



The Sri Lankan Experience of the Glocalization of Rural Social Stratification: A Micro-level Model Outside of the Familiar Imaginations

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Abstract

This research mainly focused on the impact of the globalization process concerning, social stratification in contemporary rural Sri Lanka. In any society, there exists a stratification system. It is impossible to survive in a society without being stratified in past or future. Social stratification is viewed as a 'structural feature' of a social group. To, understand that particular society, it is required to study the formation of stratification in society as the central point. Due to the globalization process, rural societies are being subjected to transitions not only in Sri Lanka but also in the entire world. Anyhow, it remains certain demarcations to comprehend the status quo of social stratification in rural Sri Lanka. Bathdungoda village in the Galle district of Sri Lanka was selected for the study area of this research. This shows how a neo social stratification model has been created by hybridizing the features of the universal model and the features of the regional model in shaping the social stratification in that village. It should be noted that this model is a different imagination than the currently accepted models of rural stratification. Accordingly, the neo model is conceptualized here as the 'Global Local Model' or 'Glocalized model'. This research was based on the socio ethnographic perspective. Many scholars have studied the rural stratification of Sri Lanka, some scholars have examined only the caste while others have examined the class system. These scholars have used a materialistic view or a political idealistic view. On the other hand, they have not used globalization theories for their analytical views. The researcher tried to address the above-mentioned void from another relevant perspective. Accordingly, a neo social stratification system has been planted based on globality and locality in Bathdungoda

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village. The above-mentioned stratification system is based on the theory of glocalization and Emic-Etic approaches. This structure is depicted as the micro-level model of rural social stratification in Sri Lanka.

Keywords; Emic and Etic View, Globalization, Glocalization, Post Positivism and Stratification.

01. Introduction

Understanding the stratification system is a must when it comes to any society. Because the stratification set up in a society, essentially depicts its political, economic and cultural positions. As such, any scholar who wants to identify rural stratification in Sri Lanka has to encounter several barricades such as theoretical and methodological issues. This is due to the studies carried out so far, scholars have confined only towards the class-based and/or caste stratification system rather than examining about glocalized stratification system.

Rural societies are being subjected to transitions not only in Sri Lanka but also in the entire world. Under the prevailing circumstances, it is impossible to apply the below-mentioned studies on stratification in rural Sri Lanka.

1. Materialistic Model;

The structure built up by the field research carried out about Delumgoda village in Kandy, Sri Lanka by Newton Gunasinghe.

2. Structure of Political Ideology;

Mick Moore studied the identification of social classes in inter-relationships building up between the villagers and the government (Moore, 1985). Johnathan Spencer has done the same with “Tenna” village, in Rathnapura district (Gamage, 2007).

The scholars who studied the social stratification system in rural Sri Lanka, have pointed out that both caste and class systems are prevailing continuously (Silva, 1997). But this was only confined to a notion that denotes the rural stratification system. They were not oriented in formulating a theoretical or conceptual framework for the above notion. But researcher as a vigilant observer gives a symptomatic reading to the rural stratification system while referring to a theoretical framework. The purpose of this research is to forward a novel model of social stratification in contemporary rural Sri Lanka. On the other hand, this model is an alternative to the difficulties arising while identifying rural social stratification.

02. Conceptual Framework

It is required to build up working definitions about the following concepts relevant to this field research. Definitions are provided with the following core concepts: Contemporary rural Sri Lanka, social stratification, globalization and glocalization.

2.1. Contemporary Rural Sri Lanka

This means the present Sri Lankan rural society. Yet in the above concept, there is an apparent picture of social, political and economic vision. Contemporary rural Sri Lanka was originated with the open economic policy in 1978. This particular period was the dawn of the globalization era in the whole world. From 1990 the world begins a new chapter as the modern globalization age. In that point of view, contemporary rural Sri Lanka means the internal and external points which include socio, economic, cultural and political foundation (Hemantha-Kumara, 2006).

Rural areas have always been identified in various viewpoints (Setty, 2002:59). Some of them have been recognized as “sacred folk societies” and the “traditional villagers. “Even in present Sri Lanka, these rural areas are depicted as administrative divisions. Municipal councils and urban councils are elected for municipalities and urban areas, while “pradesheeya saba” or the village councils (existed in the past) have been appointed for rural areas as political and administrative bodies. But in this study identification of rural societies are not only based on the administrative divisions but also is directed towards the viewpoint of rural villagers. However, rural societies are going in tandem with the modern globalization process. Under these circumstances, emic and etic approaches in ethnography employed to understand demarcations of the above village (Hemantha-Kumara, 2014). The procedure followed in this regard has been lately explained in the introduction of the study area.

2.2. Concept of Social Stratification

All human societies whether it is simple or complex have a form of social inequalities, i.e., the power and prestige are unequally distributed between individuals and social groups. The term social inequality refers to the existence of socially created inequality. However, social stratification is a particular form of social inequality (Syed, 2007:126). In any society, there exists a stratification system. It is impossible to survive in any society without being stratified in the past or the future, worldwide.

Social stratification is viewed as a ‘structural feature’ of a social group. Sociologists have commonly distinguished four types of social stratification; social class, gender, ethnicity and caste (Hemantha Kumara, 2018c). According to Karl Marx, ‘The history of hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle’. There, it will seem the strata like male-female, age differences etc. In the words of Mayer, ‘social stratification is a system of differentiation which includes the hierarchy of social positions whose occupants are treated as superior, equal or inferior related to one another in socially important respects’ (Hemantha-Kumara, 2018c).

According to Max Weber, social stratification is based on the power system. There is no class system according to him but there are three manifestations of inequality and manifestations of status (honour), the party (acquisition of social power) and class (market situation). Thus, Weber conceives social stratification on a three-dimensional process, where all the three components are interrelated (Syed, 2007:133). Weber was

modified by Marx's analysis of class system. Weber emphasized the importance of cultural and political factors besides, economic factors in the formation of groups (Perera,1985:05). Weber offered the idea of the status group as an alternative base of group formation and group action. Status group, by definition, are communities whose "communal action is... oriented to the feeling of the actors that they belong together" (Weber, 1964:183). Members of a status group share a common social identity and honour which enforce upon each other and specific, distinctive style of life (Perera, 1985:05). According to the view of Jayantha Perera, "Weber did not treat status group and class as two mutually exclusive groups. He emphasized that a certain class position is required to meet the standards and styles of consumption characteristic of a particular status group. Weber believed that status groups would eventually break up with the emergence of a free market of laissez-faire capitalism with wage labour (Perera,1985:06).

Besides, the Weberian theoretical background presented above, the researcher formulated a new dimension of the social stratification system in a rural community, Sri Lanka. It can be introduced as a "glocalised rural stratification system". Hybridization of Globality and locality are the core factors directed towards the above system. This could be taken as a micro-level model which is applicable for the study of the status quo of a rural community in Sri Lanka. This will raise some questions while identifying rural communities through universal theories. Stratification systems in rural communities should be understood not only by applying the Western theories or models but also by the vision of the relevant villagers. This research considered the importance of their vision. In other words, the same research reiterates the necessity of comprehending rural communities, by joining the sentiments of the local populace with global theories.

2.3. Concept of Globalization

The word "globalization" as a process, first surfaced in the English Language in 1959 and entered the dictionary two years later (Scholte 2005). Notions of "globalism" as a condition began to circulate in the 1980s (Robertson, 1983). Since the 1990s globalization became a leading academic industry. The problem is now explored across subject disciplines and the socio-political spectrum (Scholte, 2005: 51). With many phases, it has affected every sphere of human life.

Modern global society (g-society) has been refurbished by the globalization process. Globalization has deployed certain multifarious and multi-functional process to, re-enact this World society. Some of them are internalization, Westernization, modernization, industrialization, urbanization and de-territorialization (Jelinas, 2007). The overall panoptic concept advocates that these differences should appear not only in the outer sphere but also within the social structure itself. The researchers have demonstrated five waves that are reasonable for the above globalization march. They have identified each wave as a paradigm shift (Pasricha, 2005:250).

I. First Wave- Colonial Stage;

This is a colonial experience that is common to third world countries. During this stage, both the happenings of anti-colonial responses and co-responses were experienced. They are the opposite cooperate responses (Pasricha, 2005: 250- 253).

II. Second Wave- Post-Colonial Stage;

The post-colonial stage has reconstructed third world societies. This wave is also called neo-imperialism (Robertson and Scholte, 2007; 987).

III. The third-wave- Stage of Globalization;

This is the modern globalization process that still exists in the 21st century (Pasricha, 2005:255-259). This wave has been named as a stage of globalization, dawned after 1980 decade.

IV. Fourth wave- Transnational Stage;

This wave of the last 15 years is marked by socio-economic and cultural changes occurring on a global scale. It begins with the year 2000, which we have considered as the age of the transnational stage and the age of postmodernity.

Globalization of the socio-sphere is marked with “multiculturalism” which consist of significant changes in the postmodern global society. That means, we being common people of the global society enjoys a common lifestyle and possess a common social value system (Doshi, 2008: 33-34). The identity of the person has been subjected to a serious change in modern society (Doshi, 2007:37). Globalization is far more than free trade and capital export. But it is equally far more than a process that centres on mobile elites at the expense of the localization of the poor and exploited. In contrast with Zygmunt Bauman’s formula “globalization for some, localization for others,” there is plenty of evidence of globalization for everyone, as well as evidence of winners and losers in the process (Robertson and Scholte, 2007; 124). That depicts the above mentioned fourth wave.

2.4. Concept of Glocalization

Two new nexuses open up for ethnographic studies with globalization: the ethnography of new global-local relationships, and ethnographies of the process of globalization itself (Robertson and Scholte, 2007;408). There are many theories and models which are applicable for analysis of the globalization process (Robertson, 2002). Glocalization theory can be defined as the interpretation of the global and the local resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas (Dasgupta, 2004; 301). The theory of glocalization formulated by Ronald Robertson. Accordingly, the local can be seen to be transformed, rather than destroyed, by globalization. The reformulation of global-local nexus is evident in many ways that maintain the relevance and specificity of local. Globalization is not simply about the disembodiment of the local by the global, it is also about the creation of new global-local nexus (Robertson and Schoite, 2007;408). Ronald Robertson has encouraged to analyze this glocalization theory which merged with the transnational social process. According to Robertson, there are at least three kinds of

global-local configuration: (a) local fields that are absorbed by the global, allowing us to speak of the global in the local, (b) local fields that mediate global process according to their contingent circumstances, as expressed by notions such as “Globo-localism” or “glocalization” and (c) local fields that are reconstituted by globalization as a result of the pressures toward reterritorialization and the reassertion of local traditions- sometimes as resistance to globalization, sometimes as an appropriation of it (Robertson and Scholte, 2007;408). Accordingly, for this purpose, the second kind of global-local configuration he has employed the following two concepts.



I. Something – (Globalization)

II. Nothing – (Grobalization)

The term ‘something’ is connected to the concept of globalization while ‘nothing’ is connected to grobalization (Dasgupta, 2004;300). ‘Something’ is looked upon as more beneficial than ‘nothing’. “The concept of grobalization, coined here for the first time as much- needed companion to the notion of glocalization, focuses on the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations, and the like and their desire, indeed need, to impose themselves on various geographic areas (Dasgupta,2004;301).” It should be noted that there is an ongoing process by which ‘something’ is, over time, transformed into ‘nothing’, and vice versa. On one hand, traditional works of art that were at one time ‘something’ have been transformed into mass-produced for the grobal consumer and tourist. On other hand, the toys given away or sold by McDonald’s over the year have come, in some cases, to be collector’s items (Dasgupta,2004;303). Accordingly, the glocalization concept has been formulated with the inter-actions between globality and locality (Hemantha-Kumara,2018a). This theoretical view employed to explain the impact of globalization march on oriental rural societies. The researcher has applied this theoretical approach to, analyze the rural stratification system of the chosen village.

3. Research objectives

This field research venture has been achieving the following objectives.

- a. To introduce a new formula explaining social stratification in contemporary rural Sri Lanka.
- b. To point out the difference between the established strata of a rural community and scholarly angled perspectives.
- c. To point out the study of rural stratification, it is a must to include insiders’ view (emic approach) and that of the scholars’ vision (etic approach).
- d. To respond to the above-mentioned theoretical gaps.

4. Research Methodology and Data Collection Methods

4.1. Research Methodology

As mentioned, this basic research goes in tandem with, the socio ethnographical perspective. Accordingly, in this research, the data has been collected from several techniques which belong to post-positivism.

4.2. Data Collection Methods



Secondary data relevant to this research gathered through various secondary sources. The most important part of this field research is primary sources. As such, relevant research tools have been chosen carefully. Most of the time, easier methods were not used for this research. Instead, a range of methods and strategies were deployed to collect quantitative and qualitative data more reliably and as suitable.

a. Procedure of Discussions; Information and data were obtained from 150 respondents for this research. Data were obtained from small scale and in-depth interviews.

b. Transect Walk; These transect walks have been used while Verifying the information gathered from the village. Fetching key informants, direct observation of human behaviour existed among the rural community, listening to the meeting and voices of the populace are some of them.

c. Key Informants; Several key informants have been engaged. Senior citizens, Clergy, community leaders, heads of the rural community and activists became these key informants. Also, those who live presently outside the village and who continue to have any public or social contacts too were found suitable as key informants.

4.3. Time Schedule of the Research

This field research was carried out within two stages. Its first phase was performed in 2014 while the second phase was affected during the end of 2015 and at the beginning of 2016.

4.4. Ethical Consideration

In this research, the names of the respondents and the name of the village were changed because it is not to harm the identity of individuals and villagers.

5. Background of Study Area

Bathdungoda village is situated in the Akweemana Divisional Secretariat area in Galle district, Sri Lanka. This was the study area of the research and it was not chosen while considering its location. The following facts endorse the background of the study area. This researcher wanted to identify the village demarcations of Bathdungoda not only through the outsiders' approach or the 'etic' approach but also through the approach of relevant villagers which is known as the 'emic' approach (Hemantha-Kumara, 2014; 68-69). Although it was much easier to identify village boundaries based on government administrative reports. But the researcher did not follow that method. The researcher introduced a new approach to identify the research area of study (Hemantha-Kumara, 2014; 67).

According to administrative reports, Akweemana Divisional Secretariat Division consists of 63 Grama Niladhari Divisions and two Grama Niladhari divisions belong to Bathdungoda, namely; 109 C-Bathdungoda and 109 H-Bathdungoda Janapadaya (Bathdungoda colony). But according to the villagers (emic view) view, there are three

Grama Niladhari Divisions as Bathdungoda;109B- Ihalagoda South, 109B-Bathdungoda and 109H-Bathdungoda Janapadaya. The researcher has selected those three Grama Niladhari Divisions for this study. The pertinent reasons are given below for this selection.

- According to the villagers, Bathdungoda has been divided into four sub-villages (Hamlets) based on caste factors.
- Out of these four sub-villages Bathdungoda colony has become a new sub-village under the government land reform enforced in 1959.
- When it comes to Bathdungoda there are 03 sub-villages which are different from historical heritages of other sub-villages.
- Being a village situated near to Pinna-duwa entrance of Southern expressway.
- Being a village situated very closer to Galle city and surrounded by major public and educational institutions.
- Out of four hamlets consisting of Bathdungoda, only ‘Bathdungoda-colony hamlet’ inhabited with marginal families.
- The other three hamlets of Bathdungoda provide living space to traditional villagers.
- According to the villagers’ approach or the ‘emic’ approach Bathdungoda, has now divided into three Grama Niladhari divisions. According to the administrative approach or the ‘etic approach, “there are only two Grama Niladhari Divisions in Bathdungoda. Government authorities do not consider, number 109B, Grama Niladhari division as part which belongs to Bathdungoda.
- While considering Bathdungoda as a unique colony, it has been remarginalized under the administrative process.
 - Akweemana Divisional Secretariat division had been divided into 18 Grama Niladhari divisions in 1981. In that administrative code Bathdungoda, Grama Niladhari divisional number is number 10. Nevertheless, in 2009 Akweemana Divisional secretariat division was divided again into 113 Grama Niladhari divisions. And according to the administrative reports of the Akweemana Divisional Secretariat office, they are numbered as 109-C = Bathdungoda and 109-H = Bathdungoda Colony/ Bathdungoda Janapadaya (Akweemana Divisional Secretariat Office, 2014).

6. Findings and Discussion

Hereafter, findings and discussions will be presented. And the researcher will associate the theoretical framework of glocalization and emic and ethic approaches.

6.1. Formation of Neo Social Stratification System

Caste was the primary principle which any villager would use for arranging his fellow villagers in traditional Sri Lankan society. Caste hierarchy often had rituals and economic

facts to a certain extent (Perera,1985;36). At the social stratification system in Bathdungoda, caste differentiation plays an important role. The majority of the Govigama caste (Govi) community lives in Bathdungoda village. As mentioned above, at the beginning there were 100 family units and from them, the majority belong to Govigama and even today it prevails the same situation. In the study of the stratification system of Bathdungoda, it appears several patterns of the substratum. It has been identified based on ethnicity, religion, caste, class status and gender differences. Bathdungoda village does not consist of any ethnic differences. All the villagers are Sinhala Buddhist. However, there are five catholic families. As a percentage, only 0.26% of other religions live there. Gender relationship differences can be understood with the earlier descriptions given on the livelihood and income positions existing in Bathdungoda village.



6.2. Caste Based Hamlets of Bathdungoda Village

Social stratification in Bathdungoda village held the caste factor as a prominent feature. This village has been divided into four hamlets based on caste (Hemantha-Kumara,2014;68: Piyadasa,2015:13). Even today, 80% of the whole population of Bathdungoda village is people of Govigama caste Other 10% represent the Ganitha caste and another 03% belong to the Nawandanna caste. The rest of the 07% belong to people of other castes. In the context of village tradition, Govigamagoda is the dominant sub-village and the other three sub-villages are slaves as follows:

- I. Govigamagoda – Sub village of cultivators and landlord.
- II. Ganithagoda – Sub village of dancers, drummers and astrologers.
- III. Navandannagoda – Sub village of blacksmiths, gold and silversmiths, arpenters and painters.
- IV. Bathdungoda colony – Re-Marginalized hamlet.

As per administrators, the above sub-villages are respectively differing from each other as four villages. They do compose unique administrative codes. But according to the identification of the researcher, the above-mentioned sub-villages can be summarized as Bathdungoda village.

I. Govigamagoda – Sub Village of Cultivators and Landlord

On the old access road from Galwetawatta towards Bathdungoda village, the first hamlet which comes to the vision is Govigamagoda. This is the area where the Govigama caste people or “the dominant caste” (Srinivas, 1959) people live in. Paddy cultivation was their traditional livelihood. Presently they are engaged in other different livelihoods. Even at present, the hamlet of Govigamagoda is not inhabited by people of other castes. It is existed as a “whole Govigama zone” in the Bathdungoda village. Even today this zone considered the dominant zone of Bathdungoda. The demarcations of Bathdungoda village can be mentioned according to the following matters,

(a) This strip of land up to Ankutuwala bridge away from 100 meters from Bathdungoda primary school (earlier this land was named as Pokunagodawatte),



(b) Including the home of Bastian Appuhami/ katandola Appuhami (He is dead.) and this home is the ending point of village demarcation of Govigamagoda. According to the administrative reports, this strip of land belongs to Grama Niladhari Division named Bathdungoda 109c.

II. Ganithagoda – Sub Village of Dancers, Drummers and Astrologers

This is another part of Bathdungoda where people belong to the “Neketi” caste or the “Ganitha” caste. This land portion begins from, Pahala Ganithage Peda Gurunnanse’s (He is dead.) home up to the building called “Ruhunu Stores” or the former “Pannila Watte Kade”. Presently, several families of Govigama caste who from other distant villages have bought lands from the Ganithagoda hamlet. Ganithagoda is comprising of land portions belong to both the Grama Niladhari division of nos. 109- B, Ihalagoda and 109- C Bathdungoda.

III. Nawandannagoda – Sub Village of Blacksmiths, Gold and Silver Smiths, Carpenters and Painters

This village is located on a very small plot of land and this is the sub-village of Nawandanna or the “Achari/ Vishva” people. Their main livelihood is manufacturing jewellery. It is their profession up to the present day. Only a few percentages of people belong to this particular caste. By the 1980’s they had only 09 family units. By now this number has grown up to 25 family units. Among those who came here, their daughters married and live here separately with their husbands.

The demarcations of Nawandannagoda begins with (a) paddy fields and the small canal which ends up in Ganithagoda, (b) the land which begins with Salwathura Acharige Premalatha’s home (presently a government official from an outlying village has settled here.), (c) land strip up to the part of the land called “Pita- ovita” (At present a house No. 81 has been built here).

Out of the 31 families that live in Nawandannagoda, six families belong to the Govigama caste. Among those 6 families, there is a retired state co-operative store manager, son of a Galle wholesale shop owner (from 1990), a lecturer (since 2004), clay bricklayer (since 2005), a businessman and a teacher in a government school (from 2013). Although the sale of lands in this village is very rare, it is the Nawandanna castes who are trying to sell them. As an example, a businessman of Nawandanna caste in Galle city has bought a plot of 30 perches in extent, here in 2011. According to the administrative reports, Nawandannagoda belongs to 109- B Ihalagoda Grama Niladhari Division.

Former Sri Lankan Prime Minister Dr Wijeyananda Dahanayake (1959 – 1960) had taken steps to construct a new access road, using his fund to Bathdungoda village and it was named as “Dr Wijeyananda Mawatha.” Presently this road is the main access to

Bathdungoda village. At the entrance, there appears some change in the old structure of hamlets formed in Bathdungoda village.



IV. Bathdungoda colony - Re-marginalized Village

This Bathdungoda colony is built under the government land reform scheme in 1958. Although these residents belong to various castes, it still appears some divisions based on caste factors. The limits of the Bathdungoda colony begins from the (a) last home of Govigamagoda which belongs to Mr Bastian Appuhami / Ketandola Appuhami or Ketandola mahattaya (He is dead), (b) up to the Bathdungoda hill or the “Etambagaha” hill, (c) the strip of the land from the home of Mr Kelambi Wijesiri (Former driver of government irrigation department, he is dead) up to the residence of Mr Hegoda Gamage Victor (Hegoda Aiya’s home or home of Ihalagodawatte Gedara Lannet Appuhami’s son-in-law (he is dead), (d) Mr Ihalagodawatte Gedara Lenet Appuhami (Lenet uncle, He is dead.) belongs to this land strip. According to the administrators, Bathdungoda Colony belongs to the 109-H Grama Niladhari Division.

6.3. Creating a new sub-village for Bathdungoda

Although the four sub-villages of Bathdungoda have been discussed earlier,—the Bathdungoda colony was created will be particularly emphasized here. As mentioned earlier, Bathdungoda village has been divided into four hamlets based on the caste factor. The first three hamlets out of four existed since the formation of the village from the beginning. According to the ‘emic’ approach, Govigamagoda hamlets became the “dominant village”. The fourth hamlet- Bathdungoda colony is the “marginal village.” Bathdungoda colony or Bathdungoda hill (Bathdungoda Janapadaya) had been recently connected to Bathdungoda village. ‘Etambaga kanda’ (Etambagaha Hill) which had been owned by Mr Wasala Mudalige Edmund Ronald, gate mudliyar was taken over by the government in 1958. It was a land in extent hundred acres with the plantation’s tea, rubber and coconut. Thereafter, the public was invited to send applications to, distribute lands to landless people. Subsequently, selected people were given ¼ acre plots and also a house from the expenses of the government. Accordingly, houses with cemented walls and floors, sheeted roofs with Kitchen and one-bedroom were donated. After that it was named as “Bathdungoda colony.” It was also named as Bathdungoda Janapadaya. Some of the poorest who lived in Ganithagoda hamlet have obtained these houses and lands.

Govigama caste people called the Bathdungoda colony “Hill of Beggars” or “Hingana Kanda.” Because the poorest of the poor had received those houses and lands. The villagers of nearby hamlets believed that due to the above condition, the government will pay less attention to the newly born colony. However, by the time of 1960, the following Govigama family units had taken the plot of lands that belong to the Badungoda colony for free by the government.

1. Mr Michel Appuhami of Danduwa Watte (Michel uncle)
2. Mr. Lenett Appuhami of Ihalagodawatte Gedara (Lenet uncle)

3. Mr Alfred Hinni Appuhami of Vidanegedara Watte (Badungoda watte uncle)
4. Mr. Michal Appuhami of Pokunagoda Watte (Pokunagoda uncle)
5. Mr. Dynis Adappa Godage Appuhami of Godage Watte (Dynis uncle)



Anyhow, these recipients obtained their plots of landform at the top of the Etambagaha Hill (Etambagaha Kanda) with the hope of not mixing with people of lower castes. Even while considering the physical factors, they try their level best to live in a higher position. There was a visiting bungalow owned by the owner of the estate, Wasala Mudalige Edmund Roland, situated at the top of a hill. This was their main reason to live at the top of a hill. After that, this particular land area was named “the portion of bungalow” (In Sinhala “Bangala kella”). Ruins of that bungalow can be still seen near the home of Ihalagoda watte Gedara Lenet Appuhami. Though they had many transportation difficulties while travelling to the hilltop, still they considered being there to, maintain the caste consciously. Even today the situation is still the same. Inside the colony, the portion of the bungalow was the dominant sub hamlet. As mentioned above, this colony was built under the second phase of globalization but they compose only the materialistic view, not the idealistic view. According to the glocalization theory of the researcher, the stratification system of the Bathdungoda Janapadaya / Bathdungoda colony goes in tandem with, global-local nexus.

At present, the government authorities have divided Bathdungoda village into two Grama Niladhari divisions as 109C – Bathdungoda and 109H- Bathdungoda colony. Due to the above reason, even the administrators have remarginalized the Bathdungoda colony. Bathdungoda-colony has been initiated by the government to, empower a marginal community.

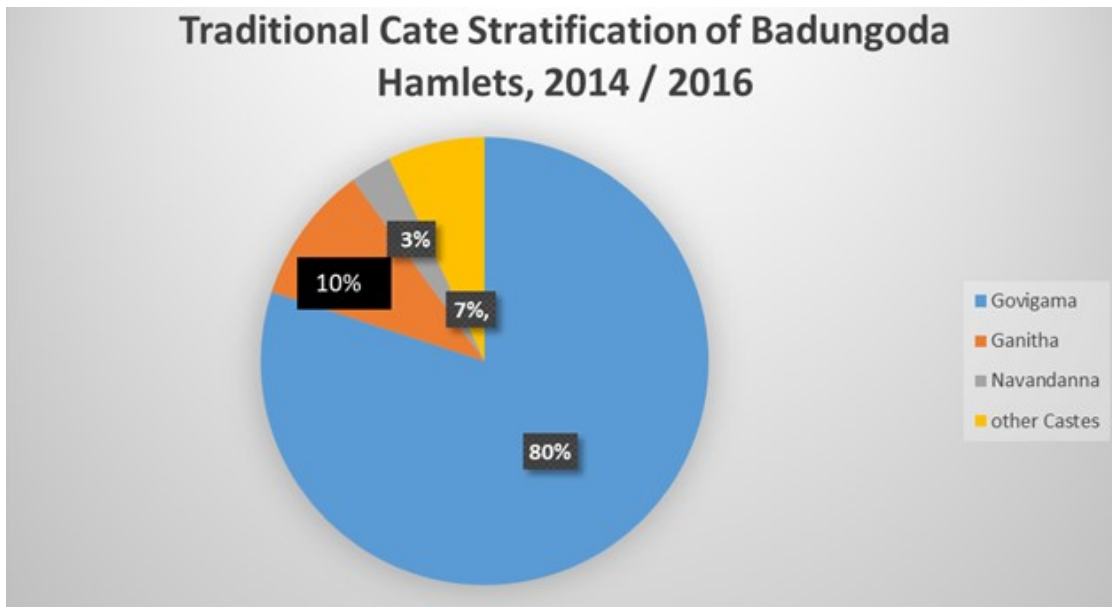


Figure 01
Source; Field Study

Govigamagoda was dominant out of the four hamlets. Even today 80% of the total population belongs to Govigama caste people while 10% represent Ganitha caste and 3% of people belong to Nawandanna caste. The rest of 7% is identified as other caste people.

6.4. Impact of Physical Infrastructure on Caste Consciousness

As mentioned earlier, former prime minister Dr. Wijayananda Dahanayaka (1959-1960) had taken steps to build a new access road, to Badungoda village and named it “Dr. Wijayananda Mawatha.” Presently, this road is the main access road to the village. But this road is connected with the older road that was supposed to enter the Bathdungoda village. Finally, Dr. Wijayananda Mawatha became the main road and this resulted in severe physical changes within Bathdungoda village in a caste-based system.

1. According to the older entrance (Galwatewatta Junction) to Bathdungoda village, Govigamagoda hamlet can be identified as the very first village. The main reason for constructing this older entrance was to identify Govigamagoda hamlet as the first among the caste hierarchy.
2. However, the new entrance (Dr. Wijayananda Mawatha) which begins from Thalagaha junction, Nawandannagoda can be considered as the first hamlet according to the location. This has occurred under the material development project which belongs to the second wave of globalization.
3. According to the prevailing circumstances, Govigamagoda hamlet has become the last hamlet while entering from the new access road to Bathdungoda. Now there is a candid inversion as first as the last and last as the first among the above two hamlets.

4. Ganithagoda and Bathdungoda colony hamlets are situated in between the old access and the new access roads. No change has occurred so far.



5. As the road to Bathdungoda colony has been improved with tarred road since 2001. Due to this, the older colony and their land portions have been spread further.

6. Bathdungoda as a traditional village, cornered lower class people with disrespect. This physical situation has now changed. Yet, even today Govigamagoda is the dominant village of the Govigama community and any other people of different castes are not allowed to dwell in this relevant hamlet.

7. Though they consist of various caste cogitations, still, they share a strong interrelationship among them as people of Bathdungoda village.

8. Caste-based hamlets in Bathdungoda village has been subjected to certain changes now. At present, several families of Govigama and other castes reside in Ganithagoda and Navandannagoda. Nevertheless, these Govigama people treat lower caste people with less respect and a superiority complex.

This shows the impact that modern development projects can have on the disintegration of caste consciousness. But what happened in this village, the maintenance of caste consciousness can be seen in this infrastructural development project.

(Table no. 01)



New Structure of Social Strata in Bathdungoda Village

Strata	Caste position	Financial abilities	Administrative power and political links	Family Relationships
Those who can manage –Rich and superior (Sallikara nambukarayo)	High	High	High	High
Those who can but cannot manage – Slightly rich and top caste (Salli adu & nambukarayo)	Top	Low	Middle	Middle
Those who cannot but can manage – Small rich and low caste (Adu kule punchi Salli karayo)	low	Middle	Middle	Middle
Those who do not have and cannot manage- Extremely poor and low caste (Duppaththu)	low	Very low	Very low	Very low

Source; Field Research

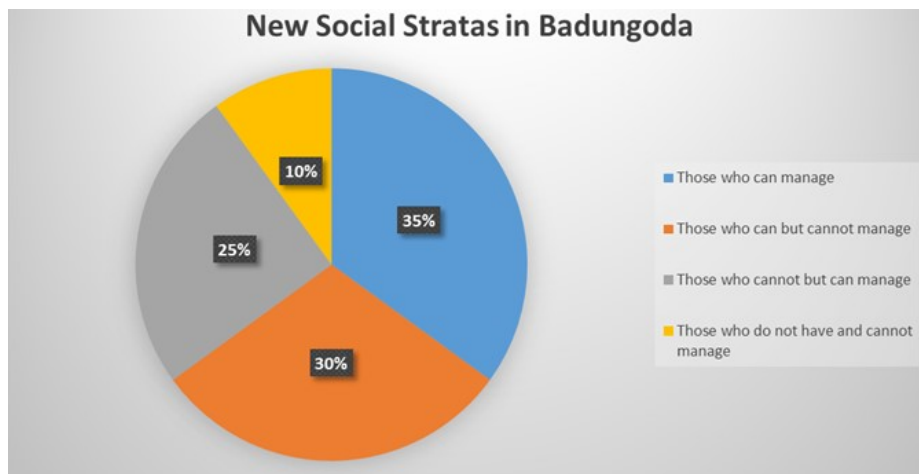


Figure 02

Source: field research

A. Those who can manage / Rich and superior, (In Sinhala Sallikara- Nambukarayo)

Belonging to the Govigama caste is a must while entering this stratum. This is “the dominant caste” of the village and also, they are prosperous with material wealth. Not only that but also, having a good home, a valuable modern car/vehicle, grown-up children or young children who are attending popular colleges in Galle town (at least Siri Dhamma College, Labuduwa, Janadhipathi Girls’ College or Anuladevi Girls’ College) are also considered as qualifications in these particular strata. By the term, “a good home” meant having two floors and the term “a valuable car/ vehicle” means having a four-wheel modern vehicle registered with “numbers and English letters” (ex; SP-GBA 1111). Mainly their livelihood is focused on their businesses or else doing a white colour job in the private or government sector.

For a considerable period, some traditional elites lived steadily within the above strata. After the 1980s there was upward social mobility from the below social strata which belongs to Govigama. However, some people compose almost all the qualifications except for the fact, caste. So, even they are not permitted to enter these social strata. As per the ‘emic’ approach, there is a social taboo for the lower caste people to enter this specific and dominant social stratum. In other words, Govigama maintains a monopoly within Bathdungoda, Govigamagoda hamlet. Out of the total family units in Bathdungoda village, 35% of families come under these hegemonic social strata.

B. Those who can but cannot manage / Slightly rich and top caste; (In Sinhala Salli Adu Nambukarayo)

This second stratum represents 30% of the population of Bathdungoda village. They are also a part of the Govigama caste (Nambukarayo). Financially, they are in a secondary position (Salli adu) than the above strata. As they belong to Govigama, they are known as “Those who can”. But they consist of a financial stumbling block. So, those people are known as “Salli adu “in Sinhala native language and as “cannot manage” in the English Language. They lack a good modern and some of them are living in houses which are inherited by their ancestors. Those people can’t even maintain the outer appearance of their houses. They have grown up children and they are attending nearby national schools. These people have some connections with regional level politicians and grassroots level administrative officers. This is the main reason why the younger generation of this specific strata is attending nearby National schools. Their family relationships exist well. In that sense, Bathdungoda villager’s approach (emic) regard this community as, “those who can but cannot manage” category.

C. Those who cannot but can manage / Small rich and low caste, (Adu kule punchi Salli karayo)

This stratum belongs to the middle class. And the genesis of this stratum began just after the open economy or the overt economy launched in 1978. Here the terms “cannot” or “adu kule” is used because they are entrapped in a lower status within the native caste stratification system. They have been able to arrive forward financially through the

wholesale and retail business. Additionally, activities like catering services, wholesale delivery businesses, jobs in public and private sectors are their livelihoods. Nevertheless, due to their financial position, they have elevated to a moderate status in society. So that they are called “punchi Salli karayo” Rather than the fourth strata of this classification, these particular strata can be known as a “manageable group” or “can manage” category. Further, they possess a good home, vehicles and valuable domestic instruments. This stratum represents 25% of the total population of Bathdungoda village.

D. Those who do not have and cannot / Extremely poor and low caste, (Duppaththu)

These strata hold the lowest place in both caste and economic status. They do not have a permanent income. Instead, they are compelled to earn whatever, a meagre amount by doing any kind of work. Relatively this group is grinding under abject poverty while comparing with others who live in the village. They have neither any connection with the affluent society nor powerful kinship relations. Their relations are often quarrelling with each other. And these strata represent 10% of the total population in Bathdungoda village.

7. Conclusions

The above mention facts, candidly array the impacts of the globalization process on the formation of a rural social stratification system. The conceptual framework of this analysis was mainly based on Glocalization and Emic/Etic views. While considering those facts, the following findings can be made.

This field research has paved the way to comprehend the influence made by the modern globalization process upon rural social stratification. Caste-based stratification exists in Bathdungoda village. This can be identified as a localized view of native Sri Lankans. But they do not consider only the caste. Yet, materialistic things which come under the content of globalization are considered by these villagers. Due to the hybridization of the above two concepts, this can be conceptualized as glocalization. The scholars who studied the social stratification system in rural Sri Lanka, have pointed out that both caste and class systems are prevailing continuously (Silva, 1997). But this was only confined to a notion that denotes the rural stratification system. They were not oriented in formulating a theoretical or conceptual framework for the above notion.

In Bathdungoda village, a new social stratification system has been planted based on globality and locality. Present strata's in the village can be mentioned as following,

- I. Those who can manage – (Rich and superior)
- II. Those who can but cannot manage – (Slightly rich and top caste)
- III. Those who cannot but can manage – (Small rich and low caste)
- IV. Those who do not have and cannot – (Extremely poor and low caste)

Although it is a must to discard degenerating medieval stratification models like caste concepts along with the globalization of the socio-sphere. While adopting modern ways, the medieval stratification models are continuing furthermore. To analyze this fact, the researcher has used the above theoretical and conceptual framework. Through this theory, it considered the combination and hybridization of the rural class stratification and the native level social stratification system. This situation is equal to the concept of “Sanskritization” which was introduced by M.N. Srinivas (Rao,200;299). But in this village, the dominant caste maintains a monopoly. According to the prevailing global and local circumstances in the social organization of the village, it has helped to continue the above-glocalised stratification system.

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