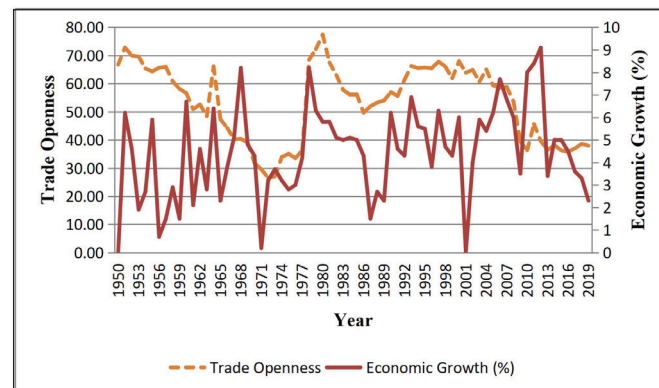
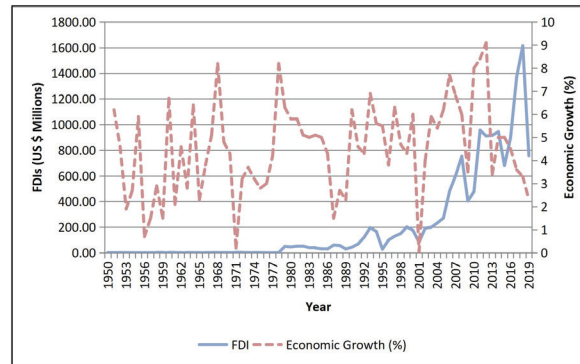


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EDITORIAL

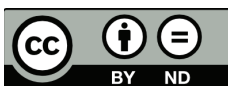
Why Social Science viewpoints are necessary for addressing the multistranded crisis in Sri Lanka?

The current crisis in Sri Lanka is multi-faceted with economic, political, and social aspects impinging on one another. The economic and political crises are the ones that are more visible as reflected in queues, scarcities, and mass mobilisations against the ruling establishments, issues that demand urgent attention and action. Underlying these seemingly fire-fighting emergencies are the need for understanding the root causes of the multi-stranded maladies, the need for preventive action based on sound policies and socially sensitive and well-informed crisis intervention strategies that are driven by objectively assessed actual needs of affected people and the resources available to tackle them rather than political motivations driven by short-term gains of one kind or another for the decision makers at the top and the need to accommodate those in the inner ring as against the competent personnel who may be more capable of addressing the actual needs on the ground by virtue of their skills and training. Social Sciences inclusive of Economics, Political Science, Sociology, Social Anthropology, Psychology, Education, Demography, Geography, Management, Law, and Social Work must be utilized in full and appropriate transdisciplinary blends in identifying and implementing required preventive action and immediate crisis responses in order to make sure that we will see the end of the crises at hand, do not remain entangled in them forever and better prepared when the next crisis hits us.

If there is any lesson to be learnt from the ongoing stalemate, it is that decision making at the level of

policy formulation in matters such as development, public finance, local or foreign investments, technology transfers, governance, environmental conservation and economic recovery, must involve not only the elected leaders and the designated officials who may be largely guided by common sense understanding of issues and exigencies within the systems in which they operate, including demands by diverse stakeholders such as those with vested interests, but also experts in relevant fields with a proven track record, analytical skills, intellectual integrity, autonomy and a capacity to stay above the competing pressures from diverse stakeholders in order to pursue common good and the needs of future generations (e.g. climate justice, need to safeguard the commons) as against the urgent needs of those currently preoccupied with accessing the scarce resources available. Social Sciences have the knowledge base required to sort out matters and guide crisis responses and policy directives and a capacity to generate suitable new knowledge where the existing body of knowledge is inadequate.

Economics and related disciplines including Business Studies and Management must be deployed to understand and respond to the escalating debt crisis, rebuilding of foreign currency reserves, overcoming commodity scarcities and more careful and rational administration of public finance. Rebuilding legitimacy of the state, cleaning up the political process, enhancing public accountability and broadening parameters of democratic participation to include youth, women, professional groups and disadvantaged social groups require critical



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inputs from Political Science, History, Sociology, Demography and Public Administration. Responding to the unfolding social crisis inclusive of unemployment, indebtedness, bankruptcies, overseas labour migration, social tension, malnutrition, depression, suicide attempts, substance use and crime calls for variety of expertise from a range of disciplines such as Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Law and Public Health. While none of these disciplines will have ready made quick fixes to the complex problems the country is facing at present, we have to realise that the problems at hand cannot be tackled by hand picked 'yes' men with no sound understanding of the issues involved.

Mechanisms for harnessing social sciences

Different countries follow different modalities to harness Social Sciences for national development. For instance, publicly funded state institutions such as the Social Science Research Councils consisting of leading scholars in each field are used in countries like USA, UK, India, and the Philippines to support independent social research by eminent scholars on priority global/national issues and help establish a valid evidence base to be used in scientific as well as public discourses. Social Science think tanks are also set up and mobilised by the universities, foundations, civil society organisations or even political parties for advocacy and decision-making purposes. For instance, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is one such think tank committed to global peace and sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation in the US. Similarly, the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation in Germany is linked to the Christian Democratic Union (centre-right), and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation is affiliated with the Social Democratic Party (centre-left). In these instances, the respective Social Science think tanks may be influenced by ideologies, and particular political agendas, but there is a clear recognition of the perspectives and positions from which they make a case one way or the other and this may influence the application of the relevant ideas by the specific actors. It must be mentioned here that the relevant think tanks serve to not just reiterate and justify the actions of the respective political parties, but also change and reorient them in line with available evidence about the changing circumstances.

The absence of any credible mechanism to support and utilise Social Sciences in socially relevant ways exploring their full potential must be identified as an important factor contributing to the larger social crisis currently unfolding in Sri Lanka. Against this background, there are vastly different rhetorical and largely unsubstantiated claims about vital issues such

as incidence of poverty and malnutrition, educational disruption, suicides and the patterns and the extent of substance abuse in the country with neither the state nor civil society seeking to establish valid and reliable data bases that help monitor the relevant outcomes as against the policies and interventions pursued. Instead of recognising and addressing social issues, injustices of one kind or another and social grievances fueled by unemployment, hopelessness and sense of disadvantage to be countered deploying appropriate social policies, the overwhelming tendency has been to resort to arbitrary action, violence, state repression and outright manipulation in response to episodic waves of social resistance by avalanches of disaffected people in the north and the south. This has not resulted in long-term peace and stability or lasting development in the country as we know very well at this point in time. This is why required Social Science inputs are absolutely necessary for identifying and addressing the bottlenecks and real issues in society.

Towards socially responsible and publicly accountable research and publication

In Sri Lanka the expanding Social Science community should strive towards addressing issues of vital public interest in their research, advocacy, and dissemination of study results in whatever fora available. The policy failures we have repeatedly seen in Sri Lanka are largely due to the failure of the people in power to recognise potential contributions from sciences in general, including Social Sciences and the failure of the scientists to come forward and exert their due influence through advocacy and public debates in mass media and social media. Many of the social issues swelling up from the ground level go undetected or under detected until they explode after reaching a crisis level as there are no trained social workers, counsellors or other actors providing care and guidance in establishments such as universities, schools, workplaces or even institutions like prisons, drug rehabilitation centres, elderly homes, or services catering to international migrant workers.

Absence of any public institutions that systematically collect, disseminate, and analyse social data and conduct public opinion polls have added to the volatility of the situation. Traditional support mechanisms through family and kinship alliances, neighbourhood associations, charity and philanthropy or even religious institutions have been undermined due to the ongoing processes of social transformation and they have not been replaced by a cadre of well-trained professional care givers with adequate resources available to the people concerned. The result is accumulation of grievances on a massive

scale feeding into mass protests and social tsunamis of one kind or another. While economic recovery and social stabilisation clearly need appropriate social policies and programmes, addressing larger issues of social injustice and clearing obstacles for upward social mobility in ways to be identified through applied social research, trained social scientists such as social workers can also play a useful role in providing social care to supplement and strengthen existing social support mechanisms that help people cope with diverse problems they face.

There is also a clear need for the Sri Lankan Social Science community in and outside the country to forge alliances and collaborations, come forward to reflect on, comprehend and respond to the multistranded and multilayered crisis at hand and contribute towards expanding the frontiers of knowledge in the relevant fields in terms of addressing the vexed problems confronting all of us. This may require not only new approaches to overcome the economic and other obstacles the country is facing, new ways of practicing our disciplines and innovative educational initiatives where the teachers and students are pushed towards finding viable and effective remedies for the problems at hand. The existing body of Social Science knowledge may not have all the answers to the problems we are facing but this is where new knowledge and innovative remedies must be identified, introduced, and assessed.

While resource limitations and unsettled conditions in the country may pose serious challenges for social research in Sri Lanka presently, we must bear in mind that some of the key advances in Social Sciences were made in post-war Europe and North America and more recently post-Apartheid South Africa in situations not dissimilar to what we are going through at present. Knowledge production for understanding the world around us as well as knowledge production for tackling urgent human problems remain within the remit of Social Sciences in diverse fields ranging from Applied Economics to Applied Anthropology. With a long history of cultural heritage and established scholarship, democratic governance firmly established despite numerous challenges and reversals throughout the post-independence period and a rich heritage of biodiversity and cultural unity and diversity, a considerable repair work must be done, and we should all come forward to think ahead and outside the box to address the mounting challenges we face as a country. Social Science thinking must pave the way for forward looking social policies on the part of state agencies as well as progressive social movements geared to democratic reforms, broad-based development of a sustainable nature, and rational and optimum use of public resources in publicly accountable ways for advancing the common interests of all citizens in the country,

Kalinga Tudor Silva

RESEARCH ARTICLE

External trade and foreign investment policy reforms in economic growth of Sri Lanka

Sanjeewa Udara Rathnasekara*

Export Development Board, Sri Lanka

Abstract: It is a fact that external trade (ET) and foreign direct investments (FDIs) are the two key determinants of the economic growth of a nation state. They are both intrinsically related to the trade and investment policy of the government (Krugman, 1992). Since independence, the external trade and investment policy of Sri Lanka has been one of the main causes of the fluctuations in its economic performance. In the course of time, Sri Lanka has witnessed numerous shifts in its external trade and investment policy, under various circumstances that used to influence the economic activities in the world for different periods of time. As such, a deep understanding of the shifts in Sri Lanka's external trade and investment policy is considered crucial, especially when studying the growth patterns of her economy during the period 1948-2019. Against this background, this study builds a case for understanding the reforms which came into effect in Sri Lanka's external trade and foreign direct investment policy and their impact on her post-independent period economic growth.

Keywords: Trade openness, foreign direct investments, economic growth, policy reforms, Sri Lanka

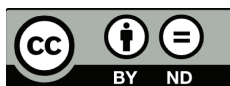
INTRODUCTION

Among the developing countries, Sri Lanka remains one of the early economic liberalisers (Athukorala, 2012). At its independence from the British crown, Sri Lanka (known as Ceylon) used to be considered an economy with a higher growth level, mainly due to the higher educational level of its population and the developed infrastructural facilities within her terrain. During this period, Sri Lanka inherited a dualistic export economy. It had a plantation sector integrated into international

markets and a backward subsistence agrarian economy catering for the local population. The tea, rubber and coconut plantations were the main earners of foreign exchange while the paddy cultivation received much of the government's attention and had an import substitution strategy (Abeyrathna, 1993).

The government elected in 1956 followed a closed economy with interventionist policies. In contrast with the previous period, the state played a major role in planning and fuelling the economy. The Government introduced high tariff rates and controls on foreign exchange payments as part of its inward-looking strategy and announced several policy packages to attract foreign direct investment in order to ease the pressure on the balance of payments which was not successful at that time (Rajapatirana, 2017). Thus, the government got directly involved in the industry through the allocation of economic resources to the state-owned industries and the establishment of public-sector industrial corporations with the assistance of the Soviet bloc (The communist nations closely allied with the Soviet Union, including Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania, whose foreign policies depended on those of the former Soviet Union) to produce a wide range of goods such as paper, cement, steel, hardware, petroleum products, fertilizers, tires, and textiles. As a result, by the mid-1970s, Sri Lanka became one of the most inward-oriented and regulated economies, outside the communist bloc, characterised by stringent trade and exchange controls and pervasive state interventions

*Corresponding author (sanjeewa.econ@gmail.com  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5612-3355>)



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(Rajapatirana, 2017; Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 1994; More, 1997; Dunham & Kelegama, 1997; Athukorala, 2012).

Sri Lanka shifted away from her inward-looking strategy to an outward-looking strategy in 1977, resulting in a liberalised trade regime where export promotion received priority and the private sector was considered the engine of her economic development (Athukorala, Bandara & Kelegama, 2011). Further, as Rajapathirana (2017) argues, economics alone cannot explain a government's attitudes towards her economic policies which are generally influenced by its politics, ideology, and history. Therefore, this study endeavours to present a systematic evaluation of the regime shifts which took place in Sri Lanka and their policy implications for her progress in trade, foreign direct investment, and economic performance.

RESEARCH METHODS

The main method used here comprises library research strategies generally applied to derive information from published sources such as journal articles, reports, books, Central Bank Annual Reports, and web pages. In addition, government authorities such as the Sri Lanka Export Development Board and Board of Investment were consulted to gather the necessary statistics and information and arrange them systematically as guided by the objectives. Further, the analysis was conducted through the creation of data tables and corresponding discussions.

1948 – mid 1955: liberal trade regime

After into independence was achieved in 1948, Sri Lanka followed continuously until the mid-1950s, an essentially "*laissez faire*" approach in her trade with almost no restriction on imports, exports and foreign exchange transactions. With this approach, almost no specific incentives were given to the stakeholders to encourage or discourage exports or imports. The United National Party (UNP), being in the ruling power, represented mostly the interests of the colonial bourgeoisie and the elite groups. In the event of independence, the export contribution to gross national product (GNP) was nearly one third and the export economy of Sri Lanka comprised the plantation sector linked to international markets and a backward subsistence agrarian economy. Much of the foreign exchange was generated from the tea, rubber, and coconut exports. Rice production was also considered by the government as a priority sector.

Mid 1950s – 1964: consolidation of trade controls (import substitution industrialisation - ISI Strategy)

From 1956 to 1964, the thrust of the government policy was to bring about import substitution led industrialisation as there were difficulties in coping with the balance of payment (Jayasuriya & Athukorala, 2004). To this end, imports were limited through high tariffs whereby providing incentives for investment in import substituting industries. There, the state played a major role in economic decision making and the policy contexts did not become favourable for exports, thus creating an anti-export biased situation. It was the belief of the then ruling government headed by the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna that dependence on a few primary commodities was not sufficient to drive the economy. Further, it argued that the private sector did not have sufficient capital for investment and therefore state intervention was highly needed. As a result, the state extended the previous government's strategy of agricultural import substitution to the industrial sector as well. Tariffs on imports were increased and foreign exchange payments were also controlled to reduce the importation of non-essential products (Rajapathirana, 2017).

These initiatives were taken by the government to ease the pressure on the issues of the balance of payments and to protect the local producers from foreign competition. In order to control the situation, a foreign exchange budget committee was established in 1963, and thereby the Ministry of Finance allocated foreign exchange to external trade, on the basis of national priorities. Also, foreign banks presence in the country were restricted while Bank of Ceylon was nationalised. These initiatives made the economy a highly regulated one by the mid-1960s (Jayasuriya & Athukorala, 2004).

1965 – 1969: partial import liberalisation with export incentives

The government that was in place between 1968 and 1969 (headed by the United National Party) partially opened up the economy by reducing some of the controls on imports and by attempting to encourage exports (Jayasuriya & Athukorala, 2004). The Sri Lankan rupee was devalued by twenty per cent against the UK sterling pound in 1967. However, this initiative did not ease the pressure on the balance of payments, and foreign currencies were sold at higher rates in an informal market. However, in 1968, the government introduced some trade liberalisation policies. The major policies for encouraging exports consisted of introducing a bonus voucher scheme (BVS)

and a foreign exchange entitlement certificate (FEEC) scheme. The BVS provided exporting industrialists with an import entitlement quota of twenty per cent (20%) of the free-on-board (FOB) value of exports. The FEEC scheme allowed a higher rate of exchange (40% to 65%) on exports of non-traditional goods. Imports of many types of raw materials and machinery were allowed freely under open general licenses (OGLs) but at a higher foreign exchange entitlement certificate (FEEC) exchange rate. A new tariff structure was also introduced. As a result, free movement of most essential items was allowed, whereas for non-essential items, tariff rates varied between 10 to 300 per cent, depending on their importance as a need to the society. One main objective of the ruling government in this era was to make Sri Lanka self-sufficient in rice. Therefore, these liberalisation policies were partially expected to meet the government's objective as well. However, the government collected a significant tax revenue from exports. These anti-export biased actions placed a considerable burden on the exporters. Therefore, the government excluded some products such as tea, rubber, and coconut from the FEEC scheme.

1970 – 1976: reversing liberalisation and tightening controls (regulated economic policies)

Policies during this period of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) led Government were once again inward-looking and geared towards owned encouraging import substitution. As a result, state-owned enterprises embarked on managing the banking, agriculture, industry and trade sectors. It led to the open general licenses (OGLs) being abolished, although the FEEC scheme was allowed to continue operation. A few fiscal incentives, such as tax holidays and tax rebates, were offered to industrialists within the closed economy. Tariffs on imports were increased and foreign exchange payments were controlled, and certain industries were nationalised. However, the government welcomed FDIs into the country. With all these trade practices, by the end of this period, Sri Lanka became one of the most inward-looking economies outside the Soviet bloc.

1977 – 1989: open economic policies and the first wave of liberalisation

The focus of policies during the post-1977 period was to open up the economy and to encourage export-led industrialisation. The private sector played there a major role in the economic development process. The key policies which were put in place during the period to lower the trade barriers and promote international trade and investment include: abolishing most of the price

controls; removing virtually all quantitative restricting of imports; reducing and simplifying the tariff structure; unifying the exchange rate and setting up a realistic rate; discouraging state investment in new commercial enterprises; encouraging the private sector to take a greater role in the economy; actively promoting foreign direct investments (FDI); establishing the Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC), which was later renamed as Board of Investments (BOI) in 1990, and setting up the Export Development Board (EDB) to promote and develop exports from Sri Lanka.

In its effort to promote exports in the post-1977 period, the government also provided a range of incentives to the exporters and introduced several programmes designed to support and expand exports. Some of the major incentives / support schemes that were in place during the 1990s were import duty concessions, tax incentives, financial assistance schemes, export credit insurances, market development support, product development support, the export development investment support scheme (EDISS), the export productive village scheme (EPV), special incentives to attract FDI, and establishment of export processing zones (EPZs) in Katunayake and Biyagama.

1990 – mid 2000s: open economic policies and second wave liberalisation

The reform process that started in 1977 (with the elimination of Quota Restrictions (QRs) and the gradual reduction of tariffs with new export incentives) lost its momentum in the early 1980s for two main reasons: the unfortunate shift in policy priorities towards politically appealing glamorous investment projects and the ethnic conflict. Further, the unfavourable movement in real exchange rates during the 1980s negatively affected the performance of the Sri Lanka's export sector. It is scientifically established that, in the 1980s, the real exchange rate used to be overvalued, and it ultimately resulted in an anti-export bias (Abeyratne, 1993). Thereafter in the 1990s the government introduced the second wave liberalisation package with the privatisation program that led to further tariff cuts and the simplification of the tariff structure by removing exchange controls on the current account transactions combined with other market-oriented reforms. As a result, in 1994, Sri Lanka achieved Article VIII status of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), becoming one of the most open economies in the developing world. Thereafter the new government that was elected in 1994, followed almost a similar pattern having no change in the main direction of the economy (Athukorala, 2012). The new government proposed further tariff reform and

introduced harmonising the tariff structure towards a single band over the medium term. The UNP (United National Party) led government in 2001-2002 introduced a more globalisation-friendly open economic policy but did not continue for long.

Trade and investment policies since mid- 2000 (protectionist reversal followed by a liberal approach)

By the end of the 1990s, the planned reduction of tariffs into a single band had been abandoned, and Sri Lanka had a protectionist approach to trade and investment policies since 2005, with a greater level of government involvement in economic decision making followed by an import substitution strategy. In fact, it could be evident that tariffs changed frequently in an ad hoc manner (Athukorala, 2012). As a result the ratio of exports to GDP fell sharply during this period. In 2009, the Sri Lankan government defeated the 30-year-long LTTE separatist war and managed to restore complete peace within the territory (Athukorala, 2012). At this time, Sri Lanka had nine para tariffs applicable for imports (Athukorala, 2012), out of which, five had no domestic tax equivalent. With all such complex para tariff systems, the country's level of protectionism became even more complicated (Pursell & Ahsan, 2011). The government that was elected in 2015 took steps towards liberalisation such as the gradual removal and abolition of various para tariffs and until 2019 a more liberal and globalisation friendly approach could be witnessed (Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 2015).

Economic performance since independence

Since independence, Sri Lanka inherited a dualistic export economy with a plantation sector integrated into international markets and a backward subsistence agrarian economy. Due to the World War II price boom, Sri Lanka's financial assets got accumulated, resulting in some measure of prosperity. Yet, the industrial sector attracted less attention from the state mainly because at that time, the economy could sustain only with primary commodities. From 1950 to 1951, about twenty per cent of the government expenditure was on subsidies. The export prices started declining and, relative to that, the import prices started increasing (Abeyratne & Rodrigo, 2002). After 1953, the export duties were increased, and relative to that, the import duties also went up, thus generating some revenue. As a result, until 1955 the growth rate remained at 4.3 per cent on average. In addition, the fiscal revenue and expenditure to GDP was about 20-22 per cent with a low debt service ratio to GDP of 2.18 per cent. Further, a low inflation of 0.17 per cent was recorded in this period.

However, with the declining commodity prices for primary products in the world market, deterioration in the terms of trade and depletion of assets resulted. Consequently, economic growth fell significantly to an average of 3.2 per cent during the period from 1956 to 1964. while recording a minimum of 0.7 per cent in 1956 (Ravinthirakumaran, 2014) and low inflation of 1.24 per cent with a widening of the fiscal revenue and expenditure to GDP. However, the debt service ratio to GDP declined to an average of 1.67 per cent. Until the mid-1960s, Sri Lanka's FDI policy remained liberal. This allowed multinational enterprises (MNEs) to establish operations and produce locally. But the strategy of import substituting MNEs started to create balance of payment problems. Therefore, export-oriented investments and ventures were encouraged by introducing incentives and maintaining a relaxed foreign exchange control for export-oriented FDIs. Further, the welfare impact of growth in an open economy can decline any gain from export growth might be offset by deterioration in terms of trade, resulting in undermining growth (Bhagawati, 1968).

From 1965 to 1969, the government partially opened the economy by reducing some of the controls on imports and by attempting to encourage exports. As a result, the economy was growing at a rate of 4.84 per cent from 1965 to 1969, registering a maximum growth of 8.2 per cent in 1968. Yet, inflation started to rise to an average of 3.10 per cent, and the government revenue and expenditure to GDP both fell marginally, but the debt service ratio went up to 7.66 per cent on average.

However, this growth momentum did not continue as expected. The government-regulated economic policies adopted within the period 1970 -1976 were more inclined towards an import substitution strategy (Rajapathirana, 2017). It made the average growth rate remains at a low of 2.91 per cent. The adverse impact of youth insurrection, the global energy, food and exchange rate crises, as well as bad weather conditions prevailed during the same period contributing to inflation that continued to rise to an average of 6.39 per cent. It was observed that the government revenue and expenditure to GDP remained almost the same compared to the previous period, but the debt service ratio shot up to 21.10 per cent on average.

The policy shift in 1977 towards opening up the economy with a more globalisation-friendly approach has resulted in a reasonable increase in the average growth rate of the country to an average of 5.61 per cent throughout the period from 1977 to 1985. However, the macroeconomic and political instability that existed in the late 1980s had a negative impact on the growth prospects

of the economy, resulting in poor growth of 2.7 per cent on average from 1986 to 1989. Thereafter, in the 1990s with the introduction of the second wave liberalisation package with the privatisation program, further tariff cuts and simplification of the tariff structure, removing exchange controls on current account transactions, *etc.* made Sri Lanka one of the most open economies in developing world. Since then, the economy was able to regain its growth momentum to a moderate level. The government expenditure on GDP shows a significant rise to 33.06 per cent on average. However, the debt service ratio declined to 19.18 per cent from the previous 21.10 per cent.

With the continuation of the open economic policies by the then elected SLFP government 1994-2000, the economy was growing at a moderate rate of 5.17 per cent, leaving the inflation to remain at a level of about 8.8 per cent. But both fiscal revenue and income declined significantly and so did the debt service ratio to the GDP.

The political shift in the 2001-2002 period experienced a very low growth rate along with an increasing inflation rate of 9.6 per cent. However, the fiscal revenue and expenditure continued to decline along with a falling debt service ratio.

The political change of 2003-2004 recorded a 5.65 per cent GDP growth with a declining inflation of 7.65 per cent on average. Like the previous period, the fiscal revenue and expenditure continued to decline along with a falling debt service ratio.

The government of 2005-2015 recorded a growth of 6.28 per cent with a marginal rise in inflation of 8.71 per cent. The debt service ratio during this period shows a significant rise to 18.22 per cent. However, the country's economic performance was negatively affected by the surge in world food and oil prices during 2007 and the huge impact of the tsunami. The GDP per capita rose significantly, due to the growth in the non-tradable sectors such as construction, transport, utilities, *etc.* This confirms the premature de-industrialisation hypothesis of Dani Rodrik (Rodrik & Rodríguez, 2001) which explains that many developing countries are turning into service economies without having gone through a proper experience of industrialisation. The trade performance since the 2000s has been driven by policy and investment deficiencies, resulting in increased protectionism, including tariffs and especially on extensive use of para-tariffs (Pursell & Ahsan, 2011; Liyanaarachchi, Bandara & Naranpanawa, 2015). Furthermore, the low performance of the FDIs has reinforced poor outcomes within the trade volume.

The growth of the economy during 2015-2019 was below the previous period recording 3.74 per cent growth, but the inflation remained low at 4.28 per cent. The fiscal revenue and expenditure remained almost the same compared to the previous period. However, the debt service ratio was relatively at 27.26 per cent. The low growth was partially due to the Easter Sunday terror attack that took place on April 21, 2019, affecting the economy.

Table 1: Policy regime shifts and their implications on selected economic performance indicators

	1948- 1955	1956- 1964	1965- 1969	1970- 1976	1977- 1993	1994- 2000	2001- 2002	2003- 2004	2005- 2015	2015- 2019
National Income and Prices										
GDP Growth ¹	4.26	3.24	4.84	2.91	4.90	5.17	1.25	5.65	6.28	3.74
Inflation ²	0.17	1.24	3.10	6.39	12.31	8.84	9.60	7.65	8.71	4.28
Government										
Revenue to GDP ¹	20.50	22.13	21.8	21.03	22.95	19.30	17.00	15.45	14.27	13.46
Expenditure to GDP ¹	22.77	28.03	27.96	27.20	33.06	27.59	25.40	22.85	20.62	20.14
Debt Service Ratio to GDP ¹	2.18	1.67	7.66	21.10	19.18	14.57	13.20	11.60	18.22	27.26

¹ Average of the Period

² Average of the Trade to GDP ratio

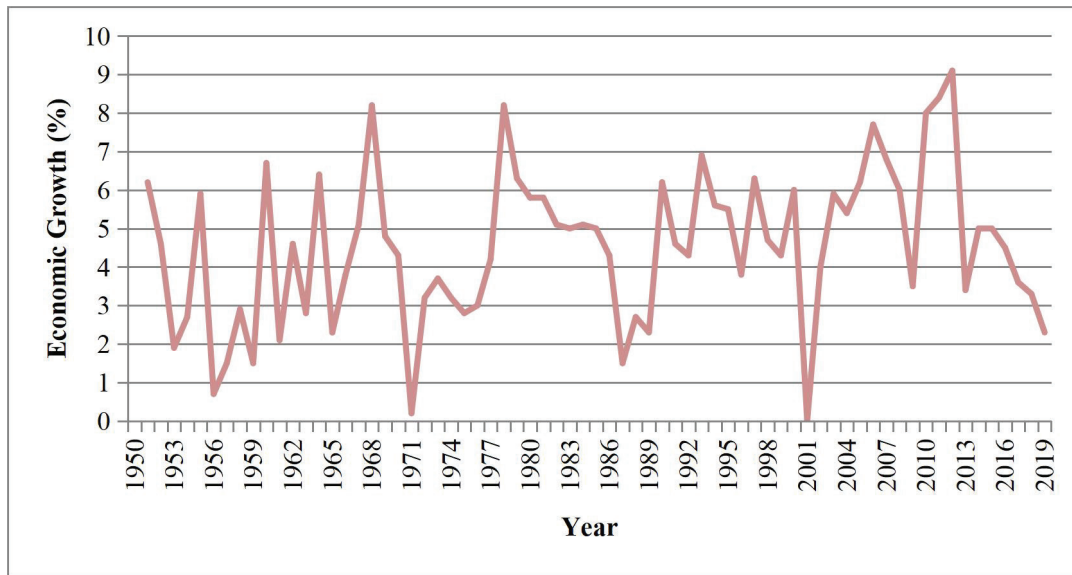


Figure 1: Trends in economic growth: 1950 to 2019

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka annual reports 1972, 1980, 1998 & 2020

Table 1 summarises some of the economic indicators relevant to the policy shifts that took place since independence.

Further, Figure 1 shows the annual economic growth, indicating a highly volatile trend since 1948, ranging from a maximum of 9.1 per cent (in 2012) to a minimum of -1.5 per cent (in 2001). The growth rate of -1.5 per cent was due to several factors such as the political unrest that prevailed along with circumstances such as the terror attack at the Katunayaka International Airport, prolonged drought and subsequent power cuts, the terror attack on the World Trade Centre, and the subsequent global recession.

Trade openness and external trade since independence

When analysing the openness and growth link since 1948, it is evident that throughout the early 1950s, the Trade Openness Index (Trade Openness Index was calculated as a ratio of Trade to GDP) remained considerably high (68.14) due to the *laissez faire* regime that prevailed with almost no barriers to trade. Exports to GDP were as high as 35.8 per cent, and the country recorded a positive trade balance to GDP of 3.5 per cent which could only be evident in that period.

The import substitution industrialisation (ISI) strategy that prevailed during 1956–1964, shows a direct impact on the openness index during that period. It could

be evident that the openness index has been falling continuously during that period and shows an average of 58.36 which is a decline of 14.35 per cent compared to the previous era. Further, exports to GDP fell sharply to 27.41 per cent and the trade balance recorded a negative 3.55 per cent on average. This pattern could be evident during the period from 1965–1969 period even though the economy was partially opened to create a more globalisation friendly environment.

A significant impact on external trade was evident during the 1970–1976 period with the closed economic policy of the government led by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Exports to GDP further declined to 14.06 on average and trade openness declined significantly to 31.07 per cent indicating a more inward-looking approach. However, this strategy resulted in a negative trade balance of 2.95 per cent due to the trade restrictions in the country.

However, the extensive liberalisation process introduced in 1977 made a clear diversion restoring the country's trade openness at a considerably higher position of nearly 60 per cent. Exports to GDP recorded a significant comeback of 23.47 per cent. This movement continued until 2002 because of the open economic policies with more globalisation-friendly policies of governments. However, especially during the 2004–2015 period with the United Peoples' Freedom Alliance

party-led government’s economic policy which was characterised by partially open but interventionist policies has resulted in a contraction in the trade openness index down to 37.13 per cent with a gradual decline in exports to GDP ratio to 17.60 per cent. This decline was not sufficiently recovered during the period 2015-2019, even though the government introduced various trade liberalisation attempts. This could be partly attributed to the Easter Sunday terror attack that took place in 2019. However, Krugman (1992) and Rodrik & Rodríguez (2001) argue that the effect of openness on growth is doubtful. According to Krugman, the effect of openness on economic growth could be, at best, very tenuous, and at worst, doubtful. Further, Krugman (1992) highlights that the degree of trade openness, particularly the magnitude of tariff and non-tariff barriers only can affect the volume of trade, not necessarily the

link between exports, imports, and economic growth. Rodrik and Rodríguez (2001) argue that methodological problems with the empirical strategies employed in openness-led growth literature leave the results open to diverse interpretations.

Generally, there has been an increase in the trade dependency ratio since the introduction of the trade liberalisation policy in 1977. Figure 2 depicts the behavioural pattern of economic growth and openness (calculated based on the widely used trade to GDP ratio from 1950- 2019). It could be evident that a minimum level of 27 per cent was recorded in 1972 and the highest openness index of 80 per cent, in 1951.

Furthermore, within the period 1977-2019, the total merchandise trade of Sri Lanka increased from

Table 2: Policy regime shifts and their implications on selected trade performance indicators

	1948- 1955	1956- 1964	1965- 1969	1970- 1976	1977- 1993	1994- 2000	2001- 2002	2003- 2004	2005- 2015	2015- 2019
External Sector										
Exports to GDP ¹	35.81	27.41	19.33	14.06	23.47	29.46	28.32	26.55	17.60	13.17
Trade Balance to GDP ¹	3.47	-3.55	-3.58	-2.95	-12.14	-6.86	-8.22	-9.78	-10.44	-10.78
Trade Openness ²	68.14	58.36	42.25	31.07	59.07	65.78	64.37	62.87	45.65	37.13

1 Average of the Period

2 Average of the Trade to GDP ratio

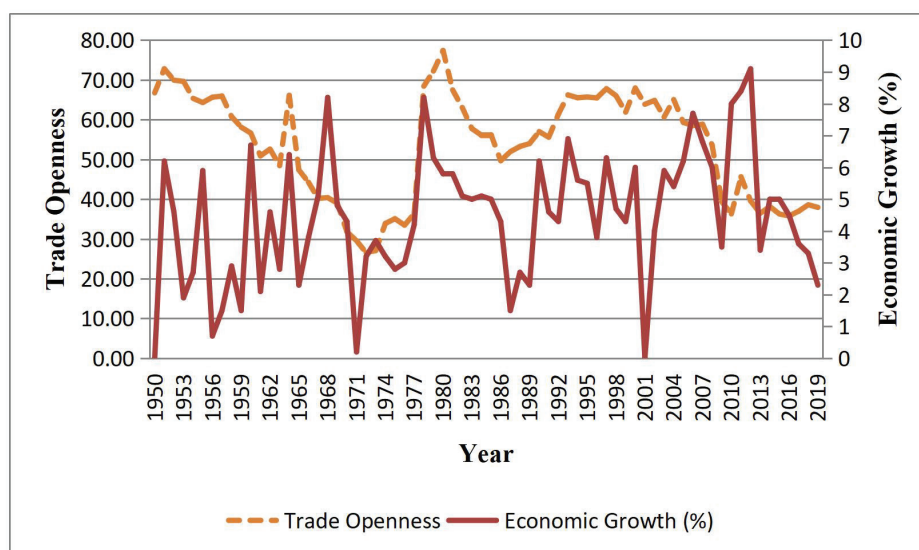


Figure 2: Trade Openness and economic growth: 1950 to 2019

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka annual reports 1972, 1980, 1998 & 2020

US \$ 1,494 million to US \$ 31,240 million. In 1977, the total exports were US \$ 767.1 million which was a higher figure compared to the import value of US \$ 726.2 million. Thereafter imports have continuously recorded a higher value compared to the exports of the country. The continuous rapid increase in exports and imports highlights the importance of external trading activities for the Sri Lankan economy (Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 2005). As mentioned above, this clear diversion of the trade sector activities is mainly attributed to the liberalised economic policies introduced in 1977.

Extensive uses of tariffs and para tariffs

International trade performance (especially since 2000s) was driven by policy and investment deficiencies resulting in increased protectionism, including tariffs and extensive use of para-tariffs (Pursell & Ahsan, 2011 cited

by Liyanarachchi *et al.*, 2015). Especially, after 2000, distortions of the tariff structure became evident with several para tariffs that had been introduced at different stages. By the year 2009, the country had nine para tariffs applicable for imports (Athukorala, 2012), of which, five had no domestic tax equivalent (namely; port and airport levy of 5 per cent, customs surcharge of 15 per cent, export development board CESS levy of 10 per cent to 35 per cent, regional development levy applicable for automobile components of 5 per cent, 7.5 per cent or 10 per cent) and four had a domestic tax equivalent (namely; value added tax (VAT) of 12 per cent to 20 per cent, social responsibility levy of 1.5 per cent, nation building tax of 3 per cent and excise duty of 10 per cent). With all such complex systems of para-tariffs, the country's level of protectionism became even more complicated (Pursell & Ahsan, 2011).



Figure 3: External trade of Sri Lanka: 1950 to 2019

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka annual reports 1972, 1980, 1998 & 2020

Table 3.0: Average total rate of protectionism from 2000 -2015

Year	Total rate of protectionism	Average tariffs	Average para tariffs
2002	12.5	9.6	2.9
2003	12.5	9.6	2.9
2004	13.4	11.3	2.1
2005	13.4	11.3	2.1
2006	13.4	11.3	2.1
2007	13.4	11.3	2.1
2008	13.4	11.3	2.1
2009	27.9	12.4	15.5
2010	27.9	12.4	15.5
2011	23.7	11.5	12.2
2012	23.7	11.5	12.2
2013	28.58	12.85	15.73
2014	28.58	12.85	15.73
2015	28.58	12.85	15.73

The distortions of the tariff structure during the period 2005-2015 have significantly reduced the country's exports to GDP to 17.6 per cent from 26.55 per cent recorded previously. Further, the trade balance has also increased from the previous negative 9.78 per cent to the negative 10.44 to GDP during the same period.

However, Krueger (1997) noted that growth prospects for developing countries are greatly enhanced through an outer – oriented trade region and fairly uniform incentives for production across exporting and import substituting goods and further stresses that changing trade policy is vital for improvement in economic performance.

The government assumed power in 2015 and took steps towards liberalisation such as the gradual removal of Export Development Board CESS duties for various items, revision of port and airport levy (PAL) and economic service charge (ESC duties) and amendments of certain legislations such as the Inland Revenue Act. In addition, the government took steps to abolish the ESC & NBT duties while reducing the corporate income tax for the export sectors (Weerakoon & Jayasuriya, 2017).

Foreign direct investments since independence

Until the mid-1960s, Sri Lanka's FDI policy remained liberal. This allowed MNEs to establish operations within the country and produce locally. But the ruling government's strategy of import substituting MNEs, started to create a balance of payment problems. Therefore, export-oriented investments and ventures were encouraged by the government. Further, incentives and relaxed foreign exchange control were maintained for export oriented FDIs. Furthermore, the country

suffered from internal and external shocks during the period 1970-1976 such as the oil price shock, the increases in the prices of the main food imports, and the declining outputs of the major agricultural crops. In such a background, the government introduced a white paper to encourage FDIs coming into the country. But this was not generating positive results as the investment climate did not look so encouraging for investors. Similarly, the Exchange Control Act of 1971 introduced several measures such as to declare any asset owned abroad by Sri Lankans, prohibiting residents from having overseas bank accounts, *etc.* Therefore, since independence, FDI to GDP did not show a significant increase until 1977. It remained below 0.1 per cent during the period 1948-1976.

As part of the liberalisation reforms that took place in 1977, FDIs showed a significant increase from 1978 to 1985, recording a growth rate of 19.34 per cent. Further, foreign direct investment in export-oriented activities played a particularly important role in the development of the clothing and tourist industries. The declining share of publicly owned enterprises in manufacturing value added from almost 60 per cent in 1981 to less than 15 per cent in 1991, may be attributed both to these initiatives and to the strong growth in the private sector, especially in the clothing industry (WTO Policy review, 2010). However, the macroeconomic and political instability that existed in the late 1980s had a negative impact on the FDI growth, resulting in a negative growth of 16.90 per cent. During the period 1990-2019, with the government's introduction of the second wave liberalisation package that included a simplification of the tariff structure and removal of the exchange controls on current account transactions, an investor-friendly environment emerged

Table 4: Policy regime shifts and their implications on foreign direct investments

	1948- 1955	1956- 1964	1965- 1969	1970- 1976	1977- 1993	1994- 2000	2001- 2002	2003- 2004	2005- 2015	2015- 2019
FDI to GDP¹	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.81	0.93	1.16	1.09	1.31	1.25

¹ Average of the Period

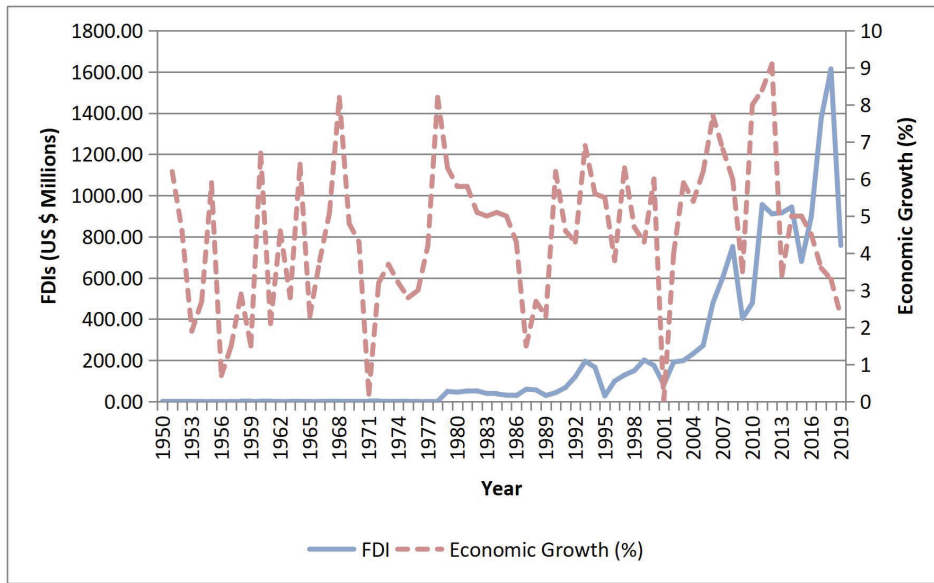


Figure 4: FDIs & Economic Growth: 1950 to 2019

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka annual reports 1972, 1980, 1998 & 2020 Board of Investment Sri Lanka 2010, 2015, 2020

and resulted in a moderate growth of FDIs, recording an average rate of 10 per cent.

FDIs in Sri Lanka include equity capital, reinvested earnings, and other capital used in various intra-company

debt transactions which include only the funds provided but not the funds estimated or committed. FDIs increased from US \$ 2 million to US \$ 1,614 million during the period 1977-2018, but a significant drop was experienced in 2019. After 2006, FDIs started to increase rapidly

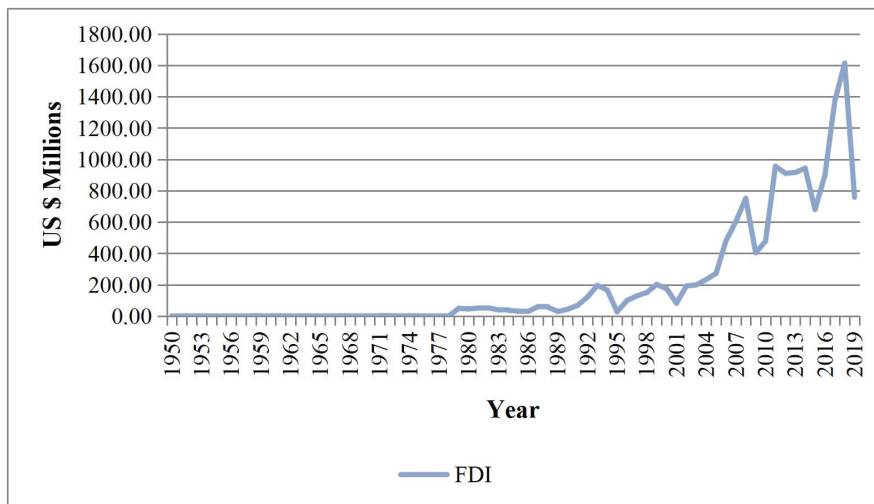


Figure 5: Total inward FDIs of Sri Lanka: 1950 to 2019

Source: Board of Investment Sri Lanka 2010, 2015, 2020

mainly due to the FDI receipts in the manufacturing and infrastructure development sectors as shown below.

As per Samarappuli & Tharanga (2009), the above FDI statistics are understated. The Board of Investment of Sri Lanka considers only the FDI of BOI companies. This is because currently, the BOI considers only the flows of FDI to compile the balance of payments. The BOI captures all the FDI flows since its establishment in 1978. However, the reinvested earnings of the companies that qualified as FDI which were incorporated prior to 1978, are not captured as FDI. These companies are considered non-BOI and unlisted. Therefore, according to the present methodology used in measuring the FDIs in Sri Lanka, the FDI flows are understated in the BOP statistics (Samarappuli & Tharanga, 2009).

Export diversification

Export diversification generates benefits for countries, such as reducing vulnerability to external shocks (Haddad, Lim, Pancaro, & Saborowski, 2013), leading to increases in economic growth (Al-Marhubi, 2000; Herzer & Nowak-Lehmann, 2006; Hesse, 2008). In order to analyse that, Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) was constructed based on Sri Lanka's total export market data and export product data for the period 1990-2019, to measure the export diversification in terms of product diversification and market diversification. This period was specifically selected due to the availability of country-wise export product data of Sri Lanka. Herfindahl-Hirschman Product Concentration Index and Herfindahl-Hirschman Market (HHM) Concentration Index are used to determine the annual aggregate export diversification index. The HHM concentration index varies from 0 to 100 (in percentage terms), where a zero index depicts the lowest possible concentration, that is the

reporting country is trading equally with all the countries and 100 depicts that the exports are concentrated on one market.

During the period the 1950s-1976, evidence suggests that, in Sri Lanka, export diversification was limited due to the slow growth in international trade. However, with the extensive liberalisation process that started in 1977 with the opening of the economy for FDIs (Athukorala, 2012) together with various schemes to promote FDI and international trade, targeting higher economic growth, Sri Lanka experienced a rapid industrial and export diversification and an improved rate of economic growth in the post-reform period, in general (Weerakoon & Thennakoon, 2008).

During the period 1990-2004, generally the product concentration was declining gradually. However, during the 2005-2015 period, this increased from 11.53 per cent to 12.71 per cent. This would have been a result of introducing various para-tariffs as explained before. Since 2016, product concentration has declined to 11.95 per cent mainly owing to the steps taken to liberalise trade.

A higher market concentration of the country is evident from 1990 to the early 2000s. This has then been gradually decreasing since the mid-2000s and continued to remain between 25 per cent to 26 per cent since then. A major reason for this development was the FTAs that came into effect when Sri Lanka entered and due to increased utilization of FTAs over time with the increased awareness of their benefits to Sri Lankan exporters.

In general, the total concentration of the country, which is calculated here as an average of product and market concentration ratio of Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI), shows a decline over the time, indicating

Table 5: Export diversification of Sri Lanka

	1990- 1993	1994-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2016-2019
	Avg.	Avg.	Avg.	Avg.	Avg.					Avg.
Product Concentration	14.73	11.79	12.05	11.53	12.71	11.94	12.27	11.88	11.51	11.95
Market Concentration	28.46	35.39	36.37	34.10	25.39	26.34	24.85	25.27	25.54	25.68
Total Concentration	21.60	23.59	24.21	22.81	19.05	19.14	18.56	18.58	18.52	18.82

that the country is moving towards diversification but at a slower rate.

CONCLUSION

This paper traces the policy shifts and their implications on the performance of Sri Lanka's trade, investments and economy focusing especially on the post-independent period scenario. The review highlights different regimes such as the liberal trade (*laissez faire*) regime 1948-1954, consolidation of trade controls (import substitution industrialisation) that was implemented from the mid-1950s to 1967, partial import liberalisation 1968-1969, regulated economic policies 1970-1977, open economic policies 1977-1989 followed by a second wave of liberalisation in 1990, and finally discusses the trade and investment policies in operation since 2000. As highlighted above, inconsistencies in the trade and investment policy of Sri Lanka since independence are evident. The combined impacts of the trade and investment policy reforms have had a direct impact on her economic growth performance. More liberal trade regimes show positive impacts on the growth aspect and vice versa. However, persistent growth could not be achieved due to inconsistent policy changes in the long run which were fluctuating between the liberal and the protectionist approaches owing to the political ideologies of the elected parties. Being a multi-ethnic state, political cleverness is very crucial, and the post-independence economic performance also shows that maintaining ethnic harmony for a sustainable growth path is essential and it is evident that there are large ideological gaps between the main political parties, especially the UNP and SLFP. These ideological differences have been a barrier to formulating globalisation-friendly economic policies to benefit the economy.

It is also noteworthy that, whatever Sri Lanka achieved under its liberalisation reforms, it did along with a protracted separatist war within her terrain. In addition to the direct debilitating effect the separatist war had on the political risk of the investor perception, it constrained the possibility of capturing the full benefits of the economic opening through the delays and inconsistencies in the implementation of the reform process and the macroeconomic instability emanating from a massive war financing. (Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 1994). Further, Sri Lanka's ability to capture benefits from the policy transition in 1977 was seriously hampered by the escalation of civil strife. During the period from 1983-2009 (Central Bank of Sri Lanka Annual Report, 2015), the economy continued to be burdened by the massive military expenditure from 1 per cent to 9 per cent of the GDP between 1984 and 2008.

The Northern Province and large parts of the Eastern Province (which together account for one-third of Sri Lanka's total land area and almost 12 per cent of the population) remained largely remote from the national economy. Even in the rest of the country, prospects for attracting foreign investment, particularly in long-term ventures were seriously hampered by the lingering fear of sporadic attacks by terrorists. Furthermore, the country's economic performance was also severely affected by the surge in world food and oil prices in 2007, the impact of the Tsunami in 2004 and the Easter Sunday terror attack in 2019. Finally, Sri Lanka's economic performance and its connectivity with the rest of the world have been largely affected by the decisions of the major political parties. National-level policies were decided based on the political, economic, ideological, and social beliefs of the politicians and the economic outcomes were based on such decisions.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Impact of social media on business performance: with reference to small and medium enterprises, Western Province, Sri Lanka

Sanduni Piumini Gunawardane, Krishthombu Madhuka Dulanjana, Dulshan Siriwardana and Danisha Hansani De Mel*

General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Kandawala Road, Ratmalana, Sri Lanka.

Abstract: Social media plays as an advertising mechanism an integral part in enabling business organisations to reach new horizons in the modern world. Inspired by the rapid penetration of clientele made possible by social media platforms, organisations across the globe embark on exploring opportunities available for them to strengthen their brand relationships and promote their goods and services in new territories. Against this background, this paper aims to identify the impact of social media on the marketing aspect of small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) in Sri Lanka. It involves conducting empirical research to test the hypothesised relationships between SMEs and social media based on the conceptual framework developed after reviewing the relevant literature. The data were gathered by distributing a structured questionnaire among a sample of 101 respondents from the Western Province of Sri Lanka who operate their businesses along with an established social media presence. In the course of analysing the data, the hypotheses were tested using the method of multiple regression analysis. The results reveal that the incorporation of social media in advertising helps SMEs boost their awareness of customer perspectives and strengthen their customer relations and thereby having a significant impact on their business performance. The study also explains the implications and benefits of social media in developing the marketing aspect of SMEs.

Keywords: Advertising, awareness, customer relations, SMEs, social media

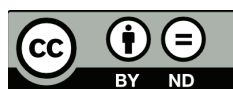
INTRODUCTION

There has been a phenomenal rise in the popularity and commercial significance of social media, as they permit individuals to create, gather and share information and

enable organisations to build relationships with their stakeholders (Motwani *et al.*, 2014). Undoubtedly, social media have become allied with the main marketing techniques for the majority of the businesses that start as small-scale firms with a vision to get established as giant global-level business corporations (Parveen *et al.*, 2015). As defined by Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, P.61), social media are considered “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content.” There is a growing popularity for web-based social media because they facilitate individuals to interact with various organisations. Similarly, through online forums, they help peer communication among the existing and potential customers of a given organisation, which makes it easy to upload comments and reviews about its products. Thus, the market for a company’s offerings can be strongly influenced by social media-based consumer-to-consumer interactions (Gensler *et al.*, 2013). In an era when social media have revolutionised marketing practices, it is crucial that organisations carefully monitor and analyse the user-generated content concerning their brands (Hanna *et al.*, 2011).

Today, small and medium enterprises (SMEs) have begun to utilise social media as a marketing tool, and indeed, it is a low-cost strategy for reaching out to a wide variety of customers (Adegbuyi *et al.*, 2015). SMEs play a pivotal role in satisfying consumer needs as well as sustaining the domestic economy and are considered the backbone of the economy due to their contribution to economic growth, employment generation, and

*Corresponding author (danishademel@kdu.ac.lk  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2218-6999>)



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Table 1: Definition of SMEs

Sector	Criterion	Medium	Small	Micro
Manufacturing	Annual turnover	Rs. Mn. 251-750	Rs. Mn. 16-250	Rs. Mn. 15 or less than Rs. Mn. 15
	Number of employees	51-300	11-50	10 or less than 10
Service Sector	Annual turnover	Rs. Mn. 251-750	Rs. Mn. 16-250	Rs. Mn. 15 or less than Rs. Mn. 15
	Number of employees	51-200	11-50	10 or less than 10

Source: Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Sri Lanka (2016)

innovation (Beaver, 2002). Based on the economic census 2013-2014, the Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka (2015), states that the number of establishments in the SME sector of Sri Lanka is 1.019 million and they are responsible for generating 45% of the total employment requirement of the nation. The definition of SMEs in the Sri Lankan context, presented by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (2016), is depicted in Table 1.

Although organisations see the value of social media in their promotional activities, they encounter various challenges and obstacles (Kwayu *et al.*, 2018). For instance, organisations may lack the expertise to formulate effective social media strategies and manage the implementation of such strategies (Kietzmann *et al.*, 2011; Bharati *et al.*, 2014). Although the use of social media could reduce the publicity cost, it necessitates the investment and deployment of other organisational resources, especially in the area of social media capabilities (Braojos-Gomez *et al.*, 2015). Therefore, social media presence alone is not adequate. The relevant technology must be used effectively to reap the benefits and thereby have an impact on the organisational performance (Parveen *et al.*, 2015). Accordingly, selecting the right social media platform, sharing the appropriate content, and understanding how customers perceive such shared content appear to be skills that are crucial for the modern marketers (Pham & Gammoh, 2015). This became a timely concern during the COVID-19 pandemic when contactless delivery of products and services was vital for the survival and performance of organisations. It is observed that Sri Lanka has a long way to go in social media marketing, since it is evident that its strategic potential has not yet been adequately exploited by most the SMEs (Lugoda, 2020). There is a dearth of research studies on the level of awareness that SMEs possess about the impact that social media exposure can have on their performance in production and propagation.

In this backdrop, the current study aims to explore how social media for advertising enhances the business performance of SMEs; identify their awareness of customer perspectives of social media and its impact on their business performance, and to analyse the impact of using social media for customer relations on the business performance of SMEs

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social media that facilitate organisations to connect with their customers in a timely, direct, and cost-effective manner (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010) are beneficial to SMEs (Salam & Hoque, 2019) which do not have large financial and managerial resources to support extensive marketing campaigns (Tarsakoo & Charoensukmongkol, 2020), and provide them with the opportunity to reach large groups of target customers (Charoensukmongkol & Sasatanun, 2017). Even though social media marketing presents new possibilities and advantages for businesses, research reveals that many social media marketing initiatives undertaken by SMEs have turned out to be unsuccessful (Weber, 2008).

Small businesses face great challenges, which limit their capacity to execute effective social media marketing (Tarsakoo & Charoensukmongkol, 2020) as a result of their inadequate knowledge and understanding of social media marketing techniques. As Sasatanun and Charoensukmongkol (2016) point out, the failures suffered by many SMEs in Thailand can be attributed to their lack of understanding of social media marketing and inappropriate strategic planning. Among the studies examining the rising popularity of social media for promoting products, most are centred on customer perception of social media adoption (Maecker *et al.*, 2016; Alalwan *et al.*, 2017; Alalwan, 2018; Carlson *et al.*, 2018; Ranasinghe *et al.*, 2020). For example, Kwayu *et al.* (2018) examine the strategic use of social media as a tool for enhancing competitiveness by conducting

a case study of a telecommunication organisation in Tanzania. The findings reveal that the adoption of social media improved competitiveness through product development and refinement. Charoensukmongkol and Sasatanun (2017) provide empirical evidence to support the adoption of social media by SMEs for enhancing customer relationships and as a marketing technique that may assist Thai micro-entrepreneurs to achieve better business performance. Tarsakoo and Charoensukmongkol (2020) also explore the social media marketing capability of organisations and the impact it had on their business performance in the context of Thailand. This study reveals that organisations that gather required market information and customer insights via social media when developing new products will achieve enhanced financial performance. Bakar *et al.* (2019) investigate the technological, organisational, and environmental factors that are likely to influence the adoption of social media by SMEs established in the United Arab Emirates.

Samarasinghe *et al.* (2016) study the impact of social media on business performance among apparel and fashion brand retailers in Sri Lanka, and they discovered that social media awareness significantly influences organisational performance. Furthermore, factors that support or hinder social media adoption by SMEs in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka are investigated by Samsudeen *et al.* (2021). Accordingly, technological, organisational, and environmental factors tend to have a significant effect on SME performance. In contrast to the above findings, Ahmad *et al.* (2019) claim that social media adoption does not have a significant impact on SME performance according to a study in the United Arab Emirates. The authors support the argument put forward by Blanchard (2011) that organisations can benefit from social media adoption by using them as a tool to match with the existing organisational objectives and strategies, but not as an end in itself.

Despite the growing popularity of social media, SMEs still face challenges in making the best use of social media platforms for marketing purposes, which is an issue that needs to be further investigated academically (Kwayu *et al.*, 2018). The existent studies recommend further investigation of social media adoption by firms and the enhancement of performance that it can deliver (Qalati *et al.*, 2021). Moreover, Tajvidi and Karami (2021) state that examination of both customer relationship management and social media advertising is needed in any future research that intends to analyse social media usage by SMEs. Consumers sometimes tend to develop a negative attitude towards the marketing messages posted by certain vendors on social media platforms when they

are pushed onto customers too frequently or aggressively (Diffley *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the organisations' awareness and concern about customer perception of social media marketing. Hence, further studies on the adoption of social media by SMEs are required to bridge these gaps.

Social media for advertising

Organisations use social media for advertising through various methods such as brand pages, embedded videos, banner ads, sponsored content, animations, surveys, *etc.* (Ahmad & Raziq, 2018). Social media advertising was defined by Taylor *et al.* (2011) as:

“a general term capturing all forms of advertising – whether explicit (e.g., banner advertising and commercial videos) or implicit (e.g., fan pages or firm related tweets) that are delivered through social network sites” (Taylor *et al.*, 2011: p. 260).

A comprehensive model for advertising is developed by Pollay and Mittal (1993), including three personal utility factors (product information, social image information, and hedonic amusement) and four socioeconomic factors (good for the economy, fostering materialism, corrupting values, and falsity/no-sense). Based on this framework, subsequent scholars too emphasise the importance of product information in the context of social media advertising (Wang & Sun, 2010; Chu *et al.*, 2013; Ahmad & Raziq, 2018).

An important point that SMEs should note is that when product information is made freely available through advertising it will allow greater marketplace efficiencies. It will enhance the compatibility between the consumers' expectations and the firm's offerings (Pollay & Mittal, 1993). Social media platforms have made this much easier through their potential for advertising products and services. Accordingly, by resorting to social media for promotion, organisations gain the opportunity to communicate product information to the customers and interact with them, leading to an increase in sales (Nobre & Silva, 2014). Reaching potential customers at a personal level is easily done through social media platforms via messaging, commenting, and notifying. This will enable SMEs to enhance their business performance (Algharabat *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, Derham *et al.* (2011), also identify social media as a best-fit concept as it allows SMEs to successfully target the niche audience and disseminate information about their products virtually and instantaneously. Utilising social media to convey rich information with improved customer support promptly will contribute to increased yearly sales and financial benefits for SMEs (Dodokh &

Al-Maaitah, 2019). Therefore, it is hypothesised that,

H1: The use of social media for advertising has an impact on SME business performance.

SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives on social media

Social media have further complicated the traditional dyadic interactions between organisations and customers by involving multiple parties such as customers, non-customers, firms, and various other stakeholders (Larivière *et al.*, 2017).

“The power of the internet makes it easier for people to fall in love with you faster. However, beware, it also makes easier for them to fall out of love with you faster, as it is a double-edged sword” (Scott, 2009, p. 11).

Organisations that implement social media marketing strategies after taking customer concerns and ideas into consideration may emerge as winning organisations (Diebes & Iriqat, 2019). The theoretical framework of the present study is based on a model for a customer engagement cycle introduced by Sashi (2012), which encompasses seven stages, namely, connection, interaction, satisfaction, retention, commitment, advocacy, and engagement. The connection was identified as a fundamental requirement to establish relational exchange and relationships between firms and customers. This was explored further in a study by Shawky *et al.* (2020), in which the authors define connection as a one-way communication through which organisations attract and retain followers using social media pages with appropriate messages. Their findings reveal that even though certain customers are attracted to the promotional matter posted by the organisations, they do not evince any interest publicly by clicking on the ‘like’ button or by posting a positive comment. Hence, organisations must become aware of how customers perceive social media by utilising their capacity to connect with them.

It is observed that the drive towards social media began with LinkedIn in 2003, and thereafter many platforms have been introduced including My Space, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram, which have all captured a large number of regular users across the globe in less than a decade (Barker *et al.*, 2013). These diverse platforms possess different characteristics and offer unique features that are very useful for advertising purposes. Therefore, to reap the benefits of social media marketing and boost firm performance, such efforts need to be aligned and congruent with the varying needs of the customers (Zhu & Chen, 2015). The authors have

concluded that customers perceive different social media platforms for different products under consideration. For instance, the music industry may benefit from YouTube while products such as fashion brands or home decoration may yield better results on Pinterest or Instagram. Hence, SMEs should carefully monitor the preferences of consumers so that they will know which social media platform would be the most suitable for their product offerings, and thereby enhance their organisational performance. Shawky *et al.* (2020) have stated that organisations should be aware of the different ways in which customers interact on social media platforms. Some customers simply click on the ‘like’ button whereas others may use the click and hold option for expressing different emotions via other emojis. Many successful businesses put in significant effort to connect with potential customers via social media platforms. They assess how people spend their time online and create entertaining content to boost brand exposure (Lindsey-Mullikin & Borin, 2017). Therefore, there is a timely need for organisations to understand how customers perceive and react to the shared content on social media, if they are to boost their organisational growth (Diebes & Iriqat, 2019). Hence, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H2: SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives towards social media has an impact on business performance

Social media for customer relations

The customer engagement cycle introduced by Sashi (2012) emphasises the importance of *connection* and *interaction*. Accordingly, interaction constitutes a two-way communication between customers and firms that ensures sound relationships (Shawky *et al.*, 2020), enabling the organisations to reach new customers, serve them efficiently, provide timely information, and obtain feedback (Parveen *et al.*, 2015). Under globalisation, organisations are compelled to pursue efficient customer relationships as it is a necessity in conventional marketing. Moreover, maintaining sound customer relations is an interactive process that goes beyond mere business transactions (Hoque *et al.*, 2017).

SMEs that undertake customer relationship management strategies will see an improvement in their business performance (Sin *et al.*, 2006). It is also important that organisations should change their marketing patterns in such a way that it helps strengthen the relationships with customers; this would, in turn, create value and enhance performance (Samson & Jaroenwanit, 2016). Organisations may, via social media, share information about products, facilitate customers to interact, encourage word-of-mouth promotions, and even collaborate

with influencers (Mitic & Kapoulas, 2012). They must develop the competency in obtaining the required information from customers, integrating, and responding to them through social media technologies to achieve growth (Trainor *et al.*, 2011). For small businesses, the social media approach could be a solution that renders customer relationship management easier by way of market expansion as well as cost reduction (Sasatanun & Charoensukmongkol, 2016). To reap the maximum benefits, improved social media techniques should be employed for customer relationship management at an appropriate level (Wang & Kim, 2017). To survive and even thrive in the fast-changing environment, SMEs have to build and maintain their relationships with customers on social media platforms through innovative means (Al Qershi *et al.*, 2020). Accordingly, it is hypothesised that,

H3: Social media for customer relations has an impact on business performance.

Business performance

Business performance is a widely used concept by both practitioners and academics. Nevertheless, it has proved rather difficult to agree on a common definition of it as well as a method to measure it (Yıldız & Karakaş, 2012). The concept of performance is widely explained using quantitative or qualitative determinants (Yildiz, 2010). Among the various methods available for measuring business performance, objective and subjective methods are commonly used in academic literature. The objective methods can be quantified whereas the subjective methods are mostly qualitative (Yıldız & Karakaş, 2012; Vij & Bedi, 2016). Combining both these methods to measure performance will facilitate the analysis of firm performance. However, Dess and Robinson (1984) have stated that subjective performance data can be used instead of objective data when it is impossible to obtain the relevant quantitative information on the firm performance.

Because SMEs are often reluctant to make their financial performance publicly available, researchers often depend on subjective measures with Likert scale items (Zulkiffli & Perera, 2011). Sustainable competitive advantages that emerge from improved customer-employee satisfaction, ability to develop innovative products, and maintenance of superior quality standards can drive an organisation towards success. Thus, operational indicators should be included when measuring organisational performance (Vij & Bedi, 2016). While analysing the impact of SMEs' social media usage on organisational performance, Dodokh and Al-Maaitah (2019) include rapid adaptation, time to market, cost reduction, and innovation. Therefore, in line with the existent literature, the current study also focuses on subjective measures in explaining SME performance.

METHODOLOGY

Sample and data collection

The fundamental theoretical basis of the study is the positivist approach to business performance. The unit of analysis is a small and medium-scale enterprise. The selected population comprises SMEs in the Western Province of Sri Lanka that uses social media for their business activities, for which an exact count is hardly available in a background that 45% of micro-enterprises and 10% of small enterprises in Sri Lanka are not registered (Department of Census and Statistics, 2015). Accordingly, the non-probability convenience sampling technique is adopted for the primary data collection. From each company, one employee in a managerial position or the employer him/herself was selected as respondents in this study. Of the 150 copies of the structured questionnaire distributed by the researchers, 109 were returned on completion. Subsequently, while the responses were being screened and tested for outliers, 08 were discarded for incompleteness. Accordingly, the

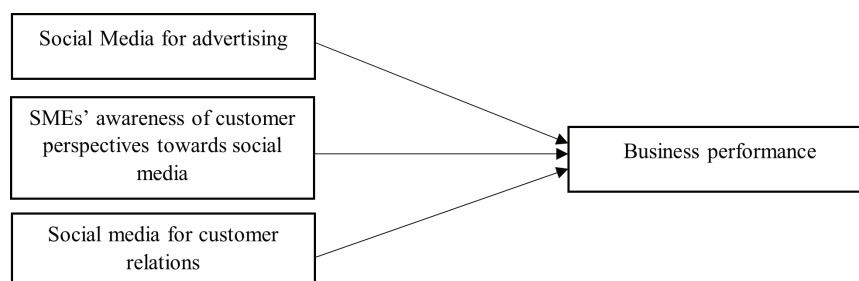


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework
Source: Authors

final sample consists of 101 business units, which are used here for the data analysis.

Measures

The study employed three independent variables, with business performance as the dependent variable. Its conceptual framework is depicted in Figure 1. The description of the variables along with the indicators and the sources are summarised in Table 2. A five-point Likert scale anchor (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree) is used for the measurement of indicators.

To ensure that the questions are relevant and comprehensive, the researchers carried out a pilot test. The reliability and validity levels of the questionnaire are verified to determine its capacity to produce meaningful and unambiguous responses, using a sample of 30 participants for the pilot test, and subjecting the data to statistical analysis with SPSS software.

RESULTS

Normality

The researchers drew on statistical analysis and visual examination to check the Skewness (lack of consistency) and Kurtosis (sharpness) issues about it, to determine whether the data were normally distributed, followed by removing the weaknesses in questions. In this concern,

Hair *et al.* (2010) state that the Skewness value should be within -1 to + 1, and to confirm that the variables are normally distributed, and the Kurtosis value should be within -3 to + 3. Accordingly, the researchers examined the normality of the data and the values of Skewness and Kurtosis of each variable as illustrated in Table 3. Accordingly, all Skewness and Kurtosis values of the variables are found within the prescribed levels as per the research results. Therefore the data are deemed to be distributed with a high approximation to normality.

Reliability and validity of measures

In terms of maintaining the reliability and validity of the measures, the questionnaire was evaluated using Cronbach's Alpha whose value is higher than 0.7 (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Accordingly, the reliability results depict Cronbach's Alpha value of social media for advertising as 0.854, the SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives towards social media as 0.861, the impact of social media on customer relations as 0.876, and that on business performance as 0.906. In this concern, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test is used to determine the validity, and ideally, the KMO result should be between 0 and 1. If the value of the KMO is close to 1, it implies that the gathered information is acceptable, and if the result of KMO performance for a set of variables is greater than 0.7, the factor analysis is considered reasonable; and if the result is 0.9, it is excellent, while 0.8, 0.7, 0.6 and 0.5 are classified as worthy, middling, mediocre,

Table 2: Operationalisation table

Construct	Indicators	Source
Social media for advertising	Use of social media to communicate product information. Obtaining information on appropriate methods to promote the brand on social media. Vigilance of new trends and social media sites to reach customers.	Teo & Choo (2001); Dodokh & Al-Maaitah (2019)
SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives toward social media	The extent to which an organisation uses social media to understand customers. Attempts to identify suitable social media promotion platforms according to customer preference.	Akar & Topçu, (2011); Zhang <i>et al.</i> , (2020)
Social media for customer relations	The organisation tries to establish long-term relationships with the customers. The organisation keeps in touch with the customers constantly. Obtains and monitors customer feedback and comments.	Dodokh & Al-Maaitah (2019); Parveen <i>et al.</i> (2015); Sasatanun & Charoensukmongkol, (2016)
Business performance	Cost reduction. Customer satisfaction. Innovation.	Tarutè & Gatautis, (2014); Parveen <i>et al.</i> (2015); Dodokh & Al-Maaitah, (2019)

Source: Authors

Table 3 : Normality Test

variables	Skewness	Std. Error of Skewness	Kurtosis	St. Error of Kurtosis
Social media for advertising	-0.395	0.240	-0.477	0.476
SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives toward social media	-0.211	0.240	-0.130	0.476
Social media for customer relations	-0.078	0.240	-0.245	0.476
Business performance	-0.346	0.240	-0.500	0.476

Source: Authors survey data

and unsatisfactory respectively (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Accordingly, the study's KMO test result remains 0.732, indicating that the sample is middling.

Multicollinearity

The variance inflation factor (VIF) is utilised to test whether there is any multicollinearity between the explanatory variables as it reflects by how much the variation or standard deviation is elevated when multicollinearity occurs. In this regard, the tolerance value must generally be higher than 0.1, and if the tolerance level is "0", it implies perfect multicollinearity while tolerance of "1" does not imply multicollinearity. Accordingly, the VIF should be less than 10 (Field, 2005). As presented in Table 4, all tolerance levels are higher than 0.1, and the VIF values are lower than 10, signifying there is no multicollinearity.

Sample characteristics

Certain demographic factors that were obtained from the questionnaire were analysed to calculate the indicators

of the relevant variables to assess the feedback of the respondents. Of the sample that consisted of 101 SMEs in the Western Province of Sri Lanka, 57% operate in the services sector; 29% in the manufacturing sector; and 14%, in the plantation and agriculture sector. Further, 48% of the SMEs concerned are sole proprietorships, 30% are private limited companies, and 14% are partnerships.

Based on the definition of SMEs given by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (2016), as presented in Table 1, 46% of the small-scale enterprises in the sample have an annual turnover from Rs. 16 to 250 million; 28% of the sample is comprised of micro-enterprises, which have the annual turnover less than Rs. 15 million; whereas 27% of the respondent SMEs identified as medium scale enterprises that have the annual turnover ranging from Rs. 251 to 750 million.

Regression analysis

In the model summary (Table 5), the adjusted R² value is given as 0.224, which indicates that 22.4% of the

Table 4: Multicollinearity Test

Model	Tolerance	VIF
Social media for advertising	0.413	2.424
SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives toward social media	0.568	1.760
Social media for customer relations	0.566	1.760

Source: survey data

variation in the business performance is explained by the independent variables employed in the study. Similar results with relatively low adjusted R² have been reported in previous studies that focused on social media and business performance (Adegbuyi *et al.*, 2015; Samarasinghe *et al.*, 2016; Ahmad *et al.*, 2019). The regression model is considered here valid as per the ANOVA table that is depicted in Table 6. Therefore, the regression model indicates the 0.00 (p<0.05) level of significance, statistically and significantly predicts the dependent variable.

The results of the regression analysis are shown in Table 7. The following regression formula can be derived by considering the beta coefficients of the independent variables, social media for advertising (SMA), SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives towards social media (CPSM), and social media for customer relations (SMCR).

$$\text{Business performance} = a + 0.209 (\text{SMA}) + 0.252 (\text{CPSM}) + 0.242 (\text{SMCR}) + \epsilon$$

The data in the current sample support the argument that using social media for advertising has an impact on the business performance of SMEs. The relationship between the social media and the business performance of SMEs is deemed to be significant at a 5% significance level, and with a significance value of 0.038, it shows acceptance of hypothesis, H1. A positive relationship is thus observed between social media for advertising and business performance as the beta value is found to be 0.209. As for the second exogenous variable, regression results indicate that SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives about social media has an impact on business performance, thereby compelling them to accept the alternative hypothesis H2. As the significance value is 0.008 (p<0.05), the relationship can be stated as significant at a 5% significance level. Moreover, a positive relationship is observed between the two variables with a beta value of 0.252. It is observed that the use of social media for customer relations has an impact on business performance, and this relationship too is significant at a 5% significance level as shown in the regression results with a P value of 0.012. Therefore, the third hypothesis

Table 5: Model summary

Model	R	R square	Adjusted R square	Std. error of the estimate
1	.497	.247	.224	.419

Source: Authors (based on survey data)

Table 6: ANOVA test

Model	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Regression	5.590	3	1.863	10.605	.000 ^b
Residual	17.044	97	.176		
Total	22.634	100			

Source: survey data

Table 7: Regression results

Model	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1.076	0.586		1.835	0.70
SMA	0.179	0.085	0.209	2.103	0.038
CPSM	0.291	0.107	0.252	2.711	0.008
SMCR	0.312	0.122	0.242	2.555	0.012

Source: survey data

(H3) is also accepted. The beta value is 0.242, and there exists a positive relationship between the use of social media for customer relations and business performance.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current study explores the impact of social media on SME performance. The regression results support all hypotheses that are proposed. The first research objective of the study is to examine the impact of social media for advertising on the business performance of SMEs. Vance, *et al.* (2009) state that the usage of social media for advertising purposes has paved the way for organisations to reap more benefits at a lower cost with faster communication to reach a wider customer base. The benefits are realised from the enhanced customer engagement made possible by using the social media as an advertising tool in favour of SMEs for improving their local as well as global presence (Amoah & Jibril, 2021). The existent literature also presents similar findings regarding the impact that social media advertising can have on the business performance of SMEs (Parveen *et al.*, 2015; Dodokh & Al-Maaitah, 2019). The results of the current research appear thus to confirm the findings of the previous studies.

The second research objective focuses on examining the impact that SMEs' awareness of customer perspectives of social media has on business performance. The study finds a positive impact, which is in harmony with the existent literature. Chu *et al.* (2013) note that the way customers perceive an organisation's marketing activities can be an important driver of their successful use of social media and that it can contribute to organisational performance. Further, the investigation into customers' preferences on social media can help marketers to think of better approaches to attract the target market via social media and identify the activities that interest the customers more. This is intended to raise customer satisfaction to a higher level, enabling better organisational performance (Erdoğan & Çiçek, 2012). Organisations need to keep themselves updated on customer tastes, their activities, and the current market trends. The customers' feedback on their various social media initiatives is another factor that organisations should pay attention in order to reap the maximum benefits for the company from social media (Gruen *et al.*, 2006). Moreover, Dutot and Bergeron (2016) claim that a large number of SMEs have stressed the point that finding the right social media platform and deciding on the appropriate style and content are important, yet challenging tasks. Hence, the findings of the study are congruent with the previous literature.

The results thus reveal that the use of social media for customer relations has a positive and significant impact on the business performance, addressing the third objective of the study. Similar arguments are present in the existing literature as well. Cheong and Morrison (2008) state that using social media sites allows organisations to interact directly with their customers and receive customer feedback on their products and brands, besides monitoring their business discussions that are meant to convince the customers that the organisation is genuinely interested in their views. Customers too may express their preferences over social media, and it would exert pressure on the companies to embrace and utilise social media to better fulfil their needs. In this manner, better customer relationship management via social media platforms will contribute significantly to firm performance (Foltean *et al.*, 2019). The use of the ubiquitous mobile device technology to access social media applications, will enable SMEs to instantly interact with their customers and thus maintain better customer relationships. Accordingly, both the SMEs and their customers would receive instant feedback, thereby speeding up the interactive business activities (Amoah & Jibril, 2021). The findings of the current study further reveal that social media has enabled SMEs to strengthen their relationship with the customers, facilitate interactions with the customers, and most importantly share information at a low cost, thereby boosting organisational performance.

IMPLICATIONS

Overall, this study was carried out to fill the knowledge gap by studying the extent to which social media usage could strengthen the performance of SMEs. Since entrepreneurs are the major driving force behind the economy of a country, it is necessary to create a strong base in the local enterprises to achieve stability within the society at large. SMEs are deemed as the backbone of strengthening local production and generating employment opportunities. Therefore, recognising the challenges faced by SMEs, and taking necessary and timely actions to overcome obstacles while improving the SME sector are deemed important.

Considering the current business ecosystem, SMEs in the country are encouraged to use strategic techniques such as social media promotion to address the competitiveness in the industry. Despite the difficulties faced by SMEs in investing in cutting-edge technology and infrastructure to execute better customer relations, social media has paved the way to overcome such issues (Charoensukmongkol & Sasatanun, 2017). However, the major barrier to this transition is the community's

resistance to embracing social media as an instrument for business development. Some still believe that social media is simply an instrument for networking and connecting with friends and family and have not yet grasped the opportunities that social media brings to organisations.

The study emphasises how social media can enhance organisational performance. Hence, organisations could further engage customers through better customer relationships and interactions by following this route. However, the important thing to note is that the mere presence of the SMEs on social media by creating business pages to sell their product will not be sufficient for them to enhance their performance (Charoensukmongkol & Sasatanun, 2017). Even in the Sri Lankan context, Samarasinghe *et al.* (2016) point out that small and medium-scale fashion retailers have not used the appropriate strategies to harness the potential of social media marketing to ensure better performance. Fashion marketers have focused more on raising awareness about their products than on laying emphasis on the customer relations aspect.

Particularly, the research findings suggest that SMEs should be keenly aware of how the customers perceive social media, how they have an understanding of what platforms to use for the particular product or service they offer, and also how they should present the information to the customers. This will enable the organisations to make the best use of social media and promote innovative ideas to address customer requirements. Presenting such innovations and ensuring the customer satisfaction will enhance organisational performance. Therefore, rather than simply advertise on social media, organisations should strive to derive the maximum benefits by using social media platforms with a purpose, aligning their marketing strategies to meet the needs and preferences of the customers.

LIMITATION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

With a sample, limited to the Western Province of Sri Lanka, the current study is undoubtedly subject to certain limitations but opens up avenues for further research. The study employed the deductive approach using only questionnaires for data collection, but the researchers suggest that future studies should employ in-depth interviews and focus group discussions together with the questionnaires to obtain more comprehensive and holistic data on the impact that the use of social media can have on business performance. Further research may be undertaken to compare various social media platforms

and the difference in results when organisations operate on multiple platforms (Wang & Kim, 2017). Moreover, social media influencers (SMIs) are also beginning to participate in contemporary social media marketing (Tafesse & Wood, 2021). This is a trend that needs to be further investigated to assess the impact of influencer endorsement on SMEs' performance.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Access to and use of agricultural information and technology in a sample of paddy farmers in the Hambantota district of Sri Lanka: a survey

K.N.Nadeeshani Silva*

Department of Agricultural Economics, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Ruhuna' Sri Lanka.

Abstract: This paper explores the access to and use of agricultural knowledge and information in a sample of paddy farmers in the Hambantota district of Sri Lanka and assesses the information receiving and sharing patterns among them, using the data gathered from a sample of 100 randomly selected farmers who participated in a questionnaire-based interview. Accordingly, it was found that the formal information sharing processes were dominant among paddy farmers and more frequently, farmers received and shared information with the Agricultural Instructors as they were the trusted and most accessible information source for farmers. Moreover, the study reveals that the farmer's age and farming experience show a positive relationship with the adoption of new technologies while technology adoption behaviour is not significantly affected by the social and demographic factors relating to the farmers. Against this backdrop, it attempts to make a few recommendations for the improvement of the information access and technology adoption practices among the paddy farmers, particularly, the mobilisation of the Agricultural Instructors as disseminators of new knowledge and technologies. Moreover, the study proposes a mechanism to mobilise the target groups or organisations to access and disseminate new knowledge about paddy production technologies among farming communities by means of social networking.

Keywords: Agriculture information, diffusion, information sourcing, paddy farmers, technology adoption

INTRODUCTION

The agricultural sector forms the backbone of the economy in most developing countries. In Sri Lanka, the economy is partly dependent on agriculture, which accounts for nearly 7 per cent of the gross domestic

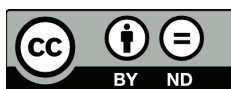
product. This accounts for approximately 24 per cent of exports and 25 per cent employs of the workforce (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2020). Various studies have revealed that there is a positive relationship between an increased flow of knowledge and information and agricultural development (Fawole, 2009).

Farmers acquire information from multiple sources such as neighbouring farmers, extension agents, and social media. It is well-known that knowledge about new technologies diffuses according to the local social networks used. For example, farmers share information with other farmers regarding new technology, cultivation, market conditions and subsidy programmes (Foster and Rosenzweig, 1995; Munshi, 2004; Bandiera & Rasul, 2002; Conley & Udry, 2010; Krishnan & Patnam, 2013; Yaseen *et al.*, 2016; Odini, 2014).

However, out of the multiple sources of information available to a farmer, whom to approach for information is determined by many factors. Proximity (social, geographical, cultural), cost and reliability of information affect the information sharing pattern of farmers (Yamaguchi, 2005; Conley & Udry, 2003). Research has shown that typically farmers in developing countries cite certain farmers in the neighbourhood as their most trusted and reliable source of information (Bandiera & Rasul, 2006). Therefore, it is important to understand how social networks are constructed and used in information sharing (Magnan *et al.*, 2015).

The present paper adds to this debate, differentiating the frequent sources of information and the most

*Corresponding author (nadee@agri.ruh.ac.lk  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8539-2490>)



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useful ones and analysing the farmers' behaviour in the adoption of new technologies, as prescribed by the relevant sources. Moreover, we take into consideration the farmers' adoption behaviour relating to the new technologies, using those information sources. Some farmers choose to be innovators (first users) while others prefer to be early adopters, late adopters, or non-adopters based on the information received and there are some other socio-demographic factors influencing their adoption behaviour.

Therefore, the general objective of this study is to investigate the information flow and knowledge sharing and adoption pattern of paddy farmers in the Hambantota district of Sri Lanka, where concerted efforts have been made toward the diffusion of agricultural knowledge and technologies. More specifically, we aim to study the farmers' interaction with other farmers in the neighbourhood, extension workers and the innovative farmers in their villages. Moreover, we intend to analyse the factors affecting the technology adoption process in relation to the socio-demographic characteristics of the farmers and their information access and usage patterns.

To analyse the information receiving and sharing pattern of the farmers, we make use of formal and informal information sharing methods. Typically, sharing information with other farmers in the neighbourhood and innovative farmers in their village is considered an informal information sharing method, and information flow from the extension workers and Agriculture Research Officers (AOs) is considered as formal information sharing method. Farmers in the study sample were asked to describe their information sharing behaviour with respect to the information provider on new technology and the frequency of visiting them. In contrast to many existing studies that have analysed the pattern of diffusion of one specific technology, we consider a wide range of paddy farming technologies introduced by the Department of Agriculture in Sri Lanka. Then we analysed the behaviour of a farmer who is confronted with all these different technologies and must decide which one to choose and whether to adopt any new technology at all in the first place.

This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 elaborates on the theoretical argument and derives the research hypotheses, Section 3 provides information on the empirical data and the specifications of the empirical approach, Section 4 presents the main findings, and Section 5 discusses them and concludes the paper.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Information sharing and technology adoption behaviour

Farming is a knowledge intensive industry. Farmers need to obtain and process technical, climatic, marketing and financial information to manage a farm profitably. For many agriculture related activities, knowledge is needed. This has become even more important in recent years.

The utilisation of innovations is governed by the adoption and diffusion processes. Diffusion can be interpreted as aggregate (widespread) adoption. As mentioned by Atibioko (2012), technology is adopted when the decision is made for the full use of a new idea as the best course of action available. Further, the adoption of technology involves a change in the attitude and behaviour of the farmer from the time he becomes aware of the technology to the time of its adoption. Therefore, there is a significant time lag between the introduction of new technology and its adoption by farmers. Adoption behaviour with respect to new technology may be affected by many factors. The vast literature on this topic mentions several different factors that influence technology adoption (Chi & Yamada, 2002; Adebisi & Okunlola, 2013; Adesina & Baidu-Forsen, 1995; Akudugo, 2012).

According to Hägerstrand (1967) as cited by Cliff *et al.* (1992), innovation diffusion has been related to two processes; social interaction and geographic proximity, which are interlinked. This is also true for farmers' knowledge distribution in developing countries. Accordingly, farmers in these countries mostly cite other farmers as their most trusted and reliable sources of information; that is, they rely on their social networks for information (Rogers, 2010). Young (2009) and Hogset & Barrett (2008) show that these social networks not only offer specific knowledge, but also impact the individual farmer's behaviour through social learning processes and influence. Muange *et al.* (2015) highlight imitation and mimicry as crucial learning mechanisms in this respect.

As in developed countries, farmers' social networks in developing countries are strongly shaped by the neighbourhood effect, *i.e.*, geographic proximity (Yamaguchi, 2005; Besley & Case, 1994; Foster & Rosenzweig, 1995; Munshi, 2004; Conley & Udry, 2010). Despite the farmers perceived trustworthiness of their social networks, these may not provide the best

and most recent knowledge. This new knowledge is much more likely to reside in public extension services, formal commodity groups, and a wide array of private providers. Also, public agencies such as the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service, private providers including commercial vendors, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and agricultural publications and media offer this type of information. However, this is more difficult to access and may not be easily available to many farmers.

Yet, in most cases, agriculture organisations are not located in close geographic proximity and few social ties are established between these and the farmers. Hence, their neighbourhood-based social network is the frequent source of knowledge. Inability to access reliable and adequate information, and consistently receiving information in an accurate and timely manner, are still the most challenging issues facing farmers (Just & Zilberman, 2002). According to Just and Zilberman (2002), farmers appreciated the accuracy and reliability of formal information. However, they also recognise that informal information is very timely in most cases, they are aware that it may be inaccurate and biased in some instances.

Besides farmers' preference for timely and accurate information, there are other factors that may influence technology adoption (Chi & Yamada, 2002; Adebisi & Okunlola, 2013; Adesina & Baidu-Forsen, 1995; Akudugo *et al.*, 2012). Some of the factors that determine the extent of adoption of technology are; technology, the objective of the farmer, characteristics of the change agent as well as the socio-economic, biological, and physical environment in which the technology is introduced. Socio-demographic attributes of farmers such as their age, educational attainment, income, family size, tenure status, credit use, value system, and beliefs are positively or negatively related to adoption (Stunding & Zilberman, 1999). For instance, Atibioke (2012) found that certain socio-economic factors such as occupation, gender and level of education are the ones that affected the adoption of technologies significantly.

Additionally the personalities of the Extension Offices in the area too could influence the farmers' adoption behaviour. Their credibility, level of rapport with farmers, and communication ability, acting in combination with the effectiveness of the technology transfer mechanism, can affect the adoption levels. These adoption levels may be affected by the biophysical environment of the farming region; its infrastructure

facilities and availability of essential resources to the farm can positively influence the farmers' technology adoption decision.

Research questions and hypothesis

The questions are used for collecting data under six themes and the hypotheses developed from the data formulated based on the answers received as outlined below.

Preferences

Question 1: What type of preference do farmers have when accessing and sharing agricultural information?

As pointed out above, farmers may prefer obtaining information in a quick and easy way, which usually implies getting in contact with other farmers, geographically and socially nearby. Yet, considering the potential deficits in terms of accuracy and reliability, we expect that farmers will opt for high quality knowledge sources, and the timelessness and accuracy of information. These factors of quality are frequently fulfilled by formal information sources rather than informal ones. Therefore, the hypothesis H1 is developed as:

Hypothesis 1: Farmers would prefer to obtain information through the formal farmer network rather than informal methods.

Farm size

Question 2: What are the factors affecting the information and technology adoption behaviour of the paddy farmers?

Farmers with larger farms are more likely to adopt relatively new innovations due to the benefits conferred by economies of scale; the rate of return on adoption is higher for larger farms. Furthermore, larger farms have a relatively greater capacity to bear risks since they have professional management systems within their farms (Diederer *et al.*, 2003). Farm size is one of the first and most widely used parameters on which the empirical adoption literature has focused.

Hypothesis 2: Farmers who have larger farms are more likely to adopt new technologies.

Age of the farmers

Question 3. Does the age matters in the farmer adoption of new technologies?

On average, the older farmers have a lower level of education, which may be correlated with the ability to analyse the pros and cons and make an adoption decision. Sunding *et al.* (1999) argued that there is a correlation between age and farm experiences. Experienced farmers rely less on the external information and not interested in new technologies as compared to their younger counterparts.

Hypothesis 3: The younger the farmer, more likely he is to adopt new technologies.

Education level

Question 4. Does the educational level matter in the farmer adoption of new technologies?

The education level of the Sri Lankan farming community varies from primary school to graduate level. Better educated farmers are more likely to adopt new technologies and accordingly, education is expected to have a positive effect on adoption of production technologies (Strauss *et al.*, 1992; Warriner & Moul, 1992). However, some researchers have found that education is an insignificant factor (Saltiel *et al.*, 1994; Clay *et al.*, 1998), or correlate negatively with the adoption (Gould *et al.*, 1989; Okoye, 1998).

Hypothesis 4: Educated farmers are more likely to adopt new technologies.

Farming experience

Question 5. Does their experience matter in the farmer adoption of new technologies?

Farming experience, which is assumed to become more extensive with age, has shown different results with adoption behaviour. Assessments of the experience in adoption reveal both positive correlations (e.g. Clay *et al.*, 1998) and no relation in some instances (e.g. Traore *et al.*, 1998). According to Okoyo (1998), some of the more experienced farmers are less likely to use new technologies and behave as late adopters. At the same time, other more experienced farmers have recognised the importance of new technologies and thus the probability of adopting new technologies is comparatively high (Strauss *et al.*, 1992).

Hypothesis 5: More experienced farmers are more likely to adopt new technologies.

Access to extension services:

Question 6. Does access to extension offices affect the farmer adoption of new technologies?

We examined the effect of the distance between the farmers and the extension office on adoption of new technologies. Farmers are much more likely to visit the Agriculture Extension Officers more frequently if the extension office is close to their farms. Further, Sanginga (1995) as cited in Atibioko (2012) found a significant positive relationship between contact with extension services and the adoption of technologies by farmers. Therefore, we developed a new hypothesis to analyse the impact of access to extension service on technology adoption. It was assumed that farmers who lived or worked within a short distance to the extension office are more likely to adopt new technologies.

Hypothesis 6: Farmers who have easy access to extension services are more likely to adopt new technologies.

Adoption categories of paddy farmers

To test these hypotheses, we used the adoption categories framework of Rogers (2003) and a similar study design by Diederer *et al.* (2003). Rogers (2003) draws attention to an adoption practice of farmers based on the innovation-decision period. The innovation-decision period is the length of time required for the innovation-decision process to be completed. The time that elapses between awareness – that is, knowledge of innovation and the decision made to adopt it by an individual can be measured in days, months, or years.

Based on the availability of information and social influences, farmers adopt new technologies at varying paces, with some doing it promptly while others take time. Rogers (2003) proposes five main adopter categories on the basis of innovativeness, and the degree to which an individual is quick in adopting new ideas compared to others in his community. They are Innovators, Early adopters, Early majority, Late majority and Laggards. Therefore, this study aims to analyse and compare the farmers by placing them in different adopter categories, based on their adaptation of innovations introduced by the Department of Agriculture in Sri Lanka. To be more precise, paddy farmers in the selected sample were given a short questionnaire and asked to answer two key questions: (i) whether they have adopted and implemented any important innovation that was introduced by the Department of Agriculture during the past two cultivating seasons, and (ii) whether they could indicate their position regarding the innovation in terms of its diffusion to the community. We then statistically analysed the relationship between these categories and the factors mentioned above.

Access to and use of agricultural information for technology adoption

The adoption of technology requires the availability of all information associated with the technology. Importantly, agricultural information makes farmers aware of agricultural technologies for improved production. Therefore, Agbamu (2002) suggested that information is the first and indispensable factor in an adoption process. Moreover, he argued that agricultural information provides all the information related to technical, commercial, socio-cultural, and legal, which accelerates the technology adoption process.

However, the technology adaptation process is highly dependent on effective communication with the information source as farmers seek good information sources which they can easily fulfil quality requirements such as relevance, timelessness, accuracy, cost effectiveness, reliability, usability, exhaustiveness, and aggregation level (Oladele, 2001). In addition, information is considered as the cognitive factor, helping to make a decision on choice of adoption (Shiferaw *et al*, 2015; Wang & Capareda, 2020). Therefore, access to and use of agricultural information have an important impact to adopt to the agricultural technologies.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The empirical research was conducted among paddy farmers from ten Divisional Secretariat (DS) areas in

the Hambantota district in Sri Lanka. These DS areas were purposively selected to represent the dry zone paddy farming community, based on an exploratory discussion held with the respective Agriculture Instructors in the Hambantota district. We chose Netolpitiya, Vitharandeniya, Udayala, Bandagiriya, Angunukolapelessa, Weeraketiya, Walasmulla, Modarawana, Beliatta and Katuwana *Grama Niladari* (GN) Divisions of the Hambantota district considering the similar paddy cultivation practices and land extent (Figure 1). A GN division is a sub-unit of a divisional secretariat (DS). The paddy farmers' registration lists were accessed through the Agriculture Instructors (AI) and used as the sampling frame of the study. One hundred (100) paddy farmers were randomly selected for the study with 10 farmers representing each GN division.

Two sets of data were collected to capture the sources of agricultural information. Firstly, we gathered detailed information on hypothetical information sources, based on the question, “*Who would you consult for advice if there were any problems with your farming activities?*” Secondly, information flows were explored by asking farmers about important paddy cultivation issues. The five issues were the result of a discussion, with the leaders of the farmers' organisation in each GN division. A farmer organisation is a group of farmers with special interests and concerns with a developed structure, formal membership, status and functions for its members and with a set of by-laws and rules. Those issues were termed cultivation problems, new technology, market information, subsidy information, and others.



Figure 1: Map of GS divisions of the Hambantota district in Sri Lanka
Source: Department of Census and Statistics (2004)

Firstly, we explored the way in which they primarily received information; through formal or informal communication channels. To be more precise, respondents were asked about their knowledge sharing activities with extension workers, training programmes, *etc.* (formal channel), and informal interactions such as group discussions and chats with neighbours and friends. We collected the answers with respect to five distinct issues (cultivation problems, new technology, market information, subsidy information and others).

Secondly, we analysed information channels farmers have used to access agricultural information. In this study, four types of information sources were considered: Agricultural Offices (AOs), Agriculture Instructors (AIs), neighbouring farmers and innovative farmers who always pioneer to access new knowledge.

Thirdly, farmers were asked about the factors that influence information access. Farmers were asked about five main factors that affect choosing information sources: social relationship with other information sources (social relations), physical distance to information sources (distance to information source), cultural barriers to access and share information (cultural factors), easiness to access information (easy to access) and availability of information. Farmers were asked to rank each factor according to their assessment of its importance in the information access.

Regression analysis for the analysis of farmers' adoption behaviour

Another important objective of this study was to assess the relationship between farmers' adoption behaviour and their socio-economic characteristics (age, farming experience, education level, farm size, formal communication channels and access to extension service). We obtained about 100 valid observations (farmers). In the first step, we categorised farmers

according to the adoption categories of Rogers (2003). This study examined the farmers' adoption of novel paddy cultivation techniques introduced by the extension officers. The adoption categories were defined on the basis of the time when farmers needed to apply a new technology after being introduced to it and being made aware of its benefits. Here, we used the self-evaluation method to analyse the farmers' adoption behaviour. Farmers were asked about their adaption behaviour after being introduced to a particular technology. We have used five main statements to analyse the general adoption level of farmers using their perceptions: farmers who adapt technologies soon after introducing them were considered as "Innovators", farmers who wait some time and discuss with peers and finally adopt technologies were considered as "early majority", those farmers who adopt the technologies after careful investigations were considered as "late majority", farmers who take comparatively longer time to evaluate the technology and adapt were considered as "early adopters", farmers those who wait till all other farmers adopt to the technologies and adopt hardly to any technology were considered as laggards. All above adopter categories were assessed using multiple questions.

Based on their responses, we categorised farmers across different categories. Majority of farmers were included under the "innovators" and "early adopters" categories. Therefore, we assumed that farmers who act as innovators as the farmers who primarily adopt new technologies. The rest of the categories were considered as the non-adopters of the new technologies. The latter category encompasses all early adopters, early majority, later majority and laggards. Therefore, using those two farmer categories, we have use of binary regression analysis to establish socio-economic characteristics related to the technology adoption behaviour of the farmers. The adoption category of farmers was considered as a dependent variable and the socio-demographic characteristics of farmers were considered as an independent variable.

Table 1: Formal and informal information receiving and sharing patterns of farmers

	Cultivation problems		New technology		% of Farmers Market information		Subsidy information		Other information	
	Receive	Share	Receive	Share	Receive	Share	Receive	Share	Receive	Share
Formal methods	78	84	75	85	84	55	74	76	65	85
Informal methods	22	16	25	15	16	23	26	24	35	15

Source: Survey data

Research findings

In this study, we explored in what ways they primarily received information through the formal or informal communication channels. Table 01 shows how paddy farmers in the Hambantota district receive or access the necessary information and how they pass on agricultural information to others.

Research findings reveal that the majority of paddy farmers in the Hambantota district access and share all types of agricultural information mainly through formal channels. Anyhow, a considerable percentage of farmers use informal methods to access and share agricultural information. A similar research finding was reported by Just and Zilberman, (2002) on wheat farmers; a majority of them access the information through formal channels. According to Conley and Udry (2003) information about the use of new technology passes informally between farmers.

Secondly, this study focuses on the frequent and influential actors in the information sharing process, among the major providers of information. Though there are many disseminators of information, farmers tend to trust and rely mainly on the most influential source. Agricultural Instructors (AIs) are the most influential actors (scoring 81%) as far as farmers in the Hambantota district are concerned. Secondly, the neighbours (18%) have also assisted each other in the information and knowledge sharing process. Table 02 shows the above research findings.

Thirdly, farmers were asked about the factors that influence information access. Five main factors were considered. According to the study findings, Information availability is the most important factor for information access, and is followed by social relationship, easy access, distance to Agriculture officers and cultural proximity.

Table 02: Information source for paddy farmers

Information source	% of farmers	Influential Actors
Agriculture Officers (AOs)	0	0
Agriculture Instructors (AIs)	63	81
Neighbouring farmers	36	18
Innovative farmers	1	1

Source: Survey data

Table 03: Factors affecting the selection of information/ source

Factor	Mean Rank
Social relationship	3.94
Distance to information source	2.14
Cultural issues	2.18
Easy access	3.22
Information availability	4.16

Source: Survey data

Binary regression analysis results for the farmer adoption behaviour

Another important objective of this study was to assess the relationship between adoption behaviour and socio-economic characteristics (age, farming experience, education level, farm size, formal communication channels and access to extension service). Using the above two distinct farmer categories (adopters and non-adopters), binary regression analysis was employed. Table 4 shows the farmers' adoption categories under adopters and non-adopters while the results of the regression model fitted with the data summarised in Table 05.

As indicated in Table 05, the did not support any of our study hypotheses. Only the farming experience and education level show a positive regression coefficient values. All other independent variables show negative coefficient value. Based on the research findings, all the hypotheses of the study are rejected. Thus, we conclude that the socio demographic characteristics of the farmers do not show any significant relationship with the technology adoption behaviours of paddy farmers in the Hambantota district. This result is supported by Huffman & Mercier, (1991); Mishra & Park, (2005); Fernandez-Cornejo *et al.* (2005). Meanwhile, literature also points to the insignificant effect of education level on adopting

Table 04: Percentage of adopter categories in the study

Class	Adopter category	Farmer percentage (%)
Adopters	Innovators	38%
Non-Adopters	Early adopters	46%
	Early majority	9%
	Later majority	7%
	Laggards	0%

Source: Survey data

Table 5: Demographic and behavioral characteristics as determinants of adoption behaviour: the economic results

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age of the farmer	-.026	.036	.518	1	.472	.974
Farming experience	.027	.033	.641	1	.424	1.027
Education level	.142	.332	.183	1	.669	1.153
Farm size	-.222	.178	1.555	1	.212	.801
Access to extension	-.104	.064	2.640	1	.104	.901
Formal communication methods	-.057	.452	.016	1	.900	.945
Constant	1.36	1.800	.571	1	.450	3.900

Source: Author's own data

agriculture technology (Khanna, 2001; Nyaupane & Gillespie, 2009).

Similarly, Samiee *et al.* (2009) and Bonabana-Wabbi (2002) did not find any impact on adoption by the farm size while Ghadim *et al.* (2005) show that farmers who own larger farms tend to adopt innovation. In regard to the access to extension services, Llewellyn (2006) shows the positive impact on adoption with the higher use of extension services.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

How do farmers acquire the necessary knowledge and information from different sources? Once they get information on technologies, how does it change their adoption behaviour? This research suggests that a farmer's access to external knowledge and his socio-demographic characteristics are critical to answering this question. We have established that the effect of formal and informal knowledge and information on the information sharing pattern varies depending on the access to the same and the trust is placed in the external information source. This study found that nearly all information types are accessed and shared by farmers through formal channels. Among those formal ways, most paddy farmers trusted the AI officers in their area mainly, and thus, visited them more often to the Agriculture Instructor for the knowledge and information they needed. Moreover, the Agricultural officer in the area is the influential actor who can persuade farmers regarding the adoption of new technology. Therefore, technology promotion programmes initiated by the government effectively transfer information and knowledge to the farmers through extension services. Furthermore, neighbours are the second most important information source for the paddy farmers in the Hambantota district.

In a farming community, farmers manifest varying socio-demographic characteristics that influence their technology adoption and knowledge sharing process. Paddy farmers in the Hambantota district are well experienced; having a mean of 26 years of farming experience and a mean age of 52 years. Further, the farmers have a mean of 3.14 hectares of land each, implying commercial scale paddy farming in the Hambantota district. The farmers have to travel a mean distance of nearly 7 km to meet Extension Officers to access knowledge and information regarding new technologies (Silva & Broekel, 2016). As for education level, all farmers meet the adult literacy standard; having acquired formal primary education. Therefore, farmers in the Hambantota district are sufficiently

literate to understand information about technologies introduced by the extension services (Silva, 2020).

Further, a previous study on Sri Lankan paddy farmers in the dry zone (Siriwardana & Jayawardana, 2014) shows that their mean age, experience, and educational level are similar to those of the farmers in this study. This shows that paddy farmers in Sri Lanka are well experienced in farming due to it being the sole occupation for most of them and because their mean age is quite high. The age and experiences of paddy farmers might have some impact on the information sharing and technology adoption process.

This study determined the farmers' adoption category simply by analysing the self-perception of farmers towards their adoption, i.e., how they react to new technology once the technology is introduced to them. The results show that majority of the farmers in the study are early adopters who wait to see the outcome of the technological programme that has been put into practice by one or more of the innovative farmers. Importantly, the majority of the farmers in the Hambantota district in Sri Lanka are either innovators or early adopters who have shown a significant adoption rate for new technologies. Among the factors that affect the information and knowledge sharing pattern of the farmers, information availability and social relationships proved to be the most important, while the distance to the information source and cultural proximity were the least important factors.

These research findings have interesting research implications for the extension service that is engaged in popularising new paddy technologies and facilitating the knowledge diffusion process among paddy farmers in the Hambantota district in Sri Lanka. This study did not find any significant relationship between the demographic characteristics and the technology adoption of paddy farmers. Further, farmers were highly dependent on Agricultural Instructors for acquiring new knowledge and information, which they also obtained to a lesser extent from their neighbours. Therefore, the Agriculture Instructors in the area were the most influential actor in the technology adoption process and were regarded as the most important source of information. Hence, the Sri Lankan government can easily introduce agricultural technologies to rural paddy farmers through the services of Extension Officers. Moreover, paddy farmers in the Hambantota district tend to share information with the other farmers in the community when they have some useful information to impart, especially if they are in close proximity and linked to the same social network as the other actors engaged in farming. However, none

of the above factors was significantly associated with technology adoption of paddy farmers in the Hambantota district.

Finally, certain limitations of this study must be noted. All the analyses were based on a farmer group practicing the same paddy farming technologies introduced by Extension Officers. Therefore, this study might have a bias towards the extension agents and their adoption decision and knowledge sharing exercise as against the members of the community, who were also part of the same knowledge sharing network. Moreover, the farmers' adoption behaviours were assessed based on their perceptions; hence, this could conceivably limit the validity and reliability of the results.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Ibn Khaldun's contribution and its criticism: a Sociological review

Mohideenbawa Riswan*

Department of Sociology, South Eastern University of Sri Lanka, University Park, Oluvil.

Abstract: This article discussed that Ibn Khaldun contributed basic theories to sociology, four centuries prior to Auguste Comte. In the sociological discourse, a numerous attempts have been extensively made by the scholars to consider and study about Western sociologists' work, rather than that of theory and concept put forwarded by the Islamic Arab philosopher Ibn Khaldun. This study analyzed the intellectual contribution of Ibn Khaldun to the field of sociology in 14th century. The major discussions have been made based on the secondary information, and result and finding were presented using interpretative method. The human civilization, social change, conflict, social integration (asabiyah), political organization, and theory of economic growth, transformation between rural and urban societies and cyclical theory of political system and government, were presented in this paper as a major contribution of Ibn Khaldun to the discipline of sociology. Further, this study described the legacy of his theories and criticisms made against his work. This study primarily has been undertaken to present intellectual sociological contribution of Ibn Khaldun.

Keywords: Ibn Khaldun, sociology, human civilization, Muqaddimah, Asabiyah, conflict, new science, social change.

ஆய்வுச்சுருக்கம்: ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்போட்டு நான்கு நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் சமூகவியலுக்குத் தேவையான அடிப்படைக் கோட்பாடுகளை இப்னு கல்தூன் விபரித்திருந்தமை பற்றி இக்கட்டுரை தெளிவாக கலந்துரையாடியுள்ளது. சமூகவியல் பரப்பில் இடம்பெறும் பல்வேறு கருத்தாடல்களுள் மேற்கூலக அறிஞர்கள் முன்வைத்த கோட்பாடுகள் ஆய்வுக்குட்படுத்தப்பட்ட அளவுக்கு இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக ஆய்வாளரான இப்னு கல்தூனின் எண்ணக்கருக்கள். கோட்பாடுகள் வாதிக்கப்பட்ட விதம், அதன்

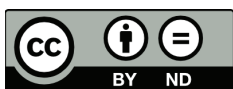
வீச்சு என்பன ஒப்பீட்டளவில் குறைவானது. இவ்வாய்வு, 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் சமூகவியல் துறைக்கு இப்னு கல்தூனால் வழங்கப்பட்ட அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புகள் குறித்து பகுப்பாய்வு செய்துள்ளது. இரண்டாம் நிலை மூலாதாரங்களை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு பெறப்பட்ட தகவல்களை மையப்படுத்தி மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட கலந்துரையாடல்கள், பெறுகைகள் இதில் விபரிப்பு முறையில் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. மனித நாகரீகம், சமூக மாற்றம், முரண்பாடு, சமூக ஒருமைப்பாடு, அரசியல் ஒழுங்கமைப்பு, பொருளாதார விருத்தி போன்ற கோட்பாட்டு ரீதியான பங்களிப்புகள், கிராமிய, நகர சமூகங்களின் கட்டமைப்புகள் மற்றும் அவற்றில் ஏற்பட்ட மாற்றங்கள் என பல்வேறு அம்சங்கள் மூலம் சமூகவியலுக்கு இப்னு கல்தூன் பங்களிப்பு செலுத்தியிருந்தமை இவ்வாய்வில் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அத்துடன், இப்னு கல்தூனின் கோட்பாட்டு மரபும் அதன் மீதான விமர்சனங்கள் போன்றனவும் இக்கட்டுரையில் விபரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. எனவே, இப்னு கல்தூன் தொடர்பான படைப்புகள் பெருவாரியாக இடம்பெற்றுள்ளதா எனும் கேள்வி ஒரு புறம் இருப்பினும், மறுபுறம் இவரின் சமூகவியல் பணி குறித்து தகவல்களை வழங்கும் ஒரு முக்கிய சமூகவியல் முயற்சியாக இக்கட்டுரை அமையப்பெற்றுள்ளது.

திறவுச்சொற்கள்: இப்னு கல்தூன், சமூகவியல், மனித நாகரீகம், முகத்திமா, அஸாபியாஹ், முரண்பாடு, புதிய விஞ்ஞானம், சமூக மாற்றம்.

அறிமுகம்

சமூகவியல் ஏனைய விஞ்ஞானங்களை விட மிக இளமையான சமூக விஞ்ஞானமாகும். சமூகவியலானது 18ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில்

*Corresponding author (mriswan2008@seu.ac.lk  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8490-7886>)



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வளர்ச்சிபெற்று 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் மத்திய பகுதியில் தனித்துவமான, சுயாதீன துறையாக சமூக விஞ்ஞான குடும்பத்தில் (family of social science) அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்டது. நவீன சமூகவியல் ஸ்தாபிக்கப்படுவதற்கு ஏதுவான கீழமை கைத்தொழில் புரட்சியும் அதனைத் தொடர்ந்து ஏற்பட்ட சமூக மாற்றங்களும் உருவாக்கின. எனவே, கைத்தொழில் புரட்சி மற்றும் புதிய சமூக விஞ்ஞானத்தின் ஸ்தாபிப்பு ஆகிய இரண்டு நிகழ்வுகளும் ஐரோப்பிய மண்ணில் உருவாகும் வாய்ப்பு ஏற்பட்டது (Hodges, 1971). எனவே, சமூகவியல் 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் ஐரோப்பாவில் ஸ்தாபிக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு கற்கைத் துறை என்பதுடன், அது பிரான்ஸ் நாட்டைச் சேர்ந்த ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்டே (1793-1857) எனும் தத்துவவியலாளரின் பங்களிப்பால் உருவானது எனவும் பொதுவாக நம்பப்படுகின்றது. எனினும், இக்கருத்திற்கு அப்பால் நின்று நோக்கும்போது, 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வட-ஆபிரிக்காவைச் சேர்ந்த இப்னு கல்தான் (Ibn Khaldun) எனும் வரலாற்றாசிரியரின் பணிகளில் இருந்து பல்வேறு சமூகவியல் கருத்துக்கள் அவதானிக்கப்பட்டும் ஆராயப்பட்டும் வந்துள்ளன (Rameez, 2018:41).

ஐரோப்பிய சமூகவியலாளர்களைப் (Europe/Western Sociologists) பொறுத்தவரையில் இஸ்லாமிய ஆய்வாளரான இப்னு கல்தான் தொடர்பில் பாரிய கருத்துநிலைகள் இல்லாவிட்டாலும், கீழைத்தேய சமூகவியலாளர்கள் (Eastern Sociologists) மத்தியில் இப்னு கல்தானின் பங்களிப்புகள் குறித்த மதிப்பீடு, அங்கீகாரம் என்பன ஓரளவுக்கு உண்டு. எனினும் மேற்குலகு, இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலகத்தை அரசியல், ஆயுதம், எண்ணெய்வளம், பயங்கரவாதம் என பல கோணங்களில் நோக்குகின்ற அளவுக்கு அறிவியல் ரீதியான பங்களிப்புகள் தொடர்பில் நோக்குவது மிகக் குறைவாகும். இதனால்தான் அரபுலக இஸ்லாமிய அறிஞரான இப்னு கல்தானின் அறிவியல், வரலாறு, பொருளியல், மற்றும் சமூகவியல் பங்களிப்புகள் வெளிக்கொண்டு வர எடுக்கப்பட்ட முயற்சிகள் ஒப்பீட்டளவில் குறைவாக உள்ளன. பெரும்பாலான கீழைத்தேய சமூகவியலாளர்களும் ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்டேயின் பங்களிப்பை ஏற்றுக்கொண்ட அளவுக்கு அல்லது அங்கீகரித்த அளவுக்கு இப்னு கல்தானின் சமூகவியல் பணிக்கு கொடுத்திருக்கும் அங்கீகாரம் எத்தகையது என்பது சமூகவியல் தளத்தில் நின்று கேட்கப்படும் பொதுவான கேள்வியாகும். அதற்கான விடையை ஆராய்ந்து அறிவதும் மிக அவசியமான ஒன்றாகும்.

18. 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுகளில் சமூகவியலுக்கு வழங்கப்பட்ட முக்கியத்துவம், சமூகவியலின் வளர்ச்சிக்கு அடித்தளமிட்ட சிந்தனையாளர்களின் பணிகள் பல்வேறு படித்தரங்களிலும் கலந்துரையாடப்பட்டு வருகின்றன. எனினும், சமூகவியல் எண்ணக்கருக்களுக்கு 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு துவப்பட்ட விதைகள் பற்றிய அவதானம், கலந்துரையாடல், ஆய்வுகள் என்பன ஒப்பீட்டளவில் குறைவாகவே எழுந்துள்ளன. கைத்தொழில் புரட்சிக்கு பிற்பட்ட நவீன சமூகத்தில் உருவான புதிய சமூக விஞ்ஞானமாகிய சமூகவியல் மீது அதிகமான சமூக விஞ்ஞானிகள் காட்டும் அக்கறை ஏன் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் கல்தான் முன்வைத்த சமூகவியல் படிமங்கள் மீது செலுத்தப்படவில்லை எனும் கேள்வியும் பொதுவாக எழுவதுண்டு. அத்துடன், இப்னு கல்தான் இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலகைச்

சேர்ந்தவர் என்பதனால், அவர் கைத்தொழில் புரட்சிக்கு முந்திய மத்தியகாலத்தில் வாழ்ந்தவர் என்பதனால் அவரின் கருத்துக்களை சமூகவியலாளர்கள் ஆழமாக நோக்காதாள்ளனரா எனும் வேறு சில கேள்விகள் எழுகின்றன. இதனைத் தாண்டி, ஐரோப்பிய-மையவாதம் (Eurocentrism) காரணமாக வட-ஆபிரிக்க அறிஞரின் சிந்தனைகள் மறைக்கப்பட்டனவா எனும் கேள்வி தொடர்பிலும் பல்வேறு கருத்துக்கள் புலமையாளர்களால் விவாதிக்கப்பட்டும் வருகின்றன. அத்தகைய கேள்விகளின் பின்புலத்தில், இக்கட்டுரையானது, 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் இப்னு கல்தான் முன்வைத்த அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புகள், குறிப்பாக சமூகவியல் பணிகள் பற்றிய மீளாய்வின் மேற்கொண்டுள்ளது.

இக்கிய மீளாய்வு

ஏறாசென்தால் (2005) என்பவர் இப்னு கல்தானின் பிரபலமான படைப்பான 'முகத்திமா' (Muqaddimah) எனும் நூலை ஆங்கிலத்தில் 'Ibn Khaldun: The Muqaddimah – An Introduction to History' என மொழிபெயர்ப்பு செய்துள்ளார். இம்மொழிபெயர்ப்பு நூல், கல்தானியக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கும் கருத்துக்களுக்கும் ஏனைய (கிழக்கு, மேற்கு) ஆய்வாளர்களால் நோக்கப்படுவதற்கும் எடுத்தாராயப்படுவதற்கும் காரணியாய் அமைந்தது. ஏனெனில், இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புகள் பெரும்பாலும் அரபு மொழியில் அமையப்பெற்றன. இதனால்கூட அரபுலக படைப்புகள் மேற்குலக கவனயீர்ப்பை பெறுவதில் சிக்கலை உருவாக்கியிருக்கலாம். எனவே, ஏறாசென்தால் (Rosenthal, 2005) மொழிபெயர்த்த இந்நூல் பல்வேறு ஆய்வாளர்களும் இப்னு கல்தான் பற்றியும் அவரின் வரலாற்று, சமூகவியல், பொருளியல், அரசியல் பங்களிப்புகள் குறித்தும் புரிந்துகொள்வதற்கு ஏதுவாக அமைந்தது எனக்கூறலாம்.

பரீடா எச்ஜே ஹன்ஸன் (2006) மேற்கொண்ட 'Ibn Khaldun and Jane Addams: The Real Father of Sociology and the Mother of Social Works' எனும் ஆய்வு இப்னு கல்தானின் பங்களிப்பு தொடர்பில் அதிகம் கலந்துரையாடிள்ளது. இக்கட்டுரையானது, சமூகவியலையும் அதன் வரலாற்றுப் பின்னணியையும் வரையறை செய்துள்ளதுடன், பல்வேறு நாடுகளைச் சேர்ந்த சமூகவியலின் ஸ்தாபகர்கள் பற்றியும் விபரித்துள்ளது. சமூகவியலின் ஆரம்ப ஸ்தாபகத் தந்தை எனும் அடிப்படையில் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சேர்ந்த இஸ்லாமிய புலமையாளர் இப்னு கல்தான் சமூகத்துக்கு ஆற்றிய பங்களிப்பின் முக்கியத்துவம் பற்றி நோக்கியுள்ளது. இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக வரலாற்றில் சமூகவியல் துறையில் இப்னு கல்தான் மிக முக்கியமானவராக கருதப்படுகின்றார் என்பதை இக்கட்டுரை முடிவுரைத்துள்ளது (Hassan, 2006).

கரோலின் ஸ்டோன் (2006) தனது 'Ibn Khaldun and the Rise and Fall of Empires' எனும் ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரையில் குறிப்பிடுகையில், அத்துல் றஹ்மான் இப்னு முஹம்மட் இப்னு கல்தான் அல்-ஹட்டாமி என்பவர் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் திறமை மிக்க வரலாற்றாசிரியர் ஆவார். இவர் நவீன வரலாற்றியல்,

சமூகவியல், பொருளியல் துறைகளின் தந்தையாக பார்க்கப்பட்டார் எனக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். அத்துடன், கல்தானின் ‘முகத்திமா’ (Muqaddimah) உள்ளிட்ட ஏனைய சித்தாந்தங்களும் அரபுலக சாம்ராஜ்ய அரபியல், சமூக மாற்றங்கள் தொடர்பில் எத்தகைய தாக்கங்களை உண்டாக்கியது என இக்கட்டுரையில் மதிப்பீடு செய்துள்ளார் (Stone, 2006).

அதேபோன்று, சோயர் மற்றும் கிம்பேர்ட் (2012) என்போர் தமது ‘*Debating the Origins of Sociology: Ibn Khaldun as a Founding Father of Sociology*’ எனும் ஆய்வில் இப்பனு கல்தானை சமூகவியலின் ஸ்தாபக தந்தையாக கருதமுடியுமா என ஆராய்ந்து கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்துள்ளனர். இதில், இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக சிந்தனையாளர் இப்பனு கல்தானின் சமூகவியல் பங்களிப்புகளை மேலைத்தேய சமூகவியல் அறிஞர்களான ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்டே, எமில் தூர்க்கைமின் கோட்பாடுகளுடன் ஒப்பீட்டாய்வு செய்துள்ளனர் (Soyer & Gilbert, 2012).

அபுபக்கர் றமீஸ் (2018) தனது ‘*Eurocentrism and the Contribution of Ibn Khaldun to the Growth of Sociology*’ எனும் ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரையில் ஐரோப்பிய புலமையாளர்கள், ஐரோப்பியர்-அல்லாத சமூகத்தின் (Non-european society) மொழி, கலாச்சாரம் போன்ற அம்சங்கள் பற்றிய குறுகிய எண்ணம் கொண்டவர்களாகவும் ஐரோப்பிய-மையவாத (Eurocentric) சிந்தனை கொண்டவர்களாகவும் காணப்பட்டனர் என வாதிடுகின்றார். அத்துடன், இப்பனு கல்தான் சமூகம், மனிதப் பண்பு, அரபியல் ஒழுங்கமைப்பு, அரசாங்கம், கிராமிய-நகர சமூகங்களிடையிலான வேறுபாடு, உறவுமுறை, சமூக ஒருமைப்பாடு (*Asabiyyah*), பொருளாதார முறைமை போன்ற பல்வேறு விவகாரங்கள் குறித்து பங்களிப்புச் செய்திருந்தும் கூட, அவரின் சமூகவியல் துறைக்கான இத்தகைய பணி பரந்தளவில் (ஐரோப்பாவில்) நிராகரிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தது (Rameez, 2018) எனும் வாத்தையும் கட்டுரையாசிரியர் முன்வைத்துள்ளார்.

மேலும், றிட்செர் (2015) தனது ‘*Introduction to Sociology*’ எனும் நூலில், 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் அப்துல் றஹ்மான் இப்பனு கல்தான் என்ற முஸ்லிம் புலமையாளர் அரபியல், பொருளாதாரம் உள்ளிட்ட பல்வேறு சமூக உறவு முறைகள் பற்றி ஆராய்ந்துள்ளதாக குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். எனினும், சமூகவியலை ஸ்தாபிப்பதற்குரிய காலமாக அமைந்தது 18ஆம், 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் கைத்தொழில் புரட்சியாகும் (Ritzer, 2015).

அதேபோல், 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் இருந்து இஸ்லாமிய சமூகவியல் பங்களிப்புகள் இருந்தமைக்கான ஆதாரங்கள் உள்ளன என்று சாவான் மற்றும் சோனாவானே (2017) தமது ‘*Basic Concepts in Sociology*’ எனும் நூலில் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளனர். மேலும் விளக்குகையில், இப்பனு கல்தான் (1332-1406) என்பவர் தனது ‘முகத்திமா’ (*Muqaddimah*) (later translated as *Prolegomena* in Latin: The Introduction) எனும் நூலில் ஏழு பெரும் பகுதிகள் கொண்டு புகோள வரலாற்றை பகுப்பாய்வு செய்துள்ளார். இந்நூல்தான் வரலாற்றில் முரண்பாடு, சமூக நல்லிணக்கம் போன்ற

கோட்பாடுகளை சமூக விஞ்ஞான, சமூக மெய்யியல் துறைகளுக்கு முதன் முதலில் வழங்கியது. ஆரம்ப இஸ்லாமிய சாம்ராஜ்யங்களில் வாழ்ந்த பலதரப்பட்ட மக்களை அல்லது குழுக்களை ஒரு அரபியல் ஒழுங்கமைப்புக்குள் கொண்டுவரும் பொறுப்பு சமூகவியலுக்கு இருந்தது. இஸ்லாமிய ஆட்சியாளர்களான (Islamic Caliphate) றாசிதான், உமையாக்கள், அப்பாசியர்கள் மற்றும் எகிப்திய மம்லூக் ஆட்சி காலத்திலும் (Rashidun, Umayyad, Abbasid, and the Mamluk period in Egypt) இத்தகைய இஸ்லாமிய தத்துவார்த்த, விஞ்ஞான அறிவியல் கருத்துக்கள் வேரூன்றியிருந்தபோது கல்தானின் சமூகவியல் கருத்துக்கள் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன என இந்நூலாசிரியர்கள் பதிவுசெய்துள்ளனர் (Chavan & Sonawane, 2017:3).

மீளாய்வுக்குட்படுத்திய நூல்கள், கட்டுரைகளின் அடிப்படையில் நோக்கும்போது, இப்பனு கல்தானின் கோட்பாடுகள் சமூகவியல் மரபில் பல்வேறு காலகட்ட அறிஞர்களானும் எடுத்தாராயப்பட்டுள்ளன. எனினும், இப்பனு கல்தான் பற்றியும் அவரின் சமூகவியல் பங்களிப்புகள், சமூக-பொருளாதார, அரபியல் கருத்தியல்கள் குறித்தும் பகுப்பாய்வு செய்து ஓர் அடிப்படை விபரத்தை வழங்கவேண்டிய தேவையை பூர்த்தி செய்யும் வகையில் இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரை பல்வேறு தகவல்களை, மூலாதாரங்களைக் கொண்டு ஆவணப்படுத்த முயற்சித்துள்ளது. சமூகவியல் குறித்த பல முக்கிய கருத்தாடல்கள் சதேச மொழியில் இடம்பெற வேண்டியது காலத்தின் தேவையாகும்.

ஆய்வின் நோக்கமும் முறையியலும்

சமூகவியலின் தோற்றம், வளர்ச்சி பற்றிய ஐரோப்பிய (மேலைத்தேய) கண்ணோட்டம் 18, 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுகளின் தத்துவவியலாளர்களின் பங்களிப்புகளின் ஊடாக நோக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அதற்கு முன்னரே 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக (கீழைத்தேய) ஆய்வாளர்களின் பங்களிப்புகள் ஆரம்ப சமூகவியலுக்கு விதைகளைத் தூவியுள்ளன. எனினும், மேலைத்தேய அறிஞர்களான ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்டே (Auguste Comte), ஹேர்பட் ஸ்பென்சர் (Herbert Spencer), எமில் தூர்க்கைம் (Emile Durkheim), மக்ஸ் வெபர் (Max Weber), கார்ல் மார்க்ஸ் (Karl Marx) போன்றவர்களின் கோட்பாடுகள் மீது செலுத்தப்பட்ட அவதானம் அரபுலக வரலாற்றாசிரியர், சமூகவியலாளர் என வர்ணிக்கப்படும் இப்பனு கல்தானின் (Ibn Khaldun) பங்களிப்புகள் மீது எந்தளவுக்கு செலுத்தப்பட்டது என்பது பொதுவான வினாவாகும். எனவே இவ்வாய்வு, இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக சிந்தனையாளர் இப்பனு கல்தான் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் சமூகவியலுக்கு எத்தகைய பங்களிப்புகளைச் செலுத்தியுள்ளார் என்பதை அடையாளப்படுத்துவதை பிரதான நோக்கமாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது. அத்துடன், கல்தானின் கோட்பாட்டு மரபும் அதில் முன்வைக்கப்பட்ட விமர்சனங்களும் பகுதியளவில் இக்கட்டுரையில் ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளன.

இது அடிப்படையில் ஒரு பண்புசார் ஆய்வாகும். களப்பணி போன்ற முதலாம் நிலைத் தரவுகள் எதுவுமின்றி, இதில் முழுமையாக

இரண்டாம் நிலைத் தகவல்கள் மாத்திரம் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன. பல்வேறு ஆய்வாளர்களினால் பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்ட ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரைகள் மூலம் இப்போது கல்தானின் பிரதான அறிவியல் பங்களிப்பு குறித்த தகவல்கள் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. அத்துடன், அவரின் வாழ்க்கைக் குறிப்பு மற்றும் பொருளியல், சமூகவியல், வரலாற்று பங்களிப்புகள் பற்றிய தகவல்கள் இணையவழித் தரவுகள் மூலமும் முன்னைய ஆய்வுகளின் மூலமும் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. குறிப்பாக, பிரான்ஸ் ஹாசென்டால் (2005), பரீடா எச்ஜே ஹஸ்ஸன் (2006), கரோலின் ஸ்டோன் (2006), சோயர் மற்றும் கில்பேர் (2012), அபுபக்கர் ஹமீஸ் (2018) போன்ற பலரின் ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரைகள் மூலம் பெறப்பட்ட தகவல்களைக் கொண்டு இவ்வாய்வுக்குத் தேவையான பிரதான பகுப்பாய்வு, கலந்துரையாடல் என்பன மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ளன. ஆய்வின் பெறுகைகள், கலந்துரையாடல் உட்பட அனைத்து விடயங்களும் விபரிப்பு முறையில் (interpretative method) இதில் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

இப்போது கல்தான் (1332-1406): பின்னணி

இப்போது கல்தான் 1332 மே மாதம் 27ஆம் திகதி துனூசியாவில் (Tunis [Tunisia]) பிறந்தார் (Encyclopaedia Britannica; May 23, 2020). நவீன சமூக விஞ்ஞானத்தின் பண்பாட்டு வரலாற்றியலின் (Cultural History) தந்தையாகவும் குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றார். இவர் அந்தலூசியன் (Andalusian) எனும் உயர் வகுப்பு குடும்பத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர். வட-ஆபிரிக்காவில் தலைசிறந்த ஆசிரியரிடம் கல்வி கற்ற இவர் (Hassan, 2006:5) பாரம்பரிய அரபுக் கல்வி, குர்ஆன் மற்றும் அரபு மொழியியலையும் (Quran and Arabic Linguistic) கற்றார். அரபு மொழியியல் மூலம் குர்ஆன், ஹதீஸ், இஸ்லாமிய சட்டம் (Saria), பிக்ஹ் (Jurisprudence) என்பவற்றை நன்கு புரிந்திருந்தார். இவருக்கு கணிதவியல், தர்க்கவியல், மெய்யியல் (Mathematics, Logic and Philosophy) அறிவியல் துறைகள் அல்-ஆலிபி (Al-Alibi) எனும் தத்துவவியலாளரால் அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்டன (Hozien, 2013).

துனூசியாவில் 1349ல் ஏற்பட்ட தொற்று நோய் பரவலினால் தனது 17வது வயதில் பெற்றோர்கள் இருவரையும் கல்தான் இழந்தார் (Stone, 2006). கல்தான் தனது வாழ்நாளின் அதிகமான நாட்களை வட-ஆபிரிக்காவிலும் ஸ்பெயினிலும் கழித்திருந்தார். இவர் அந்தலூசியா குடும்பத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர் என்பதனால் முஸ்லிம்களின் பிரதான கருத்தியல் நிரோட்டத்திலிருந்து இவரின் கண்ணோட்டம் வேறுபட்டதாகவே அமைந்திருந்தது (Alatas, 2007). எனினும், தனது 20வது வயதில் அரசியல் பணியினை துனூசியா ஆட்சியாளரின் வேந்தரியல் பிரிவில் (Chancellery Division) பொறுப்பேற்றார். கத்தீப் அல்-ஆலாமா (*Katib al-alamah*) எனும் பதவியில் இருந்து அரசு தகவல் ஏடுகளுக்கு (Information records) உரிய கையெழுத்துக் கலையினைப் பிரயோகித்ததன் மூலம் முக்கியமான அரசியல் பணியில் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தார். 1377ல், மிகக் குறுகிய காலத்துக்குள் (ஐந்து தொடக்கம் ஆறு மாதங்களுக்குள்) 'முகத்திமா' (*Muqaddimah [Historical Prolegomenon] (The Introduction)*, 1377) எனும் நூலை எழுதினார் (Zaidi, 2011; Stone, 2006 & Enan, 1979). இதன் மூலம் அவர் சமூகவியல்,

வரலாற்றியல், பொருளியல் துறைகளுக்குத் தேவையான பல கோட்பாடுகளை முன்வைத்து வரலாற்றில் இடம்பிடித்தார்.

இப்போது கல்தானின் வாழ்க்கை பல வரலாற்று நிகழ்வுகளுடன் தொடர்புபட்டதாகும். அதனால் அவரது கோட்பாடு சிறந்த கருத்துக்களையும் யதார்த்த வடிவினையும் கொண்டிருந்தது. ஒவ்வொரு கோட்பாட்டையும் முன்வைப்பதில் வரலாற்றியல் நிகழ்வுகளின் சான்றுகள் இளையோடியிருப்பதனை அவதானிக்கலாம். குறிப்பாக சமூக மாற்றம், சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு (*Asabiyyah*) பற்றிய இவரது கருத்துக்கள் வரலாற்றில் கிராமிய, நகர சமூகங்களிடையே ஏற்பட்ட பாரிய அசைவுகளைப் பற்றி பேசுவதாய் அமைந்துள்ளன. அத்துடன், வரலாற்றில் அரசியல் அதிகாரம், அதிகாரக் குழுக்கள், அதிகாரத்துக்கான போட்டி, ஆட்சியாளர்களின் (அரசுகளின்) உருவாக்கம், வளர்ச்சி, வீழ்ச்சி போன்ற பல விவகாரங்களை வரலாற்று நிகழ்வுகளுடன் தொடர்புபடுத்தி கல்தான் விபரித்துள்ளார்.

ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்ப்டே (1798-1857) பிரதானமாக பல கோட்பாடுகளை, குறிப்பாக, விஞ்ஞானங்களின் படிமுறைகள் (hierarchy of sciences), புறமெய்மைவாதம் (positivism), மானிடத்தின் சமயம் (religion of humanity) போன்றவற்றை முன்வைத்ததைத் தொடர்ந்து நவீன சமூகவியலின் தந்தை என அங்கீகாரத்தைப் பெற்றார். எனினும், மறுபுறம் சில ஆய்வாளர்கள், சமூகவியலின் ஸ்தாபக தந்தை இப்போது கல்தான் எனவும் வாதிடுகின்றனர். ஏனெனில், ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்ப்டே சமூகவியலை ஒருங்கிணைப்பதற்கு நான்கு நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர் சமூகவியலுக்குத் தேவையான அடிப்படை விடயங்களை இப்போது கல்தான் முன்வைத்துள்ளார் என்பது இவர்களின் வாதமாகும். எனவே, இத்தகைய அடிப்படையில் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் பல்வேறு பணிகள் மூலம் புலமையாளராகக் கருதப்பட்ட இப்போது கல்தான் 1406 மார்ச் மாதம் 17ஆம் திகதி எகிப்தில் உள்ள கைரோவில் (Cairo, Egypt) இறப்பைத் தழுவினார் (Encyclopaedia Britannica; May 23, 2020).

எவ்வாறிருப்பினும், மேலைத்தேய புலமைத்துவத்துக்கும் கீழைத்தேய அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புக்குமான வேறுபாடுகள் பல வடிவங்களில் அமைந்திருந்தன. இப்போது கல்தானின் கோட்பாடுகள் முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தப்படாமலும் பல்வேறு காரணிகள் பின்னணியாய் இருந்ததாக சில ஆய்வாளர்கள் சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றனர். குறிப்பாக, மேலைத்தேய சமூகவியல் முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தப்படுவதற்கு ஐரோப்பிய-மையவாதம் (Eurocentrism) ஒரு முக்கிய காரணியாக அமைந்துள்ளது. ஐரோப்பிய மையவாதமானது மேலைத்தேய புலமைத்துவ மரபுடன் இணைந்த ஒரு பகுதியாகவே காணப்பட்டது. இதனால் மேலைத்தேய நாகரீகத்தின் மேலாண்மை காரணமாக புலமைத்துவ மரபினும் மேலைத்தேயம் கீழைத்தேயம் என இரு வேறு பார்வைகள் உருவாகின (Alatas, 2007). தற்போதைய சூழலிலும் இப்போது கல்தான் முதன்மைப்படுத்தப்படுவதை விடவும் ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்ப்டே முதன்மைப்படுத்தப்படுவதற்கு இதுவே காரணமாகவும் அமைந்தது என பல அறிஞர்களால் சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

மேற்குலக நாகரீகமயமாதல் மற்றும் நவீனத்துவம் (Western civilization and modernity) போன்றன ஐரோப்பிய-மையவாதப் போக்கினை முதன்மைப்படுத்தியதுடன், மேற்குலகு-சாராத பண்பாடுகள் மற்றும் நாகரீகங்கள் (Non-western culture and civilization) மீதான பார்வையும் கீழைத்தேய புலமையாளர்களின் அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புகளை ஏற்கவோ அங்கீகரிக்கவோ முடியாத நிலையை தோற்றுவித்துள்ளது (Rameez, 2018).

பிரான்ஸ் தத்துவவியலாளர் கொம்டேயினுடைய பங்களிப்பில் சமூகவியல் எனும் தனிப்பெரும் துறை ஐரோப்பாவில் 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் தோற்றம் பெற்றதாக பொதுவாக நம்பப்படுகின்றது. எனினும், சமூகவியல் பார்வையில் (சமூகவியல்சார்) அதிகமான எண்ணக்கருக்கள் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வட ஆபிரிக்க வரலாற்றியலாளர், மெய்யியலாளர் இப்பனு கல்தானின் பணிகளில் அவதானிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இப்பனு கல்தான் முக்கியமான புலமையாளராக இருந்தபோதிலும்கூட, அவரது கருத்துக்கள் ஐரோப்பிய புலமையாளர்களின் பணிகளில் பரந்தளவில் நிராகரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன அல்லது கவனத்தில் கொள்ளப்படாதிருந்தன எனும் கருத்து நிலவுகின்றது. குறிப்பாக, மேற்குலகில் உள்ள புலமைமையாளர்களின் பணிகளில் கல்தானின் கோட்பாடுகள் புறமொதுக்கப்பட்டு உள்ளன (Rameez, 2018) எனவும் சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளமையை அவதானிக்கலாம்.

இப்பனு கல்தான் தொடர்பான அண்மைய முன்னெடுப்புகள்

கடந்த பல வருடங்களாக இப்பனு கல்தான் பற்றிய பொதுவான அங்கீகாரம் அதிகரித்து வருகின்றது. 2004ல், துனுசியா சமுதாய மையம் (Tunisia Community Center) முதலாவது இப்பனு கல்தான் விருது (Ibn Khaldun Award) ஒன்றை அறிமுகம் செய்தது. இதன் மூலம் கல்தான் முன்வைத்த உறவுமுறை மற்றும் ஒருமைப்பாடு (Kinship and Solidarity) பற்றிய கோட்பாடுகளை பிரதிபலிக்கும் ஆய்வுகளில் உயர் அடைவு மட்டத்தை அடையும் துனுசியன்/அமெரிக்கன் (Tunisian/American) மாணவர்களை கௌரவிப்பதற்கு இவ்விருது அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்டது. 2006ல், அட்டலன் பொருளாதார ஆய்வு ஸ்தாபனம் (Atlas Economic Research Foundation) வருடாந்த கட்டுரைப் போட்டி நடாத்தி அதில் வெற்றி பெறுவோருக்கு 'இப்பனு கல்தான் விருது' வழங்கப்படுவருகின்றது (Web: Ibn Khaldun; 15 Oct, 2020).

அதேபோன்று 2006ல் ஸ்பெயின், கல்தான் இறந்த 600வது சிரார்த்த தினத்தை நினைவுகூர்ந்து அதற்கு 'நாகரீகத்துடன் மோதியவர்: இப்பனு கல்தான்' (Encounter of Civilization: Ibn Khaldun) என அவரின் பெயரை கருப்பொருளாக பொறித்தது (United Nation, 2006 & Website: Ibn Khaldun; 15 Oct, 2020). 2011ல், இப்பனு கல்தானின் பிறந்த தினம் கூகிள் டூடில் (google doodle) மூலம் அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்டது. அது அவரை வட-ஆபிரிக்காவிலும் அராபிய தீபகற்பத்திலும் பிரபலப்படுத்தியது. 2007ல், இப்பனு கல்தான் பெயரை நினைவுகூரும் முகமாக இப்பனு ஹல்தான் பல்கலைக்கழகம் (Ibn Haldun University) துருக்கியின்

இஸ்தான்பூலில் நிறுவப்பட்டது (Website: Ibn Khaldun; 15 Oct, 2020).

இத்தகைய அடிப்படையில் பல்வேறு நிலைகளிலும் நினைவுகூரும் விதமாக தனக்கென்று ஒரு அறிவியல் தடத்தை பதிந்துகொண்ட கல்தான், ஒரு சிறந்த வரலாற்றாய்வாளராக, சமூகவியலாளராக, மறுமலர்ச்சியாளராக இஸ்லாமிய அரபுலக வரலாற்றில் பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளார் என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதாகும். எனவேதான் இக்கட்டுரையானது கல்தானின் பிரதான அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புகள், அவரின் கோட்பாட்டு மரபும் அதன் மேலெழுந்த விமர்சனங்கள் பற்றியும் விரிவாக ஆராய்ந்துள்ளது.

பெறுபேறும் கல்தானுடையது

இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரையின் நோக்கங்களை அடையும் பொருட்டு இப்பகுதியில் இப்பனு கல்தான் முன்வைத்த பிரதான கோட்பாடுகள், எண்ணக்கருக்கள் தகுந்த சான்றாதாரங்களுடன் நோக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. அத்துடன், கல்தானின் கருத்துக்கள் தொடர்பில் பின்பற்றப்பட்ட மரபுகள் மற்றும் அவரின் அறிவியல் பங்களிப்புகள் மீதெழுந்த விமர்சனங்கள் பற்றியும் சுருக்கமாக கல்தானுடையது கட்டுரைப்பட்டுள்ளன. கட்டுரையின் இரண்டு நோக்கங்களும் தனித்தனியாக எடுத்தாராயப்பட்டுள்ளன.

நோக்கம் 01: இப்பனு கல்தான் சமூகவியல் கோட்பாடுகள் தொடர்பில் ஆற்றிய பணியை விபரித்தல்

இப்பனு கல்தானின் சமூகவியல் பணிகள்

மேலைத்தேய உலகில் மட்டுமல்ல பெரும்பாலான சமூக விஞ்ஞான ஆய்வாளர்கள் மத்தியில் இப்பனு கல்தான் எனப்படும் ஒரு ஆளுமை பற்றிய மதிப்பீடுகள் குறைவாகவே இருக்கும். எனினும், சில ஆய்வாளர்கள் இப்பனு கல்தானுக்கும் 21ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் சமூக விவகாரங்களுக்கும் ஏதாவது தொடர்புண்டா எனவும் சிந்திக்கின்றனர். எப்படியிருப்பினும், ஆரம்பகால சமூக சிந்தனையாளர்கள், கல்தான் சமூகவியலின் ஸ்தாபகர் எனவும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றனர் (Cited in: Soyer & Gilbert, 2012). சொறோகின், சிம்மமேன், கல்பின் போன்றோர், இப்பனு கல்தான் ஒரு வரலாற்றாசிரியர், அரசியல்வாதி, சமூகவியலாளர் மற்றும் 'சமூகவியலின் ஸ்தாபகர்' என நம்பினார்கள். இவர்களின் கூற்றின்படி, கல்தான் அராபிய சமூகத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட மாற்றங்கள் பற்றி விபரித்துள்ளதுடன், அச்சமூகம் கிராமிய கட்டமைப்பிலிருந்து நகர சமூகக் கட்டமைப்புக்குள் எவ்வாறு நகர்ந்தது (Transformation of Arab society from *Badawa* [rural society] to *Hadara* [urban society]) என்பது பற்றியும் பகுப்பாய்வு செய்துள்ளதாகவும் சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது (Alatas, 2013).

ஹரி பார்னஸ், ஹொவார்ட் பெக்கர் (Harry Barnes and Howard Becker) ஆகியோர் தமது '*Social Thought: From Lore to Science*' எனும் நூலில் குறிப்பிடும்போது, வரலாற்றுச்

சமூகவியலுக்கு (historical sociology) நவீன கருத்துக்களை உட்செலுத்தியது ஐரோப்பியர்கள் அல்ல. ஆனால் அவர்கள் இப்போது கல்தானின் கலைந்தரையாடல்களில் இருந்து சமூக விஞ்ஞானத்துக்கு தேவையான தகவல்களைப் பெற்றிருந்தனர் என விவாதித்தனர் (Barnes & Becker, 1938:366. Cited in: Soyer & Gilbert, 2012:13). இவர்களின் கருத்துக்களின் ஊடாக நோக்கும்போது, வரலாற்றுச் சமூகவியலுக்கு முதன் முதலாக நவீன கருத்துக்களை பிரயோகித்தவர் இப்போது கல்தான் ஆவார். இதனால் கல்தான் சமூகவியலின் ஸ்தாபகராக காணப்படுகின்றார் எனும் கருத்தினை முன்வைக்கின்றமையைக் காணமுடிகின்றது. எனினும் துரதிகூட்டவசமாக, 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு வரைக்கும் கல்தானிய சமூகவியல் மேலைத்தேய புலமையாளர்களால் அறியப்படாமல் இருந்தது. 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் மத்திய பகுதியில் மேற்கத்தேய அறிஞர்கள் கல்தானையும் அவரின் கோட்பாடுகளையும் ஆராயத் தொடங்கினர். மக்கியவல்லி (Machiavelli), மொண்டெஸ்கியு (Montesquieu), அடம் ஸ்மித் (Adam Smith), ஆகஸ்ட் கொம்டே (Auguste Comte) போன்றவர்களுக்கு சில நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பே கல்தான் பல்வேறு கோட்பாடுகளை விருத்தி செய்தார். கல்தானையும் அவரின் கோட்பாடுகளையும் ஆராய்ந்த பின்னரே மேலைத்தேய புலமையாளர்கள் இப்போது கல்தான் ஒரு தத்துவவியலாளர், வரலாற்றாசிரியர், சமூகவியல் புலமையாளர் மற்றும் அரசியல்-பொருளியலாளர் (political-economist) என கவனத்தில் கொண்டனர் (Enan, 1979).

கல்தான் (1377) எழுதிய 'முகத்திமா' (Muqaddimah, [*The Introduction*]) எனும் நூலானது மேலைத்தேய சமூகவியல் விருத்தியடைவதற்கு பல நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னரே எழுதியதாகும். கல்தான் இந்த நூலில் நவீன சமூகவியலில் காணப்பட்ட அடிப்படைப் பிரச்சினைகளை விபரித்திருந்தார். குறிப்பாக, குறைவிருத்தியுள்ள சமூகங்கள் எவ்வாறு முன்னேற்றமடைந்த சமூகங்களாக பரிமாணம் அடைகின்றன என கலந்துரையாடி உள்ளார். வரலாற்றில் கல்தானின் பணிகளில் சில பகுதிகள் நவீன முறையியலாகவே காணப்பட்டன (Sorokin, 1947: Cited in: Soyer & Gilbert, 2012). இப்போது கல்தான் அடிப்படையிலேயே ஒரு இஸ்லாமிய அரபுப் புலமையாளர் (Arab Scholar of Islam) ஆவார் (Hozien, 2013). அத்துடன், அவர் ஒரு சமூக விஞ்ஞானியாகவும் வரலாற்றாசிரியராகவும் (Sarah-Bowen & Felipe, eds., 2014) காணப்படுவதோடு, வரலாற்றியல், சமூகவியல், பொருளியல், குடித்தொகையியல் போன்ற பல துறைகளின் தந்தையாகவும் கருதப்படுகின்றார் (Spengler, 1964; Boulakia, 1971 & Sorinel, 2009). மத்தியகால ஐரோப்பாவில் வாழ்ந்த மிக முக்கியமான தத்துவவியலாளராக கல்தான் காணப்படுகின்றார். அத்துடன் அவரின் பணிகள் பரந்தளவில் அங்கீகரிக்கப்பட்டது என மறுமலர்ச்சிக் காலத்திலிருந்த மக்கியவல்லி (Machiavelli) மற்றும் 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் ஐரோப்பிய புலமையாளர்கள் விளக்கினர். கல்தானின் மிகப் பிரபலமான படைப்பான 'முகத்திமா'வை அவர் ஆறு மாதங்களுக்குள்

எழுதியதாக தனது குறிப்பேட்டில் பதிவுசெய்துள்ளார் (Zaidi, 2011).

இப்போது கல்தான், சமூகம் தொடர்பான அடிப்படைக் கோட்பாடுகளை 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலேயே முன்வைத்தார். சமூக ஒருமைப்பாடு மற்றும் அரசுகளின் எழுச்சி, வீழ்ச்சி பற்றியும் இவர் ஆராய்ந்துள்ளார். உலக இஸ்லாமிய வரலாற்றில் இப்போது கல்தான் மிக முக்கியமான நபராகக் கருதப்படுகின்றார் (Enan, 1979). கல்தான் மீது அதிக பார்வை செலுத்தப்படுவதற்கு அவர் எழுதிய 'முகத்திமா' (Muqaddimah) எனும் நூல் பிரதான காரணியாய் அமைந்திருந்தது. கல்தான் ஆய்வு செய்த சமூகக் கோட்பாடுகளான சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு, அரசுகளின் எழுச்சி, சிதைவு என்பன முகத்திமாவில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. சமூக விவகாரங்களின் போக்கையும் அதன் வடிவங்களையும் வரலாற்று நிகழ்வுகளின் ஊடாக பார்வையை செலுத்தி கல்தான் தனது முகத்திமாவில் பதிவுசெய்துள்ளார் (Enan, 1979).

சாதி அல்-ஹூஸ்ரி (Sati Al-Husri) எனும் அரபு அறிஞர், கல்தான் எழுதிய 'முகத்திமா' ஒரு சமூகவியல் படைப்பாகும் என குறிப்பிடுகின்றார் (Minoo, 1984). கல்தானின் முகத்திமா ஆறு (நூல்) பகுதிகளில் சமூகவியலுக்கு ஆற்றிய பங்கு, பணிகள் பற்றி சாதி அல்-ஹூஸ்ரி குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். 'முகத்திமா'வின் நூல் I: பொதுச் சமூகவியல் (general sociology), நூல் II மற்றும் III: அரசியல் சார் சமூகவியல் (sociology of politics), நூல் IV: நகர வாழ்வு பற்றிய சமூகவியல் (sociology of urban life), நூல் V: பொருளியல் சார் சமூகவியல் (sociology of economics) மற்றும் நூல் VI: அறிவுசார் சமூகவியல் (sociology of knowledge). கல்தானின் இத்தகைய சமூகவியல் பணி, வரலாற்றாய்வினும் பொருளியலிலும் அரசியல் மற்றும் கல்வித் துறையிலும் பாரிய அவதானத்தை ஏற்படுத்தியது (Encyclopaedia Britannica; May 23, 2020).

இப்போது கல்தானின் பிரதான ஆய்வுகளுள் ஒன்றான 'அஸாபியாஹ்' (Asabiyah), இதனை சமூக ஒற்றுமை, சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு, சமூக நல்லிணக்கம் என மொழிபெயர்ப்பு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. இந்த அஸாபியாஹ் (சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு) பழங்குடியினர் மற்றும் பிற உறவுமுறைக் குழுக்களுக்கிடையிலான உறவையும் அதன் விளைவுகளையும் விபரிப்பதற்காக கல்தான் பயன்படுத்திய கோட்பாடாகும். இப்போது கல்தானின் பகுப்பாய்வுகள், சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு எவ்வாறு இந்த சுய குழுக்களை அதிகாரத்துக்கு கொண்டு செல்கின்றது என விளக்குகின்றன. எனினும், அக்குழுக்களின் வீழ்ச்சியில் சமய சித்தாந்தங்களை விட பிற காரணிகள் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்துவதாகவும் கல்தான் சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றார். குறிப்பாக சமூக ஒற்றுமை, முரண்பாடு, அதிகாரம் போன்றவற்றின் மீது உளவியல், சமூகவியல், பொருளாதார, அரசியல் விதைகள் தூவப்படுவதாக கல்தான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார். இதனால், இந்நிலை மாற்றப்படுவதற்கு ஒரு புதிய சிந்தனை மிக்க குழு உருவாக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்றார். எனினும், இப்போது கல்தானின் இத்தகைய கருத்துக்கள் உப-சஹாரா ஆபிரிக்காவின் சான்ஜ் (Zanj) மக்களைப் பற்றியதாகவே அமைந்திருந்தது எனவும் சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது (Minoo, 1984).

புதிய விஞ்ஞானம்: கல்தானின் 'புதிய விஞ்ஞானம்' (New Science) என்பது, மனித சமூக ஒழுங்கமைப்புகளின் விஞ்ஞானம் என அழைக்கப்படுகின்றது. அதாவது 'சமூகவியல்' (Sociology) என்றே விளக்கப்படுகின்றது. கல்தானின் கருத்துப்படி, 'விஞ்ஞானம் என்பது அதற்கென்று தனித்துவமான இலக்குகளைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. அது மனித நாகரீகம், சமூக ஒழுங்கமைவு போன்ற பல விடயங்களை குறிப்பிட்டு ஆராய்வதாகும். அத்தோடு அவ்விஞ்ஞானம் நாகரீகமயமாதலால் (civilization) ஏற்படக்கூடிய பிரச்சினைகளையும் அதன் தனித்துவமான பின்னணியில் நின்று ஆராய்வல்லது' (Muqaddimah, 1958:77; cited in. Soyer & Gilbert, 2012:15). நாகரீகம் என்பது மனித இடைவினையின் (உற்பத்தி) விளைவாகும் (civilization is a product of human interaction) எனக் குறிப்பிடும் கல்தான், உண்மையில் கலாச்சாரம் என்பது ஒரு நாகரீகத்தின் அடிப்படை விடயமே அல்ல, அது மக்களின் இடைவினையால் தூண்டப்படுவதாகும் எனக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். மக்கள் பொதுவாக ஏனையவர்களுடன் இணைவதற்கும் தொடர்புகொள்வதற்கும் தேவையான இயலுமையை, திறன்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளனர். எனவே, இடைவினை புரிதலின் விளைவாக தோன்றுவதே நாகரீகம் என்பது கல்தானின் வாதமாகும் (Mohammed, 1998). புதிய விஞ்ஞானத்தின் அடிப்படை எண்ணக்கருக்களாக: மனித நாகரீகம் (human civilization), பாரம்பரிய சமூகம் (primitive society), அரசு (the state), நகரங்கள் (the cities), தொழில் (the occupation) மற்றும் விஞ்ஞானம் (the science) போன்றவற்றை கல்தான் விபரித்துள்ளார்.

இத்தகைய எண்ணக்கருக்களுள் முக்கியமாக சமூக செயலாக்கம் இடம்பெறும் இரு கட்டமைப்புகளான கிராமிய மற்றும் நகர சமூகக் கூறுகள் பற்றிய வாதத்தினை அதிகமான இடங்களில் கல்தான் அடிக்கோடிட்டுக் காட்டியுள்ளார். மேலைத்தேய சமூகவியல் ஆராய்வதைப் போலவே கல்தானும் கிராமிய (பாலைவன சூழலில் வாழ்ந்த) மக்களையும் நகர்ப்புறங்களில் வாழ்க்கை அமைத்துக் கொண்ட மக்களையும் ஆராய்ந்தார். நகரத்தை விட வித்தியாசமான வாழ்க்கை முறைமையைக் கொண்ட கிராமத்தையும் கிராமத்தை விட வித்தியாசமான வர்த்தகம், உற்பத்தி, நெரிசல் நிறைந்த வாழ்க்கைச் சூழலைக் கொண்ட நகரவாழ் சமூகத்தையும் கல்தான் ஒப்பிட்டு விளக்கினார். இவ்விரு சூழ்நிலைகளுக்குள் ஏற்படக்கூடிய வேறுபட்ட சமூகப் பிரச்சினைகளையும் இவ்விரு சமூகக் கட்டமைப்பில் தாக்கம் செலுத்தக்கூடிய நாகரீகமயமாதல் பற்றியும் விரிவாக கல்தான் தனது 'முகத்திமா' வில் வாதிட்டுள்ளார் (Soyer & Gilbert, 2012). எனவே, கிராமிய பாலைவன குடியிருப்பாளர்கள் என்று ஒரு தரப்பினரையும் நகரக் குடியிருப்பாளர்கள் என மற்றைய தரப்பினரையும் விபரித்து நோக்கும் கல்தான், இரண்டு சமூக அலகுகளான கிராமிய சமூகம் (*Badawa* [rural society]), நகர சமூகம் (*Hadara* [urban society]) எனும் இரட்டை வகையீட்டு (dualist typology) தத்துவத்தை சமூகவியலுக்குத் தந்தார் (Muqaddimah, 1958:250; cited in. Soyer & Gilbert, 2012:15) என்பதும் இங்கு அவரின் அறிவியல் பங்களிப்பை தெளிவாகக் காட்டுகின்றது.

முரண்பாட்டுக் கோட்பாடு: ஒரு சமூகத்தின் வளர்ச்சி, வீழ்ச்சி மற்றும் நாகரீகம் என்பவற்றின் மீது சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு 'அஸாபியாஹ்' (*Asabiyah* [social solidarity]) மிக முக்கிய பாத்திரத்தை வகிப்பதாக கல்தான் விளக்குகின்றார். எனவே, சமூகத்தின் ஆக்கமும் அழிவும் ஒருங்கிணைவை வைத்தே தீர்மானிக்கப்படுகின்றது என்பது இவரின் வாதமாகும். இதனால்தான் முரண்பாடு பற்றி கல்தான் முன்வைத்த கருத்துக்கள் சமூக ஒற்றுமையை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டிருந்தன. அதாவது சமூக ஒற்றுமை, ஒருபுறம் சமூகத்தில் குழு ரீதியான பிணைப்புக்களை உருவாக்கினாலும் மறுபுறம், சமூகக் குழுக்களை இல்லாமல் செய்கின்ற எதிர்மறைப் பண்பினையும் கொண்டுள்ளதாக கல்தான் கருதுகின்றார். இந்த ஒற்றுமை (அஸாபியாஹ்) கல்தானின் சமூக மாற்றத்தின் சுழற்சிமுறைக் கோட்பாட்டில் (cyclical theory of social change) முக்கிய இடத்தை வகிக்கின்றது. ஏனெனில் இந்த அஸாபியாஹ் என்பது மனித ஒழுங்கமைப்பினை மதிப்பீடு செய்கின்ற பூகோள கோட்பாட்டு மாதிரியாக (universal theoretical framework) காணப்பட்டதாக கல்தான் குறிப்பிடுகின்றார் (Soyer & Gilbert, 2012:15-16).

மேலும், 'அஸாபியாஹ்'வின் முக்கியத்துவம் பற்றி விளக்கும்போது, அதற்கு மக்கள் மத்தியில் ஒன்றிணைவதற்கான உணர்வுகள் (associative sentiment), குறிக்கோள் மிகுந்த ஐக்கியம் (unity of purpose), சமூக பொருளாதார விருப்புள்ள சமுதாயம் (community of social and economic interest), எல்லோரும் ஒன்று எனும் உணர்வு (oneness of feeling) போன்ற பண்புகள் அடிப்படையான அம்சங்களாக இருக்க வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தை கல்தான் முன்வைத்துள்ளார். இத்தகைய பண்புகள்தான் சமூகத்தில் மாற்றத்தைத் துரிதப்படுத்துகின்ற கருவிகளாக தொழிற்படுவதாக கல்தான் நம்பினார். ஒவ்வொரு சமூகமும் பாரம்பரிய நிலையிலிருந்து நாகரீகத்தின் உயர் நிலைக்கு மாற்றமடைந்து செல்கின்றது, அது கிராமத்திலிருந்து நகரத்துக்கு மாற்றமுறுகின்றது. இங்குதான் சமூக ஒற்றுமை (அஸாபியாஹ்) என்பது பாரிய வகியாகத்தைச் செலுத்துவதன் ஊடாக மனித நாகரீகம் எழுச்சியடைகின்ற, வீழ்ச்சியடைகின்ற இரு நிலைகளைக் கடக்கின்றது. இது சமூகத்தினது உயிர்ப்பு, வளர்ச்சி, முதிர்ச்சி, வீழ்ச்சி என பல படிநிலைகளில் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்துவதாக கல்தான் சுட்டிக்காட்டினார் (Ali, 1977). அதாவது, சமூகத்தில் ஏற்படும் மாற்றம், நாகரீகமாதல் என்பன மக்களின் ஒற்றுமையின் விளைவு என குறிப்பிடும் கல்தான் மக்கள் மத்தியில் குறைந்த தரத்தில் ஒருமைப்பாடு இருக்கும்போது அது அச்சமூகத்தினை பின்னோக்கி அல்லது வீழ்ச்சியை நோக்கி நகர்த்தும் எனும் கருத்தை வலியுறுத்தினார்.

இது தவிர, கல்தானின் பொருளாதாரக் கோட்பாடுகள் அரசுக்கு அழுத்தம் கொடுக்கும் அடிப்படையிலும் சமூக ஒழுக்கம், விழுமியம் சார்ந்த அடிப்படையிலும் அமைந்திருந்தமையை அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது. ஜோர்ஜ்டவுன் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தை (Georgetown University) சேர்ந்த பொருளாதார வல்லுனரும் வரலாற்றாசிரியருமான பேராசிரியர் இப்றாஹிம் ஒவெய்ஸ் (Professor Ibrahim Oweiss), இப்பனு கல்தானின் தொழிலாளர் கோட்பாடு குறித்து சுட்டிக்காட்டினார். இப்பனு கல்தான், தொழில் பிரிப்பு (division of labor), வரி (tax), பற்றாக்குறை மற்றும்

பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சி (scarcity and economic growth) பற்றிய கோட்பாடுகளை தெளிவாக முன்வைத்திருந்தார் (Irwin, 2014). அதேபோன்று வறுமையின் தோற்றம், வறுமைக்கான காரணிகள் பற்றி முதன் முதலில் ஆய்வு செய்தவர்களில் கல்தானும் ஒருவராவார். கல்தானின் கருத்துப்படி 'ஒழுக்கம் மற்றும் மனித விழுமியங்கள் அழிந்துபோனதன் விளைவாக வறுமை ஏற்பட்டது' என்றார் (Akhmad & Astuti, 2014). மேலும் நுகர்வு, அரசு முதலீடு போன்றவற்றில் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தும் காரணிகள் எவை என்பதை கல்தான் நோக்கினார். இது மொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தியின் (GDP) ஒரு சூத்திரமாகவும் அவதானிக்கப்பட்டது. வறுமை என்பது நிதி தொடர்பாக எடுக்கப்பட்ட தவறுதலான தீர்மானங்களால் ஏற்படுவதல்ல. அது ஏனைய புறக்காரணிகளின் விளைவாக ஏற்படுவதாகும். எனவே, வறுமையை ஒழிப்பதில் அரசாங்கம் கட்டாயம் ஈடுபட வேண்டும் என கல்தான் வாதிட்டார் (Akhmad & Astuti, 2014). மேற்கத்தேய சிந்தனையாளர்கள், குறிப்பிட்ட அடிப்படையில் கல்தானின் பணிகள் அவரது பங்களிப்புகளை ஒப்புக்கொள்கின்றார்கள். எனினும், கல்தானின் பொருளாதார கருத்துக்கள் பற்றி பண்டைய பொருளியலாளர்கள் எவ்வளவு தூரம் அறிவார்கள் என்பது தெளிவின்றி காணப்படுகின்றது.

எனவே, வட-ஆபிரிக்காவின் அராபிய முரண்பாட்டுச் சூழலிலிருந்து 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு இத்தகைய கருத்துக்களை, கோட்பாடுகளை முன்மொழிவது பாரிய பணியாக இருந்தாலும் இப்போது கல்தானுக்கு அது சாத்தியமாக இருந்திருக்கின்றது. ஐரோப்பிய-மையப் போக்குகள் ஆபிரிக்க சமூகத்தின் கருத்துக்களுக்கு உருவம் கொடுக்க 14 தொடக்கம் 17ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுகளில் சற்று தாமதித்திருந்தாலும் பிற்பட்ட 19ஆம் மற்றும் 20, 21ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுகளின் வரலாற்றில், சமூகவியலில், பொருளியலில் கல்தான் முன்வைத்த கருத்துக்கள் பலராலும் எடுத்தாராயப்பட்டுள்ளதனை அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது.

நோக்கம் 02: கல்தானிய சிந்தனை மரபு மற்றும் அவரின் கருத்துக்கள் மீதமுந்த விமர்சனங்களை ஆராய்தல்

இப்போது கல்தானின் கோட்பாட்டு மரபும் விமர்சனங்களும்

இப்போது கல்தானின் வரலாற்று முறையியலை அவரின் காலத்தில் மிகக் குறைவானவர்களே பின்பற்றினர். இப்போது கல்தான் சமய விஞ்ஞான பரப்பில் பிக்ஹூ (Jurisprudence) துறையில் சிறந்த விரிவுரையாளராக இருந்தபோது குறிப்பிட்ட சில மாணவர்களே அவரின் 'முகத்திமா' பற்றி அறிந்திருந்ததுடன், அதன் செல்வாக்குக்கும் உட்பட்டிருந்தனர். அத்தகைய மாணவர்களுள் அல்-மக்ரிசி (Al-Maqrisi) கல்தானின் முகத்திமா பற்றி பாராட்டியிருந்தார். எனினும், அத்தகைய பாராட்டுக்களை பல புலமையாளர்கள் அறிந்திருந்தும் கூட கல்தானின் முறையியலைப் பற்றிய குறைவான புரிதலை அவர்களிடம் காணப்பட்டது (Simon, 2002).

எனினும், இப்போது கல்தான் அவரது சமகாலத்தவர்களின் விமர்சனங்களுக்கும் உட்பட்டிருந்தார். குறிப்பாக, இப்போது ஹஜர் அல்-அஸ்கலானி (Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalani) குறிப்பிடுகையில் 'இப்போது

கல்தான் எகிப்தில் மதிக்கப்பட்ட மரபுகளையும் அங்கிருந்த பாரம்பரிய சட்டங்கள், ஆடை அமைப்புகள் போன்றவற்றையும் எதிர்த்திருந்தார். எனவே, மக்கள் பெரும் விருப்பத்துடன் ஏற்றுக்கொண்ட மரபுகளை எதிர்ப்பது அல்லது விமர்சிப்பது பாரிய கவனயீர்ப்பை ஏற்படுத்தும். இத்தகைய எதிர்ப்புவாதம்தான் கல்தானின் பணிகள் பேசப்பட்டதற்கும் வரவேற்பைப் பெற்றதற்கும் காரணமாக இருந்திருக்கும்' என விமர்சித்தார். அதேபோன்று, அரபு இலக்கிய எழுத்தாளர் அல்-ஜஹிஸ் (Al-Jahiz), 'வரலாறு தொடர்பில் குறைந்தளவான அறிவு, பொருத்தமற்ற தலைப்பு, சிறந்த ஒழுங்கமைப்பின்மை போன்றன கல்தானின் பணிகளில் காணப்பட்டது' என விமர்சனம் செய்துள்ளார்.

17ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் உதுமானிய பேரரசில் இருந்த புலமையாளர்கள் இப்போது கல்தானின் பணிகள் சிலவற்றை அங்கீகரித்தனர். குறிப்பாக, துருக்கிய உதுமானிய பேரரசின் வரலாற்றாசிரியர் முஸ்தபா நய்மா (Mustafa Naima) உதுமானிய பேரரசை விபரிப்பதற்கு இப்போது கல்தான் முன்வைத்த 'பேரரசுகளின் எழுச்சி, வீழ்ச்சி பற்றிய சமூகமுறைக் கோட்பாட்டை (Khalidun's 'cyclical theory of the rise and fall of empires') பயன்படுத்த முயற்சித்தார் (Simon, 2002).

ஐரோப்பாவில் இப்போது கல்தானின் சுயசரிதை 1697ல் வெளியான போது மேற்குலக கவனயீர்ப்பு கல்தான் மீது ஏற்பட்டது (Alatas, 2013). அதனைத் தொடர்ந்து 1806ல் முகத்திமாவின் ஒரு மொழிபெயர்ப்பும் பகுதியுடன் இணைந்ததாக இப்போது கல்தானின் சுயசரிதையை சில்வெஸ்ட்ரே டி சஸி (Silvestre De Sacy) பிரசுரித்தபோது இப்போது கல்தானின் மீதான பார்வை மேற்கு நாடுகளில் அதிகம் எழுந்தது (Enan, 2007). பின்னர், 1816ல் மீண்டும் சில்வெஸ்ட்ரே டி சஸி, முகத்திமா பற்றிய மேலதிகமான விளக்கத்துடன் கல்தானின் சுயசரிதையை பிரசுரித்தார். முகத்திமாவின் ஒவ்வொரு அத்தியாயத்தின் மொழிபெயர்ப்பும் தொடர்ச்சியாக வெளியிடப்பட்டபோது இப்போது கல்தானின் பணியினை விசேஷ கவனத்துடன் பரந்தளவில் மேற்குலகில் ஆராயத் தொடங்கினர் (Enan, 2007).

ஆரம்ப காலத்தில் இப்போது கல்தான் பற்றிய ஐரோப்பியர்களின் கருத்துக்கள் மற்றும் கற்கைகள் மீது காலணித்துவத்தின் தாக்கம் இருந்தது. இதனால் ஐரோப்பிய ஆய்வாளர்கள் பல பிரச்சினைகளை எதிர்கொண்டனர். அத்தோடு 19ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் வட-ஆபிரிக்காவின் அறிவியல் அம்சங்களை படிப்பது பெறுமதி அற்றது என அதிகமான சமூகவியலாளர்கள் கருதினர். மேலும், பெரும்பாலான சமூகவியலாளர்களின் பார்வையில் இப்போது கல்தான் வட-ஆபிரிக்காவின் சமூகவியலாளர் (Sociologist of North Africa) எனக் கருதுவதே பொருத்தமானது என்ற கருத்தையும் வலுவாக முன்வைத்தனர் (Simon, 2002).

றினோல்ட் ஏ. நிக்கல்சன் (Reynold A. Nicholson) என்பவர், 'இப்போது கல்தான் ஒரு தனித்துவமான, திறமை மிக்க முஸ்லிம் சமூகவியலாளர்' என குறிப்பிட்டு அங்கீகரித்தார். எனினும், கல்தானின் பணிகள் குறிப்பிட்டுக் கூறும் அளவுக்கு கவனத்தில் எடுக்கப்படவில்லை எனவும் சுட்டிக்காட்டினார் (Alatas, 2013).

எப்பானிய (Spania) தத்துவவியலாளர் ஜோஸ் ஓர்டேகே கெஸ்ஸட் (Jose Ortegay Gasset) குறிப்பிடுகையில், ஆபிரிக்க சிந்தனைகள் குறைவாக எழுந்தமைக்கு வட-ஆபிரிக்காவில் இடம்பெற்ற அரசியல் முரண்பாடு காரணமாக இருந்தது. எனினும், இப்பனு கல்தான அத்தகைய சூழ்நிலையிலும் நாடோடி வாழ்க்கைக்கும் இயல்பு வாழ்க்கைக்கும் இடையிலான தொடர்பினை முரண்பாட்டுக் கோட்பாட்டின் மூலம் இலகுவாக விளக்கியுள்ளார் எனவும் பாராட்டப்படுகின்றார் (Alatas, 2007 & 2013).

நவீன வரலாற்று ஆசிரியர்களின் கருத்துப்படி, குறிப்பாக பிரித்தானிய வரலாற்றியலாளர் ஆர்னோல்ட் ஜோசப் தொய்ன்பீ (Arnold Joseph Toynbee) குறிப்பிடுகையில், கல்தானின் முகத்திமா ஒரு சிறந்த அறிவியல் பணியாகும் (Encyclopedia Britannica; 15th eds: 9:14). மேலும், பிரித்தானிய தத்துவவியலாளர் ரொபர்ட் பிலிண்ட் (Robert Flint), இப்பனு கல்தானை ஒரு வரலாற்று ஆசிரியராக, சமூகவியலாளராக அங்கீகரிக்கின்றார். இத்தகைய அங்கீகாரங்களுடன் சில விமர்சனங்களும் ஒரு புலமையாளர் என்ற ரீதியில் கல்தானின் மீதும் அவரின் கருத்துக்கள் மீதும் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டன. எனினும், அராபிய முஸ்லிம் அறிவியல் பாரம்பரியத்தில் பெறுமதிமிக்க பல பங்களிப்பினைச் செய்ததன் மூலம் இப்பனு கல்தான 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் மட்டுமன்றி தற்காலத்திலும் ஒரு வரலாற்றியலாளராக, சமூகவியலாளராக, அரசியல்-பொருளியல் புலமையாளராக கருதப்பட்டுவருகின்றார்.

சுழற்சிமுறைக் கோட்பாடு (cyclical theory) என்பது புதிய விடயம் அல்ல. அது கிரேக்க காலத்திலும் பேசப்பட்டுவந்த ஒரு விடயமாகும். சுழற்சிமுறை வரலாறு அல்லது சுழற்சிமுறை கோட்பாடு அரிஸ்டோட்டில் போன்றோராலும் பிரபலமாக பேசப்பட்டுள்ளது. அதுபோன்று பிளேட்டோ, ஸ்டேட்ஸ்மென், திமாயுஸ் மற்றும் கிரிடியாஸ் (Plato, Statesman, Timaeus and Critias) போன்றோரால் பல்வேறு கலந்துரையாடலுக்கு உட்பட்டுள்ளதை அவதானிக்கலாம். எனவே சுழற்சிமுறைக் கோட்பாட்டை முன்வைத்த பல்வேறு தத்துவவியலாளர்களுள் இப்பனு கல்தானும் பிரபலமான ஒருவர். குறிப்பாக 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் இஸ்லாமிய கல்வியியலாளர், வரலாற்றியலாளர் என்பதுடன் அவர் சமூகம், அரசியல் பற்றிய பங்களிப்புகளை அதிகம் செய்தவர் என குறிப்பிடலாம் (Onder & Ulasan, 2018).

இப்பனு கல்தானின் கோட்பாடுகள் மதச்சார்பின்மையை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டதா அல்லது சரியான மத வழிமுறை சார்ந்ததா, உண்மையில் அவர் ஒரு சமூகவியலாளரானா, மத்தியகால சமூகத்தில் இவர் சமூகவியலாளராக பணியாற்றியவரா, நவீன சமூகவியல் ஆய்வாளர் எனக் கொள்ளலாமா, நவீன சமூகத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட மாற்றங்கள் தொடர்பில் இவர் கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்துள்ளாரா என பல கேள்விகள் தொடுக்கப்படுகின்றன. என்றாலும் வரலாற்றை விவரிப்பதற்கு அவர் சமூகவியல் விபரங்களை முன்வைத்தார். அத்துடன், வரலாற்றை விளக்கும் சமூகவியலுக்கான புதிய மொழியை, வடிவத்தை விருத்தி செய்தார். எனினும், அத்தகைய கருத்துக்களை முன்மொழியும் போதும் சமூக மாற்றத்தின் உடாக வரலாற்றை விவரிக்கும் போதும் மதம் சார்ந்த கருத்துக்களையும்,

மதம் சாரா கருத்துகளையும் கொண்டு விளக்கினார் (Shahidipak, 2020). இந்த முறையியல் சமூகவியல் சிந்தனையாளர்கள் பலரால் கேள்விக்கு உட்படுத்தப்பட்டும் விமர்சிக்கப்பட்டும் வந்தது. எனவே இப்பனு கல்தானை சமூகவியலாளராக ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளும் சிந்தனையாளர்கள் மத்தியிலும் அவரின் கருத்துக்கள் தொடர்பாக விமர்சனங்கள் உள்ளன.

இப்பனு கல்தானை மேற்கால சமூகவியலின் தந்தை என அங்கீகரித்த போதிலும் அவரின் பணிகள் தற்கால நவீன சமூகவியல் பரப்பில் பெரும்பாலும் அங்கீகரிக்கப்படவில்லை. கல்தானின் பணிகள் வரலாறு, மெய்யியல், சமூகவியல், அரசியல் விஞ்ஞானம் மற்றும் கல்வி போன்ற துறைகளில் பாரிய செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்துகின்றன. இவரது பெரும்பாலான நூல்கள் கிழக்கிலும் மேற்கிலும் அதிகமான மொழிகளில் மொழிபெயர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதனால்தான் பேராசிரியர் கம் புளோஸ் (Gum Ploughs) மற்றும் கொலோசியோ (Kolosio) குறிப்பிடுகையில், கல்தானின் முகத்திமா, ஒரு நூற்றாண்டின் பின்னர் மக்கியவல்லியினால் எழுதப்பட்ட “The Prince” (இளவரசன்) எனும் நூலிலும் பார்க்க முதன்மையானதாக கருதப்படுகின்றது என குறிப்பிடுகின்றார் (Shahidipak, 2020). இப்பனு கல்தானின் சமூகவியல் புலமை பற்றி சாஹிட்பக் (2020) தனது ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரையில் பின்வருமாறு விபரிக்கின்றார்.

1. இப்பனு கல்தான தனது முகத்திமாவில் மனித சமூகம் பற்றிய அடிப்படைக் கோட்பாடுகள் மற்றும் 7 தொடக்கம் 15ம் நூற்றாண்டு வரை இஸ்லாமிய நாகரீகத்தின் மனித வரலாற்றுக் காரணிகளை விபரிக்கின்றார்.
2. மனித சமூக வரலாறு குறித்த இப்பனு கல்தானின் கருத்துக்கள் புதிய சிந்தனைகளாக ஏற்கப்பட்டன. அத்துடன் அவர், முன் நவீன காலத்து நாகரீகம் குறித்த முதலாவது சிறந்த பகுப்பாய்வாளராக கொள்ளப்படுகிறார்.
3. சமூகவியல் அடிப்படைக் கருத்துக்களை இப்பனு கல்தான பயன்படுத்தினார். குறிப்பாக சமூக கட்டமைப்பு (social structure), இது 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் கூட சமூகவியலின் மையப் பொருளாக விளங்கியது. இதே விடயத்தை 400 ஆண்டுகள் கழித்து ஸ்பென்சர் (Spencer) 1858ல் பயன்படுத்தினார். சமூக கட்டமைப்பு பற்றி விபரிக்க உரிய எண்ணக்கருக்களை முகத்திமா எனும் நூலில் இருந்து 20ஆம் 21ஆம் நூற்றாண்டைய புலமையாளர்கள் பயன்படுத்தி உள்ளனர் (Shahidipak, 2020).

இத்தகைய அடிப்படையில் இப்பனு கல்தானின் பணிகள் சமூகவியல் சார்ந்த பல்வேறு விவரங்களை வரலாற்றில் கொண்டுநுந்தாலும் அவை மேற்கால ஆதிக்கப் போக்கினால் பெரிதும் பலவீனப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன என்றே கருதவேண்டியுள்ளது.

பிரதான பெறுகைகள்

ஆய்வின் இரண்டு நோக்கங்களும் அடையப்பெறும் அடிப்படையில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட பகுப்பாய்வு, கலந்துரையாடல்கள் மூலம்

நோக்கும்போது பின்வரும் முக்கிய விடயங்கள் இக்கட்டுரையின் பிரதான பெறுபேறுகளாக கண்டறியப்பட்டுள்ளன.

1. ‘முகத்திமா’ (*Muqaddimah*): அரபுலக வரலாற்றில் (வட-ஆபிரிக்க இஸ்லாமிய மரபில்) மிகக் குறுகிய ஆறு மாதங்களுக்குள் எழுதப்பட்ட நூல். இது வரலாற்றுச் சமூகவியலில் பெரும் பேசுபொருளாக அமைந்துள்ளது. இது கல்தானிய அடிப்படைச் சூத்திரமாக அமைந்துள்ளது. அத்துடன் முகத்திமாவில்தான் சமூகவியல், அரசியல், வரலாற்றியல் தொடர்பான பல்வேறு கருத்துக்களை கல்தான் விபரித்துள்ளமை இக்கட்டுரையில் விரிவாக ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளது.
2. ‘அஸாபியாஹ்’ (*Asabiyah*): சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவு (சமூக நல்லிணக்கம், சமூக ஒற்றுமை) மூலம் உறவுமுறைக் குழுக்கள், பழங்குடியினர் மத்தியில் காணப்பட்ட இடைவினை மற்றும் அதிகாரத்தை கைப்பற்றும் குழுக்கள் பற்றிய கல்தானின் கருத்துக்கள் ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளன.
3. சமூக மாற்றம்: இரு பெரும் சமூகக் கூறுகளாக விளங்கும் கிராமிய சமூகம் (*Badawa*), நகர சமூகம் (*Hadara*) போன்றவற்றுக்கிடையிலான வேறுபாடுகள் மற்றும் அவற்றுக்கிடையில் ஏற்படும் மாற்றங்கள் குறித்த வாதம் கல்தானிய சிந்தனை அடிப்படையில் இங்கு முன்வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அத்துடன் சமூகவியல் கண்ணோட்டத்தில் நோக்கும்போது கல்தான், இடம்பெயர்ந்த (நாடோடி) வாழ்க்கைக்கும் இயல்பான வாழ்க்கைக்கும் இடையிலான வேறுபாட்டை ஆராய்ந்துள்ளமையும் இங்கு கண்டறியப்பட்டுள்ளது.
4. அரசியல் ஒழுங்கமைப்புக்கள் (political organization), அரசாங்கம் (government), மற்றும் போராட்ட வீரர்கள் ஒரு நகரத்தைக் கைப்பற்றும்போது ஏற்படும் தவிர்க்கமுடியாத அதிகார இழப்பு (Loss of power) பற்றியும் கல்தான் விவாதித்துள்ளார்.
5. அரசாட்சிகள், அதிகாரங்கள் போன்றவற்றில் ஏற்படும் மாற்றங்கள் குறித்து விளக்கும் கல்தானின், ‘சாம்ராச்சியங்களின் எழுச்சி, வீழ்ச்சி குறித்த சுழற்சி முறைக் கோட்பாடு’ (cyclical theory of the rise and fall of empires) முக்கிய அறிவியல் பணியாகவுள்ளமை இக்கட்டுரையில் நோக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.
6. பூகோள வரலாறு, மனிதப் பண்புகள், சமூகம், சமூகக் கட்டமைப்பு, உறவுமுறைகள், சமூகக் குழுக்கள் போன்ற பல்வேறு கருத்துக்கள் மூலம் கல்தான் சமூகவியல் அறிவை அரபுலகுக்கு 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு தந்துள்ளார் என்பதும் இதில் தெளிவாக ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளது.
7. பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகள் குறித்தும் தொழிற் பிரிப்பு, வரி, பொருளாதார விருத்தி, வறுமை, வறுமைக்கான காரணம்,

வறுமையை குறைப்பதில் அரசாங்கம் கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டிய பங்களிப்புக்கள், மனித விழுமியத்துக்கும் வறுமைக்குமுள்ள தொடர்பு போன்ற பல்வேறு அரசியல், பொருளாதார, சமூகவியல் கருத்துக்கள் இங்கு சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளன.

8. கல்தானின் கோட்பாட்டு மரபில் அவரின் கருத்துக்கள், பணிகள் என்பன பல விமர்சனங்களுக்கு உட்பட்டமை இக்கட்டுரையில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அத்துடன் கல்தானின் கோட்பாட்டு மரபுக்கு கிடைக்கப்பெற்ற ஆதரவு, அங்கீகாரம் என்பனவும் இக்கட்டுரையில் நோக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

எனவே, இக்கட்டுரை கல்தானின் பணிகள் எனும் அடிப்படையில் பிரதானமாக அவரின் சமூகவியல் பங்களிப்புக்களையும் ஏனைய அறிவியல் கருத்துக்களையும் ஆராய்ந்து விபரித்துள்ளது.

முடிவுரை

இக்கட்டுரையில் 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் புலமையாளர் இப்னு கல்தானின் அறிவியல் பணிகள் எடுத்தாராயப்பட்டுள்ளன. அடிப்படையில் இக்கட்டுரை சமூகவியல் பின்புலத்தில் நின்று கல்தானின் முக்கிய பங்களிப்புக்கள் குறித்து ஆராய்ந்து பெறுபேறுகளை, கல்தானியல்களை முன்வைத்துள்ளது. கட்டுரையின் பிரதான நோக்கம் எனும் அடிப்படையில் இப்னு கல்தானின் வரலாற்று படைப்புக்கள் கொண்டிருந்த சமூகவியல் பங்களிப்புக்கள் ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளன. குறிப்பாக, முகத்திமா (*Muqaddimah*) எனும் வரலாற்று நூல் மற்றும் அதன் மூலம் முன்வைத்த அறிவியல் வாதங்கள், அஸாபியாஹ் (*asabiyah*) எனும் சமூக ஒருங்கிணைவுக் கோட்பாடு, சமூக மாற்றத்தின் சுழற்சிமுறை (*cyclical pattern of social change*) முரண்பாட்டுக் கோட்பாடு (*conflict theory*), நவீன விஞ்ஞானம் (*modern science*) போன்றவற்றை இக்கட்டுரை ஆராய்ந்துள்ளது. மேலும், கல்தானின் கருத்துக்கள் மீது பல விமர்சனங்கள் எழுந்திருப்பினும் அவரின் கோட்பாடுகள் அனைத்தும் நூற்றாண்டுகளைக் கடந்து பேசப்பட்டும், ஆராயப்பட்டும், விவாதிக்கப்பட்டும் வருகின்றமை அவரின் அறிவியல் பணி காலங்கள் கடந்து நிலைத்து நிற்கின்றமையைக் காட்டுகின்றது. பல்வேறு அறிஞர்களின் கருத்துக்களில் இருந்து நோக்கும் போது இப்னு கல்தான் சமூகவியலுக்கு 14ஆம் நூற்றாண்டில் பல்வேறு பங்களிப்புக்களை செலுத்தியுள்ளமை மனம்கொள்ளத்தக்கதாகும். எனினும், கைத்தொழில் புரட்சிக்கு பிந்திய ஐரோப்பிய-மையவாதம் அரபுலக இஸ்லாமிய (வட-ஆபிரிக்க) தத்துவவியலாளரின் கருத்துகளை சமூகவியலுக்குள் கொண்டுவர முடியாமல் போயுள்ளது. அதற்கு காலணித்துவ சூழல், ஆபிரிக்காவில் ஏற்பட்ட முரண்பாடு, சாம்ராஜ்ஜிய அரசியல் சிதைவுகள் உட்பட வேறு காரணங்களும் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தியுள்ளன. எவ்வாறெனினும், முன்-நவீனத்துவ காலத்தில் (pre-modern period) வாழ்ந்த முன்னோடியான முஸ்லிம் புலமையாளர் என இப்னு கல்தான் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றார் (Rameez, 2018:45). எனவே, கல்தானின் பணிகள் வரலாற்றை எழுதுவதற்கும் சமூக நிகழ்வுகளை புரிந்துகொள்வதற்கும் தேவையான புதிய முறையியலை (new methodology) சமூகத்துக்கு தந்திருந்தது. ஆகவே, சாம்ராஜ்ஜிய அரசாங்கங்களுக்கு அரசியல் கருத்துக்களை

முன்வைத்தமை. பொருளாதார மறுசீரமைப்புக்குரிய கோட்பாடுகளை முன்மொழிந்தமை. புகோள மனித வரலாறு குறித்து சமூகவியல் பார்வையில் கருத்துக்களை. கோட்பாடுகளை அறிமுகம் செய்தமை போன்ற பல்வேறு பாரிய பங்களிப்புகள் மூலம் ஒரு சிறந்த வரலாற்றாசிரியராக. தத்துவவியலாளராக. சமூகவியல் புலமையாளராக மட்டுமன்றி ஒரு சிறந்த மறுமலர்ச்சியாளராகவும் இப்பனு கல்தான் வரலாற்றில் தடம்பதித்துள்ளார் என்பதை இக்கட்டுரை முடிவாக உரைக்கின்றது.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The tea dance: a choreographic representation of Tamil tea plantation workers within the modern Sri Lankan folk dance repertoire

Sudesh Mantillake*

Department of Fine Arts, Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

Abstract: This paper reports on an ongoing research project on the popular dance choreography, “The Tea Dance.” In the 1980s and 90s, the tea dance was incorporated in a large number of cultural shows put up in Sri Lanka and abroad. As such, the tea dance often appears in the Sri Lanka National Day celebrations held in foreign countries. The Sinhala dance teachers in the public schools of Sri Lanka introduced the tea dance to their students as a folk dance of the Up-country Tamils of Sri Lanka. However, while exploring the genealogy of Sri Lankan dance critically, I realised that there was no such dance called the “tea dance” among the Tamils. Based on the several interviews I had with artists, the documentary evidences gathered from libraries, the visuals witnessed in video form and my own personal experience as a dancer, this research study examines the so-called tea dance and traces its relatively recent origins. The history of the choreography of the tea dance within the context of the Sinhala folk dance discourse in Sri Lanka was studied. It was revealed that the tea dance presents a seriously problematic portrayal of the Up-country Tamils of Sri Lanka. It is argued that Sinhala choreographers such as Panibharata, Sri Jayana, and K.S. Fernando created the “tea dance” for the first time to represent Sri Lankan Up-country Tamils on stage in the 1970s, under the choreographic model used to create the Sinhala “folk dances.” In effect, they choreographed their imagination of the lifestyle of the women and men who work on tea plantations, portraying them comically, and ignoring the stark socio-economic realities they are forced to struggle with.

Keywords: Tea Dance, folk dance, nationalism, Sinhala, Up-country Tamil

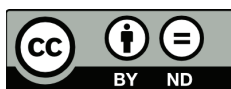
INTRODUCTION

“*Jenaku jenan, tanaku jenan, Jenaku jenan, tanaku jenan...*” the fast-moving, fun beat dominant in the “The Dance” (*te dalu nātuma*) takes me back to our dance training sessions in the 1990s when we used to enjoy it. To create the rhythm of the music, we used the *thammattama*, the *geta beraya* and the *yak beraya*, three drums used in traditional dances practised by the Sinhala people of Sri Lanka.

In the program of a dance troupe which travelled to the US to celebrate the Sri Lanka National Day in 2000, the tea dance was mentioned as “Tea Plucker Dance” (‘Folk Dances of Sri Lanka’, 2000). This tour was organised by the Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs, Sri Lanka. In 2011, at the 63rd Independence Day Celebration concert sponsored by the Sri Lanka Consulate in Los Angeles, USA, and the Sri Lankan diaspora, the Swara Dahan Dance Troupe staged the tea dance performance. The compeer announced, “Ceylon tea, with its distinct taste and character has now become every consumer’s favourite cup. The next performance reflects a typical picture of tea pluckers and their supervisors” (Nalika, 2011).

When I studied in a Sinhala-medium government school in Sri Lanka in the 1990s, our dancing teachers

*Corresponding author (sudeshm@arts.pdn.ac.lk  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2436-897X>)



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introduced the tea dance as a folk dance that portrayed the Up-country Tamils of Sri Lanka. One of my dance teachers choreographed the tea dance for a stage show in which I played the role of a supervisor on a tea plantation (a *kangāni*). When I reflect on my past experience, I notice a certain formula for choreographing the tea dance. Female tea pluckers (as they were called) and their sexually abusive male supervisors were imagined and choreographed in the tea dance, which was presented as a romantic dance with a fast beat. Ignorant of its gender and political connotations, at that time, I thought the tea dance was an extremely amusing and funny type of dance. Although it was such for a Sinhalese like me, the tea dance actually presents a very controversial portrayal of the Up-country Tamils of Sri Lanka.

Although there were various ethnic groups in Sri Lanka by the 19th century, adding increased diversity to the country, British colonial administrators brought groups of Tamil people from India for plantation work in Sri Lanka between the 1830s and 1930s. They had to operate as indentured labourers and were officially identified as “Indian Tamils” by the colonial government, and today, they are loosely identified as “Up-country Tamils.” They have also been referred to as Malayaha Tamils, hill country Tamils, or plantation Tamils. Even today, most of the Up-country Tamils live and work on tea plantations (Bass & Skanthakumar, 2019, p. xv). Although some of them have been able to move away from tea plantation work, a significant proportion of their population lives and works on the tea estates and is paid very low wages.

In her book *Tea and Solidarity: Tamil Women and Work in Postwar Sri Lanka*, Mythri Jegathesan (2019) mounts a powerful critique of the stereotypical image of the Tamil plantation workers. She criticizes the manner in which the representation of plantation women has been reproduced for commercial purposes, without considering the lived experiences of those women. In contrast with the fixed narratives about plantation workers, Jegathesan (2019) highlights the desires and future expectations of the youth living on plantations. The tea plantation community has been socially, politically, and economically exploited and one of the most marginalised communities in both colonial and postcolonial Sri Lanka, despite the fact that they have so long played a significant role in both colonial and postcolonial economies. Their marginalisation is evident by their very low socio-economic indicators. As Martin (2020, p. 5) points out that Up-country Tamils suffer from food insecurity and malnutrition and their women have the lowest Body-Mass-Index (BMI) in the country. After the independence, there were legislative moves

to deny Sri Lankan citizenship to the members of these communities. The tea dance exemplifies that even their cultural life has been appropriated. Instead of portraying the stark realities that the plantation community is faced with in everyday life, the majoritarian Sinhala choreographers have theatricalized plantation workers, exoticizing and sexualizing them.

After the country gained independence from the British in 1948, Sri Lankans struggled to define their national identity as an independent nation, like many other former colonies. Since most English-educated ruling elite in the country were Sinhalese, Sri Lanka was re-constructed as a Sinhala nation (Reed, 2010) in the 1950s. The Sinhala nationalists, who embarked on defining the Sinhala cultural landscape in the second half of the 20th century, attempted to develop their own national arts going by their folkloric roots. In the Sinhala national cultural milieu, the Sinhala elite promoted dancers and choreographers such as Panibharata, Sri Jayana, and K.S. Fernando who were encouraged to create a dance repertoire (unique) to Sri Lanka. These “Sinhala folk dances” showcased Ceylon/Sri Lanka in international cultural events. After the 1970s, the tea dance emerged and developed into a “folk dance”, romantically showcasing the Up-country Tamil livelihoods.

After the 1970s, various dance repertoires were staged, representing the different ethnic groups in Sri Lanka under the banner of “multi-cultural shows.” The organisers and choreographers staged the tea dance to represent the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, while they staged the Kandyan, Lowcountry, and Sabaragamuwa dance forms to represent the Sinhala people. At school, I was taught that their everyday occupational life inspired the villagers to perform Sri Lankan folk dances such as the rice harvesting dance (*goyam nātuma*), winnowing-fan dance (*kulu nātuma*), water pot dance (*kalagedi nātuma*), and tea dance (*te dalu nātuma*).

Moreover, as a dance student, I internalised that the “tea dance” is a Tamil folk dance as it was omnipresent on stage representing the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. It has also become a very popular dance, especially among the Sri Lankan diasporic performers. It seems to appeal to the Sinhala people living abroad because of its connection with Ceylon Tea. Only later did I begin to question the definitions and choreographies of Sri Lankan “folk dances” and realised that there is no dance called “tea dance” performed by the Tamils.

According to dance scholar Mudiyanse Dissanayake (2009, pp. 109–110), the Up-country Tamil communities practice folk dances such as *karagam*, *kolattam*, *pinnal*

kolattam, kummi, sembu, ulawar nadanam, deepa nadanam, oyil attam, wal nadanam, kurawar nadanam, sulangu nadanam, villu pattu, and silambadi. However, they have nothing to do with the tea dance. As a person who has worked on Up-country tea plantations, Dissanayake (2009, p. 144) confirms that no government has supported the arts belonging to the Tamil plantation workers although they are rich with numerous cultural forms. Instead, Sri Lankan governments promoted the tea dance through Independence Day celebrations.

This ongoing research intends to deconstruct the so-called tea dance and trace its recent origins. The research methodology includes a number of data collection methods: interviews; with the artists, archival research; documentary evidence gathered from libraries and videos, and the visuals witnessed. My personal experiences as a dancer and a choreographer have also been utilized to understand this dance form. Although the tea dance stages a deeply controversial portrayal of the Up-country Tamils of Sri Lanka, the pedagogy of the choreography used in it lies elsewhere. Therefore, in this paper, I examine the history of the choreography of the tea dance within the context of the Sinhala folk dance discourse. I argue that using the choreographic model they used to fashion Sinhala “folk dances,” the Sinhala choreographers created the “tea dance” to represent the Sri Lankan Up-country Tamils on stage. In this dance, they choreograph the imagined life of the women and men who work on tea plantations, portraying it comically, and ignoring the stark reality behind their lives. The collective imagination of the national elite and their invention of the traditions can be theorized with reference to the works of Benedict Anderson (1991), Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983). However, to analyse the cultural national choreographic processes within the tea dance, it is necessary to move beyond such theoretical assertions.

Tea Dance within Sri Lanka’s folk dance framework

The invention of the folk dance in Sri Lanka needs to be discussed against the backdrop of the Sinhala nation-building process in the early and mid-twentieth century. As Benedict Anderson (1991) argues, it is the individuals of a community who imagine the constructs of their nation, and therefore, the nation is actually an imagined political community. Thus, it is accepted that the image of a nation is constructed through artistic, literary, and cultural products. Accordingly, in the tea dance, which I am going to characterize later, the Sinhala majoritarian choreographers have not only formulated their own Sinhala cultural identity through Sinhala folk dance but also have gone up to the imagining of the Up-country Tamil identity as well as the multicultural identity of Sri

Lanka, on a rather superficial level. This can be perceived with reference to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), who convincingly assert, that while theorising the invention of tradition, some cultural practices that appear to be old and are considered traditional, can be recent inventions.

Accordingly, the tea dance, in which the Sinhala dancers impersonate the Tamil tea plantation workers, has won a traditional status within the practice of performing arts in Sri Lanka. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s, the national-level cultural shows organised by the Sinhala communities rarely missed the tea dance from their repertoires. This exemplifies Jill Lane’s (2008) premise about the connection between the theatrical impersonation and national representation, in which she asserts that this can be identified as ‘ImpersoNation’, as a central cultural practice that has contributed to the development of various national discourses. This, as a cultural practice, applies to Sri Lanka as well, in the context of her multicultural folk dance concerts.

To perceive what happens in the tea dance in Sri Lanka, we need to build a new framework combining and expanding the theoretical articulations of Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). Combining their two theoretical articulations, we can assert that the Sinhala choreographers invented most Sinhala folk dances to satisfy their imagined community. However, to understand the tea dance that represents the Up-country Tamils, we need to come up with a combined theorisation, using Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). Because the tea dance is not an invention of the Up-country Tamil community of Sri Lanka, and in fact, it is an invention by the dominant Sinhala community representing “the other”. Here, the Sinhala majoritarian community imagines and invents a dance form supposedly of the Up-country Tamils to demonstrate the work and lifestyle of the Tamil community identified with the plantation system. The Sinhala dance community seems not only to have imagined themselves and their own dance forms but also have gone on to imagine and invent a dance form to represent another ethnic group with whom they have limited interaction.

In post-independence Sri Lanka, there developed separate Sinhala and Tamil revival movements that used to be in competition with each other. The Sinhala majoritarian government did not accept the Up-country Tamils as part of the citizenry. Even the Sri Lankan Jaffna Tamils did not accept the Up-country Tamils as an authentic component of the populace of Sri Lanka. After the Sinhala Buddhist landslide election victory in 1956, the Buddhist religion and the Sinhala language received official status through the legislation commonly called “Sinhala only Act.” The Sinhala cultural identity was

hierarchically placed higher than the Tamil identity by the nation-state. Harshana Rambukwella (2018, p. 137–152) asserts, the notion of “cultural authenticity” has always been politically motivated in post-independence Sri Lanka. One of the ways in which the Sinhala elite promoted authenticity was by connecting it to the village and the so-called folk culture and thereby promoting village dancers and drummers.

In the 1950s, with the emergence of Sinhala cultural nationalism, various artistic expressions were produced through theatre, film, music, painting, and dance. As I discussed elsewhere, against the backdrop of Sinhala cultural nationalism and national economic discourse, the Sinhala dancer, drummer, and the dance educator Panibharata invented a “folk dance” called the *goyam nātuma* (rice harvesting dance) to romantically portray the Sinhala rural community, consistent with the idea that “racial impersonation is the key to a persuasive sense of authentic national performance” (Lane, 2008, p. 1730). Thus, the Sinhala elite supported the fabrication of different kinds of folk dances to represent their national identity. In his *goyam nātuma*, Panibharata depicted the village as a simple, romantic, and joyous place which Shay (2002) identifies as “fun in the village” evident in the national folk dance ensembles in many countries. The *Goyam nātuma* became an archetype of the Sinhala folk choreography, where hardworking farming men and women were depicted as happy young people, establishing and promoting a romantic view of the various types of livelihoods of different communities.

Later Panibharata’s model of folk choreography became a pedagogical model for teaching folk dance in the public schools and dance academies in Sri Lanka. After his rice-harvesting dance, Panibharata, and his followers, created many different folk choreographies based on the different types of livelihoods of the people of Sri Lanka. The dissemination of Panibharata’s folk dance model also facilitated the Sinhala choreographers and dancers to create the so-called tea dance portraying the work and life of the Up-country Tamils.

Different choreographies of the tea dance

The Sinhala choreographers use romanticised and commercialised images of the tea plucking Tamil woman in the posters, magazines and travel promotions, to promote Ceylon Tea. The repertoire of the “tea dances” performed in Sri Lanka and elsewhere demonstrate at least four different categories of choreographies: 1) a dance that represents female tea plantation workers and their male supervisor (*kangāni*) performed to instrumental music popular among the Sinhalese; 2) a dance that represents female tea plantation workers and

the superintendent of the tea estate (*watte mayattaya*) to the popular Sinhala hit “Te Kudaya Pite Bendan Numba Enawa Kanda Udin”¹ sung by the two popular artists Freddie Silva and S. Kalawathi; 3) a dance that represents female tea plantation workers performing to other popular songs in Sinhala; 4) a dance that represents female tea plantation workers performing to instrumental music popular among the Sinhalese.

Although the tea dance was labelled as a Tamil dance, it should be noted that in all four of these tea dance categories, the choreographers and dancers who impersonate the Tamil plantation workers are Sinhala. Most of the time, the musicians are also of the Sinhala ethnic background. Professional dancers or dance students generally perform the first and the fourth categories of choreographies and mostly, non-professionals are involved in the second and third categories of choreographies produced for informal entertainment at events such as talent shows, elders’ club socials, and pre-school concerts.

The first category of choreography uses the *yak beraya*, *geta beraya*, *thammettama*, *daula*, and *horanewa*, the traditional musical instruments specifically associated with the Sinhala rituals and dance forms. In the dance, the females who impersonate Tamil plantation workers, enter the stage and engage in tea-plucking movements before the *kangāni*, the supervisor enters.

The second choreographic category is performed to the popular Sinhala song “Te kudaya pite bendan numba Enawa Kanda Udin” composed by the Sinhala lyricist and the music was composed by Stanley Peris (Bandara, 2021). The lyrics are in the form of a conversation between a tea estate superintendent and a young Tamil female tea plantation worker. The superintendent tries to insinuate the young woman to visit him secretly to initiate a sexual relationship and she refuses to cooperate with him with numerous excuses. This category is usually choreographed as a duet or as a group dance where a male character (representing the superintendent) interacts with a group of women.

In the third category of choreography, only the female tea plantation workers are represented. Choreographies of this category of tea dance are based on popular Sinhala songs such as “Udarata kandukara siriya paradana rubara muhuna obe” by Chithra Somapala and P.L.A. Somapala. This category generally romanticises the female plantation worker and her duties and acknowledges the contribution she makes to the national economy of Sri Lanka.

Professional female dancers generally perform the fourth category of choreography mentioned above.

Like in the first category, the music for this category is produced by instruments such as the *yak beraya*, *geta beraya*, *thammattama*, *daula*, and sometimes, *horanewa* which are associated with the Sinhala music. From the four categories of the tea dance mentioned above, the first category has been created and popularised by the Sinhala choreographers: Panibharata, Sri Jayana, and K.S. Fernando.

Panibharata, K.S. Fernando and the origin of the tea dance

The evidence suggests that the first ever tea dance was staged between 1977 and 1979. K.S. Fernando staged a tea dance around 1979, as witnessed by Waidyawathie Rajapaksa (2020), a former Lecturer at the University of the Visual and Performing Arts (UVPA). But it is challenged by (Dhammika Lankatilake 2021-personal communication 22 January), another Lecturer at the UVPA who claimed to be a dancer in the first tea dance. She claims that the tea dance, for the first time, was choreographed by Panibharata or Sri Jayana and staged at the Rama Krishna Hall in Colombo between 1977 and 1978 (Dhammika Lankatilake 2021-personal communication 22 January). Although both these individuals choreographed a number of tea dance performances, Lankatilake said she cannot exactly recall who did the first choreography, as she danced under both these choreographers around this time. However, according to Lankatilake, Panibharata's student Rajini Selvanayagam, also helped in training dancers. Without much evidence to support it, there is another claim that the first tea dance was staged in 1958 as a folk dance within a dance drama created by another Sinhala choreographer Premakumara Epatawala (Dissanayake & Kariyawasam, 2004, p. 155-156).

Panibharata choreographed the folk dances portraying the livelihood of the Sinhala villagers in the 1950s and made an extension by creating the tea dance to portray the occupational life of the Up-country Tamils. From the reports made by Rajapaksa (2020) and Lankatilake (2021), these choreographies belong to the first category of the tea dance where the female tea plantation workers interact with their supervisor (*kangāni*) to music produced with the instruments popular among the Sinhalese. It is possible that K.S. Fernando popularised the tea dance through the dance show organised to celebrate his 50th birthday.

K.S. Fernando is known as a dancer from a traditional dance family in the Southern coast of Sri Lanka. He showed a great interest in learning the traditional dance and staging it for modern audiences. Later, he became well-known for his choreographies on stage. Between

1957-1967, K.S. Fernando travelled to Russia, India, the United Kingdom, and Canada with well-known stage dancers such as Nittawela Gunaya, and Chitrasena Dias under the State Dance Ensemble of Sri Lanka (Dissanayake and Kariyawasam, 2004, p. 66–67). During these tours, he represented the Sri Lankan life, art, and culture through the medium of dance. This exposure and experience might have inspired him to popularise the tea dance to cater to the national and international audiences.

Among his other dance choreographies, K.S. Fernando staged his tea dance in 1979 or 1980 at his 50th birthday celebration at the Lumbini Theatre, Colombo (Rajapaksa, 2020). He choreographed Sinhala dancers representing Tamil female tea plantation workers with their supervisors to musical instruments popular among the Sinhalese. Rajapaksa (2020) stated “Mr. Fernando told me that he wanted to choreograph a tea dance because tea plucking is very famous in Sri Lanka and abroad. He wanted to display the high-quality work done by Tamil people in tea estates. He brought this message to Colombo 7”.

The tea dance was imagined as the representation of the everyday life of Up-country Tamil people. As I mentioned earlier, when we were learning about the “folk dance” during our public-school days, we were taught that everyday life and work inspired the rural villagers to perform Sri Lankan folk dances. It was only later that I realised that not all the “folk dances” we learned were actual folk dances that these villagers performed. There is a difference between folk dances that existed in villages, such as the *kalagedi nātuma* (the water pot dance), and “folk dances” created for the stage, such as the *goyam nātuma* (rice harvesting dance), that imagined and recreated the lives of villagers. According to Rajapaksa (2020), Panibharata created the *goyam nātuma* to stage in the 1950s when the Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain arrived in Sri Lanka. In the late 1970s, Fernando and other Sinhala choreographers staged the tea dance portraying the value of the labour of Up-country Tamil workers. Therefore, the tea dance was not an actual folk dance that existed among Up-country Tamil people, but a representation of their lives as imagined by Sinhala choreographers and dancers. At the time when the folk dance was introduced to the public schools and universities, the tea dance was introduced as an agriculture-related (*krushikārmika*) dance (Rajapaksa, 2020).

It was easy for Sinhala choreographers to stage so-called folk dances as they used professional dancers. As Rajapaksa (2020) claims, Fernando choreographed the tea dance using dance students of then College of Fine

Arts (now University of Visual and Performing Arts, Colombo), and used low country drums popular among the Sinhalese. Both Panibharata and K.S. Fernando used professional dancers and skilful dance students in their choreographies. Therefore, it was relatively easy for them to represent their imagined “folks,” whether Sinhala or Tamil.

After the establishment of the Sri Lanka Rupavahini (T.V.) Corporation (the State Television Network) in 1982, the Sinhala song “*Te Kudaya Pite Bendan Numba Enawa Kanda Udin*” sung by Freddie Silva and Kalawathi Sinnasamy., has been telecasted. The T.V. network produced a visual with the two performers, Samanthi Lanerolle (as the young, female plantation worker) and Freddie Silva, the singer himself (as the superintendent of the tea estate). Whatever the creators’ intentions were, this song popularised the so-called ‘romantic’ relationship between the female tea plantation worker and the estate superintendent, as well as the tea dance itself.

Some problematic aspects of the tea dance

The Sinhala choreographers did not stop at choreographing Sinhala folk dances but went on to choreograph the folk dances of the ethnic others in the 1970s and 80s focusing on the Upcountry Tamils. The Sinhalese choreographed the tea dance to represent this subaltern community and their imaginary life in the tea plantations. The tea dance enacts many problematic aspects, two of which are now analysed; the tea dance sexualizes the Tamil female body; and it tries to represent the Up-country Tamil people without their participation.

Sexualizing the female body

Women on the tea plantations have been historically sexualised and made vulnerable to sexual harassment. Drawing on Valli Kanapathipillai’s work, Martin (2020) claims that tea plucking was “historically regarded as being better suited for the ‘nimble fingers’ and sex-stereotyped qualities of patience and dexterity that women supposedly possess. The objectification and commodification of women’s bodies within the plantation economy, dating back to colonial times, remains well alive today” (Martin, 2020, p. 7). The laws in the plantation sector have made females vulnerable to harassment. Labour laws and Collective Agreements affecting plantation workers in Sri Lanka do not offer adequate legal provisions to prosecute incidents of sexual violence (Martin, 2020, p. 17). Unfortunately, disregarding this social injustice the lives of the female plantation workers have been theatricalized romantically and comically through the tea dance.

The tea dance sexualises the female body and presents it to the taste of the male audience. This was possible because Sinhala choreographers had experience in creating female dances for the male gaze. One of the talents of K.S. Fernando was to identify and extract attractive dance components from low country rituals and choreograph them for stage performances. *Suramba Valliya* and *Giri Devi* are the two such dance choreographies that he extracted from rituals and the first choreographed for the stage (Dissanayake & Kariyawasam, 2004, p. 67). It appears that most of his popular dances were choreographed for the male gaze, idealising an attractive female body. His choreographies, such as *Suramba Valliya*, *Rati Raga Vannama*, *Nāarilatā Kōlama*, and *Giri Devi*, are all designed for female dancers. Of these, *Suramba Valliya* is considered as the attractive female dance of the Low Country dance tradition. Catering to the male gaze can also be identified in his tea dance choreography.

When Sinhala choreographers stage the tea dance, consciously or unconsciously, they romanticise sexual abuse, exploitation, and violence on the Tamil female body. The Sinhala male imagination of the Tamil plantation workers is theatricalized through the tea dance. That is why my dance teachers, when they choreographed me as the supervisor (*kangāni*) in a tea dance, directed me to approach the tea-plucking women in a romantic mood.

Portraying the other without her/his participation

The tea dance essentialises Up-country Tamils as the tea estate workers. Sinhala choreographers have not asked Up-country Tamils whether they would like to represent as the tea estate workers. These people’s work on tea plantations also involved trapping them in the tea estates and preventing them from joining other types of work, and this has been a significant bottleneck for Up-country Tamil people. Most importantly, the tea dance ignores the stark reality of the extremely gruelling lives of the tea estate workers in Sri Lanka. For example, among all the different categories of workers, they are the most underpaid and most exploited. Although up-country Tamil people have various traditional songs that express their stories, histories, and feelings (Selvaraj, 2021 Personal communication 20 November), none of these have been incorporated in the tea dance.

Sinhala dancers and choreographers representing the Tamil people coincide with the exacerbation of ethnic tensions in Sri Lanka. Thus, representations of the “Tamil folk dance” by Sinhala choreographers and dancers resonate with the Sinhala majoritarian denial

of Tamil identity and cultural specificity. When Sinhala choreographers stage the tea dance representing Tamil people without their input and involvement, it denies Tamil people's right to represent themselves and portray their own culture. Moreover, through the appropriation of the dance, Sinhala choreographers have become the 'voice' of the Tamil people.

The popularity of the tea dance (in the 80s and 90s) coincides with the civil war between the Sinhala majoritarian government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), an organisation with a stronghold in Northern Sri Lanka. The tea dance was used to portray the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, while the relationship between the Sinhala people in the South and the Tamil people in the North was fraught with tension. There is a rich diversity among Tamil groups in Sri Lanka from different castes, different regions and different socioeconomic backgrounds and tea dance does not reflect this complexity and cultural diversity. However, for the purposes of multicultural shows, Sinhala choreographers have decided to portray only Up-country Tamil people through the tea dance. Although they belong to the larger Tamil category, clearly the Up-country Tamils are culturally different from the Tamils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Therefore, a question arises as to why Sinhala choreographers have chosen to portray Tamil people in Sri Lanka through the stereotypical tea dance.

One argument would be that irrespective of their location in the North or Up-country, in the Sinhala choreographic consciousness, Tamil people in Sri Lanka are culturally uniform. The other argument would be that Sinhalese choreographers, consciously or unconsciously, choreograph the tea dance to represent the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, because of the potential threat that a unified Tamil identity and self-representation of their culture would pose to the Sinhala national and cultural hegemony. The tea dance was also connected with the economic order since it promotes one of the most lucrative export commodities of the country; the Ceylon Tea. However, in the same manner that the attractive label with a smiling female plantation worker covers the "Ceylon Tea" package, the tea dance, with its disarmingly romantic flavour, hides the exploitative nature of the plantation economy and poor living conditions of the plantation workers.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By historicising Sri Lankan folk dance, it is possible to understand how Sinhala choreographers and dancers portrayed the Up-country Tamil people in the so-called

tea dance. Influenced by Sinhala cultural nationalism, Sinhala choreographers such as Panibharata became the folk-dance pedagogues, and their technique of romanticising the livelihood of villagers became a formula for creating folk dances. Panibharata's pedagogy of folk dance later helped him and other Sinhala choreographers like Sri Jayana and K.S. Fernando to create the imagined Tamil folk dance – the tea dance – to represent the Tamil ethnic community in Sri Lanka. Despite the gruelling and bitter reality of the tea plantation work, Sinhala choreographers have always attempted to portray a romanticised version of the life of Up-country Tamil workers through the tea dance.

The act of choreographing the tea dance by Sinhala choreographers denies Tamil people's right to choose the image they desire to portray of themselves because Sinhala choreographers and dancers have become the 'voice' of Up-country Tamils, and by extension, of Tamil people in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, the tea dance sexualises the female plantation workers, and romanticises the exploitation and sexual abuse of the Up-country Tamil women. Therefore, the tea dance incorporates some serious and controversial assumptions, interpretations, and projections about the Up-country Tamil people and Tamil people in general, in Sri Lanka.

As a Sinhala dance student in the 1990s, the tea dance was one of my favourite dances. Now, whenever I witness any form of tea dance, I am shocked to realise how ignorant I was to assume that it was an enjoyable and rather "fun" dance. I am also alarmed when I contemplate the serious impacts that a seemingly innocent and fun creative work can have on our lives. The tea dance exemplifies a problematic aspect of cultural nationalism when it attempts to invoke the nation from a majoritarian perspective and portray a majoritarian view of minority ethnic groups without the latter's participation. The tea dance also reveals how public education has shaped, and continues to shape, the perspective of a generation of Sri Lankan citizens.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I appreciate Dr Vijitha Nanayakkara's inputs given to me at the initial discussion on the tea dance in 2009.

END NOTES

1 "You come down from the mountain with the tea basket on your back" (my translation)

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Patterns of romantic relationships and dating among youth in Sri Lanka

W. Indralal De Silva^{1*}, Malith Kumarasinghe¹ and M. Suchira Suranga²

¹University of Colombo, Sri Lanka.

²Family Planning Association, Sri Lanka.

Abstract: The aim of the study is to assess objectively patterns of romantic relationships and dating among the youth in Sri Lanka. Using a structured, pre-tested, self-administered questionnaire, a field survey was conducted in a sample of 1,100 unmarried 15-24-year old youth in Puttalam, Nuwara Eliya, and Hambantota districts in the latter part of 2019, selected from various vocational and training centres, tuition classes, and NGOs. Of the 1,100 persons contacted, 1,057 completed the questionnaire. In the sample, 89% admitted having had one or more romantic relationships. Some 19% and 10% of males and females respectively reported having three or more such relationships. The proportion of males and females who had been romantically engaged at the time of the survey was 83% and 86% respectively. The continuation of romantic relationships was higher among females compared to their male counterparts with around 62% of the females continuing their present relationships for more than 2 years as compared to 51% of males. Over 81% of the unmarried males having romantic relationships at the time of the survey, went out with their girlfriends while 85% of the unmarried females reported the same. This widespread prevalence of romantic relationships among youth could have both positive and negative effects on young people, so parents, educational authorities, and policymakers should neither over react to nor ignore this objective reality.

Keywords: Romantic relationships, dating, youth, Sri Lanka

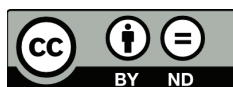
INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Organisation defines youth as those in the age group of 15-24 years, the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. In 2019, the youth represented approximately 16% of the global population,

or nearly 1.2 billion out of the total population of 7.5 billion (United Nations, 2019). The family has a tremendous influence on the early development of one's psychological and social behaviour that greatly shapes one's adult life. Children usually adapt to their parents' occupational and social backgrounds to build their own image in society. Furthermore, while growing into adulthood, they expand their intimate relationships with others, particularly during adolescence based on their existing family background. The secondary socialisation of an individual occurs with formal education through the school environment and peer groups and later, due to other close relationships they develop with employment, family, romance, and media. (Maryville University, 2021; Kumarasinghe, De Silva & Goonatilaka, 2021).

What is this entity called love? According to Fisher *et al.* (1990), it is one of the five basic emotions – joy, love, anger, sadness, and fear. As love is considered positive, today young men and women throughout the world generally consider love to be a prerequisite for courtship and marriage. The general opinion is that love is an emotional attachment one develops towards specifically identified objects or people. The physiological basis of love is “attraction to the opposite sex”. There is a tendency in society to recognise and appreciate different facets of love such as face-to-face interaction, attention seeking, shared emotions, and various other factors that make love the basis of a complex, intimate relationship. Adolescence is the stage in one's life where an individual usually commences love, dating, and sexual behaviour (Synnott, 2017).

*Corresponding author (indralald37@gmail.com  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4207-5046>)



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Dating is a competitive and “aim-inhibited form of association between the sexes”, in the period of romance which can happen at any time between puberty and mating. The concept of dating usually appears only when large numbers of youth who due to various reasons postpone their marriage (Lowrie, 1951). Until the late 90s, South Asian cultural norms promoted entering into nuptial bonds at an early age. For many years, the average age of entry into marriage in Sri Lanka was above 25 years and 28 years for women and men, respectively (De Silva *et al.*, 2010). The gap between puberty and marriage widened in the last century, increasing the role played by romance, dating, and sex before marriage, especially among youth.

Many young men and women in Sri Lanka are accustomed to meeting, falling in love, having sexual desires for one another, and either living together or getting married, whereas in the past, marriages were frequently arranged by parents. A large proportion of young people engage in a prolonged phase of education, including tuition, technical and vocational training, and higher education. In general, young people who engage in higher or technical education avoid marriage until they complete their studies. As described in previous research, although they postpone their marriage, most of them tend to engage in romantic relationships. As such, the objective of the study is twofold: 1) to assess the level of prevalence and duration of romantic relationships, and 2) to identify the socio-economic characteristics of never-married youth with romantic relationships in Sri Lanka.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Romantic relationships and dating among the youth are common throughout the world, irrespective of their religion, race, culture, or geographical location. A national survey conducted in Sri Lanka in 2008, revealed that 38.9% of the males and 28.8% of the females among the youth were currently engaged in romantic relationships (De Silva, 2008). Five years later, a national youth health survey conducted in Sri Lanka in 2012/13 reported that the mean age for starting a romantic relationship was 17.0 years for boys and 17.3 years for girls (Family Health Bureau, 2013). Thus, romantic relationships among Sri Lankan youth remain common. Further, a study conducted among a group of university undergraduates in Sri Lanka found that 52% of the respondents were engaged in romantic relationships (Gunawardena *et al.*, 2012).

A study conducted by Silva *et al.* (1997) among university undergraduates and youth from an underprivileged urban community in the Kandy town,

revealed that the status of romance among youth was somewhat moderate. They stated that 62.9% of community male youth were currently engaged in romantic relationships whereas 50.7% of community females, 49% of university females and 39.3% of university males mentioned the same. These results differ from the finding that 25% of romantically engaged unmarried female youth employees at Katunayake Free Trade Zone in 2001. It was also discovered that the key reasons for the initiation and continuation of such relationships were that the young female employees depend on their partners on becoming familiar with their new surroundings and that they seek a source of motivation and a sense of security in such a relationship (Hettiarachchy & Schensul, 2001). Surprisingly, a study carried out in 2010, in a group of school-going youth in the Badulla district revealed that 37.6% of the males and 14.7% of the females were romantically engaged (Rajapaksa-Hewageegana, 2010).

Nevertheless, only a few studies have so far investigated the dating patterns among the youth in Sri Lanka. It is revealed that, at the early stages of their romantic relationships, the majority of the youth use religious places as their meeting points or travel together by automobiles. Once the relationships mature, the visiting places may change to beaches, cinema halls, and finally to hotels/lodges, etc. (De Silva, 2008).

In 1901, the age of puberty was considered 14 years while that of marriage was 18 years. In 2000 they were 12 years (the age of puberty) and 26 years (the age of marriage). It was noticed that, within the last century, the gap between puberty and marriage among females had increased from 4 years to 14 years (De Silva, 2015). However, the age of marriage had reduced to 24 years in 2016 (from 26 years in 2000). Nevertheless, it is common for girls in Sri Lanka not to marry at the point of puberty and wait for it nearly a decade (Department of Census and Statistics, 2017). It is inferred that this increased gap between puberty and marriage too might have contributed to the increase in romantic relationships and dating among the unmarried youth.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in 3 districts of Sri Lanka, selected for convenience, namely Nuwara Eliya, Puttalam and Hambantota. These 3 districts were selected to represent the basic socio-demographic characteristics of Sri Lankan youth population, such as ethnicity, religion, level of education, occupation (of the parents), and social sector.

Sample design and data collection

Considering the specificity of the three districts, the three respective samples were selected separately. The minimum sample size required for each district was determined, using a standard sample size calculation formula for proportions considered valid in 2019. Thus, the sample size for a single district was estimated to be 245. Considering the non-response pattern observed at the pre-testing level, the sample size was increased by 10%. Thus, the minimum sample was estimated to be 270 never-married youth of 15-24 years from each district. However, due to the complex nature of the study questions, it was decided to have a number slightly higher than 1000.

It was assumed that the youth away from their respective households, responded more genuinely, reporting on their intimate romantic relationships. Therefore, in order to collect reliable information from the participants, the youth were selected from various vocational and training centres and tuition classes and through NGOs in the selected districts. In addition, the research team decided to adopt a pre-tested self-administered questionnaire, as a suitable survey technique. Thereby the eligible youth of the selected districts were identified. Thereafter, they were requested to meet the researchers for self-reporting in connection with the survey questionnaire. The ethical clearance for the research was obtained from the Ethical Review Committee of Child Fund International.

RESULTS

Altogether 1,100 unmarried youth of 15-24 years old, from the three districts were contacted in this survey. Of them, 1,057 respondents completed the questionnaire in an acceptable manner. Basic information about this sample is given in Table 1.

Characteristics of the youth respondents

Of the sample of 1,057 youth respondents, approximately 55% were female, and 49% were in the 15-19-year age category; of the sample 29% came from Hambantota, 33% from Nuwara Eliya and 38% from Puttalam District (Table 1). Their ethnic composition was 59% Sinhala, 18% Sri Lanka Tamil, and the rest were Moor and Indian Tamil.

As for their educational achievement, 43% had completed the GCE (O/L) Examination, 30% G.C.E. (A/L) Examination, 11% had completed either a professional or a technical education programme; 8%

were university undergraduates, and 3% degree or diploma holders (Table 1).

An investigation of their main activities indicated that: a large proportion of them, namely 48% were receiving technical or university education; another 14% engaged in school education; almost 12% employed, and another 19% were searching for employment. Thus, of the total number of youth who responded to the survey, approximately 31% i.e., 558 employed and unemployed persons were in the labour force; around 4% were engaged in self-employment and another 2% were three-wheel drivers (Table 1). Approximately 7% (73 respondents) were reported to be idling – neither in education nor the labour force.

Youth exposure to romance

Responding to the question ‘Altogether how many romantic relationships have you had in your life?’, 89% has had one or more romantic relationships. Some 19% of males and 10% of females respectively reported they have had three or more romantic relationships. Over 83% of the males and 86% of the females reported that they were currently engaged in such relationships (Table 2). There was no noteworthy difference in the prevalence of romantic relationships by age. However, in the younger age cohort, a marginally higher proportion of males reported having romantic relationships compared to their female counterparts. This pattern was reversed in the 20-24 age group with females reporting a higher prevalence.

The current prevalence of romantic relationships among the unmarried youth in the three districts was examined and the results are reported in Figure 1. The highest proportion amounting to 90% of males in the Nuwara Eliya District reported that they were currently having romantic relationships, while the lowest proportion of males (70%) was observed in Hambantota. As high as 91% of females in Puttalam were involved in romantic relationships compared to 84% of females in Nuwara Eliya at the time of the survey. The survey results indicated that the prevalence of romantic relationships was higher among females compared to their male counterparts in both Puttalam and Hambantota districts, while Nuwara Eliya demonstrated the opposite.

The prevalence of romantic relationship at present among the unmarried youth by ethnicity were examined. As high as 91% of the Indian Tamil youth reported having love partners while the lowest proportion was reported among the Moor community (83%) (Figure 2). Most of the Indian Tamil males (95%) reported that they

Table 1: Socio-economic characteristics of youth respondents of 15-24 years

Variable	Percentage	Number
Living arrangement of respondent	91.2	964
With parents		
Away from parents	8.8	93
District of Residence		
Puttalam	38.5	407
Nuwara-eliya	32.6	345
Hambantota	28.9	305
Ethnicity		
Sinhala	58.8	621
Sri Lanka Tamil	17.9	189
Indian Tamil	10.2	108
Moor	12.8	136
Other	0.3	3
Religion		
Buddhist	49.6	524
Hindu	20.2	213
Muslim	12.8	136
Christian	17.1	181
Other	0.3	3
Respondent's main activity		
Full time student (School)	14.2	150
Full time student (Technical/University)/ etc.	48.3	511
Employed (Govt./Private)	5.5	58
Self-employed (Three wheel)	2.0	21
Self-employed (Other)	4.4	46
Searching employment	18.7	198
No engagement	6.9	73
Highest education attained		
Primary (1 -5 years)	0.6	6
Secondary (6 - 10 years)	4.5	48
Passed G. C. E. (O. L)	43.2	457
Passed G. C. E. (A .L)	30.4	321
Professional/technical	10.8	114
Undergraduate	7.7	81
Diploma/Degree	2.8	30
Total	100.0	1057

Table 2: Presently having romantic relationships by age and sex

Present love affair	Age in group					
	15-19 years		20-24 years		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	84.1	83.2	82.0	88.4	83.3	86.3
No	15.9	16.8	18.0	11.6	16.7	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	283	232	189	353	472	585

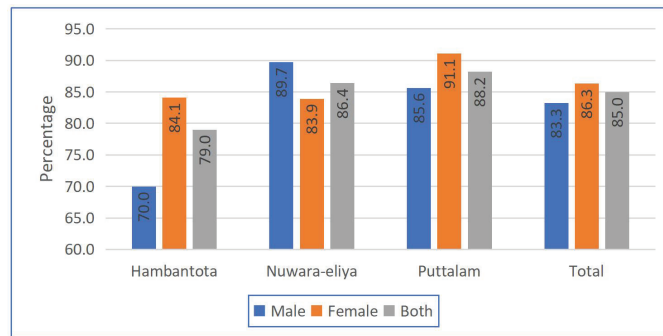


Figure 1: Proportion of youth presently having a romantic relationship by district and gender

were having romantic relationships, while only 79% of the Sinhalese male youth reported the same. Although the prevalence of romantic relationships was reported the lowest among the Sinhala males, their female counterparts reported the highest prevalence among the female youth of all ethnicities. Except for the Sinhala youth, a higher prevalence of romantic relationship among the male youth was observed compared to their female counterparts in all other ethnic groups (Figure 2).

Time of initiation of present love affair

The youth presently engaged in romantic relationships were questioned about the time of initiation of the relationship. Of the male youth almost 50% indicated that their present romantic relationships were initiated within the previous 2 years, i.e., 2018 and 2019 (Table 3). The corresponding figure for the females was only 38%. Another 38% of the males indicated that their present romantic relationships were initiated during 2016-2017, while among the females, over 46% initiated

during the same period. From these figures, it is surmised that the female youth tend to maintain their romantic relationships for longer periods compared to their male counterparts. For instance, 16% of females still maintain their present romantic relationships, which were initiated before 2016. However, among the males, it was only 13%.

Among the males of the 15-19 years cohort almost 54% initiated their present romantic relationships during the period 2018-2019, while among their female counterparts, it was only 46%. Among the youth of the 20-24-year age category, the corresponding values were lower than those of their younger cohort. Many males and females in the advanced age group had an opportunity to start their romantic relationships at the ages of 15-19 and maintain them for a longer period compared to their younger cohort. It is important to note that over 21% of females in the 20-24-year age category maintained their romantic relationships, which had been initiated before 2016. However, among the males the corresponding figure was 17% only (Table 3).

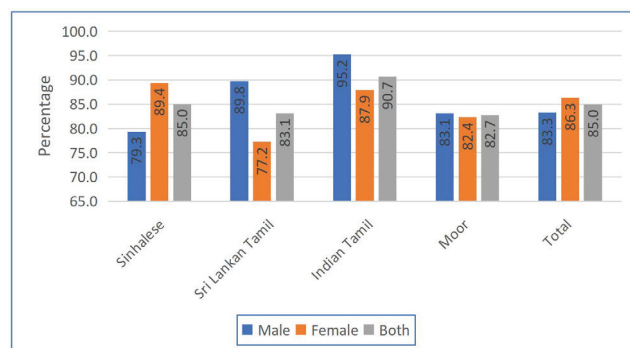


Figure 2: Proportion of youth presently having a romantic relationship by ethnicity and gender

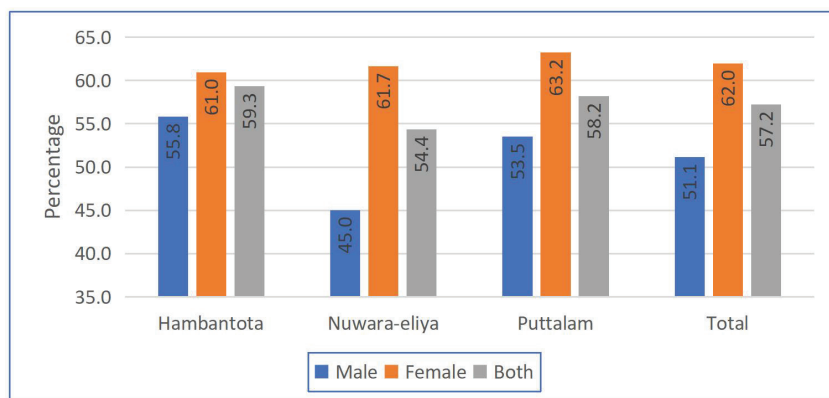
Table 3: Initiation of romantic relationships by age and gender

Year	Age in group					
	15-19 years		20-24 years		Total	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
2018-19	53.8	46.1	41.3	33.0	48.9	38.0
2016-17	35.7	46.6	41.9	45.8	38.2	46.1
Before 2016	10.5	7.3	16.8	21.2	13.0	15.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	238	193	155	312	393	505

Of the total number of youths who were having romantic relationships, only 57% were able to maintain their relationship for more than two years (last block of Fig. 3). Among the male youth only 51% maintained the present romantic relationships for more than two years, while the corresponding figure for females stood at 62%. The gender variation was clearly visible among all three districts – a higher proportion of females maintained their romantic relationships for a longer period than their male counterparts. Among the females, the corresponding figure was 61-63% in each district, while the male figures were significantly lower (Figure 3). The highest gender disparity was noticed in Nuwara Eliya, where the maintenance period of their romantic relationships was

longer among females (63.2%) than that among males (45%).

The proportions of the youth who maintained the present romantic relationships for more than two years are classified by ethnicity and presented in Figure 4. The male and female respondents from the Moor community were more persistent in their romantic relationships compared to the other ethnic groups. For instance, 68% of Moor males sustained their romantic relationships for more than two years, whereas it was 48% among the Sinhalese and 57% among the Indian Tamils. It was also reported that, among the Moor females, 77% maintained their romantic relationships for more than two years.

**Figure 3:** Maintenance of romantic relationship for more than two years by district, ethnicity and gender

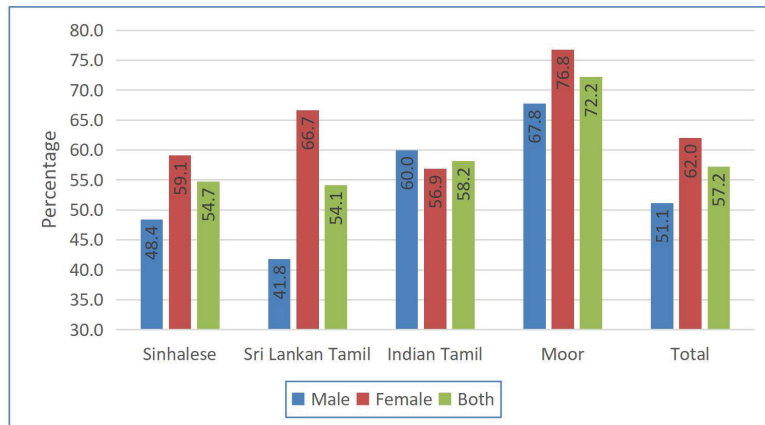


Figure 4: Proportion of youth maintaining present romantic relationship for more than two years by ethnicity and gender

The proportion of unmarried youth who reported presently having a romantic relationship did not differ by gender ($\chi^2=1.9166$, $df=1$, $p=0.16$) or age (15–19-year vs 20-24-year age groups) ($\chi^2=1.2638$, $df=1$, $p=0.26$).

Pattern of dating

Over 81% of unmarried males in the 15-24 age category who are presently having romantic relationships reported being inclined to go out with their girlfriends. However, 85% of the unmarried females in the same age group went out with their boyfriends (Table 4). Approximately, 75% of the males and over 83% of the females in the 15–19-year category interacted as lovers during their

outings. When the 20-24 unmarried group is considered, 91% and 85% of males and females respectively tended to go out with their lover. As results revealed, along with the advancement of age, the outgoing proportion in both male and female groups increased substantially. However, the increase is more evident among the males than the females.

The older youth (20-24-year group) are more likely than younger youth (15-19-year group) to date a boy/girlfriend ($\chi^2=11.51$, $df=1$, $p=0.001$). However, the proportion of the unmarried youth who reported presently dating their boyfriend/girlfriend did not differ by gender ($\chi^2=1.7998$, $df=1$, $p=0.17$).

Table 4: Proportion of youth who engage in dating with boy/girlfriend by age and gender*

Dating	Age in group					
	15-19 years		20-24 years		Total (15-24 years)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	74.8	83.4	91.0	85.3	81.2	84.6
No	25.2	16.6	9.0	14.7	18.8	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	238	193	155	312	393	505

*Note: Out of surveyed youth who are presently having a love affair (N=898)

DISCUSSION

Along with the significant change observed in the socio-economic environment of Sri Lanka, one may observe a rapid rise in the prevalence of romantic relationships among the youth compared to previous studies. Although there are no accurately comparable research findings from the past, there are a few studies available for such comparison. A national study published by the Plan Sri Lanka reported a comparatively low prevalence of ongoing romantic relationships compared to the present study (De Silva, 2008). According to the Plan Sri Lanka study, the prevalence of romantic relationships among males was only 38.9% compared to the 83.3% discovered in the present study (Table 5). Similarly, the prevalence of romantic relationships among females increased from 28.8% to 86.3% over the same period. Have these figures really increased from 2008 to 2019? Or is it due to methodological differences in data collection procedures adopted by the studies? These questions are answered in Table 5. The study by Silva *et al.* (1997) and the present study were conducted using self-administered questionnaires whereas De Silva (2008) and the National Youth Survey in 2013 were conducted using interviewer-administered questionnaires (Family Health Bureau, 2013). Therefore, the low prevalence in the 2008 and the 2012-13 studies, and the 1997 study and the present study could be so due to the variation in data collection methods in general. The respondents provide positive and culturally desirable answers to interviewer-administered questionnaires unlike those to self-administered questionnaires. What is perceived as socially undesirable behaviours are likely to be under-

reported in interviewer-administered surveys unlike self-administered ones (Bowling, 2005). Nevertheless, the National Youth Health Survey reported that the mean age for starting a romantic relationship was 17.0 years for boys and 17.3 years for girls (Family Health Bureau, 2013). This finding is consistent with the higher prevalence of romantic relationships among the youth observed in the current study.

The National Youth Survey conducted in 2012-2013 reveals similar percentages of youth having romantic relationships as reported by De Silva (2008) and Family Health Bureau (2013). The highest value is reported among the category of 20-24 years old male youth, namely 35.4%. It is followed by 33.6% for the 15-19 years old male group and 33.5% for the 15-19 years old female group. The least value is reported by a 20-24 year-old female youth. However, a significant rise in romantic relationships has been observed in the previous 5 years as the present study reveals much higher values (Table 5). As stated above, the method of data collection is supposed to have played a significant role in regard to the difference observed in the values.

A study conducted in the late nineties by Silva *et al.* (1997) among the youth in Kandy, specifically university undergraduate students, and the youth from underprivileged urban communities reveals a different picture. They state that close to two-thirds (62.9%) of the community of male youth had romantic relationships at the time of the study. It is followed by the values presented by the community females as 50.7%, the university females 49%, and the university males,

Table 5: Proportion of Sri Lankan youth reporting romantic relationships in different studies

	1997 ^a		2008 ^{**}		2012-13 ^{***}		Present study	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Yes	62.9	50.7	38.9	28.8	35.4	34	83.3	86.3
No	37.1	49.3	61.1	71.2	64.6	66	16.7	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	151	152	1115	1048	3707	4411	472	585

Notes: ^aThe age of study group was 17 to 28 years.

In the 1997 and the 2019 surveys, a self-administered approach was used. However, the 2008 and the 2012/13 surveys used a face-to-face interview approach. If the youth were requested to complete a questionnaire by themselves (self-completion), which contains questions about their romantic relationships, more reliable information about love relationships can be obtained presumably compared to that obtained through face-face interviews. On the other hand, the results reported can be interpreted as evidence for an actual increase in romantic relationships among youth over this period, due to changes in demographics, youth culture and the impact of media

Source: ^aSilva et al (1997); ^{**}-De Silva (2008); ^{***}Family Health Bureau (2013)

39.3%. Table 5 only illustrates that the urban community sample of young people was 17-28 years old and that the sample of university undergraduates was 23-28 years old. Interestingly, the advanced age of the study population in the university sample accompanied by freedom in the university does not show a correspondingly higher percentage of romantic relationships. Therefore, the total difference observed cannot be attributed to advanced age alone, as the present study shows the prevalence of romantic relationships among both gender groups more than the 1997 study by Silva *et al.*

In contrast to the study by Silva *et al.* (1997), a study conducted among a group of unmarried female youth employees at the Katunayake Free Trade Zone in 2001 revealed that only 25% of them had romantic relationships with a boyfriend. Although this study was conducted two decades back, young female workers in the free trade zone were considered more independent and enjoyed freedom in relationships in contrast with the majority of the Sri Lankan female youth. Therefore, we can assume that the prevalence of romantic relationships could be much lower in the general youth population in the early years of the last decade. Interestingly, this study further enumerates that romantic relationships, help these young female employees to gain knowledge of their new surroundings, keep motivated and initiate feelings of security (Hettiarachchy & Schensul, 2001).

A study carried out among the school-going youth in the Badulla District reveals that 37.6% (n=196) of the male youth had a romantic relationship whereas only 14.7% of female counterparts revealed the same (n=221). Thus, a relatively low percentage was reported in comparison to the other similar studies, since the study group was composed of only the younger category of youth of age group of 17-19 years (Rajapaksa-Hewageegana, 2010).

With the exception of Sinhala youth, among all other ethnic groups, male youth reported having a higher prevalence of romantic partnerships compared to their female counterparts (Figure 4). What can account for the reported higher prevalence of romantic relationships among young Sinhalese women compared to their male counterparts? In romantic relationships, it is customary among Sinhalese populations for the male partner to be older than the female counterpart. A relationship between an older woman and a younger man was seen as “problematic” by the community. Therefore, some of these young women may be dating an older man, which could explain why there are more young women in romantic relationships than young men (The Sunday Morning, 2019).

With the increase in the prevalence of romantic relationships, changes in the pattern of marriage have also become evident. Caldwell (2005) explored a shift in the pattern of marriage in Sri Lanka. It is stated that the shift from an arranged marriage to a love marriage ensued from the newly found freedom for youth including unchaperoned outings permitted for female youth. It is further described that arranged marriages were a feasible option where a specific group of society was restricted to a specific industry or occupation such as farming. However, such an environment is now extinct and with more attention paid to education and job opportunities leading to a comfortable living status, marriages with romantic relationships have been largely replaced arranged marriages.

In addition to the above-mentioned shift in the pattern of marriage, the median age at first marriage among women has increased from 23.4 years to 23.7 years over the period 2012-2016 (De Silva, 2016; Department of Census and Statistics, 2017). Further, the married women’s proportion has decreased in both the 15-19 year and 20-24-year age groups significantly, 10.6% to 6.1% and 43.2% to 39.6%, respectively. Therefore, it can be assumed that more youth used to be in the courting stage in 2016 rather than in a marital union compared to 2012. Many other factors, including higher education commitments, changing social environments, and empowerment of women have contributed to this increase in the age of marriage. Further, the lower labour force participation rate of women (30%) and their higher rate of unemployment must also be factored into the analysis. The high rate of unemployment among unmarried adolescents (18.7%) suggests that their entry into the labour force is quite recent and the avenues for absorption of their labour into the economy are still inadequate (Table 1). These factors, therefore, interact with an increase in romantic relationships among the youth in Sri Lanka.

Widger (2015) in his book on Suicide in Sri Lanka pointed out that the increased use of mobile phones and social media especially Facebook has greatly expanded opportunities for young people to initiate and sustain romantic relationships. This could be a possible factor in the shift observed from arranged marriages to marriages based on romantic relationships in contemporary Sri Lanka (Widger, 2015). Therefore, in-depth causative analytical studies are needed to explore the underlying causes for increases in the prevalence of romantic relationships among youth in Sri Lanka.

The number, as well as the nature of romantic relationships, have its own consequences. It is reported

around the globe that romance-related issues are the commonest reasons for youth checking into counselling services (Price *et al.*, 2016). Many researchers have stated that romantic relationships have a significant impact on mental health as well as psychological development in the early stages of youth. Furthermore, many researchers have found that younger youths who have love affairs have increased their stress levels, features of depression and anxiety compared to those who are not in a romantic relationship (Zimmer-Gembeck *et al.*, 2006). Dating among the youth too has similar implications to romantic relationships. It is mentioned in psychology literature that early and multiple partner dating behaviour significantly increases poor academic performance and unemployment as well as poor psycho-social well-being (Zimmer-Gembeck *et al.*, 2006). Romantic relationships and dating in universities significantly affect the personal life, professional life, and career development of the undergraduates and even hinder the completion of the degree programmes that they are registered for (Sirisena, 2018).

It is a well-known fact that love related issues often lead to suicide attempts by youth or adolescents. There are many factors that lead to this type of outcome which includes issues related to interpersonal violence, breakup, and distrust. Disappointment and frustration caused by romantic relationships are the leading causes of suicide among both male and female youth in Sri Lanka. Of the total suicide cases among the 17–25-year age group reported in 2019, 37.3% of males and 30.1% of the females are reported to have had disappointment and frustration caused by a romantic relationship (Sri Lanka Police, 2019). Widger (2015) argues that the “romance-precipitated suicide” in Sri Lanka may be better understood as “suicide of coercion”. Suicides reported in this context are often considered acts of violence particularly (not always) perpetrated by men upon women (Widger, 2015). A study conducted in Australia on the adolescents with attempted suicide records presented to the Department of Emergency revealed that 3 out of 4 such attempts had direct association with romantic relationship issues. However, this study included not only romantic relationships but also other types of relationships such as those with friends and family members (Price *et al.*, 2016). Nevertheless, one cannot deny the short-term and long-term impacts of romance on the lives of youths. Studies have reported that the magnitude of the adverse effects sustained from romantic relationships is evident at the age of 14 years and with increasing age, the condition of emotional instability may gradually decrease (Nieder & Seiffge-Krenke, 2001).

However, some argue that positive outcomes could also result from an increase in romantic relationships

among youth. Modern socio-cultural changes have resulted in a weakened relationship between parents and the youth. Some researchers believe that the affection provided by romantic relationships might fill the void left by weakening family bonds. In addition, the such romantic relationships may inhibit youth from rebellion and anti-social behaviour in general. However, the increase in youth sexual interaction without taking appropriate protective measures (safe sex) can enhance the risk of teen pregnancy and exposure to sexually transmitted infections (Casey & Mccarthy, 2008).

The COVID-19 pandemic has led to many social distancing practices and regulations worldwide. In Sri Lanka too, the youth experienced months of complete lockdown with stay-at-home orders. This has resulted in a new normal for maintaining romantic relationships by means of dating. With very limited opportunities to continue physical dating, more and more people including youth have been exploring the possibilities of online dating. However, dating online carries risks which is evident more to newcomers to online dating such as youth. This has even led to a Provincial Health Minister in Canada to appeal to people to “to think twice before meeting up on an online date”. However, the youth around the world had little choice as coffee shops, restaurants, gyms, public transport, cinemas and parks were all closed. These shutdowns and cancellations signal temporary but indefinite postponement of the traditional dating practices. Even if people were able to date eluding the barriers, physical distancing discourages intimate conversation. Therefore, “dating” is either cancelled or rescheduled to a later date by many. Though dating sites are not a mainstream players in dating behaviour in Sri Lanka, in many western countries dating on online platforms is well-known. In the United States, online dating sites like Grindr and Tinder are often considered to be the “primary facilitators” of the dating practices leading to sexual interactions. These sites are using the present COVID-19 pandemic to discourage in-person meetings. They have improvised a mechanism to cater to clients by organising opportunities to meet online or asking their users to continue online dating through video-conferencing technology like Zoom, Netflix viewing parties, and FaceTime dinner dates. These online dating sites have observed increased usage such as Hinge and Tinder reporting a 10-20% increase in mid-March 2020 as cited by Hoi and Chyu (2020). However, the sustainability of this procedure observed in an increase in online dating patterns is questionable. Further, online dating sites are still not popular in countries like Sri Lanka compared to the United States. However, ZOOM, Google Meet, and Skype have become popular in Sri Lanka during the lockdown due to COVID-19 and many

who use these platforms for dating online, cannot be ruled out (Adaderana, 2020). OkCupid (2020) reported that they observed roughly 15 million new conversations among OkCupid daters in March 2020 (daters who have not spoken previously). Some argue that despite the increase in online dating, physically going out was not significantly reduced. In other words, they state that there would not be a significant reduction in physical dating despite the COVID 19 pandemic. The OkCupid's Global Communications Manager argued that 88% of the respondents around the world on OkCupid were still dating physically and in the United States, it was as high as 92% (Silva, 2020).

What will be the long-term impact of COVID-19 pandemic on dating behaviour? Interestingly, some behavioural experts argue that the trend which was observed in HIV/ AIDS epidemic would provide a clue. They state that, despite knowing the risk of unprotected sex, youth represent 50% of new cases of sexually transmitted diseases (STD) identified in the United States where the total number of cases continues to rise. They argue "If we didn't see behavioural changes at the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic or reduction in STD rates now, would we see differences for COVID-19?" However, it might be too early to predict the long-term impact of COVID -19 on dating behaviours (Silva, 2020).

LIMITATIONS IN THE SURVEY

A large proportion of the unmarried youth was well-educated in our study sample, i.e., 94.9% passed G.C.E O/L or higher. This could be due to the method of recruitment of youth for the study as they were selected from various vocational and training centres and tuition classes and through NGOs in the selected districts, using a convenient sampling technique. This could have resulted in an underrepresentation of poorly educated youth who might be at home or in irregular workplaces.

CONCLUSION

A significant proportion, i.e., around 85% of the Sri Lankan youth are engaged in romantic relationships with an increasing trend over the years. However, the observed increase could also be a results of studies using different data collection tools as research with the self-administered method, including the current study, showed a higher prevalence than studies using interviewer-administered technique. Nevertheless, a majority of youth reported not only romantic relationships, but also dating behaviours. Teenagers' increased involvement in dating and romantic relationships could have both positive

and negative effects on their academic performance. Relevant authorities and parents should be sensitised to how to prevent any negative consequences. Otherwise, they could increase the frequency of instances of early school abandonment, despair, suicide, material abuse, offenses, and conflicts with parents and other senior citizens. The positive outcomes from such an increase in romantic relationships might include a higher number of youths experiencing affection which was lacking from their parents and elders. The major implication of this situation is that more focused behavioural interventions need to be developed for unmarried youth especially for girls to improve their life skills, negotiation skills, and prevention of unwanted pregnancies and STDs. Nevertheless, further studies are required to synthesise the new knowledge of the real impact of the increase in romantic relationships among the youth in Sri Lanka.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Determinants of environmental, social and governance disclosures of top 100 Standard and Poor's Bombay Stock Exchange firms listed in India

Praveen Kumar^{1*} and Mohammad Firoz²

¹ Finance and Accounting, Indian Institute of Management Jammu, Jammu and Kashmir, India.

² Department of Business Administration, National Institute of Technology, Kurukshetra, India.

Abstract: Corporate sustainability practices have become a proxy for a better management culture and good governance. As a result, environmental, social, and governance (ESG) disclosures are considered significant factors in the value creation procedures of the organisations. However, definitive guidelines on ESG reporting are still missing. Motivated by this research gap, the present study explores the types of industry-specific and firm-specific characteristics that motivate organisations to report on their ESG activities by utilizing a sample of top 100 Indian Standard and Poor's Bombay stock exchange, (S&P BSE) firms for the period 2015-2019. Based on the multivariate-regression analysis, the findings of this examination indicate that the size of the firm, cross border listing, and the industry play a crucial role in defining a firm reporting on ESG parameters. However, the current study did not find any evidence to support that a firm's book to market Value (BTMV), leverage, growth, age, Returns on the Capital Employed (ROCE), and ownership affect the ESG disclosures. But the Indian firms started emphasising the process of replacing their profit-maximising goals with sustainable ESG goals.

Keywords: Environmental, social and governance, corporate sustainability, reporting, India, S&P BSE 100

INTRODUCTION

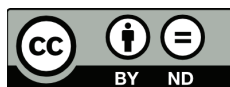
Corporate sustainability disclosures have emerged as a major trend over the last few years (Galbreath, 2013; Brooks & Oikonomou, 2018) as part of management culture and behaviour focused on good governance. It reveals the tone from the top through the Board and management team. A terminology represents a series

of concepts such as socially responsible investment (Statman, 2008; Abramson & Chung, 2000), ethical investment (Mackenzie & Lewis, 1999; Schwartz, 2003), social investment (Cox *et al.*, 2007), responsible investment (Dembinski *et al.*, 2003; Thamotheram & Wildsmith, 2007; Viviers *et al.*, 2009), and sustainable investment (Koellner *et al.*, 2007; Weber, 2005) to illustrate corporate sustainability in management literature.

Sustainability practices are generally meant to focus on how organisations handle their ESG dangers, which is especially significant for developing markets such as India (Economic Times, 2019). Moreover, firms throughout the world are facing national and international pressure from their stakeholders to disclose their sustainability activities (Luo *et al.*, 2013; Dang *et al.*, 2018; Kumar & Firoz, 2019b). As a result, the firms are shifting their profits maximising goals to sustainable ESG goals for their long-term survival in the market (Zhao *et al.*, 2018). So, corporate sustainability disclosures are increasingly becoming significant in the worth creation procedures of the organisations, but we do not have any definitive guidelines as to how to disclose and report our ESG practices.

Further, the impact of the corporate sustainability of a firm on its performance may remain a matter of threat to certain stakeholders (Al-Tuwaijri *et al.*, 2004; Clarkson *et al.*, 2008; Saka & Oshika, 2014; Kumar & Firoz, 2018c). Consequently, investors need to depend on

*Corresponding author (praveen.iimj.ac.in  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8311-1800>)



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voluntary reporting, to produce high-accuracy analyses of the ESG activities of a business (Bauer & Hann, 2010; Orens *et al.*, 2010; Chaklader & Gulati, 2015; Kumar & Firoz, 2020). Apart from their stakeholders' pressure, companies throughout the world are themselves becoming increasingly concerned about their ESG disclosures. Some of the buzzwords at the international management and trade forums become more popular with the emergence of ESG reporting such as corporate social responsibility, sustainability, occupational health, sustainable supply chain, environmental impact assessment, energy efficiency, employee safety, and ethical labour practices. With this particular foundation, this article is endeavouring to investigate the possible determinants of an environmental, social and governance (ESG) disclosure model.

The previous ESG literature from developed nations provides reasons for a firm's willingness to unveil its ESG disclosures intentionally. However, relatively, only a little research has been done about rising economies (Röhrbein, 2012). So, the social, political, biological, and financial conditions of India are the critical factors that compel us to contemplate the determinants of ESG reporting. Apart from the previous literature, we focus on India, one of the fastest emerging economies today, which does not have any definitive guidelines as to how to disclose and report its ESG practices within its financial statements (Kumar & Firoz, 2018d). However, in the course of recent decades, a large body of research has seen an expansion in the demand for the disclosure of the ESG activities of the organisations, along with their potential inability to conform to ecological, social and administrative guidelines and their potential obligation to satisfy ESG remediation requirements (Kumar & Firoz, 2018b). So, to achieve some fruitful insights into the possibility of integrating relevant ESG practices into the financial statements, the next frontier for thinking about how the industry-specific and firm-specific characteristics motivate firms to disclose their ESG activities voluntarily, we extended the previous social and environmental accounting literature on 100 Indian S&P BSE firms. Finally, the study provides managers and other stakeholders with important ESG implications concerned with the long-term survival of an enterprise.

The present investigation embraces a sample of 100 top Indian S&P BSE firms for the period 2015-2019. The ESG disclosure score provided by the Bloomberg database is used as a proxy for the extent of their ESG disclosures. The results of the multivariate-regression analysis indicate that the size, the cross-border listing, and the industry of a firm play a crucial role in defining

its choice of an ESG reporting policy. However, the current study does not present any proof that a firm's BTMV, leverage, growth, age, ROCE and ownership affect its voluntary choice to report on its ESG activities voluntarily. Moreover, the findings of this investigation also revealed that the firms concerned are shifting their profits maximising goals to sustainable ESG goals for their long-term survival in the market.

The article proceeds as follows: the literature review section covers the recent studies on ESG, the research methodology section explains the procedure followed to test our hypotheses. Our empirical findings are discussed in the data analysis section, and the conclusion consists of recommendations for future consideration.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

At both national and international levels, ESG reporting in many firms is still at an infant stage (Giannarakis *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, this study uses the agency theory (Ross, 1973 and Jensen & Meckling, 1976 cited by Abeywardana and Panditharathna 2016) developed in formulating a working hypothesis of why firms ought to unveil information. As per the agency hypothesis, timely divulgence of such information by the organisations will reduce the information asymmetry between the external stakeholders and the management (Easley & O'hara, 2004), in general. The management acts as an agent for the investors and is expected to act in the best interest of the investors. It should inform the investors of the ESG situation through legitimate divulgements, otherwise, the shortfall of which would build excessive organisation costs and auditing costs (Charumathi & Ramesh, 2015). In this way, it is hypothesised that most unnecessary agency costs depend on imperfect information accessibility that dissatisfies the investors and prevents them from making appropriate choices. Therefore, strength deliberate divulgence is considered to diminish the overall agency cost. Thus, the agency hypothesis is used here, to build a theoretical basis for this study.

However, Velde *et al.* (2005) argue that high sustainability-based stocks have superior corporate financial performance (CFP) than low-rated stocks. Similarly, Fatemi *et al.*, (2018) report that sustainability exposures are directly connected with a firm's worth. Consequently, the organisations are forced to implement sound ESG disclosures for natural and social cost estimation to enhance a firm's value (Petcharat & Mula, 2012). Even the previous environmental disclosure

studies have given several explanations for a firm's willingness to report its ESG practices voluntarily. For instance, Pedwell *et al.* (1994) based on an analysis of the annual reports 1982-1991 of 33 Canadian public companies reveal that, except for the debt-equity ratio, criticism from regulators and environmentalists are significantly associated with profit, social attention, corporate social disclosure, size, and environmental disclosure levels.

In a later study, Brammer & Millington (2008) explore various factors that encourage companies to voluntarily disclose their climatic actions and measure their impact on the quality of the disclosures made by 450 UK firms listed on the Financial Times Stock Exchange Group (FTSE) All-Share Index in the year 2000. This analysis finds that the large firms with dispersed ownership and low debt are bound to unveil and that quality reporting is significantly and positively correlated to a firm's size and environmental performance. In the same manner, Hossain *et al.* (2006) attempt to measure the level of social and environmental disclosure of the organisations listed on the Dhaka Stock Exchange (DSE) in Bangladesh. Their investigation indicates that the corporate social and ecological divulgence levels are positively associated with the nature of the industry, the presence of debenture, and the net profit margin. Moreover, Reid & Toffel (2009) investigate 524 organisations from 2006 to 2007. Their findings recommend that the shareholder resolution directly or indirectly (spillover effect) affects the disclosure practices followed by a firm. This study also strongly advocates that the jurisdiction of the state in which the firm is situated has a great influence on its disclosure practices disregarding the stature of the regulation targeted at a specific industry.

In the same vein, the study carried out by Tang & Lan (2013) that covered 2,045 large firms from 15 countries reveals that in developing countries, the carbon disclosure propensity is significantly and positively correlated with resource availability proxy. Further, Chatterjee *et al.* (2008) point out after a study of the top 100 A-share-issuing companies, that the nature and size of the industrial sector concerned are significantly related to greenhouse gas reporting but other variables like profitability and overseas listing are insignificant in predicting the reporting levels. They also reveal that government-owned companies provide lesser greenhouse gas information than their counterparts in the private sector. In the same manner, Singhania & Gandhi's (2015) investigation of 41 financial and non-financial companies from the Nifty 50 index for the year 2011-12, reveals that location, number of lines of the business, sales turnover

and administrative expenses, firm age, leverage, and employee cost are significantly affected by the social and environmental disclosure. Subsequently, Yunus *et al.* (2016) analyse 200 Australian organisations indexed on the Australian Stock Exchange for 2008-2012 and find that the firms with environmental management system (EMS), environmental committee (EC), bigger Board sizes, greater Board independence, larger firms and leveraged firms are more inclined to adopt sustainability management strategies.

Nurhayati *et al.* (2016), using a sample of 100 Indian textile and apparel (TA) firms from the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) list 2010, depict the organisations' size, audit panel, and branding significantly affect the social and environmental disclosure. Most importantly, Tarmuji *et al.* (2016), who studied 35 Malaysian and 45 Singaporean companies over the period 2010-2014, report that environmental performance similarly influences the economic performance of the companies in both countries, but the social and governance criteria positively and significantly affect the economic performance in Malaysia only.

Moreover, Kumar & Firoz (2022) confirm that better ESG disclosure practices positively and significantly affect CFP and that there is a positive relationship between the ESG disclosure scores and CFP as well as the individual ESG factor scores except for social disclosures. Better ESG disclosures, thus help the companies to improve their CFP and create a good image, credibility, and promote corporate ethical practices. Moreover, all eight regression models used in this study help establish that statistically speaking, an organisations leverage and growth is positively and significantly linked with the CFP.

Based on the above discussions, it is therefore, hypothesised that:

H1: The organisations' size is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H2: The organisations' Book to Market Value (BTMV) is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H3: The organisations' cross-border listing is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H4: The organisations' leverage is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H5: The organisations' growth is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H6: The organisations’ age is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H7: The organisations’ industry sector is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H8: The organisations’ ownership is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

H9: The organisations’ ROCE is positively connected with ESG disclosures.

MODEL SPECIFICATION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research objectives

Corporate sustainability practices have now become a proxy for management culture and good governance. As a result, environmental, social and governance (ESG) disclosures are increasingly attracting significance in the worth creation procedures of the organisations, but

there are no definitive guidelines as to how to disclose and report ESG practices. The current study attempted therefore to discover the types of industry-specific and firm-specific characteristics that motivate firms to report on their ESG activities.

Sources of data collection and sample

Initially, the sample used in this study covered 100 top S&P BSE Indian firms, but later 23 firms were excluded from financial ventures because their administrative requirements or strategic approaches and listing prerequisites vary from other industries (Hossain *et al.*, 1995; Schultz *et al.*, 2010; Nguyen *et al.*, 2014). Finally, 77 corporations were chosen for analysis (Appendix I) for the period 2015-2019. We selected this period on two grounds: the Indian corporations commenced reporting ESG information on the Bloomberg Terminal database in 2015; the ESG disclosure scores were available only up to 2019. It is important to note that the 77 sample firms belong to 27 sub-activity sectors (sample industry composition) reported in Figure 1.

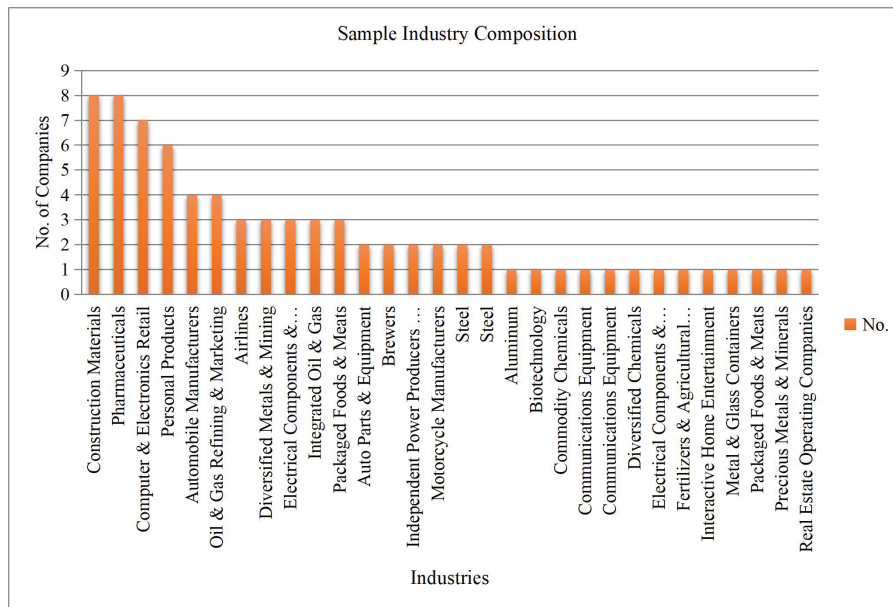


Figure 1: Sample industry composition

We collected the financial data related to the variables used under this analysis from the Prowess Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (PCMIE) and Capitaline database (Table 1). Moreover, the scores related to ESG disclosure were fetched from the Bloomberg terminal.

$$\begin{aligned} & \alpha_3 \text{CROSS BORDER LISTING}_{ti} + \alpha_4 \text{LEVERAGE}_{ti} \\ & + \alpha_5 \text{GROWTH}_{ti} + \\ & \alpha_6 \text{AGE}_{ti} + \alpha_7 \text{INDUSTRY}_{ti} + \alpha_8 \text{OWNERSHIP}_{ti} + \\ & \alpha_9 \text{ROCE}_{ti} + \epsilon_t \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

Econometric model and the variables under study

The current study was conducted using the multivariate-regression analysis, to develop an econometric model to assess the determinants of ESG. The general type of the multivariate model used here is as follows:

$$\text{ESGDISCLOSURE}_{ti} = \alpha_0 \text{INTERCEPT}_{ti} + \alpha_1 \text{SIZE}_{ti} + \alpha_2 \text{BTMV}_{ti} +$$

where, ESG disclosure is a dependent variable, the Bloomberg Terminal database assigns the overall scores to each sample company. The five-year average ESG scores of each sample firm are also reported in Figure 2. In addition, Figure 1 depicts the sample industrial composition and the rest of the control variables are explained in Table 2.

Table 1: Secondary databases

Database	Description	Website
Bloomberg	Bloomberg terminal is a financial database of Bloomberg L.P. It provides real-time market data of trading, news articles, share prices <i>etc.</i>	https://www.bloomberg.com/professional/
Prowess	It stores business information that is useful for different stakeholders. It is India’s largest database which stores household incomes, the pattern of spending and savings <i>etc.</i>	https://prowessiq.cmie.com/
Capitaline	Capitaline covers financial and non-financial data, such as stock price of around 9500 firms updated every day guaranteeing the most recent financial information.	https://www.capitaline.com/SiteFrame.aspx?id=1

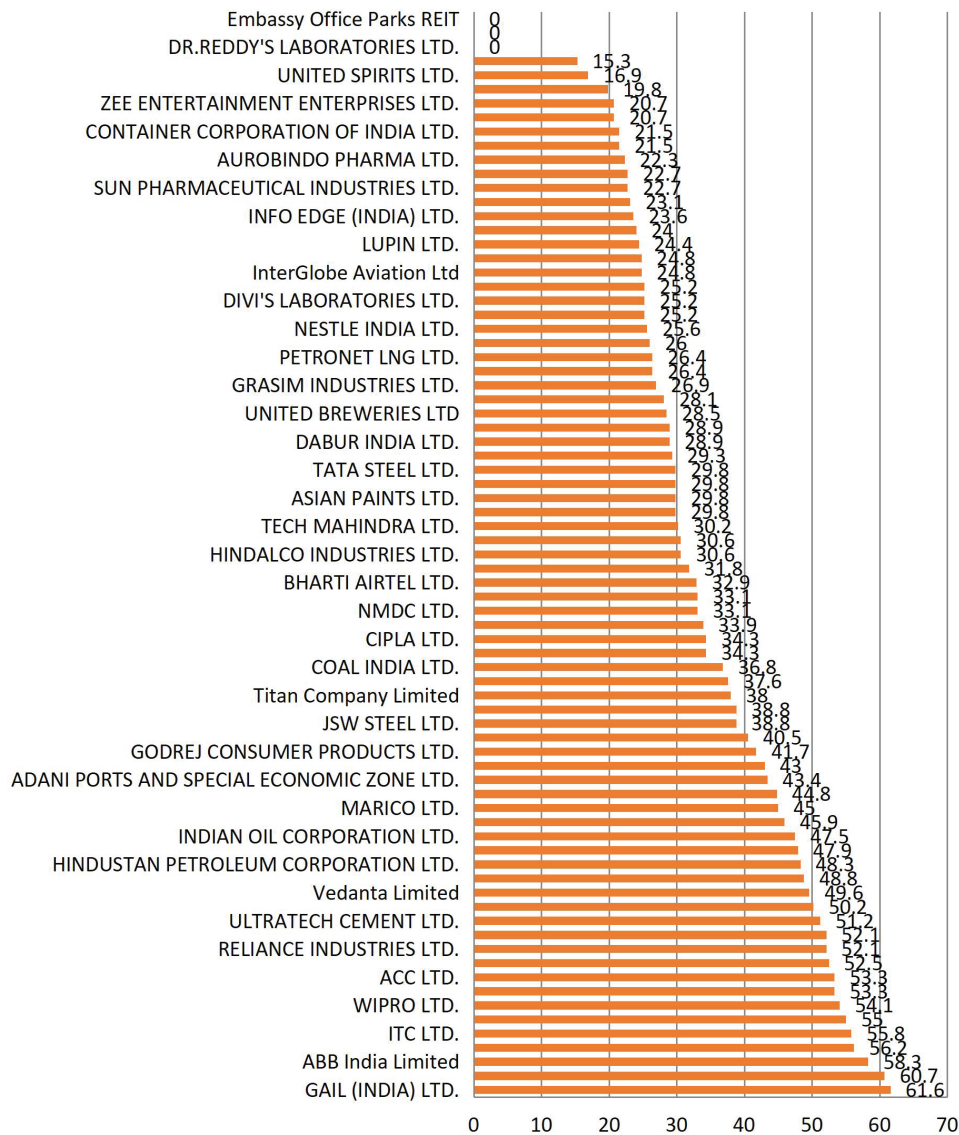


Figure 2: ESG Scores of sample firms

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The sample organisations' description

The descriptive measurements of the organisations concerned are depicted in Table 4. The ESG disclosure scores provided by the Bloomberg database are used as a proxy for determining the extent of the ESG disclosures, which is used as a dependent variable under this study. The mean value of ESG is 35.76, which indicates that voluntary ESG disclosure during the sample period is

moderate. These findings portray that the ESG disclosure mechanism in India is still at an early stage (Giannarakis *et al.*, 2014).

The lowest estimation of the ESG is 15.30 which shows that a couple of organisation report very low ESG data. Moreover, the highest disclosure score is 61.60, which shows that some organisations give sensible ESG data. The table further shows that the standard deviation estimation of the ESG is 12.28, which means a low scattering in ESG perceptions.

Table 2: Description of variables under study

Variables	Expected sign	Descriptions
ESG disclosers	Dependent variables	Actual ESG scores (Kumar & Firoz, 2022).
Size	+	The proxy for the size of a firm is obtained by taking the natural logarithm of its total assets (Demsetz & Lehn, 1985; Gulati, 1995; Hackston & Milne, 1996; McWilliams & Siegel, 2001; Black <i>et al.</i> , 2006; El Ghouli <i>et al.</i> , 2011; Ioannou & Serafeim 2012; Matsumura <i>et al.</i> , 2014; Kumar & Firoz, 2017b).
Leverage	-	Leverage is estimated by total obligations separated by total resources (Myers & Majluf, 1984; Waddock & Graves, 1997; Orlitzky <i>et al.</i> , 2003; Black <i>et al.</i> , 2006; Ioannou & Serafeim, 2012; Kumar & Firoz, 2018a).
BTMV	+	The BTMV is used to control the firm's growth, which is estimated as the organisation's book value over its market worth (Li <i>et al.</i> , 2014; Kumar & Firoz, 2018b).
Cross Border Listing	+	It shows the listing of a company in the stock exchanges of foreign capital markets. It is used as a dummy variable (Kumar & Firoz, 2019b).
Age	+	The age of a firm is used to control for the effect of a company's lifecycle on firm value (Drobtz, Schillhofer & Zimmermann, 2004; Black <i>et al.</i> , 2006; Mishra, 2017; Kumar & Firoz, 2019b).
Growth	+	It is estimated by the percentage of changes in the sales level from year t-1 to year t (Wasiuzzaman, 2019).
Ownership	+	This shows whether the sample company is public or private. It is used as a dummy variable (Kumar & Firoz, 2018b).
Industry sector	+	An industry is categorised according to the 8-digit code of the global industry classification standard (GICS, Table 3) (Noh, 2017; Kumar & Firoz, 2018b).
ROCE	+	ROCE measures the amount of profit generated by a firm on the total amount of shareholder's equity (Hart & Ahuja, 1996; Haniffa & Cooke, 2005; Wagner <i>et al.</i> , 2002; Russo & Fouts, 1997; Shen & Chang, 2009; Kumar & Firoz, 2019b).
ϵ_t	?	Error Term

Source: Noh, 2017; Kumar & Firoz, 2018b

The mean of ROCE is 25.22 per cent shows that the organisations are profitable and have a decent return for their capital, though the standard deviation of ROCE is 18.20 per cent. The greatest and the lowest estimations of ROCE are 96.65 per cent and 1.15 per cent respectively, which is significantly different from each other. These measurements demonstrate that the organisations under analysis comprise certain organisations with excellent financial performance and some yet to produce a satisfactory profit for their capital.

The mean size 863995.7 demonstrates that the organisations covered under this examination are enormous. The mean of the leverage portrayed in Table 4 is 0.32, which is moderate and portrays that the organisations covered in the examination use lower levels of debt in their capital structure. The maximum value of age is 191 years, which shows that India is having a long corporate history. More specifically, the descriptive insights for independent variables show that the organisations covered in this examination are huge and have growth opportunities and fewer risks.

Table 3: GICS Classification of Industries

Industry	Code	Number of companies
Airlines	20302010	3
Aluminium	15104010	1
Auto Parts & Equipment	25101010	2
Automobile Manufacturers	25102010	4
Biotechnology	35201010	1
Brewers	30201010	2
Commodity Chemicals	15101010	1
Communication Equipment	45201020	1
Computer & Electronics Retail	25504020	7
Construction Materials	15102010	8
Diversified Chemicals	15101020	1
Diversified Metals & Mining	15104020	3
Electrical Components & Equipment	20104010	3
Electrical Components & Equipment	20104010	1
Fertilizers & Agricultural Chemicals	15101030	1
Independent Power Producers & Energy	55105010	2
Integrated Oil & Gas	10102010	3
Interactive Home Entertainment	50202020	1
Metal & Glass Containers	15103010	1
Motorcycle Manufacturers	25102020	2
Oil & Gas Refining & Marketing	10102030	4
Packaged Foods & Meats	30202030	3
Personal Products	30302010	6
Pharmaceuticals	35202010	8
Precious Metals & Minerals	15104040	1
Real Estate Operating Companies	60102020	1
Steel	15104050	2
Others	40201020	4
Total		77

Table 4: Descriptive measurements

Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
ESG Disclosure	385	15.30	61.60	35.76	12.28
ROCE	385	1.15	96.65	25.22	18.20
Size	385	27.85	863995.7	95514.67	134534.9
Leverage	385	0.00	2.56	0.32	0.52
BTMV	385	0.00	0.08	0.01	0.01
Age	385	10	191	47.79	29.29
Growth	385	-4.10	136.08	17.76	17.79
Cross Boarder Listing	385	0	1	0.1683	0.3744
Ownership	385	0	1	0.1400	0.35

Correlation analysis

An earlier condition to apply multivariate regression is to check the multicollinearity among independent variables (Gujarati & Porter, 2009). The correlation grid among the variables of the examination is introduced in Table 5. Severe multicollinearity may create misdirecting coefficients. The past studies recommend various

ESG disclosure model

Table 6 depicts that the ANOVA value is significant at the one per cent level, which indicates that the regression model predicts the dependent variable statistically well. Here, p value = 0.000, which is less than 0.05 and shows that, overall, the regression equation statistically significantly predicts the ESG disclosures.

Table 5: Correlation lattice

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ESG	1	.299*	-0.002	-0.096	-.239*	-0.031	-.251*	0.162	-.384**
Size		1	0.085	-.272*	-.358**	-0.165	-0.118	0.138	-0.068
Leverage			1	.306**	-.378**	-0.177	.305**	.238*	0.046
BTMV				1	0.007	-0.066	.590**	-0.139	-0.038
ROCE					1	0.155	0.086	-0.07	0.04
Age						1	-0.152	-0.035	-0.133
Growth							1	-.246*	0.029
Ownership								1	-0.157
Industry									1

measures to deal with the issue of multicollinearity. Hair *et al.* (1998) propose that relationship coefficients underneath 0.9 may not cause genuine multicollinearity issues, while Kennedy (2003) contends the value underneath 0.8 shows no serious multicollinearity. The correlation lattice (Table 5) depicts that the correlation coefficient values are beneath this value, so there is no issue of multicollinearity.

Further, Table 6 gives the findings of the ESG Model. Along with some earlier work (Espinosa & Trombetta, 2007; Chithambo & Tauringana, 2014; Lee, 2017), the coefficient for the size is positively and significantly related to ESG (p -value < 1 per cent). These discoveries demonstrate that bigger firms are more likely to report their ESG exercises than smaller firms. These discoveries are consistent with our H1. However, the coefficient of

Table 6: ESG disclosures model

Variables	Coefficients	p -value
Intercept	-22.0598	0.29
Size	13.1669	0.00*
BTMV	151.4004	0.21
Cross Border Listing	7.8003	0.02**
Leverage	-1.9038	0.59
Growth	0.0315	0.80
Age	0.0145	0.78
Industry	-2.4504	0.04**
Ownership	5.3482	0.18
ROCE	-0.1494	0.14
Adjusted R Square	0.3253	

The significance levels are given by: * = $p < 0.01$, ** = $p < 0.05$, *** = $p < 0.10$.

the BTMV is positive but not statistically significantly related to the ESG (p -value > 5 per cent). These findings rejected our H2 that there is a positive linkage between BTMV and ESG disclosures. Further, the results of the ESG model reveal that Cross Border Listing (CBL) is fundamentally and significantly associated with the ESG at the 5 per cent level (p -value < 5 per cent). These findings confirm our H3, that firms listed abroad tend to voluntarily report more on their ESG activities than domestic firms.

The coefficient of ownership is also not statistically significantly related to the ESG (p -value > 5 per cent). In line with the earlier investigations (Brammer & Millington, 2008; Reid & Toffel, 2009; Hrasky, 2012; Chapple *et al.*, 2013), Table 6 gives evidence of factually significant outcomes (p -value < 5 per cent) of industry in the inclination to make ESG disclosures. These outcomes confirm our H7 that the industry in which a firm is operating has a significant impact on the ESG reporting. However, the current examination did not find any evidence to support that a firm's leverage, growth, age and profitability affect ESG reporting.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines the determinants of social, corporate and governance (ESG) reporting. The present investigation was conducted using a sample of the top 100 Indian S&P BSE firms for the period 2015-2019. The results of the multivariate-regression analysis indicate that a firm's size, the cross-border listing and the industry play a crucial role in defining a firm's choice of ESG reporting policy. However, the current study did not discover any proof to support that a firm's BTMV, leverage, growth, age, ROCE and ownership affect their choice to voluntarily report on ESG activities. Moreover, the findings of this investigation by study also revealed that the firms are shifting their profit maximising goals to sustainable ESG goals for their long-term survival in the market.

This examination shows that the voluntary ESG disclosure during the sample period is moderate. These findings portray that ESG disclosure is still at an early stage (Giannarakis *et al.*, 2014; Kumar & Firoz, 2019a). However, ESG disclosures are increasingly becoming significant in the worth creation procedures of the organisations, but we do not have any definitive guidelines as to how to disclose and report ESG practices (Kumar & Firoz, 2017a). Consequently, the investors need to depend on voluntary reporting to better the analysis of the businesses' ESG activities. As a result, the organisations are forced to implement sound ESG

disclosures for environmental, natural and social cost estimation to enhance firms' value (Petcharat & Mula, 2012; Kumar & Firoz, 2019b).

At long last, we propose that the ESG reporting ought to be encouraged by the relevant Indian organisations to maintain a strategic distance from the potential danger of information deviation regarding all investors (Easley & O'Hara, 2004). This will likewise assist the organisations by improving their monetary execution and make a decent picture of credibility, and promoting corporate ethical exercises (Kumar & Firoz, 2019a). In this way, further research is needed to acquire knowledge about the issues discovered in by this study. Another exploration covering foreign nations can be embraced.

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Appendix I : List of companies under the study

Company	Company
ABB India Ltd.	Interglobe Aviation Ltd.
ACC Ltd.	ITC Ltd.
Adani Ports & Special Economic Zone Ltd.	JSW Steel Ltd.
Ambuja Cements Ltd.	Kansai Nerolac Paints Ltd.
Asian Paints Ltd.	Larsen & Toubro Infotech Ltd.
Aurobindo Pharma Ltd.	Larsen & Toubro Ltd.
Avenue Supermarts Ltd.	Lupin Ltd.
Bajaj Auto Ltd.	Mahindra & Mahindra Ltd.
Berger Paints India Ltd.	Marico Ltd.
Bharat Petroleum Corporation Ltd.	Maruti Suzuki India Ltd.
Bharti Airtel Ltd.	MotherSumi Systems Ltd.
BhartiInfratel Ltd.	Nestle India Ltd.
Biocon Ltd.	NMDC Ltd.
Bosch Ltd.	NTPC Ltd.
Britannia Industries Ltd.	Oil And Natural Gas Corporation Ltd.
Cipla Ltd.	Oracle Financial Services Software Ltd.
Coal India Ltd.	Petronet Lng Ltd.
Colgate-Palmolive (India) Ltd.	Pidilite Industries Ltd.
Container Corporation Of India Ltd.	Piramal Enterprises Ltd.
Dabur India Ltd.	Power Grid Corporation Of India Ltd.
Divi's Laboratories Ltd.	Procter & Gamble Hygiene & Health Care
DLF Ltd.	Reliance Industries Ltd.
Dr Reddy's Laboratories Ltd.	Shree Cement Ltd.
Eicher Motors Ltd.	Siemens Ltd.
Embassy Office Parks Reit Ltd.	Sun Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd.
GAIL (India) Ltd.	Tata Consultancy Services Ltd.
GlaxoSmithKline Consumer Healthcare	Tata Motors Ltd.
Godrej Consumer Products Ltd.	Tata Steel Ltd.
Grasim Industries Ltd.	Tech Mahindra Ltd.
Havells India Ltd.	Titan Company Ltd.
HCL Technologies Ltd.	Torrent Pharmaceuticals Ltd.
Hero Motocorp Ltd.	Ultratech Cement Ltd.
Hindalco Industries Ltd.	United Breweries Ltd.
Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Ltd.	United Spirits Ltd.
Hindustan Unilever Ltd.	UPL Ltd.
Hindustan Zinc Ltd.	Vedanta Ltd.
Indian Oil Corporation Ltd.	Wipro Ltd.
Info Edge (India) Ltd.	Zee Entertainment Enterprises Ltd.
Infosys Ltd.	

Source: S&P BSE 100

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