

INSS

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REVIEW

2021

Volume IV

Papers

Legal Analysis on Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing As Threats to National Security of Sri Lanka

CLCM Patabendige

Re-imagining of National Security in the Age of Actor and Actorless Threats

Indeewari K. Galagama

Ethnoscape to Peacescape: Prospects of Ethnified Cityspaces and Urban Peacbuilding in Sri Lanka

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Dr. Michelle Brooks

AVM Leonard Rodrigo RSP

Dr. Xiangyu (Dale) Li



ABOUT US

The Institute of National Security Studies (INSS) is the premier think tank on National Security established under the Ministry of Defence and currently functioning under the Ministry of National Security and Disaster Management. The institute established to understand the security environment and to work with government to craft evidence-based policy options and strategies for debate and discussion to ensure National Security. The institute conducts a broad array of research on National Security.

OUR VISION

To secure Sri Lanka by nurturing visionary, collective and decisive leaders in security policy and decision making.

OUR MISSION

To enhance national security of Sri Lanka through excellence in research, education and networking.



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Institute of National Security Studies
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TEL: +94 112879087

EMAILS: inss.srilanka@gmail.com

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Selacine Television Institute
No. 380/57, Sarana Rd,
Colombo 07.

TEL : +94112688744

EMAIL: selacine@gmail.com

Being the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Institute of National Security Studies (INSS), I am delighted and proud of declaring the launch of the Fourth Volume of the Defence Review, the Annual Research Journal of the institute.



Since the inception of this premier think tank on National Security, which was established under the Ministry of Defence, the institute has successfully published three journals up to date perceiving a diverse array of research dimensions pertaining to the National Security in order to provide essential and timely appraisals to the Ministry.

At a time where the world is moving towards the post pandemic context, every stakeholder is realising the potentiality of the non-traditional threat dimensions and their impact on National Security in the current context. Contemporary security issues are evolving rapidly and certain entities and research scholars are highly concerned at aspects such as cyber security, terrorism, health security, food security and environmental security that have become dynamic facets of National Security. In such a context, identifying and bridging the research gaps in the aforementioned spheres are essential for defending the National Security against potential threats. It is appreciated that the desire of the institute, which adds new interpretations to the National Security dimensions and brings experts onto a platform which forms intelligent dialogues in order to assist ensuring the National Security of the country. Since late 2015, the institute has been playing a magnificent role in the said context, drawing the attention of the relevant authorities, providing timely and sustainable recommendations to the research issues identified through the organised activities.

The Fourth Volume of the Annual Research Journal of the institute, the Defence Review 2021 has been able to bring both local and international scholars from diverse areas pertaining to the National Security sphere addressing the most recent, novel and indispensable research selections on global value chains, globalisation, geopolitics, religious extremism, peacebuilding, psychology, money laundering, human wellbeing and many other nontraditional security aspects.

Hence, I believe that it is my obligation to commend the immense efforts exerted by every member involved towards this work of excellence and convey the heartiest appreciation towards the authors on their outstanding research papers. Especially, I extend my sincere gratitude to every expert involved; including the distinguished Editorial Board, Board of Peer Reviewers, and the Copy Editor who contributed to make this effort successful. Eventually, I admire the INSS team for releasing the Defence Review 2021; a work of excellence which brilliantly concurs towards ensuring the National Security of the country.

GENERAL KAMAL GUNARATNE (Retd)
WWV RWP RSP USP ndc psc MPhil
Secretary
Ministry of Defence

Sri Lankan security forces defeated the world's first insurgent and terrorist campaign of the 21st century. Neither in Afghanistan nor in Iraq, US-led western forces could restore security and stability. After the fall of Kabul to the Afghan Taliban on August 15, 2021, the insurgent-terrorist entity consolidated state power and named Afghanistan, the Islamic State of Afghanistan. In the Iraqi-Syrian theatre, both the Islamic State and al Qaeda continues to operate.



Since the end of the 30-year conflict, the Sri Lankan threat landscape has become complex. After the conflict between the globally designated terrorist entity, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan state ended, the threat environment has become diverse. Although the threat of terrorism diminished, a multiplicity of threats today challenges the national security community. To rise to the challenge, the government is establishing a range of capabilities. The government has formed a State Ministry of National Security and Disaster Management and the Ministry of Public Security.

Institute of National Security Studies, the premier think tank established under the aegis of the Ministry of Defence, supports the Sri Lankan government by providing sound and timely threat assessments and policy recommendations. With the goal of safeguarding the nation from internal and external threats, we identify gaps, loopholes and weaknesses in national security. By working within and outside government to mitigate and respond to these threats, we recommend policies, share best practices, and build capacity through training. To strengthen Sri Lankan national security, we train national security professionals and widen the national security community to include the private sector security industry.

Three decades of terrorism harnessing ethnic divisions crippled Sri Lanka's economy and social structure. The end of conflict May 2009 has given Sri Lankans a ray of hope and opportunity to embrace peace and pursue prosperity. However, a decade of peace was shattered by the Easter Sunday attack on religious and commercial targets by a religious extremist group in 2019. The Easter attack remind the nation that the threats are not only continuing, but also expanding into new areas, like transnational terrorism. Both the separatist terrorists and religious fundamentalists have links beyond the territory, making them cross border and transnational threats to Sri Lanka's security. In the changing security context of Sri Lanka, we can foresee a range of threats including ethnic separatism and religious extremism being significant security threats in the future.

National security is a top priority in the National Policy Framework "Vistas of Prosperity and Splendour". Without jeopardizing the democratic space open to all Sri Lankans, the commitment to national security should remain unequivocal. New approaches and strategies need to be implemented to protect and advance national security.

Harnessing its rich resource pool of eminent security analysts and practitioners, Defence Review address important challenges to Sri Lanka's changing security landscape. I extend my warmest congratulations and appreciation to all of the writers, the Editorial Board, and the peer reviewers for their hard work and devotion in bringing you the INSS Defence Review.

PROFESSOR ROHAN GUNARATNA
Director General
Institute of National Security Studies

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LEGAL ANALYSIS ON MONEY LAUNDERING AND TERRORIST FINANCING AS THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY OF SRI LANKA

CLCM Patabendige

Abstract

Terrorist Financing (TF) and Money Laundering (ML) remains a challenge in modern society. The difficulty in ascertaining the perpetrators precisely and the transnational nature of the crimes is impeding justice. Sri Lanka has a plethora of laws to combat ML and TF. Nonetheless, this does not guarantee the prevention and reemergence of the crime. In order to deter, as well as obstruct ML and TF, it is imperative to examine the application of the legal system. When analyzing available legal provisions, it is clear that there are lacunas in the legal system that deserves examination and rectification. The objective of the research is to identify the threats to national security posed by ML and TF and to examine the laws relating to ML and TF, to identify lacunas in the laws and to provide recommendations to rectify the lacunas in the legal system relating to anti-ML and prevention of terrorist financing.

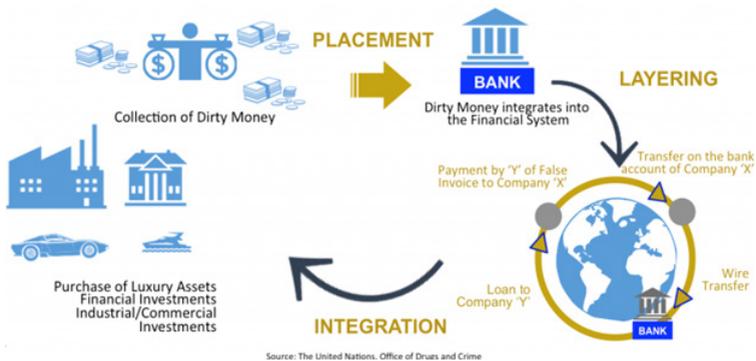
*Keywords : Money Laundering, National Security,
Terrorist Financing, Transnational*

1. Introduction

Money Laundering (ML) and Terrorist Financing (TF) are crimes that go hand in hand. Unlike in the past, at present Sri Lanka has become an end destination for the drug trade, illegal weapon and firearm trade, rather than being a transshipment hub. This was witnessed during the war between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Moreover, it goes beyond war. According to Saferworld, “The flow of arms into Sri Lanka is closely linked to the long-running conflict between the Sri Lankan state and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). However, the use of small arms is not simply confined to the conflict. There is a thriving market for illicit small arms concerning armed crime characterized by a violent political culture”¹. Extortion, kidnapping, robbery, human smuggling, weapon trade and abduction

¹Saferworld.org.uk. 2021. Publications. [online] Available at: <<https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/188-small-arms-and-light-weapons-challenges-in-sri-lanka-and-options-for-the-future>> [Accessed 7 November 2021].

facilitates TF by generating black or dirty money. Therefore, the problem arises whether the country is all set to react, as well as counteract those threats. It is crystalline that ML and TF are pernicious crimes. Violence is recurring; this was seen during the Easter Sunday Attack 2019. “The Easter attacks nevertheless represented a massive security failure by the Sri Lankan state”². Therefore, both the acts and omissions relating to ML and TF cannot be taken trivially. “It disrupts the economy, political stability, the justice system and society as a whole. Therefore, it is evident that ML, as well as TF, should be averted without further delay. Financial Action Task Force (FATF) defines the term “Money Laundering” as “the processing of criminal proceeds to disguise their illegal origin to legitimize the ill-gotten gains of crime”³. The process of ML is three staged as per the image below,



The three stages of money laundering are Placement, Layering and Integration. In Placement, funds adduced by crime are incorporated into the financial system. Simply stating it is placed in the legitimate channels. Next, layering is the ‘process of effecting a large number of transactions

with the funds to distance them from their criminal origin’. Finally, in the stage of Integration, laundered money enters the financial system as legitimate money. Moving on to TF, it can be defined as, “The use of the financial system to facilitate the funding of terrorist acts, and to disguise both the origins and intended purpose of the funds used”⁴.

² “After Sri Lanka’s Easter Bombings: Reducing Risks of Future Violence”. 2021. Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/302-after-sri-lankas-easter-bombings-reducing-risks-future-violence>.

³ “Money Laundering - Financial Action Task Force (FATF)” <<https://www.fatf-gafi.org/faq/moneylaundering/>> accessed 1 October 2021.

⁴ Tim Parkman, Mastering Anti-Money Laundering and Counter-Terrorist Financinga Compliance Guide for Practitioners (Pearson UK 2012).

Terrorist financing as well as Money Laundering happen in numerous ways. The modes of crime are narcotics trade, collecting funds from Diaspora (Al-Qaeda, Sri Lankan rebels), illegal selling of firearms, nonprofit organizations, human smuggling and abductions with ransom demands (Colombian paramilitary groups, groups active in the republics of the former Soviet Union). Furthermore, trafficking precious stones (Khmer Rouge, rebel groups in Sierra Leone and Angola), credit card frauds, prostitution and Cybercrimes are ways which ML and TF occur. When perusing the predicate offences, it is clear that these are detrimental to national security.

2. Limitations

The research has only dealt with Sri Lankan legal context. Furthermore, this research has only analyzed the Prevention of Money Laundering Act No 05 of 2006 and Prevention of Money Laundering (Amendment) Act No 40 of 2011.

In addition, Conventions on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing Act No 25 of 2005 (CSTFA), Convention on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing (Amendment) Acts No 41 of 2011 and

Conventions on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing Amendment) Act No 03 of 2013 are critically analyzed.

3. Analysis

3.1 Threats posed to national security by ML and TF

ML has a direct impact on financial security. The company form and nature can be deceptive and incurring culpability to the guilty companies becomes a hard task. Hence, it is important to look into the true nature and objective of the company. According to Vinchiworks Blogs, 'A customer who wishes to launder money may use one of a number of structures to obscure or disguise the beneficial ownership of assets⁵. For Example, Shell companies, Front companies, double invoicing, Trusts, Bearer bonds, securities, cheques, Charities and non-profits. These companies generate revenue and there will be no record of transactions or it can be illegal money taken out through a legitimate channel. Therefore, due to the intermingling of legitimate money and impure money, the state may face detrimental consequences in the long run such as corruption of the financing sector. Due to this reason, during the investigation stage property derived out of

⁵ 2018 Kaspersky Fraud Prevention Report

money laundering will be confiscated. As a result, the public will lose faith in the banking system leading to a lessening of depositors as well as investors.

Tax evasion is another security threat to financial, as well as economic security. It widens the gap between low-income members and high-income members as high-income generators are capable of concealing large sums of money through illicit multiple companies. This leads to a deficit in tax revenue in the government. Explaining, 'Reduced tax income for the state, disproportionate distribution of the tax burden, and rise of social differentiation' give rise to social division⁶. Moreover, 'According to the vulnerability tracker of Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs) of the Tax Justice Network, Sri Lanka ranks mid-high at the financial secrecy index, being number 39 out of 133 countries globally, and with a score of 72 on financial secrecy haven'.

An emerging, as well as another present risk, is cyber security. Where money launderers, as well as terrorist financiers, are using the cyber domain to thrive their pockets safely. Due to digital currencies such as Bitcoins and Cryptocurrencies, criminalizing the perpetrators is a challenge. This is due to the cardless nature of the transaction and the extraterritorial nature. "The time has come to stop the use of Bitcoin as a pirate currency before it spreads further into not only the U.S. economy but into the entire global financial system". Even though Sri Lanka is not using virtual currencies such as Cryptocurrency and Bitcoins, there are investors of those currencies in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it is now high time to regulate and monitor currency patterns vigilantly.

Another risk is, in platforms such as the dark web, predicate offences takes place on a large scale. Such as human smuggling, identity theft, illegal weapons and murder. This is disastrous to human security. Money generated from those illicit sources is deposited in a legitimate financial body where money is 'purified'. However, in reality, the money is dirty and the whole process of the transaction has happened completely online. Due to these reasons, national security is endangered.

According to the United Nations Development Programme 2015, Human security is achieved by (I) protecting individuals from violence, armed conflict, civil wars, and internal and external terrorism and by (ii) confronting poverty and unemployment, hunger, diseases, pandemics, and natural disasters⁷. Due to that system, facilitating terrorism by committing terrorism, aiding or abetting terrorism must not be tolerated.

⁶ ibid

⁷ Rula Odeh Alsawalqa, 'Dialectical Relationship Between Terrorism and Human Security: A Sociological Approach' (2021) 26 *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana* 275 <<https://www.redalyc.org/journal/279/279666119027/html/>> accessed 2 October 2021.

Even though the Sri Lankan government militarily defeated the LTTE, LTTE international network remains intact. The traditional strategy of LTTE consisting of propaganda, funding, procurement and shipping has now shifted to lobbying, litigation and lawmaking. All the acts of lobbying, litigation, as well as law-making conducted by LTTE international network and LTTE sympathisers, are raising funds on a massive scale. One of the major challenges Sri Lanka has to face is to criminalise the acts of terrorist financing. The reason is, LTTE affiliates have been successful in attracting Tamil youth and donors to fund their campaigns. Even though LTTE funding is not seen publicly in Sri Lanka especially in countries such as Canada, Italy and the United States of America it is the opposite. The majority of the donors have not witnessed the war, yet the radicalization and exclusivism had led them to believe a ‘Tamil Genocide’, which is a fictitious claim. These campaigns are run by organisations that are front, covered, as well as sympathetic in nature. Therefore, the government is vested with the task to identify and reveal the LTTE links and criminalising them.

Adding burden, many of these funding campaigns and calls for donors happen totally online leaving no evidence of physical participation. This is adverse to national security. The question arises on why is it arduous to identify and penalize the perpetrators. The reason is, due to the concept of ‘beneficial ownership. since terrorist financing mainly happens by way of charity organizations, ‘anonymous donors’ and youth organizations. Due to that reason, ascertaining the perpetrators as to who deposited the money, who withdrew it, who brought assets, who invested it becomes complicated. As a result, facilitating terrorism does not only affect military security, but it also affects the financial sector. The reason is, in a situation like this, ‘know your customer’ (KYC) becomes a failure. Banks are unaware of who deposit money since charity organizations are unregulated. Hence, in reality, the presence of terrorists needs to be revealed by stringently applying the legal framework and disallowing weaknesses to disrupt the justice process.

Money laundering, as well as terrorist financing, was obvious during the April 21st Easter Sunday Attack 2019 which displayed the gruesome nature of terrorism and extremism. According to; ‘Sri Lanka Attacks: The Family Networks behind the Bombings’ 2021^{NTJ} managed to secure donations from overseas, particularly from the Middle East, India and Malaysia. ‘The culprits of Easter Sunday Attack was Zaharan’s Kattankudy-based network which mainly consists of his family built around his family and also Jamathei Millathu Ibrahim (JMI) organization. The main perpetrators were two brothers Ilham and Inshaf Ibrahim ‘from a prominent Colombo business family. Much or all of the money needed to fund the attack reportedly came from the Ibrahim brothers’⁸.

⁸ ‘After Sri Lanka’s Easter Bombings: Reducing Risks Of Future Violence’. 2021. Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia-south-asia/sri-lanka/302-after-sri-lankas-easter-bombings-reducing-risks-future-violence>.

The atrocity committed by the extremists including Zaharan, as well as the Ibrahim brothers is a clear depiction of the failure of the security sector, as well as financial institutions to trace the terror networks.

The problem arises why there were no early warning signs. The terror links of this massive scale penetrated the security sector without any early sign. It was only after the coordinated suicide bombings, Sri Lanka understood the grave-ness of the issue, which was under the ashes. The aftermath of the Easter Sunday attack ‘Even though there are no reports of Sri Lankan madrassas preaching violence or anti-Buddhist or jihadist ideology, Muslim leaders tend to agree that, as a precautionary step, the curriculum, faculty and funding of madrasas should be subject to government regulation’⁹. The perception of Muslim leaders showcase the need for regulating funding to the institutions since irregularities can lead to devastating situations just as happened in Easter Sunday Bombings.

As cited by Nishadi Thennakon; ‘According to Timothy O’ Brien, Al Qaeda has used the Hawala system to fund the American Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Columbian drug traffickers have also used Hawala as their main remittance system. The Irish Times reported (2016) that Hawala was used to fund the Paris attack in 2015. As per the International Business Times (2015) the Boko Haram Organization in Nigeria is known to receive money through Hawala’¹⁰. When looking at Sri Lanka’s predicament aftermath of the Easter attack country must pay attention to informal, as well as illegal remittance schemes and deter them accordingly by criminalizing the fund transfer by terrorists. Hence, the Hawala banking system in Sri Lanka must be monitored swiftly. Moreover, financing of terrorism by the illegal drug trade, weapon trade, gem trade, training and information sharing are threats to national security that needs to be countered.

In addition to economic security, financial security and cyber security, the political security of a country can also be disrupted due to ML and TF. If the people representatives or people holding authority are guilty of ML and TF, the public will lose faith in the government. (Ex-Central Bank Governor Arjun Mahendran the head of Perpetual Treasuries (Pvt) Ltd. Arjun Aloysius Bond Scam). The resultant effect is destabilizing legitimately elected governments giving rise to erosion of the rule of law.

⁹ ibid

¹⁰ “Combating Invisible Financing For Terrorism | Daily FT”. 2021. Ft.Lk. <https://www.ft.lk/Columnists/Combating-invisible-financing-for-terrorism/4-679070>.

3.2 Laws relating to Anti ML(AML) and TF

3.2.1 International framework

- United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances 1988
- United Nations Convention For the Suppression of Financing of Terrorism of 1999
- United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000
- Security Council Resolutions starting with 1373 (2001)
- Financial Action Taskforce (FATF) Forty Recommendations on ML and Nine special recommendations on TF

3.2.2 Sri Lankan context

The statutes dealing with anti ML and TF are as follows

- Conventions on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing Act No 25 of 2005
Conventions on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing (Amendment) Act No 41 of 2011.
Conventions on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing (Amendment) Act No 03 of 2013
- Prevention of Money Laundering Act No 05 of 2006,
Prevention of Money Laundering (Amendment) Act No 40 of 2011
- Financial Transactions Reporting Act No. 06 of 2006 (FTRA).
(All three Acts were prepared in line with the FATF's 40 Recommendations for Prevention of ML and its 9 Special Recommendations for combating the financing of terrorism)
- Regulations pertaining to United Nations Security Council Resolutions(UNSCR) 1373 and 1267 in Extraordinary Gazette Nos: 1758/19 and 1760/40
- Gazette orders relevant to Financial Intelligence Unit(FIU)
- A Targeted Financial Sanctions (TFS) Committee has been appointed to implement Targeted Financial Sanctions on TF and Proliferation Financing of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

- SAARC Regional Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism Act, No 70 of 1988. SL has also established the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) Terrorist Offences Monitoring Desk.
- SAARC Convention on Mutual Assistance
- Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation (BIMSTEC) Convention in Combating International Terrorism, Transnational Organized Crime and Illicit Trafficking was ratified by Sri Lanka.

a. Prevention of Money Laundering Act No 5 of 2006 (PMLA)

Section 2 of the Act is on applicability and jurisdiction. The section is wide in scope and includes persons, as well as institutions. It extends to acts done while being a resident, as well as outside. Moreover, institutions that are listed or incorporated outside, as well as inside Sri Lanka, are taken into consideration. Furthermore, the Act entertains branches of banks too. Hence, applicability is extraterritorial as the crimes are transnational.

The offence of Money Laundering is enumerated in section 3, which is, wide in scope. The section penalizes both the guilty act (*Actus Reus*) and the guilty mind, which can be, the knowledge to commit the crime, guilty intent to commit or attempt to commit a crime. 3(1) of the Act states that “ Any person, who engages directly or indirectly in any transaction about any property which is derived or realized directly or indirectly, from any unlawful activity or the proceeds of any unlawful activity; receives, possesses, conceals, disposes of, or brings into Sri Lanka, transfers out of Sri Lanka, or invests in Sri Lanka, any property which is derived or realized, directly or indirectly, from any unlawful activity or the proceeds of any unlawful activity, knowing or having reason to believe that such property is derived or realized, dire directly from any unlawful activity or the proceeds of any unlawful activity, shall be guilty of the offence of ML. the guilty Act is wide in scope. It covers, “receives, possesses, conceals, disposes of, or brings into Sri Lanka, transfers”. In addition, guilty intent is also broad in nature, knowing or having reason to believe”.

However, the offence of ‘conspiracy’ is not recognized separately, which is a lacuna in the system. In comparison, United Kingdom’s anti-money laundering scheme is extensive. (Segarajasingham 2018) states that ‘The PCA/UK defines money laundering as an act which constitutes an offence under sections 327-962 and includes attempt, conspiracy, aiding, abetting, counseling and procuring the

commission of the offence which are called principal offences. In addition, there exist non-reporting offences and tipping-off offences under the Act. Thus, it is of utmost importance that Sri Lanka must embrace ‘conspiracy’ as way which money laundering happens.

In R v Joseph Ashman & Others (2016), ‘Three of the four defendants (including the principal defendants’ wife and sister) were convicted.’ Similar position is accepted in Sri Lanka, which is progressive and standard. Law recognizes the element of ‘aiding, abetting’. In the case of Wele Suda ‘[a case was] filed against three accused including drug dealer Gampola Vidanage Samantha Kumara alias Wele Suda and his wife’¹¹. Moreover, when ‘The mother, of underworld criminal Janith Madusanka de Silva alias ‘Podi Lassi’, was arrested by the Western Province North Crime Division, on charges of handling money earned from drug trafficking’¹². This is crystalline from the words of ‘knowing or having reasons to believe incorporated in Sri Lanka’s Anti Money Laundering Act. Nevertheless, incorporating the element of ‘conspiracy’ will pave the way for a high number of prosecutions leading to a conviction. Thus, this is significant due to the reason where most of the laundering activities are committed together rather than by a single person.

As per the Act, the penalty for ML is on, “conviction after trial before the High Court be liable to a fine which shall be not less than the value of the property in respect of which the offence is committed and not more than three times the value of such property, or too rigorous imprisonment for a period of not less than five years and not exceed twenty years or both such fine and imprisonment”. As per the section, due to criminal activities, the property from ML (E.g.: house, apartments, vehicles), as well as assets derived will be subject to forfeiture.

Section 4 deals with ‘presumptions’. As per the Act, for any proceedings under this Act, it shall be deemed until the contrary is proved, that any movable or immovable property acquired by a person has been derived or realized directly or indirectly from any unlawful activity, or are the proceeds of any unlawful activity if such property (a) Being money, cannot be or could not have been (I) part of the known income or receipts of such person; or (ii) Money to which his known income or receipts has or had been converted; or (b) Being property other than money, cannot be or could not have been (I) property acquired with

¹¹ “Money Laundering Case Against Wele Suda, Relatives Fixed For Trial”. 2021. Lankainformation.Lk. <https://lankainformation.lk/news/latest-news/item/17707-money-laundering-case-against-wele-suda-relatives-fixed-for-trial>.

¹² “Podi Lassi’S Mother Arrested In Kottawa”. 2021. Dailymirror.Lk. https://www.dailymirror.lk/print/front_page/Podi-Lassis-mother-arrested-in-Kottawa/238-194539.

any part of his known income or receipts; and (ii) Property which is or was part of his known income or receipts; and (iii) Property to which is any part of his known income or receipts has or had been converted.

As per the Act, any “property” is inclusive of, “Currency or asset of any kind whether movable, immovable, tangible or intangible, whether situated in Sri Lanka or elsewhere. This also, includes legal documents or instruments in any form whatsoever including electronic or digital form, evidencing title to or interest in such assets.”

In the cases of acts of ML committed by a body of persons “every director or other officers of that body shall be guilty of ML, every, collaborate with every member of an unincorporated body, such as an association or club. The defence was committed without his knowledge and that he exercised all due diligence to prevent the commission of the offence. The assets of any person found guilty of the offence of ML shall be liable to forfeiture in terms of the commission of the unlawful activity”.

Act has a list approach; there is a list of predicated offences. As per the PMLA No 5 of 2006, an “Unlawful activity” means any act, which constitutes an offence under below mentioned Acts that are predicate offences.

- a. The Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs Ordinance (Chapter 218);
- b. Any law or regulation for the time being in force relating to the prevention and suppression of terrorism;
- c. The Bribery Act (Chapter 26);
- d. The Firearms Ordinance (Chapter 182), the Explosives Ordinance (Chapter 183) or the Offensive Weapons Act, No. 18 of 1966.
- e. The Exchange Control Act (Chapter 423), and any Rules, Orders or Regulations made the Act
- f. An offence under Section 83C of the Banking Act, No. 30 of 1988;
- g. Any law for the time being in force relating to transnational organized crime;
- h. Any law for the time being in force relating to cyber-crime;
- i. Any law for the time being in force relating to offences against children;
- j. Any written law for the time being in force relating to offences connected with the trafficking or smuggling of persons;

- k. The Customs Ordinance (Chapter 235) and any Regulation, Rule or Order made thereunder;
- l. The Excise Ordinance (Chapter) 52 and any Regulation, Rule or Order made thereunder;
- m. The Payment Device Frauds Act No 30 of 2006 and any Regulation, Rule or Order made thereunder;
- n. The National Environmental Act No 47 of 1980 and any Regulation, Rule or Order made thereunder
- o. An offence under any other written law for the time being in force which is punishable by death or with imprisonment for a term five years or more; provided however that, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the preceding provision, any offence under section 386, 388, 399, and 401 of the Penal Code (Chapter 19) shall be deemed to be an unlawful activity for this Act; and
- p. An act committed within any jurisdiction outside Sri Lanka, either which would constitute an offence in that jurisdiction or which would if committed in Sri Lanka amount to an unlawful activity within the meaning of this Act.

In the case of *Director of Public Prosecutions v Elladius Cornelio Tesha and others* [2016], it was held that ‘it is permissible to charge both money laundering and its predicate offending’. A similar situation prevails in Sri Lanka, where a person can be tried for drug-related offences, as well as laundering money. Furthermore, in the case of *Director of Public Prosecutions v AA Bholah* [2011], it was held that “Money laundering may be charged and proved without proof of a particular predicate offence”.

Additionally, under Section 27 of the PMLA, Sri Lanka may assist commonwealth countries in investigations and prosecution of offences. Sri Lanka will give the same assistance to countries other than Commonwealth countries upon agreeing with such countries. This displays the impact of transnational crime, where countries need extra-territorial mechanisms to administer justice.

b. Convention on the Suppression of Terrorist Financing Act, No. 25 of 2005 (CSTFA)

This Act deals with the offence of financing terrorists or terrorist organizations according to the Act, “terrorist” means any person who (a) directly or indirectly and willfully commits or attempts to commit a terrorist act; (b) participates as an accomplice in committing a terrorist act; (c) organizes, directs or aids or abets the commission of a terrorist act; or (d) contributes to the commission of a terrorist act by a group of persons acting with a common purpose where the contribution is made intentionally and to further the terrorist act or with the knowledge of the intention of the group to commit a terrorist act;” According to this section, Actus Reus, as well as Mens Rea, is covered. Commission of the act, attempting to commit, aiding, abetting, being an accomplice or acting for a common purpose is taken into account. The intent is taken into attention; this is proved by the words ‘willfully’, ‘intentionally’. As per the section, “terrorist act” means— (a) an act which constitutes an offence (b) any other activity intended to within the scope of or within the definition of any one of the Treaties specified in Schedule I to this Act; cause death or serious bodily injury, to civilians or any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities, in a situation of armed conflict or otherwise and the purpose of such act, by its nature or context is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization, to do or to abstain from doing any act; or (c) the use or threat of action— (I) which is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public; and (ii) which is made to advance a political, religious or ideological purpose, and such action, (aa) involves serious violence against a person; (bb) involves serious property damage; (cc) endangers the life of another person, other than the person committing the action ;(dd) creates a serious risk to health or safety of the public or a section of the public; or (ee) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.” One of the clear reasons behind the implementation of the convention is there is no clear policy direction, as well as capacity. Hence, to reap the full benefits of the Act, it is pivotal to have a clear policy. If so, there will be no issue in prosecution, as well as confiscation. In reality, there is very less amount property confiscation via the Act. Hence, it is of utmost importance to prosecute criminals by using special investigation techniques. Police are subjected to limitations due to their inability to use “special” techniques. For that reason, it is important not to be progressive to deter emerging and existing challenges.

1. The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, done at the Hague on December 16, 1970.
2. The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, done at Montreal on September 23, 1971.
3. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 14, 1973.
4. The International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 17, 1979.
5. The Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, adopted at Vienna on March 3, 1980.
6. The Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports serving International Civil Aviation, Supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, done at Montreal on February 24, 1988.
7. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, done at Rome on March 10, 1988.
8. The Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf, done at Rome on March 10, 1988.
9. International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 15, 1997.

3.2.3 The institutional framework

The institutional framework relating to Anti ML and TF is as follows,

- Attorney General's Department
- Central Bank of Sri Lanka (CBSL)- Department of Banking Supervision, Department of Supervision of Non-Bank Financial Institutions
- Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption
- Department of Cooperative Development, within the Ministry of Food Security
- Department of Immigration and Emigration:
- Department of Inland Revenue,
- Insurance Board of Sri Lanka
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Ministry of Finance and Planning Sri Lanka Customs
- Ministry of Justice
- Non-Government Organizations Secretariat
- Office of the Chief of National Intelligence
- Registrar of Companies/Registrar General Department
- Secretary to the Ministry for Defence
- Sri Lanka Police -Criminal Investigation Division, Terrorist Investigation Division, Police Narcotic Bureau, Interpol Bureau. Human Trafficking/ People Smuggling Division.

3.3 Lacunas

Even though Sri Lanka has an array of laws to combat ML and TF, drawbacks in the laws hinder the justice process. Therefore, it is crucial to cure the loopholes. It is evident in the present context that there are few rates of prosecutions. Inability to prosecute criminals and give a verdict creates distrust in the public on the justice system. Another loophole is on confiscation rates. Even though large-scale ML activities are happening, seizing goods and holding trials are seldom

seen. The confiscation procedure does not extend to third parties. Due to this, criminals generate income arbitrarily.

Another lacuna that can be seen is in the procedure of investigation. Even though the PMLA is advantageous to police, they are not bestowed with the power to use “special techniques” during the confiscation of property derived out of ML and terrorist financing. Additionally, “there is a void as foreign currency does not cover the full range of bearer negotiable instrument”¹³. According to Refworld (2021) country report Sri Lanka ‘Although anti-money laundering/countering the financing of terrorism laws cover non-financial entities such as real estate agents, jewellers, and dealers in precious metal, no regulator has issued “Know Your Customer” policies covering these institutions. Sri Lanka has not yet issued regulations to cover non-profit organizations’¹⁴. Due to that reason, it is crystalline that front organisations, as well as Non-governmental organisations are a major hurdle to combat ML and suppress terrorist financing which needs to be taken into a note.

Another main hurdle is the Informal Value Transfer System. As per (“Fincen Issues Report On Informal Value Transfer Systems | Fincen.Gov” 2021), ‘Hawala, an IVTS, is a method of monetary value transmission that is used in some parts of the world to conduct remittances, most often by individuals who seek to legitimately send money to family members in their country of origin.’ Therefore, to preserve security, it is imperative to monitor as well as regulate the money trail.

4. Conclusion

As discussed it is crystalline that ML, as well as TF, are threats to national security that should not be tolerated. It is detrimental to all types of security sectors including military, health, political, as well as economy. Sri Lanka has ratified respective laws, as well as tried to comply with the recommendations provided by FATF. Irrespective of the availability of legislation, the lack of smooth implementation between laws gives rise to failure in implementing an Anti-ML regime, as well as suppressing terrorism. It is the same with litigation. However, there is constant confiscation of drugs and transnational crimes taking place: it seldom reaches the stage of reaching a judgement or decree. Challenges such as the extraterritorial nature of the crime, increase the use of virtual currencies,

¹³ Financial Action Task Force Group FATF IX Special Recommendations

¹⁴ Refugees, United. 2021. “Refworld | Country Reports On Terrorism 2016 - Sri Lanka”. Refworld. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5981e415a.html>.

the complexity of banking structure are hurdles. In addition, bogus imports and exports, front companies, Diasporas, as well as front loans obstruct the effective implementation of the AML regime. Thus, to reap the full benefit of the existing legal regime below recommendations can be taken into account.

5. Recommendations

• Interagency platform

There are a plethora of institutions to prevent ML. All these institutions/ ministries serve a common purpose. However, the method utilized is different. As a result, knowledge sharing among institutions becomes pivotal. Moreover, research and training to individuals by the inter-agency platforms will create a strong workforce to combat ML and TF.

• Non-governmental organizations and front organizations

In cases such as non-governmental organizations, as well as front organizations, money comes from anonymous donors rather than a particular person. Therefore, the state must identify who is the beneficial owner; merely approving transactions of the trust will not be a prudent choice. (Know your customer- KYC)

• Police information and confiscation

As per the Act, when confiscating money or property derived from black money police only use limited police information. This is detrimental and affects the quality of intelligence to go beyond the frame and combat the crimes. Therefore, it is paramount to recognize the use of special investigation techniques. Furthermore, it is pivotal to extend confiscation measures to third parties.

• Mutual legal assistance

Both TF and ML are extraterritorial crimes. The perpetrators are widespread and therefore holding them culpable is a complex task. From country to country, laws differ in theory and practice. Adding to the complex application of law in one country will not apply to another country. A person guilty in one country can be immune in another jurisdiction. Therefore, reaching a common ground

to mitigate and prevent ML, as well as TF can be achieved by mutual legal assistance between the countries. It is only if the expertise and experience of countries are shared the crimes can be mitigated. Additionally, it is imperative to monitor threat patterns due to upgrading cyber features. Hence, it is important to monitor threat patterns and ascertain the crime before its commission.

- **Public-private data sharing**

Public-private data sharing will be an asset to prevent ML and suppress TF. The reason is 'customer due diligence, as well as 'know your customer' being important concepts. Therefore, banks and other financial institutions must report 'suspicious transactions' by way of a 'suspicious transaction report' ¹⁵.

- **Regulations relating to front organizations/ NGO**

Terrorists tend to fund their illegitimate business using the cover of charities and trust. Therefore, the state must assess and monitor the transactions in the financial institutions closely.

- **Designated Non-Financial Businesses and Professions**

 - (DNFBP sector)

Lawyers, accountants and similar classes who enable illicit wealth (FACTI 2021) must be brought within the ambit of the AML/CFT regulatory framework.

- **Creating public awareness among social media campaigns, school-level programmes on how to prevent ML and TF by highlighting the consequences of the crimes.**
- **Regulating Hawala Banking system.**

¹⁵A Suspicious Transaction Report (STR) is a report filed when there are reasonable grounds to suspect that the transaction is related to a money laundering, terrorist financing or any other criminal offence. A suspicious transaction can include both completed and attempted transactions

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RE-IMAGINING OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE AGE OF ACTOR AND ACTORLESS THREATS

Indeewari K.Galagama

Abstract

People all over the world no longer feel safe. They also don't believe their governments will keep them safe. On an individual level, security today includes managing global pandemics, mitigating and adapting to climate change, maintaining clean water and, reliable food supplies, and protecting property of individuals and communities, as well as the ability to protect the state sovereignty under the threat of other states. The well-being and individual safety are now important aspects of national security policy. Social inclusion, protection of rights, promotion of values and resilience, supported by a solid economic basis, are key elements of security policy; namely, human safety in the face of pandemics, environmental degradation, food security, water scarcity and refugee flows, just to name a few. Security makes prosperity possible and prosperity provides available security. But it is becoming increasingly clear that safety and well-being are inextricably linked, because no one can do without another. In fact, it is increasingly recognized that well-being is better measured in terms of individual well-being, satisfaction and sustainability as an economic transaction as a whole. While this concept of evolving may be considered harmless at some level, it has more in common with capacity building, prosperity, resilience and prosperity. What is certain is that most citizens of 21st-century democracy want freedom of conscription instead of freedom of conscription. The defeat of fascism and militarism was a defining moment of the twentieth century, even if that defeat unleashed a global nuclear threat. Over the past few decades, the relationship between the individual and the state has been under stress, as the state increasingly attempts to assert itself over its citizens, limiting their rights as it seeks to maintain and entrench its 'security'. In this context, new security issues that affect the nation in ways that traditional security solutions are unable to resolve, (such as climate change, effects of climate change on agriculture and food resources, impact of climate change induced bushfires and floods on national infrastructure, economic well-being and amenity, massive refugee movements as a result of climate change induced civil wars, pandemics), perhaps demand a new suite of conceptual and policy frameworks if the citizen and the state are to enjoy the well-being that is the goal of all effective policy.

Key Words : *Global, National; Re-imagine; Security; Threats*

Introduction

Security enables prosperity and prosperity making security affordable. However, it is increasingly recognized that security and prosperity are inseparable, as neither can be done without the other. In fact, there is a growing awareness that wealth is measured better in terms of individual well-being, satisfaction and stability than in terms of large transactions. In other words, security is the ability of a state to maintain its power to deal with threats (Morgenthau, 1967). Citizens increasingly resist the waste of state life to protect themselves.

Security is about the well-being of individuals and of society. Although this new concept of security can be seen as a threat at some level, it is not limited to creating opportunity, prosperity, stability and prosperity. An important consequence of this altered sense of security is that most citizens of 21st century democracies want to be released from military service rather than freedom through military service (Morgenthau, 1967).

Problem Statement

Individuals or institutions that represent symbols of their grievances, as well as complaints based on political affiliation or perceived policy opinions, will continue to be targeted by violent extremists. The internal scenario surrounding the COVID-19 outbreak creates a climate that might hasten certain people's mobilization to targeted violence or radicalization to terrorism.

Moreover, social distance can lead to social isolation, which has been linked to sadness, anxiety, and social alienation. Work interruptions, such as sudden unemployment and layoffs, can potentially enhance risk variables related with radicalization to violence and desire to participate in targeted violence. Hence, violent extremists will continue their efforts to instigate violence, intimidate targets, and propagate their violent extremist ideology by exploiting public anxieties related with COVID-19 and societal grievances fueling legal protests.

Nevertheless, the domestic danger landscape is quickly changing. Most violent extremists attempt to incite violence in the country and continue to utilize social media and other internet forums to advocate for attacks within the country.

Besides those threats, in 2021, the total worldwide Weapons of Mass Destruction danger will continue to increase. The risk of intentional chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear incidents in the country and abroad has likely increased as a result of continued capability expansion, modernization, low yield weapons development, eroding international norms, information proliferation, emerging drone concerns, and increased actor awareness.

Objectives and Research Questions of the Study

Major Objective

The Major Objective of this study is to identify how to re-imagine national security in the age of actor and actorless threats.

Specific Objectives

Beside the major objective the few Specific objectives being investigated in the research are,

1. To identify effect of global threats to the national security in the country
2. To investigate overall threat from weapons of mass destruction (WMD).
3. To study link between human security and aspects of national development and governance.

Research Questions

1. What are the holistic approaches to expand national security?
2. What are the causes of national security breakdown of the country?
3. What are the role of State as a Human Security Provider?

Methodology

The study was conducted using a study with a qualitative approach. The second literature is based on books, magazines, articles, and reports. The research is based on established research principles and based on a theoretical perspective on the description of security and global threats in 21st century. In particular, a descriptive study that included a number of cases was selected to examine the contemporary security crisis management strategy and the implementation of the security management strategy. The combination of research paradigm, methodology, and strategy was deliberately chosen to account for the ability that large-scale comparative case studies are needed to obtain background information based on rich and lived experiences.

Literature Review

History shows that the greatest threat to the survival of a state is not the aggression of its neighbors, however serious, but the destruction of civil war and social cohesion. The British Civil War, the French Revolution, the American Civil War, the Russian Revolution and the Communist Revolution of China, still reveal the many revolutions and civil wars in Africa and South America, which illustrate this point. Internal attacks on state unity are often the result of structural inequality. Inequality weakens the unity of a nation. As cancer is not just weakening the inner body but also weaken the others, the politics also does the same. Nevertheless, the disruptive rise of nationality in parts of Europe and Asia, especially the demonic and 'foreign' ethno-nationalism, is rooted in right-wing groups (Behm, 2020).

However, the outbreak of coronavirus in China and the rapid spread of it worldwide are another reminder of the vulnerability of human species to inter-species viral mutations during the 1918-19 influenza epidemic (Behm, 2020), such as SARS (severe acute respiratory), the syndrome virus that appeared in 2002-03.

Pandemics threaten individuals and communities. Although the spread and death of the corona virus does not necessarily lead to human extermination, it has led to severe economic and social transitions that have led to the global economic downturn, collapsing major industries such as aviation and tourism, causing enormous unemployment and economic insecurity and led governments around the world to steal and provide social safety nets. In cities and limited states, citizens around the world wonder why their governments are so slow to identify threats and take precautionary measures. When the world's leading countries, such as Italy and Spain, are unable to protect their populations and governments around the world start with inconsistent, uniform temporary measures, it is not surprising that citizens feel insecure and afraid. And it is not surprising that their confidence in the government has increased dramatically (Behm, 2020)

The coronavirus has no citizenship or known borders. It ruthlessly affects healthy and vulnerable places everywhere. As a global phenomenon, it requires global cooperation if it is to be curbed, processed and killed.

Besides those threaten, weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons, remain an existential method for mankind. In three-quarters of the global community, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction has continued, while non-proliferation efforts under the NPT have come to a near halt. Although the line between nuclear war and conventional war is blurring, econom-

ic and social developments are of particular concern (Nuclear Posture Review, 2018). But the fact is that nuclear weapons are an existential threat to humanity, and their extinction is crucial if people want to live in a safer world.

However, the overall threat from weapons of mass destruction will continue to increase in 2019, and it is a particular threat from chemical warfare, since the use of chemical weapons is the largest and most continuous in decades. This trend has consequences for international standards for chemical weapons programs and changes the cost-benefit analysis so that more actors will see developments such as the use of chemical weapons (Coats, 2019).



Chemical Attacks Since 2013

Source: Statement for the record: Worldwide threat assessment of the US intelligence community, 2019.

North Korea, Russia, Syria and ISIS have used chemical weapons on the battlefield or in assassination in the past two years. These attacks include traditional chemical weapons, toxic industrial chemicals, and the first known use of the neurotoxin Novichok. The threat of biological weapons (BW) has also increased, as BW properties can be used in many ways and their development has been facilitated by these two-use technologies (Cots, 2019).

In the contemporary world, terrorism has become a major problem for many countries, especially the West, since the attacks of September 11, 2001 (September 11, 2001). Calls for greater emphasis on social policy tools support measures aimed at creating stronger, inclusive and tolerant communities. The question is whether society can be safer if it is more fearful and less free. Because the fundamental problem is that, like security, the whole concept of terrorism is misunderstood. It is seen as an attack on the state when it is not transparent: it

is an attack on the values that unite society with a common goal and aspiration (Behm, 2020).

Terrorism is the weapon of choice when the goal is to prevent states from acting with the consent of their citizens. Subsequently, as Bobbitt points out, “The dangers we will soon face are such that we cannot lose them, but we must at least regain victory; Now the war must focus on the newly planned victory. We need to change our mind about what is considered war: new war attacks in this area, war will eventually change when states go to war based on their legitimacy and change of legitimacy (Bobbitt, 2008:236).

Findings and Discussion

1. Holistic Approaches to Build National Security

The last decade has begun with a paradigm shift in a comprehensive security strategy - a change that has not yet been described. Comprehensive security is an approach that goes beyond the conventional realist state-centric and military approach and incorporates human, financial and natural measurements as well as a subjective feeling of security or frailty of people. Diverse security offices work together through their marked assertions or understanding to superior the comprehensive security of the locale. Joined together countries play a major part in this respect. They have an uncommon framework to assist with security.

National security has begun to introduce more fundamental concepts of values and justice - concepts that do not address the need for states to protect themselves from aggression, but have extended security priorities to security issues. Human Security as a function is a basic need for personal and public well-being in a world where state threats are diminishing and threats from other sources are increasing.

Aravana stated that the current security environment must include four critical factors as follows.

- 1) International security goes beyond the military components;
- 2) International security is transnational, global and interdependent;
- 3) International security is produced by multiple actors; the state is no longer the only actor;
- 4) International security in the 21st century has broadened the agenda and requires the involvement of actors.

The holistic approach provides much broader protection against possible attacks, threats, and asset vulnerabilities by eliminating gaps and overlaps. Even as threats become more sophisticated and exploited, you can find hidden vulnerabilities that are difficult to find (Schorr, 2021).

However, it is a mistake to say that Sri Lanka needs to replace the traditional concept of security with a concept based solely on values and rights. Instead, Sri Lanka needs to expand its security knowledge of climate change, pandemics, international crime, pollution and control, building human and social capital, and institutional and other arrangements to strengthen justice. The collapse of internal cohesion and the resulting civil war threaten the survival of the nation more than the war with other nations. It is important to recognize that if the rule of law is violated in any way, social inclusion will be weakened and community cohesion will be lost.

2. A link between human security and aspects of national development and governance.

According to the UNDP Human Development Report (1994) human security is an integrated concept that must emphasize people's security. It is argued that the idea of security needs to shift from a focus only on state security to a focus on people's security; from security via weapons to security through sustainable human development. In essence, the human security approach tries to fundamentally challenge and change who we safeguard and how we defend them. The basic purpose of the state is to safeguard its population, but considering recent events, this cannot be left only to the state.

In fact, many protocols, rules and strategic frameworks have been implemented to reform states and the daily lives of their citizens, and much of the institutional framework is already in place. However, there is still a significant gap between the region's goals and ambitions and their implementation and / or achievements. Lack of capacity, resources, and political will are often cited as reasons for this. However, without context, these justifications remain ambiguous and therefore lack specificity to amend (Riccardo, 2013).

Human security is the prevailing rhetoric in international, regional and sub-regional institutions in charge of security and development. It has overcome the traditional paradigm of state security with its fixation on the protection of national interests and state borders through the projection of force. Nevertheless, the main concepts of the human security paradigm can be traced back to various security developments and methods (Riccardo, 2013).

In the context of human security, the state is generally seen as one of the actors, if not the problem itself. On the contrary, it should be considered as the largest security provider: its stability and legitimacy are the fundamental sources to protect its population against all threats. Strengthening national authority should be an important tactic to protect people's safety. Legitimacy through democratic but flexible methods is a crucial prerequisite for the establishment of a state powerful enough to guarantee the safety of its people (Riccardo, 2013).

The notion of "state" or "national" security is often misinterpreted as the mere protection of national borders against external threats. In view of today's ever-changing dangers, it is primarily about the protection of its citizens, as well as the rule of law and therefore human security.

However, this new approach is severely restricted as it cannot explain who should provide human security and how it could be put into practice. In a world where governments continue to be the main providers of security, human security defenders face a wide "anti-statistical bias" (Chappuis, 2011).

One of the challenges in establishing a human security viewpoint is:

- It requires operationalization (measures to know when it exists and mechanisms for its realization),
- It requires an inquiry into the balance of power (where power resides and how it is exercised);
- It forces us to rebuild the functioning of governments, intergovernmental organizations, civil society organizations and researchers (creating associations instead of silos);
- Requires citizens to change their perception of their own responsibilities,
- Implementing a human security perspective requires flexibility to address and adapt to changing and often competitive needs.
- Needs to be operationalized (measures to know when it exists and mechanisms to achieve it),
- Requires an examination of power dynamics (where power is placed and how it is used);
- Encourages us to rethink how governments, multilateral organizations, civil society organizations and academics work (creating alliances rather than working in silos);
- Requires a change in residents' perception of their own responsibilities

The human security approach requires adaptability to meet changing and often competing needs. National security (no external or internal danger) is much easier to quantify than individual security. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set minimum standards for community safety benchmarks, and once they are met, they are on track to build a safer world. Clearly, the choice of political party is important, but it is less important if basic human needs are not met, such as when people do not have access to clean water or adequate food. When human rights are constantly being violated and when there is loss of dignity due to unemployment or rape, people get afraid of their life because of chances to occur high rate of crimes(UNDP, 2020).

To achieve the best results, the integration strategy requires the cooperation of multiple states, government sectors, and civil society organizations. Almost all of the continent's new political framework recognizes the importance of this strategy, but in reality the agenda of many of these institutions often diverges, competing interests and ultimately inadequate implementation (UNDP, 2020).

By the nature of modern society, we seek strong, sensitive, development-oriented governments and sensitive, dedicated individuals. But above all, we need to put in place the mechanisms and procedures to realize this vision (UNDP, 2020).

Nevertheless, relationship between Human Security and Development Factors related to Sri Lanka's national security are necessarily Sri Lankan individuals and may not apply to other countries. These factors are rooted in its geography and historical experience, as well as the specific attributes it incorporates. Other countries may have some of these factors, but they do not work in the same way that are characteristic of Sri Lanka's special circumstances. Therefore, it is not possible to develop a general rule that a particular set of factors can lead to results, as the factors behave differently from country to country (Mendis, 1992).

3. Human Security and State's Role as a Security Provider

State's function as human security and security provider: The misunderstanding of the "external" and "global" views of state obligations prolongs the short-term and temporary use of military intervention in humanitarian crisis areas and will take precedence over the nation-the operation of the building as it is the responsibility of the neglected nation to ensure "internal" security.

Beyond the formal approval of national authorities in the territory as a fundamental requirement for national security, the concept of sovereignty itself has been reformed to allow cross-border or global control of security issues. Ac-

ording to this approach, if the state fails to fulfill its responsibility to protect its inhabitants, the international community must act primarily in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations (ICISS, 2001).

It is also that the concept of a state is flexible, especially in terms of gaining legitimacy in favor of its status as a security provider, and finding a way to represent it even without a clear national basis. It means that state should be able to do it. Although threats evolve over time and geographic location, states have always been a major security provider. Instead of demonstrating the idea of national security, the perception of its substance and purpose should be shifted to historically equally important (Krause, 2007) domestic political implications: the protection of law and order.

It is an inaccuracy to say that Sri Lanka needs to replace the traditional concept of security with a concept based solely on values and rights. Instead, Sri Lanka needs to expand its security knowledge of climate change, pandemics, international crime, pollution and control, building human and social capital, and institutional and other arrangements to strengthen justice, social integration, national security enforcement and strengthening, and law enforcement and enforcement systems themselves.

Conclusion

Re-thinking Security

Expenditure on the security domain appears to be disproportionate to the current threat. Seen through the lens of many factors that threaten the health and well-being of citizens - suicide, murder, car accidents, diabetes, HIV, cancer, etc., the risk of terrorism is not important (Michaelson, 2010). New security problems are affecting people in ways that traditional security solutions cannot solve, such as climate change, the effects of climate change on agriculture and food resources, the impact of climate change, climate caused by forest fires and floods in national infrastructure, economic development. and facilities, mass displacement of refugees due to civil wars, pandemics caused by climate change, may require a new set of structured concepts and policies if the citizen and the state are satisfied with the prosperity objective of a good policy (Behm, 2020).

The collapse of internal cohesion and the resulting civil war threaten the survival of the nation more than the war with other nations (Menocal, 2011). It is important to recognize that if the rule of law is violated in any way, social inclusion will be weakened and community cohesion will be lost (Bratton and Chang, 2006).

States that protect residents are considered more legal, and states that are perceived as legal by the public do not have difficulty of addressing internal security challenges. After all, the concept of representativeness is creative, with great adaptability to the local environment.

However, while safety cannot be guaranteed in clinical settings with military threats and freedom from crime, more destructive opportunities with potentially high costs for human life and national prosperity are gradually becoming domestic and international dominates consciousness. But this is the biggest current challenge facing Sri Lanka, surviving, and ultimately benefiting from the current turmoil.

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ETHNOSCAPE TO PEACESCAPE : PROSPECTS OF ETHNIFIED CITYSPACES AND URBAN PEACEBUILDING IN SRI LANKA

Kithmini M. Ranaweera

Abstract

Racially polarized communities insensitive to multicultural tolerance are a major hindrance to lasting peace in Sri Lanka. Such Ethnified Cityspaces are termed as Ethnoscares. In an Ethnoscape, ethnic identity becomes the undertone for power structures, resource allocation and land use decisions within an urban spatial arrangement. This research problematizes the role of ethnified cityspaces in relation to the rise of extremism through the prism of the urban space of Kattankudy in Sri Lanka. With statistical and factual establishments, the author has identified Kattankudy as an epic specimen of an Ethnoscape. Wahhabism, as an ideology propagating Arabization, exclusivism and non-tolerance towards non-Muslim communities has been identified as a determinant factor in sustaining Ethnoscapic characteristics in Kattankudy. This research therein stresses on the importance of a customized Peacebuilding process to Sri Lanka, focusing on Urban Peacebuilding, and a way forward is proposed towards the ultimate Peacescape. A Peacescape is a spatial arrangement which reflects socio-cultural tolerance and harmony, whose power relations are based on non-ethnic lines. Though an absolute Peacescape is utopian in its sense, Sri Lanka could adjust its Peacebuilding process to promote voluntary inter-ethnic integration. To foster a positive attitudinal transformation towards voluntary multicultural tolerance, the author proposes two major redressal mechanisms; Local Ownership and Policy-Neutral approach. This research stresses that it is high time for Sri Lanka to deviate from mainstream harsh division of war and peace and develop Peace as an everyday norm to materialize the peace dividend to its full potential.

Key Words : *Ethnoscape, Racial Polarization, Wahhabism, Peacescape, Urban Peacebuilding*

1.0 Introduction

The best antidote to ethnic conflicts is to break the imagined walls of socially constructed differences. The urban space and the inevitable propinquity it offers are therein ideal to develop multi-communal harmony. However, it is unfortunate to see the flourishing of urban spaces whose foundation of urbanization itself, motivates and promotes harsh ethnic divisions in Sri Lanka. Those urban arrangements are Ethnoscapes, which refers to an urban space whose main basis for power and resource allocation is ethnic identity forms¹. With the territorializing of ethnic memory and spatial belonging, a link has created between people (ethnos) and space. This link produces ethnified cityspaces where space becomes a legitimizing factor for power, identity and societal structures of a particular ethnic group. This research equates the city of Kattankudy as an Ethnoscape with factual and statistical establishment, and analyzes how the Ethnoscopic characteristics of the city has been a determinant factor in the rise of Islamist extremism in the Eastern province of Sri Lanka. One of its most unfortunate by-products was the Easter attacks of 2019, which is unarguably one of the world's worst terrorist attacks of the century. The carnage took place on April 21, 2019, as a series of coordinated bombings targeting Easter Sunday church services and luxury hotels in Sri Lanka. The death toll was recorded as 275 and 500 were left injured². The mastermind of the attack was Moulvi Mohamed Cassim Mohamed Zahran, and his operational planning continued uninterrupted in the safe haven of Kattankudy, with the firm foundation of Wahhabi ideology and unique ethnic composition of the city.

Therein, this research problematizes the role of ethnified cityspaces such as Kattankudy in relation to the rise of extremism. The solution provided by the author is the incorporation of Urban Peacebuilding to the reconciliation process of Sri Lanka. The theory of Urban Peacebuilding itself focuses on transforming of "... ethno-nationally contested urban space divided by a conflict... and explore ways to "... mitigate conflict, undermine divisions and strengthen interdependencies of everyday life..."³. The ultimate outcome of this process is the formation of Peacescapes. They account to urban spaces which promotes, "... socio-cultural tolerance, diversity, spatial, temporal as well as political dimensions of power..."⁴.

¹Annika Björkdahl, "Urban Peacebuilding," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (May 2, 2013): pp. 207-221, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.783254>.

²Theresa Malone and Cath Levett, "Sri Lanka Bombings – A Timeline and Visual Guide," *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, April 22, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/22/sri-lanka-bombings-a-timeline-and-visual-guide>.

³Annika Björkdahl, "Urban Peacebuilding," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (May 2, 2013): pp. 207-221, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.783254>.

⁴*Ibid*

Though the idea of an absolute Peacescape is utopian in its sense, Sri Lanka could adjust its Peacebuilding process to promote voluntary inter-ethnic integration. Therein, development of mechanisms to harness positive attitudinal transformation is of paramount importance. Therein, this research dissects the case study of Kattankudy, to analyze the impact of Ethnoscape in rise of extremism in Sri Lanka and suggest ways in which the essence of Urban Peacebuilding can be incorporated to the local Peacebuilding process, and move coherently towards sustainable peace.

Therein, the author argues that Urban Peacebuilding through the promotion of multi-ethnic integration is a determinant solution to overcome racial exclusivism caused by Ethnoscapes. When ethnic lines become the main basis of urbanization of a space, peace dividend is not materialized in full potential⁵. Hence, when moving towards sustainable peace, it is of paramount importance to transform the root causes of the formation of Ethnoscapes, by constraining racial exclusivism. In what follows, the author would lay down several root causes for the formation of an ethnoscape in Kattankudy. Then, the author has also proposed ways in which the collective consciousness of an Ethnoscaphic community can be transformed towards a positive potential.

2.0 Methodology and Methods

Mainstreaming of peace, in fact, have diminished the context-specificity of peace to match post-conflict scenarios. Hence, it should be admitted that peace is subjective in its sense and creates multiple realities. Therefore, the ontological question lies in the fact that peace is in fact not a stagnant state but a constantly evolving process, which is contextually sensitive. The epistemological aspect can also be viewed through the interpretivist paradigm, where bodies of knowledge related to Peacebuilding is predicated on beliefs, values, reasons and understandings. The author thus feels the rigid classification of state of war and peace is befitting to comprehend the negative peace that exists in post-war Sri Lanka. Hence, the main methodological consideration is to explore ways to position peace in a holistic context, to produce an 'everyday peace'.

⁵Annika Björkdahl, "Urban Peacebuilding," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (May 2, 2013): pp. 207-221, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.783254>.

Methods

Based on the above methodological and philosophical considerations, qualitative research will be conducted, where quantitative figures will be used to add weight to the research findings. Sources of Primary data for the research will be personal interviews conducted with two resource persons adhering to research ethics. The interviewees were chosen through Judgmental sampling technique, to maintain the impartiality of the research outcome. Secondary sources are scholarly articles, newspaper articles, books on the field of Peace Studies and data from relevant government authorities.

In what follows the author will present an integrated results and a discussion section. An analysis is developed by relating the theoretical foundations of Ethnoscapes to the ground realities of Kattankudy. After carving out the core of the issue, author then discusses a possible way forward catering to local needs of a negative peace context.

3.0 Dissecting the demographic composition under Kattankudy Urban Council

The case study of interest in this research is the urban fabric of Kattankudy. Kattankudy Urban Council Administrative Area (KUC AA)⁶, which consists of 18 Grama Niladhari Divisions, is located in the Batticaloa district of Sri Lanka. To improve the clarity of the demographic profile of KUC AA, the researcher conjugated 2007 and 2012 statistics reports, given the lacuna of updated facts and figures.

Table 1.0-Population statistics of KUC AA

Variable	Value
Population	40356 ⁷
KUC Administrative Area in sq. km	4.1071km ² ⁸
Calculated Population Density (Population/Administrative area)	9825.91

Source: Author

⁶ Hereafter, 'Kattankudy' is equivalent to the whole Kattankudy Grama Niladhari Division.

⁷ "Kattankudy Urban Council: Cities," SoSLC, accessed September 30, 2021, <https://www.soslc.lk/en/cities/kattankudy-urban-council>.

⁸ Ibid

Table 2.0-Population Composition of KUC AA

KUC AA Ethnicity Distribution⁹		
Total Population-39,529		
Ethnicity	In Numbers	In Percentage(%)
Sinhalese	0	0
Sri Lankan Tamil	5	0
Sri Lankan Moor	39,517	100

Source: Author

A mere surface analysis of the above statistics exposes that Kattankudy is a heavily populous urban area polarized on the basis of ethnic lines. Non-Muslims are prohibited from settling in the area, whereas it recorded the highest Muslim population density in Asia as of 2009. With 65 mosques, the city is also marked as the city with largest number of mosques per 1sq.km¹⁰.

Considering the spatial consideration of Kattankudy, it is the major city of the Eastern Province, with a significantly high build up area of 74.84% (303.81 ha) against a non-built-up area of 25.51% (104.06 ha)¹¹. Commercialized agriculture is allocated to 192.58 ha from the non-built-up area, whereas marine fishing is the second main livelihood. Commercial activities and land ownership is exclusive to Muslim community¹², which is also evidentiary from the statistics of Table 2.0 which reflects a unique ethno-exclusive population composition. According to the 2012 census report, Batticaloa is marked as the district with lowest distribution of internal migrant population which account to 0.73% out of the total Sri Lankan migrant population of 3^{861,787}¹³. As a major city in the Eastern province with a high population density, Kattankudy could rationally be related to low rates of migration within Sri Lanka.

⁹ “Basic Population on Batticaloa District-2007 (Preliminary Report),” accessed September 30, 2021, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/Preliminary%20Reports%20Special%20Enumeration%202007/Basic%20Population%20Information%20of%20Batticaloa%20District%202007.pdf>

¹⁰ “The Commission of Inquiry to Investigate and Inquire into and Report or Take Necessary Action on the Bomb Attacks on 21st April 2019,” January 31, 2021, <https://easterattackreport.org/report/>.

¹¹ “Kattankudy Urban Council: Cities,” SoSLC, accessed September 30, 2021, <https://www.soslc.lk/en/cities/kattankudy-urban-council>.

¹² Chris Kamalendran and Asif Fuard, “Unholy Tensions in Lanka’s Muslim East,” The Sunday Times, August 16, 2009, https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090816/News/nws_23.html.

¹³ “Census of Population and Housing,” accessed September 30, 2021, http://www.statistics.gov.lk/pophousat/cph2011/pages/activities/reports/cph_2012_5per_rpt.pdf.

Three major observations could be made based on the above statistical establishments.

01. KUC AA accounts for a significant urban arrangement where the Muslim community holds an absolute population hegemony.
02. Such a population arrangement is not a result of a state-induced settlement policy and a self-imposed deterrence is evident amongst the settlers considering the low rates of internal migration.
03. General pull factors which attract people towards urban settlements are the push factors in their resident settlement. However, this theory does not explain the above unique population composition. Therein, it can be logically admitted that ethnicity of Muslims acts as a determinant factor in exploring the point of gravity of the unique population composition of Kattankudy.

Therein based on the third observation, the author considers the societal component as a basis factor which leads to the development of an ethno-exclusive urban arrangement. As one interviewee pointed out, when a group of individuals are concentrated around a certain opinion or an ideology, that collective perception becomes the bar of standard which measures the holistic collective behavior of that particular community¹⁴. Therefore, in the next section the researcher would analyze the societal component of KUC AA, in relation to extreme religious ideologies.

4.0 Kattankudy as an Ethnoscape : Role of Wahhabism

Wahhabism can be defined as "... a puritanical form of Sunni Islam, aimed at the 'purification' and the return to the Islam of the Prophet Mohammed and three successive generations of followers..."¹⁵. Wahhabi ideology, which consisted of the teachings of Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahhab, is aimed at cleansing the Muslims they label as heretics.

¹⁴ KithminiRanaweera, *Ethnoscape to Peacescape: Prospects of Ethnified Cityspaces and Urban Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*. Personal, July 14, 2021.

¹⁵Ranga Jayasuriya, "The Easter Sunday Attack: Unpacking Islamic Radicalization in Sri Lanka," in *INSSSL Defence Review 2020*, pp. 39-70, accessed September 30, 2021, http://www.insssl.lk/assets/images/publication/other/images/2021/january/2021_01_27/Defence_Review_compressed.pdf

Wahhabism is the state ideology of Saudi Arabia and was later exported to non-Arabic Muslim societies with the oil boom. The increased migration of Sri Lankan Muslim youth to Middle East for the purpose of religious education, the proactive role of foreign clerics and local Madrasas harnessed the unprecedented adhesion of native Muslim

Hence, it is evident that with the capitalization of the Islamist polarization by Thowheed movement, the situation of Kattankudy was ideal for the cultivation of radicalization, which will be analyzed in detail in the next section.

5.0 Zahran's early stages of radicalization

With the religious space made ripe with the absolute Islamist polarization, Kattankudy was already a fully-fledged ethnoscape, by the time of Zahran's birth. Within the territories of Kattankudy, one could see the developing traits of Arabization catalyzed through Wahhabism, which induced drastic changes in life-style, dress code and religiosity¹⁹.

Limited movement of women, food and beverages with close resemblance to Arabian cuisine and exclusivity of Muslims in land ownership²⁰ reflects the Ethnoscopic character of the area. The already firm foundation of Wahhabi ideology and Arabized culture fostering in Kattankudy molded Zahran's extremist ideology since the early phases of his education.

Zahran's early stages of pre-radicalization and indoctrination was harbored by the time he was educated in Kattankudy. He met Nauferin Kattankudy in 2001 and later in 2005/06 he cultivated the Naufer's teachings by establishing a Wahhabi organization in Kattankudy. Zahran then played a crucial role in Nation-

¹⁶Ibid

¹⁷Ranga Jayasuriya, "The Easter Sunday Attack: Unpacking Islamic Radicalization in Sri Lanka," in INSSSL Defence Review 2020, pp. 39-70, accessed September 30, 2021, http://www.insssl.lk/assets/images/publication/other/images/2021/january/2021_01_27/Defence_Review_compressed.pdf

¹⁸Buddhika Samaraweera, Wahhabists in Sri Lanka Propagate Ideology Through Thowheed Organisations – PCoI, March 15, 2021, <https://ceylontoday.lk/news/wahhabists-in-sri-lanka-propagate-ideology-through-thowheed-organisations-pcoi>

¹⁹Ranga Jayasuriya, "The Easter Sunday Attack: Unpacking Islamic Radicalization in Sri Lanka," in INSSSL Defence Review 2020, pp. 39-70, accessed September 30, 2021, http://www.insssl.lk/assets/images/publication/other/images/2021/january/2021_01_27/Defence_Review_compressed.pdf

al ThowheedJamaath (NTJ); a split of Sri Lanka ThowheedJamaath (SLTJ) in Kattankudy by 2012²¹. NTJ was the epitome of Wahhabi proliferation in Kattankudy, which developed the skeletal planning of Easter attacks in 2019.

6.0 Connecting dots : Possibility of incubation of terrorism within an Ethnoscape

From the factual and analytical discussion developed so far, Wahhabi polarization within Kattankudy is evident. In such an outset, the author would like to bring about several incidents and attempt to develop a cause- and-effect link between fact and logic in relation to the Ethnoscopic context of Kattankudy and Islamic extremism of the Eastern province.

(i.) Security culture endowed with the concept of ‘Home Guards’.

The system of ‘Home Guards’ was implemented by the Government of Sri Lanka in 1985, as a self-help military strategy to protect Sinhala and Muslim border villagers from the LTTE. Home Guards were basically a civilian group of male adults who has undergone a rapid training of weapons to contain a terrorist attack when the need arises²².

Residents of Kattankudy had also undergone such screening and training, where batches of 300 participants were enlisted time to time under the police²³. Amidst measures from government to disarm Homeguards after 2009, civil militancy continued under the wing of Wahhabism. Two reporters who wrote an article on the situation of Kattankudy in 2009 testified at PCoI, seeing T-56 weapons at the premises of Zahran when they were interviewing him²⁴. The remnants of the Home Guards culture and the voluntary isolation made Kattankudy a breeding ground for Wahhabi terrorists and their operational planning.

²⁰Chris Kamalendran and Asif Fuard, “Unholy Tensions in Lanka’s Muslim East,” *The Sunday Times*, August 16, 2009, https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090816/News/nws_23.html.

²¹ “The Commission of Inquiry to Investigate and Inquire into and Report or Take Necessary Action on the Bomb Attacks on 21st April 2019,” January 31, 2021, <https://easterattackreport.org/report/>

²² Kalinga Tudor Silva, “Home Guards in Sri Lanka: Guardians of Peace or Threat to Human Security?” *Economic and Political Weekly* 45 (September 4, 2010): pp. 31-33, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25742041>.

(ii.) Dealing in support in the form of electoral allegiance

Baccini et.al. developed an intellection which developed a link between implications of terrorism and election outcomes. Furthermore, it was deduced that terrorists' actions are not random, rather strategically calculated, where they "... target populations that are more likely to respond in the desired manner..."²⁵. The author sees a similar undertone in the context of NTJ in Kattankudy. Targeting the General Elections of August, 2015, Zahran and NTJ issued an open declaration setting up several conditions for the attention of all the political parties contesting. Upon acceptance of the conditions, Zahran agreed to support the campaigns of the agreed political party²⁶.

Therein, the author would like to argue that a major determinant factor which caused the possession of such bargaining power by the Zahran and NTJ were the strength of Wahhabi ideology propagating through the NTJ. The undertone of Wahhabism violently blemished the fabric of Sufi Islam, by creating a political climate which justified a societal system of repression through their fundamental teachings. This system was hostile to rights of freedom of expression and bearing contradicting political views. Hence, as per the deductions of Baccini et. al, Zaharan properly understood the interests and positions of his target; political parties desirous of votes, leaving no space for a miscalculation.

(iii.) Attaching Ethnonationalism to a physical space

One of the many detrimental impacts of colonialism in Sri Lanka would be the rise of Ethnonationalism in the place of an overarching Sri Lankan nationalistic identity. In 2003, Oluwil declaration came into being as a result, where Muslim activist groups rendered community demands on self-determination for a Muslim nation in the East²⁷. These narratives further muscled the idea of a Muslim nation to the Eastern province and Kattankudy later became the point of gravity, which fueled Muslim Exclusivism on the basis of the Oluwil declaration.

²³ Chris Kamalendran and Asif Fuard, "Unholy Tensions in Lanka's Muslim East," *The Sunday Times*, August 16, 2009, https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090816/News/nws_23.html.

²⁴ "The Commission of Inquiry to Investigate and Inquire into and Report or Take Necessary Action on the Bomb Attacks on 21st April 2019," January 31, 2021, <https://easterattackreport.org/report/>

²⁵ Leonardo Baccini et al., "Terrorism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from the United States," *Research & Politics* 8, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168020987333>

²⁶ "The Commission of Inquiry to Investigate and Inquire into and Report or Take Necessary Action on the Bomb Attacks on 21st April 2019," January 31, 2021, <https://easterattackreport.org/report/>

Salafist concepts such as Al-Wala' wal bara' which portrays non-Muslims as potential enemies of Islam, added fuel to the fire²⁸. Hence, it is evident that ethno-nationalistic thinking which was endowed with the Oluwil Declaration later nursed Kattankudy as a stronghold of Muslim exclusivism which resulted in the enhancing of its Ethnoscopic character.

The author so far presented an array of socio-political factors which enhanced the Ethnoscopic character of Kattankudy. This raises the question on the remunerative nature of the reconciliation process of Sri Lanka for the past 12 years. It lacks a comprehensive framework to prioritize and treat the root causes of ethnic divisions and the creation of Ethnoscapes in the Eastern province itself. In what follows, the author intends to propose ways in which Urban Peacebuilding could be adjusted to the Sri Lankan context as a way of dissolving rigid ethnified cityspaces through voluntary action of communities.

7.0 Conceptualizing the application of Urban Peacebuilding to the Sri Lankan reconciliation process

The author views the urban space as a prism, crucial in navigating a customized peace processes relevant to post-conflict contexts. As per Bollens, "... qualities of the urban system such as social interaction, economic interdependence may assist to advance peace after a large settlement is negotiated"²⁹.

When rival parties of a conflict share the same urban space, their daily engagements will undermine harsh ethnic divisions and lead to the development of a multi-ethnic collective consciousness. In this regard, the author would like to align the conceptual core of Urban Peacebuilding to the views of Robert Park. As per Park, competition and communication are the two fundamental interactions which shape the social order and organizational characteristics of the society. Further he added that, "... social institutions are the... effects of the ef-

²⁷ "Sri Lanka's Muslims: Caught in the Crossfire," May 29, 2007, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/32062/134_sri_lanka_s_muslims_caught_in_the_crossfire.pdf

²⁸ Mohamed Bin Ali, "Forging Muslim and Non-Muslim Relationship: Contesting the Doctrine of Al-Wala' Wal Bara," S. Rajarathnam School of International Studies, November 19, 2015, <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/srp/co15251-forging-muslim-and-non-muslim-relationship-contesting-the-doctrine-of-al-wala-wal-bara>

²⁹ Maureen Moriarty-Lempke, "Review on 'Urban Peacebuilding in Divided Societies,' by Scott A. Bollens," *Journal of Planning, Education and Research* 19 (2000), <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0739456X0001900420>

forts of societies to act collectively. The so-called group mind is merely a body of traditions, understandings, sentiments and ideologies accumulated through conversation and communication...³⁰. Hence, the authors view that Urban Peacebuilding targets the transformation of the said ‘group-mind’ of an urban space to foster multi-ethnic co-existence.

8.0 Enhancing local ownership of Sri Lankan peace process through Urban Peacebuilding

Many theoretical and conceptual frameworks of Peacebuilding are often criticized for being foreign to the context and oblivious to inherent socio-cultural currents of torn down societies. The occidental lens towards Peacebuilding and the inability to customize local frameworks for Peacebuilding has caused the said failure. As an interviewee pointed out... “I did get to meet many people but they were all brainwashed into looking at peace and building peace from a superficial western ‘NGO’ lens³¹.

In customizing the Sri Lankan peace process through Urban Peacebuilding, the author suggests the incorporation of two main components; namely,

1. enhancing local ownership
2. adopting a policy-neutral approach.

Local Ownership of a peace process in a nutshell is “... the commitment to build capacity of local actors through inclusive participatory processes ... as a critical part of restoring trust and consolidating peace...”³². Through localizing Peacebuilding initiatives, peace could be internalized as a norm into everyday lives of communities.

A major prerequisite in ensuring local ownership of a peace process would be to adopt policy-neutral approaches. As per Bollens, in such an approach, “... government official role is not biased towards either ethnic group, ... and policies developed do not address the divergent perceived needs of the two communities...”³³.

³⁰ Robert E. Park, “Symbiosis and Socialization: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Society,” *American Journal of Sociology* 45, no. 1 (1939): pp. 1-25, <https://doi.org/10.1086/218206>

³¹ Kithmini. Ranaweera, *Ethnoscape to Peacescape: Prospects of Ethnified Cityspaces and Urban Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*. Personal, July 16, 2021.

³² “Local Leadership to Local Ownership – An Essential Element for Effective Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention,” September 2018, https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Why_Local_ownership_matters-policy_note-21-Sept.pdf

Based on the foundations laid by the two components mentioned, the author has developed several policy recommendations related to diluting the racial polarization in ethnified cityspaces such as Kattankudy. Therein, when relating to the ground realities of Kattankudy and the basis of local ownership, a sudden policy to scatter the polarization would create a chaotic status quo. As the influence of Wahhabism has created a toxic climate sensitive to external intervention and multi-cultural tolerance, it would be imprudent to intervene directly into the urban space as per the author. Creative strategies need to be developed where change commences within the majority of the public of Kattankudy. Therein, the author agrees with the views of an interviewee where he stated, "... setting boundaries and reinforcements could be implemented, however, if we want to have a long-lasting sustainable change, those engagements should be voluntary..."³⁴. Therein, herculean efforts had to be made from the end of policy makers to make the isolated communities reach a point of self-realization on the harmful impacts of their non-integration with the rest of the society.

In order to achieve this, the government strategy should be to develop push factors to creatively draw out portions of communities from the polarized space. Such strategies may include,

1. Appointment of personnel who are residents or anyhow related to Kattankudy to implement the strategies developed by the government, as a confidence building mechanism and to enhance local ownership of the process.
2. Developing opportunities of educational engagements in Colombo or other multi-ethnic urban spaces for the youth of Kattankudy and promotion of such opportunities through the personnel appointed from Kattankudy. Such educational arrangements may include undergraduate programs outside of Kattankudy with attractive scholarships, exchange outreach programs and offers related to vocational training.
3. Promoting the concept of Youth Activism and Volunteerism in racially polarized spaces. Activism and volunteerism could facilitate meaningful dialogue amongst youth across different ethnic divisions. Through enhancing cooperation and unity in addressing non-ethnic related issues such as Climate Change, Sexual Violence, Bribery and Corruption etc. where its participants could understand another individual beyond ethnic divisions.

³³ Maureen Moriarty-Lempke, "Review on 'Urban Peacebuilding in Divided Societies,'" by Scott A. Bollens," *Journal of Planning, Education and Research* 19 (2000), <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0739456X0001900420>

³⁴ Kithmini. Ranaweera, *Ethnoscape to Peacescape: Prospects of Ethnified Cityspaces and Urban Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*. Personal, July 14, 2021.

4. Development of a national framework for Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka. In the crafting of a framework a hybrid model should be adopted, to enhance local ownership and policy-neutral nature. Lessons learnt from the past failures in Sri Lanka along with success stories of Peacebuilding globally should also be considered.

9.0 Conclusion

Ethnoscape of Kattankudy is the ultimate bi-product of the crystallization of historicized ethnic hostilities, attachment of Muslim nationalism to the spatial arrangement of the Eastern province (and therein, Kattankudy), security vacuum and political quagmire created in the Eastern province as a result of the war between GoSL and LTTE and proliferation of Wahhabism oblivious to policymakers. 2019 Easter attacks were the tragedy that could have been avoided if Ethnoscapes in the East were handled with prudence. Yet, underlying currents of racial polarization are left unnoticed by policymakers. It is high time that Sri Lanka replaces tailor-made conventional Peacebuilding processes with a customized setting which grasps the ground realities of the negative peace context of Sri Lanka after the war in 2009. Urban Peacebuilding is not focused on structuring the tangibles of an urban space, rather it positively transforms the ethnic memory, sense of belonging and collective conscience which is attached to the space. Only then the island wide community of Sri Lanka could be empowered to genuinely own the peace process as a way of redressing the Sri Lankan psyche torn by separatism.

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THE NEXUS BETWEEN GLOBAL VALUE NETWORKS AND NATIONAL SECURITY : THE SRI LANKAN CONTEXT

Lasantha Wickremesooriya

Abstract

The global economy continues to evolve rapidly, presenting a complex and ever-changing landscape reflecting an increasing degree of integration and inter-dependency on global trade, day by day. Advocates for globalisation argue that it has brought prosperity and wellbeing to nations and that the benefits far outweigh the disadvantages. The spread of economic activities of organisations transcending national boundaries, driven by trade policy reforms, technological advancements, cost considerations, and access to resources and markets, have given birth to the concept of global value networks. Taking part in the value adding process at different stages brings socio-economic benefits for the participating countries. To do so mean a reassessment of a country's national political agenda, trade and investment policies, structural and other supportive policies, to harness the full benefits of participation in global value chains. Yet, such economic gains are not without risks. The integration of markets across the globe and their interdependencies results in shift of economic power bases and technological leadership. As the comparatively smaller and fragile economy of Sri Lanka attempts to elevate herself from its present economic status, the greater reliance on foreign supply chains, risks to critical infrastructure, polarised foreign direct investment, and fragmented social strata, the prospects of greater vulnerability to its national security and state sovereignty being compromised is a possibility. This paper discusses the potential national security threats to be vigilant of as Sri Lanka pursues opportunities within the global value adding network to facilitate her elevation from a lower-middle-income status to an upper-middle-income status.

Key words : *Globalisation, Global value chain, Global Value Networks, National security*

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the potential threats that are likely to emanate as Sri Lanka pursues opportunities to transform the country to a developed nation through an export led, industrialised strategy. In particular, we explore whether the effects of globalization, the growth of global value networks and the potential of manifesting themselves in the national security realm. Grounded on conceptual frameworks of globalisation and semi-globalisation, coupled with a drastic reduction of trade barriers across nations and disruptive technologies, has pushed the global economy to be more and more integrated and inter-dependent. Supported with extant literature, we argue that this has led to a greater dis-aggregation of manufacturing and service activities, from one location to multiple geographic locations, leading to the new phenomenon of Global Value Networks. The disaggregation of business activities across multiple geographic locations, crossing national boundaries infused with investments and mobility of people, creates potentially new threats to a country's national security in addition to the economic opportunity it creates. This paper explores some of these potential threats to the national security of Sri Lanka, especially in the form of regional geo-politics, environmental degradation, bargaining power of large-scale investors, cybercrimes and socio-cultural conflicts. The discussions and the articulation of potential threats to national security are grounded on a synthesis of extant scholarly literature and the authors thinking and experience in global trade.

Literature review : The context

Globalisation

In the most generalist sense globalisation refers to the broadening set of inter-dependent and integrated relationships among people, groups, and institutions across the world. The concept was formally introduced in management by Theodore Levitt in 1983 in his seminar article titled "The Globalisation of Markets" (Levitt 1983, 92). At the core of his argument was that technology was driving, convergence of commonality across markets in the world, connecting all corners of the world and driving demand for more standardised goods and services. Thomas Friedman called this phenomenon "The world is flat". However, we pose a pertinent question, "truly, is the world flat?" The answer according to one of the leading gurus in globalisation, Pankaj Ghemawat, is that it is not. Whilst similarities exist, differences between countries also continue to exist and are larger than generally acknowledged, a phenomenon he describes as 'semi-glo-

balisation' (Ghemawat 2003, 139). Leaving aside conceptual differences that exist, it is generally accepted that from an economic perspective, globalisation has helped achieve access to greater variety, diverse resource stock, better quality, competitive prices, and broader markets to mention a few. However, globalisation extends beyond the mere economic perspective and encompasses practically every field in today's life. With technology in the forefront driving disruption of existing patterns of world order, the process of globalisation is driven by reduction of trade barriers and unrestricted flows of information, goods and services, private capital and investment, production, and people, to a more than ever integrated and interdependent world economy.

Since the establishment of General Agreement in Trade and Tariff (GATT) in early 1950s, trade values are said to have grown by approximately 300 times¹. The 2020 global trade value in goods and services was estimated at US\$ 22 trillion². Consequently, we observe value chains of businesses spreading across multiple countries, a phenomenon where services, materials, parts, and components criss-cross borders – often numerous times. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that nearly 70% of global trade today, constitutes global value chain activities³.

Countries gain by participating in global value chains by doing more of what one is good at irrespective of the stage of the process. For developing countries such as Sri Lanka, which is constantly under pressure to enhance its foreign currency earnings to supplement its imports, aggressively participating in global value chains are a way forward. Yet, as much as one could expect as economic prosperity with such strategic directions comes issues of national security. Economic coercion from stronger economic partners, polarisation of investments in the hands of a privileged few, internationalisation of domestic issues precipitating in potentially foreign intervention, trade sanctions arising from trade disputes, the fall out of local industries and the resulting loss of employment are just a few areas to mention that poses threats to the national security of a nation. National security of a nation aims to go beyond the traditional military security by encompassing a broader perspective covering independence, integrity, and sovereignty of the state against external and internal adversaries, provision of good governance, promotion of economic growth with equity, ensuring food, energy, and water security, human development, emphasis on science and tech-

¹See https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/trade_evolution_e/evolution_trade_wto_e.htm#fntext-1

² World Trade Statistical review 2021: https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/wts2021_e/wts2021_e.pdf

³ <https://www.oecd.org/trade/topics/global-value-chains-and-trade/>

nology and so forth (Chandra & Bhonsle 2015, 340). Thus, national security in the 21st century implies a more all-encompassing national threat perspective that extends beyond the traditions of military threats.

The world is not flat- The concept of semi-globalisation

The world is flat! That's how Thomas Freidman summed up globalisation after his famous visit to the conference room of Nandan Nilekani, CEO of Infosys Technologies Limited, India. Technology had made it possible for people across the world to collaborate and compete in real time on diverse types of work on a more equal footing than at any previous time in the history of the world. Reduction of trade barriers, and communications technology in particular was shrinking the physical distances between geographies and connecting consumers, markets and producers seamlessly across the planet. These sentiments echo the ideas that were put forward by Levitt (1983, 92-93), when he argued that technology was driving the world toward a converging commonality driving demand across the world resulting in a new commercial reality – 'the emergence of global markets for standardized consumer products'. Multiple definitions of globalisation exist, yet the essence is similar. The Oxford Reference defines globalisation as "the increasing worldwide integration of economic, cultural, political, religious, and social systems. Economic globalization is the process by which the whole world becomes a single market. This means that goods and services, capital, and labour are traded on a worldwide basis, and information and the results of research flow readily between countries"⁴. A world which is integrated and interdependent.

However, this notion that the world is flat was challenged by a leading scholar in management, Professor Pankaj Ghemawat⁵. Whilst agreeing that the diminishing tariff barriers, and the evolving communications revolutions are bringing connectivity of people across nations like never before, he posits (see Ghemawat, 2003) that the world continues to remain largely disconnected. Differences and distances exist. His findings reveal that most types of economic activity that could be conducted across nations continue to remain domestically concentrated. The world witnesses a growth in institutional harmonisation

⁴ <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095855259>

⁵ Pankaj Ghemawat is the Global Professor of Management and Strategy and Director of the Center for the Globalization of Education and Management at the Stern School of Business at New York University, and the Anselmo Rubiralta Professor of Global Strategy at IESE Business School. <https://ghemawat.com/about>

and economic integration during the era 1970 to 1990s. We saw the entry of large economies such as China, Russia and India into the global market, yet such changes according to Ghemawat (2003, 144-145) does not necessarily reveal that the majority of trade is globalised. As much as globalisation friendly policies are being pursued the opposite forces too are in operation. The suspension of the Doha round of trade talks in 2006 stands as a testimony to how divided the world is.

One needs to understand that people within nations in general will demand for more protectionism than less and this is where the incompatibility arises between policies to globalise vs policies to pursue a national protectionism strategy. We see this happening in Sri Lanka. The two main political parties that have been ruling the country since independence, one follows a more right wing based open economic policy whilst the other a more left wing based restrictive economic policy. These two parties have been elected to serve alternative terms, with no clear winning strategy for the way forward. Successive governments have also played into the sentiments of the majority, only to find themselves sandwiched between global pressures and domestic pressures, with no sign of a win-win solution. So, what does Pankaj Ghemawat mean by semi-globalisation?

To claim that the world is globalised, and that it is flat, in Ghemawat's view is an extreme. The concept of semi-globalisation brings a breadth of freshness and a realistic way of looking at what globalisation is in the real world. Cross border integration is contingent upon several elements and whether such integration will continue to increase, remain at moderate levels or even experiencing a set-back is anybody's guess. Technologies will continue to evolve yet the main engine behind policy development, the political ideologies may not necessarily change. China, India and Russia are classic examples. Thus, looking at a world which is semi-globalised, where differences between countries are greater than similarities, trade development must take into account, both, similarities as well as dis-similarities. Thus, those engaging in trade and services will aim to retain a balance between both similarities and dis-similarities, requiring supportive policy initiatives. Therefore, semi globalisation is a status a trading partner would achieve is a position in a continuum that lies between two extremes – zero integration and total integration. As firms are encouraged and motivated to go global, the extent to which they are globalise will be determined by the degree to which they adapt (maximising the local relevance), aggregate (the attempt to deliver economies of scale by creating regional or global operations) and arbitrage (exploiting disparities between national and international country markets, often by locating different parts of the value chain in different geographic locations). This is known as the triple 'A' framework (Ghemawat 2007, 60). Whilst

adaptation and aggregation has been at the forefront in explaining how trade moves across national boundaries for some time, it is the 3rd factor, arbitrage, the new addition that is of focal interest in this essay.

Globalising the value chain and the global value network

The presence of intermediate goods in global trade, which involves the dis-aggregating the traditional vertically integrated model of production and allows for the different value-added activities to be dispersed globally in a strategic manner (to achieve a competitive advantage) constitutes the global value network (GVN). It includes a full range of activities starting from research and design, through the intermediary phases of sourcing, production, sales, and marketing, culminating in the delivery of finished goods or services to the end consumer. GVNs link geographically dispersed activities into a single industry and give insights into the shifting patterns of trade and production. The shift of western production to countries such as China, India, South Korea, Vietnam, Bangladesh in the Far East stands as good examples. Thus, we see a different type of specialisation emerging in the new world order, from product specialisation to task and functional specialisation based on competitive and efficient inputs. GVNs are also useful for apprehending the interconnectedness of economies based on the extent of value generated at each stage. The apparel and mobile industries amongst several others are good examples of GVNs in the contemporary world.

The GVN is a value creating system or a 'value constellation' (Normann & Ramírez 1993, 66) where a set of economic players from different parts of the world come together to co-produce value (Wu et al 2007, 570). These value adding activities are carried out using a combination of human, tangible and intangible resources that are linked by flows of material, information, technological, financial resources, and relationships. The GVNs focus is on business functions, which are the different activities that add value to the end product or service, such as R&D, procurement, logistics, operations, marketing, customer services and so forth. Countries tend to specialize in specific business functions rather than specific industries, such as the assembly/manufacturing operations for China, Bangladesh, Vietnam or business and IT related services in India. These have implications from an institutional perspective, especially the national Governments in policy designs for trade and investment, national human capital development and capitalising on GVN opportunities without compromising national security concerns. Thus, it could be observed that decisions regarding locating specific functionalities, along the GVN is based on leveraging advan-

tages based on location specific differences. This is the fundamental principle on which the notion of 'arbitrage' of the triple 'A' concept of Ghemawat (2007, 60) is conceptualised.

In the early days multinational firms were accustomed to arbitrating labour cost differences by locating more labour-intensive processes in countries with low labour costs. One may recall the entry of the apparel manufacturing industry in Sri Lanka, where international firms were invited to transfer their production on the basis of low labour wages in the late 1970s. However, in the modern world, arbitrage has gone beyond leveraging low-cost labour advantages. It has moved into research & development, information technology, production, specialised component manufacture, design capabilities, human resources, software development, distribution, marketing and so forth. The establishments of each of these different nodes in the GVN can take many a form, viz., wholly owned subsidiaries, joint ventures, strategic alliances, contractual arrangements, or even non-controlling foreign firms. Whilst the policy of ownership and control of the parenting firm would decide the shape and format of the relevant node, eventually it would be the institutional framework of the respective country in which the node is located that will determine the governance framework, its ownership and control. Participating in GVN's are generally viewed as beneficial to developing economies who could gain a foothold in global markets, earn much needed foreign exchange for development, provide employment opportunities, and assist in the development of the infrastructure. There is a belief that countries, especially developing countries, should aim to move up in the value adding process and create higher value added, though the OECD suggests that countries should focus more on doing more of what a nation is good at and become more efficient and competitive in that sphere. Whilst the debate continues and nations craft their own strategies, the potential threats emanating to a nation's national security by participating in the GNV should be given due consideration.

Discussion

Sri Lanka and its position in the GVN

Successive Governments over the past four decades have aimed at achieving high growth rates mainly through external demand, recognising the limitation of the domestic market with a modest per capita income. Recognising her strategic geographic location, the aim has been to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) to boost much needed foreign exchange on the one hand and

on the other hand to generate employment economic growth from value added. The completion of the major infrastructural projects such as the Hambantota port and the adjacent Mattala international port, major highways facilitating speedy transportation between these major logistical hubs and the capital city, the Colombo International Financial City (CIFC) are a few that are worthy of mention. Sri Lanka's geo-strategic location and therefore its speedy access to important markets, both, in the east and west, makes it attractive to be developed as a hub for numerous value-adding projects. The southern Hambantota port is only 10 nautical miles away from main east-west maritime route and this is what makes its positioning attractive to prospective investors. This has been the geo-strategic advantage that successive Governments have pursued albeit slowly. However, the immediate past Government and the present Government has begun a process of vigorously pursuing this advantage to gain the necessary advantages speedily. The establishment of a large-scale economic zone around the southern port, the development of some major infrastructural projects, including power & energy are being pursued. The CIFC built on land reclaimed from the sea is also gathering momentum and the first phase is expected to be completed in 2025. The new city is expected to function as a special jurisdiction area with its own economic and commercial laws to facilitate the operations of global multinational corporations. It is in the backdrop of these developments that the issues of national security are reviewed.

Potential Implications to National Security

Today Sri Lanka enjoys full benefits of peace after three decades of conflicts was brought to an end by successful intervention of the military. The drive for economic prosperity through growth strategies primarily directed to increase our foreign exchange earnings will need to attract more FDIs and require policies that create an enabling environment. One of the major economic issues facing the country today is its choking debt. The Government debt reached an all-time high of 101.0 % of the country's nominal GDP in December 2020 (see annual report of CBSL 2020). Consequently, the Government has attempted to drive the country's exports on the one hand, whilst pursuing opportunities to create strategic investments attracting foreign investors. A few low yielding, yet high worth strategic assets have been targeted to be developed, especially in the leisure, energy, agriculture sector etc via the Strategic Development Projects Act (SPDA). All of this would mean investor-friendly policies and regulatory frameworks designed to attract the best amongst competing countries in the immediate neighbourhood, as well as regionally. Hence there will be pressure on the Government to be more lenient, flexible, and open to foreign investors, a

situation which could irk the perceptions of a few social groups with opposing views. We have observed such anti-foreign sentiments being spoken of amongst certain social groups who then try to incite the feelings of the public and create an atmosphere of hate and destruction. Such movements could be encouraged by interested parties through NGOs operating in the country with intent to create chaos. There are also politically and socially motivated parties who appear to take the stance that the absolute ownership of national assets should not be diluted, either by selling or even through joint ventures. Trade unions with opposing political ideologies are also likely to oppose such moves, irrespective of the economic benefits to the country. Such civil movements could lead to civil disobediences eventually leading to disturbing the peace and a potential threat to national security.

Along with FDIs comes the indirect link with those respective international Governments. New relationships are built, and existing relationships are strengthened with respective national Governments in this process. These relationships must be honoured and respected. As the degree of interconnectedness and the interdependencies increase, there is greater burden on the host nation to manage this relationship effectively. Yet, with greater investments from specific countries could possibly lead to foreign government interference in the domestic affairs of the country, particularly so if there are potential threats to the investors themselves. Once a foreign investor is here the country is duty bound to guarantee not only the investment but also protection to physical assets and human factors as well. The other important aspect is the balancing of the FDI portfolio from a national perspective. Bias towards a favoured nation being given more prominence attracts attention of other neighbouring and geo-politically interested nations. Such situations can endanger the national security situation, with pressures being mounted by such affected nations, both directly and indirectly. Periodically Sri Lanka has been subject to pressures from countries such as India, USA on the basis of certain national scale projects being partnered with the Peoples Republic of China on a preferential basis, a claim that the Government has dismissed.

Another potential threat emerges from an environmental perspective. Most developed countries are taking very stringent measure regarding preventing environmental pollution. Consequently, industrialists in these developed nations are looking to relocate their redundant technologies and or environmentally toxic plant and machinery to developing countries, where such laws are lax, and processes are manoeuvrable. The transfer of redundant technology and or environmentally damaging plant and machinery can eventually lead to social unrest arising from serious harm that will be caused to the surrounding

environment. The release of industrial effluents to the natural environment, processing material that are imported to the country which may be harmful or even banned in other parts of the world, are a few other instances where scrupulous investors could resort to under the guise of investing in the country. Such events can even lead to endangering human life which can trigger serious civil unrests impacting the peace of the country. As such, whilst FDI and participating in the GVN is of importance for the growth of the economy, they should be done with care and proper attention to mitigate the likely threats to national security. Sri Lanka with a strong agriculture industry despite its low contribution to GDP still employs nearly 25% of the population who are mostly rural based. Hence, the sensitivity to potential environmental pollution is relatively high.

With modern industry comes communication technology. In particular, the software industry is a major foreign exchange earner and has experienced phenomenal growth during the past decade. The consolidated IT-BPM industry's exports reached US\$ 1.5 billion in 2019⁶. One of the greatest threats to national security emerges from cybercrime. The upgrading of the infrastructural to support the growing IT-BPM industry also means spill over benefits such as a gradual improvement in technology literacy rates in the country, followed by an increasing usage of mobile technology and social media platforms. Cybercrime is defined as the use of a computer as an instrument to further illegal ends, such as committing fraud, trafficking in child pornography and intellectual property, stealing identities, or violating privacy⁷.

The accelerating investment in infrastructure and the growth in the IT industry can lead to malicious disruption or modification of data, access to information and data, unauthorised access, disruption of operations, digital identity thefts, to mention a few. The scope of cybercrime is vast and goes beyond the scope of this essay. However, with development, and integration into the global value network, the filtrations of cybercrime into the country's network cannot be ignored nor taken lightly. Its implications are to critical infrastructure, intellectual capital, vital information, and to promote terrorism. Organised crime can come in the form of several guises, and one could be in the form of a genuine business as a front. With transnational terrorism this is a possibility. Hence, proper due diligence of potential investors and their local partners when setting up nodes in the GVN should be considered from a national security perspective.

⁶ <https://www.srilankabusiness.com/ict-services/about/export-performance.html>

⁷ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/cybercrime>

The Hambantota port is now operational, and the sea traffic is building up. So is the development of the Hambantota Industrial Park (HIP). Several industrial projects with foreign investment are targeted to commence operations once the infrastructure facilities of the zone are complete. A tire manufacturing plant, production of household electric and electronic appliances, assembly of yachts, are just a few of the projects that have been lined up, the output of which is mostly targeted for export. Thus, we could see the beginning of the growth in Sri Lanka's participation in the GVN. Substantial employment is expected to be generated along with new technology transfers. The increasing industrialisation in Hambantota and the hive of import-export activities would mean that the seas lanes are going to get busy as the country progress. Along with this comes another potential threat, maritime security. Sri Lanka already has a maritime issue with its neighbour India on the western front, where Indian fisherman illegally engage in fishing activities in the north-western seas. However, though somewhat not seen in the foreseeable future, the potential threat to maritime security in the southern seas could be a likely scenario with growth in sea transportation via the Hambantota port. We observe the increasing capabilities and reach of sea pirates, mostly from east Africa. The likelihood of them being attracted to a busy sea lane with HIP in full gear is a phenomenon that cannot be discounted in the future and should be seriously considered in the national security strategy.

Finally, as Sri Lanka grows economically and transits into a more modernised developed economy, the potential impact on the nation's culture cannot be ignored. We are a country that is rich in cultural diversity in which ethnicity, language and religious affiliation correspond with one another, each being a key determinant of an individual's identity. One school of thought argues for a loss of these unique identities as the world globalises but the fact remains that cultures remain diverse as much as they display similarities. Youth around the world appear to display similarities in their cultural outlook but a close scrutiny will reveal that their uniquely deep-rooted values, norms and beliefs do exist. As trade and investment pervades across nations, we are bound to observe cultural clashes, at institutional levels, enterprise levels and at societal levels. Fearful of losing cultural identities, eroding moral codes and values and so forth, pockets of societies may fight back to prevent more dominant culture from overriding the local cultures. In Sri Lanka, we have seen how religious groups have come forward in protest of trade and investment decisions of the Government, whenever they felt that such decisions were detrimental to the local culture, for example legitimising gambling. Therefore, from a security perspective one must be constantly vigilant of forces that will act in the opposite on the perceived belief

that certain types of investments will be detrimental to local cultural values and norms. Such opposition could escalate to dangerous levels and explode into a national level socio-economic disorder posing a serious threat to national security.

Thus, it is evident that the extremely complex process of globalisation manifests itself into the domain of security too. The creation of new relationships between individuals, firms and nations lead to the likely emergence of new threats as the integration and interdependencies of this complex process increases over time. It also creates the paradox of simultaneously increasing absolute security relative to prior periods whilst increasing the perception of insecurity (CÎRDEI 2019 , 42). The state of insecurity arises predominantly from domestic non-state stakeholders who feel threatened regarding their safety and security consequent to globalisation. Such perceptions of insecurity, threat to national cultures can lead to fragmentation of societies resulting in conflicts between inter-state stakeholders with further possibility of such differences spilling over on an international basis. With boundaries between nations continuing to disappear and the scale of integration and interdependencies will increase. These will lead to a further scaling of vulnerabilities to national security threats. Thus, maintaining an appropriate balance between the degree of global integration, whilst preserving the country's national characteristics and its heritage which forms its unique identity, is the order of the day. In doing so, maintaining a holistic approach to national security is a sine qua non for the country.

Conclusion

Globalisation is generally viewed from an economic and trade perspective and the debate on whether it has brought more gains than losses is a continuing debate. Whilst data supports those who argue for overall gains in trade and benefit to participating nations, the growing inequalities between people and nations, continuation of conflicts, as well as emergence of new conflicts are seen as the negative effects of globalisation (CÎRDEI 2019, 42-43). On a more serious note, how globalisation is a threat to national security is of concern. With barriers to mobility in production, finance and people gradually diminishing, we observe business value chains being spread across nations, a concept known as global value networks. Enterprises in their attempt to leverage the best and competitive advantages, shift parts of their value chain to different nations, where such advantages can be maximised. To facilitate such movement, and with the objective of attracting FDIs, respective Governments embark on a journey of liberalising trade, providing an enabling environment through the

reduction of investment barriers. The extent of openness creates possibilities of both, desired and undesired elements to permeate the country's national environment amplifying the vulnerabilities, creating imbalances, which can lead to sources of instability, intrastate tension, and conflict. The increasing role of influence from large global enterprises also can be detrimental to developing countries whose fragile economies and weak financial status are dependent on large scale investments for economic growth. The emergence of new environments for the manifestation of hostile intentions, such as the cyberspace, diminishing national borders, emergence of non-state organizations with regional assertions and other geo-political manifestations are a few other vulnerabilities that are prone for amplification with globalisation. On a positive note, the interconnectedness through globalisation has also led to cooperation amongst states in uniting their efforts overcome barriers, increase greater inter-state-communications, and transparency in dealing with security threats that are beginning to globalise. For a country such as Sri Lanka, who has a modest economy and needs to pursue growth opportunities, the full benefits of globalisation and the participation in GVN's must be exploited to its fullest potential but at the same time, should maintain its guard by keeping a close check on the areas that are prone to national security threats.

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“FORECAST ANALYSIS ON INDO- CHINA GEOECONOMICS AND GEOPOLITICAL PLAYOUT THROUGH THE COLOMBO PORT CITY”

Portia M. Kempes

Abstract

Colombo Port City has been the subject of crucial debate on both, international and domestic platforms. Domestic concerns regarding China's financial support and Sri Lanka's sovereignty and the amassing of debt have arisen. On a more global perspective, this has ignited concerns in neighboring nations, predominantly India, on China's presence in the Indian ocean. This paper aims at assessing the nature of Indo-China rivalry and its ability to cripple the success of Colombo Port City as an external deciding factor and the manner in which Sri Lanka should navigate around such circumstances as a developing nation in the Indian Ocean. The author makes use of the values and beliefs of several experts in the fields of diplomacy, academic and maritime security, along with her own to draw conclusions from the data and factual information available. The writer notes that the conclusion and policy recommendations may be subjected to change due to unforeseeable global events that may directly or indirectly impact Colombo Port City developments. The paper concludes that rivalries between economic giants and the pursuit of a Defensive Realist approach by developing nations in ensuring Economic Security are realities found in international relations. As a country that advocates neutral foreign policy and seeks no alignment with particular global giants, Sri Lanka should strengthen its communication with India in addressing their concerns.

Key Words : Geo-economics, Strategic Communication, Economic Growth, Colombo Port City, Service-oriented SEZ.

Introduction

Colombo Port City, Sri Lanka's most invested economic project that is to be open to the world in 2041, has been the focus of much debate as of late. Its purpose is to revolutionize Sri Lanka's mediocly performing economy and to lay down the foundation to a sound accelerated economic growth. In its 73 years of Independence, Sri Lanka has not succeeded in performing exceptionally well and to emerge with a strong economy. While the world is being ravaged by a pandemic, it is imperative that Sri Lanka redefines its economic strategies to make a stronger recovery in a post pandemic world.

Located in Colombo with a land area of 267ha, it is composed of a financial city, a leisure and recreational city and a residential city (CHEC Port City Colombo (Pvt) Ltd, n.d). Upon its completion Sri Lanka will be able, through Economies of Scale, gain comparative advantage in the South Asian region. The Project is classified as a Special Economic Zone and is projected to be a hub of massive investment inflow and knowledge transfer, especially in the form of technology, and create vast job opportunities enabling a trickle-down effect to other sectors of the economy. The project is developed by CHEC Port City Colombo Pvt (Ltd), along with the Government of Sri Lanka. The project was launched in 2014, during President Xi Jinping's visit to the country (Datta, 2021). It is hoped that the project will create the ideal conducive environment to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), will act in the form of a catalyst as a modern services hub and facilitate Sri Lanka's economy to elevate to a high-income status. (Dailymirror, 2021)

With the financial assistance of China, Sri Lanka is under a spotlight of scrutiny with Chinese rivals suggesting an alignment with China. Of these economic giants is India, Sri Lanka's immediate neighbor is vigilantly observing the developments of the Port City. The Research question the paper aims to explore is as follows: "Assess the nature of Indo-China rivalries and its ability to cripple the success of Colombo Port City as an external deciding factor and the manner in which Sri Lanka should navigate around such circumstances as a developing nation in the Indian Ocean". The author will be identifying geo-economic strategies as a more prevalently used tool in modern geopolitics. Subsequently, the author explicates on the geo-political nature of Indo-China relationships and the inescapable effect it will have on the Colombo Port City. The author identifies that power dynamics in the Indian Ocean Region has been subjected to massive change and will have to be considered as an indispensable factor in Sri Lanka's foreign and domestic relations. Finally, the author provides policy recommendations that should be implemented to circumvent this issue. The paper

is sectioned broadly under the following components; Methodology, An analysis on Indo- China relationships and implications to Sri Lanka, Conclusion and Recommendations.

Methodology

The paper uses, as primary data, the input of several experts in the fields of diplomacy, international relations, and maritime security and as secondary data, data sources available online. The author utilizes in depth interview methods to discuss the issue and probable outcomes with the interviewees. The epistemological aspect is achieved by the author’s attempt at integrating knowledge and perspectives of the interviewees to respond to the research problem. The study places an emphasis on actionable knowledge and indicates through the knowledge of interviewees that are based on their experience in respective fields. Since a guarantee to preserve the anonymity was given by the author, a background on each individual will be provided. The first interviewee is a former officer of the Sri Lanka Army and a former diplomat. The second interviewee is a military officer currently serving in the Sri Lanka Navy. The third individual is a senior lecturer specializing in the field of Strategic Studies. The fourth individual is a current government official serving at the Foreign Ministry of Sri Lanka. With the high probability of Colombo Port City emerging as a significant geopolitical centre and a global trade hub, the significance of maritime security cannot be disregarded as there will be imminent threats that could emerge and compromise the National Security of Sri Lanka in the forms of external foreign influence, money laundering, terrorism and extremism etc. Thereby individuals from Sri Lanka Army and Navy were selected since the field of maritime security has been discussed to great length by the respective authorities, with regards to Colombo Port City. An academic specializing in strategic studies was selected to obtain a broader perspective of how Sri Lanka could balance both China and India while using a strategic approach in implementing its foreign affairs and in securing its national interests. A diplomatic official was interviewed to bring into light the methods and techniques Sri Lanka’s diplomatic experts have implemented and should utilize in Sri Lanka’s pursuit of higher economic growth. Freedom to leave the interview was granted by the interviewer. This method attempts to indicate emerging changes and thereby the possible combinatory ways in which scenarios would actualize. Depending on this, the study provides the approaches Sri Lanka should be taking to balance concerns of external powers, while securing its internal development plans. The study also makes use of Defensive Realism, a theory in the field of International Relations.

Discussion

Special Economic Zones

Looking at the concept of Special Economic Zones (SEZ), the literature suggests diverse and contradicting results. With regards to India, proponents suggest that India's SEZs facilitate localized spillovers in terms of development. Countries that are successful in developing a well-structured approach are able to align with an accelerated SEZ led development growth rate than countries that do not. (Aggarwal, 2019). The study suggests a three-way framework; a well-defined strategic framework to align SEZ's with national development strategy, Strategic dynamism and Strategic implementation. By far, the most successful countries with their SEZ projects are China, Korea and Taiwan. In contrast, Countries such as Cambodia, Indonesia and Sri Lanka deal with limited success of the SEZ localities in strengthening their productive capacity.

Looking at Shenzhen's development growth, we can point out that the SEZs did succeed in attracting FDI, expanding the trade sector of China and allowing for rapid transfer of tech knowledge into the labour force. Strategically, SEZs were placed away from the close proximity of Beijing, aiming to deter any political influence. (Yue, Lee, and Gordon Kee, 2014)

A massive contributing factor to China's economic growth was the presence of SEZs. Simultaneous innovative economic policies and practices gave way to an enormous economic transformation in a Post-Cultural Revolution China. China was able to link into the Global supply chains, resulting in a development boost within regions of China. Shenzhen played a predominant role in shaping the country's economy and revolutionizing global trade. (Yue, Lee, and Gordon Kee, 2014).

Colombo Port City will, upon its competition, be compared with other global SEZs such as Dubai International Financial Centre, Labuan International Business and Financial Centre and Gujarat International Financial Centre (Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute for International Relations and Strategic Studies, 2020). The study emphasizes on the importance of benchmarking in order to deem Port city a success. The debate that revolves around Colombo Port City and China's involvement is also rooted around the possibility that such projects could be used by China for commercial and military purposes. Additionally, the lease on Chinese funded Hambantota port for ninety-nine years to China has exacerbated concern regarding Sri Lanka's autonomy and the probable loss of control of its own national security matters (Wignaraja et al. 2020). As the port city will have emerged as a service oriented SEZ and fintech hub, the

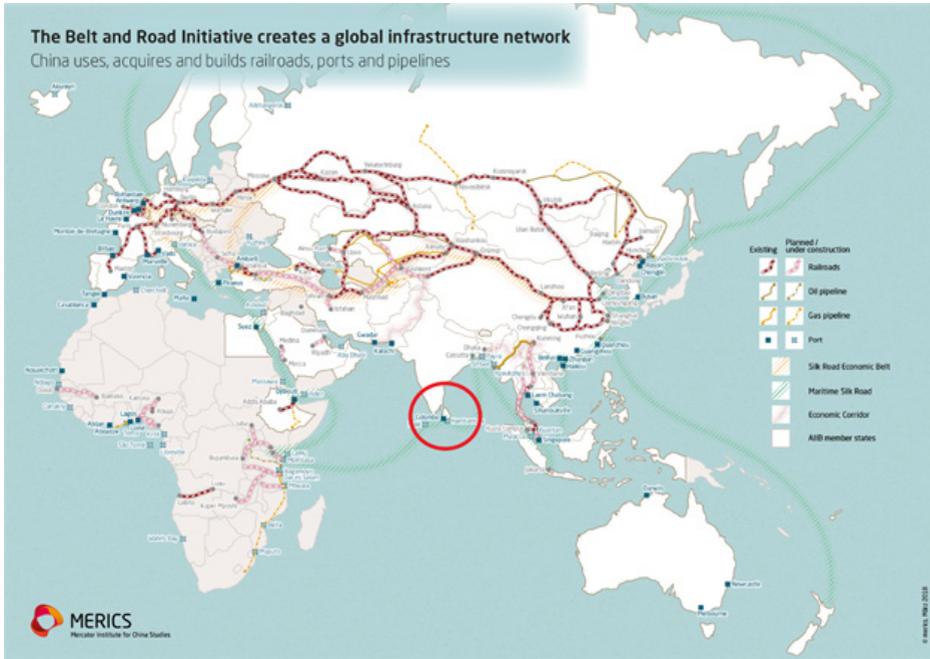
success of it will depend on several external and internal factors such as Global Economic Development, Global political climate and technology advancement, Domestic Stability in terms of political and economy status, rate of infrastructure development outside of the SEZ and labor market resources. Sri Lanka does not showcase its best performance in terms of the Ease of Doing Business Index and therefore must facilitate better administrative processes for entrepreneurs and potential investors (Aggarwal, 2005).

Geo-economics and Geopolitics

Geo-economics is considered a subdivision of Geopolitics and a prominent tool in the Geostrategic toolbox. There is a distinct interwoven nature between the two concepts. Geoeconomics is often discussed in two forms; one focuses on the positive aspects of Geoeconomics, while the other focuses on the negative. Geopolitical strategies are often in the form of overt approaches. The means used are often military centered and are compose a high threat perception. The projection of these strategies is not subtle and is evident.

Over time, we see a gradual reformation and reshaping of the geopolitical space. Geopolitics has transformed into a field where countries incorporate economic approaches in the pursuit of their interests. Views highlight that a powerful economy is associated with higher degree of influence in the global arena particularly in matters of negotiation, putting developing nations at a disadvantage. It was interesting to note that economics is emerging as a subtle yet coercive tool used in the rivalry between countries. In other words, geopolitics and subsequent geostrategies are increasingly being manifested through economic tools and policies.

FIGURE 2 : The map of the Belt and Road Initiative and Sri Lanka



Source : Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS)

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and China

China's economic growth is stemmed in an accelerated growth pace since the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and the subsequent liberalization of the economy in 1978 under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. It can be universally acknowledged that China's economy is expanding at an unprecedented rate, as the world's second largest economy. It has made significant use of geo-economic approach in attracting countries with its Belt and Road initiative.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), also known as the New Silk Road, can be termed as China's most ambitious development driven project. Dispatched in 2013 by President Xi Jinping, this infrastructural and maritime approach stretched out from East Asia to Europe, all the while developing China's economic and political hold in the global platform. (Chatzky and McBride, 2020).

It comprises of the Maritime Silk Road and the overland Silk Road Economic

Belt. Initially, referred to first as the One Belt, One Road initiative the project became commonly known as the Belt and Road Initiative. At the summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Indonesia, 2013, President Xi announced plans for the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). To accommodate expanding maritime trade traffic, China would be investing in port improvement along the Indian Ocean, extending from Southeast Asia all the way to East Africa and certain parts of Europe. China hopes to evolve as a global economic giant and emerge more dominating in terms of economy and trade.

A few experts consider China's rising force to be an expansion of concern, and as the expenses of a large number of the projects have soared, debate has arisen in certain nations. Additionally, the United States shares the worry of some Asian nations that the BRI could be a Trojan horse for Chinese driven regional and military development. Despite the disagreement, USA has failed to present a more engaging economic plan. This essentially points out as to why many developing countries such as Sri Lanka opt for financial support provided by the Chinese. It is devoid of the Western reluctance to commit and presents offers that are more appealing.

All interviewees acknowledged, however, that China has not yet exhibited its profound military strength. This does not imply that China wishes to remain compliant to the Western pressures aimed at the containment of Chinese global presence. China has simply not been subjected to a dire scenario where it had to rely on its military power. However, a study by Ji (2016) indicates the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of China have included the Indian Ocean as a region of interest. According to a report published by Karen Ward of HSBC Global Research, it is assumed that China would be the leading economy by 2050 (Platt, 2012). They utilize a pragmatic approach in development with 5-year development plans stretching over a number of decades. China's population of 1.4 billion was announced to be above the poverty line in 2020. Additionally, it stands out as one of the few economies which grew rather than contracted during the pandemic.

The cumulative amount of Chinese investment has been around \$12.1 billion between 2006 and July 2019 (Wignaraja et al. 2020). Sri Lanka through BRI, will have more access to main infrastructure, skills and capital that could easily facilitate a more connected platform for trade. This can, in turn, help develop investment promotion, participation of global value chains and increase job opportunities and consequently labor force participation, the transfer of knowledge and technology and also assist further development of the Colombo Port

City (Wijayasiri and Senaratne, 2018). Sri Lanka's challenge is to assure it reaps the benefits from these investments without compromising on its autonomy, sovereignty and thereby national security.

India's mounting Concerns

With China's more lingering presence in its neighboring territories, India has raised concerns on its domestic security. Recent media articles conveyed that the Indian military was keeping close watch over Sri Lanka's Port City (Ramanayake, 2021). All interviewees acknowledged that some of India's concerns regarding Chinese presence might be justifiable, while some may not. China's national defense strategy, introduced in 2004 and updated in 2015, placed importance on "frontier defense, which enriched the original strategy and has immediate relevance to PLAN expansion." China's maritime strategies branch out from its immediate surrounding waters to the far reaching oceans such as the Indian Ocean. PLA's two ocean strategy aims at placing emphasis on the Indian Ocean and is rooted in China's need to secure trade routes and commercial routes via the Indian Ocean and as a countermeasure against US's interest to balancing power in Asia. (Ji, 2016)

On one hand, China's two ocean strategy acknowledges that in moving towards the west, particularly for maritime power projection, India would have more sensitivities in the Western region of the Indian Ocean. However, it dismisses the notion that India is the sole owner of the Indian Ocean and their ability to dictate terms on the developments in the Indian Ocean. (Ji, 2016). On the other hand, there are India's concerns on China's apparent plan to contain India through BRI investment projects. According to analysts, China is utilizing a "String of Pearls" Strategy by investing in ports and infrastructural projects in Gwadar, Chittagong, Hambantota, and Sittwe (Chatzky and McBride, 2021). Additionally, India's concerns are rooted in the possibility that China would take advantage of these ports establishing a more significant presence in the Indian Ocean. Moreover, given India's often antagonistic relations with Pakistan and the strengthening of the Sino-Pakistan nexus further amplifies India's fears that China may seize control over the Indian Ocean region. This triangular dynamic between the three nations can certainly have sensitive implications on Sino-Indian relationships. (Kumar, 2010)

With growing interest from other global players in the Indian Ocean region, Sri Lanka is naturally of strategic importance. Countries that are aligned with the United States of America such as Japan, Singapore, Australia have shown

interest in the developments of the Indian Ocean. This is clearly interpreted as a multidimensional interest by various players in the global platform.

Interplay of India and China rivalry and Implications on Sri Lanka

China and India share a history of disagreeable relationships. Both countries display strategies belonging to Offensive Realism where it is believed that status quo powers are rarely found in world politics. In light of the fact that the international framework provides strong incentives for states to look for opportunities to gain power to the detriment of rivals, and to take benefit of those circumstances when the advantages offset the expenses. A state's ultimate goal is to be the hegemon in the system. (Mearsheimer, 2001)

As two Asian economies that have made an astounding turn back from their underperforming statuses in the late 1900s, these countries have certainly focused on their comparative advantages in establishing themselves as global economic powers by placing additional emphasis on trade markets and IT sectors. On the other hand, it is inevitable China will emerge as the leading economy in terms of GDP Per Capita by 2050, with India and US following closely. Emerging Economies (E7) will be progressing twice as fast compared to the (G7) economies. (PwC, 2017) Countries such as Vietnam and Philippines will be making quite impressive progress in terms of GDP growth rates. Therefore, the prospects from Asian economies to advance is quite high.

It is also interesting to note that intensifying the unease of India, is USA's heightening determination to contain China's presence. Therefore, China's exponential growth has caused the other international players to be cautious in their conduct and form alliances such as the Quad. China's presence is manifested through its economic strategies. Their military influence is not as profound as their economic presence. This does not nullify the possibility of China's military gaining strength because of a strong economy. The formation of an institution uniting all these countries could be formed with its primary objective being the close supervision of China's developments. This has come into existence through the AUKUS and Quad. Biden's deterring advice to US companies against investing in Hong Kong is also an attempt at discouraging transactions centred in the financial hub (Sevastopulo and Riordan, 2021). Recent developments such as the Digital Trade Deal (Martin, Martin, and Mohsin, 2021) is evidence that the US is taking into consideration the need to contain China's influence.

This signifies that Colombo Port City developments cannot be isolated or unaffected by the larger picture of geopolitics with more significant powers at play.

Therefore, we cannot state that geopolitics of India and China will not have an impact on Sri Lanka and its economy. In contrast, it can be stated that the geo-economic relationships existing between China and India, through geopolitical and geostrategic actions, are an external determinant of the success of Colombo Port City. Even though such development of relationships between India and China is not within Sri Lanka's control, Sri Lanka must handle its relationships with both nations with expertise if its ultimate aim is to ensure the economic benefits through Colombo Port City. This notion was reiterated by the interviewees. When questioned about how the Indo-China rivalry would play out in the Sri Lankan context, a common concept shared by all interviewees was that Sri Lanka would have to be extremely strategic in their conduct between the two countries. They stated that China for the moment is only interested in securing its trade routes between Central Asia and Africa from where they receive their raw materials for production. China would intervene therefore under the circumstances that their trade routes are compromised. On the other hand, India's concern on China's presence in Sri Lanka is rooted in the volatile relationships between one another. India being the super power in the South Asian Region is aggravated to have a foreign superpower dwelling in the territory where she remains dominant.

As a country who is heavily dependent on investment inflows from China and India, Sri Lanka has to ensure that concerns of these countries are addressed. It is only by doing so that Sri Lanka can strengthen the potential success of the Port City. When asked about the manner in which India's concerns would be projected and manifested in Sri Lanka, the interviewees shared the same opinion once again. India's concern is justified as any sovereign state would be vigilant about its national security which may be threatened, from their point of view, by the presence of another external global power. According to the theory of Defensive Realism, states should for the most part seek after moderate avenues as the best course to security. Under most conditions, the more grounded states in the worldwide framework should seek after military and economic arrangements that convey restraint (Taliaferro, 2000). Sri Lanka's ideal response should be one that is aligned with Defensive realism where it is encouraged to maintain moderate policies so that International Security can be maintained. As opposed to Offensive Realism, this suggests that there is a need to maintain the global balance of power.

It is understood that geo-economic and geopolitical events in the neighboring regions of Sri Lanka can sustain severe damages to the potential benefit that could be achieved by Colombo Port City. Therefore, the implication is that success of the financial hub is not solely dependent on internal factors but that,

external factors equally cause an effect, more or less devastating. Sri Lanka as an island of 22 million is not in a position to antagonize its neighbors who are part of more powerful entities. It can be stated that the country must strictly adhere to its Neutral Foreign Policy in order to reassure its neighboring countries. An external balancing of China and India should be executed so that antagonism does not emerge from either nation.

Conclusion

The power dynamics in the Indian Ocean Region has been subject to massive change over the past decade, unlike in the late 1900s and early 2000s. In the midst of US and China trade wars, and China’s presence in the Indian Ocean, India has raised concerns on national security. The author has recognized Indo-China relationships as an issue that could hamper the success of Colombo Port City. The nature of this issue is studied in depth by emphasizing the fact that geo-economic strategies are increasingly being used in the newer dimensions of geopolitics. Subsequently, the author analyses the China’s BRI, its higher focus on the Indian Ocean and India’s concerns on an external global giant’s presence in the Indian Ocean. Throughout the analysis, the author further substantiates the arguments with the knowledge and expertise of interviewees that are key to arriving to a conclusion. While Chinese assistance in Sri Lanka is solely economic based, we need to be mindful and address India’s concerns as a means of strengthening ties with India. If they develop or deteriorate in nature, it will accordingly have implications on Colombo Port City. It can be stated that regional geopolitical and geo-economic developments between China and India can affect the success of Colombo Port City and is an external factor that will determine the success of Colombo Port City, ultimately affecting the economy of the country. Geopolitical competition/ rivalry between the two nations and India’s concerns on sovereignty and autonomy can dent investment inflows and business confidence and therefore can have implications on the potential benefits and returns of Colombo Port City.

Sri Lanka’s respective authorities should comprehend that the power dynamics between global giants in the Indian Ocean will be, in the not-so-distant future, an inexorable factor Sri Lanka must take into consideration when it comes to its foreign and domestic conduct. In a context where such uncompromising foreign relationships between global rivals exist, Sri Lanka must assimilate methods to circumvent setbacks that could directly or indirectly affect the potential benefits of Colombo Port City. Sri Lanka must utilize this opportunity to create a conducive environment for healthy competition between global giants using an approach of Defensive Realism.

As a country which advocates neutral foreign policy and seeks no alignment with particular global giants, Sri Lanka should strengthen its communication with India in addressing their concerns. The Port City has the potential to emerge as a center that nurtures healthy competition between international investors. In a context where economics is increasingly transforming into a subtle tool of warfare in the power rivalries of major international blocs, Indo- China rivalries are classified as an external factor that Sri Lanka should be mindful about, as it may directly or indirectly have an implication on the Economic Security of Sri Lanka.

Policy Recommendations

a. Focusing on building ties with India

The Sri Lankan government should realize that despite Chinese financial assistance, maintaining relationships with India is important. Sri Lanka has, since times of ancient history, secured friendly ties with India. The introduction of Buddhism to the country by the Indian emperor, King Asoka is still considered India's greatest cultural gift to Sri Lanka. As the immediate neighbor, Sri Lanka must be vigilant of the concerns of India and address them rightly. It is absolutely important that transparent communication is maintained between Sri Lanka and India. Sri Lanka should be frank and convincing that the Port City is established as a means for securing and accelerating Sri Lankan economic growth. In order for this to be communicated, it is advisable that the Sri Lankan experts of foreign relations maintain good communication with those of India's foreign relations. This can be between individuals of Ministries, research think tanks, policy makers and university intelligentsia.

b. Strengthening trade ties with economic giants including India

As a country dependent on its international trade, Sri Lanka can make use of this opportunity to strengthen trade ties with India through bilateral trade agreements and regional trade integration. Sri Lanka, severely dependent on its importation of intermediate and raw materials, can benefit from free trade agreements, supporting the economy which is currently suffering from current and Balance of Payment deficits. Sri Lanka can also with India's collaboration build up its high skilled labour forces especially in the IT, Cyber security and Data Science sectors. Another ideal example on building trade ties is the recent trade deal with the USA on the Liquefied Natural Gas supply with New Fortress Energy Inc. (Economynext, 2021)

c. Consistent Development Policy

A collective attempt in upholding the development progress of Sri Lanka that does not change subject government that comes into power should be implemented. As a country that has several characteristics that can be utilized to its advantage, the development policies should be in synchronization to its economic growth. Therefore, consistent policies should be implemented with the collaboration of ruling parties and the opposition.

d. Encourage healthy competition in Port City

In order to accommodate and advocate neutral foreign policy, it is imperative Sri Lanka encourages investors to invest in Colombo port city as an attempt to neutralize China’s growing presence in the Indian Ocean. Port City will establish itself as a very significant political and economic centre in the Indian Ocean region. Given that Sri Lanka creates a business environment instrumental in attracting investment and improving indicators such as Business Confidence Index (BCI), Sri Lanka can avoid issues such as Adverse Selection where the market would attract wrong investors. In this case, Sri Lanka can circumvent the possibility of becoming a potential centre of corruption and money laundering.

e. Need for an integrated multidisciplinary approach to attract investors.

Complimentary elements that attract investors such the efficiency of the public sector, sophisticated technological infrastructure, efficient legal proceedings should be achieved. The Government should invest in skills such as Digital literacy, luxury scale hospitality and advanced financial services. As investors are increasingly interested in green consciousness, it is also important that the Central Environmental Authority maintains and secures the natural habitats surrounding the Colombo Port City.

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RISK, RESILIENCE AND CULTURE : EVALUATING FIREFIGHTER STRESSORS, NEGATIVE EMOTIONS, AND COPING CAPACITY IN SRI LANKA

Dr. Tony McAleavy ^a, Dr. David Huntsman ^b, Dr. Michelle Brooks ^c,
AVM Leonard Rodrigo RSP ^d, Dr. Xiangyu (Dale) Li ^a

^a Assistant Professor, Oklahoma State University, United States of America

^b Post-Doctoral Researcher, The University at Albany, United States of America

^c Senior Research Fellow, Institute of National Security Studies, Sri Lanka

^d Deputy Chief of Staff (Retd), Sri Lanka Air Force

Abstract

War, disaster, and domestic terrorism have shaped Sri Lanka's military and emergency services which have evolved, over time, as a reaction to these threats. As a result, the men and women of the country's eight fire brigades and the Air Force Fire and Rescue Unit stand ready, 24-hours-a-day, to respond whenever disaster occurs. Lessons learned from 9/11, the London, Paris and Manchester Arena bombings indicates that a nation's preparedness, readiness, and operational capacity are dependent on the wellbeing of these personnel which are vital to the nation's security and resilience.

The community expects its military and civilian firefighters to be brave, strong, and ready for anything. However, a high operational tempo exacts a heavy toll on the nation. Research indicates that an increasing operational tempo and regular exposure to trauma can result in chronic physical and psychological health problems. This results in higher work-related injury and absence rates, the breakdown of professional and personal relationships, self-medication with alcohol and/or drugs, depression, withdrawal, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicidal ideation, suicide and more. Beyond these often-devastating individual consequences, this hidden disaster within a disaster- which consists of stressors, negative emotions, and coping capacity - can significantly reduce operational capacity and undermine the nation's resilience building efforts. Similar to their military counterparts, civilian emergency services require appropriate consideration of their psychological health.

Organizational and managerial environments can either help or hinder coping capacity. Environmental stressors such as task overload, personnel shortages, ineffective communication, and perceived lack of managerial support dramatically increase levels of stress. The ongoing pandemic with the constant fear of exposure, dynamic shifts in operating picture, and protests and riots add further COVID-19-related stressors which are exacerbated by unbalanced demands for increased service capacity. This inhibits, already strained, emotional resources meaning well-developed coping behaviors are required. Existing research points to several approaches. Exercise and social relationships are considered effective, whereas drug and alcohol use and avoidance are not. Ineffective coping behaviors can lead to harmful physical and psychological outcomes that significantly reduce organizational performance. However, little is understood about how firefighters cope with these stressors. Recent multi-agency incidents such as the Easter Bombings, COVID-19, and the Xpress Pearl, have drawn global media scrutiny toward Sri Lanka. Thus, the psychological wellbeing of firefighters is a very real and significant national security concern. Accordingly, this paper outlines a theoretical model for evaluating stressors, negative emotions, and coping capacity within Sri Lankan Fire Brigades.

Keywords : firefighters, stress, negative emotions, coping capacity, Sri Lanka

Introduction

The 20th anniversary of the September 11, 2001 (9/11), terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and Pennsylvania in the United States of America (US) provides a visceral reminder of the bravery, dedication to duty and sacrifice of first responders the world over. Of the 2,996 killed on that fateful day, 414 were first responders (9/11 Commission 2004). Their sacrifice is a constant reminder of the toll response operations place upon those who serve, their colleagues, friends, and families. Indeed, 20 years on, many of these brave men and women are still suffering as approximately 91,000 first responders were exposed to a myriad of physical and psychological hazards linked to 9/11 operations. The death toll stands at 3,429 with aerodigestive illness, cancer and psychological issues accounting for 34%, 30%, and 15% respectively of the post-9/11 deaths (Smith 2021). Moreover, 15% to 20% of 9/11 first responders suffer with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)- despite a noted decline within the general population- while instances of early-stage dementia are rising (Smith 2021). Nearby communities - such as Chinatown and lower Manhattan - are also presented with physiological and psychological symptoms demonstrating

wider community impacts as the collective trauma has scarred the US and, indeed, global, psyches (Antao et al. 2019; Kung et al. 2019; North Atlantic Treaty Organization 2008). The extensive global media coverage triggered extreme stress and PTSD reactions within geographically distant communities; notably, amongst children and their parents (Otto et al. 2007). An enduring legacy of 9/11 is a visceral reminder of the critical need for governments, emergency services and the wider community to proactively address the psychological toll that high operational tempo and exposure to trauma imparts upon the brave men and women that protect the nation.

Sri Lanka has a long and storied history; from the Sitawaka and Kandyan kingdoms to colonialism and independence. Today, it is known as both the Pearl of the Indian Ocean and the Tear Drop of India due to its rich biodiversity and highly-sought after cinnamon and tea exports. The nation's beauty and rich cultural and religious diversity defies its significant experience of trauma. The nation has suffered through political unrest, civil war and terrorism, droughts, floods, landslides, cyclones, health epidemics and transportation accidents. Consequently, the military and civilian emergency services are highly capable and experienced. However, the long-term consequences of this high operational tempo and frequent exposure to trauma are currently unknown. Indeed, the hidden disaster of chronic physical and psychological health problems can be devastating to individuals, their colleagues, friends, and family while reducing operational capability which compromises national security.

Post 9/11, larger US professional fire departments initiated a cultural change relating to psychological wellbeing and support which is now reflected in training and organizational attitudes; however, smaller rural and volunteer departments have yet to change (Testa 2021). Given the high operational tempo and exposure to trauma currently being experienced by firefighters in Sri Lanka, there is a clear need to better understand stressors, negative emotions, and coping capacity to maintain operational capability. Accordingly, this study aims to “measure the causes, implications, and management of stress in firefighters”. Atheoretical model - based on correlation analysis of the collated qualitative and quantitative data corpora - to predict the likelihood of ineffective coping behaviors linked to organizational culture, social connectedness and family support is posited to assist fire brigades in maintaining the psychological wellbeing of their firefighters.

Literature Review

Suicide Risk Amongst Firefighters

Firefighters are at increased risk of suicide (Stanley, Hom, and Joiner 2016). A study of 1,027 US firefighters determined that 46.8% experienced suicidal ideations and 19.2% had actively developed a suicide plan, while 16.4% engaged in non-suicidal self-harm and 15.5% attempted suicide (Stanley et al. 2015). Worryingly, the US Firefighter Behavioral Health Alliance estimates that less than 40% of US firefighter suicides are reported due to a lack of a national tracking mechanism. It is, therefore, likely that more firefighters are dying by suicide rather than in the line-of-duty (Heyman, Dill, and Douglas 2018). PTSD symptoms - flashbacks, nightmares, and severe anxiety - are increasingly recognized as a precursor to suicidal ideation and behaviors amongst firefighters (Boffa et al. 2018; Stanley et al. 2019). Firefighters experience significantly higher PTSD rates than the general population with estimates ranging between 5% and 37% (Del Ben et al. 2006; Alghamdi, Hunt, and Thomas 2016). Current research provides much-needed insights: however, there are no empirical models that adequately explain the latent conditions for when and, more generally, why firefighters are at heightened risk of PTSD, suicidal ideation, and suicide. The US Federal Emergency Management Agency (2019) cites the role of severe job-related stressors and a cultural stigma to showing weakness within fire departments as significant causal factors in firefighter depression, PTSD, suicidal ideation, and suicide: however, these factors have yet to be adequately tested within a comprehensive empirical model.

Job-Related Stressors

Monnier et al (2002) defines, and measures, two job-related stressor categories. Operational stressors include exposure to trauma such as visceral trauma calls, suicide attempts and calls involving children, family members and downed firefighters, and being assaulted by the public (Monnier et al. 2002). In 2018, 64% of fire emergencies involved medical crises marked by serious injuries and death on arrival (Bendersky 2018). Moreover, 60% to 90% of firefighters responded to multi-casualty incidents, while 61% to 84% witnessed the death of a child (Regambal et al. 2015a). Repeated exposure to trauma significantly increases the risk of negative psychological outcomes (Jahnke et al. 2016) and is a key predictor of depression and PTSD disorders (Marmar et al. 2006). Organizational stressors include work overload, unbalanced overtime demands, lack of autonomy, lack of participation in decision-making, poor communication, personnel

shortages, improper or lack of equipment (Violanti et al. 2017). Operational stressors are linked to burnout and turnover intentions; notably, when employees feel unappreciated, inadequate, or incompetent as their work and efforts are not considered enough, and job-related demands are perceived to be unreasonable. Interestingly, organizational stressors are rarely considered alongside operational stressors particularly in the context of firefighters. Moreover, other key stressors - such as sleep disturbances, leadership and staffing issues, marital, and family stress and, more recently, the demands of COVID-19 are also not considered (Sanford, Suchecki, and Meerlo 2015). Consequently, the relationship between operational and organizational stressors, specific coping behaviors and psychological outcomes is not clearly determined which inhibits efforts to maintain operational capacity and tempo.

Coping-Capacity

Exposure to trauma and associated stressors results in both positive and negative emotional experiences (Beehr, Johnson, and Nieva 1995). Aldwin and Revenson (1987) argue that the actual experience of stress is less important than the ways in which an individual chooses to cope with it (Aldwin & Revenson, 1987). A firefighter's coping capacity is, therefore, based on the cognitive and behavioral efforts they apply to manage taxing internal or external demands that exceed the available individual resources (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Effective coping strategies allow individual firefighters to protect themselves from psychological harm (Beehr, Johnson, and Nieva 1995). Stress-induced negative emotions inhibit a firefighter's ability to pursue goals and complete tasks meaning that effective coping behaviors are necessary to maintain operational capacity (Brown, Westbrook, and Challagalla 2005). Carver et al (1989) defines effective - exercise, social relationships, positive humor, and stress-related talks- and ineffective - drug and alcohol use, avoidance, withdrawal, self-blame, and negative humor - coping behaviors. Ineffective coping leads to negative physical and psychological outcomes that increase occurrences of anger, anxiety, depression, addiction, heart disease, PTSD, suicidal ideation and suicide (Ménard and Arter 2013). Firefighters predominantly engage in ineffective coping behaviors (Cicognani et al. 2009): binge drinking, alcohol and substance abuse - which correlate to PTSD onset - are substantially higher amongst firefighters (Jahnke et al. 2016). The literature clearly defines various stressors and coping behaviors; however, the connections between specific stressors and coping behaviors remain unclear. This is especially true of ineffective coping behaviors as the reasons why firefighters engage in negative behaviors are unknown (Cicognani

et al. 2009). At present, there are a lack of empirical studies and inadequate attention is paid to the multiple stressors and contextual factors that influence firefighter decision-making following exposure to trauma.

Job-related stressors have a profound negative influence on coping behaviors and emotions; notably, when combined with family stressors such as marital dysfunction, divorce and child-related problems (Beaton, Murphy, and Pike 1996). Family support can reduce stress by providing a buffer between operational and organizational stressors (Cullen et al. 1985). However, it can also exacerbate job-related stressors triggering overwhelming emotions (Oosthuizen and Koortzen 2007). A combination of stressors are, therefore, more likely to lead to ineffective coping behaviors (Violanti et al. 2017). Indeed, job-related stressors alone are linked to suicidal ideation amongst firefighters with low social support (Carpenter et al. 2015). To date, Sri Lankan research has focused on work life balance (Weerasignhe and Abeykoon 2015), burnout (Wickramasinghe and Wijesinghe 2018), and depression (Wickramasinghe et al. 2018) within the police, rural first responder stressors (Regambal et al. 2015b), psychological complacency within the military (Monaragala 2014) and, daily stressors amongst war survivors (Jayawickreme et al. 2017). However, no studies have examined the relationships between operational, organizational, family and COVID-19-related stressors, coping capacity, and psychological outcomes amongst firefighters in Sri Lanka. This hidden disaster of ineffective coping behaviors can be individually and organizationally devastating while also compromising operational capacity, resilience, and national security.

Methodology

A pilot study consisting of 16 semi-structured qualitative interviews and two rounds of quantitative surveys were completed to develop an initial model - see Figure 1 - and refine the survey tool (Bell, Bryman, and Harley 2019). The study posed three questions, which forms of stressors are the most impactful?, how do firefighters normally cope with these stressors?, and what outcomes are these stressors and coping mechanisms associated with? The two quantitative surveys - informed by the interview data - were applied nine weeks apart via a hyperlink distributed anonymously to firefighters by the departmental headquarters. The sample-frame consisted of 370 of 1,008 firefighters - a response rate of 36.7% - drawn from a large metropolitan fire department in the eastern United States. The corpus of data was subjected to correlation analysis which determined three key stressors (Martin and Bridgmon 2012). Namely, job outcomes (withdrawal and performance), well-being (burnout, social withdrawal, and PTSD) and, be-

haviors and intentions(suicidal ideation, intentions to quit the department and career field).

Results and Discussion

The three aforementioned key stressors - job outcomes, well-being and behaviors and intentions were grouped into four categories that contain numerous sub dimensions:

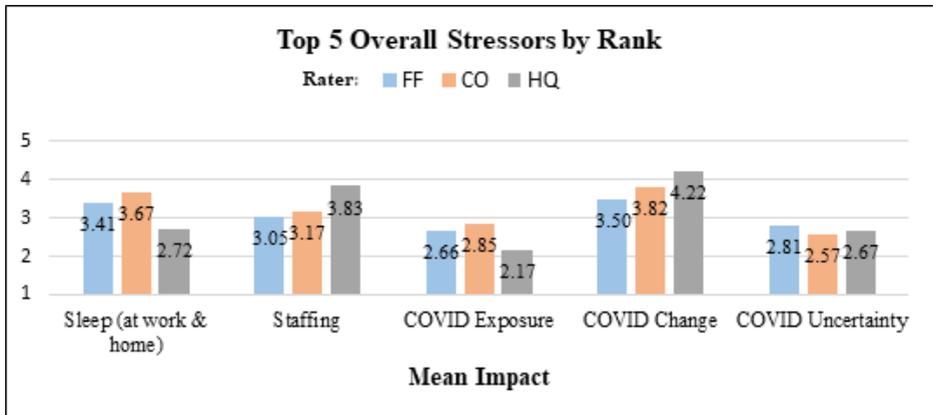
1. Operational stressors: sleep disturbance at work, job skill concerns, critical incidents, apprehensions regarding personal safety, and substandard equipment
2. Managerial stressors: management and/or labor conflict, co-worker conflict, reduction in force/wage/benefit worries/staffing, and discrimination
3. Family stressors: family and financial strain, second job stress, and sleep disturbance at home
4. COVID-19 stressors: COVID-19exposure and constantly changing Incident Action Plans, COVID-19change planned, and COVID Change uncertainty.

Across all categories, the five stressors that are most impactful for firefighters from the pilot study sample included :

1. Disrupted sleep
2. Staffing issues
3. COVID-19 exposure
4. COVID-19 planned change
5. COVID-19 uncertainty

These stressors are likely to be experienced differently based on rank. Consequently, the mean impact of each stressor was determined by firefighter (FF), company officer (CO) and headquarters (HQ) ranks as shown in figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Top Stressors Identified in Pilot Study



Unsurprisingly, sleep issues were considered a more impactful stressor by firefighter and company officer ranks. However, sleep disturbance of headquarters ranks is not negligible. Consequently, the long-term cumulative effects of stress and sleep disruption is impactful across the organization. As the most commonly reported stressor, displayed in the correlation analysis below, sleep disturbance at work is related to a variety of negative outcomes. This includes withdrawal at work and higher levels of burnout and PTSD. Moreover, as also the most commonly reported family stressor, sleep disturbance at home is related to a variety of negative work outcomes, including lower job performance, negative well-being, and suicide ideation.

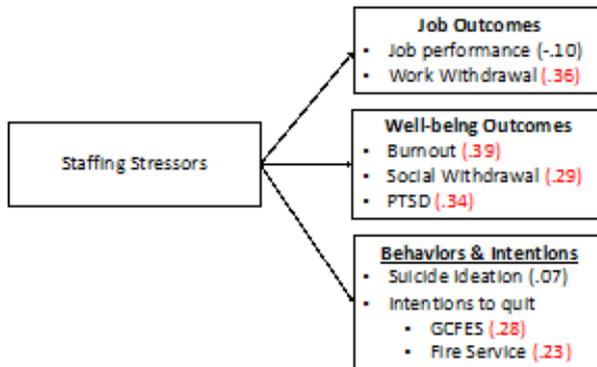
Figure 2 : Correlation Analysis of Sleep Disturbances (significant correlations in red)



In contrast to sleep issues, staffing issues, while stressful to all ranks, appear to be the most stressful to those at headquarters rank. This is, arguably, to be expected

given that headquarters ranks are required to manage staff shortages and implement mandatory overtime policies. As the second most commonly reported stressor, staffing issues are related to a variety of negative outcomes including negative well-being and intentions to quit.

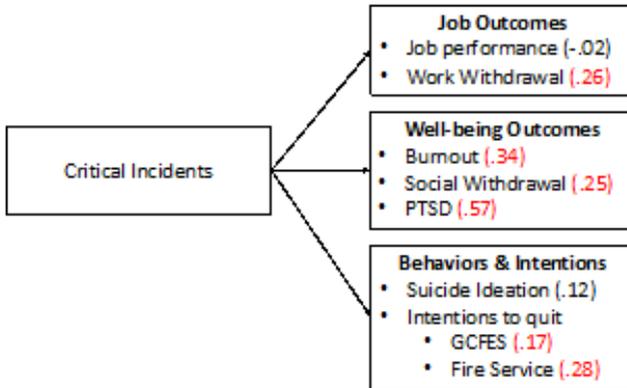
Figure 3 : Correlation Analysis of Staffing Stressors
(significant correlations in red)



COVID-19 related issues comprise the other stressors. The findings suggest that all ranks experienced similar levels of stress related to COVID-19 uncertainty, policies, and fear of exposure. Indeed, while that impactful COVID-19-related issue related was the frequent change. Headquarters ranks responsible for creating and implementing plans during the pandemic, experienced high levels of stress. Exposure to COVID-19 and dynamic incident action planning were associated with negative outcomes such as withdrawal, burnout, PTSD), COVID-19 change related stress which was the most impactful form of COVID-19 related stress was not associated with poor outcomes. Interestingly, despite firefighters reporting this as a significant source of stress, it does not appear to have had a significant impact on work performance or well-being outcomes.

Although critical incident stressors were not reported as being as stressful as other events, the traumatic and lasting effects of these stressors, as noted in the literature, warrants further investigation. While critical incident stress did not relate to lower job performance, it moderately to strongly related to negative well-being and intentions to quit both the organization and the fire service as a whole: see figure four below:

Figure 4 : Correlation Analysis of Critical Incidents
(significant correlations in red)



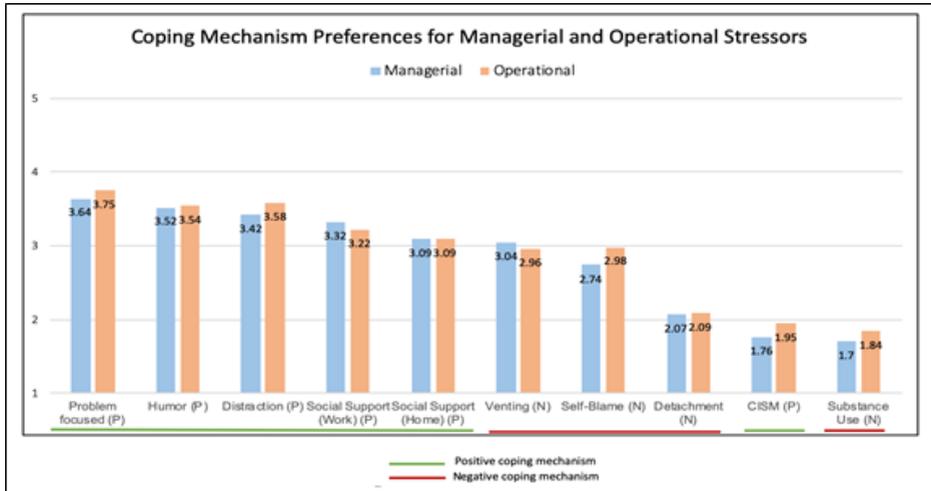
Firefighter Coping

To deal with the emotional impact of stressors, firefighters engage in various coping strategies. Respondents asked about how they cope with two separate sources of stressors: operational stressors (e.g., critical incidents involving children, severe trauma, COVID etc.) and organizational stressors (e.g., frustration with leaders, scheduling and staffing issues). Respondents selected how they coped with these stressors separately along a number of effective and ineffective coping mechanisms, listed below.

- Effective coping: Problem-focused, self-distraction, humor, social support (work), social support (non-work/home), Critical Incident Stress Management (Formal Program), problem-focused coping
- Ineffective coping: Self-blame, mental disengagement/detachment, substance use, venting (not always negative)

The figure 5 below indicates which strategies firefighters typically use to cope with each category of stressor; blue lines indicate coping strategies used for managerial stressors, whereas orange lines indicate coping strategies for operational stressors. The graph is sorted from most commonly used strategies (left) to least used strategies (right). Overall, firefighters reported that they relied on effective coping strategies more often than negative coping strategies for dealing with both managerial and operational stressors. Notably, the sampled firefighters reported using problem focused coping - a stress-management strategy in which a person directly confronts a stressor in an attempt to decrease or eliminate it – which is an important strength (Penley, Tomaka, & Weibe, 2012).

Figure 5 : Coping Preferences

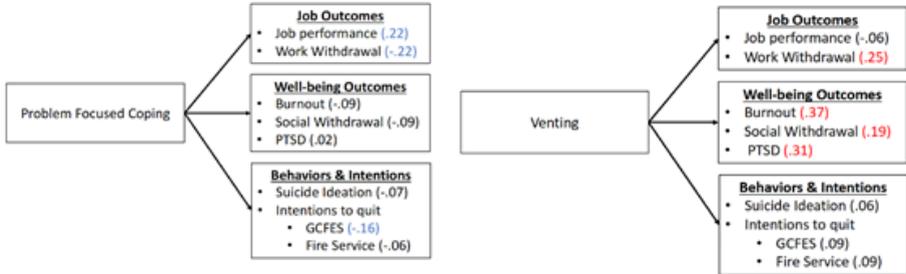


The most regularly used negative coping strategies were venting and self-blame. Venting is a coping strategy that involves expressing negative emotions to others. Disclosing stressors through venting is done to reduce stress levels - which it can do effectively under the proper circumstances (i.e., when used sparingly and when the person who is hearing the venting is able to empathize and manage the venter’s emotions). However, venting is not just about the person venting, but also about the person hearing the venting. Constant venting or venting as a result of common stressors can actually heighten negative emotional states. That is, someone who regularly complains about mundane tasks may do so as a way to stoke their own anger or frustration rather than dealing with those emotions. Venting also takes a toll on the listener as prolonged venting from colleagues can create a culture of negativity that can unduly influence morale.

As an example of how coping strategies relate to outcomes the most frequently reported effective coping strategy were correlated; namely; problem-focused coping and the most commonly reported negative coping strategy - venting. As the figures six and seven below show, problem-focused coping is related to higher levels of job performance and lower levels of work withdrawal. Interestingly, problem focused coping was not related to well-being outcomes, in contrast to research in other organizations. Venting is related to a number of negative job outcomes, specifically work withdrawal behaviors and negative well-being.

Figure 6 : Correlation Analysis of Problem Focused Coping
 (significant correlations in blue)

Figure 7 : Correlation Analysis Venting
 (significant and negative oriented correlations in red)



PTSD and Suicide

The findings indicate a significant interaction effect between stress and coping variables as they relate to outcomes such as PTSD, suicidal ideation, and suicide. For example, Figure eight below shows the results for interactive effect between stressors and coping styles on PTSD. The red line represents department employees who report using more negative coping strategies (i.e., venting, self-blame, detachment, substance use). Moving from the left side of the line, when stress is low, to the right side of the line, when stress is high, the line has a positive slope. This means that as stress increases, those who utilize negative coping strategies are reporting higher levels of PTSD. In contrast, the blue line represents firefighters who report using low levels of ineffective coping strategies. Moving from left to right on the line it is almost flat. This means that regardless of whether stress is low or high, firefighters who do not use ineffective coping strategies are reporting lower levels of PTSD overall (i.e., the line is lower than the red line).

Figure 8 : Interaction Effects on PTSD

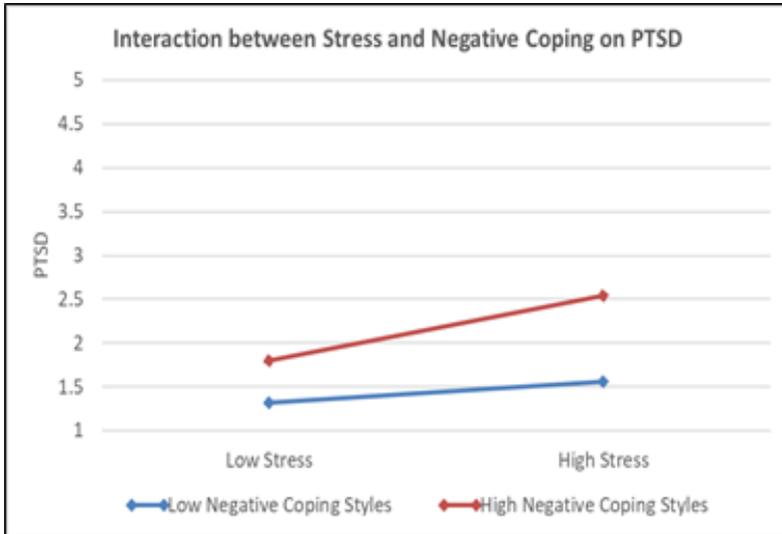
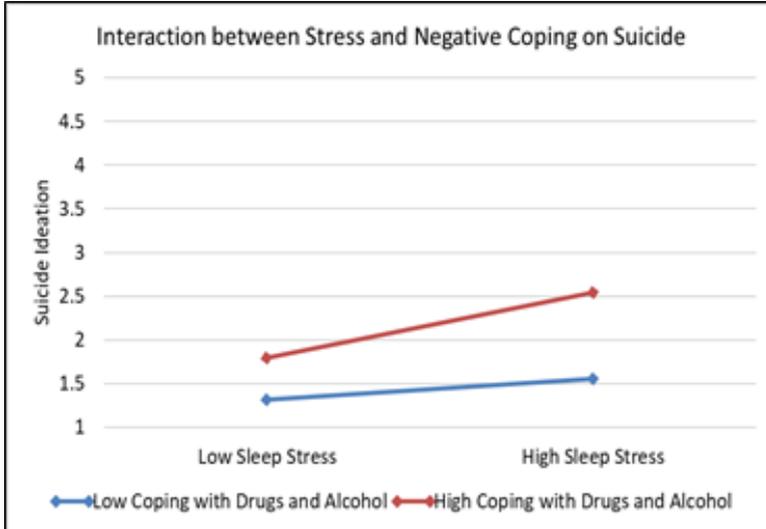


Figure nine shows the results for interactive effect between stressors and coping styles on suicidal ideation. The red line represents department employees who report using the drugs and alcohol as a coping strategy. Similar to figure eight, the graph shows that as stress increases, those who utilize drugs and alcohol as a coping strategy report higher levels of suicide ideation. In contrast, the blue line represents department employees who do not use drugs and alcohol as a coping strategy. Moving from left to right on the line it is also almost flat. This means that regardless of whether stress is low or high, firefighters who do not use negative coping strategies are reporting lower levels of suicide ideation overall (i.e., the line is lower than the red line). The main takeaways are that using ineffective coping strategies increases PTSD and suicidal ideation, especially when the firefighter is experiencing higher levels of stress.

Figure 9 : Interaction Effects on Suicide

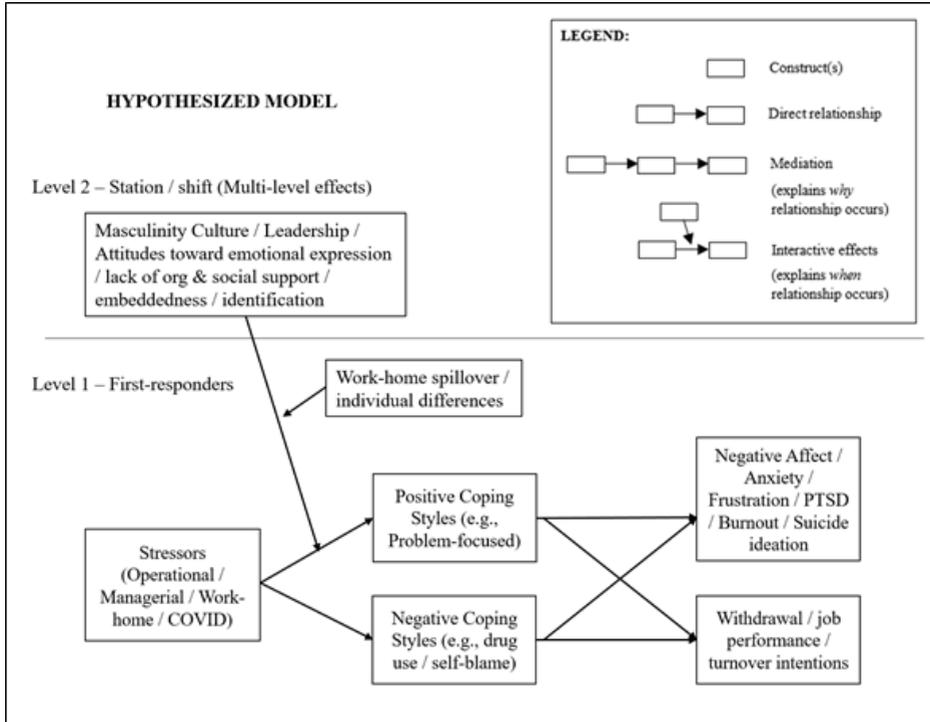


The findings reported herein are a much-needed first-step in understanding the causes, management, and implications of stress on firefighters. Accordingly, a theoretical model was hypothesized and is outlined below.

Theoretical Model

Figure ten below illustrates the posited theoretical model which predicts that operational, organizational, family, and COVID-19 stressors will lead to ineffective firefighter coping strategies where there is a toxic (overly) masculine culture which limits emotional expression, low social connectedness and organizational support, and high family-related stress such as divorce and parental challenges. The resultant ineffective emotional and behavioral responses - such as poor performance, withdrawal, PTSD, and suicidal ideation - will, therefore, be stronger. Conversely, when work and home environments are more positive, supportive, and connected, firefighters are more likely to be receptive to, and engage in effective coping strategies that can lead to better mental well-being and performance.

Figure 10: Hypothesized Model



The findings and posited theoretical model offer a validated framework to assess firefighter stressors, negative emotions, and coping capacity. However, given the relatively small sample-frame within this study further research, to secure size large enough for complex analytical procedures (i.e. structural equation modeling that include multi-level effects) which has never been done in a firefighter setting to explore stress, coping, and well-being outcomes, assess the generalizability of the findings and posited model, and develop refined measurement tools.

The noted stressors consisted of operational, organizational, family and COVID-19 related stressors. The most frequent and impactful stressor was sleep disturbance at work and at home. Additionally, staffing issues, COVID-19 exposure, and uncertainty, and repeated policy changes were frequently cited. Higher levels of stress were related to negative job and well-being outcomes such as withdrawal, burnout, reduced performance, turnover intentions, PTSD, and suicidal ideation. The sampled firefighters primarily relied upon positive cop-

ing behaviors; however, utilization of negative coping behaviors - venting, substance abuse and self-blame - was reported to increase the negative impacts of the noted stressors. These stressors coupled with negative coping behaviors are related to higher levels of burnout, reduced performance, PTSD, and suicidal ideation. Moreover, firefighters articulated that they were more likely to engage in negative coping behaviors when their organization, and associated culture, limited emotional expression and provided little support. This led to poorer job and well-being outcomes. Interestingly, operational stressors and exposure to trauma were considered less stressful than job or family stressors. However, they were related to ineffective coping behaviors and subsequent withdrawal, PTSD, and suicidal ideation. Thus, operational stressors and exposure to trauma warrant further investigation.

Conclusions

A lack of empirical research on the psychological wellbeing of firefighters, combined with a cultural stigma surrounding mental and behavioral health issues (Federal Emergency Management Agency 2019) limits our ability to address the ineffective firefighter coping behaviors that lead to negative psychological outcomes (Henderson et al. 2016). We must, therefore, determine when and why different stressors trigger negative emotional responses and ineffective coping behaviors amongst firefighters to reduce the devastating individual, family, and organizational consequences while maintaining organizational capacity and national security. Heyman et al (2018) found that more US firefighters (and police officers) died by suicide than all line-of-duty deaths combined. Given, the heightened operational tempo and exposure to trauma related to the recent Easter Sunday bombings, COVID-19, and the Xpress Pearl maritime accident there is a demonstrable need to better understand firefighter stressors, negative emotions, and coping capacity in Sri Lanka.

Recommendations

Contemporary fire brigades must develop organizational connectedness to build a sense of togetherness. Moreover, leadership and the organizational culture must emphasize support, openness and promote employee empowerment and decisiveness whilst also combating toxic masculinity and destigmatizing mental health. This is critical as firefighters are regularly exposed to severe operational, organizational, and family stressors which are currently exacerbated by COVID-19. Firefighters must, therefore, utilize effective coping behaviors to

reduce the risk of withdrawal, depression, PTSD, suicidal ideation, and suicide which requires a conducive culture and leadership. Without this, the resultant poor performance will exacerbate stress through higher personnel turnover which, in turn, reduces organizational capability and resilience. Little is understood about how firefighters in Sri Lanka cope with job-related stressors, even less is known about the factors that influence firefighter's decision-making and selection of ineffective coping behaviors following exposure to trauma. The impact of individual stressors and the effectiveness of specific firefighter coping behaviors in mitigating differing operational, organizational, family, and COVID-19-related stressors are also unknown. Thus, failure to maintain the psychological wellbeing of firefighters in Sri Lanka represents a clear risk to national security.

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CLCM Patabendige

Charani Patabendige is an Honorary Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of National Security Studies, the premier think tank for Ministry of Defence Sri Lanka. She holds a Bachelor of Laws degree with a second-class Lower division and an Advanced Diploma in Transitional Justice from Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies with a Distinction Pass. Currently, she is reading for the final year of the Attorney at Law examination. She represented Sri Lanka at the 'International Scientific-Practical Conference on Regional Security in Asia in the context of preventing new challenges and threats' conducted by the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA). Her research interests are on counter-terrorism, religious extremism, drug menace, human rights and national security.

Indeewari K. Galagama

Ms. Indeewari Kanchana Galagama is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Philosophy University of Kelaniya where she completed her B.A. in Peace and Conflict Resolution. She also acknowledged her M.A. in Conflict, Peace and Development Studies from the Tribhuvan University and completed her MSc in the field of Governance and Development at the University of Antwerp. Also she completed diploma in Disarmament and Non-proliferation at the UPeace, Diploma in Human Resource Management at the Aquinas University College, Diploma in Human Rights at the Institute of Human Rights and Diploma in International Relations at the BCIS. She is passionate about building peace and waged for conflict resolution.

Kithmini M. Ranaweera

Mrs. Kithmini Ranaweera is a graduate at University of Colombo, where she completed her B.A. (Hons) in International Relations. She has completed both the Diploma and Higher Diploma in International Relations from Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies (BCIS). She has also read for the Diploma in Diplomacy and World Affairs from Bandaranaike Diplomatic Training Institute (BIDTI). She is a former Intern at Institute of National Security Studies (INSS). Her Research Interests include Post-conflict Peacebuilding, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution.

Lasantha Wickremesooriya

Lasantha Wickremesooriya, Chartered Marketer and Consultant Strategist, is a Senior Fellow of the Institute of National Security Studies of the Ministry of Defence. He is a fellow of the Chartered Institute of Management and received his MBA from the Postgraduate Institute of Management, Sri Jayewardenepura University and the certificate of completion on Disruptive Strategy with Clayton Christensen, from the Harvard Business School. He is currently reading for his Doctorate at the Faculty of Management & Finance, University of Colombo.

He served in the private sector for over four decades and held several C-Suite positions. His engagement in the private sector cuts across diverse industry and specializes in strategic thinking, growth management, strategic leadership & change, and marketing. He is currently reading for his Doctorate at the Faculty of Management & Finance, University of Colombo. His research interests are in understanding value creation and value capture and what drives sustained growth & performance in organisations.

Portia M. Kemps

Ms. Portia Kemps is a temporary lecturer at the Department of Economics and Statistics, University of Peradeniya where she completed her B.A (Hons) in Economics. She also received her diploma on Diplomacy and World Affairs from the Bandaranaike International Diplomatic Training Institute. She is a former intern at Institute of National Security Studies (INSS) where she pursued her interests in the field of geo-economics in the Indian Ocean Region. She is passionate about macroeconomic policy making and financial economics in South Asia.”

Dr Tony McAleavy

Dr Tony McAleavy is an assistant professor in fire and emergency management at Oklahoma State University in the United States. Dr. McAleavy holds a PhD in disaster management from the University of South Wales in the United Kingdom and has taught and consulted in several countries around the world. He is an Associate Editor with the International Journal of Emergency Services and conducts research on emergency preparedness and response issues such as command, control and coordination, human resilience, interoperability, and planning efficacy. Dr. McAleavy has broad operational, tactical, and strategic emer-

gency & continuity management experience with the ambulance service, H.M. Coastguard, and local government. This includes counter terrorism, industrial and HAZMAT/CBRNe operations, maritime search and rescue, pandemic and pre-hospital medical emergencies and other preparedness, response, and recovery operations. Dr. McAleavy holds commendations for his actions from the ambulance service, H.M. Coastguard, and the United States Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Dr. David Huntsman

Dr. Huntsman is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University at Albany, SUNY, where he manages a lab and helps lead numerous grant-funded projects related to risk communication. He holds a PhD in Fire and Emergency Management Administration from the College of Engineering, Architecture and Technology at Oklahoma State University. He conducts interdisciplinary, primarily quantitative research on many other topics related to emergency management, including organizational behavior and hazard adjustments. His latest research explores the stressors responders experience at work during COVID-19 and how coping strategies and various contextual factors influence outcomes important for responder safety, well-being, and performance (e.g., PTSD, suicide ideation). Dr. Huntsman has presented research at a number of academic and professional conferences, such as the International Research Committee on Disasters Meeting. His most recent research has been published in outlets such as Weather, Climate, and Society, Safety Science, and Risk, Hazards, and Crisis in Public Policy

Dr. Michelle Brooks

Dr. Michelle Brooks is a Complex Emergencies Specialist and Fellow of the Institute for National Security Studies Sri Lanka. Dr Brooks is an award-winning academic researcher from the United Kingdom. Born in Sri Lanka, Dr Brooks has a PhD on Migration and Terrorism from the University of Reading, UK, where she is a well-known academic and expert consultant to Government bodies and televised news media. Dr Brooks is a Military and Police instructor in the UK and UAE and she has worked around the world in the field of Counter-terrorism and Disasters and Emergencies. She is married with two children one of whom is a Police Officer and the other a law student. Residing in the UK, she travels to Sri Lanka often for family visits, as well as voluntary sector contributions to projects.

Air Vice Marshal Witharanage Leonard Raj Priyantha Rodrigo. (Retd) RSP, USP, MA(SSS-USA), MA(IR), ndu(USA) Ctf-ndu (USA), MDS, MSDS(BAN), ndc(BAN), GI Fire Eng(UK), psc.

Air Vice Marshal Rodrigo holds a Master's Degree in Strategic Security Studies from the National Defense University in USA, Master's Degree in Development Studies from the University of Professionals in Bangladesh, Master's Degree in Defence Studies from the University of Kelaniya, and Master's Degree in International Relations from University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. He is a graduate of National Defence College Bangladesh and the Defence Services Command and Staff College in Kelaniya, Sri Lanka. He is also a Qualified Fire Engineer and a Graduate of the Institute of Fire Engineers, UK who has specialized in Aero Fire Studies, Fire Operations, Fire Science, Fire Prevention, Fire Safety and Structural Fire Engineering. He is a diploma holder of the National War College USA, and he also holds diplomas for Counter Terrorism, Human Rights, Conflict Resolution, International Relations and Diplomatic Studies. He has attended many military and professional courses both in Sri Lanka and abroad. Some of them are: Civil-Military Responses to Terrorism at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, USA; International Fellows Research Program at NESAs in National Defense University, USA. International Structural Fire Fighting Course at the Fire and Rescue Academy, Malaysia, Rescue Operations Course in Indonesia, Battalion Commanders' Course at the School of Infantry & Tactics, Quetta, Pakistan and completed the Junior Commanders' Course at the Air Force Administrative College, Coimbatore, India. AVM Rodrigo has enjoyed an illustrious sports career in both Cricket and Rugby, culminating in his post as National Manager of Sri Lanka Rugby and their first ever win at the Asian 5 Nations Cup Final. Today AVM Rodrigo continues coaching and mentoring in both sports.

Dr. Xiangyu (Dale) Li

Dr. Xiangyu (Dale) Li is an assistant professor of emergency management at Oklahoma State University in the United States. Dr. Li earned his PhD degree majored in public administration from the University of North Texas in the US and a bachelor of engineering degree in urban planning from Nanjing University in China. His research interests include risk communication, disaster sustainability, household and organizational disaster responses, and intergovernmental disaster management. He has expertise in the research methods of multivariate analysis and geographic information system. Dr. Li is also an associate editor of the Emergency Management Science and Technology journal.



Institute of National Security Studies

8th Floor, 'SUHURUPAYA', Battaramulla,
Sri Lanka.

TEL: +94 112 879 087 E-mail: inss.srilanka@gmail.com
Web: www.inssl.lk

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