I have experience. Minor frictions and abberations, often ending up in the watcher's log-book, do not seem to leave permanent scars at least on the surface. As to why this is so, I cannot be definite. Perhaps it is because every one at Kalapura is still literally an outsider; or, is it due to the inspired selection of colonists by the Department of Rural Development?

Concealed, and at times not well concealed rivalries, antipathies and prejudices are there. To generalize and to isolate interwoven phenomena, these appear to be based on lack of community of interests between occupational groups, caste differences, and political differences.

6.1 Factionalism between Occupational Groups

Although the people at Kalapura, with two exceptions, are all producers of artifacts, catering to the same or similar markets, the specific problems that affect each craft have important differences. In collective activities such as the work of the co-operative society, the interests of the majority occupational groups tend to remain in the limelight. When representations or negotiations are made, they are invariably done by delegated drawn from the 'light metal carver' and 'brassfounder' groups, and hence it is their needs and interests that receive greater attention. In Tables 6.1 and 6.2, I have presented data on the supply of goods to Lak Sala, and to the apportionment of the loan obtained by the co-operative society among its members, that would substantiate the point I am making. These have created a certain amount of resentment among those in the minor occupational groups, and less consistantly, a resentment among the brassfounders against the metal carvers.

Table 6.1. Loans obtained from the Co-operative Society from September 1971 to March 1972

Occupational Groups	Total Amounts Obtained (Rs.)
Light metal carvers	6,631.68
Brassfounders	2,486.25
Others	345.00

Source: Records maintained by the President of the Cooperative Society.

Table 6.2.	Value of Purchases by Colombo Lak Sala from the Kalapura Co-operative
	Society June 1971-January 1972

Month	Value of Purchases from Light metal	Value of Purchases from Brassfounders	Value of Purchases from others	Total
	carvers (Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)
1971:				
June	3,106.00	665.00		3,771,00
July	570.00	370.00		940,00
August	464.00			464.00
September	1,769.00	3,887.00		5,656.00
October	1,604.00	795.00		2,399.00
November	3,073.00	1,718.50	143.50	4,935.00
December	1,800.00			1,800.00
Total	12,386.00	7,435.50	143.50	19,965.00

Note: The Society retains 10 per cent of the value of goods supplied through it as a commission.

Average value of goods supplied per unit works out.

to: Rs. 952.77 from the light metal carvers,

Rs. 826.17 from the brassfounders, and

Rs. 11.96 from the others.

Source: Records maintained by the Secretary of the Co-operative Society.

6.2 Caste Differences

According to information which I have gathered the residents of the colony belong to different castes as shown below:—

(a)	Navandanna	24 families	(includes 11 light metal carvers 9 lokuruwa or brassfounders 2 blacksmiths 1 jeweller, and 1 ivory carver)
(b) (c)	Velli Vansa (or Panna Durai) Vahumpura	5 families	(Rajapakse, the artist, Jayasinghe, the lacquer worker, and all wood carvers with the exception of G. W. Sirisena) (Abiththa, the carpenter)
(d)	Nekathi	1 family	(Y. G. Sirisena, the weaver)
(e)	Bathgama	1 family	(Nuwarapakse, the Batik maker)
(f)	unverifiable	2 families	(G. W. Sirisena, the wood carver, and Davith Hamy, the welder-cum-metal carver).

There is a general correspondence between caste divisions and occupational differences. The noteworthy exceptions are G. W. Sirisena and A. A. Davith Hamy for both of whom their respective occupations are said to be 'non-hereditary'.

Status variations between and within the caste groups at Kalapura are by no means clear. The Navandanna usually claim a position higher than the others. Within this group, the 'light metal carvers' who consider themselves the most 'respectable', treat the blacksmiths, the jeweller and the ivory carver as their equals, and the brassfounders as their inferiors. This suggests the persistence today of the shades of differences within the navandanna caste described by Coomaraswamy (1907, pp. 55-61); Codrington (pp. 221-253) and Peiries (pp. 182-3). The five families who refer to themselves as the Velli vansa (but referred to by others as Panna durai), do not concede the superiority of the metal carvers. Their numerical importance and the kinship they claim to certain persons in the national and local elite seem to have instilled into them an attitude of superiority over the members of other castes particularly those that are represented at Kalapura by single family units.

As one might expect there are no consistent behavioural patterns and attitudinal variations associated with caste differences. Those who were more amenable to frank discussion often claimed that they themselves are free from caste prejudices, that status variations based on caste are outmoded and meaningless, and that they being members of one community (at Kalapura) treat every one alike. But invariably, terms such as 'ape minissu' (our people) and 'un' (derogatory, 'they') and abbreviations with an echo of derison such as 'pannayo' and 'paddo' when referring to the castes of the others, unwittingly creep into their conversation, suggesting that the reality is not as liberal and egalitarian as they claim.

6.3 Political Differences

The colonists at Kalapura could be ascribed to those 'classes' from which both the United National Party (U.N.P.) and the S.L.F.P. draw their support in rural Ceylon. Political loyalties have been volatile, but there are some individuals who are known UNPers or SLFPers, whose influence and prestige have varied according to changing political circumstances. I have not examined this aspect in detail, but it appears to be related to the subterranean currents of factionalism present in the colony.

In making these observations on factions and on caste and political differences, I do not wish to over-emphasise their importance and to create the impression that conflicting interests and loyalties, differences and prejudices make collective activities in the colony ineffective or meaningless. The co-operative society though periodically dormant in the past, is still viable; the community development society is a going concern; voluntary group work can claim credit for several achievements; and, as

in the villages, calamities that strike individuals evoke prompt and spontaneous response that transcends social and political differences and divisions.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Kalapura represents the only substantial effort made by the Government since Independence to foster the development of traditional Kandyan crafts. Though initially it lacked clarity of purpose and design, its conception reflected a desire on the part of the government to "do some thing", and perhaps a realization not only of the economic potential of this sphere of activity, but also of the need for the state to play a positive role in its development.

The decision made in 1962 to restrict the first stage of development of the scheme to 35 family units and to leave its further expansion to a future date (see 2, above) appears in retrospect sensible and far-sighted. The colony has been in existence for seven years. It is now possible to treat it as a experiment in craftsman's colonies, to review its experience, and to evaluate its achievements.

7.1 The Cost and Benefits of Kalapura

The following estimate of the cost of the Kalapura project is based on records maintained at the office of the Assistant Director of Small Industries, Kandy:—

Capital Costs	Rs.	Rs.
(a) Land, Transfer, Surveys, blocking out (22 acres 3 roods)	180,200.00	
(b) Clearing, levelling and provision of common facilities (roads, water services, community buildings and		
store room)	100,000.00	
(c) Construction of 35 cottages and 1 house	140,700 · 00	
(d) Construction of 35 kitchens	11,600 · 00	
(e) Other expenses	1,000 · 00	
Recurrent Costs (March 1965 to March 1972)		433,500 • 00
(a) Salaries and allowances of govern-		
ment employees	33,600 • 00	
(b) Expenditure on visiting administra-		
tive staff, at the rate of 50/- per month	4,200 • 00	
(c) Contingencies, at the rate of Rs. 100/-		
per year	700 • 00	38,500 · 00
TOTAL		472,000 00

N.B. I have excluded from this estimate the costs of the workshop, since it has been operating at most times as an independent unit.

This estimate, though possibly inaccurate in detail, gives a rough idea of the *direct cost* of the project. To this must be added as *indirect cost* the value of what the 22 acres would have produced in its original form of utilization. Assuming that prior to 1965 the land was of low productivity yielding a net income per acre of Rs. 400/- per year (although a portion of the colony was a part of a coconut estate) the estimated indirect cost of the project works out to about 61,600/-.

Thus the total cost of the Kalapura project since its inception is in the region of 535,000/- which works out to about 15,500/- per family unit settled; a figure considerably higher than that of the major colonization schemes of the Dry Zone of Ceylon (Farmer, pp. 316-334).

7.2 General Conclusions

These estimates make it clear that the experiment at Kalapura has been expensive. It may be noted that, since the project has affected less than 8 per cent of the estimated number of families engaged in traditional Kandyan crafts, the provision of aid to the entire field of activity on the same financial scale as at Kalapura would involve an expenditure of over 7 million rupees.

When looked upon in this context, the project cannot justify itself. Its achievements are insignificant. The little it has achieved could have been achieved through other less expensive means. The only tangible benefit of the scheme has been that a few allegedly landless craftsmen have been provided with places to live in. Elsewhere, I have commented on the problems that have arisen from the physical separation of the crafts at Kalapura from agriculture and other avenues of income. It is indeed doubtful whether the advantage of the possession of a house and a plot of land compensates the disadvantages arising from the isolation of the craftsmen from other segments of the rural economy.

The 24 craftsmen at Kalapura with whom I conducted detailed interviews (Table 7.1) were asked whether their conditions have improved after migration to the colony. Twelve responded in the affirmative, eight said that there has been no change, and four that they are worse off than before. When requested to specify reasons for their respective views, of the 12 who felt that their conditions have improved, 9 were able to think of only their possession of a house as the difference between the past and the present. Admittedly, one should not place much significance on replies given to questions of this sort seeking opinions and feelings. Nevertheless, these responses strengthened my view that the benefits bestowed even upon the 34 families now living at Kalapura are not substantial enough to justify the cost of the project.

As mentioned earlier, the planners of Kalapura did not have a clear idea of the specific purpose of the project (see 2 above). A project of this sort could of course have had several purposes. It could have been

directed at the problem of congestion and land hunger in the craftsmen's villages within Kandy district. If this was the purpose, the project is ill-conceived and unjustifiable; for apart from the fact that landlessness is a general phenomena in the rural Wet Zone (Kandyan Peasantry Commission 1951, pp. 95-96; University of Ceylon 1957, pp. 1-4; Department of Census and Statistics 1962, p. 35) which expensive mini-schemes such as Kalapura cannot effectively counter, priority in the solution to the problem of landlessness must be given to farmers rather than to craftsmen. Then again, the aim of the planners might have been to set up at Kalapura a show-piece of the Kandyan crafts, a centre of excellence and innovation, and a model settlement for emulation. There is ample justification for a project with these aims; but Kalapura has fallen far short of achieving them. The most that could be said on the credit side of the scheme is that it has provided certain benefits for a small group of craftsmen's families in Kandy district.

Here I must emphasise the fact that Kalapura has had no significant impact on the broader field of traditional Kandyan crafts. As the focus of my introductory general survey indicates, and my specific discussion of Kalapura substantiates, the problems that afflict the Kandyan crafts today are of three types: those relating to marketing, those associated with the supply of raw materials, and those reflected in the absence of individuality, the pervasiveness of monotony, and often, the low quality of craftsmanship. To these Kalapura affords no solution. The craftsman at the colony is subject to the same exploitation by the trader in raw materials and the dealer in finished products as those outside, his products in general are of the same quality. He is affected by the same disincentives to innovation and self-expression.

There is thus no justification for a further expansion of the scheme. Although nearly 17 acres of originally acquired land are available for a second stage of development, and recurrent costs (especially costs on administration) are likely to be proportionately lower in an enlarged settlement, the provision of housing and other infra-structure facilities would cost considerably more now than they did 10 years ago. It is also possible that in a colony consisting of a larger and more heterogeneous population, social problems that appear insignificant today would assume importance.

Effort now should be directed at improving Kalapura in its present size. Such an effort is justified not only for the fulfilment of undertakings given by the government at the original settlement of the colonists at Kalapura (see, 2 above), but also by the need to make what has so far been spent on the Colony worthwhile. However, since it would not be reasonable to confer upon those at Kalapura special privileges that are denied

to the vast majority of craftsman outside, attempts to improve conditions at Kalapura should be a part of a broader governmental effort at fostering the development of Kandyan crafts.

7.3 Suggestions relating to the general field of Kandyan Crafts

The Department of Small Industries in collaboration with the Department of Co-operative Development should embark upon a general programme involving the formation of craftsmen's co-operative societies, the issue of raw materials quotas to these societies, and co-ordinating them with the state-sponsored marketing organisations. The specific details of such a programme should be planned out with care, taking particular note of the problems and the dismal experiences of the past craftsmen's co-operative societies. Here I shall confine myself to a brief discussion of certain suggestions that should be taken into consideration in formulating such a programme.

- (a) At present the state-sponsored marketing organizations (of which the most important is Lak Sala, Colombo) obtain their supplies mainly from private sources-craftsmen, dealers, and firms. Only a minority of craftsmen enjoy the advantage of being registered suppliers of Lak Sala. Placing orders for the supply of goods and the selection or the rejection of goods offered for sale, are done at the discretion of a few individuals at Lak Sala. Purchasing is done mainly in Colombo. There are inordinate delays in the payment for goods supplied. The craftsmen are not adequately informed about either the criteria of selection and rejection or the type and quantities of goods in demand. These imply not only that Lak Sala does not serve the needs of a vast majority of craftsmen, but also that the system of purchasing it follows causes frustration and hardship to craftsmen, and leaves room for large-scale corruption. Hence the present system should be radically altered. A change from the present system to a more equitable one can probably be achieved if the state-sponsored marketing organizations initiate a phased out scheme of reducing their purchases from private sources and increasing purchases from the craftsmen's co-operatives.
- (b) In the proposed programme, craftsmen's co-operatives would have to perform a vital role. In addition to the societies that are presently in existence (e.g. Kalapura and Hapuwida), others should be instituted in the main craftsmen's settlements. The existence of societies that have been clamouring for recognition (e.g. those at Embekke and Embulpure) suggests that the formation of such craftsmen's co-operatives would be a feasible proposition.

- (c) Largely as a result of the well known failure of the co-operative society at Giragama, the idea of craftsmen's co-operatives has fallen into disrepute. It must however be noted that what occurred at Giragama could have been averted through proper supervision and guidance. That, given adequate assistance, a craftsmen's co-operative society can function effectively has been demonstrated by the Society at Kalapura during the recent past. Close supervision by committees that include representatives of the Department of Small Industries and Co-operative Development, and the enforcement of regulations directed both at facilitating an equitable distribution of benefits of the co-operatives among their membership, as well as preventing excessive concentration of power with certain members of the co-operative societies, could reduce if not eliminate corruption to which such societies are prone.
- (d) The state sponsored marketing organizations should channel orders for the supply of goods through the craftsmen's cooperative societies. For this purpose, it would be necessary for such organizations to estimate in advance the market demand for various types of artifacts. Past sales records would enable the making of the necessary short-term forecasts. The intended dates for purchasing consignments of supplies from different cooperative societies should also be specified in advance. Purchasing should be done, not in Colombo as at present, but at a centre to which a majority of the craftsman have easy access.
- (e) The control of quality of the goods offered for sale by the craftsmen will always constitute a major problem. Obviously, rigid standards cannot be enforced. This is perhaps the main reason adduced for the perpetuation of the present system under which the selection of goods depend entirely on the decisions of the purchasing officers at Lak Sala. This system could be replaced by one in which a share of the responsibility of quality control is passed on to the craftsmen's co-operative societies, and the purchasing at Lak Sala is supervised by committees consisting both of officials as well as representatives of craftsmen's co-operatives. To minimize possibilities of corruption and favoritism the composition of these committees could be changed from time to time.
- (f) In a previous section of this article (vide, 1.7 and 5.1 above) I have shown that particularly in metal work the existing modes of raw material supply have enabled the private traders to obtain a large share of the economic benefits from the recent expansion in demand for artifacts produced by Kandyan craftsmen. A concerted governmental effort to strengthen Kandyan

crafts should include measures directed either at effectively controlling the supply price of raw materials without creating scarcities, or at removing entirely the trade in the more important raw materials from the private sector. In a radical change from the present system of raw material supply, the proposed craftsmen's co-operative societies could perform the function of retail distribution.

(g) As in other sectors of the rural economy, in cottage crafts too, the absence or the inadequacy of easy credit facilities constitute a major handicap. Among the various consequences of this perhaps the most significant is that it exposes the craftsman to exploitation. Here again the government could utilize the proposed co-operative societies to channel loans to craftsmen. Since the circulation of money in the process of production and sale of artifacts is rapid, large block grants to co-operative societies will not be necessary to institute such credit facilities. The issue of loans would take the form of supplying raw materials on credit. What would be necessary, as the experience at Kalapura shows, is to ensure that such credit facilities are equitably distributed.

7.4 Recommendations on Kalapura

In making the above suggestions relating to the broader field of Kandyan crafts, I have implied that it is not possible to justify favoured treatment being given by the government to the craftsmen at Kalapura. However, an attempt by the Department of Small Industries to improve conditions at Kalapura could include the initiation in the colony of some of the measures which I have suggested. I list below the specific measures that could be adopted immediately:—

- (a) Arrangements could be made for enabling the co-operative society at Kalapura to receive regular orders for the supply of goods to Lak Sala. This would be consistent with the suggested policy of craftsmen's co-operatives being given priority as suppliers to Lak Sala. It is desirable that the orders sent to Kalapura should be sufficiently varied to enable the co-operative society to farm out work equitably among its members. Payment for the goods supplied should be done with the minimum delay.
- (b) Until it is possible to alter the present system of purchasing at Lak Sala, it would be beneficial if the authorities in charge of purchasing at Lak Sala advice and instruct the craftsmen on such matters at the variation in demand for different types of products, and the criteria adopted in the selection of artifacts offered by the craftsmen.

- (c) After nearly 6 years of sustained effort, the Kalapura co-operative society succeeded last year in obtaining a loan of Rs. 5,000. The records of the co-operative society show that this loan has been used reasonably, and that the repayment of the loan instalments has been regular. However, considering the fact that the total loan given works out to about Rs. 150/- per family or Rs. 50/- per full-time craftsmen (the latter figure is approximately equal to the current cost of 2 lb. of brass sheet), it appears to be too small to make a significant impact. I suggest that at least an additional Rs. 5,000/- be granted in order to expand the credit facilities of the society. Here too, the department should fix ceilings on borrowing and ensure that the credit facilities reach all sections of the Kalapura community.
- (d) Some special attention should be given to the craftsmen in the minority occupational groups. I find it difficult to understand the rationale behind the settlement of some of these groups (e.g. batik maker, jeweller, lacquer worker, mask maker, artist and blacksmith) in the colony. Kalapura affords no special advantage for their crafts, and they benefit little from its co-operative society. Now that they have been settled in the colony, it is incumbent upon the Department to safeguard their interests.
- (e) Until recently there have been no regular operational links between the central workshop at Kalapura and the craftsmen. While the presence of the workshop has been of little benefit to the colony, some of its expensive equipment (e.g. the electrical furnace for smelting brass) have remained idle throughout. Steps should be taken to utilize these or to dispose of them, and the workshop should be linked more closely than in the past with the crafts at Kalapura. However, the turnover of metal artifacts at the colony does not justify the immediate setting up of polishing and plating facilities in the workshop.
- (f) The so-called "dispersed factory" or the "industrial homework" system has been successfully developed in several countries like Japan and Switzerland in their process of economically strengthening cottage industries and utilizing the skills of the rural craftsmen for modern industrial needs (Stein, 1935; Zimmermann, 1950; Lockwood, 1954). Although problems and limitations of the system have been recognized (Staley and Morse, 1965), Japan and Switzerland have demonstrated its possibilities in several modern industries including those that demand a high degree of precision and technical skill from the craftsman. Certain Kandyan crafts (especially those involving metal work) present potential for development in this direction. The department should undertake such a venture after a careful study of

- the prospects. Kalapura could be the starting point of an experiment in 'industrial homework" in which some of the unutilized equipment available in the workshop is used.
- (g) The seventeen acres of idle land belonging to the colony should be speedily put into productive use. As to what form it should take depends on the developmental needs and priorities of the area; but a section of it could be usefully set apart for the needs of the present residents of Kalapura. As I have mentioned earlier, under-employment and seasonal unemployment is a pressing problem for certain family units. In my interviews some craftsmen expressed the need for land on which they could practice agriculture as a subsidiary occupation. Hence, on an experimental basis, it would be worthwhile to lease out small extents of suitable land to those craftsmen wishing to undertake part-time farming.
- (h) The supply of electricity to the cottages, a long existing demand of the colonists, should not be done entirely at state expense. In view of the fact that there is considerable under-employment amongst the craftsmen at present, the claim made by some that the output would increase considerably if electricity is supplied appears dubious. If arrangements are currently being made to supply electricity, its costs should be recovered from the colonists.
- (i) The vacant cottage on lot number 3 should be allocated. This cottage could be used to relieve the extreme congestion in one of the over-crowded units in the colony (e.g. 16, 19, 21 or 26). Absenteeism, as in the case of unit 35, which remains closed up at most times should also be discouraged.

In a spirit of enthusiasm and genuine interest, it is easy for the well-meaning official to lose sight of the broader issues and the more pressing needs, and to expend both his energy as well as the resources of the state on what could easily become a personal 'pet project'. Hence I should re-emphasise the fact that whatever is done for Kalapura affects only a small minority of those engaged in traditional Kandyan crafts.

Table 7.1. The Survey of Kalapura conducted during February-April 1972

Occupational Group	Total No. of Units	Units in the Preliminary Survey	Sample of Units Studied in detail
Light metal carver	13	12	9
Brassfounder	9	9	5
Wood/Ivory carver	5	5	3
Blacksmith	2	2	2
Mask maker	1	1	1
Lacquer worker	1	1	1
Batik maker	1	1	1
Weaver	1	1 .	1
Artist	1	1	1

Zimmermann, A.

(1950):

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THE POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF

THE KANDYAN KIGNDOM OF CEYLON: 1707-1760

by

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