STUDY ON VULNERABILITIES AND CORRUPTION IN ACCESSING LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY SERVICES

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FOREWORD

The scourge of corruption impacts citizens in numerous ways. In better trying to understand how corruption impacts citizens, Transparency International Sri Lanka (TISL), with the support of the Asia Foundation, commissioned the Social Scientists Association (SSA) to develop a tool for understanding vulnerability to corruption.

The approach that the SSA has taken in looking at Social, Cultural and Economic Capital and the way in which these can be used to assess vulnerability and corruption in accessing local government services, provides a unique perspective.

The study importantly highlights that Social, Cultural and Economic Capital impacts access to local government authority services, but not in a uniform manner. The study further recognises ethnicity and geographical location as factors that can play a role in determining vulnerability. Similarly, the lack of knowledge of local government services can be a significant preliminary barrier to access the very same services.

In guiding TISL's future work, it is key to appreciate that corruption is not always anchored in an individual's private gain, and at times is packaged as a communal gain. Similarly, vulnerability is temporary and subject to change and any work anchored in a vulnerability study will need to be dynamic to reflect those changes.

We are grateful for the tireless efforts of Andi Schubert, Shashik Dhanushka Silva, Mark Schubert and the rest of the SSA team in their professional and dedicated approach to conducting the study and look forward to using it to focus the work of TISL and wider civil society when working on local government service delivery.

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Executive Director
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01. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Vulnerabilities and Corruption Assessment Tool sought to develop a mechanism to map the relationship between vulnerability in accessing local authority services and attitudes towards corruption. This report reflects the discussions and findings that have emerged out of a lengthy engagement between the Social Scientists' Association (SSA) as per the instructions received from Transparency International Sri Lanka (TISL) and The Asia Foundation (TAF), Sri Lanka office. This report shares the process of tool development as well as the findings from the implementation of the tool in three districts – Gampaha, Kandy, and Mullaitivu. The study was mainly conducted in Wattala Urban Council (Gampaha District), Nawalapitiya Urban Council and the Pasbage Korale Pradeshiya Sabha (Kandy District) and to a lesser extent, in the Thunukkai Pradeshiya Sabha area in the Mullaitivu District, between February and June 2017. By the end of the study, the research team had carried out a survey with 369 respondents and had conducted 24 qualitative interviews and 9 Focus Group Discussions in all three Districts.

The uniqueness of the tool is that it has the capacity to capture the relationship between vulnerability and perceptions of corruption. Most tools have the capacity to either identify vulnerabilities or measure corruption. This tool enables the programme team to capture the relationship between both vulnerability and corruption. In that sense, the tool is unique as it allows for a nuanced and complex understanding of how vulnerability shapes perceptions of corruption and the conditions under which corruption is seen as a viable option for accessing LGA services.

The development of a tool for assessing the link between vulnerability and corruption was a major component of this project. The tool is comprised of five phases: the exposure visit (to gain a sense of area dynamics that inform the development of the quantitative questionnaire); pilot testing (to test the effectiveness of the questionnaire in the field); quantitative study (to identify vulnerable areas/groups as well as how the function of economic, social & cultural capital shapes their experience of vulnerability and corruption); qualitative study (to develop vulnerability profiles of the areas/groups that were identified through the quantitative study); and finally, report writing (to synthesize all the previous phases).

All five of these phases are crucial to the effective deployment of the mechanism. This is why, in this report, the term 'tool' does not simply refer to the quantitative questionnaire. It should be noted that the term 'tool' refers to all five phases of the study.

It would be impossible to develop the questionnaire, or make sense of the data gathered through it sans the extensive qualitative work done throughout the whole process. This difficulty is also an indication of the context specificity of the questionnaire itself. Therefore, the application of all five phases of the study results in the production of rich data for understanding the ways in which vulnerability and corruption work together to shape access to Local Authority services.

The five phases of the tool broadly cover five major areas of concern: the engagement with the local authority; the level of economic capital a person enjoys; the knowledge of politics (both national and local); the knowledge of and capacity to access powerful local figures; and finally, perceptions regarding the efficiency of corruption and endorsement of bribery in attempting to access local authority services. The tool does not presume the importance of any particular form of structural vulnerability (such as gender, disability, ethnicity, caste, age, or class) but seeks to use the process and the data to map the various local dynamics that shape access to Local Authority services. These dynamics could include some of the structural conditions identified above but as the study demonstrates even dynamics such as one's degree of economic capital or knowledge of politics may prove to be a barrier when accessing local authority services. The study also takes into account the fact that most people do not admit to giving a bribe or participating in corruption. Due to this, the study asked participants and respondents about their perceptions regarding the efficiency of corruption (to what extent they felt that corruption made accessing local authority services more efficient) as well as their endorsement of bribery (to what extent they felt that bribery was a practice that could be endorsed in attempting to access services from their local authority). The experiences when accessing local authority services and the perceptions of bribery and corruption functioned as dependent variables in analyzing the findings of this study.

Vulnerability was defined in terms of the levels of economic, cultural and social capitals that households were able to utilize in accessing local authority services in the deployment of this tool. The findings for the study are also presented by each locality in order to ensure that the specifically local dynamics of each local authority area was effectively captured. Therefore, the key conclusions regarding the function of vulnerability and corruption in Wattala, Nawalapitiya and Thunukkai are sketched out below.

In terms of economic capital, the data suggests that in Wattala it is those in the middle economic capital bracket who find it most difficult to access local government services. However, in Nawalapitiya, it was those from the low economic capital who appeared to face greater challenges when accessing local authority services. In both locations is seemed that this difficulty had an impact on their perception of the efficiency of corruption.

Cultural capital proved to be very important in influencing vulnerability in Wattala. However, this is not true of Nawalapitiya. In Wattala the data indicates that as political awareness increases, an individual's vulnerability in terms of accessing local government reduces. This political awareness also translates into their perception of corruption being an efficient way to get things done. However in Nawalapitiya, it seemed that political awareness had no relationship to vulnerability.

Social capital seems to operate very differently in Wattala and Nawalapitiya. In Nawalapitiya networks with the established formal political framework were crucial for determining vulnerability. As one's social capital reduces, one's vulnerability in terms of accessing local government services increases. It was the individuals with high social capital in Wattala who rejected the efficiency of corruption. However, in Wattala it was clear that the key political actors were those who were outside the formal political structures. Networks with such powerful individuals outside the political structure appear to reduce the likelihood of being vulnerable.

Unfortunately, the sample in Thunukkai is insufficient to make claims regarding the role of the various forms of capital and its impact on vulnerability and corruption. However, the data does suggest certain vulnerability profiles. Those individuals who are from more distant and rural areas and those who are Up-Country Tamils are more likely to be vulnerable in Thunukkai than other groups.

The major recommendations to emerge from the study can be summarized as follows. Firstly, the study suggests the need to privilege the local over the national in programming that deepens local democracy and promotes access to LGA services. Secondly, it suggests caution with regard to the practice of coupling local democracy with service delivery that appears to animate many of the programmatic interventions at the local level. In terms of legal and policy advocacy on bribery and corruption, the project highlights the need for expanding or re-thinking TISL's current definition of corruption "the use of public money for private gain" in order to capture the ways in which corruption is understood as gain for the larger community. A broader definition may also help to design more effective

programs to tackle bribery and corruption at the local level. It may also require tweaking the tools currently used to assess the practice of bribery and corruption in Sri Lanka.

In conclusion, this study affords significant insights into the tensions inherent in the relationship between vulnerability, corruption, access to LGA services and local democracy. It argues for the need for priorities that are more locally sensitive when designing programs to deepen local democracy, promote citizen engagement with their LGA, improve LGA service delivery and tackle corruption at the local level. Finally, it suggests that a more flexible approach that is sensitive to fluctuating local political dynamics may need to be built into program design in order to ensure that programming priorities are responsive to the production and proliferation of vulnerabilities at the local government level.

02. INTRODUCTION

Transparency International Sri Lanka (TISL) and The Asia Foundation (TAF) are currently working to tackle corruption and promote service delivery at the Local Government Authority (LGA) level in Sri Lanka. TISL with the support of TAF contracted the Social Scientists' Association (SSA) to conduct a study that profiles the experiences of vulnerable groups in accessing services and participating in subnational governance, i.e., at the local government level, with the objective of making informed recommendations for legal and policy reform. For the purpose of this study, TISL and TAF did not provide a fixed or structural definition of vulnerability. Instead, they requested the SSA to design a study that would identify forms of vulnerability that structure access to LGA services and how these vulnerabilities influence their perceptions and experience of bribery and corruption. Through this intervention, TISL aimed to identify advocacy entry points that would enable them to better support the establishment of effective, accountable, and transparent institutions at subnational level that best support efforts for inclusive governance. Therefore, the tool that was developed and the study that was conducted sought to address these priorities through a focus on how vulnerabilities shape perspectives on local service delivery, local democracy, and experiences of corruption at the local level.

Recent approaches to the study of local government highlight two major tendencies. The earliest writers on local democracy such as de Tocqueville conceptualized local government as a school that would prepare citizens for participation in politics at national levels. More recently, scholars such as Angelika Vetter and Norbert Kerstig have identified two major trends in discussions on local government. The first trend they identify falls in line with the Tocquevillian view of local government as a system that "integrat[es] citizens into the political decision-making process and… educat[es them] towards [becoming] responsible and active members of the community" (Vetter and Kerstig, 13). The second approach Vetter and Kerstig discuss is the 'functionalist' approach which views local government as "at first hand a service provider with efficient service delivery being the main objective" of the institution (Vetter and Kerstig, 13). Both these approaches are undergirded by the sense that it is local knowledge and understanding that can and should have the largest say in local government and local service distribution. As Anne Phillips points out, "[t]he people in the locality are better placed than anyone else to know the issues, problems and conditions; and they are, by definition, the only ones who can know their preferences and priorities and concerns" (Phillips, 24). This view of the local is also proffered by Phillips as a defense of local

government against the charge that local government can be subsumed to the political power and the influence of the center. She points out that local government is a more "even-handed" system of distributing power and influence arguing that "all levels of politics tend to be dominated by more privileged groups… but the relative ease of access to local politics usually moderates this pattern" (Phillips, 26). These approaches to local government arguably privilege the function of the local while emphasizing the capacity of local government to strengthen and deepen democracy at all levels.

The experience of local government in Sri Lanka has also received a great deal of attention. Scholars such as Janice Jiggins (1979), Dilesh Jayantha (1992), & Pradeep Peiris (2014) have demonstrated the important role that patronage plays in accessing services for communities at the local level. Many scholars on Sri Lankan politics have also identified the crucial role that patron client relationships play in politics in Sri Lanka (Hettige 1984, Uyangoda 2010, Gunasekara, 1992). The work of these scholars suggests the need for further explorations of the relationship between local government and the function of bribery and corruption at local level. In particular, their work draws attention to the way in which the experience of vulnerability and exclusion emerges at the interstices of local service delivery, local democracy, and flows of patronage and corruption. In other words, the scholarship on local democracy in Sri Lanka also adds the dimension of corruption and patronage to much of the scholarly discussions on the function of local government.

This study takes place at a critical juncture for Sri Lanka's local democratic processes. Local Government elections are yet to be called despite the fact that the terms of all local government authorities expired more than two years ago. Furthermore, there is tension between the two major partners in the National Coalition Government over how to move forward on local government electoral reform. The existing proportional representation (PR) electoral system at the local level was changed to a mixed system that is weighted towards a First Past the Post (FPP) system by Parliament in 2012. In the meantime, elected officials have been replaced by an administrator who functions as the commissioner in their respective LGA areas. These administrative officers have had the unenviable task of managing LGA service delivery while navigating an uncertain political context. LGA service delivery has also come under the microscope recently with a massive outbreak of dengue hemorrhaging fever in several parts of the country. The dengue outbreak has also coincided with tensions and negotiations over

garbage disposal, particularly following the collapse of a garbage dump in Meetotamulla which killed at least 32 people in April. These problems have only brought the government's decision to drag its heels on local government elections under further scrutiny. However, pursuing this study at this juncture also affords programming agencies such as TISL and TAF an opportunity to evaluate and sharpen their interventions prior to elections that may be held soon. Therefore, the study provides a timely snapshot into the dynamics of local government in Sri Lanka.

This study seeks to overcome certain methodological challenges TISL faced when measuring corruption in Sri Lanka. For example, according to the Corruption Barometer, 86% of respondents who have visited the LGA claim that they have never offered a bribe. TISL was aware that the low report rate of offering a bribe was unlikely to reflect reality accurately. Given these difficulties in assessing levels of bribery and corruption, SSA was tasked with developing a tool that would be able to effectively assess vulnerability in terms of local government, corruption and the relationship between the two.

To fulfill this brief, SSA merged both qualitative and quantitative research methods. SSA proposed to conduct the study in the Wattala- Mabola Urban Council area, and Nawalapitiya and Pasbage Korala LGA areas. Additionally, the Thunukkai PS area was also selected as a field of study. The Wattala-Mabola Urban Council area was selected as it allowed the team to study corruption and vulnerabilities in accessing LGA service in an urban area, situated close to the capital city, with deep ethnic and religious cleavages. The Nawalapitiya and Pasbage-Korala LGA areas were selected because it offered an opportunity to explore a locality which has aspects of both the rural and the estate, with a concentration of Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities. Thunukkai PS area was selected on the basis that it provided space to explore if the tool could be successfully implemented in predominantly Tamil location, which was ravaged by the war and the focus of the World Bank's NELSIP project.

As part of the quantitative component, a total of three hundred and sixty nine questionnaires were administered across all three locations. While one hundred and seventy-seven questionnaires were completed in Nawalapitya and Pasbage Korale, one hundred and ninety two questionnaires were completed in Wattala-Mabola and one hundred more were conducted in Thunukkai. The SSA team tabulated the data gathered through the questionnaires, and analysed it using SPSS software. The data thus analysed was used in identifying specific groups to conduct qualitative work with.

Additionally, SSA collected qualitative data in all three field locations through Key Informant Interviews, In-Depth Interviews and Focus Group Discussions. In Wattala, the SSA team conducted 8 KIIs, 5 IDIs and 2 FGDs. In Nawalapitiya, a total of 6 KIIs, 3 IDIs and 6 FGDs were conducted. Finally, the team completed 2 KIIs and 1 FGD in Thunukkai. The qualitative data collected through such intensive field work was indispensable for developing a clear understanding of the data collected through the survey. The report is divided into five components. The first section discusses the tool SSA developed in order to capture vulnerability in terms of accessing local government services, corruption and the relationship between the two. The second part of the report unpacks the manner in which economic, social and cultural capital operate in Wattala to render some groups more vulnerable than others when accessing local government and the impact it may have on attitudes towards corruption. The third section of the report discusses the way in which these guises of capital affect the same in Nawalapitiya. Fourthly, the report discusses the manner in which different GN Divisions in Thunukkai experience vulnerability when accessing local authority services and their endorsement of corruption. The report finally draws some key insights from the previous discussion to make certain points regarding vulnerability and corruption when accessing local government services.

The chapter on the two main field locations – Wattala-Mabola UC and Nawalapitiya UC/ Pasbage Korale PS – are presented around four key areas. The first area discusses the function of economic capital in structuring access to LGA services and attitudes towards corruption. The second area explores how the cultural capital (i.e. knowledge of local political dynamics) a family is able to draw impacts on their vulnerability and their perception of and attitudes towards bribery & corruption. The third area each of these chapters focuses on is social capital or the capacity to leverage local networks in order to access LGA services. The analysis of social capital takes place at two levels. The first level of analysis is based on the stratification of respondents into high, mid, and low levels of social capital based on the number of networks they can access (Social Capital 1). The second level of analysis of social capital (Social Capital 2) analyzes both access to LGAs and perceptions of bribery and corruption based on which level in the local political/social network (i.e. local councilor, provincial councilor, MP, or other powerful figures) an individual has access to. Finally, the chapter also analyzes access to LGA services and perceptions of corruption based on GN Division to gain a sense of how geographical factors may also shape access to LGA services. Taken together these four sections in each chapter provide a useful cross-sectional view of the function of both capital and geography in structuring access to LGA services.

03. TOOL DEVELOPMENT – A METHODOLOGICAL REPORT

The Vulnerabilities & Corruption Assessment Tool was developed by the Social Scientists' Association (SSA) as per the instructions received from Transparency International Sri Lanka (TISL) and The Asia Foundation (TAF), Sri Lanka office. The tool was developed out of a larger study on Vulnerabilities and Corruption in Accessing Local Government Authority Services in Sri Lanka. The main objectives of this study were twofold. Firstly, to develop and test a methodology for profiling vulnerabilities that impact the ability to access services provided by Local Authorities at the sub-national level. And secondly, based on this methodology, carry out a vulnerability profiling exercise in at least two Local Authority areas, with particular attention on the factors that may compel citizens to rely on corruption to access Local Authority services. This report addresses the first of these objectives. It explains the methodology adopted by SSA in developing the tool and also sets out some suggestions on how the tool can be utilized in the future.

3.1 SSA'S BRIEF

TISL and TAF gave SSA a fairly wide brief regarding the tool that was to be developed for this study. SSA was not prescribed a set of structural conditions such as ethnicity, gender, or age as a basis for determining vulnerability. The vulnerability of an individual was to be determined based on their ability to access Local Authority Services. Therefore, one of the first requirements was for SSA to develop a tool that would be able to identify vulnerable groups based on their ability to access local authority services.

TISL was also interested in developing a tool and methodology that would enable the organization to assess the role that corruption plays in access to local authority services. The organization asked the SSA to develop a tool that would also enable them to understand the relationship between vulnerabilities in terms of access to local authority services and the use of corruption to access these services. Therefore, the tool developed by SSA also had to be able to map the role that corruption plays in accessing local authority services.

3.2 PROCESS

The tool developed by SSA consists of five phases that function together to identify and finalize a vulnerability profile that hinders certain groups/communities from accessing local government authority services.

Phase 1: Exposure Visit

This phase focuses on identifying the markers of economic, cultural, and social capital in each local authority area. This phase is premised on the assumption that these markers may not always be the same in every local authority area. Therefore, this phase focuses on speaking to civil society organizations, local authority officials, Community-Based Organizations, and a few average people in the area to map the markers of the different guises of capital in the respective areas. This phase of the study draws on a desk review, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), and a limited number of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). In this phase, the emphasis in terms of research design is to develop batteries of questions relating to the different forms of capital as well as the perceptions regarding the practice of malgovernance that would form the basis for this study. These batteries of questions break down the different forms of capital as well as these practices into testable survey questions. These batteries will be developed on the basis of existing literature as well as the discussions with the community.

Phase 2: Pilot Survey

This phase focuses on developing and testing a quantitative questionnaire that can map how the different forms of capital in the area are converted into access to local authority services. The pilot questionnaire is developed based on the findings of the exposure visit as well as discussions with TISL and TAF. The pilot questionnaire helps to finalize a battery of questions on each form of capital and how this type of capital structures access to local authority services. Following the development of this questionnaire, a 25 sample pilot survey in each local authority area was carried out to test the survey instrument. Following the testing, a debriefing with field enumerators and other stakeholders was held and the questionnaire finalized for deployment.
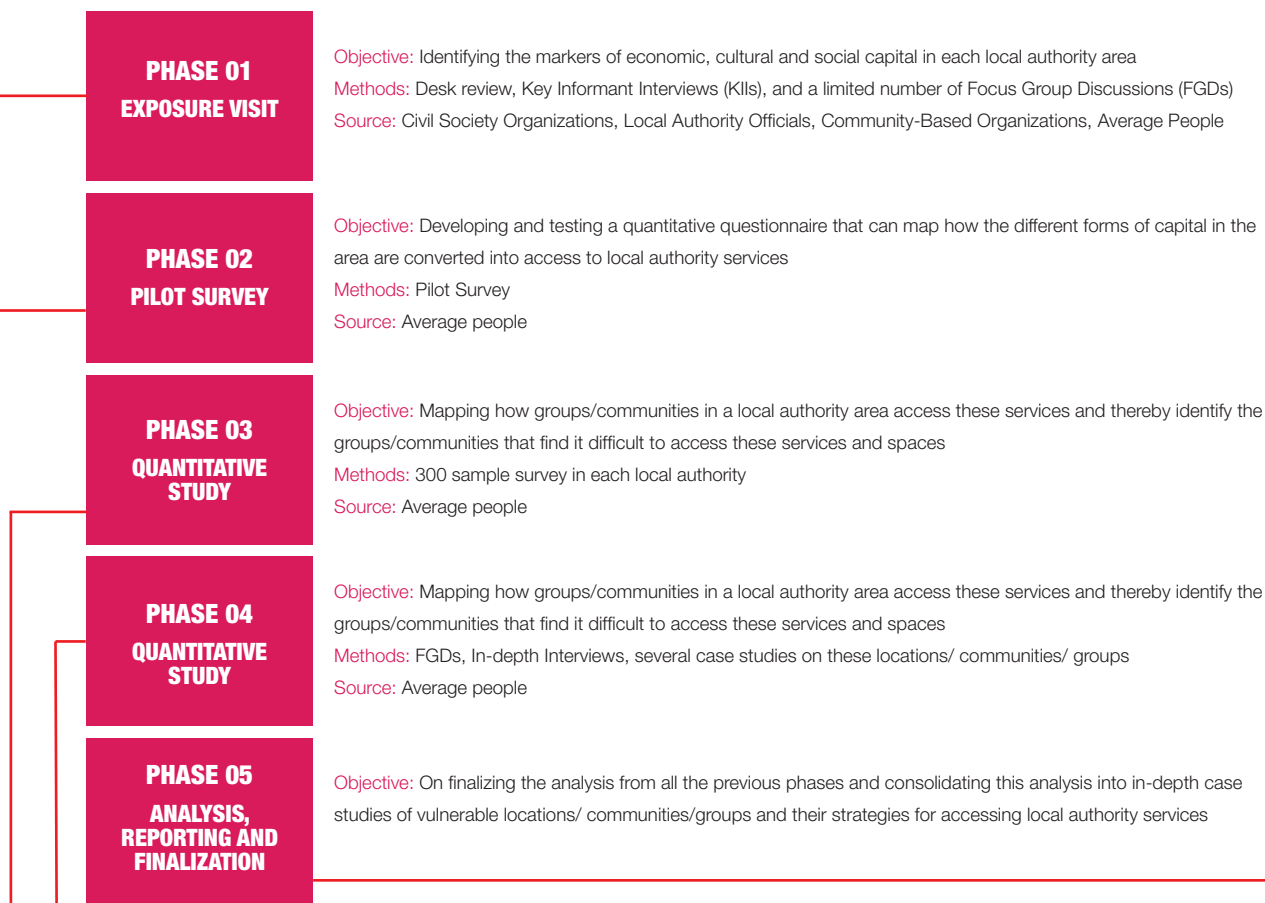
Graphical Overview of the Tool

PHASE 01 **EXPOSURE VISIT**	Objective: Identifying the markers of economic, cultural and social capital in each local authority area Methods: Desk review, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), and a limited number of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) Source: Civil Society Organizations, Local Authority Officials, Community-Based Organizations, Average People
PHASE 02 **PILOT SURVEY**	Objective: Developing and testing a quantitative questionnaire that can map how the different forms of capital in the area are converted into access to local authority services Methods: Pilot Survey Source: Average people
PHASE 03 **QUANTITATIVE STUDY**	Objective: Mapping how groups/communities in a local authority area access these services and thereby identify the groups/communities that find it difficult to access these services and spaces Methods: 300 sample survey in each local authority Source: Average people
PHASE 04 **QUANTITATIVE STUDY**	Objective: Mapping how groups/communities in a local authority area access these services and thereby identify the groups/communities that find it difficult to access these services and spaces Methods: FGDs, In-depth Interviews, several case studies on these locations/ communities/ groups Source: Average people
PHASE 05 **ANALYSIS, REPORTING AND FINALIZATION**	Objective: On finalizing the analysis from all the previous phases and consolidating this analysis into in-depth case studies of vulnerable locations/ communities/groups and their strategies for accessing local authority services

Phase 3: Quantitative Study

This phase focuses on mapping how groups/ communities in a local authority area access services and identifying, through that, the groups/communities that find it difficult to access these services and spaces. A 175 sample survey is carried out in each local authority area (numbers will depend on the population of each local authority area) using the survey instrument developed out of Phases 1 & 2. A team of experienced field researchers and supervisors is deployed to carry out the survey and also back-check their work to ensure the quality of the data. The data collected in this manner is analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The analysis of the survey findings helps to identify the key factors relating both to the forms of capital and malgovernance that shape access to Local Authority services. Furthermore, the socio-economic, and cultural data collected in this phase helps to identify the locations/groups where these factors are most acute both in terms of access to local authority services as well as where perceptions regarding practices of corruption/malgovernance in the area are most emphatic. A discussion with field researchers as well as other stakeholders will be held at the end of this phase of the study.

Phase 4: Qualitative Study to Develop a Vulnerability Profile of these Groups/ Locations

This phase focuses on understanding the experiences and drivers of vulnerabilities in and among the locations/ groups/communities identified through Phase 3. This helps to develop a profile of the various vulnerable groups/ communities/locations in a local authority area as well as the strategies they use or feel would be important to draw on when accessing local authority services. The qualitative nature of this study will also help to identify the different forms and uses of corruption deployed to access services in this local authority area. The methods used for this phase include FGDs and in-depth interviews. This phase results in several case studies on these locations/communities/groups. It will re-visit the factors and areas identified through the survey to carry out a more in-depth study of the conditions which construct and reinforce vulnerabilities and propensities to engage in corrupt practices when accessing local authority services.

Phase 5: Analysis, Reporting and Finalization

This phase focuses on finalizing the analysis from all the previous phases and consolidating this analysis into in-depth case studies of vulnerable locations/ communities/groups and their strategies for accessing local authority services.

3.3 TOOL DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To conceptualize a tool that would meet the requirement of TISL and TAF, the SSA turned to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, in particular his theorization of the forms (or guises) of capital that operate in society. In a famous essay titled "The Forms of Capital," Bourdieu attempts to identify and address the limitation of Marxist thought, in particular its emphasis on economic capital. Bourdieu argues that Marxist thought's tendency to focus solely on economic capital reduces all social interactions to determinations of economic value (i.e. class interests). For Bourdieu, such reductionism makes it difficult to understand the complex ways in which capital circulates through everyday practice. Bourdieu differentiates between the Marxist understanding of economic capital and the social networks, institutions, affects, and material objects through which capital can also circulate. Therefore, Bourdieu argues that capital has "three guises" – economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital.

Bourdieu sees economic capital as a form of capital that is "immediately and directly convertible to money" and exist in material form such as property and other assets. However, in addition, Bourdieu argues for recognizing how economic capital works hand in hand with cultural capital and social capital. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is not necessarily economic but can be converted into economic capital if necessary. Cultural capital is made visible in the qualities of those who appear to possess a legitimate competence when accessing certain spaces, or as the ability to access those who can embody this competence, or in terms of institutions (such as schools for example) that determine the capacity of citizens to access spaces and individuals. Social capital for Bourdieu, is visible in the networks that citizens can access and rely on for backing and support. Bourdieu notes "The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or social) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected". Having sketched out these different forms of capital, Bourdieu goes on to argue for the need to pay attention to how these forms of capital are converted into each other and the purposes that these transformations serve. Bourdieu argues that by extending our analysis beyond the identification of these different forms of capital to how they are converted into each other, a more nuanced analysis of how power relationships are perpetuated and reinforced can be attempted.

Bourdieu's insights suggest the need to pay attention to how other forms of capital (i.e. cultural and social capital) operate and intersect with economic capital but also how these forms of capital translate and transform into each other. The analysis of how economic, cultural, and social capital operates at the local level also helps to identify the conditions that make it difficult for certain social groups/stratifications to access the services provided by these local authorities. In other words, by studying the factors that constrict the translation of these different forms of capital into access to local authority services, the SSA sought to construct a profile of vulnerable groups in a given local government authority area.

Bourdieu's insights about the limitation of analysis based on economic capital is also true of most attempts to study corruption. The reliance on economic capital has led many studies to focus on transactional corruption. However, transactional corruption is only one aspect of much larger network of practices and conditions that are relied on for access to local authorities and political parties. It is important to understand how networks that certain groups are a part of (social capital in Bourdieu's terms), for example, can be leveraged to access services from local authorities. Furthermore, paying attention to how groups in these localities convert their different forms of capital in order to access services from local authorities helps to develop a broader framework for analyzing and mapping the conditions under which corruption lubricates access to local government. Therefore, this theoretical approach is also helpful in understanding how corruption operates at the local level as well.

3.4 TOOL DESIGN: CAPITAL

The use of Bourdieu's theory is premised on the informed assumption that access to LGAs in Sri Lanka is structured by the type and amount of capital that a citizen is able to leverage.[1] Drawing inspiration from Bourdieu's theory of capitals, the tool sought to understand the different types of capital that citizens utilize in order to access services from their Local Authority. Through this it hopes to establish a foundation for examining the ways that capital structures access to LGA services and the role that capital plays in attitudes towards corruption. Therefore, the tool includes a series of questions on the different guises of capital with a view to develop a battery of questions on each capital as a basis for analyzing access to LGA services and perceptions of corruption.

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1. Scholars such as Janice Jiggins (1979), Dilesh Jayantha (1992), & Pradeep Peiris (2014) have demonstrated the important role that patronage plays in accessing services for communities at the local level.

Economic Capital

As noted previously, Bourdieu sees economic capital as a form of capital that is "immediately and directly convertible to money" and exists in material form such as property and other assets. The tool included a series of questions on economic capital including occupation of all members of the household, monthly expenses on education, monthly savings, remittances, type of house, vehicle ownership, land ownership. Based on the exposure visits as well as pilot tests, the research team determined that there were three criteria that would form a useful basis for the development of a battery of questions on economic capital. These criteria are: vehicle ownership, land ownership, and type of house owned.

1. Type of Vehicle: No differentiation was made between types of vehicle when utilizing vehicle ownership as a criterion for determining level of economic capital. This was because only a miniscule minority of respondents in the two LGA areas that formed the basis of this study owned more expensive vehicles like a car or a van.

2. Type of House: Respondents were asked about the type and number of bedrooms in their house. Based on the findings of the study, ownership of a house with more than two bedrooms was utilized as another primary factor in determining an individual's level of economic capital.

3. Land Ownership: The survey asked respondents about the amount of residential land owned, agricultural land owned, agricultural land used (on a sharecropper basis) and commercial property owned. The extent of residential land owned was excluded from the analytical criteria for economic capital since most people surveyed owned some amount of residential land. The research team also believed that while residential land could be easily converted into money, the amount of value gained through this exchange would in most cases diminish since other living arrangements would have to be made. Agricultural land used was also excluded in the development of the analytical criteria because it cannot be exchanged for money since the land is not owned by the worker. Therefore, the ownership of agricultural land or commercial property was utilized as a factor determining the level of economic capital. The inclusion of commercial property and agricultural land in this criteria was intended to take into account the urban nature of the Wattala-Mabola Urban Council area and the rural nature of the Nawalapitiya Pradeshiya Sabha. It should also be noted, that no differentiation was made on the extent of either commercial property or agricultural land owned.

Respondents were awarded a point if they fulfilled one of the above criteria. Based on this the following distinct levels of economic capital were established.

- High Economic Capital: ownership of all three of the following - 1) a vehicle, 2) a house with at least two bedrooms, and 3) either agricultural land or commercial property.

- Mid Economic Capital: ownership of at least two of the following - 1) a vehicle, 2) a house with at least two bedrooms, and 3) either agricultural land or commercial property.

- Low Economic Capital: ownership of one or less of the following - 1) a vehicle, 2) a house with at least two bedrooms, and 3) either agricultural land or commercial property.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu describes cultural capital as the possession of what appears to be a legitimate competence when accessing certain spaces. In Sri Lankan society there are many factors that shape an individual's competence to access LGA services. The quantitative tool asked respondents about their level of education, international exposure, and questions relating to political awareness. Based on the quantitative data, the battery of seven questions focusing on political awareness emerged as a useful basis for assessing an individual's competency to access LGA services.

The utilization of this battery for this analysis is premised on the assumption that those who possess the competency to access LGA services would be relatively more aware about political affairs. Therefore, respondents were asked to answer seven questions relating to politics such as the name of the leader of the Opposition, the term length of the presidency and the LGA, the name of the chairman of the LGA, the number of MPs in Parliament etc. The research team included a mix of general (number of MPs etc) and specifically local questions as well as questions that require more specific knowledge (such as the length of term of an LGA and the name of the chairman). Interviewers were provided the correct answers to these questions and only recorded whether the question was answered correctly or incorrectly by the respondent. Based on the number of correct answers the following categorization was developed.

- High Cultural Capital (Political Awareness): 5 – 7 questions answered correctly

- Mid Cultural Capital (Political Awareness): 3 – 4 questions answered correctly

- Low Cultural Capital (Political Awareness): 0 – 2 questions answered correctly

Social Capital

Social capital for Bourdieu, is visible in the networks that citizens can access and rely on for backing and support. Questions regarding political participation, the capacity to contact a powerful figure to access LGA services, participation in associational life were included in the quantitative tool as a means of understanding the kinds of networks that people were able to leverage when accessing LGA services. Based on the findings of the exposure visit, pilot test as well as the findings of the quantitative data, questions regarding knowledge of a powerful figure; i.e. Member of Parliament (MP), provincial councilor, or local councilor was used as the primary basis for assessing the function of social capital in each area.

The research team developed a fairly sophisticated approach to analyzing social capital. These multiple levels of analysis enabled the research team to get a sense of the strength, scale, and nature of the networks at work in accessing LGA services.

The primary level of analysis stratified respondents into high, mid, and low levels of social capital. The three social capital groups were categorized as follows:

- High Social Capital: knows at least two of the following - 1) MP; 2) Provincial Councilor; 3) Local Councilor

- Mid Social Capital: knows only one of the following - 1) MP; 2) Provincial Councilor; 3) Local Councilor

- Low Social Capital: does not know any of the following - 1) MP; 2) Provincial Councilor; 3) Local Councilor

The secondary level of analysis of social capital sought to understand the impact that knowledge of these powerful figures had on access to LGA services and views of corruption. Therefore, those who knew an MP, a Provincial Councilor, and a Local Councilor were analyzed separately to gain an understanding of which level of elected official was most important in accessing LGA services.

Finally, where necessary, the research team also examined the responses to the question regarding whether respondents knew a person who was either an MP, Provincial Councilor, Local Councilor or government official. This helped the research team to gain a sense of the informal political networks that influenced access to LGA services and shaped attitudes towards bribery and corruption.

3.5 TOOL DESIGN: ACCESS TO LGA SERVICES

A series of questions on accessing LGA services were also included in addition to the batteries of questions on the various guises of capital. These questions functioned as dependent variables for the analysis of the role that capitals play in accessing LGA services. The questions relating to access to LGA services included questions on the need for LGA services, ability to fulfil that need and the method through which the need was met, and action taken if the need was not met. Questions were also asked about satisfaction with specific LGA services as well as overall satisfaction with LGA services.

3.6 TOOL DESIGN: CORRUPTION

Finally, a series of questions on corruption were also included in the questionnaire. A few explicit questions (such as 'Did you pay a bribe to receive LGA services?') were included. However, given the data to emerge from TISL's Corruption Barometer study, the team realized that it would not be a reliable basis for assessing the levels of corruption in the LGA area. This was borne out in the quantitative data as well with a miniscule number of respondents admitting to paying a bribe to gain access to LGA services (3% of the entire sample).

To address this difficulty, the research team included two batteries of questions relating to perceptions of and attitudes towards bribery and corruption. The first battery deals with perceptions regarding the efficiency of corruption in accessing LGA services. Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement with statements relating to the efficiency of accessing the LGA through politicians, powerful individuals and established rules and procedures. The second battery of questions relate to the need for and endorsement of bribery in accessing these services. In this battery of questions, respondents were asked to indicate their agreement with statements such as whether it makes sense to pay some money to save time; whether it makes sense to pay some money to get the job done; that it was a fairly common thing to pay money to access LGA services; and that cheating money was acceptable as long as development activities were conducted.

Tool Design – Limitations

SSA's aim was to develop a tool that would be able to identify communities or groups vulnerable in terms of access to local authority services and map the role that corruption plays in accessing local authority services. In order to do this, the organization made a number of strategic choices during the tool design phase.

1. Methodological Approach: During initial discussions with TISL and TAF, SSA understood

the difficulty of using a completely quantitative approach to achieve these goals. For example, a significantly high number of responses to the battery of questions on bribery and corruption in TISL's Corruption Barometer study indicated that they had never paid a bribe to obtain any government service. This is not to suggest that there is no bribery/corruption in the country. But rather it draws attention to the difficulty when attempting to quantify the practice of corruption through a tool that relies solely on a quantitative approach. Due to this, the tool that was developed mixes qualitative and quantitative approaches as a means of mitigating the challenge of obtaining information on corruption.

The tool adopts a mutually constitutive approach to qualitative and quantitative methodologies. It uses a qualitative approach to identify and develop questions for the quantitative questionnaire. Having developed and refined the tool based on qualitative data, the quantitative data helps the team to quantify factors and identify communities that are particularly vulnerable in terms of access to Local Authority services. This initial qualitative work also helps to make sense of data that emerges from the quantitative data analysis. The quantitative questionnaire in turn helps to identify areas and issues requiring further qualitative work. As a result, the tool requires both quantitative and qualitative approaches to be truly effective.

2. Geographical Specificity: The tool emphasizes geographical specificity in order to gain a clearer picture of the local dynamics that increase vulnerability in accessing Local Authority services. The research team also ensured that the sample was spread across GN Divisions within an LGA area to get a sense of the geographical differentiations within each LGA. This ensures that the tool is also able to determine the role that distance plays in shaping access to LGA services.

The advantage of this approach is that it makes it possible to capture the nuances of each local authority area and the structures that shape service delivery and political engagement. However, the tool does not attempt to make larger claims about how corruption or vulnerability function across the island (even though certain similarities may emerge). Instead, it focuses on capturing the specifically local dynamics in each location.

3. The Practice of Corruption: The tool takes into account the difficulty faced by various organizations when attempting to gain an accurate picture of the levels of bribery and corruption prevalent in a particular area. The tool developed by SSA captures perceptions and attitudes towards bribery and corruption rather than the actual practice of corruption. They gave the research team a sense of how bribery and corruption could work in accessing LGA services. However, these findings should not be misconstrued as an indication of the levels of corruption within a LGA area. SSA is aware of the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) utilized by Transparency International as a mechanism to quantify corruption in a country. The CPI is constructed by amalgamating 13 separate indices that assess the perception of corruption within a country based on expert opinion. Drawing inspiration from this tool, the analysis of corruption is premised on the perceptions and attitudes towards corruption. However, in contrast to the CPI which relies heavily on expert opinion, the discussion on corruption is built based on the opinion of average people. This allows for the development of a more specifically local index of the perception of corruption within a LGA area.

4. Unit of Analysis for Quantitative Study: The unit of analysis for the study was based on the household rather than on the individual. There were a number of reasons for this choice. Firstly, most of the services offered by the LGA are targeted towards a community/area rather than towards an individual. This meant that it was more likely that the services offered by the LGA would benefit a household rather than an individual. Secondly, a practical problem emerged during the pretesting of the tool. The research team noticed that when an individual was interviewed, s/he may choose to refer to a person within the household who usually accesses LGA services. In Wattala for example, the men in a household asked the research team to speak to the matriarch of the family since she was the one who visited the LGA on their behalf. Similarly, in Nawalapitiya an interviewee said that she was unable to respond to certain questions since it was her husband who accessed the LA. Due to the above reasons, the unit of analysis was modified to reflect a household rather than an individual.

5. Economic Capital: Economic capital was assessed based on the ownership of commercial or agricultural land, a vehicle, and a house with more than two bedrooms. They provide an indication of the economic status of the household since the entire family can benefit from these assets. However, the level of economic capital should not be construed as a class marker. In other words, the assessment of low, mid, and high levels of capital do not necessarily indicate the class identity of the respondents. Therefore, the analysis of economic capital is more of an indication of the economic status of the family rather than their class allegiances.

3.7 SAMPLING

The research team used two different sampling strategies for the purpose of this study. Firstly, the specific locations within the selected areas were identified based on conversations with government officials at the Pradeshiya Sabha and Divisional Secretariat and where possible with Grama Niladharis in the area. These officials were asked to identify areas that reflected the widest variety in terms of access to the Local Authority. This was premised on the idea that those who worked in the area had a fairly good idea of the kind of social diversity that structured access to LGA services. In Wattala these conversations helped to identify areas within GN Divisions since there was only a small number of GN Divisions within the LGA area. In Nawalapitiya where there are 25 GN Divisions in LGA area the conversations with officials helped to identify and select GN Divisions for the study.

Following these conversations, a further exploration of the identified areas was undertaken during the pilot testing phase. The research team visited each of the areas identified by these officials to assess whether they reflected the kind of diversity identified by government officials. It was only following this two-step verification process that sample locations for the quantitative and qualitative study were finalized.

The unit of analysis for the quantitative study was the household and not the individual. This approach meant that it was difficult to capture a gendered perspective on access to LGA services as discussed previously. This was because the gender of the individual respondent was subsumed to the experience of the household. The research team adopted a quota system in the sampling process as a means of addressing this issue. The entire sample for each field site was divided on the basis of gender and visits to the LGA. Enumerators alternated interviews among women who had visited the LGA, women who had not visited the LGA, men who had visited the LGA, and men who had not visited the LGA. Through this sampling procedure it is possible to get a sense of how gender can play a role in certain dynamics relating to perceptions of efficiency of corruption, endorsement of corrupt practices etc.

04. WATTALA-MABOLA URBAN COUNCIL AREA

The Wattala-Mabola Urban Council (UC) is a urban Local Authority situated in the Gampaha District of the Western Province in Sri Lanka. It was selected because it is located close to the capital city and as a result has benefitted greatly from the urban development of the Colombo city and through the construction of large scale infrastructure projects such as the Colombo-Katunayake Expressway. Furthermore, this LGA area is an extremely urban and diverse location. These realities will afford the opportunity to study a more urban setting while also taking into account religious cleavages (the UC has a large Catholic/Christian community) as a vector in studying access to local authority services and corruption.

According to data from the Wattala Divisional Secretariat, Grama Niladhari (GN) Reports from 2016 indicate that 188,345 people reside in the Divisional Secretariat area. 48% of this population are men, and 52% are women. The Wattala-Mabola UC area covers six of the of the forty-six GN divisions that comprise the total Wattala Divisional Secretary Area. The population size of each of these GN divisions in the UC area is given below.

GN Division	Population
Thelagapatha	5,183
Aweriwatta	4,827
Wattala	2,991
Mabola	4,715
Galwetiya	3,379
Welikadamulla	8,532
Total	29,627

Table 4:1 - Wattala - GN Division Population Breakdown

A total of 192 respondents were surveyed from the Wattala-Mabola UC area. These respondents were spread across the six Grama Niladhari (GN) divisions that comprise the LGA area. A total of 32 respondents were interviewed from each GN division. An ethnic and gender breakdown of the respondents interviewed from the Wattala LGA area is also given below.

Gender		Ethnicity		
Male	Female	Sinhala	Tamil	Muslim
96	96	102	67	23

Table 4:2 - Wattala Sample - Ethnic and Gender Breakdown

Studying the urban nature of the Wattala-Mabola UC area was a unique challenge. The relative proximity to the LGA coupled with the infrastructure development that has taken place in this suburb of Colombo stands in stark contrast to many rural areas around the country. Furthermore, the LGA area is quite socially diverse. Statistics indicate that more than 51% of the population are from minority communities, with a fairly significant proportion of Tamils (25%) and Muslims (24%) residing in the LGA area. Religion is also an important factor in the area, particularly among the Sinhala community with more than 60% professing Roman Catholicism. The social dynamics of the Wattala LGA area is best reflected in the ethnic/religious composition of the last elected UC. The UPFA won the Wattala-Mabola UC in 2011 by a slim majority of 500 votes. Of the nine elected members, six were Sinhalese, two were Muslims and one was a Tamil. The six Sinhalese were all Roman Catholics. Furthermore, the Chairman of the UC was a Muslim. Conversations during the exposure visit indicated that the Wattala UC had been won by the UPFA in 2011 after more than 58 years by throwing its support behind candidates from minority communities. In fact, prior to this election, the same individual (who contested from the UNP) had been Chairman of the UC for the previous 22 years. The UC is also quite centrally located and easily accessible through public transport. These factors provide

a snapshot of the dynamics of an urban local government that stand in stark contrast to the dynamics that take shape in more socially homogenous rural areas with far less infrastructure development.

4.1 ECONOMIC CAPITAL

Key Findings:

- Those with a higher economic capital appear to have a greater need to access local authority services (66%).

- Those from the middle economic capital group (19%) find it most difficult to fulfill their needs at the UC as opposed to the lower (10%) and higher (6%) economic capital groups. This group is also comparatively less satisfied with LGA services than their counterparts.

- 63% of those from the middle economic capital group believe that paying a bribe or using influence might be a more efficient way to access LGA Services.

- Those from the highest economic capital group are more likely to hold views that align with the use of corrupt practices.

The research team's initial hypothesis was that economic capital had an important function in an urban local democracy. The classification of economic capital is based on the ownership of agricultural or commercial property, a vehicle, and the occupation of a house with more than two bedrooms. Based on these criteria, the respondents from the Wattala UC area were classified as follows:

Level	Number of Respondents
Low Economic Capital	58
Mid Economic Capital	79
High Economic Capital	55

Table 4:3 - Wattala Respondents by Economic Capital

The findings from the quantitative component of the study indicated an unusual picture with regard to the function of economic capital in the Wattala UC area. When asked about their need for LGA services around 47% of respondents from the mid economic capital group and 50% from the low economic capital group indicate that they required services from their LGA over the past four years. In contrast, as Figure 4:1 demonstrates, nearly 66% of respondents from the high economic capital group indicate that they needed to access LGA services during the same period.

Required LGA Services - Economic Capital
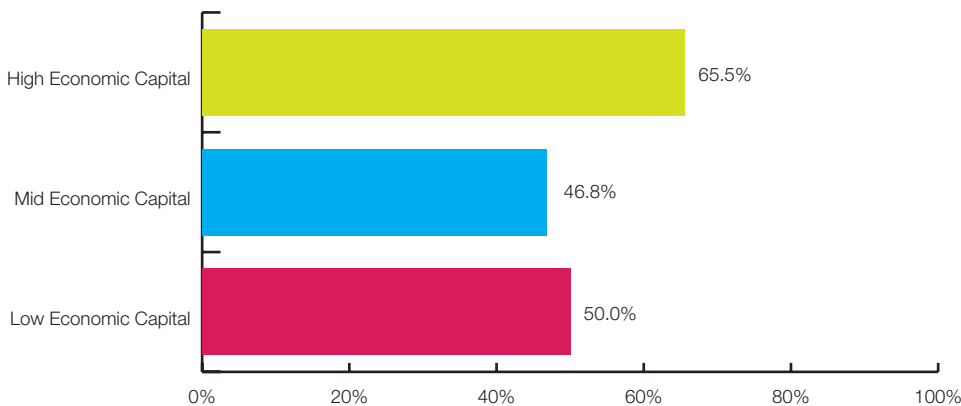
Figure 4:1 - Need for LGA Services by Economic Capital

A deeper exploration of the role that economic capital plays in structuring access to LGA service is possible when the difficulties in accessing LGA services are assessed. As Figure 4:2 indicates, it is those from the mid economic

capital group (19%) who face significantly more difficulties in accessing these services than their counterparts in the low (10%) economic capital group. The difficulty that respondents from the mid economic capital group face when accessing LGA services also stands in stark contrast to the ease with which those from the high economic capital group are able to access these services. In fact, only 6% of the high economic capital group indicate that they struggle to access LGA services. Keeping in mind that vulnerability is defined in terms of capacity to access LGA services for this study, this finding suggests that those from the mid economic capital group are the most vulnerable group in the Wattala UC area. This also echoes the findings from the exposure visit and pilot testing which suggested that those from the low and high economic capital groups may find it easier to access LGA services.

Difficulty in Accessing LGA Services - Economic Capital
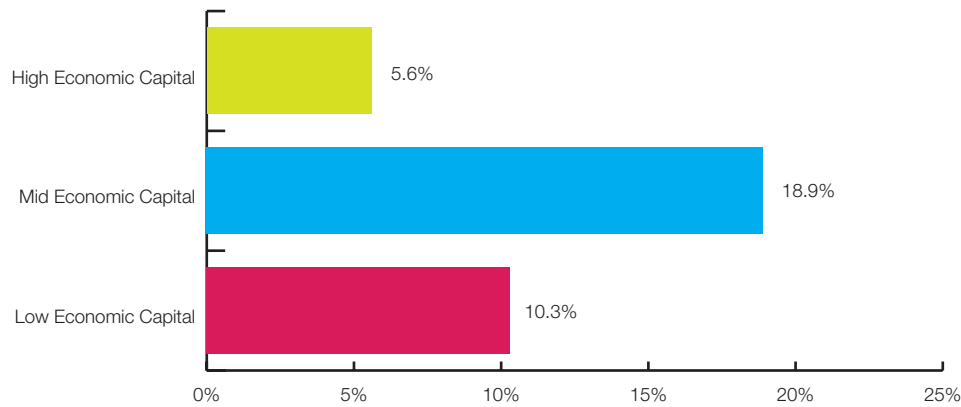
Figure 4:2 - Difficulty in Accessing LGA Services by Economic Capital

As Figure 4:3 demonstrates, the levels of satisfaction with the services they receive from their LGA is reflective of the difficulties each of these economic capital groups face in accessing LGA services. Therefore, those from the mid economic capital group express a significantly lower level of satisfaction with LGA services (67%) than those from the low (74%) and high (80%) economic capital groups.

Satisfaction with LGA Services - Economic Capital
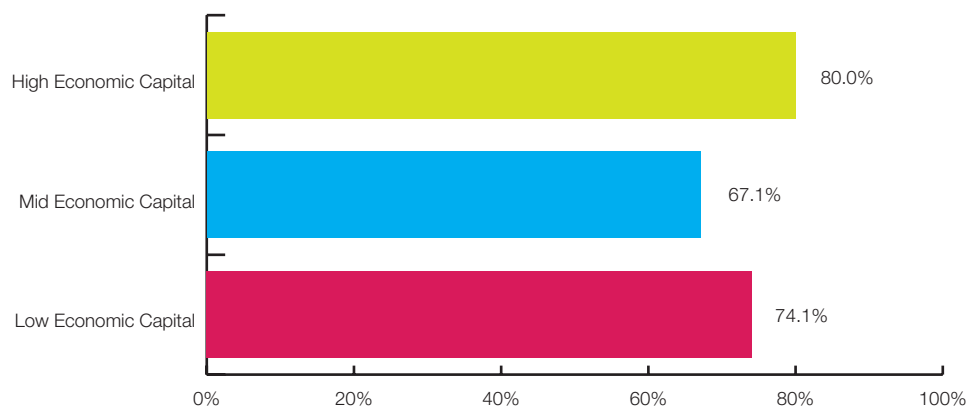
Figure 4:3 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by Economic Capital

The experience faced by those from the mid economic capital groups in accessing LGA services also appears to have an influence on their perceptions regarding the efficiency of corruption. For example, as Table 4:4 demonstrates, 63% of respondents from the mid economic capital group perceive corruption to be an extremely efficient mechanism to access LGA services. This can be contrasted with the far lower levels of agreement regarding the efficiency of corruption among the low (43%) and high (53%) economic capital group. As the statistics discussed above indicate, those from the mid economic group find it more difficult to access LGA services and are far less satisfied with the services they receive from their LA. Therefore, the perception of the efficiency of using corruption to access LGA services among the mid economic capital group is, quite possibly, an indication of the

difficulties they face in accessing LGA services. Apart from this, it is also noticeable that significantly more members of the low economic capital group (19%) disagree with the perception that corruption is a more efficient vehicle for accessing LGA services than their counterparts in the mid (1%) and high (9%) economic capital groups.

	Low Economic Capital	Mid Economic Capital	High Economic Capital
No acceptance at all	18.9%	1.3%	9.4%
Very little acceptance	11.3%	19.7%	9.4%
Some acceptance	26.4%	15.8%	28.3%
High acceptance	43.4%	63.2%	52.8%
Base	53	76	53

Table 4:4 – Efficiency of Corruption by Economic Capital

Respondents were also asked a series of questions which sought to assess the level of endorsement for bribery in LA. Interestingly, a relatively higher number of respondents from the mid economic capital group (40%) refuse to endorse the use of bribery at the LGA level when compared with their counterparts from the low (36%) and high (31%) economic capital groups. Furthermore, a noticeable trend in the data from the Wattala UC was that the level of endorsement of bribery increased along with the level of economic capital. For example, as Table 4:5 indicates, only 7% of respondents from the low economic capital group and 8% of those from the mid economic capital group indicate an extremely high level of endorsement for the use of bribery. In contrast, 16% of those from the high economic capital group indicate this high level of endorsement for bribery at the LGA level.

	Low Economic Capital	Mid Economic Capital	High Economic Capital
No endorsement	36.4%	39.7%	30.9%
Very little endorsement	25.5%	28.2%	21.8%
Some endorsement	20.0%	12.8%	16.4%
High endorsement	10.9%	11.5%	14.5%
Total endorsement	7.3%	7.7%	16.4%
Base	55	78	55

Table 4:5 - Endorsement of Bribery by Economic Capital

In conclusion, the analysis of how economic capital functions in the Wattala UC area suggests that the most vulnerable group in terms of accessing LGA services are those from the mid economic capital group. They find it most difficult to access LGA services and are the least satisfied with the services they can access. They also perceive bribery to be a fairly efficient way to access LGA services. In contrast, those from the high and low economic capital groups appear to be able to access LGA services far more easily than those from the mid economic capital group.

4.2 CULTURAL CAPITAL

Key Findings:

- Those with less political awareness (59%) appear to have comparatively less need to access LGA Services.

- Those with a lower level of political awareness (18%) appear to find it slightly more difficult to access LGA services than those with mid (12%) and high levels (9%) of political awareness.

- Interestingly, those with a higher awareness level (13%) appear to be able to fulfil their needs without visiting the UC more easily than those from the mid awareness (2%) and low awareness (0%) groups.

- Compared to those with low (76%) & mid (74%) levels of political awareness, those with a higher level of political awareness (70%) appear to be slightly less satisfied with LGA services

- 67% of those with a higher level of political awareness perceive bribery to be an efficient mechanism for accessing LGA Services

- As a corollary, those with the least political awareness are the ones who express the least degree of sympathy for utilizing corrupt practices to access LGA services.

Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital is encoded in the competencies that certain individuals demonstrate when functioning within certain spaces. The classification of cultural capital was therefore premised on the levels of awareness respondents demonstrated about politics in general as well as local level politics. Based on these criteria, the respondents from the Wattala UC area were classified as follows:

Level	Number of Respondents
Low Political Awareness	41
Mid Political Awareness	88
High Political Awareness	63

Table 4:6 - Wattala Respondents by Cultural Capital

One of the major findings from the quantitative study was that those with a lower level (59%) of political awareness did not require LGA services as regularly as their counterparts from the high (48%) and mid (41%) political awareness groups (See Figure 4:4).

Didn't Require LGA Services - Cultural Capital
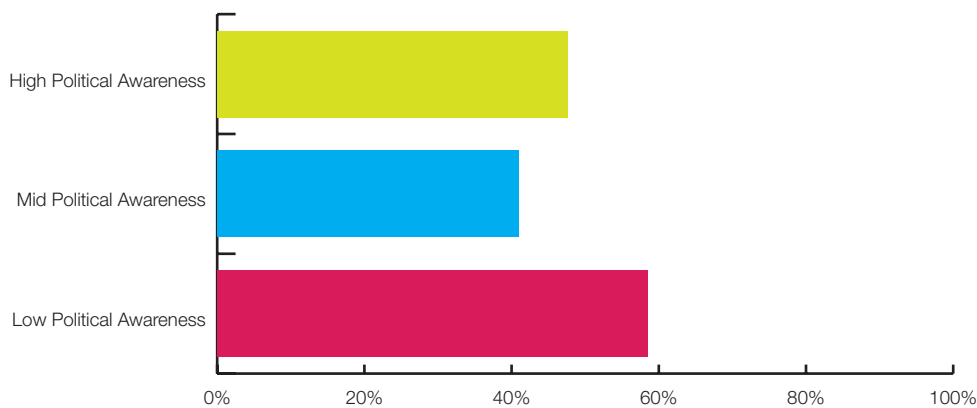
Figure 4:4 - Need for LGA Services by Cultural Capital

The data regarding the need to go to the LGA to obtain services provides further evidence of the ease with which respondents from the high political awareness group are able to access LGA services.

Fulfilled Need without Visiting LGA - Cultural Capital
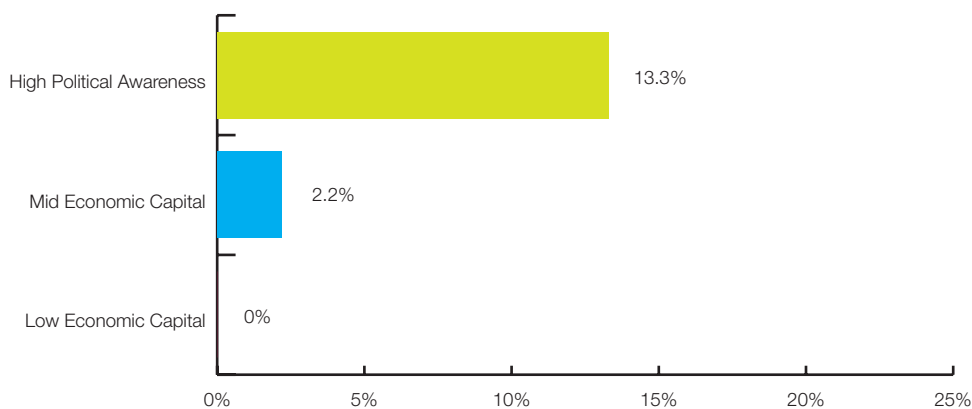
Figure 4:5 - Need to Visit LGA to Fulfil Need by Cultural Capital

As the figure above (Figure 4:5) demonstrates, 13% of those from the high political awareness group are able to fulfill their need for LGA services without visiting the Wattala UC themselves. In contrast, most respondents from the mid political awareness group have to visit the LGA to access services.[2] One reason for this finding could be that those with a higher level of political awareness may be more aware of strategies and networks that make it easier for them to access LGA services when compared with their counterparts from the other cultural capital groups.

Overall Satisfaction with LGA Services - Cultural Capital
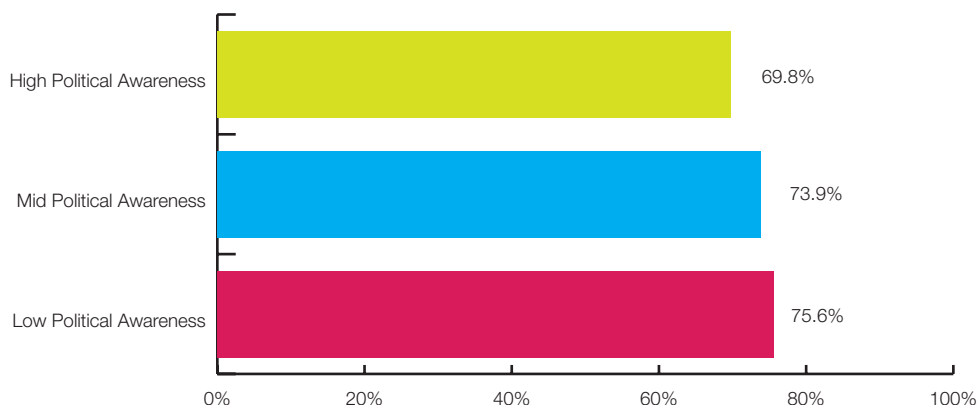
Figure 4:6 - Overall Satisfaction with LGA Services by Cultural Capital

The data on the overall satisfaction with LGA services paints an interesting picture. As Figure 4:6 demonstrates, in general, all three cultural capital groups are satisfied with the services they receive from the Wattala UC. However, those with a higher degree of political awareness (70%) are comparatively less satisfied with the services they receive from their LGA than their counterparts in the mid (74%) and low (76%) political awareness groups. From a programmatic perspective, this finding illuminates a rather interesting problem. On the one hand, increased political awareness makes it relatively easier to obtain services from the LA. On the other hand, increased political awareness also makes an individual more attuned to the shortcomings in service delivery at LGA level.

	Low Political Awareness	Mid Political Awareness	High Political Awareness
No acceptance at all	11.4%	10.5%	4.9%
Very little acceptance	11.4%	18.6%	9.8%
Some acceptance	22.9%	25.6%	18.0%
High acceptance	54.3%	45.3%	67.2%
Base	53	76	53

Table 4:7 - Perception of Efficiency of Corruption by Cultural Capital

As Table 4:7 demonstrates, the highest acceptance of the efficiency of corruption in obtaining LGA services is evident among those with a high degree of political awareness with 67% of these respondents perceiving corruption to be an efficient mechanism for obtaining LGA services. As a corollary, a significantly high number of respondents from the low political awareness group (49%) expressed complete disagreement when asked about their level of endorsement for the use of bribery in accessing LGA services. In contrast, a comparatively low number of respondents from the high political awareness group (19%) expressed the same sentiment as highlighted in Table 4:8.

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2. Inadequate base to compare findings of those with a low political awareness.

	Low Political Awareness	Mid Political Awareness	High Political Awareness
No endorsement	48.6%	43.2%	19.0%
Very little endorsement	10.8%	25.0%	34.9%
Some endorsement	27.0%	9.1%	19.0%
High endorsement	10.8%	10.2%	15.9%
Total endorsement	2.7%	12.5%	11.1%
Base	55	78	55

Table 4:8 - Endorsement of Bribery by Cultural Capital

The discussion of cultural capital and access to LGA services in the Wattala UC suggests that those with higher levels of political awareness are more engaged with the LGA. However, this engagement also makes them less satisfied with the services they receive from the LGA. Significantly, those with a higher degree of political awareness also appear to be far more aware of how useful bribery and corruption could prove to be when accessing LGA services. One possible reason for this is that those with more political awareness may also be more sensitive to how LGA services can be accessed most easily and effectively.

4.3 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Key Findings:

- Respondents who claim to know a local councilor, provincial councilor, MP or powerful bureaucrat appear to have somewhat more of a need for LGA services.

- Respondents who know a local councilor (79%) are significantly more satisfied with LGA services than their counterparts who don't know a local councilor (68%).

- Those who know an MP (41%) or a powerful bureaucrat (43%) are more likely to complain about not receiving LGA services than those who know a local (32%) or provincial councilor (29%).

- Respondents with some degree of connection to an MP, provincial or local councilor or a powerful bureaucrat indicate a higher degree of endorsement of the use of corrupt practices when accessing LGA services. They also perceive bribery to be an efficient mechanism for accessing services.

- Respondents who know an individual outside the formal political networks indicate a greater need for LGA services (57.7%) than those who do not (51.4%).

- Respondents who claim to know a person outside formal political structures (10%) are less likely to face difficulties when fulfilling their needs at the LGA than those who do not (12.5%).

- Respondents with connections to informal political figures claim to be more satisfied (82.7%) with LGA services than those without such connections (69.3%).

- Respondents with connections to informal political figures are more likely to recognize the efficiency of corruption (60%) than those who do not know such figures (52.3%).

Social capital according to Bourdieu is a function of the strength of the networks an individual or group can leverage to access spaces and services. The analysis of social capital utilizes two levels of analysis. Firstly, respondents were categorized by the number of officials that they or a member of their household knew. Respondents who knew at least two of the three levels of elected officials – local councilors, provincial councilors, and MPs – were classified as having high social capital. Those who knew only one of the three levels of elected officials were categorized as mid social capital while respondents who knew no elected official were classified as being in the low social capital group. This primary level of analysis provides a perspective on the function of social capital in the Wattala UC area. Based on these criteria, the respondents from the Wattala UC area were classified as follows:

Level	Number of Respondents
Low social capital	89
Mid social capital	61
High social capital	42

Table 4:9 - Wattala Respondents by Social Capital Levels

The data from Wattala indicates that those with a high level of social capital appear to require LGA services comparatively more than their counterparts in the mid and low social capital groups. As Figure 4:7 demonstrates, whereas about 60% of those in the high social capital bracket stated that they had required LGA services over the past 4 years only about 53% from the low social capital group and 50% of the mid social capital group had required LGA services during that period.

Required LGA Services - Social Capital
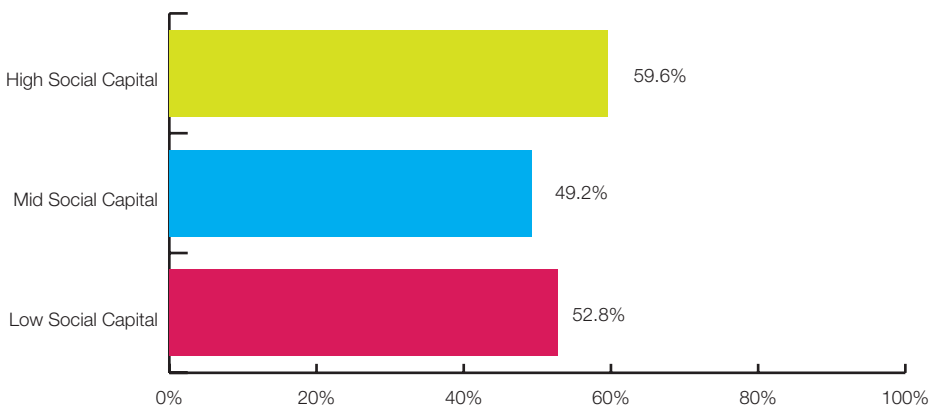
Figure 4:7 - Required LGA Services by Social Capital

Significantly, the data from Wattala indicates that those who had no social capital find it easier to fulfil their need for LGA services than those who have some degree of social capital. As Figure 4:8 intimates, only about 6% of those from the low social capital group state that they face difficulty in accessing LGA services. In contrast, 20% of those from the mid social capital group and 12% of those from the high social capital group indicate that they face difficulties in accessing LGA services.

Unable to Fulfil Need - Social Capital
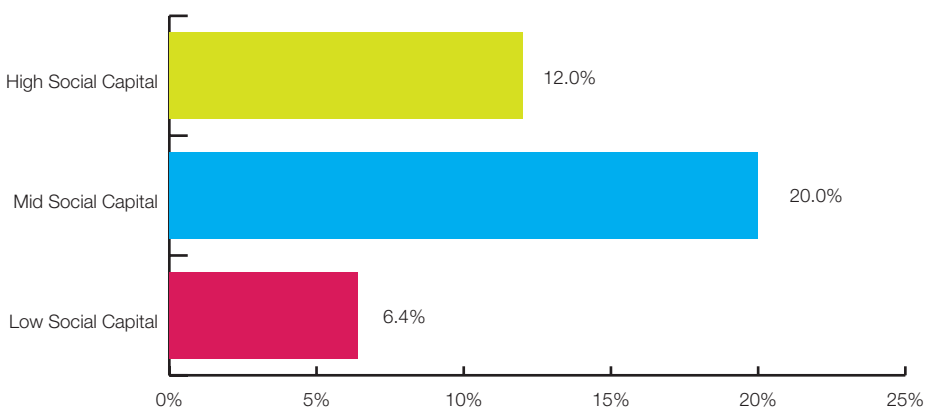
Figure 4:8 -Difficulty in Accessing Services by Social Capital

Those who are connected to a local councilor, provincial councilor, or MP appear to be far more satisfied with the services they receive from their LGA in contrast to those who do not enjoy this degree of political connection. 30% of respondents from the low social capital group state that they are dissatisfied with the services they receive from the Wattala UC when compared with their counterparts in the mid (25%) and high (24%) social capital groups. In

other words, even though they may find it easier to access LGA services, they are comparatively less satisfied with the services they are able to obtain. This suggests that there could be a qualitative difference in the type of LGA services each of these groups is seeking to obtain from the LGA.

Lack of Satisfaction with LGA Services - Social Capital
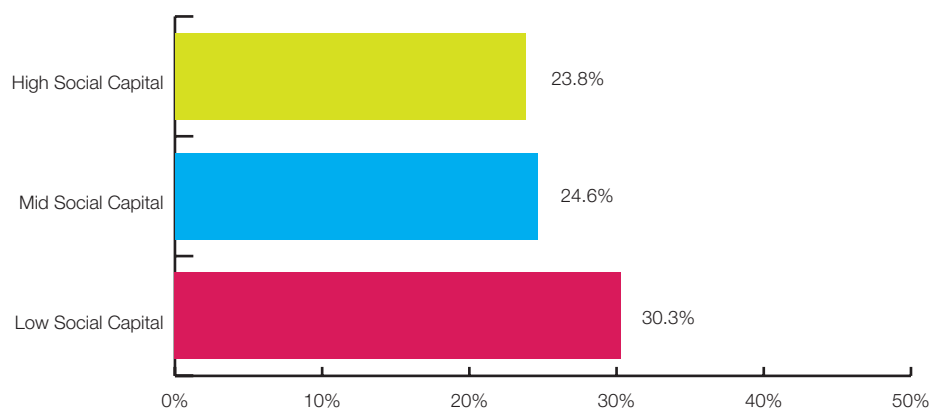
Figure 4:9 - Lack of Satisfaction with LGA Services by Social Capital

The relationship between perceptions of bribery and corruption and the level of social capital is another interesting facet to emerge out of the quantitative study in the Wattala UC area.

	Low Social Capital	Mid Social Capital	High Social Capital
No acceptance at all	17.1%	3.4%	0.0%
Very little acceptance	17.1%	13.6%	9.8%
Some acceptance	25.6%	18.6%	22.0%
High acceptance	40.2%	64.4%	68.3%
Base	82	59	41

Table 4:10 – Efficiency of Corruption by Social Capital

As Table 4:10 shows, those with a comparatively higher level of social capital perceive corruption to be an efficient mechanism in accessing LGA services. Furthermore, 17% of respondents from the low social capital group do not believe that corruption is a more efficient means to access LGA services. This can be contrasted with the respondents from the mid (3%) and high (0%) social capital groups who express far less disagreement about the fact that corruption could increase the likelihood of LGA service delivery. A similar trend is visible in the data on the endorsement of bribery in obtaining LGA services which is set out in Table 4:11. More than two in five respondents from the low social capital bracket refused to endorse the use of bribery in accessing LGA services. In contrast, one in five respondents from the high social capital bracket states their endorsement of the use of bribery in accessing LGA services.

	Low Social Capital	Mid Social Capital	High Social Capital
No endorsement	43.2%	32.8%	26.2%
Very little endorsement	23.9%	22.4%	33.3%
Some endorsement	15.9%	19.0%	11.9%
High endorsement	12.5%	15.5%	7.1%
Total endorsement	4.5%	10.3%	21.4%
Base	88	58	42

Table 4:11 - Endorsement of Bribery by Social Capital

The secondary level of analysis of social capital in the Wattala-Mabola UC area sought to break down these levels of social capital further to gain a sense of which officials played roles in accessing LGA services. It also gives a more concrete picture of the kinds of networks that are important when accessing LGA services as well as the way in which participation in these networks influences perceptions of corruption and bribery. (Note: Knowledge of a government official was omitted from the study because it was difficult to determine the role that these officials played in LGA service delivery). This secondary level of analysis provides a perspective on the extent to which who an individual knows impacts on their ability to access services from their LA. The secondary level of analysis was categorized as follows.

Level	Knows	%	Doesn't Know	%
Local Councilor	90	46.9	102	53.1
Provincial Councilor	38	19.8	154	80.2
MP	34	17.7	158	82.3

Table 4:12 - Wattala Respondents by Knowledge of Elected Official

What is immediately apparent here is that a nearly half the respondents from the Wattala UC stated that they or a family member knew a Local Councilor. In contrast, only about one in five respondents claimed to know a Provincial councilor and only around 18% claimed to know an MP. This breakdown may shed some light on the function of the mid capital group analyzed above. This is because the fairly high number of respondents who knew a local councilor were probably captured in the mid social capital group.

The disaggregation of the data by the officials that respondents had access is also telling. For example, as Figure 4:10 indicates, those who know either a local councilor, a provincial councilor or an MP in general appear to have more of a need for LGA services than their counterparts who do not know any of these officials. Furthermore, respondents who know an MP (62%) and a provincial councilor (61%) appear to have slightly more of a need for LGA services than those who know a local councilor (54%).

Need for LGA Services by Social Capital
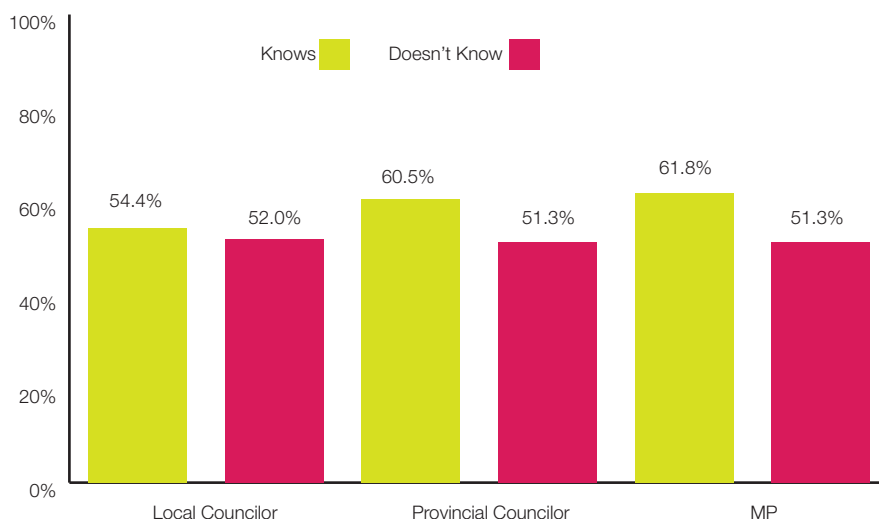
Figure 4:10 - Need for LGA Services by Social Capital

In the previous discussion about the ability to access LGA services, it emerged that those who had a fairly high degree of social capital found it more difficult to fulfil their need for services. A more nuanced picture of this finding is visible when this analysis is disaggregated by the level of official the respondent is able to access. As Figure 4:11 indicates, respondents who know an elected official face almost the same degree of difficulty in accessing LGA services. One possible interpretation of this data is that in Wattala respondents hope that the ability to access an elected official may make it easier to obtain LGA services. However, it would appear that these officials find it fairly difficult to deliver on these requests for services.

Difficulty to Fulfil Need at LGA - Social Capital
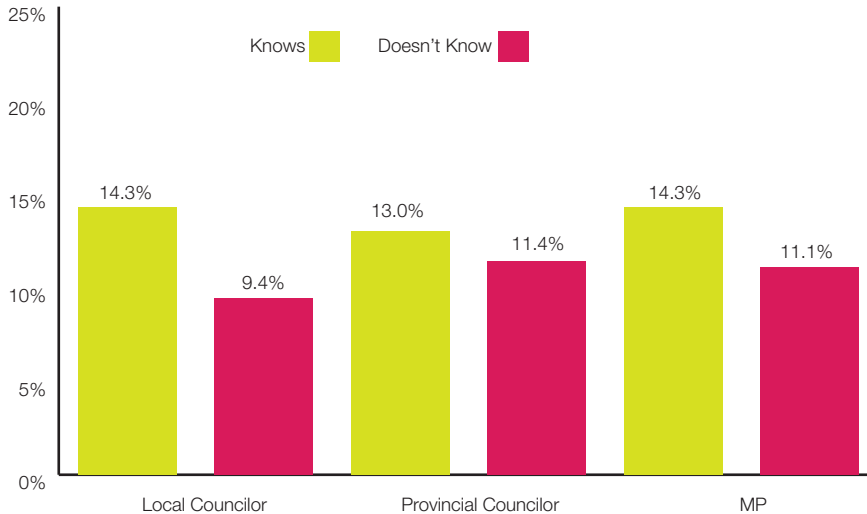
Figure 4:11- Difficulty to Fulfil Need at LGA by Social Capital

Interestingly, those who know a local councilor appear to be far more satisfied with the services they receive from the LGA when compared with those who know a Provincial councilor or an MP. As Figure 4:12 indicates, there is a significant difference in the levels of satisfaction between those who know a local councilor and those who don't. However, there doesn't appear to be as much of a difference between those who know a provincial councilor and those who don't. Furthermore, those who don't know an MP appear to be far more satisfied with the services they receive from the LGA than those who do. These statistics suggest that knowledge of a local councilor plays a fairly important role in the level of satisfaction with the services received from the LGA. Therefore, even though there may be some difficulties in accessing services through these networks, it appears that knowledge of a local councilor plays a fairly important role in accessing LGA services in the Wattala UC area.

Satisfaction with LGA Services - Social Capital
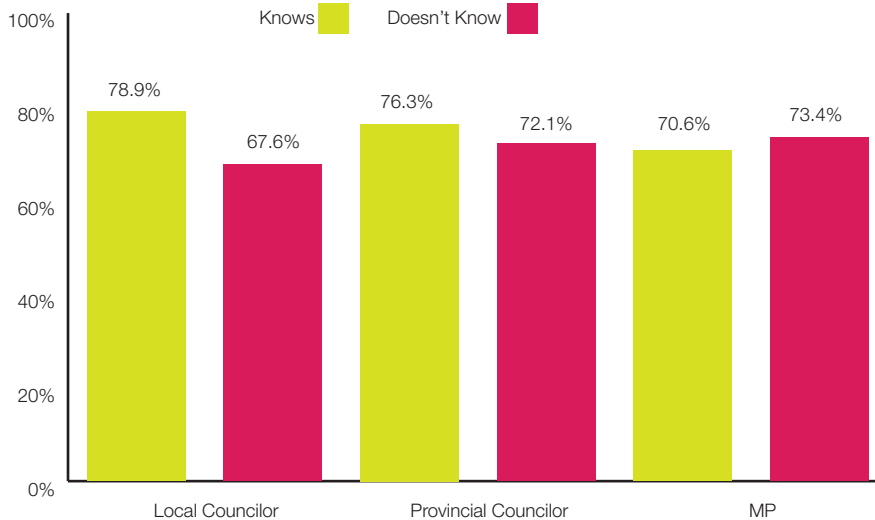
Figure 4:12 – Satisfaction with LGA services by Social Capital

The disaggregation of data on social capital by elected officials also sheds further light on the relationship between perceptions of bribery and corruption and the strength of the networks a person can leverage. When data on perceptions of the efficiency of corruption is disaggregated, as in Table 4:13, an interesting pattern emerges. It appears that those who know a local councilor, provincial councilor, or an MP perceive corruption to be an efficient way to access LGA services in comparison to those who don't have access to these elected officials. For example, whereas only 40% of those who don't know a local councilor accept that corruption is an efficient mechanism to

access LGA services, nearly 70% of respondents who know a local councilor believe that the use of corruption makes LGA service delivery more efficient. The inverse trend is also visible since those who don't know any of these officials are quite emphatic in their rejection of the perception that corruption is an efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services.

Level	Local Councilor		Provincial Councilor		MP	
	Knows	Doesn't Know	Knows	Doesn't Know	Knows	Doesn't Know
No acceptance at all	1.1%	16.0%	0.0%	11.0%	3.0%	10.1%
Very little acceptance	9.1%	19.1%	10.8%	15.2%	12.1%	14.8%
Some acceptance	20.5%	24.5%	27.0%	21.4%	18.2%	23.5%
High acceptance	69.3%	40.4%	62.2%	52.4%	66.7%	51.7%
Base	88	94	37	145	33	149

Table 4:13 - Perceptions of Efficiency of Corruption by Social Capital

To fully understand the nature of social capital in Wattala however, it is necessary to consider the function of informal network in accessing LGA services. For example, as Figure 4:13 demonstrates, those who knew someone who is not a political figure, claim to require LGA services more often (57.7%) than those who do not know such an individual 51.4%).

Need for LGA Services - Social Capital
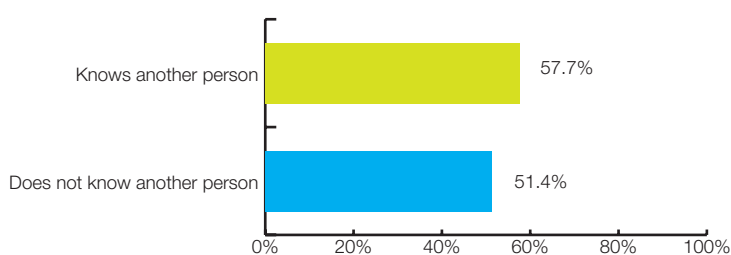
Figure 4:13 – Need for LGA Services by Social Capital

In general, both groups appear to be well placed to secure their needs at the local authority in Wattala. However, as Figure 4:14 illustrates, those who know someone outside the formal political networks find it slightly less difficult to fulfill their needs at the Urban Council. 10% of those who knew someone who was not a political figure claim that they found it difficult to fulfill their needs. 12.5% of those who do not know such a figure claim they faced difficulties in fulfilling their needs. This suggests that knowing an individual beyond the formal political structures could contribute in some way to accessing services at the Wattala UC.

Difficulty to Fulfill Needs - Social Capital
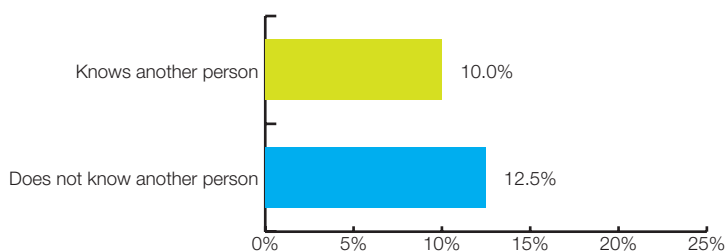
Figure 4:14 - Difficulty to Fulfill Needs by Social Capital

Knowing someone outside the political framework also appears to translate in to the possibility of fulfilling one's needs in a less cumbersome manner. As Figure 4:15 indicates 88.9% of respondents who know an informal political figure assert that they could fulfill their needs at the Wattala UC without actually having to visit the UC. On the other hand, 96.8% of those who do not such a person did not have a choice but to go to the UC to fulfill their needs.

Fulfilling Needs at LGA by Social Capital
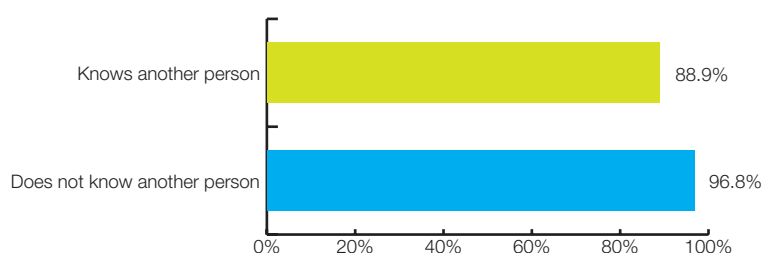
Figure 4:15 - Fulfilling Needs at LGA by Social Capital

The data suggests that knowing an individual who is not a political figure in the formal sense lubricates the process of receiving services from the LGA in Wattala. This is also reflected in the levels of satisfaction the two groups have with regard to the Wattala UC. As Figure 4:16 indicates, 82.7% of those who know a person other than a Local Councilor, Provincial Councilor or MP said that they are satisfied with the services they receive from the Wattala UC. In sharp contrast, only 69.3% of those who do not know such a person claim to be satisfied with the services received from the UC. Therefore, the above discussion clearly indicates that in Wattala, knowing a person outside the political structures is very important to lubricate receiving services from the LGA.

Satisfaction with LGA Services by Social Capital
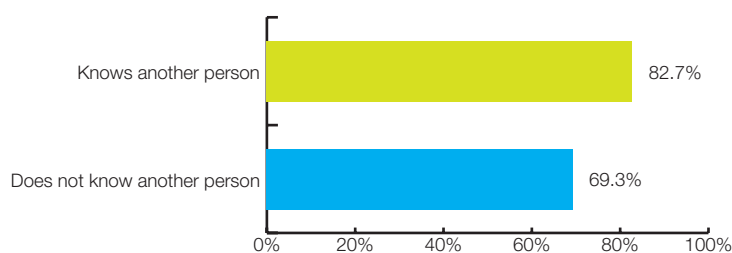
Figure 4:16 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by Social Capital

Finally, the data also suggests that those with such connections are more likely to recognize the efficiency of corruption. As Table 4:14 suggests, those who know someone who is not a politician recognize the efficiency of corruption somewhat more (60%) than those who do not (52.3%). This is perhaps a reflection of their experiences with obtaining services from the UC through their contacts.

	Does not know another person	Knows another person
No acceptance at all	9.1%	8.0%
Very little acceptance	15.9%	10.0%
Some acceptance	22.7%	22.0%
High acceptance	52.3%	60.0%
Base	132	50

Table 4:14 - Efficiency of Corruption by Social Capital

To conclude this section, it is sufficient to highlight once again that in Wattala, what is more important in terms of social capital is being connected with the correct individuals outside the political system who can facilitate one's engagement with the LGA. The data suggests that those who know such a person find it slightly easier than those who do not when accessing LGA services.

4.4 GN DIVISIONS

The Wattala UC area consists of six GN Divisions, namely Thelengapatha, Wattala, Mabola, Aweriwatta, Welikadamulla, and Galwetiya. The data from each GN Division shows that in general about half the respondents from each division had required LGA services over the past four years. However, Table 4:15 demonstrates that respondents from the Thelengapatha GN Division appear to be the least satisfied with the services they receive from the LGA. By contrast, respondents from the Welikadamulla and Mabola GN Divisions appear to be most satisfied with the services they receive from their LGA.

	Thelangapatha	Wattala	Mabola	Aweriwatta	Welikadamulla	Galwetiya
Satisfied	46.9%	78.1%	90.6%	75.0%	90.6%	56.3%
Dissatisfied	53.1%	21.9%	9.4%	25.0%	9.4%	43.8%
Base	32	32	32	32	32	32

Table 4:15 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by GN Division

The level of dissatisfaction expressed by respondents from Thelengapatha is unusual given that they appear to have been consulted by the LGA in determining development priorities in their area far more frequently than their counterparts in the other GN Divisions. As Table 4:16 demonstrates, nearly one in four respondents from the Thelengapatha GN Division say that they are consulted when the Wattala UC determines development priorities in their area.

	Thelangapatha	Wattala	Mabola	Aweriwatta	Welikadamulla	Galwetiya
Consulted	23.3%	6.5%	9.4%	16.1%	16.1%	12.9%
Not consulted	76.7%	93.5%	90.6%	83.9%	83.9%	87.1%
Base	30	31	32	31	31	31

Table 4:16 - Community Consultations on Priorities by GN Division

Therefore, even though Thelengapatha appears to be the GN Division with the highest level of connection with the Wattala UC, this degree of connection appears to have deepened their dissatisfaction with their LGA.

The Aweriwatte GN Division presents another snapshot of the dynamics within the Wattala-Mabola UC area. Table 4:17 highlights the need for LGA services disaggregated by GN Division.

	Thelangapatha	Wattala	Mabola	Aweriwatta	Welikadamulla	Galwetiya
Required	50.0%	56.3%	50.0%	46.9%	56.3%	59.4%
Did not require	50.0%	43.8%	50.0%	53.1%	43.8%	40.6%
Base	32	32	32	32	32	32

Table 4:17 - Need for LGA Services by GN Division

The data indicates that in general around half the people in all the GN Divisions express a need for LGA services. However, it is noticeable that a slightly lower percentage of respondents from the Aweriwatte GN Division (47%) express their need for LGA services. This is a somewhat anomalous finding since qualitative work in the area indicated the presence of a community of people who are employed by the UC as garbage collectors and street sweepers.

	Thelangapatha	Wattala	Mabola	Aweriwatta	Welikadamulla	Galwetiya
Yes	34.4%	25.0%	21.9%	40.6%	21.9%	37.5%
No	50.0%	59.4%	62.5%	50.0%	78.1%	53.1%
Do not know/No response	15.6%	15.6%	15.6%	9.4%	0.0%	9.4%
Base	32	32	32	32	32	32

Table 4:18 - Complained about Not Receiving LGA Services by GN Division

Furthermore, the data also indicates that respondents from the Aweriwatte GN Division had complained the most when they were unable to receive LGA services as Table 4:18 demonstrates. 41% of respondents from Aweriwatte say that they complained when they were unable to receive LGA services. This is somewhat higher than the levels reported by respondents in the other GN Divisions.

Interestingly, there are similar levels of acceptance regarding the efficiency of bribery and corruption among respondents from both Aweriwatte and Thelengapatha. Table 4:19 indicates that only about 47% of respondents from both Thelengapatha and Aweriwatta completely agree with the perception that corruption is an efficient mechanism to access LGA services. This is the lowest level of acceptance among GN Divisions.

	Thelangapatha	Wattala	Mabola	Aweriwatta	Welikadamulla	Galwetiya
No acceptance at all	0.0%	10.3%	7.1%	9.4%	6.5%	18.8%
Very little acceptance	23.3%	10.3%	7.1%	12.5%	12.9%	18.8%
Some acceptance	30.0%	17.2%	14.3%	31.3%	29.0%	12.5%
High acceptance	46.7%	62.1%	71.4%	46.9%	51.6%	50.0%
Base	30	29	28	32	31	32

Table 4:19 - Perception of Efficiency of Corruption by GN Division

These findings indicate the need to pay special attention to service delivery and access in the Aweriwatte and Thelengapatha GN Divisions of the Wattala-Mabola UC area.

05. NAWALAPITIYA UC AND PASBAGE KORALE PS AREA

The Nawalapitiya Urban Council (UC) and the Nawalapitiya (Pasbage Korale) Pradeshiya Sabha (PS) area are situated in the Kandy District of the Central Province. The Nawalapitiya UC area, which is a primary site for TAF's subnational governance program, and the Nawalapitiya PS area together form the Nawalapitiya DS division. According to data from the Nawalapitiya Divisional Secretariat (DS) there are 68,718 people living in the area. The Nawalapitiya Divisional Secretariat is fairly socially diverse. Statistics from the Divisional Secretariat indicate that 48% of the community is Sinhalese, 37% are Up-Country Tamils, and 15% of the population are Muslims. The division consists of 156 villages that are divided into twenty-nine GN divisions.

This area was selected for this study because it offered a counterpoint to the urban dynamics explored in the Wattala-Mabola UC area. Furthermore, the area is fairly diverse for a rural location, with large communities of Muslims and Up-Country Tamils sharing the space with the majority Sinhala community. A mix of villages and estates are also located in the area thereby allowing for variety in terms of type of residence as well. Finally, SSA has also worked for a number of years on local governance in the Nawalapitiya area and has a fairly wide and well-established community network that it can leverage for studying a sensitive topic such as corruption and access to LGA services. Although the SSA initially planned to carry out its study in the Nawalapitiya UC area, discussions during the exposure visit indicated the need to pay attention to the PS area due to the vulnerabilities faced by communities outside the Nawalapitiya town.

A total of 40,212 voters from the UC and PS were registered to vote in the Nawalapitiya DS division in 2011. Twenty-five of the twenty-nine GN divisions in the Nawalapitiya Divisional Secretariat fall under the Nawalapitiya PS area. 31,626 of the voters in the DS area fall under the Nawalapitiya PS area. The PS was won by the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA) by a fairly large majority in 2011. The UPFA attracted nearly 60% of the votes cast and won seven seats on the council. The United National Party (UNP) won only three seats and the Up-Country People's Liberation Front won a single seat on the council.

A total of 177 respondents were interviewed in the Nawalapitiya PS area. These respondents were spread across six GN divisions in the area. These six GN divisions are – Pahala Rambukpitiya, Weligampola, Dandubendi Ruppa, Maapakanda, Bawwagama and Kandopitiya. In Bawwagama and Kandopitiya the interviews were carried out with people from the Up-Country Tamil community. The breakdown of interviews per GN division is as follows:

GN Division	Number of Respondents
Weligampola	32
Dandubendi Roopa	34
Maapakanda	36
Bawwagama	22
Kandopitiya	18

Table 5:1 - Nawalapitiya Sample by GN Division

An ethnic and gender breakdown of the sample is also provided below:

Gender		Ethnicity		
Male	Female	Sinhalese	Muslim	Up-Country Tamil
89	88	100	35	42

Table 5:2 - Nawalapitiya Sample by Gender and Ethnicity

5.1 ECONOMIC CAPITAL

Key Findings:

- Those from the middle (55%) and high (53%) economic groups have had more of a need to utilize PS services when compared with those with a low (35%) degree of economic capital.

- When unable to access local authority services, those with higher level of economic capital [high (21%), mid (19%)] chose to complain more than those from the low economic capital group (10%).

The research team's initial hypothesis was that economic capital may not play as big a role in accessing LGA services in a rural LGA like the Nawalapitiya PS area as it did in a more urban area like the Wattala-Mabola UC. The classification of economic capital is based on the ownership of agricultural or commercial property, a vehicle, and the occupation of a house with more than two bedrooms. Based on these criteria, the respondents from the Nawalapitiya PS area were classified as follows:

Level	Number of Respondents
Low economic capital	49
Mid economic capital	58
High economic capital	70

Table 5:3 - Nawalapitiya Respondents by Economic Capital

When compared with Wattala, it is interesting to note that there are more people in the high economic capital group than those in the other groups. However, there are a number of interesting findings to emerge from the analysis of economic capital in Nawalapitiya. For example, when respondents were asked if they required LGA services over the past four years, those in the higher economic capital groups (High – 53%, Mid – 55%) state that they required services much more than those from the low economic capital groups (35%). Furthermore, as Figure 5:1 demonstrates, those from the mid economic capital group required LGA services slightly more than those from the high economic capital group.

Required LGA Services - Economic Capital
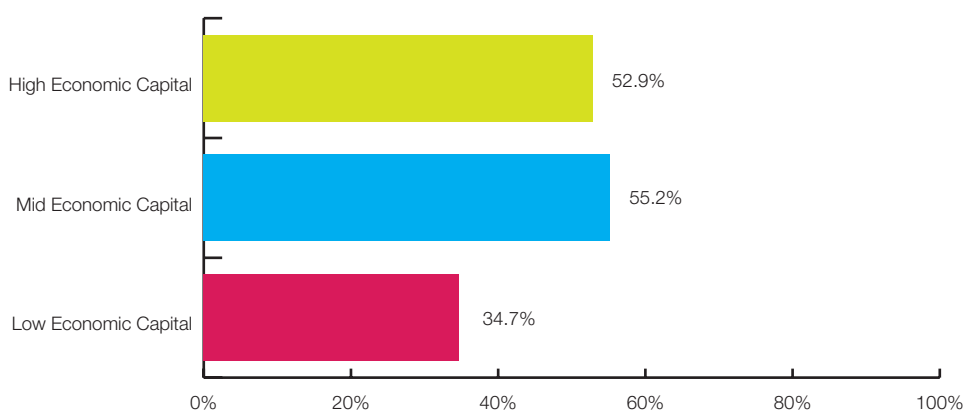
Figure 5:1 - Need for LGA Services by Economic Capital

Furthermore, as Figure 5:2 highlights, those from the low economic capital group are the least satisfied with the services they receive from the Nawalapitiya PS with only 69% of respondents stating that they are satisfied with the services they currently receive. In contrast, 72% of respondents from the middle economic capital group and 77% of the high economic capital group say that they are satisfied with the services they access from their LGA at present.

Satisfaction with LGA Services - Economic Capital
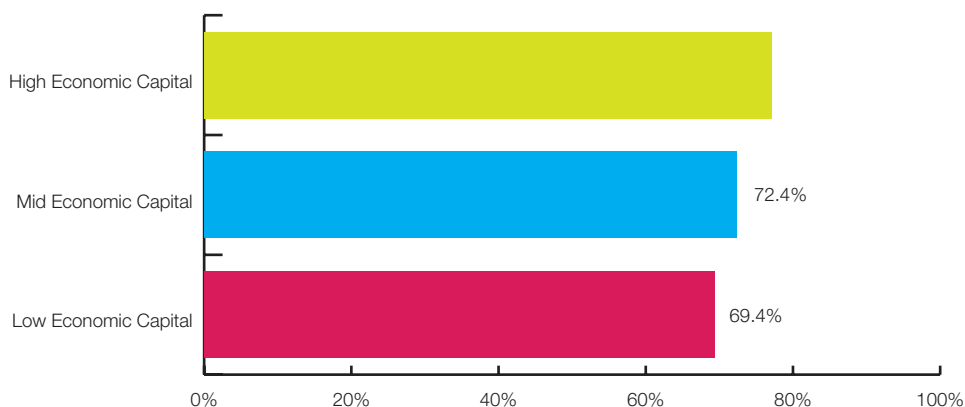
Figure 5:2 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by Economic Capital

Another interesting point of comparison between the Wattala-Mabola UC and the Nawalapitiya PS is the perception of the efficiency of corruption in both areas. In Wattala those from the middle economic capital group find it most difficult to access LGA services and also perceive corruption to be an efficient mechanism to access LGA services. In the Nawalapitiya PS area, the data on the perception of the efficiency of corruption suggests that those from the low economic capital group view corruption as a more efficient mechanism to access LGA services. For example, only 7% of those from the low economic capital group express an outright rejection of the idea that corrupt practices are an efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services. In contrast, 13% of those from the middle economic group and 21% of those from the high economic capital group express a disagreement with the statements relating to corruption. Furthermore, as Table 5:4 indicates, there is a noticeable trend among those who express the highest degree of acceptance of statements regarding the efficiency of corruption in accessing LGA services. Those from the low economic capital group appear to state a far higher degree of acceptance that corrupt practices are an efficient means to access LGA services with nearly half the respondents espousing this view. However, only 35% of the middle economic capital group express their agreement with this view, while even fewer respondents from the high economic capital group (29%) perceive that corruption is an efficient mechanism to access LGA services.

	Low Economic Capital	Mid Economic Capital	High Economic Capital
No acceptance at all	6.5%	13.0%	21.4%
Very little acceptance	17.4%	29.6%	28.6%
Some acceptance	28.3%	22.2%	21.4%
High acceptance	47.8%	35.2%	28.6%
Base	46	54	70

Table 5:4 – Efficiency of Corruption by Economic Capital

A similar trend is also visible in the data regarding the endorsement of bribery in accessing LGA services as visible in Table 5:5. In general, around half the respondents express a complete rejection of using bribery to access and or distribute LGA services. However, there appears to be far less endorsement of this position among the higher economic capital groups (High – 49%, Middle – 47%) when compared with those from the low economic capital group (43%).

	Low Economic Capital	Mid Economic Capital	High Economic Capital
No endorsement	42.9%	46.6%	48.5%
Very little endorsement	14.3%	19.0%	20.6%
Some endorsement	18.4%	24.1%	13.2%
High endorsement	18.4%	5.2%	13.2%
Total endorsement	6.1%	5.2%	4.4%
Base	49	58	68

Table 5:5 - Endorsement of Bribery by Economic Capital

These findings suggest that it is the low economic capital group that faces the most challenges in accessing LGA services in the Nawalapitiya PS area. This stands in contrast to the findings from the Wattala Mabola UC area where the mid economic capital group are the most vulnerable to accessing LGA services. This finding can be further nuanced through the qualitative work in the Nawalapitiya PS area. The MP from Nawalapitiya who had for years ensured the wide spread delivery of development and services to the Nawalapitiya area was unable to enter Parliament through the popular vote for the first time since 2000. During conversations with villagers and other traditional leaders what became apparent was that this loss was due in part to the perception that only certain groups had benefitted from their access to this MP. In other words, the levels of access to LGA services could also be a reflection of the fact that it was the mid and high economic groups that benefitted the most during the previous 17 years of development in Nawalapitiya.

A further issue to consider when assessing the experience of the low economic capital group in Nawalapitiya is the expectations of services delivered by the LGA. Conversations in Wattala indicated that in general people appeared to have a fairly low bar for the services they required from the Wattala-Mabola PS. In many cases they expect relatively minor services such as regular garbage collection or the changing of a burnt-out bulb on a street lamp. However, in Nawalapitiya qualitative work suggested that many communities placed a great deal of emphasis on the delivery of water by the PS. In other words, in comparison to Wattala the lack of LGA services had a more serious impact on those from the low economic capital group if they were unable to tap into patronage networks or pay a bribe to ensure the delivery of water to their homes. Therefore, the relationship between the level of satisfaction with LGA services, the factors that influence these views, and the perceptions of bribery and corruption among citizens in the LGA area highlight the difficulties the low economic capital group face in Nawalapitiya.

5.2 CULTURAL CAPITAL

Key Findings:

- Those with a low (30%) level of political awareness have far less need to access LGA services than their counterparts from the mid (53%) & high (66%) awareness groups.

- When unable to access local authority services, those with a high level of awareness (26%), chose to complain more than those from the mid (19%) and low (10%) economic capital groups.

- Perceptions of the efficiency of bribery and corruption appear to increase as the level of political awareness increases (low - 46%, Mid – 48%, High – 50%).

- Those with high (22%) & mid (21%) levels of political awareness, appear to be slightly less satisfied with LGA services than those with a lower level of political awareness (17%)

Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital is encoded in the competencies that certain individuals demonstrate when functioning within certain spaces. The classification of cultural capital was therefore premised on the levels of awareness respondents demonstrated about politics in general as well as local level politics. Based on these criteria, the respondents from the Nawalapitiya PS area were classified as follows:

Level	Number of Respondents
Low political awareness	60
Mid political awareness	70
High political awareness	47

Table 5:6 - Nawalapitiya Respondents by Cultural Capital

The data on cultural capital from the Nawalapitiya PS indicates that those with a low degree of political awareness have very little need to access services from the PS. For example, as Figure 5:3 underscores, 70% of the respondents from the low political awareness group state that they did not require LGA services over the past four years. In contrast, 34% of respondents with a high degree of political awareness and 47% of those from the middle political awareness group say that they did not require LGA services over the same period.

Need for LGA Services - Cultural Capital
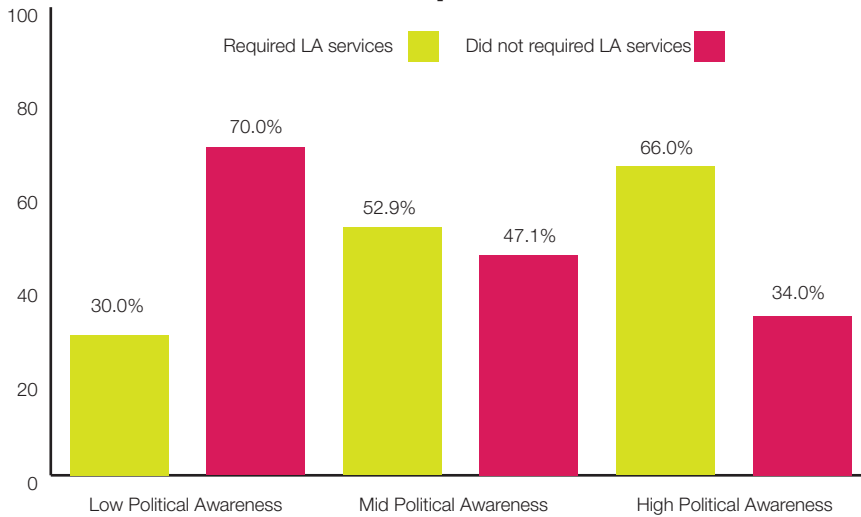
Figure 5:3 – Requirement of LGA Services by Cultural Capital

When compared with the findings from Wattala, it is noticeable that there is a greater variance between the cultural capital groups. A far higher number of respondents with low political awareness say that they do not require LGA services in Nawalapitiya (70%) than they do in Wattala (59%). The opposite trend is also visible among the group with a high degree of political awareness with only 34% of these respondents from Nawalapitiya stating that they do not require LGA services compared to 48% of this group who made this indication in Wattala.

	Low Economic Capital	Mid Economic Capital	High Economic Capital
Able to fulfil need	88.9%	78.4%	83.9%
Unable to fulfil need	11.1%	21.6%	16.1%
Base	18* (insufficient base)	37	31

Table 5:7 - Able to Fulfil Need for LGA Services by Cultural Capital

Another noticeable statistic to emerge from the data in Nawalapitiya is that those from the mid cultural capital group appear to find it somewhat more difficult to access LGA services than their counterparts in the high cultural capital group (See Table 5:7). Though it is not possible to compare these findings with respondents with low cultural capital, it is noticeable that whereas 22% of the mid cultural capital group state that they find it difficult to access LGA services only 16% of the high cultural capital group share this experience.

Figure 5:4 also highlights how cultural capital influences decisions about making complaints regarding the lack of LGA service delivery. Those who have a relatively higher degree of cultural capital (high - 26%, mid – 21%) tend to complain far more than those from the low cultural capital group with only 9% of respondents indicating that they had sought to make a complaint about not receiving LGA services.

Made an Official Complaint - Cultural Capital
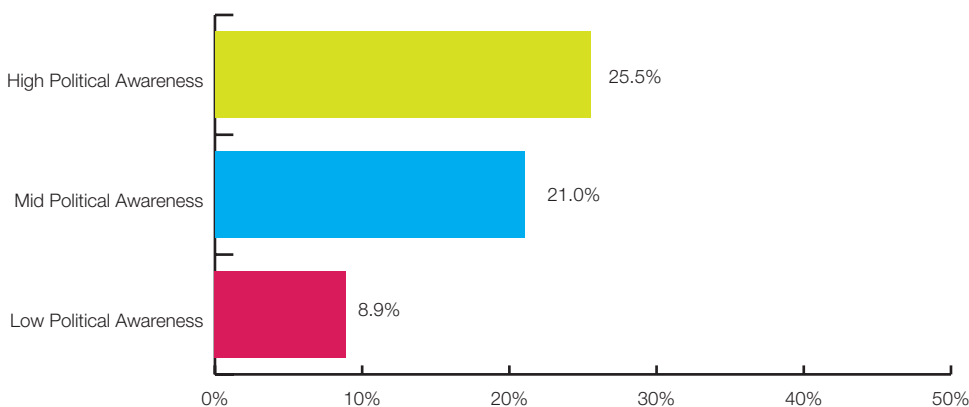
Figure 5:4 - Chose to Make a Complaint by Cultural Capital

The data also indicates that in general most respondents are satisfied with the services they receive from their LGA. However, those from the mid political awareness group appear to be comparatively less satisfied with the services they receive from the Nawalapitiya PS since around 29% of respondents from this category state that they are not satisfied with their LGA service delivery. In comparison, around 26% of those from the high political awareness group and 25% of respondents from the low political awareness group express their dissatisfaction with the services they currently receive from the LGA as Figure 5:5 demonstrates.

Satisfaction with LGA Services - Cultural Capital
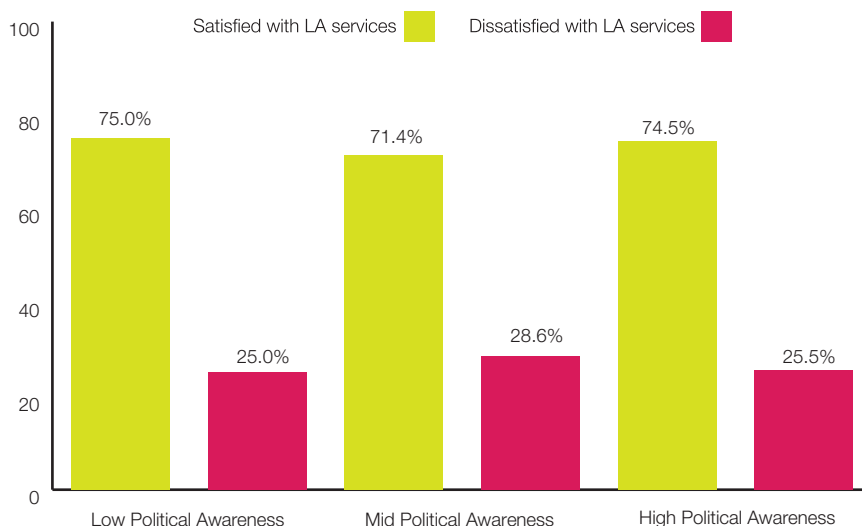
Figure 5:5 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by Cultural Capital

The findings from the data on the levels of endorsement of bribery suggest that those from the high cultural capital group (38%) appear to be far more cautious when rejecting the perceptions regarding bribery. In contrast, as Table 5:8 demonstrates 52% of respondents from the mid cultural capital group and 46% of respondents from the low cultural capital group completely reject the perception that bribery is permissible in accessing LGA services.

	Low Economic Capital	Mid Economic Capital	High Economic Capital
No endorsement	45.8%	52.2%	38.3%
Very little endorsement	16.9%	18.8%	19.1%
Some endorsement	16.9%	18.8%	19.1%
High endorsement	13.6%	4.3%	21.3%
Total endorsement	6.8%	5.8%	2.1%
Base	55	78	55

Table 5:8 - Endorsement of Bribery by Cultural Capital

These findings may appear to be somewhat confusing. On the one hand, it appears that those with low political awareness require PS services significantly less than their counterparts in the mid and high political awareness groups. On the other hand, the data suggests that those from the mid cultural capital group are somewhat less satisfied with the services they receive from their LGA. They also indicate the least degree of endorsement of the use of corrupt practices in accessing LGA services. Unlike in Wattala, the data on cultural capital may appear to be contradictory. One possible interpretation of this data is that cultural capital does not play as significant a role in accessing LGA services as it does in the Wattala-Mabola UC area. Qualitative discussions with traditional leaders as well as average community members in both locations suggest that the nature of corruption in Wattala-Mabola UC and the Nawalapitiya PS area is significantly different.

For most residents in the Wattala-Mabola UC area corruption takes the form of an additional payment to obtain LGA services. Residents indicate for example that they make additional payments to the garbage collectors to ensure garbage disposal each month. In other words, for the average person corruption is perceived to be a fairly

minor and common activity that is part and parcel of the service delivery process. Furthermore, those with a high degree of political awareness are more likely to perceive bribery to be a fairly efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services and express views that endorse corruption. In Wattala, the relative accessibility of the UC as well as the kinds of services that are expected from the LGA means that cultural capital (i.e. political awareness) is useful to ensure that one can more easily obtain basic LGA services.

In the Nawalapitiya PS area however, the nature of corruption is qualitatively different. Qualitative conversations also suggest that many people in the PS area are aware that patronage of local politicians plays a significant role in structuring access to LGA services. For example, the research team heard numerous complaints about how the PS and the DS are currently overstaffed with under-qualified personnel. These community members allege that the reason for this is that politicians chose to satisfy the demand for jobs without considering the kinds of services that the PS should deliver. These conversations and complaints across different communities indicated that there is a fair degree of awareness of the practice and role of patronage and corruption in LGA service delivery. In other words, almost everyone in the area was aware of what was taking place in their LA. However, unlike what is taking place in the Wattala-Mabola UC an individual's level of awareness of what is taking place in the area does not necessarily impact on his/her capacity to access services. The wide-spread perception of the role of patronage in the area also means that awareness does not necessarily play a major role in shaping views on bribery and corruption. Therefore, it could be argued that cultural capital does not play as significant a role in accessing LGA services in Nawalapitiya as it does in Wattala.

5.3 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Key Findings:

- Those with high social capital indicate the highest need (76.5%) for local government services over the past four years. It is those with low capital who claim to have the least need (40.2%) for local government services in the past four years.

- High social capital group (38.2%) have been consulted more than twice as much as low social capital group (16.7%) when deciding local development priorities.

- Those with most connections were most dissatisfied with local government services (35.1%).

- 33.3% of those with the most social connections have made an official complaint as opposed to the 11% of those with few social connections.

- High social capital group have the highest acceptance of corruption as efficient (35.3%).

- Those with high social capital are the group that endorses bribery the most (8.8%).

Social capital according to Bourdieu is a function of the strength of the networks an individual or group can leverage to access spaces and services. The analysis of social capital utilizes two levels of analysis. Firstly, respondents were categorized by the number of officials that they or a member of their household knew. Respondents who knew at least two of the three levels of elected officials – local councilors, provincial councilors, and MPs – were classified as having high social capital. Those who knew only one of the three levels of elected officials were categorized as mid social capital while respondents who knew no elected official were classified as being in the low social capital group. This primary level of analysis provides a perspective on the function of social capital in the Nawalapitiya PS area. Based on these criteria, the respondents from the Nawalapitiya PS area were classified as follows:

Level	Number of Respondents
Low social capital	92
Mid social capital	51
High social capital	34

Table 5:9 – Nawalapitiya Respondents by Levels of Social Capital

The data from the Nawalapitiya PS indicates that those who have a high degree of social capital appear to require LGA services far more than those from the mid and low social capital groups. As Figure 5:6 demonstrates, only 40% of those from the low social capital group and 45% of those from the mid social capital group say that they have required services from their LGA over the past four years. The contrast between these two groups and the high social capital group is stark. 77% of respondents from the latter group state that they have needed to access LGA services during the same time.

Required LGA Services - Social Capital
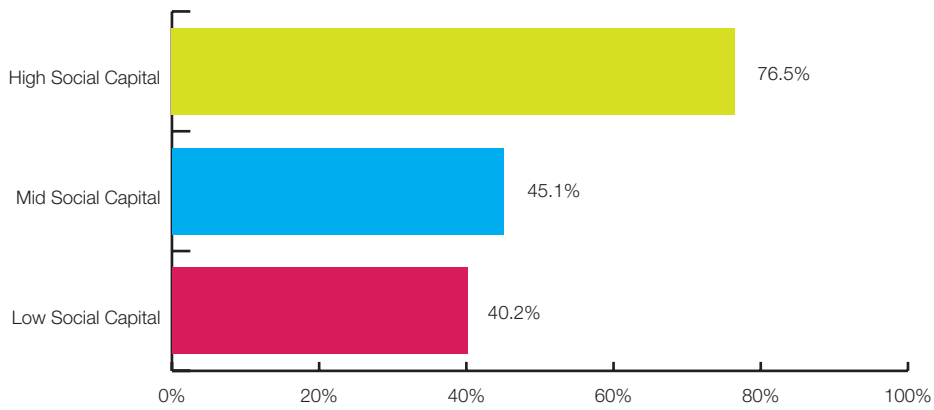
Figure 5:6 - Need for LGA Services by Social Capital

Furthermore, respondents from the high social capital group appear to be consulted more about the development priorities in the Nawalapitiya PS area. As Figure 5:7 demonstrates, only 17% of those who have no connection to a Local Councilor, Provincial Councilor, or an MP say that they were consulted about the development priorities in their LGA. Of those who know at least one individual of the above list, 31% state that they were consulted by their LGA when assessing the development priorities in the area. However, 38% of those who know at least two individuals say that they were consulted by the LGA in determining the development priorities for the Nawalapitiya PS.[3] These findings suggest that those with a high degree of social capital have far more engagement with the LGA than their counterparts in the low and mid social capital groups.

Consulted about Development Priorities - Social Capital
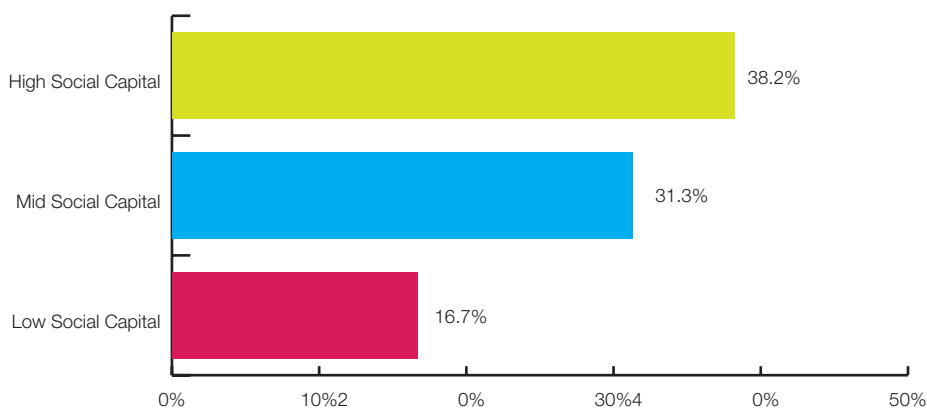
Figure 5:7 - Consulted about Development Priorities by Social Capital

3. Unfortunately, it is not possible to discuss the findings regarding the fulfilment of need at the LA as well as whether they were able to meet this need without visiting the LA due to the lack of sufficient responses.

Unlike in Wattala however, the high level of engagement with the LGA does not translate into satisfaction with LGA services as Figure 5:8 demonstrates. Whereas 74% of those from the low social capital group and 79% of those from the mid social capital group say that they are satisfied with the services they currently receive, only 65% of the respondents from the high social capital group claim that they are satisfied with the services provided by the LA. Further qualitative work in Nawalapitiya affords some explanation for this finding. During conversations with the business community in the area a sense of frustration with the governance by bureaucracy that was put in place after the terms of the LGA expired. They compared their current experiences with the ease with which they were able to get things done through the political networks that they had access to when an elected council was in place.

Satisfaction with LGA Services - Social Capital 1
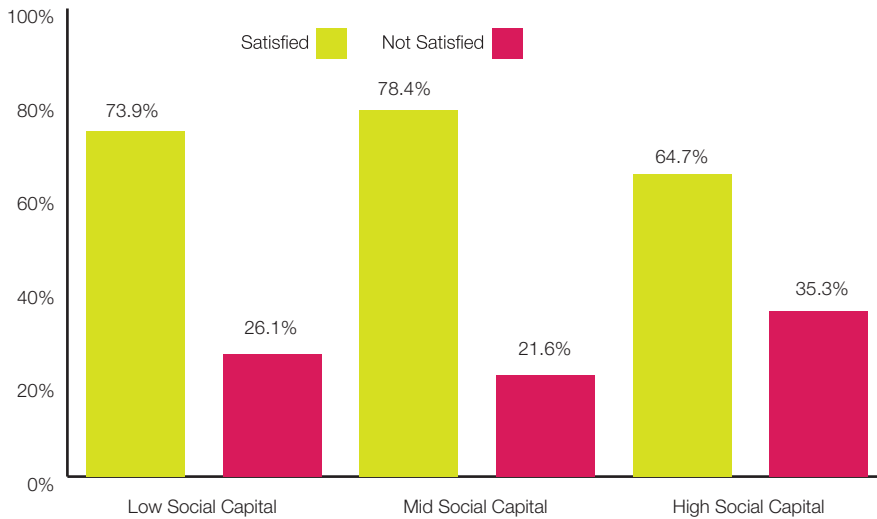
Figure 5:8 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by Social Capital

Despite their lack of satisfaction, the data also indicates that it is the high capital group who have complained most about not receiving LGA services. As Figure 5:9 indicates, 33% of those from the high capital group have complained when they haven't received LGA services. In contrast, only around 20% of those from the mid social capital group and 11% of respondents from the low social capital group say that they have complained when they have not been able to obtain LGA services. This finding suggests that access to higher levels of social capital appear to be more confident when complaining about poor LGA service delivery. It also draws attention to the role that social capital plays in accessing LGA services in the Nawalapitiya PS.

Complained about Not Receiving LGA Services - Social Capital
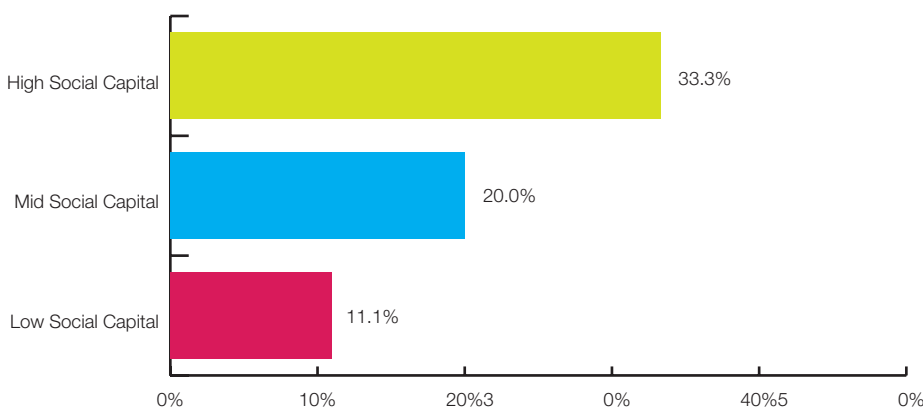
Figure 5:9 - Complaints about Lack of LGA Services by Social Capital

The data on perceptions regarding the efficiency of corrupt practices and the endorsement of bribery in accessing LGA services offer somewhat of a different picture. As Table 5:10 indicates, a comparatively high number of respondents from the high social capital group (24%) reject the idea that corruption is a more efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services. Comparatively, there is somewhat of a lower level of rejection of this perception among the mid (14%) and low (12%) social capital groups. Interestingly, the proportion of respondents from each social capital group (high – 35%, mid -34%, low – 37%) who believe that corruption is an efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services is fairly similar.

	Low Social Capital	Mid Social Capital	High Social Capital
No acceptance at all	11.6%	14.0%	23.5%
Very little acceptance	29.1%	20.0%	26.5%
Some acceptance	22.1%	32.0%	14.7%
High acceptance	37.2%	34.0%	35.3%
Base	86	50	34

Table 5:10 – Efficiency of Corruption by Social Capital

The refusal to endorse the use of bribery to access and influence LGA service delivery was vocalized most strongly by those in the mid social capital group with 55% of respondents holding this view. The high social capital group (35%) appear to be the most hesitant to reject outright the use of bribery in accessing LGA services as Table 5:11 demonstrates. However, when compared with the findings from the Wattala-Mabola UC area, it appears that those with a higher level of social capital are far less likely to hold views that either endorse the use of bribery or perceive corruption to be an efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services. Furthermore, their views on bribery and corruption may seem to far with the findings regarding their engagement with the Nawalapitiya PS.

	Low Social Capital	Mid Social Capital	High Social Capital
No endorsement	45.7%	55.1%	35.3%
Very little endorsement	21.7%	12.2%	17.6%
Some endorsement	16.3%	18.4%	23.5%
High endorsement	9.8%	14.3%	14.7%
Total endorsement	6.5%	0.0%	8.8%
Base	92	49	34

Table 5:11 - Endorsement of Bribery by Social Capital

However, during the qualitative work in the area it became clear that the issue of bribery and corruption was an extremely sensitive topic for residents. In some cases, villages have taken legal action against the PS for diverting resources away from their village. The electoral loss of the MP from the area was discussed in terms of the fact that the majority of the people in the area were disappointed with the fact that only a few people benefitted from being a part of the MP's political network. In general, there was an awareness among ordinary people about the fact that bribery and corruption had become normalized in their social, political, and economic engagements with the State. Furthermore, those who had benefitted from their connection to politicians also appeared to be cautious when discussing bribery and corruption. For example, a businessman interviewed by the research team indicated he had been summoned by the Financial Crimes Investigation Division (FCID) seven times to ask whether he had laundered money for the MP. The experience of this businessman may also shed some light on the reluctance among the high social capital group to endorse the use of bribery and corruption as openly as respondents from this group in the Wattala-Mabola UC area do.

The secondary level of analysis of social capital in the Nawalapitiya PS area sought to break down these levels of social capital further to gain a sense of which officials played roles in accessing LGA services. It also gives a more concrete picture of the kinds of networks that are important when accessing LGA services as well as the way in which participation in these networks influences perceptions of corruption and bribery. (Note: Knowledge of a government official was omitted from the study because it was difficult to determine the role that these officials played in LGA service delivery). This secondary level of analysis provides a perspective on the extent to which who an individual knows impacts on their ability to access services from their LGA. The secondary level of analysis was categorized as follows.

Level	Knows	%	Does not know	%
Local Councilor	72	40.7	105	59.3
Provincial Councilor	33	18.6	144	81.4
MP	37	20.9	140	79.1

Table 5:12 - Nawalapitiya Respondents by Knowledge of Elected Official

The need for LGA services is most keenly felt among those who enjoy a fairly high degree of social capital as the data on social capital and need for LGA services discussed previously showed. Figure 5:10 provides a more nuanced analysis of the kinds of connection that are important when accessing LGA services. Only around 60% of respondents who know a local councilor say that they require LGA services. In contrast, 79% of those who know a provincial councilor and 71% of those who know an MP say that they required LGA services over the past four years.

Need for LGA Services - Social Capital
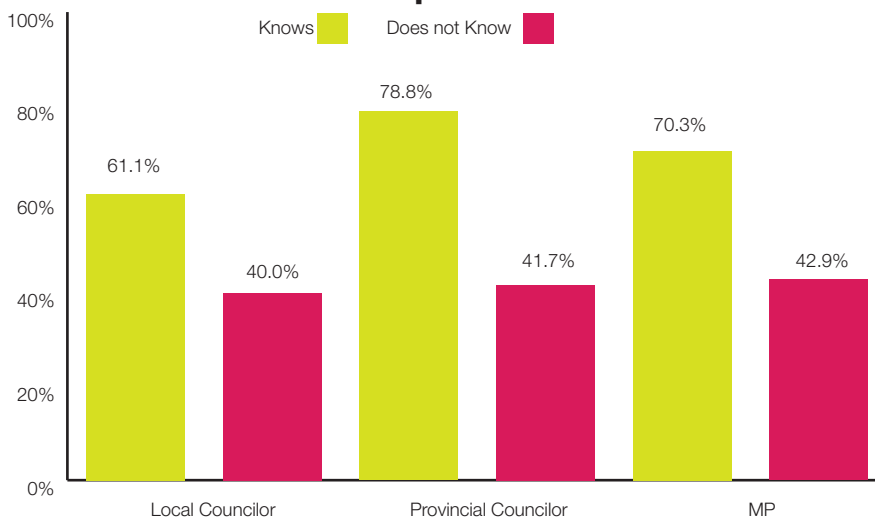
Figure 5:10 - Need for LGA Services by Social Capital

The previous analysis also indicated that those who had a high degree of social capital were consulted far more by the LGA when identifying development priorities for the Nawalapitiya area. Interestingly, nearly 40% of those who know a provincial councilor say that they were consulted by the PS. Furthermore, 33% of those who know a local councilor and 35% of those who know an MP say that they were consulted when establishing the development priorities of the area.

Consulted by LA - Social Capital
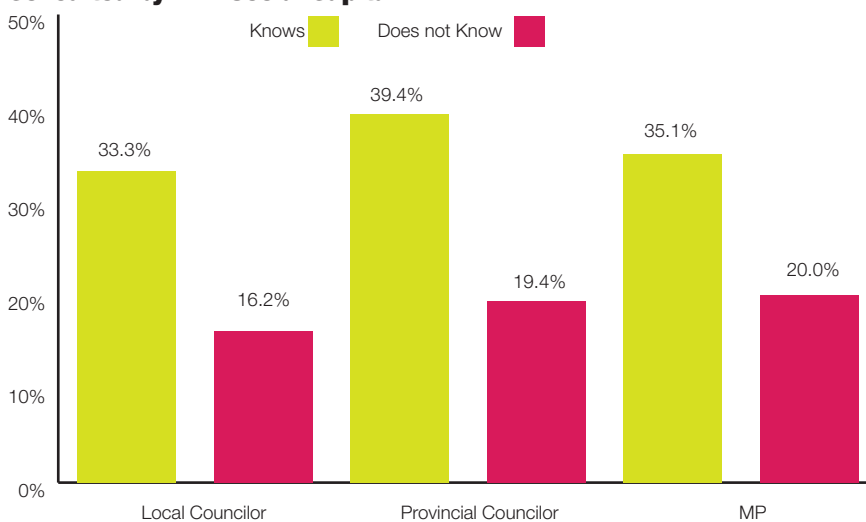
Figure 5:11 - Consulted when Identifying Development Priorities by Social Capital

Furthermore, those who know a Provincial Councilor or an MP complain far more when they are unable to access LGA services than those who know a Local Councilor. As Figure 5:12 highlights 36% of those who know a Provincial Councilor and 35% of those who know an MP have made an official complaint when they could not access LGA services. In contrast, only 22% of those who know a Local Councilor say that they complained when they were not able to access LGA services. Therefore, it could be argued that knowledge of a Provincial Councilor or an MP appears to have slightly more influence in determining the extent of engagement with the Nawalapitiya PS.

Complained about Not Receiving LGA Services - Social Capital
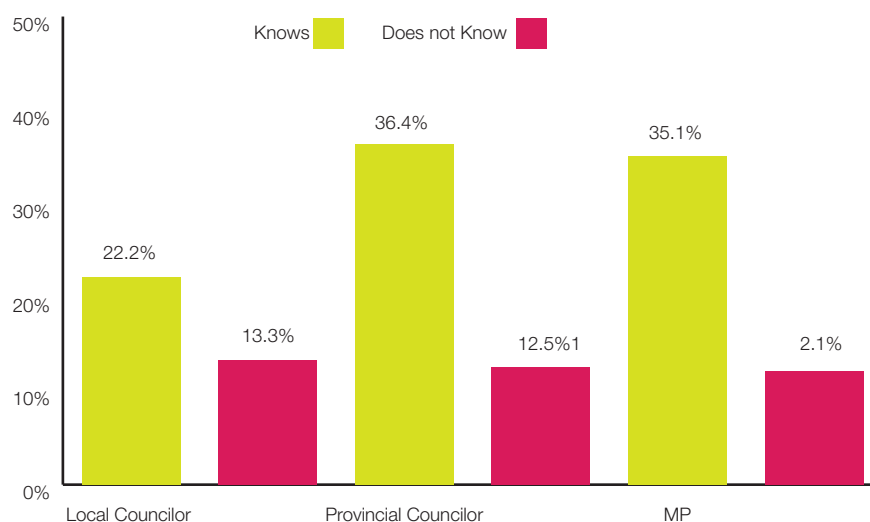
Figure 5:12 - Complaints about Not Receiving LGA Services by Social Capital

Interestingly, when asked about their perception as to whether corrupt practices increases the efficiency of LGA service delivery there was a high level of rejection of this notion among those with a high degree of social capital. The disaggregation of this data provides a clearer picture of this phenomenon as visible in Table 5:13. For example, whereas 21% of those who know a local councilor reject the idea that corruption increases the efficiency of LGA service delivery, only 10% of those who do not know a local councilor are of the same opinion. Similarly, 21% who know a Provincial councilor express their rejection of this idea while 13% of those who do not know an elected official at the Provincial level share this perspective on corrupt practices and LGA service delivery. This trend is also visible among those who know an MP as well since 19% of those who know an MP reject the perception that corruption is an efficient mechanism for accessing LGA services compared to the 14% of those who do not know an MP.

Level	Local Councilor		Provincial Councilor		MP	
	Knows	Does not know	Knows	Does not know	Knows	Does not know
No acceptance at all	21.1%	10.1%	21.2%	13.1%	18.9%	13.5%
Very little acceptance	22.5%	28.3%	24.2%	26.3%	27.0%	25.6%
Some acceptance	22.5%	24.2%	21.2%	24.1%	18.9%	24.8%
High acceptance	33.8%	37.4%	33.3%	36.5%	35.1%	36.1%
Base	71	99	37	133	37	133

Table 5:13 – Efficiency of Corruption by Social Capital

When asked about their endorsement of bribery at the local level, a somewhat different trend is visible. As Table 5:14 indicates there is a minute difference in the rejection of the use of bribery between those who know a local councilor (49%) and those who do not (45%). However, a far more significant difference is visible on this opinion between those who know a Provincial councilor (36%) and those who do not know someone at this level (49%). A similar pattern is also visible among those who know an MP (38%) and those who do not (49%) with regards to the extent to which they completely reject the use of bribery in accessing LGA services. In other words, the data

suggests that the relationship between social capital and perceptions of bribery and corruption is not as starkly visible as it is in the data from Wattala. However, a more nuanced analysis of the data suggests that provincial councilors and MPs appear to play a more important role than local councilors when accessing LGA service delivery in the Nawalapitiya PS area.

Level	Local Councilor		Provincial Councilor		MP	
	Knows	Does not know	Knows	Does not know	Knows	Does not know
No endorsement	48.6%	44.8%	36.4%	48.6%	37.8%	48.6%
Very little endorsement	12.9%	21.9%	15.2%	19.0%	13.5%	19.6%
Some endorsement	21.4%	16.2%	24.2%	16.9%	24.3%	16.7%
High endorsement	12.9%	11.4%	18.2%	10.6%	18.9%	10.1%
Total endorsement	4.3%	5.7%	6.1%	4.9%	5.4%	5.1%
Base	70	105	33	142	37	138

Table 5:14 - Endorsement of Bribery by Social Capital

A case study of how social capital functions in this LGA area sheds more light on the above phenomenon. For a long time, villagers residing in a particular village in the LGA area had been pressuring authorities to construct a bridge to ease their access to the town. When villagers needed to travel to the town they had to make a long detour to use a bridge which was located much further away from the town. After making repeated demands, the local MP who was from the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA), finally constructed a rope bridge for the villagers. The villagers were not entirely satisfied with this bridge. They approached a United National Party (UNP) local councilor and asked him to help them improve their access to the town. This councilor managed to allocate some money and build a small concrete bridge near place where the MP had erected the rope bridge. The concrete bridge erected by the local councilor was large enough for motor bikes and bicycles to travel on. Subsequently, during his election campaign the local MP had visited this village.

During his interactions with the villagers he had been accused of promising to build a decent bridge and failing to do so. He assured them that he would definitely construct a better bridge. He pointed to his shirt pocket which was bulging with money and said, "You see don't you? I have brought the money and come. I can build this bridge." Before the elections came around he did in fact build a larger bridge for the village which can accommodate a vehicle. However, the new bridge was constructed in the exact same spot as the bridge built by the local councilor. The local councilor's bridge can no longer be accessed. As you travel over the new bridge you can see the small concrete bridge beneath you.

The two bridges symbolize far more than the wastage of government funds to construct multiple bridges for the same community in the exact same place. For the community, the bridge is a marker of their increased access to the town and, by extension, the improvement of their access to services. However, at a deeper level the bridge symbolizes the center's response to the challenge posed by the LGA. The fact that the local councilor had constructed a better bridge than the MP's rope bridge was seen as an insult that could not be ignored. The dwarfing of the Local Councilor's bridge by the MP's new bridge is a stark representation of the scales of power through which services are to be delivered to communities. Therefore, the three bridges from this village is a harsh reminder of the hierarchical relationship between the center and the periphery in Nawalapitiya.

5.4 GN DIVISIONS

There are twenty five GN divisions that fall under the Nawalapitiya PS area. Based on conversations during the exposure visit, the research team identified four Sinhala GN Divisions and two GN Divisions in which there is a significant representation of Up-Country Tamils. The four Sinhala GN Divisions are Pahala Rambukpitiya, Weligampola, Dandubendi Ruppa, and Maapakanda. The two Up-Country Tamil GN Divisions are Bauwwagama and Kandopitiya. Findings from the Bauwwagama and Kandopitiya GN Divisions are discussed together because the two GN Divisions were purposively sampled to include respondents from the Up-Country Tamil community.

	Pahala Rambukpitiya	Weligampola	Dandubendi Rooppa	Maapakanda	Bawwagama/ Kandopitiya
Required	54.3%	50.0%	44.1%	47.2%	47.5%
Did not require	45.7%	50.0%	55.9%	52.8%	52.5%
Base	35	32	34	36	40

Table 5:15 - Need for LGA Services by GN Division

As Table 5:15 shows in general, around half the respondents from each GN Division say that they had required LGA services over the past four years. However, it is noticeable that respondents from the Dandubendi Ruppa GN Division (44%) indicate a slightly lower level of need to access LGA services. 54% of respondents from the Pahala Rambukpitiya GN Division say that they required LGA services during that same period. Dandubendi Ruppa was identified by the PS as the GN Division that was furthest away from the LGA. In contrast, the PS is located in the Pahala Rambukpitiya GN area.

	Pahala Rambukpitiya	Weligampola	Dandubendi Rooppa	Maapakanda	Bawwagama/ Kandopitiya
Satisfied	80.0%	87.5%	61.8%	77.8%	62.5%
Dissatisfied	20.0%	12.5%	38.2%	22.2%	37.5%
Do not Know/ cannot Say	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	27.5%
Base	35	32	34	36	40

Table 5:16 - Satisfaction with LGA Services by GN Division

Furthermore, the Dandubendi Ruppa GN Division expresses the lowest degree of satisfaction (62%) with the services they receive from the LGA as visible in Table 5:16. In fact, their level of dissatisfaction is almost comparable to the level expressed by the Up-Country Tamil community in the Bawwagama and Kandopitiya GN Division (63%). In contrast, the Weligampola GN Division expresses the highest degree of satisfaction with the services they receive from the LGA, with 88% of respondents from the area expressing this opinion.

As Table 5:17 indicates, residents from the Up-Country Tamil community in the Bawwagama and Kandopitiya GN Divisions say that they were not consulted at all when the PS was planning for development in the area. This could be because there continues to be confusion over whether Section 33 of the Pradeshiya Sabha Act No 15 of 1987 is still in force. However, among the Sinhala GN Divisions, it is noticeable that the Dandubendi Ruppa GN Division has been consulted the least by the PS with only 24% of respondents indicating that they were consulted. There appear to be far higher levels of consultation with respondents from the other GN Divisions.

	Pahala Rambukpitiya	Weligampola	Dandubendi Rooppa	Maapakanda	Bawwagama/ Kandopitiya
Consulted	31.4%	31.3%	23.5%	33.3%	0.0%
Not Consulted	57.1%	62.5%	70.6%	47.2%	95.0%
Do not Know/ cannot Say	11.4%	6.3%	5.9%	19.4%	5.0%
Base	35	32	34	36	40

Table 5:17 - Consulted on Development Priorities by LGA by GN Division

These previous findings are also reflected in the data on the perception of the efficiency of corruption in accessing LGA services. For example, as Table 5:18 demonstrates, 41% of respondents from the Dandubendi Ruppa GN division believe that the use of corrupt practices is an efficient mechanism to ensure access to LGA services. Furthermore, 38% of respondents from the Up-Country Tamil community in Bawwagama and Kandopitiya share this opinion. In contrast, there is a fairly similar level of agreement with this perception among respondents from Weligampola (34%), Pahala Rambukpitiya (33%), and Maapakanda (33%).

	Pahala Rambukpitiya	Weligampola	Dandubendi Rooppa	Maapakanda	Bawwagama/ Kandopitiya
No acceptance at all	30.3%	18.8%	9.4%	5.6%	10.8%
Very little acceptance	21.2%	18.8%	28.1%	36.1%	24.3%
Some acceptance	15.2%	28.1%	21.9%	25.0%	27.0%
High acceptance	33.3%	34.4%	40.6%	33.3%	37.8%
Base	35	32	34	36	40

Table 5:18 -Perception of the Efficiency of Corruption by GN Division

Furthermore, Dandubendi Ruppa also plays an important role in the findings on the data about the extent to which respondents endorse the use of bribery. As Table 5:19 indicates, nearly three in five respondents from Pahala Rambukpitiya reject outright the use of bribery in accessing LGA services. In contrast, the respondents from Dandubendi Ruppa are far more hesitant to reject the use of bribery outright with only 34% of respondents expressing a rejection of the use of bribery.

	Pahala Rambukpitiya	Weligampola	Dandubendi Rooppa	Maapakanda	Bawwagama/ Kandopitiya
No endorsement	57.1%	50.0%	34.4%	41.7%	47.5%
Very little endorsement	14.3%	15.6%	21.9%	19.4%	20.0%
Some endorsement	17.1%	9.4%	21.9%	27.8%	15.0%
High endorsement	8.6%	15.6%	12.5%	8.3%	15.0%
Total endorsement	2.9%	9.4%	9.4%	2.8%	2.5%
Base	35	32	34	36	40

Table 5:19 - Endorsement of Bribery by GN Division

06. THUNUKKAI PRADESHIYA SABHA AREA

The Thunukkai Pradeshiya Sabha area is located in the Mullaithivu District in the Northern Province. According to the statistics available at the Thunukkai Divisional Secretariat (DS) there are 20 Grama Niladhari Divisions. The Thunukkai PS area is home to 10,854 individuals. Statistics suggest that 47.5% of the population in the area are men and 52.5% are women. According to the statistics this PS area is ethnically homogeneous with only Sri Lankan Tamils residing within its borders. However, interviews conducted at the PS and DS offices in Thunukkai, and also community FGDs made it very clear that a fair percentage of the population in Thunukkai are Up-Country Tamil people who have been resettled in the area at various points in the past. Additionally, there are 158 individuals in Thunukkai who are listed as disabled due to the war. Furthermore, there are over 450 widows living in the Thunukkai PS area.

The Thunukkai PS is one of two local government bodies in the Mullaithivu District which have elected their representatives in 2011. There are a total of 5,227 registered voters in this area. According to Elections Commission, the Ilankai Thamil Arasu Kadchi Party won 71.69% of the votes which accounted for 7 out of the 9 seats at the Thunukkai Pradeshiya Sabha. Purawesi Peramuna was the opposition party who won 27.63% of the votes and the remaining two seats.

A sample of 100 individuals was approached in this survey from three GN Divisions. A breakdown of the sample by GN Division is provided below.

GN Division	Number of Respondents
Amaithipuram	30
Pugalenthinagar	35
Yogapuram East	35

Table 6:1 - Thunukkai Sample by GN Division

Additionally men accounted for 51% of the sample, and women accounted for 49% of the sample.

6.1 FINDINGS FROM FACT FINDING VISIT

A fact finding visit to Thunukkai suggested three major sources of vulnerability in the area. In the first instance, ethnic identity plays a crucial role in social and political vulnerability in Thunukkai. As already mentioned, even though official statistics indicate that the whole population is Sri Lankan Tamil, a sizable percentage of the these people are in fact Up-Country Tamil. Many of these people were resettled in Mullaithivu at various points in the past. The main reason for their relocation is the ethnic riots which took place, not only in 1983 but even thereafter. In an interview with the Assistant Director of Planning at the Thunukkai DS office, various vulnerable GN divisions were identified. During the course of the interview it became clear that most of the 'vulnerable' villages comprised Up-Country Tamil groups who had been resettled there. The less vulnerable villages on the other hand consist of Sri Lankan Tamils who were settled around an irrigation tank in the 1950s and thereafter. Furthermore, the research team was able to conduct a FGD in a 'less vulnerable' GN Division of Yogapuram East. Though the research team was unaware of it at the time, the GN Division had two villages. The village the research team visited complained that they had no lands, no proper houses, and no proper source of income. From their dialect it was clear that they were of Up-Country origin. On the other hand they alleged that the village across the junction had houses, agricultural lands and family members working abroad. It appeared that this community is Sri Lankan Tamils. Therefore, we see that ethnic identity can have a significant impact on vulnerability in Thunukkai.

A second source of vulnerability is whether one lives in an area in and around the town, or not. The villagers complained that the people in the town would receive every perceivable service from the PS. They had good roads, and their garbage was collected regularly. However, despite numerous appeals and letters these villagers were unable to have their infrastructure developed or have the PS collect their garbage. They perceived the PS as an institution that served the more wealthy persons who lived in and around the town.

This point is very much connected with the third source of vulnerability identified through the fact finding visit to Thunukkai. Amaithipuram was identified as one of the most vulnerable GN Divisions in the Thunukkai PS area. It is situated on the Mullaithivu-Killinochchi border. The GN Division does not have a proper school. There is a serious lack of water in the area. There is no hospital. The roads are in terrible condition. There is no proper public transport service. In fact, if these villagers are to come to the main town in the area, Mallavi, they have to take four buses. Some of these buses operate just once a day. Furthermore, even though these villagers live in the Mullaithivu District, their agricultural lands are in the Killinochchi District. The research team's past experience suggests that when different aspects of an individual's life are governed by different district administrative bodies, these individuals become vulnerable. That distance from the PS is a crucial factor determining accessing PS services was best highlighted in a call a senior researcher received from field enumerators. They called to say that no one they spoke to seemed to know about the existence of the PS. All the villagers were aware of was the DS office. Therefore, it appears that as distance from the PS increases, some communities could become more vulnerable.

6.2 GN DIVISIONS

There are twenty GN Divisions in the Thunukkai PS area. The research team identified three GN Divisions based on the fact finding visit. These GN Divisions are Amaithipuram, Pugalenthinagar and Yogapuram East.

Figure 6:1 indicates that respondents from Amathipuram and Pugalenthinagar claimed to require PS services far less than Yogapuram East. Amathipuram is the location in which respondents stated that they required PS services the least (40%). Less than half its population needed LGA services in the last four years. Yogapuram East claims to have required PS services the most (60%). This is consistent with findings from the fact finding visit which suggested that Yogapuram East was very close to the PS and Amathipuram was distant from it.

Need for LA Services - GN Breakdown
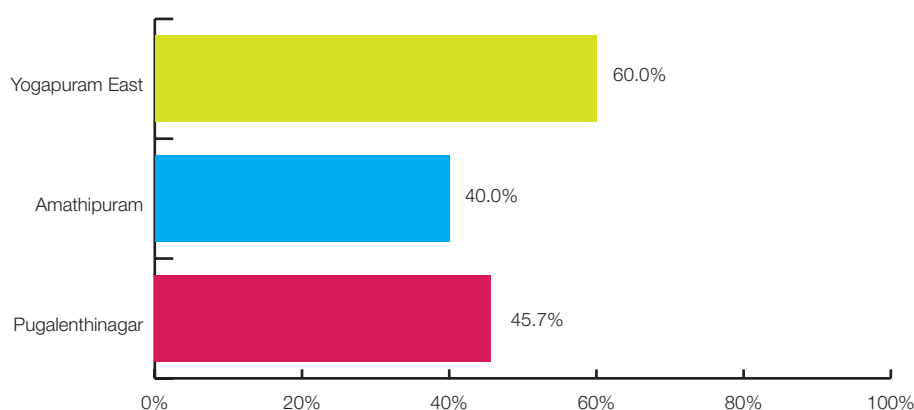
Figure 6:1 - Need for LGA Services by GN Division

Amathipuram is also the GN Division least likely to lodge an official complaint for not receiving services from the PS. In fact as Table 6:1 suggests, not even one individual claims to have lodged an official complaint at the PS voicing their dissatisfaction. However, in Yogapuram East which is closest to the PS, 22.9% of the sample insists that they lodged a complaint at the PS. More than one in four of the sample (25.7%) in Pugalenthinagar assert that they lodged an official complaint at their local authority. This is to be expected since residents of Yogapuram East and Pugalenthinagar are closer to the LGA and would find it easier to lodge an official complaint. Amathipuram's reticence in lodging an official complaint could be a reflection not only of their need to use the PS less, but also of the time consuming nature of travelling to the PS to make an official complaint. This perhaps highlights the very indifferent attitude Amathipuram residents have towards the PS.

	Pugalenthinagar	Amathipuram	Yogapuram East
Lodged a complaint	25.7%	0.0%	22.9%
Did not lodge a complaint	68.6%	33.3%	65.7%
No response	5.7%	66.7%	11.4%
Base	35	30	35

Table 6:2 - Lodged an Official Complaint at the PS by GN Division

Amathipuram's isolation from the Local Government Authority in Thunukkai is further highlighted by the lack of invitations extended to them to participate in public consultations. As Figure 6:2 indicates, not even one individual in this GN Division claims to have been consulted to determine development priorities. Yogapuram East on the other hand, records the highest number of people being consulted to determine development priorities (62.9%).

Consulted about Development Priorities - GN Breakdown
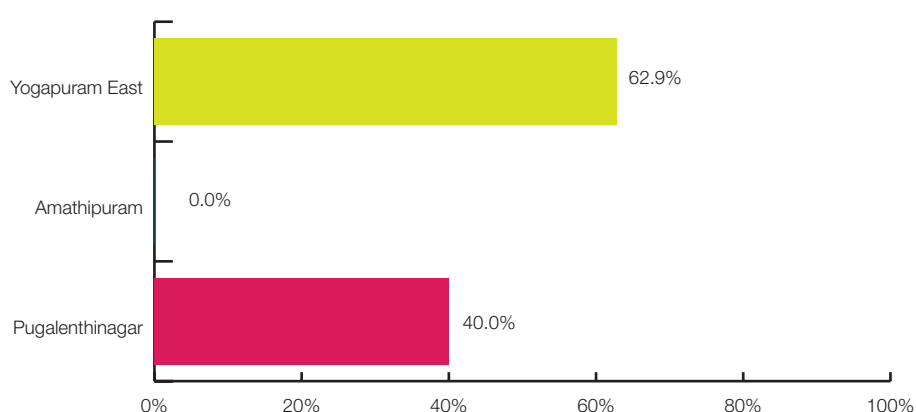
Figure 6:2 - Consulted about Development Priorities by GN Division

Amathipuram is also the GN Division with the highest recognition of the efficiency of corruption. As Table 6:3 indicates, 93.3% of the sample in Amathipuram claim to have either some or high acceptance of corrupt practices. This is a confirmation of what some villagers send in the fact finding visit. They alleged that it was essential to know someone to get something done at a government office, but that they did not know any such person. They alleged that those who could get things done at the PS had someone they could use to access the PS. This understanding seems to be reflected in the data emerging out of Amathipuram regarding the efficiency of corruption. Yogapuram East extends the least acceptance of the efficiency of corruption.

	Pugalenthinagar	Amathipuram	Yogapuram East
No acceptance at all	6.5%	0.0%	2.9%
Very little acceptance	16.1%	6.7%	40.0%
Some acceptance	35.5%	53.3%	31.4%
High acceptance	41.9%	40.0%	25.7%
Base	31	30	35

Table 6:3 - Perception of the Efficacy of Corruption by GN Division

An analysis of the GN Divisions confirms that distance, ethnicity, and rural areas are those factors which are most vulnerable in terms of accessing services from the PS. Amathipuram is a fine example of GN Division where these three factors intersect. Yogapuram East on the other hand is an example of a GN Division which is in some ways the opposite. It is a location close to the PS and the town, and also partially comprising Sri Lankan Tamils. Their experiences seem to suggest that the PS is more accessible to them. Therefore, we may conclude that in Mullaithivu, it is these factors which contribute to vulnerability in terms of accessing local authority services.

6.3 ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Unfortunately the sample in Thunukkai is insufficient to make an argument regarding the way in which economic, cultural and social capital influence access to LGA services and corruption. The tables below emphasise this point.

Level	Number of Respondents
Low Economic Capital	16
Mid Economic Capital	33
High Economic Capital	51

Table 6:4 - Economic Capital – Thunukkai

Level	Number of Respondents
Low Political Awareness	20
Mid Political Awareness	35
High Political Awareness	45

Table 6:5 - Cultural Capital – Thunukkai

Level	Number of Respondents
Low Social Capital	85
Mid Social Capital	15

Table 6:6 - Social Capital – Thunukkai

07. CONCLUSION

This report is an effort to identify and develop profiles of vulnerability in terms of accessing LGA services in Wattala, Nawalapitiya and Thunukkai. Furthermore, it identifies factors which make the use of bribery and corruption more attractive when attempting to access Local Authority services. The conclusion aims to present some key insights into the function of local government in Sri Lanka, the factors that engender vulnerability in terms of accessing local government, and create conditions under which corruption is seen as an efficient and effective mechanism for accessing LGA Services.

The report has explored how different forms of capital function to leave certain groups more vulnerable than others when accessing LGA services. Interestingly in Wattala, it is those who fall within the middle-economic capital bracket who are most vulnerable when accessing LGA services. In Nawalapitiya on the other hand, it is the group with low economic capital who are the most vulnerable in terms of access to services at the local authority. In terms of cultural capital, it was found that there was an inverse relationship between vulnerability and cultural capital in Wattala. However, cultural capital did not seem to have any impact on vulnerability in Nawalapitiya. In Wattala, it is important to have contacts with politically connected individuals outside the formal political system to lubricate access to local authority services. In Nawalapitiya though, as individuals make greater links with politicians within the formal political system, they find it easier to secure services from their local authorities. Unfortunately, the research was unable to capture the manner in which economic, social and cultural capital function to include and exclude groups in Thunukkai. However, the findings in Nawalapitiya and Wattala indicate the importance of recognizing the specificity of local dynamics in structuring vulnerability and perception of corruption. Therefore, one of the major arguments advanced in this study is the need to privilege the local over the national in programming that deepens local democracy and promotes access to LGA services.

The complex negotiations between a focus on service delivery and deepening local democracy is another key tension that has undergirded the findings of this study. On the one hand, as writers such de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill highlight, local government is a school which prepares citizens for democracy. On the other hand, as Vetter and Kerstig point out, it is also viewed as an efficient service provider at the local level. At a programmatic level, the tension between these twin foci is often ignored in the planning and development aimed at promoting citizen engagement with their LGA. The findings from Wattala and Nawalapitiya suggest that factors such as the economic capital one possesses, the level of political awareness and the strength of the political networks that one has access to significantly shape perceptions of the role and priorities of local government. Furthermore, the discussion of these factors also suggests that the perception of the priority of local government also has an influence on how bribery and corruption at the local level is viewed. In other words, citizens who feel they are vulnerable in accessing LGA services place emphasis on the service delivery angle of local government and often blame corrupt, elected officials for their exclusion. As a result, democracy and service delivery are often pitted against each other as mutually exclusive options to address vulnerability at the local level. Therefore, one of the major advocacy and legal entry points that this study suggests is the need to revisit the coupling of LGA service delivery with the deepening of local democracy when designing programming.

The report also encourages a more nuanced understanding of vulnerability. Vulnerability is generally viewed as a static condition, adversely affecting individuals and groups. For many it is a fixed structural condition. However, this report suggests that vulnerability is not fixed. An individual or a group's vulnerability is temporary. As in Wattala, a group who was once vulnerable could be brought out of their vulnerable condition by being mobilized by well-connected individuals. Their vulnerability could very well be a condition which ultimately incorporates them into the system that they were once excluded from. However, their political inclusion is entirely dependent on the actor who brings them into the political system. Once he or she is no more, or it becomes politically unfavourable to include these groups in the system, these communities or individuals become vulnerable again. This same principle works itself out in Nawalapitiya differently. In Nawalapitiya, allegiance to the party in the opposition could be the cause of vulnerability in terms of access to local authority services. However, this exclusion is also temporary as they will be included once the opposition wins an election. This raises the issue that vulnerability in terms of accessing LGA services is also temporary and subject to change. Therefore, in terms of legal and advocacy entry points, this study highlights the need for a more fluid and flexible approach to identifying and working with vulnerable communities. In practice this may mean developing more nuanced baselines for designing and endlines assessing for programmatic interventions.

The study also sheds light on some of the difficulties of assessing the function of corruption. The first intervention that it suggests is the need to nuance the standard definition of corruption in order to capture some of the dynamics at work in LGA service delivery. The TISL website defines corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain." This report suggests that this understanding only captures a very miniscule snapshot of the function of corruption at the local level. The research team noted that the expectation of private gain often went hand in hand with expectation of communal gain. Corruption could also be the abuse of entrusted power for communal gain. On many occasions, entire communities benefited from the practice of abuse of power. When an arbitrary decision is made to construct a bridge to improve access to the town, such abuse of power improves the condition of the entire village. Additionally, in this situation, the politician may also accrue private material gain. However, the fact that his supporters also gain in the process should not be ignored. Furthermore, his supporters are also aware that their access to the town has improved through their engagement with the politician. Therefore, one of the other major findings to emerge from this study is the need to nuance the understanding of corruption in order to develop more long term programs to tackle its function in governance and democratic practice. In terms of legal and policy advocacy, this suggests the need for a wider scope in developing programs to tackle bribery and corruption at the local level. It may also require tweaking the tools currently used to assess the practice of bribery and corruption in Sri Lanka.

The second issue to consider in assessing corruption is the way in which communities tend to perceive its practice and prevalence. The study suggested that for many people in Wattala and Nawalapitiya corruption is a fairly common and well-known activity. However, when people complain that politicians or officials are corrupt, their grievance does not seem to be that others are benefiting because of corruption. Rather, it is that they are unable to benefit as much from corruption as the other people in their area. The discussions with these communities suggests that it is only when corruption adversely affects oneself and one's community that a community foregrounds corruption as an issue structuring their access to LGA services. Communities and individuals are unlikely to oppose corruption as long as they perceive that their own interests are not affected or undermined by corruption. Therefore, one of the major legal and policy advocacy entry points could be a more widescale civic education process that emphasizes the need for more stringent scrutiny by citizens of how the practice of corruption may ultimately affect all members of the community at different points of time. In conclusion, this study affords significant insights into the tensions inherent in the relationship between vulnerability, corruption, access to LGA services and local democracy. It argues for the need for priorities that are more locally sensitive when designing programs to deepen local democracy, promote citizen engagement with their LGA, improve LGA service delivery and tackle corruption at the local level. Finally, it suggests that a more flexible approach that is sensitive to fluctuating local political dynamics may need to be built into program design in order to ensure that programming priorities are responsive to the production and proliferation of vulnerabilities at the local government level.

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09. ANNEXURES

9.1 FINDINGS FROM EXPOSURE VISIT & PILOT TESTING IN WATTALA

The exposure visit to the Wattala UC area included key informant interviews with officials at the LGA, Wattala Divisional Secretariat, as well as the GNs of all six of the GN divisions that fall under the purview of the Wattala UC. Apart from this, the field team also conducted an in-depth interview with a former chairman of the Wattala UC. These conversations helped the research team to identify specific locations within each GN division that were highlighted as particularly vulnerable. The field team carried out pre-testing of the instrument in these vulnerable locations and also interviewed a few average citizens about their access to services from the LGA. This helped the field team to fine tune the instrument and take into account the specificities of the dynamics in the Wattala UC area.

During interviews conducted in the course of the exposure visit, a number of slum areas in the Wattala UC area were identified by GNs, former PS chairman as well as other officials as being areas that were most vulnerable in accessing LGA services. They identified the lack of deeds for the housing as well as the socio-economic characteristics of the people living in these areas as the main reasons for their vulnerability. Accordingly, the research team paid special attention to these areas for the study.

One of the most striking findings from the early phases of the study was the level of access to LGA services that people residing in these areas that were identified as vulnerable appeared to possess. For example, during an interview with a gentleman from a slum area in the Thelengapatha GN division, the research team was informed that he was able to access LGA services by calling the chairman of the UC on his personal mobile phone. He indicated that he would do this when the light on the lamp-post near his house went out or when the garbage in the area had not been cleared by the UC staff. His access to the chairman benefitted those who lived close to his house as well. This pattern was also visible during the pilot testing as many residents in slum communities identified a local organizer or local councilor through whom they would access LGA services. This strategy of accessing LGA services through a phone call to the chairman was also related to the research team by a retired individual who had previously held a high post in law-enforcement in the area. He informed the team that he would phone the chairman when his garbage was not collected and that a truck would arrive soon after to collect his garbage. Significantly, despite the differences in their socio-economic backgrounds these individuals utilized the same strategy to access LGA services. These strategies gave the team some indication of the specificities of the dynamics in accessing services in the Wattala UC area.

9.2 FINDINGS FROM EXPOSURE VISIT & PILOT TEST IN NAWALAPITIYA

The SSA's initial plan was to explore the access to LGA services and experiences of corruption in the Nawalapitiya UC area. However, during the exposure visit the research team discovered that those within a radius of a few kilometers around the town were comparatively far more privileged than their counterparts outside. Those within this radius had benefitted the most from the development that had taken place with many businesses and shops coming up in this area. Furthermore, this radius was of critical importance to the LGA. The LGA collected most of its rates from those within this radius. LGA consultations only happened with communities within this radius. However, those outside this radius found themselves in a very different situation. In many instances, residents from these areas did not pay rates to the LGA. They were also rarely consulted by the LGA about development in the area. In some areas, the easiest point of access to town was via the railroad. Reliance on the railroad meant having to dedicate an entire day when visiting the LGA since the train to town was in the morning and the train to the village was in the evening. In practice, this meant that distance from the LGA had to be factored into the sampling and analysis of the quantitative data. However, a closer analysis revealed that many of these communities lived in the Nawalapitiya PS area rather than the Nawalapitiya UC area which consists of the four GN divisions in the town area. Therefore, the research team decided to focus its quantitative study on the experiences of residents in the Nawalapitiya PS area.

A number of areas in the Nawalapitiya UC and Nawalapitiya PS have experienced fairly rapid development in the past few years. The organizer of the Nawalapitiya electorate was a fairly powerful MP under the regime of the former President, Mahinda Rajapaksa. Under the direction of this MP, the Nawalapitiya area has undergone a major

transformation in the past two decades. A significant and influential group of local capitalists have also gained increased prominence during this period. Many of them own shops and commercial properties in the heart of the town. They are also involved in industries such as timber, petroleum distribution, hotel management and appear to have interests in land speculation, and mineral water bottling. In short, a tremendous economic boom has taken place during the past two decades in Nawalapitiya and this boom has coincided with the rise of the local MP in the echelons of power.

Finally, the research team also noted that those from the Up-Country Tamil community faced particular difficulties in accessing LGA services. The team found that community members often required the assistance of mediators when accessing basic services such as banking and accessing LGA services was even more of a challenge. Therefore, the team realized that a special effort would have to be made to capture the experience of the Up-Country Tamil community in the sampling for the study.

9.3 CASE STUDY: VULNERABILITY AND ACCESS TO LGA SERVICES IN WATTALA

The comparison of the Thelengapatha and Aweritwatte GN divisions provide a useful snapshot into how vulnerable communities can negotiate access to LGA services. As the above discussion on the GN divisions indicate there is a need to consider how residents in the Aweriwatte and Thelengapatha areas seek to address the difficulties they face in accessing LGA services.

Recently villagers in the Oliyamulla area of Thelengapatha had violently protested when the MP in the area had arrived to lay the foundation stone for a school targeting poor children from minority communities in the Wattala area. Community members who spoke to the research team highlighted the fact that this was currently the only playground available to residents who live in the UC area, whereas those who live in the PS area have at least five playgrounds available to them. They charge the LGA with disregarding its responsibility of maintaining public playgrounds particularly since one of the last playgrounds available to them was leased to a private company to set up a car dealership in the area. Another plot of land that could have been used for a playground has been leased to a major retail chain to set up operations in the area. Residents also bristle at media coverage of their protest which they say painted them as racist and nationalist for protesting the opening of the school for children from minority communities in the area. They demand to know as to why the Government was promoting ethnic cleavages within the community by setting up separate schools for minority and majority communities without developing the Tamil medium facilities in schools that are already in the area.

Experiences such as this lead them to believe that elected officials at the UC are only interested in lining their pockets by cutting backroom deals that benefit them at the expense of people in the area. They cite the fact that the former deputy chairman of the UC who was with the UNP crossed over to the UPFA during the last election and was appointed chairman of the LGA. They also draw attention to the fact that many of their local councilors rise to power through one party and they switch allegiances for their personal gain. As a result, they have lost faith in their local representatives. They have also lost faith in the bona fides of their LGA. They indicate that the LGA only values property at the expense of valuing the lives and challenges people in the LGA area face. They believe that this is why the LGA is so intent on selling off the little free land that is available in the area to big businesses. They also believe that residents in the area are to blame for this situation because they are not interested in holding their representatives accountable. Instead, some residents claim that most people are seduced by politicians who distribute short term benefits such as bags of cement or roofing sheets. Their perception that minorities are taking over their LGA is another dimension of their desire to contest the election. They cite the fact that their last chairman was a Muslim, the deputy chairman was a Muslim, and that the third in line to chairmanship was a Tamil, as evidence that the minorities are making steady inroads into their community and its representation. They feel that it is important to tap into the feeling of discrimination among the Sinhalese in order to rally the votes of the Sinhalese majority in the area to their cause. Therefore, some young residents from the Thelengapatha GN division have concluded that they should contest the forthcoming general election as an independent group. They are confident that they can obtain the 4000 odd votes necessary to gain power in the UC area.

The views expressed by residents in Thelengapatha can be contrasted with the views expressed by residents of a slum in the Aweriwatte GN division. This slum is located opposite the Wattala cemetery. Many of the residents are poor and from minority communities. There is a large kovil within the slum suggesting that there are a number of Hindu families in the area. Many residents also work for the PS as garbage collectors and street sweepers. The community was described by a long-term area resident as "the people you call when your dog dies on Christmas day and you can pay them with 3000 rupees and a bottle of arrack to take care of it." The community says that they

have lived in this location from the time of their grandparents and cannot recall what led them to take up residence here. Residents do not have deeds to their houses but have managed to secure water and electricity connections. The roads within the slum area have been concreted by the former UC Chairman who lives down the road from this community. However, community members note that there is unrest in the community when the rain arrives because houses towards the back of the slum flood since they are at a lower level than the residents who are closer to the road. Even though many residents work for the UC, they say that they have repeatedly requested the UC to provide a permanent solution to the drainage issues the community faces. There is an open drain that must be crossed to enter the community and a larger drain behind the slum. However, the community has been unable to get the UC to regularly clean the drains in spite of the fact that many of them work for the UC. The community has decided that it can no longer wait for the UC to intervene with the rise of dengue and the women of the community now regularly clean the drains. Apart from drainage, the other major concern for the women in the community is the lack of a proper play area for children. They say that this creates a number of problems in the community particularly since there are many children of varied age groups. This leads to fights between women since there are some who are trying to put young children to sleep while other children are playing in the street. The other major concern for the community is their lack of proper housing. They have no proper deeds to the houses they currently occupy and this means that they cannot mortgage their property for loans in times of financial difficulty. The community has been promised that they will be moved into a 22 story high rise apartment complex but they are yet to see this promise materialize. The community also complains that politicians who visit the community to inquire into their problems are only interested in offering them temporary solutions rather than addressing their long-standing issues such as the drainage and their housing. They say that these politicians provide them a bag of dry rations and hope that this will address their issues. As a result, they say that they have no faith in politicians' promises and will choose to believe them only if and when there is something concrete that materializes. Therefore, by all accounts the residents in this area of Aweriwatte appear to be far more vulnerable in accessing LGA services than their counterparts in Thelengapatha.

Recently however, the community has started experiencing a change of direction. This is because a young Hindu businessman has started taking an interest in the issues facing the community. He initially visited the community because he had heard that the kovil in the area was falling into disuse. LGA and DS services that had once been difficult for the community to access have suddenly become more easily available. The businessman organizes mobile health clinics and PS and DS service clinics. The businessman's foundation is now located across the road from the community. With his support, the women of the community have organized themselves into a women's society (kantha samithiya). He has supported community members to have their National ID cards processed through mobile clinics. He has also organized mobile health clinics and distributed spectacles and wheelchairs for people in the area. At the beginning of the school year he also distributed school bags and books for students in this slum. Some GNs report that even some of their neighbors have gone to one of these mobile clinics to process their ID cards rather than speaking to them. In fact, even though this businessman resides in a different GN Division, he has reportedly been tasked with organizing and mobilizing votes in the Aweriwatte area. Women in the slum also report that they have reached out to this businessman to address the challenges they face regarding the drainage and their housing. More specifically, a woman who lost her husband in a freak accident has reached out to this businessman to resolve a clerical error that has resulted in the payment of her husband's gratuity and compensation to another employee with the same name. There is a strong expectation that this businessman will contest the forthcoming Local Government election and win on the strength of his engagement with the community in Aweriwatte. As a woman in the slum area explains, if they have done something for us we can have some faith that they will keep their word.

The reactions to the lack of LGA services from the community in Aweriwatte and Thelengapatha afford some useful insights for understanding how communities can negotiate and respond to their vulnerability. One of the first things to consider is that communities do not blindly accept their exclusion from LGA services but instead constantly seek to negotiate and ensure the steady delivery of services that they feel are due to them. Another interesting facet of the story from Wattala is that the response of each community is based on their capacity to leverage particular resources. For example, in Thelengapatha the youth in the community chose to respond to their perception of exclusion by contesting as an independent group in the hope of gaining power over the UC. However, in Aweriwatte, the community is being mobilized by a wealthy and connected outsider who can secure access to LGA services for them. Furthermore, his engagement with the community is shaped by their vulnerability which has hitherto excluded them from access to LGA services. In other words, their vulnerability which works to exclude them in some ways can also become the basis for their mobilization that enables them to access LGA services. This suggests that their vulnerability is not fixed but contingent on changing political calculations and machinations. The significant difference between the community in Thelengapatha and Aweriwatte however, is that whereas youth in Thelengapatha can choose to organize themselves politically, in Aweriwatte their mobilization

is dependent on an outsider. Another point of consideration is the extent to which one's vulnerability determines the choice of mechanisms one may use to access local authority services. This is perhaps why respondents in Aweriwatte placed their faith in the businessman's capacity to ensure their access to local authority services, rather than attempting to organize and contest for the elections themselves like the respondents in Thelengapatha. This experience indicates the need to pay closer attention to the complex mechanisms through which communities in Wattala seek to negotiate their access to LGA services.

9.4 CASE STUDY: VULNERABILITY, SERVICE DELIVERY, REPRESENTATION, AND DEMOCRACY

As the above findings indicate, of the GN divisions covered in this study, the Dandubendi Ruppa GN division appears to be the most vulnerable in terms of accessing LGA services. The Dandubendi Ruppa GN division was included in the study because PS officials indicated the GN division as being the farthest away from the PS. However, when the research team visited the village, they noticed that difficulty of access rather than distance was a key factor structuring access to the town. The road to the village is narrow and only wide enough for a three-wheeler to travel on. Furthermore, the road itself is not concreted in most places and as a result, many three-wheel drivers refuse to travel all the way to the village. This means that those who did not own a vehicle only had the option of walking over two steep hills and uneven roads to reach the nearest junction. This junction is about 15 minutes away from the Nawalapitiya town by road. However, accessing the town is difficult for those who do not own a vehicle. Buses from the junction are sporadic and not always reliable. There are two buses – one run by the SLTB and the other a private bus – that ply the route. However, the private bus does not run when it rains. Therefore, the findings of the quantitative study shed light on the difficulties faced by residents from Dandubendi Ruppa in accessing LGA services.

During field work in Dandubendi Ruppa the research team met a man named Saman. Saman is a daily wage laborer who makes his living by working odd jobs in construction around town. He currently resides in a severely dilapidated one room mud house. His two children had managed to partially construct houses in the same premises. When the research team met Saman, he and his wife were in the midst of constructing a new wall for his house out of cement blocks and cement. This was a significant upgrade to his current dwelling situation. He explained that he had been the beneficiary of a Samurdhi loan for Rs. 40,000 which he is using to build his house. After many years he has also received an electricity connection through the Samurdhi program for Rs. 750 per month. He feels quite satisfied about his ability to receive these benefits from the State. The research team also noticed that there was a large poster of the former President, Mahinda Rajapaksa next to the shrine to Lord Buddha in Saman's house. When asked about the poster, Saman explained that he was a staunch supporter of the former President. He said that he had even come to Galle Face in Colombo to participate in the May Day rally organized by the politicians aligned with the former President. Saman was invited to the rally by the former PS chairman who lives near his house. He says that he has pasted posters and canvassed for candidates during elections through his link to the former PS chairman. Therefore, Saman is relatively satisfied with his situation even though he resides in a GN Division that struggles to access LGA services.

Saman's experience in Dandubendi Ruppa can be contrasted with the experience of a UNP village in the Weligampola GN Division. The survey findings indicate that Weligampola is a GN Division that is extremely satisfied with the services they currently receive from the LGA. The road to the village is in fairly good shape and there is a bus that plies the route as well. By all accounts, residents in the Weligampola GN Division appear to be in a far better position than residents from Dandubendi Ruppa.

The research team visited the Ashport village in the Weligampola GN Division which described itself as a true UNP village. They referred to the villages around them as fair-weather friends and criticized them for switching their allegiances to the UPFA. They claim that the Weligampola area was settled under the schemes of the UNP and that those who had switched sides were ungrateful and did not know their manners (kala guna). However, their criticism of their neighbors directly stemmed from their exclusion from access to LGA services due to their identity as UNP supporters. The villagers were deeply hurt by the fact that the LGA had repeatedly refused to repair the road to the village cemetery. The most that they had done was applied some concrete at the beginning of the road and at the end of the road. This meant that the villagers found it extremely difficult to access the public cemetery when it rained. The villagers also complain that they had been deprived of Samurdhi benefits because they were identified as UNPers. They also say that their political identity had made it difficult for them to enter their children to schools in the area. They state that only those who had property and access had benefitted under the previous regime as those who had money were able to profit even more. The residents in this village compare the difficulty

that educated youth in their village face in obtaining state employment with the fact that those who are 35-40 years old had secured jobs under the previous regime. These experiences were proffered by the villages as a reflection of the extent of their social exclusion due to their political identity.

These villagers are bitterly critical of elected representatives at their PS. They point out that a waiter is paid a lower salary because the management knows that they can earn a significant amount of money through tips. They compare this to the salary given to elected PS members indicating that these officials not only made money off the books but that they did so with the tacit consent of the State. They also say that they know of elected officials who threw lavish parties on the day the budget was passed in the PS to celebrate the ensuring profit. They had continued to elect a UNP representative to the Nawalapitiya PS but they found that the person would change allegiances once elected.

The villagers now believe that there has been a significant change since the UNP came to power in 2015. They are happiest about the fact that the LGA does not have an elected body but is administered by an appointed official rather than an elected one. They argue that the government should do away with PS and replace all local government bodies with appointed officials. They believe that this will put a stop to the kind of corruption and discrimination that they faced due to the partiality of their locally elected representatives. For them, the biggest change in 2015 was not the election of the UNP but the expiration of the term of the LGA. Even under a new UNP regime, these villagers from Weligampola opine that there should be no discrimination of people based on their political identity. They believe that the surest way to ensure a system of non-discriminatory LGA service delivery in the future is to replace their LGA with an appointed official who has some education. They are now finally somewhat more satisfied with the services they receive from their LGA.

The comparison of this village in Weligampola with Saman's story paints a vivid picture of the relationship between exclusion and corruption. It demonstrates that it is possible for one individual to gain access to some degree of state resources even as his/her entire villages face difficulties in accessing LGA services. In other words, this suggests that vulnerability is determined not so much by location but on the basis of one's capacity to tap into the social networks that structure access to the LGA. The other major learning from this study is that the continued exclusion from state resources (keeping in mind that the villagers from Weligampola were also asking for state resources through jobs etc.) has a knock-on effect on one's perception of the efficacy of local democracy. The villagers in Weligampola have come to the conclusion that a centrally appointed administrator would be far more impartial than locally elected representatives who are beholden to more powerful social networks. Furthermore, their rejection of local democratic practice also draws attention to their privileging of service delivery over local involvement in governance. These villagers believe that it would be more important to ensure that service delivery is impartial rather than representative. In Saman's case however, he is quite happy that service delivery is partial because it affords him the only real opportunity to alter his social exclusion as a resident in Dandubendi Ruppa, a daily wage laborer, and a poor individual attempting to support his family. Therefore, the comparison between Saman and the villagers of Weligampola brings to the fore the complicated relationship between local democracy, local patronage networks, local service delivery and vulnerability.

10. QUESTIONNAIRE UTILIZED FOR QUANTITATIVE STUDY

SURVEY ON VULNERABILITY AND ACCESS TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES - 2017

Interviewer

Name of interviewer:...

I hereby certify that all information provided here is true and accurate and has been obtained from the respondent as instructed.

....
Signature of Interviewer

Supervisor

Name of supervisor: ....

Date of back-checking: ....
1. Valid
2. Invalid
3. Suspicious

If invalid, state reasons:

....
....

If suspicious, state reasons:

....
....

....
Signature of Supervisor

INTERVIEWER: ALL STATEMENTS IN BOLD LETTERING ARE INSTRUCTIONS FOR YOU AND SHOULD NOT BE READ OUT TO THE RESPONDENT.

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is _____ and I represent the Social Scientists' Association. We are currently conducting a survey for TI Sri Lanka. This would help TI Sri Lanka and their partner, The Asia Foundation, design their future programmes to improve access to services in your local authority area. We would appreciate it if you could spend some of your valuable time to answer a few questions. I hereby assure you that your views expressed will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

SOCIAL CAPITAL (IDENTITY)

D1. What is the name of your local government institution?
1. Wattala Mabola Urban Council   2. Pasbaga Koralaya/Nawalapitiya Pradeshiya Saba

D2. GN Division: _____

SC1. Age _____

SC2. Gender
1. Male   2. Female

SC3. Ethnicity
1. Sinhala   2. Tamil   3. Muslim   4. Up Country Tamil   5. Other

SC4. Religion
1. Buddhist   2. Hindu   3. Islam   4. Catholic   5. Christian   6. Other

SC5. Civil Status
1. Married   2. Unmarried

SC6. Number of members in household _____

ECONOMIC CAPITAL

EC1. Is there any member of this household who is employed?

Description	Number	Description	Number
1. In agriculture		2. By the Government	
3. By the private sector		4. By the Estate Sector	
5. Self employed		6. Student	
7. Housewife/Househusband		8. Wage labour	
9. Other			

EC2. Occupation of the head of the household   _____

EC3. Occupation of household's main income earner   _____

EC4. Monthly Household Remittances
1. Yes (Amount :………………………..)   2. No

EC5. Monthly Household Expenses on Education   _____

EC6. Monthly Household Savings   _____

EC7. Monthly Loan/Interest Repayments   _____

EC8. Vehicle ownership
1.   Car   2.   Van   3.   Motorbike   4.   Three wheeler
5.   Lorry   6.   Tractor   7.   Other

EC9. Extent of Land Owned/Used (Perches)

1. Residential Land	2. Agricultural Land Owned	3. Agricultural Land Used	4.Commercial Property

EC10. How long have you been living in this area? _____

EC11. Household Ownership

1. Owner occupied with title	2. Owner occupied without title	3. On rent

EC12. Type of House
1. House with 3 or more bed rooms   2. House with two bed rooms
3. House with one bed room   4. Line house
5. Slum   6. Mud and cadjun house
7. Other

CULTURAL CAPITAL

	Number of household members
CC1. Members with Post Graduate Qualifications	
CC2. Members with Degrees	
CC3. Members with Diplomas	
CC4. Members who have passed Advanced Level	
CC5. Members who have passed Ordinary Level	
CC6. Members who have passed Grade 8	

CC7. Has anyone in your house travelled abroad within the past 5 years?
1. Yes   2. No (Go to CC10)

CC8. If yes, where did they travel to? _____

CC9. For what purpose? _____

CC10. When you get together with your family members or friends, how often do you discuss political matters?
1. Frequently   2. Occasionally   3. Never   4. D.K./Can't say   5. No Response

CC11. Could you please answer the following questions for me

Questions	Correctly Answered	Incorrectly Answered	D.K/Can't Say
1. Who is the leader of the Opposition? (Answer: Sampanthan)	1	2	99
2. How many members of Parliament are there? (Answer: 225)	1	2	99
3. What is the duration of the President's term of office? (Answer: 5 years)	1	2	99
4. Who is the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka? (Answer: Ranil Wickramasinghe)	1	2	99
5. How often are local government elections held? (Answer: 4 Years)	1	2	99
6. Who was the last Chairman of your local government institution? (Answer: Nawalapitiya-Rohana Bandara/Wattala: Naushard)	1	2	99
7. Which party was in power at your local government institution last? (Answer: SLFP/PA)	1	2	99

IDV1. How far is it to the Pradeshiya Saba from your house (Get advice from your supervisor)? _____

IDV2. How long does it normally take you to travel to and back from the Pradeshiya Saba (Get advice from your supervisor)? _____

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

DV1. Did you or a family member need to access local authority services within the last 4 years?
1.	Yes	2. No(Go to DV10)

DV2. If yes, what was the need?
………
………
………
………

DV3. If yes, did you or your family member manage to fulfill your need?
1. Yes	2. No(Go to DV7)

Ask from the people who managed to fulfill their needs
DV4. If yes, Did you or a family member go to the local authority?
1.	Yes (Go to DV5)	2. No (Go to DV6)

DV5. If yes, Did you go alone or through someone else?
1. Went through a politician at the Urban Council/Pradeshiya Saba
2. Went through a community member who knew a politician at the Urban Council/Pradeshiya Saba
3. Went through a Member of Parliament
4. Went through a community member who knew a Member of Parliament
5. Went through a powerful government servant
6. Went through a traditional leader (Explain Traditional Leaders)
7. Went through my Grama Niladhari
8. Went through a businessman (what is the business? ………………………………..)
9. Went through another individual (who is s/he? ………………………………………)
10. Went through a CBO/NGO (What is the name of it? …………………………..)

DV6. If you didn't go to local authority, how did you manage to fulfill your need?
1. Contacted a local level politician
2. Contacted a community member known to local level politicians
3. Contacted a Member of Parliament
4. Contacted a community member known to a member of parliament
5. Contacted a powerful government bureaucrat
6. Contacted a traditional leader (Explain traditional leaders)
7. Contacted my Grama Niladhari
8. Contacted a businessmen (What is the business?..)
9. Contacted another individual (Who is s/he?...)
10. Went through a CBO (Name of the CBO………………………………………………………………)

Ask from the people who didn't manage to fulfill their needs
DV7. Did you or a family member go to the local authority?
1.	Yes (Go to DV8)	2. No (Go to DV9)

DV8. If yes, Did you go alone or through someone else?
1. Went alone
2. Went through a local level politician
3. Went through a community leader
4. Went through a religious leader
5. Went through a government bureaucrat
6. No Response

DV9. If you didn't go to local authority, why didn't you go?
1. I don't know anyone who can help me to get the work done
2. Local authority is too far away for me
3. I have no idea how things work at local authority
4. I don't have money to spend to travel there
5. I don't have much of trust in their commitment to fulfill my need
6. Language difficulties
7. I don't have money to pay bribe

DV10. I am going to read some services provided by the Pradeshiya Saba. Please tell me the extent to which you are satisfied with them.

Service	Satisfaction				Not available	Not Relevant
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied		
1. Water availability (only pipe and bowser services)	1	2	3	4	99	98
2. Road and infrastructure maintenance	1	2	3	4	99	98
3. Drainage	1	2	3	4	99	98
4. Documentation	1	2	3	4	99	98
5. Agrarian/fisheries services	1	2	3	4	99	98
6. Public health services	1	2	3	4	99	98
7. Midwife service	1	2	3	4	99	98
8. Regular garbage disposal	1	2	3	4	99	98
9. Sports grounds	1	2	3	4	99	98
10. Public libraries	1	2	3	4	99	98
11. Public burial ground	1	2	3	4	99	98
12. Maternity clinic	1	2	3	4	99	98

DV11. If you were unable to receive any of the above services, did you make an official complaint?
1. Yes [go to DV12]   2. No [go to DV13]   3. D.K./Can't Say [go to DV14]

DV12. If yes, are you satisfied with the response you received to your complaint? [record response & go to DV14]
1. Very Satisfied   2. Satisfied   3. Dissatisfied
4. Very Dissatisfied   5. D.K/Can't Say   6. No Response

DV13. If you did not make a complaint, why did you decide not to do so?
………
………
………
………
………
………
………
………………………………………………………………………………………..

DV14. Many factors influence effective and speedy delivery of service at your Pradeshiya Sabha.
Listed below are scenarios involving an individual using some of those factors to get things done. Please tell me if you agree or disagree that these are effective methods to use.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	D.K/No Response
1. Services from the Pradeshiya Saba can be obtained more efficiently, by going through local level politicians	1	2	3	4	5
2 Services from the Pradeshiya Saba can be obtained more efficiently by going through powerful individuals	1	2	3	4	5
3. Following the established rules and procedures is an inefficient way of obtaining services from the Pradeshiya Saba	1	2	3	4	5

DV15. Please tell me to what extent you agree with the following statements

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	D.K/No Response
1. Since time is more important than money, it is acceptable to make an additional payment and receive services from the Pradeshiya Saba	1	2	3	4	5
2. It is acceptable to make an additional payment to the Pradeshiya Saba as long as the job gets done	1	2	3	4	5
3. In my PS it is normal to make an additional payment in order to obtain their services	1	2	3	4	5
4. It is not an issue for cheating to take place at the local level as long as development activities take place	1	2	3	4	5

DV16. During the past four years, have you or a member of your household given a payment or a gift to officials at the local government authority in order to obtain services?
1. Yes   2. No (go to DV21)   3. Can't Remember (go to DV21)   4. D.K./Can't Say (go to DV21)

DV17. If yes, what was the service you or the member of your household paid or offered a gift for? _____
_____
_____
_____

DV18. If yes, did you or the member of your household offer a gift or payment voluntarily or because you were requested to:
1. Voluntarily   2. You were requested to do so   3. D.K./Can't Say

DV19. If yes, how much did you pay? _____

DV20. To which of the following persons did you or a member of your household offer the gift or payment?
1. An Official   2. An employee at the relevant institution
3. A third party   4. Other_____
5. D.K./Can't Say

DV21. How satisfied are you with the language skills of the officials at your Local government institution?
1. Very Satisfied   2. Satisfied   3. Dissatisfied
4. Very Dissatisfied   5. D.K. Can't Say   6. No Response

DV22. Now I'm going to give you some statements. Please let me know how far you agree with them.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	D.K/No Response
1. People are discriminated based on their ethnicity when they access the PS	1	2	3	4	99
2. People are discriminated based on their religion when they access the PS	1	2	3	4	99
3. People are discriminated based on their gender when they access the PS	1	2	3	4	99
4. Elderly people have more access to the PS than younger people	1	2	3	4	99
5. I feel my opinions are accommodated in the decision-making process with regard to development activities of the PS	1	2	3	4	99

DV23. Overall, how satisfied are you with the services you receive from your local government institution?
1. Very Satisfied   2. Satisfied   3. Dissatisfied
4. Very Dissatisfied   5. D.K./Can't Say   6. No Response

DV24. Within the last 4 years has your Pradeshiya Sabha for called for any public consultations to determine development priorities in your area?
1. Yes   2. No(Go to 28)   3. D.K./Can't Say(Go to 28)

DV25. If yes, did you or a member of your household participate in that particular consultation?
1. Yes   2. No(Go to 28)   3. D.K./Can't Say(Go to 28)

DV26. If you or a member of your household did participate, to what extent were your views accommodated in their development work?
1. Very Much Accommodated   2. Somewhat Accommodated   3. Not Accommodated
4. D.K./Can't Say

DV27. How satisfied were you or the member of your household with this particular consultation process?
1. Very Satisfied   2. Satisfied   3. Dissatisfied
4. Very Dissatisfied   5. D.K./Can't Say   6. No Response

DV28. Does your local government body disseminate information in a language you can understand?
1. Yes   2. No   3. D. K./Can't Say   4. No Response

SOCIAL CAPITAL (POLITICAL AFFILIATION)

SC1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that some people were able to vote while some others were not able to vote. Talking of the last local government elections were you able to vote or not able to vote
1. Able to vote   2. Unable to vote   3. Don't Remember/No Response

SC2. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have never, once, or more than once done any of these things. [Do not read: D.K./ Can't say & No Response]

	Once	More than once	Never done	No Response	D.K./ Can't Say
1. Got together with others to raise an issue or sign a petition	1	2	3	4	99
2. Attended a demonstration or protest march.	1	2	3	4	99
3. Reached out to the media to raise awareness of an issue	1	2	3	4	99
4. Tried to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party?	1	2	3	4	99

SC3. Do you or anyone in your household know any of the following individuals who will be useful to you when getting work done at the local government office?

	Yes	No	Can't Say
1. Member of your local government institution	1	2	99
2. Member at your Provincial Council	1	2	99
3. Member of Parliament	1	2	99
4. Government Bureaucrat	1	2	99

SC4. Is there anyone else you know who will be useful to you when getting work done at the local government office?
1. Yes   2. No (Go to SC6)   3. D.K/Can't say

SC5. If yes, what was that individual's occupation? _____

SC6. Which political party, if any, do you feel closest to? _____

SC7. Have you participated in any of the following government run programmes

	Yes	No
1. Pin Padi	1	2
2. Samurdhi	1	2
3. Disability Payment	1	2
4. Other………………	1	2

SC8. Are you a direct beneficiary of a government recruitment scheme?
1. Yes   2. No

SC9. Now I am going to read through a list of associations, and I would like you to tell me whether you are currently a member OR HAVE BEEN A PAST MEMBER OR OFFICE BEARER of any of the following associations.

Group/Organization	Is the group/ organisation there in your village		Are you or any of your family members a member of it		Are you or any of your family members an office bearer	
	(1)Yes	(2) No	(1)Yes	(2) No	(1)Yes	(2) No
1. Religious organization (e.g. dayaka subahawa, kulagana samitiya, parish family)	1	2	1	2	1	2
2. A sports or recreation group	1	2	1	2	1	2
3. A youth club	1	2	1	2	1	2
4. A group assisting and providing livelihood training	1	2	1	2	1	2
5. A funeral society	1	2	1	2	1	2
6. Community organization setup by the local government institution (samurdhi committee, gamsabha committee, voluntary village security committee)	1	2	1	2	1	2
7. Credit or microfinance group (including SACCOs/merry-go-rounds/VSLAs)	1	2	1	2	1	2
8. A labor union, welfare society at the workplace	1	2	1	2	1	2
9. Political party	1	2	1	2	1	2
10. Agricultural/livestock/fisheries producer's group (including marketing groups)	1	2	1	2	1	2
11. Water users' group	1	2	1	2	1	2
12. Trade and business association	1	2	1	2	1	2

THANK YOU!!

STUDY ON VULNERABILITIES
AND CORRUPTION IN ACCESSING
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY SERVICES

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