

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

Dilemma of Adaptation of Principles of Good Governance in Governance System in Sri Lanka

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Abstract:

Local government is core stone of the democracy and development of the given country. Global trend of the local government has been rapidly changed and have adopted principles of good governance in their local institutional systems in the world. Local government system in Sri Lanka has to be changed with parallel to global trend in term "Good Governance". Nature of Local government is significant regarding determine shape and nature of the democratic political culture of the given society as whole. Global objective of the local government is to archive millennium goals by adopting principles of good governance in practices. Sri Lanka is democratic country with consist their own local government system since long historical time line. One of the main purposes of this local government system was to enhance democratic practices by adopting universal trends and deliver rapid and quality service for the ordinary citizens for their social wellbeing. Yet, recent trend has emphasized that most of local government institutions has been reflected lack of adopting and practices of good governance principles with regard quality services in their institutional practices. Why? The overall objective of this paper is to explore the main reasons behind the failure of good governance in practices of existing local government institutions. This research, specially, focused on practices of good governance in local sphere. As a methodology, to gathering facts and information that secondary data approach has to be applied in this regard. Therefore, global literature has to be accessed for gathering information. Main scholarly writings and interpretations and arguments have been reexamined in this paper. There are many reasons has been recovered with regard failure of good governance in practices. Specially, party dominations have been impact on local government functions and services. Grass root social composition and elite dominations has been manipulated local institutional system and their functions. Weak civil society and their activities have been created a favorable environment for the corrupt oriented local institutional system. As well as, electoral system and behavior of the elected people have negatively impacted on good governance of the local government institutional system in Sri Lanka.

Keywords: *Dilemma of practices, good governance, global trends, party domination, weak civil society, local government institutions*

1. Introduction

Local government is one of the significant topics among the scholarly investigation in recent history. Just it's not an ideal concept. But it has some technical; and political; and sociological validation. Global trend regarding local government has been dynamically changed. Specially, democracy and development has been focused on local government institutions and their functions. Therefore, strengthen of local government institutions was a central topic among the scholars and international institutions. This attention much more concerned regarding most of third world countries and their local institutional systems. Backward nature and traditional customs and practices of these institutions and their functions has been created back word nature of development of democracy and socio economic development in those countries. International organizations such as World Bank and other international aid agencies have drawn their attentions towards those countries regarding readjust such nature of local government institutions in term "Good Governance" and application of its principles. Term "Good Governance" is a new terminology in conceptual and theoretical perspective in modern democracy. Further, basic principles of good governance will encourage enhance and democratization of the social and political structure and their functions of the given society. Sri Lanka is one of the middle income countries that have been struggling development of democracy and economic development in their peripheral society. There is a well-established local government system has been functioned for a long time period. Modern Local government system in Sri Lanka has been divided in to three layers such as Municipal councils, Urban Councils and Pradeshiya Shaba. These institutions are conducting significant role regarding social wellbeing of the ordinary citizens. But, those institutions could not properly adopted principles of good governance in their institutional as well as functional aspects. Weak practices of good governance in grass root institutions are common issue in the third world countries such as Sri Lanka. Mainly accountability, transparency, and equal participation are main issues in Sri Lankan Local Government System. There are many factors has been negatively impacted on practices of good governance in local

government institutions in Sri Lanka. Mostly, elected people and their actions are not showing sufficient and accountable services for the society through these institutions. Due to, issues of electoral process, negative attitudes of the elected people, and their abnormal behavior, nature of weak civil society, and family politics, elitism as well as party dominations has been created un-favorable environment for the adaptation and practices of the principles of good governance in Local government institutions in Sri Lanka.

1.1. Define Good Governance and Application in the Governance Process

Many scholars have been defined term “Good Governance” in different perspectives. All those definitions and interpretations are directly involved with enhance of democratic governance. Principles of good governance have been interpreted different scholars in different angel. But, there is a proper agreement can be with regard common elements of good governance among the scholars can be shown. It’s concerned about good governance in term Governance that is going beyond the theoretical or conceptual perspectives. Further, it’s just not an ideal concept. Therefore, it’s combined with practical aspects of the governance. It has some technical significant in term governance. Define good governance in general means is legitimate, accountable, and effective ways of obtaining and using public power and resources in the pursuit of widely accepted social goal (Michal Johnston).¹Terminology and some of ideas in these definitions emerged from the Anglo-Saxon tradition. As a universal concept, it has the fundamental base which has combined with justice and the search for good life-are universal concerns. Mostly, the idea was raised after Second World War period due to dynamic changed of political and economic ideology in the world politics. However, there is lack of proper definition about good governance in academic discipline. There are many interpretations and opinions as well as ideas have been given various scholars, intellectuals and originations in this regard.

Term “Good Governance” is a new terminology for the social science discipline. It’s very closely involved with some social science discipline such as political science, sociology and economic, anthropology ext. The best definition has been given by a World Bank report in 1992, in the 1992 report entitled “Governance and Development”, the World Bank set out its definition of good governance. This term is defined as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development (International Fund For Agricultural Development (IFAD) 1999).²It’s indicating broad perspective with regard governance and development in a political system. Local government and governance is one of the most important sections of the given country with regard governance and development Aspect. Conceptually, Local governance is a broader concept and is defined as the formulation and execution of collective action at the local level. Thus, it encompasses the direct and indirect roles of formal institutions of local government and government hierarchies, as well as the roles of informal norms, networks, community organizations, and neighborhood associations in pursuing collective action by defining the framework for citizen-citizen and citizen-state interactions, collective decision making, and delivery of local public services (Anwar Shah 2006).³The recent history of global economy and politics was much more concerned about rapid economic development in non-European regions such as Africa, Latin America and South Asia. Specially, after Second World War that European community has been engaged in process of rapid economic and political modernity.

Therefore, those political and economic trends have been speeded in to other parts of the world. According to developed nations and international Organization such as United Nation Organization, World Bank and other international agencies emphasized the political; and economic reforms of the third world with parallel to European region. This debate came out especially after Second World War period. Ngaire Woods remarked, good governance move to the agenda of the many international organizations at end of the Cold war when calls for democracy and better government became lauder and as expectations were heightened as to what international organization might do to further this aim (Ngaire Woods 1999).⁴Mainly, international organizations and aid agencies were concerned existing political and economic pattern and implementations of the third world countries. Those universal forces are emphasized that existing political and economic models and implementations process are stagnations in the developing countries.

Due to these stagnations that there are many undemocratic and unfavorable activities has been impacted on weak economic and social development in such countries. As an ideology, modern liberal economic and political ideology has been emerged and applied speeded with in a European region. According to their perspectives that speedy recovery of the economic achievement that political and economic reforms are compulsory event of the changing process of the democratic governance. Merilee Grindle say, We would all be better off, and citizens of many developing countries would be much better off, if public life were conducted within institutions that were fair, judicious, transparent, accountable, participatory, responsive, well-managed, and efficient. For the millions of people throughout the world who live in conditions of public insecurity and instability, corruption, abuse of law, public service failure, poverty, and inequality, good governance is a mighty beacon of what ought to be (Merilee Grindle 2010).⁵ According to liberal democratic ideology that governing process also, more significant clean and transparent government mechanism regarding decision making process and implementations. Many international organization and aid agencies such as UN and World Bank, IMF emphasized that reason behind the European development is rapid and speedy modernity of the government and governance process in

¹Michal Johnston...

² International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Executive Board – Sixty-Seventh Session, Rome, 8-9 September 1999.

³ Anwar Shah, 2006. Public Sector Governance and Accountability Series: Local Governance in Developing Countries, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / the World Bank 1818 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20433.

⁴ Ngaire Woods, Good Governance in International Organization, Global Governance, Vol. 5, No. 1, Jan.–Mar. 1999.

⁵ Merilee Grindle, Good Governance: The Inflation of an Idea, John F. Kennedy School of Government or of Harvard University. June 2010.

their countries in term clean and practices of good governing principles. Therefore, there is a gap has been erupted in between European and non-European regions on development.

Specially, Latin America, Africa, and Asian region has been faced a transitional period in their political and economic history. Most of those third world countries were victimized dictatorial governing process I their historical time line. It has created big gap in between Europe and non- Europe. Samuel Huntington says, the most important political distinction among countries concerns not their form of government but their degree of government. The differences between democracy and dictatorship are less than the differences between those countries whose politics embodies consensus, community, legitimacy, organization, effectiveness, stability, and those countries whose politics is deficient in these qualities (Samuel Huntington 1973).⁶ After Second World War that ideologically the political map of the world has been divided America and Britain and other major parts of the European states has follow the democratic ideology as a political set up in their countries. According to that democratic ideology they have built their democratic governing process and mechanism in term popular democracy and people oriented bureaucratic systems. In parallel to Europe, in other region such as Latin America, Africa, Asia has been formed communist oriented political system with loyalty Russian Block. Therefore, in these regions has been a dominant more autocratic model state system which has dominant bureaucracies in their governing systems. European region has been easily adopted political and economic reforms and modernity in their governing system rather than other region of the world. Therefore, European countries could be overcome their economic and political development beyond the existing obstacles. These governments command the loyalties of their citizens and thus have the capacity to tax resources, to conscript manpower, and to innovate and to execute policy. If the Politburo, the Cabinet, or the President makes a decision, the probability is high that it will be implemented through the government machinery (Samuel Huntington 1973).⁷ There are many issues related poverty and development has been increased in those countries. Bureaucratic orientated governing system has been stagnation due to long last domination of the bureaucracy and dictatorial political leadership.

One of the negative results of their trends was that most of those countries had become as corrupted and stagnations ruling system in their political system. Economic and political stability has become a back ward nature due to autocratic governing bodies. International organizations and aid agencies concerned about reforms of the existing ruling pattern of such third world countries. They needed more accountable governing systems to establish in developing countries with regard democratization of democracy and governance. With regard economic development that developed nations and World Bank encouraged to developing countries regarding most accountable governance which base on democratic principle such as good governance including public participation in decision making process. Decision making process had to be devolved from center to periphery combine with political and administrative power of the state. Participatory governance has been defined by the Elizabeth Powell, The term “governance” refers to the process of decision-making and the ways in which decisions are implemented (or not). In any given system, the government is the major actor, but others can influence the process. Non-state actors, such as religious or tribal leaders, civil society, major landowners, trade unions, financial institutions, the military and community based groups can play important roles (Elisabeth Powell and Naraghi Anderlini).⁸ Whatever global trend regarding local government and governance that significant point is most effective government will bring the effective result for the societies and people. Therefore, safe of local government was highly Prominent in the global policy debates. International organization and agencies as well as developed countries have been appeared for enhance and empower of the weak economy and their social conditions of the third world countries. But, one of the pre-conditions given by those actors that those countries needed to re- structure of the governance process in local government. Further, there are recommendations were democratization of society and political culture in developing countries beyond the existing dictatorial governing pattern.

Meanwhile, term Good Governance has been applied in European societies in term democracy. European trend was introduced Good Governance as a concept for the third world countries with regard adjust their economy , politics and administrative culture in term modern democracy. It is of course, simplification to speak of developed countries and even more so of the developing countries when one takes into ac in to the world count their extraordinary economic, political and cultural internal complexity. Nevertheless, all developing countries differ from developed countries in that they have been integrated into the world market and world politics in a catch-up way, under Western domination and with imported Western European models, and they are still characterized by the domination of resource and agrarian exports over that of industry and technology. This implies a different configuration for each civil society, even though they are exposed to more recent globalization process and the influence of a world (civil) society, of formation (Kane, 2003; Kobler and Melber, 1993; Florini, 2000).⁹ Most of third world countries were struggling with existing autocratic governing system regarding establishing democracy in their societies. They were much concerned about Western governing model which has consisted modern liberal democratic features. These countries needed to emancipation from the nature of stagnation of all over the system by applying this new democratic model.

High level corruption a bureaucratic hegemony was one of the main challenges of third world governments in their back ward nature of the governing process. Lack of participation of the people in to governing process was impact on good governance. Also, economic benefit did not flowing in equally from top to down. Therefore, World Bank and other foreign aid agencies who were appeared for empower these countries has been declared their pre-condition regarding government and governance process. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored, and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions

⁶ Samuel P. Huntington., 1973. Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

⁷ Samuel P. Huntington., 1973. Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

⁸ Elisabeth Powell and Naraghi Anderlini, Democracy and Governance.....

⁹ Kane, John, 2003. Global Civil Society? Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

among them (Daniel Kaufmann and Aart Kraay).¹⁰ Because, recent history that international donor agencies and financial institutions has been given their priority regarding development activities at the grass root level. With the democratization process that local institutions and civil society organizations have to take vital role in this regard. Developed nations and other international organizations needed to wide range public participation in to policy making process and implementations for the smooth function of development activities on their foreign aid and finance with regard other third world countries.

Due to corruptions and bribes of the government public sector and bureaucracy that non-governmental sector has been promoted to do development activities in those countries with huge public and civil society participation. Therefore, donor agencies has been released some guidelines for the third world countries how to establish and maintain responsible governance system in their political culture. Methodological discussions are often esoteric and best kept within scholarly circles, but this one has real world relevance to development policy. Donor agencies regularly measure and assess the quality of governance, and may condition assistance on these measurements. The Millennium Challenge Corporation of course is one of the most explicit in doing so, but it is in good company. Donors also purport to design and implement evidence-based policies on governance reform. They further justify this focus on good governance partly on the basis of evidence that better governance promotes economic development (January 2012 UNU-WIDER WIDER Angle newsletter).¹¹ UN concerned was high in this regard. UN Secretary- High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons has emphasized the importance of building institutions that are accountable to all. This requires accountability at all levels and in all directions from governments to citizens, corporations to shareholders and civil society groups to their constituencies (Oslo Governance Centre, March 2014).¹² Also former UN secretary general Kofi Annan says, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan noted that 'good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development' (Rachel M. Gisselquist: 2014).¹³ With parallel to this perspective, many programs have been launched to promote good governance at the local level in many countries including Sri Lanka. In general, work by the World Bank and other multilateral development banks on good governance addresses economic institutions and public sector management, including transparency and accountability, regulatory reform, and public sector skills and leadership. Other organizations, like the United Nations, European Commission, and OECD, are more likely to highlight democratic governance and human rights, aspects of political governance avoided by the Bank. Some of the many issues that are treated under the governance programme of various donors include election monitoring, political party support, combating corruption, building independent judiciaries, security sector reform, improved service delivery, transparency of government accounts, decentralization, civil and political rights, government responsiveness and 'forward vision', and the stability of the regulatory environment for private sector activities (including price systems, exchange regimes, and banking systems) (Rachel M. Gisselquist 2012).¹⁴ The main objective of this attempt was re- structure of the existing governing body towards fruitful outcome for the people wellbeing by avoiding misuse, corruption and vesting public finance. Therefore, last two three decades, that concept of good governance was prominent as well as arguable concept in international as well as local level politics in the world. One of the millennium goals of the UN development plan was to achieve sustainable and transparent governing system in their member state on rapid socio, economic development.

1.2. Ideological Paradox and Practices of Good Governance in Sri Lankan Political Culture

In recent history, Pro- nationalistic ideology and patriotism is one of the strongest challenges of third world countries including Sri Lanka when they are entering to economic and political reforms on their socio, economic and political transformation. Specially, Sri Lanka is one of the Democratic countries in South Asia that has been enjoying democratic principles and privileges since their independency. But, problem was their democratic culture could not avoid nationalistic ideology and patriotism which has created during colonial period by the patriot movement which was against imperialism and colonialism. Imperialism was common experience for the most of third world countries. Mainly, strong patriotic ideology was emerged against anti-imperialism and colonial ideology which has been created in pre-colonial era. In latter, it was spreads as a huge social and political movement not only in Sri Lanka but also other South Asian countries as well. Therefore, after gaining of political independency that most of political movements were determined by the existing social force which consisted patriotic ideology. In Sri Lanka case study, there was a strong left movement was emerged against colonialism to gain political independency. This political force was speeded in global forum and always dynamically changed third world social and political context. Those global political trends and dynamics have been greatly influenced for the local political culture and party politics in third world countries. In Sri Lankan context, there are couple of factors can be identified with regard establishment of anti-Western ideology in Sri Lanka.

01. Western Imperialism and its impact on local political and cultural perspective
02. Colonial administration and its impact on socio, economics cultural and educational sphere
03. Religion and religion nationalism

These three factors were crucially important regarding create obstacles on Western political and economic implications in local society in latter political and administrative implementations in Sri Lanka. Western imperialism was common experience in not only Sri Lanka but also other South Asian countries as well. It has conceptually and empirically impact on local political ideologies.

¹⁰Denial Kaufman and Art Kraay, the World Bank World Bank Institute and Development Research Group November 2002.

¹¹ <http://unu.edu/publications/articles/what-does-good-governance-mean.html>

¹²Democratic Governance, March 2014. Oslo Governance Centre, 2013: A Year in Review, United Nation Development Programme.

¹³ Rachel M. Gisselquist, What Does Good Governance Mean? WIDER Angle newsletter, January 2012, ISSN 1238-9544.

¹⁴ Rachel M. Gisselquist, What Does Good Governance Mean? WIDER Angle newsletter, January 2012, ISSN 1238- 9544.

Specially, pro-leftism ideology which base on Marxism and Leninism has been raised strong anti-ideological perspective against Western imperialism and there global hegemonies. Sri Lanka also one of the countries that influenced this ideology in their left political movement. In Pre and post-independence politics that Sri Lanka has been created many pro-left political parties which were based on anti-western imperialism and their ideological implications. LSSP which is first leftist party was formed in 1935 by the leftist leaders who were part of global anti-Western Leftists Ideology which was disciplined by the Marxism and Leninism. Lenin say, in his famous pamphlet *Imperialism, the highest Stage of Capitalism*, some of the basic features of imperialism have again changed more radically than they did during the previous seventy years (Wesley S.Muthiah Sydney Wanasinghe 2004).¹⁵Leftist ideological foundation was laid down of these leftist political parties and movement during the period of colonial which mainly anti-capitalistic ideology. Global political ideology has been divided in to two political blocks namely as left and right wing. American right (capitalist) political ideology and Russian base socialist ideology has been divided global political map.

In Sri Lanka left political ideology also was victimized in these global political trend. By the time, left Political parties and movement of Sri Lanka had a strong movement against not only for the capitalism but also Western political, cultural and economic pattern as well. Therefore, this left movement has been done leading role with regard create an anti-ideology movement against British colonial hegemony. Because, at that time , British colonial domination has been speed up on customs cultural, and administrative system from ground level to national sphere in Sri Lanka. Therefore, Colonial experience on governance in Sri Lanka has been created multiple consequences for the society. The entire political, economic, educational, and administrative models were formed which based on by the Western ideology. It has emerged as “Modern Colonialism” as developed in the 19th century by European powers, in their colonial states because of it was a clearly stronger economic and social transformation power, its broader impact, and its role in shaping the world before the mid-20th century (Patrick Ziltener and Daniel Künzler 2013).¹⁶Not only political pressure but also economic and cultural influences were significance in this trend. Also, whole perspective of Western colonialism did not tolerate by the local social and political patriot movements. Therefore, Initial foundation was laid down by these renaissance movements and their leading force against western social ideology in pre-colonial Sri Lanka. Western political ideology and practices were challenged by the two social and political fronts during that period. As earlier mentioned that first one was emerged on leftist movement with regard against western capitalism and their practices. They were concerned western ideology and their practices as a common and harmful factor for the country future betterment.

On the other hand, there was a strong ally has been emerged with in Sinhalese dominant Buddhist social and religious groups. It called as a Sinhala Buddhist patriotic movement. Further, it has been enhanced and combined with Sinhalese Buddhist extremist ideology. In latter part of Sri Lankan politics that these two factors have been crucially influenced for the formation of the political parties and their ideologies in Sri Lankan political culture. Therefore, since independence, there are strong anti-Western social and political movement has been emerged in national politics in Sri Lanka. Because, political power was based on dominant Sinhalese Buddhist voting base at the bottom level. There was a strong combination was shown between religion and politics in pre and post-independence governance in Sri Lanka. That religion factor was crucially impact on formation of people ideology in social and political sphere from bottom to top. As a religion, Buddhism is philosophy rather than religion but in Sri Lankan context that religion become have had become a dominant and influential factor among the majority Sinhalese ideology in term politics. Specially, anti-Christianity and western ideological movements were led by most popular Buddhist monks. Buddhism has become as a tool for the cultural expansion of among the majority Sinhalese sphere.

The main reason of this objection was existing hegemony of Christianity. Because, its education and social policies has been greatly impacted on every social section of the country. Further, it has been neglected and excluded Buddhism from their western ruling agenda. Education system was completely manipulated by the Christian religion and their visionary. Education is one of the main transformative tools of knowledge and ideas from generation to generation. Rev. Shangaraksitha couched by Rev. Walpole Rahula writings, with spread of Christianity and Western education, Sinhalese Buddhist culture came to be neglected and despised, even by the Sinhalese Buddhist themselves. The position of the Bhikkus deteriorated. As they could not adopt themselves to suit the changed political, economic and social situation, they were rendered useless to society and layman had nothing to learn from them (Jayadeva Uyangoda 2007).¹⁷Therefore, there was a strong campaign led by prominent Buddhist monks against western domination. Specially, these social movements emphasized about importance of the Buddhist education for the Sinhalese majority.

However, many Buddhist monks were attached to the Pirivena Education system. While, Western educational concepts and customs were practices under the Buddhist educational and cultural sphere. Buddhist monks who were had been educated at the Pirivena and one consisting of those laymen and monks too, eventually-who had received a Western education. As a result of this, conflict between the Christian clerisy and the Buddhist clerisy was reproduced within the Sinhalese Buddhist community itself (Shangaraksitha 2007).¹⁸Primary and secondary education system also has been influenced by these Buddhist religious trend during the renaissance periods pre-colonial Sri Lanka.

¹⁵Wesley S. Muthiah, Sydney Wanasinghe, 2004. *The Case for Socialism; Diverse Arguments from Across the Globe: A Young Socialist Publication*, 12, Parakumba Palace, Colombo 06, Sri Lanka.

¹⁶ Patrick Ziltener and Daniel Künzler, *Impacts of Colonialism – A Research Survey*, 2013, American Sociological Association, Volume 19, Number 2, Pages 290-311, ISSN 1076-156X.

¹⁷Shangaraksitha (ed) Jayadeva Uyangoda, 2007. *Religion in Context: Buddhism and Socio Political Change in Sri Lanka*, Social Scientists Association, No 12, Suleiman Terrace, Colombo 05.

¹⁸ Shangaraksitha, 2007. *Religion Nationalism in Sri Lanka*, Shangaraksitha (ed) Jayadeva Uyangoda, 2007. *Religion in Context: Buddhism and Socio Political Change in Sri Lanka*, Social Scientists Association, No 12, Suleiman Terrace, Colombo 05.

Buddhism base Sinhala education system was speeded in entire country with anti-Western sentiment. Result of these trend was number of Buddhist schools such as Ananda collage, Nalanda, Richman, Dharmarajha collage, were established in main cities. Kumari Jayewardene say, In 1880, and the establishment of the first Buddhist boys English school (later known as Ananda Collage) in 1886, wealthy Buddhist desiring a modern education in English for their daughters had no choice except the Catholic and Protestant schools such as Good Shepherd Convent, Colombo (started in 1869), the Methodist Girls High school, Colombo (1886), the Girls High school Kandy (1879), and many others established subsequently (Kumari Jayewardene 2007).¹⁹ Simultaneously, Western oriented traditions and belief and customs were challenged gradually by this educational institutions later part of the history. School such as Royal collage and other western oriented English base educational institutions giving good example for the diversification of Sinhalese education system in term pro-Western and pro-liberalistic perspectives. These educational institutions have been given considerable influences with regard developed social ideologies among the Sinhala Buddhist leaders who were students of those school and express their actions through their customs and traditions.

Most of teachers of these schools came from with Western knowledge back ground. Kumari Jayewardene says about main ladies Buddhist collages in Colombo. In the movement for female education, race become a crucial factor: since there were few Buddhist women with formal education and no local women graduates or trained teachers were available to sustain a school, appeals had to be made to foreign Theosophist women to come to Sri Lanka as teachers and principals (Kumari Jayewardene 2007).²⁰ This educational system and their institutional structure were brought new pro nationalistic intellectual for these schools in later social history. Specially, in the key points of the politics and economic sphere has been dominated these new pro- nationalistic leadership in their political ideologies in freedom struggle.

On the other hand, there was a debate was started among the local scholars and religious leaders regarding Christianity and Buddhism. In 1860 decade, number of leading Buddhist monks and gay leaders initiated a great debate. They were openly and challenged Christianity and their teaching, cultural and western customs. Latter it was call Panadurawadaya that leads by prominent Buddhist monk debater Migettuwatte Gunananda thero. There was a three debates were hold in three places such as Baddegama, Waragoda and Udamvita. This movement was highly influenced on Sinhalese ideology regarding anti-western practices. Anagarika Dharmapala who is prominent Buddhist leader needed to reforms of the existing cultural and social back ground. He was launched various activities among the Sinhalese community with support other social movements such as Maha Bodhi Samagama, Buddhist Parama Vinghartaha Samagama. Simultaneously, prominent Buddhist leaders such as Rev. Hikkaduwe Sumangala, Henry Steel Olcott, and G.P Weerakoon gave massive support to him. Significant of this process is social and cultural ideology of the general mass has been sharpening against western culture and religious practices. These events crucially impact on latter political and social dimension of Sri Lanka political culture.

There was a new foundation was laid down as a new social class which base on pro-nationalistic ideology in the both social and political sphere. It, s gave a new path to create new political and social culture in post-independence Sri Lanka and their administrative set up. The political culture of a country is constituted by the qualitative factors such as individual's values, beliefs and emotions. Although distinct in nature, political culture forms a part of the total culture of a country and is affected by general social norms. According to Lucian Pye, political culture of a country encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. Thus the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics in a country are manifested through its political culture (Hari Hara Das, B.C Choudhury 2002).²¹ Pre- independence social and political; movement was shaped people ideologies towards anti-Western perspective on politics and social governance. This trend crucially was impacts on post-independence political and social establishment of the country. Therefore, Model of formation of political parties in post-independence was based on anti-imperialism or Western political perspective.

A political party is one of the most powerful tools in the society regarding mobilizing social ideology in to single social organization. Gradually, Social stratification has been formed on social power of the society. According to Weber has clearly mentioned above idea, Weber identified three "phenomenon of the distribution of power with in community" Classes, Status Group, and Parties. The three dimensions or phenomenon of power are said to stand in some definite relationship to one another in the stratification order. But when it comes down to it, Weber is much more concerned with the relationship between class and status than with the link between either of these and party. Party proves to be very much odd man out (Peter Hamilton 1986).²² LSSP which was first formal left oriented party was formed which based on anti-Western imperial ideology. They were argued that western ideologies and political practices as strongly impact on local values and traditions of the politics and people interests. Result of this perspective that LSSP could gained considerable public attractions and political power in their hand in early period of pre-independence. LSSP has been strongly stood against economic and political policies of the United National Party which was formed base on liberal economic and social policies. They have been arguing United National Party (UNP) was identified as a pro - right party on their pro-western economic policies. After independence that Sri Lanka has been suffered huge debt and poverty on their economy. Last five decades that country development activities mainly have been depended on foreign aids and funds which given by the international financial institutions such as World Bank, IMF and western development countries.

¹⁹ Kumari Jayewardene (ed) Jayadeva Uyangoda, 2007. White Women, Arrack Fortunes and Buddhist Girls Education, Social Scientists Association, No 12, Suleiman Terrace, Colombo 05.

²⁰ Kumari Jayewardene (ed) Jayadeva Uyangoda, 2007. White Women, Arrack Fortunes and Buddhist Girls Education, Social Scientists Association, No 12, Suleiman Terrace, Colombo 05.

²¹ Hari Hara Das, B.C Choudhury, 2002. Introduction to Political Sociology, Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, New Delhi.

²² (ed) Peter Hamilton, 1986. Key Sociologists, Max Weber, Rutledge, London and New York.

Mainly, UNP and their economic policies has been trusted those financial supports regarding country development. But, leaders of this party couldn't avoid anti-western social ideology of the country from their policy manifesto of the political campaign. General idea of public in other parties was completely against UNP and some elements of SLFP in latter part of history in Sri Lankan political parties. Since, independence mostly left parties were ally with SLFP and their middle path economic policy without following western instructions and advices. Most of pro-nationalistic movements have been utilized national symbols such as national flag, anthem regarding creation of strong local identity which base on anti-western perspective. These party policies and stand has been lined upon anti-western ideology that has been speeded up among the majority voters as a slogan on Western interference in internal politics. Specially, LSSP still is following such policies regarding power change of the government in the country. In his recent speech leader of LSSP Tissa Vitharana has said, The LSSP and the Left have been campaigning for these changes since the JR Constitution was introduced in 1978, and our leader Dr. N. M. Perera prophetically described the very unfortunate consequences, that have now occurred, in his "Critical Analysis" booklet.

It was the logical outcome of artificially grafting an alien Executive Presidency into the Westminster Parliamentary model that had evolved so satisfactorily with time within the body politic of Sri Lanka. It is this real need of the people for a change that has been utilized by the UNP and other agents of the USA as the pretext to achieve "regime change"! The visit of John Kerry, apparently without the knowledge of the President, and his statements clearly indicate that we are already in the grasp of the USA. This carries a major threat to Sri Lanka, already sharply divided on racial and religious lines, as the USA Government has the habit of de-stabilizing countries where its puppet regime fail to deliver what it expects, by utilizing its "divide and rule" policy and engineering localized conflicts and wars.

As the producer of 60 per cent of world armaments, what better way is there to revive the flagging US economy! After all it was the 2nd World War that paved the way for the 25 year post war global economic boom, but in this nuclear age a world war would lead to disaster, the end of the world. Today it is the era of localized wars (<http://www.dailymirror.lk>).²³ Main political parties have been sharpening general ideology of the public in their political campaign. Comparatively, SLFP has been maintained balance economic and political policies with the western countries and their institutions. It was demonstrated from the S.W.R.D Bandaranayke regime. Specially, his economic and foreign policy was demonstrated balance perspectives with West and East global politics. One of the crucial points of anti-western campaign was remarked in 1956. Existing general social and political ideology has been influenced on political vision of the political leaders. It was reflected by political formation of the S.W.R.D Bandaranayke in 1950 decades.

As a leader, Mr. Bandaranayke was disciplined his education, culture and religion back ground by the Western ideological perspective. But, he transformed himself on all those positions in to local nationalistic ideology which base on anti-western. Because, during that period, there was a social and political vacuum has been created by the society regarding favorable political party which base on anti-western and local oriented principles. S.D Muni says, one of the important characteristics of a modern state is that its society is separated from its polity. Political parties fill this vacuum and link the two components in an organic manner. This is evident in the Western countries. In Asia, however, no such separation of polity and society has ever existed, nor is it in the offing in the near future. The social and political areas of activities have remained enmeshed in each other. Accordingly, there is no "intermediate level" at which political parties can operate, or at which the growth of parties may be facilitated (S.D. Muni 1988).²⁴ Origin of SLFP is a result of requirement of fulfillment existing gap on western policies and customs in politics and social and economic sphere. In parallel, there was a many social campaign and organizations has been formed by the pro-nationalists political ally such as Sinhala Maha Shabawa was influential movement in that time.

In 1950 decade, there was a two major parties has been dominated in Sri Lankan party system. United National Party and Sri Lanka Freedom Party were dominated in electoral politics and whole political system from center to periphery. Therefore, lefts and other nationalistic movements are considerably encouraged such a policy on political parties in country politics. Since 1977, UNP has been engaged in huge an economic and political reform which has pro capitalist perspectives. Mr. J.R Jayewardene has kept remarkable point in this regard. His pro-Western economic and political perspectives caused to create strong anti-Western sentiment among the other political parties and general public. In 1977, J.R Jayewardene was introduced liberal economic and political reforms which base on western financial institutions such as World Bank and IMF. Therefore, there was a new political terminology erupted in political dictionary among the political parties and their voters. Term "Western Conspiracy or Western coup" is sharply enacted political ideology of the general mass. There is an ideology among other political parties and general mass regarding regime change and western interference. It is a phobia among the strong nationalistic and some leftist parties in active politics. They have been highly criticized about policies and recommendations of the World Bank and International Monetary Funds (IMF). In recent changes of the country politics that LSSP leader's perspectives follow, it is important for us to realize that there is a positive and negative side to what is happening. What appears to be and could become a positive Process of democratizing and uniting our society in our common interest, is unfortunately also a cover for a more dangerous and far-reaching project that may undo all the progressive changes brought about by the alliance of the SLFP and the Left since 1956 and make us once again a neo-colony. A process of "regime change" is underway, not only to get rid of the UPFA Government headed by Mahinda Rajapakse and replace it by a UNP Government, but also thereby to re-introduce the neo colonial "regaining Sri Lanka (for Imperialism)" socio-economic and political policies. These policies are being introduced world-wide by American imperialism in order to speed up the economic recovery of the "West" from the 2007 economic downturn by installing puppet and pro-American regimes, like the BJP in India democratically, and the military

²³<http://www.dailymirror.lk>

²⁴ S.D.Muni, 1990. Party Systems and the Democratic Process, Regional Seminar Organized by the Marga Institute 61, Isipathana Mawatha, Colombo. 05.

governments in Thailand and Egypt undemocratically. The plague has affected most of the Middle East and parts of Africa, and efforts are being made to extend it to Latin America as well. It was the failure of the Mahinda Rajapakse regime to curb the abuses, which flowed from the Executive Presidency, which after all was established by the UNP government headed by J. R. Jayewardene that provided the need to move the 19th Amendment (see at: <http://www.dailymirror.lk>).²⁵ These party ideologies have been strongly impacted on economics and political reforms of the central as well as local politics in Sri Lanka. In general, anti-Western ideology has been structured in to party leaders and their politics. Therefore, the policies of the party also impacted on their policy implementations. In general, political ideology of the people has been followed ideology of the leaders who are held their parties. Separates parties also has been formed against western ideology. In the parliament also we can see, there are strong anti-western ideologies working against development and new policies when the government going to passed via majority votes. Therefore, practice of good governance not in local governance but also in national politics has become a paradox.

1.3. Weaken Civil Society and Practices of Good Governance in Local Government Institutions

Concept of civil society is crucially significant in democratic governance of the public institutions of given society. When we examine better governance of local government that civil society is atheoretically as well as practically important concept of the democratic governance. Basic civil society activities are initiating at the bottom level socio, political back grounds. It is compare with other developed countries that they have been implementing most advanced political applications in their political culture. In broad sense, civil society intervention regarding governing process is significant for the better governance for the not only national level but also local government sphere as well.

There are different kind of perspectives can be identified regarding concept of civil society. Many scholars have been interpreting civil society in different angle; basically, civil society is a western concept. But this concept has been vitally impact on transformation of the primary societies in to modern positions. In classical perspectives that civil society has been defines as family, economy and state. But, in modern liberal democracy has been re- interpreted concept of civil society with different view of classical perspective. The insight that civil society is a separate sphere from all realms, that is to say separate from state and economy (as well as , naturally, from family) was not formulated until the 20th century most markedly by Gramsci (a proponent Marx theory of economic) and later by Heberamas(a critic of Marx theory). For both, civil society was an autonomous social sphere which contained all cultural institutions (for Gramsci the sense of superstructures i.e. Unions, parties, schools well as the press and literature, church and daily life (Heidrun Zinecker, 2011).²⁶ It is complex that civil society will cover entire section of the society including individuals. Many political movement, pressure groups, parties and organizations can be identified as main organs of the civil society. On the other hand, except state that all other non-state actors are considered as partners of the civil society. In the classical theoretical perspective of civil society has been defined by the John Lock in his Social Contract. According to Lockenian ideology that civil society is a result of the agreement among the citizens. He described the state of nature as one in which the rights of life and property were generally recognized under natural law, the inconveniences of the situation arising from insecurity in the enforcement of those rights. He therefore argued that the obligation to obey civil government under the social contract was conditional upon the protection not only of the person but also of private property. If a sovereign violated these terms, he could be justifiably overthrown (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica).²⁷ Forming of the government is one of the main roles of the civil society. Therefore, civil society is one of the main counter and foundation stone of the state or governing body. Further, it will give correct direction authority for the governing process. Therefore civil society intervention is essential requirement for the better governance of the given ruling system. Local government is a government at the bottom level governance which is significant for the wellbeing of the people. It is most primary and foundation political unit which closely work with the citizens. Further, local government will determine and reflect entire political system and nature of the political culture of the country. For the better and democratic governance that local government system should be formulated better combination among the public, civil society and non-public sector.

Power and authority should be overlap for the better and accountable governance at the bottom level. In this sense, role of civil society is crucially important regarding democratic and accountable government. Check and balance system will provide vital space for the people to obtained maximum services from the local government intuitions. I Sri Lankan case study that Pradeshiya Sabha was initiated in 1987 under the Act no 15. Nature of the grass root is quite different from the urban and sub urban in Sri Lanka. There are many factors has been caused to formulate and sustain better and active civil society in many successful countries. Especially social factors are significantly impact on strong and better civil society. Education and freedom to express and leadership are key factors regarding form of the strong civil society movements. At the grass root governance, Pradeshiya Sabha has been established most remotes area's in the countries. The nature of Sri Lankan grass root is reflecting quite back ward nature on civil society activities. There are many reasons have been caused to prevailing system at the bottom level governance. Lack of strong leadership is one of the barriers for the better civil society movement at the grass root politics in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, insufficient educational background of the people have been discouraged for the active participation for the civil society activities. The significance of the strong civil society movement is crucial for the better and transparent governance at the local government. In addition to general auditing that social audit is essential for maintain and sustain of the accountable governance. Active and strong voice of the people and civil movements are bringing representative who appointed by the ordinary people for their service delivering in to real path. Questioning of the actions and decision of the elected members are essential for the good and better governing process. In this context,

²⁵ <http://www.dailymirror.lk>

²⁶ Heidrun Zinecker, 2011, Civil Society in Developing Countries Conceptual Considerations, Journal of Conflict ology, May, 2011.

²⁷ Social contract Political philosophy, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/550994/social-contract>

active and strong civil society is doing significant as well better job in this regard. Elite politics, family politics, poverty, weak educational background, patron client relationship in grass root politics are main barriers for the form of strong civil society at the grass root politics in Sri Lanka.

1.4. Electoral Culture and Good Governance and Practices

Prevailing electoral system and culture is one of the practical barriers of the practices of good governance of the country. Since independence, there are two major electoral system have been applied for the electoral process. First past post has been functioned until 1978. First past post system did not reflected highly competitive behavior among the representatives and people on their political interest at the electoral process. Therefore, political and electoral violence could be shown minimum level compare with proportional representative system. Therefore, electoral law and procedures were violated minimum level during that period. When it was introduced proportional representative system for the electoral process from top to bottom that nature of electoral culture has been completely changed. This proportional representative system was started with popular democracy. The main features of the proportional representative system did not favor for the better and good electoral practice of the country. It has seriously impact on voting behavior of the voters as well as actions and behavior of the representatives of the not only local politics but also national politics. Highly cost electoral system has been negatively impact on electoral democracy and practices at the electoral process. Due to preferential system of the PR system that competition of the candidates not only among opposition parties but also same political parties have been raised. Results of this trend, has been created multiple consequences such as electoral violence and violating of electoral law and regulations have been rise up. These trends have been directly impact on rule of law which is one of the basic principles of the good governance. Freedom to vote has been declined due to unnecessary competitions among the candidates of the political parties. Equality and fairness of the free and fair elections has been declined due to wealth and elitism. Wealthy people are encouraging by the existing electoral system than ordinary citizens regarding participate for the governance process. Costly electoral campaign has been created vital opportunities for the richest people to enter politics rather than ordinary people. Therefore, meaning of democracy at the electoral process has been unrealized. Practical aspect of the democracy is essential part of sustain and maintain good governance at the society. Also clear electoral process is enhance clear government and governance process. But, Sri Lankan experience of the electoral democracy is not reflecting such a clear vision with regard good governance. Due to poverty and lack of education of the civil society that candidates could manipulated general public by using their economic power.

2. Conclusion

Local government is pioneer political body of the country on their decision making and policy implementation as well as social well-being of the people who are living in grass root level. Further, it will reflected the nature of governance and their quality as whole of the country. Sri Lanka has been enjoying local government system for a long time period pre and post-colonial period. The main objective was establishment of modern local government institutions were to achieve rapid social, economic and political enhancement through quality and better governing process. Global trend was local government and governance has been rapidly changed. One of objectives of this paper is to seek how and why that local institutions could not successfully achieved their primary objectives of the local government system in Sri Lanka. Pre-colonial local administration was dominated by the British colonial administration. By that time, gradually, British government have done many structural changes regarding local governance system. But all those changers did not fulfill local necessities. But it has brought modern features for the local government system in Sri Lanka. With parallel to global trends that there should have to be some changers regarding local politics and governance bodies to overcome prevailing issues of the country politics and development. Good governance which is one of the important global discourses that attempt to apply to gear up better governance with regard to strengthen local governance process. But, it is clear that pre and post-colonial politics of the country has been undergone various kind of social and political forces. Due to these trends that shape and directions of the local politics and their political activities have been influenced by those new social and political movements. Specially, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism were emphasized in the movement of local freedom struggle and their political demands against western colonial administration. Therefore, shape of political culture of the national politics was highly influenced by these ideologies latter part of politics in Sri Lanka. Therefore, political changers and policy decisions of the political parties and many governments which were governed the country have been influenced by this anti-western political segments. New political implications were identified as neo colonial factors by these political force and movements. Therefore, from the grass root to national politics that shape of people ideologies was formed in accordingly. On the other hand, Existing traditional political customs and beliefs have been rejected new principles of good governance and other modern applications at the political ground in Sri Lanka. Further, these political and social movement were crucially influenced on political ideology of the ordinary people at then ground level.

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