

# **ELECTORAL INTEGRITY**

**A Review of the Abuse of State Resources and Selected  
Integrity Issues during 2015 Presidential Election in Sri Lanka**

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# CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENT	01
INTRODUCTION	03
LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY	07
ANALYZING THE MISUSE OF PUBLIC RESOURCES	14
ACTION TAKEN AND DIRECT INTERVENTIONS	36
MONITORING COUNTING CENTERS	39
PARTNERSHIPS & JOINT EFFORTS	41
RECOMMENDATIONS	43
CONCLUSION	45
ANNEXURES	47
A STUDY ON THE BEHAVIOR OF STATE MEDIA DURING THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION	57

# ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Transparency International Sri Lanka wishes to acknowledge all those who supported the Program for Protection of Public Resources (PPPR), in word and deed, and contributed to the successful implementation of the program.

The 2015 Presidential Election will go down in history as a milestone election in Sri Lanka and TISL together with the PPPR is privileged to have been a part of it.

The PPPR would like to acknowledge the Embassy of Switzerland, Embassy of Germany and the British High Commission for their financial support without which this program would not have been possible.

The PPPR would also like to appreciate the commitment and valued contribution of the District and Electoral Coordinators that worked long hours in challenging conditions to report incidents of public resource misuse. We thank all the media organizations for the publicity given to the PPPR and for assisting in communicating information to the public.

We thank all the State institutions particularly the Commissioner of Election and his staff for their efforts in ensuring a free and fair election was held. We appreciate all the Public Officials and the State institutions that responded to our queries and letters for upholding accountability.

A special note of gratitude is also extended to the TISL and PPPR team that worked grueling hours during the election period for their commitment towards integrity and democracy. It is their hard work that exposed numerous cases of election law violations and saved thousands of rupees State funds.

Last but not least we acknowledge the courage of all the citizens that took a stand against the misuse of public resources by submitting complaints and evidence to the PPPR.

S. Ranugge  
Executive Director



# INTRODUCTION

January 8th 2015 marked the sixth Presidential election of the Democratic Socialists Republic of Sri Lanka. This was the first election conducted under the 18th Amendment to the Constitution which removed the two term limitation imposed on the office of the President. This was also the election that witnessed unprecedented levels of misuse of public resources amounting to billions of rupees for election campaigning purposes.

According to the electoral system in Sri Lanka, Presidential elections are held every six years. With the previous Presidential election being held in 2010 it was mandatory to conduct and conclude the next Presidential election before the end of 2016. However Chapter VII of the Sri Lankan Constitution enables the President to declare an election at any time after the expiration of four years from the commencement of his/her term of office. This provision was first used by President Chandrika Kumaranathunga and was similarly used by President Mahinda Rajapaksa when he declared his intention of seeking the first ever third term in the history of the Republic on 20th November 2014.

Keeping with its mandate of minimizing corruption in Sri Lanka, Transparency International Sri Lanka (TISL) launched its election monitoring activities on 21st November 2014 under the Program for Protection of Public Resources (PPPR). The PPPR is based on the premise that the use of “State resources (whether land, buildings, vehicles, equipment, funds, other facilities or human resources) directly or indirectly for the benefit of one political party or group, would constitute unequal treatment and political discrimination, because thereby an advantage is conferred on one political party or group which is denied to its rivals.” The core objective of this program was to uphold the integrity of the electoral process by ensuring that public resources are not misused and abused for propaganda purposes during the election period, and wherever possible to take preventive action in partnership with the relevant authorities in order to minimize the misuse of public resources. Obtaining the required approvals from the Department of Election, the PPPR team deployed a vast network of election observers covering all 25 districts to specifically monitor the misuse of public resources. The Program also opened a dedicated email address, phone and fax numbers

to receive complaints related to this issue from the general public. By 8th January 2015 the PPPR had received over 350 complaints on various degrees of misuse ranging from the participation of public officials in electioneering to the large scale use of buses belonging to the Sri Lanka Transport Board to transport the public to election rallies sans payment.

It is the observation of the Program for Protection of Public Resources that the pre-election period of the Presidential election conducted in January 2015 was one of the most corrupt and one sided campaigns conducted during an election period in Sri Lanka. Even though the day of the election was relatively calm, and a free and fair poll was possible with over 80% voter turnout, the month preceding the election was marred with gross levels of corruption manifested through election bribes, voter buying and wastage of public resources. It is important to note that misuse of public resources reached its peak in the final week of campaigning with its zenith on the two days that campaigning was strictly prohibited. In the following pages this report on the integrity of the electoral process will capture the extent of the misuse recorded by the PPPR with an analysis into its larger implications followed by recommendations on how the integrity of electoral process could be further safeguarded.

For the first time the Election Commissioner has granted permission to local monitors to observe the count. TISL has been given the responsibility for 08 counting centres and deployed 39 observers accordingly.

## **THE SOCIO POLITICAL CONTEXT**

The 2015 Presidential Election marked several socio political milestones. As mentioned earlier it was the first national level election held after abolishing the 17th Amendment which also removed some of the key powers vested in the post of the Commissioner of Election. These include the removal of substantial powers in preventing the misuse of public resources in electioneering and the use of State media for election propaganda. This was also the first time an incumbent President has sought a third term keeping in mind that an incumbent President has never been defeated at a Presidential election.

What was once viewed as a completely one sided race turned on its head with the introduction of the Common Candidate on 21st November 2014. The sudden emergence of a strong opposition candidate caught many, including the former President, by surprise. Running on a platform of constitutional reforms to limit the powers vested in the Executive and restoring the independence of oversight bodies, the opposition coalition led by the former colleague of the former President posed a strong challenge to the United Peoples Freedom Alliance (UPFA) since its rise to power. Amid a restrictive climate for civil society, Tamils and other religious minorities, and with a lot at stake for the government in power, the risk of serious election related violence and public resource misuse was emerged as a possibility by the time nominations were accepted by the Commissioner of Elections on 8th December 2014.

An analysis of the elections conducted in the past decade reveals that the misuse of public resources emerges as the main violation of election laws passing the previous front runner, election violence. Public resources are vulnerable to misuse where accountability and transparency is weak and is more susceptible to abuse during an election. By the time the 2015 election was declared there were already reports and allegations of public resources misuse leveled at the UPFA presidential candidate Mahinda Rajapaksa. The distribution of goods and the use of public officials for election oriented work that took place in October and November 2014 were overshadowed by the numerous receptions that were held at Temple Trees, the official residence used by President Rajapaksa, for a various citizen groups targeting the forthcoming election. Such meetings were impossible to prevent as on paper it was not a violation of any election laws as an election had not been declared yet. However even after the election was declared, preventive action provided to be challenging even for the Commissioner of Election who was operating as a 'transitional authority' as his hands were tied by the 18th Amendment to the Constitution.

At the time the 2015 Presidential Election was declared Sri Lanka was governed by a regime that had a 2/3rd majority in Parliament. A body of Ministers numbering over 118 was holding an equally large number of portfolios which amounted to close to 50% of the entire Parliamentary body. Key government positions were held by close associates of President Rajapaksa, which included his own brothers. The Ministries with the highest amount of budgetary allocations, namely the Ministry of

Economic Development, Ministry of Defense and Urban Development and Ministry of Ports and Highways came under the direct control of the Rajapaksas. Under Sri Lankan election laws even after the declaration of the Presidential election, all Cabinet and non-Cabinet Ministers continued to enjoy all perks granted by the State with impunity for their election propaganda related work. This political culture undoubtedly does not lead to an environment where public wastage is minimized and public resources are protected from being misused for election related work. It only guaranteed that the cost of election would be borne by the citizens of Sri Lanka.

Meanwhile the election was declared at a time when the President calls upon the military every month to maintain law and order in all administrative districts under the Public Security Ordinance. Certain administrative duties which are generally performed by the Police are at times carried out by the Military and have been the practice even after the conclusion of the protracted conflict in Sri Lanka. This constant administration of the daily functions of the public can be a hindrance to the free movement of the people especially during an election period. This is why TISL called upon President Rajapaksa to prevent from granting provisions to the Military to maintain law and order, and instead, to depend on the powers vested in the Police already. However this was not heeded to.

# LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The Program for Protection of Public Resources (PPPR) was first designed in January 2001 by three civil society organizations with the objective of protecting public resources from abuse. In December 2001, it was launched as a special project of the Institute of Human Rights focusing on election-related abuses. Since then TISL has used this methodology with periodic revisions to monitor the misuse of public resources in all national level elections and one local level election.

An understanding of the laws pertaining to the protection of public resources or property is required to understand the methodology adopted for the Program for Protection of Public Resources. The PPPR methodology receives its legal framework and justification for monitoring primarily from the Sri Lankan Constitution. Article 28(d) of the Constitution vests a duty on each and every citizen to protect public resources and to ensure that it is free from abuse<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, according to the Constitution, Sovereignty which includes the power of government, fundamental rights and the franchise, is vested with the People of Sri Lanka, and the organs of the government have only exercising power conferred by the People. Jurisprudence emerging from the Supreme Court has interpreted these articles to mean that power is held in trust for the people<sup>2</sup> or on behalf of the people. Therefore all public resources in the hands of elected representatives as well as public officials are held in under their guardianship on behalf of its real owners – the general public.

Article 104B (1) (a) of the 17th Amendment to the constitution vested power on the Commissioner of Elections to prohibit the use of any movable or immovable property belonging to the State or any public corporation for election campaigning of candidates. According to Article 104B(4) (a);

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1. Article 28(d) of the Constitution of 1978 states “The exercise and enjoyment of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of duties and obligations, and accordingly it is the duty of every person in Sri Lanka to...

(d) to preserve and protect public property, and to combat misuse and waste of public property;”

2. See *Bulankulama and Others v. Secretary, Ministry of Industrial Development and Others*, (2000) 3 SLR 243 available at [http://www.lawnet.lk/docs/case\\_law/slr/HTML/2000SLR3V243.htm](http://www.lawnet.lk/docs/case_law/slr/HTML/2000SLR3V243.htm) and *Sugathapala Mendis v. Chandrika Bandaranaike and Others*, S.C (F/R) No. 352/2007 available at [http://www.tisirilanka.org/pub/li/pdf/WA\\_Judgment.pdf](http://www.tisirilanka.org/pub/li/pdf/WA_Judgment.pdf) (Last visited on 10.06.2010)

“the Commission shall have the power during the period of an election, to prohibit the use of any movable or immovable property belonging to the State or any public corporation –

- i. for the purposes of promotion or preventing the election of any candidate or any political party of independent group contesting at such election;
- ii. by any candidate or any political party or any independent group contesting at such election.

by direction in writing the Chairman of the Commission of the Commissioner General of Elections on the instruction of the Commission”

However the power vested with the Commissioner of Elections to prevent the use of public property for election campaigning for or by any candidate, political party or independent group was limited by the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. The amendment limited the commissioner’s instruction not to be connected with any matter related to the public service or any matter within the ambit of administration of the Public Service Commission or the Judicial Service Commission.

Furthermore the misappropriation of private use of public property has been established as a criminal offence under the Offences Against Public Property Act, No 12 of 1982. Section 12(b) of the Act says; “any person who dishonestly misappropriates or converts to his own use any movable public property.....shall upon conviction be punished with imprisonment or either description for a term not less than one year but exceeding twenty years....” . The main responsibility of prosecution under this Act lies with the Attorney General. It is disheartening to note that no one has been tried under this provision by any party with regard to the use of public property for private election campaigning even though cases of such misuse have been in abundance in the past five years. TISL hopes that the content in this report, which is evidence based, will create an impetus for such legal action.

The primary responsibility of protecting public property is vested with Secretaries to Ministries. According to the Government’s Financial Regulation 156 (7) Ministry Secretaries are expected to exercise due economy in all financial transactions and they should also entrust that

expenditure should not be incurred unless absolutely necessary even though financial provisions exist or money is available. Similarly, FR 127 (7) states that all chief accounting officers are responsible for taking measures to ensure that the procedure laid down in FR 102 to 108 is followed in case of losses caused to government by delays, negligence, fault or fraud on the part of officers.

Public Officials employed by the State are also considered a public resource and are particularly prone to misuse during an election period. Chapter XXXII of the Establishment Code prevents Public Officials from participating in political meetings or taking part in political activities connected with the campaign of any candidate or party except the right to exercise their franchise. The PPPR is also of the view that the misuse of public resources by a public servant constitutes the offence of 'corruption' under the Bribery (Amendment) act. A public servant who abuses resources for the benefit of himself or another person and causes wrongful or unlawful loss commits the offence of corruption under the Bribery (Amendment) act No 20 of 1994. Section 70 of the Bribery (Amendment) Act No 20 of 1994 the term 'corruption' includes the abuse of public property.

The PPPR obtains its definition of public resources or public property from the Public Property Act where it is defined as "the property of the Government, any department, statutory board, public corporation, bank, co-operative society or co-operative-union". The Supreme Court of Sri Lanka which has constitutional power to interpret the Constitution has identified land, buildings, vehicle equipment, funds or other facilities or human resources owned by State or Corporations as public property in the Hettiarachchi v. Mahaweli Authority case. TISL and the PPPR define the term public resource as "any movable or immovable property in every description that are vested in and maintained by the State and used for the purposes of the State."

The Commissioner of Election issued the circular pertaining to the misuse of public resources during the 2015 Presidential election campaign on 22nd November 2014 through the circular PRE/2015/43. Accordingly the following moveable and immovable property were recognized as State resources that should be free from abuse:

- i. All categories of vehicles that belong to the State. This includes all types of aircrafts, motorcars, jeeps, assigned vehicles, vehicles hired by the State, and vehicles assigned to the Presidential guard.
- ii. State buildings including State maintained buildings, State run guest houses, office premises and schools.
- iii. Mobile services, exhibitions and opening ceremonies conducted using State funds cannot be used as a platform to promote a Presidential candidate.
- iv. During the election period the distribution of State owned land, deeds to State owned land, granting ownership of houses, aid pertaining to plantation and agriculture, distribution of fertilizer, sports equipment, equipment needed for self-employment, bicycles, construction material, forms to obtain housing loans, etc. is prohibited.
- v. Public officials attached to public institutions including statutory bodies cannot engage in electioneering during work hours and during working days even with officials leave. Officials that do not have political rights such as Ministry Secretaries, Grama Sevaka Niladharin, Chairmen and Directors of Statutory bodies and other executive level officers are strictly prohibited from engaging in electioneering.
- vi. Facilities available for all public institutions and all Ministries.
- vii. Public Finance or public funds intended to be utilized for public purpose.
- viii. Employees of all public institutions including statutory boards.
- ix. Personnel of the Armed Forces and Police.
- x. State Media institutions.
- xi. Any other category of public resources.

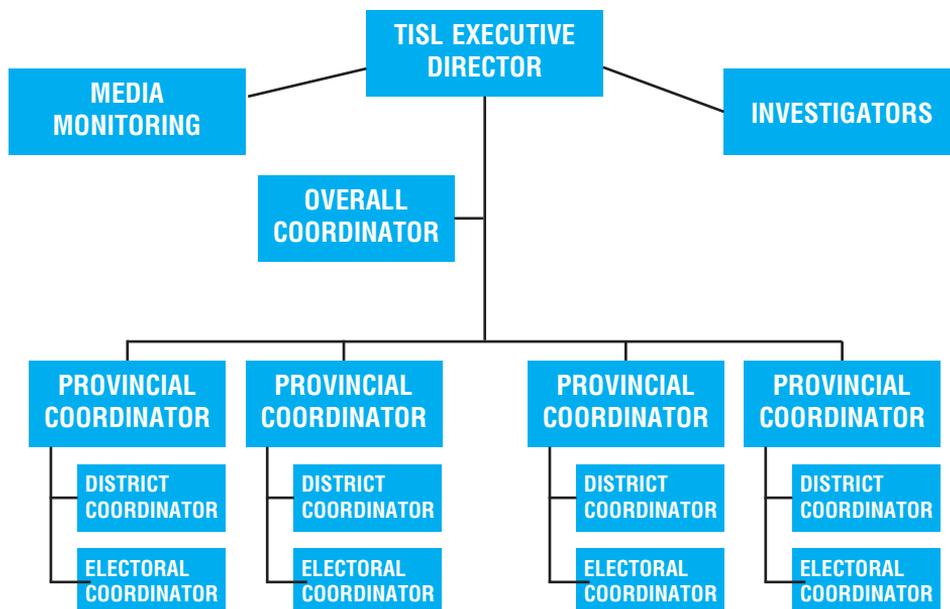
Based on these legal provisions the PPPR developed a methodology to systematically monitor instances where Presidential candidates use public resources to either promote their own campaign or discredit the campaign of another candidate. It must be noted that this involved close monitoring of the activities conducted by the two main candidates, UPFA Candidate Mahinda Rajapaksa and New Democratic Front Candidate (NDF) Maithreepala Sirisena, as they were the two candidates that had access to (granted at different levels) public resources.

Once the Presidential election was declared by President Mahinda Rajapaksa on 20th November 2014, the two weeks granted for the submission of nominations were used to finalize the PPPR methodology and establish the PPPR network of district and electoral coordinators. Even though Sri Lanka only has 22 electoral districts, the PPPR identified and appointed a District Coordinator for all of 25 districts for wider coverage. Electoral Coordinators were also appointed to cover at least one electoral division. All coordinators were trained on obtaining credible information of public property misuse, verifying and recording information as well on the relevant legal provisions.

The monitoring activities commenced on 8th December 2014 with the acceptance of nominations. Nineteen candidates came forward to contest in the election that was scheduled to be held on 8th January 2015. This was the shortest ever period granted for campaigning in the history of elections in Sri Lanka. A total of 15,077,490 citizens were eligible to vote with approximately 300,000 being first time voters.

To ensure that monitoring activities are carried out effectively and efficiently the operational structure illustrated below was put into action once the nomination process concluded. Four Provincial Coordinators were appointed from within the TISL team that were directly responsible toward collecting and verifying information collected from the network of coordinators that were stationed in the field. The Overall Coordinator was the main liaison between the Commissioner of Elections and the PPPR. Under the guidance of the Overall Coordinator and TISL's Executive Director preventive and remedial action, based on the nature of complaints received, were pursued by the team.

## OPERATIONAL STRUCTURE



In addition to the core PPPR team, monitoring activities were also supported by a team of investigators that comprised of retired Police Officers. The role of the investigators was to gather further evidence on large scale misuse of public resources that took place within the parameters of Colombo and key government institutions while providing verification to the information submitted by the coordinators, where required.

Information and complaints on the misuse of public resources were collected through two avenues:

1. District & Electoral Coordinators
2. General public

Three phone numbers were advertised to receive complaints from the public along with a fax number and the email address [2015pppr@gmail.com](mailto:2015pppr@gmail.com). All information collected were first manually recorded on complaint sheets and then transferred to an online database. Only verified information and complaints were issued as formal complaints to the Commissioner of Election and the media for dissemination.

In addition field visits and small scale investigations were carried out by the PPPR core team to ascertain the accuracy of certain complaints. These included attending political meetings and rallies to record the use of government buses, distribution of goods and the participation of public officials. Such interventions also led to the halt of a number of cases of misuse chief of which were the distribution of dry rations from the Narahenpita Economic Center and the brochure that was due to be sent to army personnel and their families in the guise of a greeting card. It must be noted that these interventions came with a considerable element of risk which the PPPR team bore keeping with their mandate and their duties.

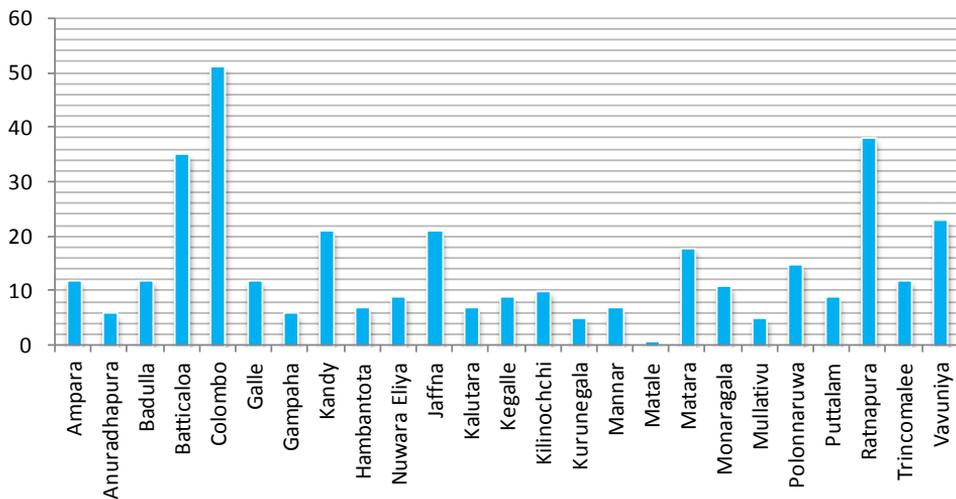
Keeping in line with the adopted methodology the following activities were also carried out from 8th December 2014 to 8th January 2015:

- A series of print media advertisements issued inviting the general public to act against the use of public resources for electioneering. The advertisements were issued in Sinhala and Tamil.
- A letter was sent to the Secretaries of all the Ministries calling them to act with integrity during the election period and protect public resources under their management.
- Several press briefings were held including a joint press briefing with all of the other monitoring bodies to keep the public informed of ongoing election violations.
- A Memorandum of Understanding signed with the Peoples Action for Free and Fair Election (PAFFREL) in order to be more efficient in responding to complaints.
- Regular press statements released to the media to keep the public informed.
- Seven observation reports submitted to the Commissioner of Election for his action.
- Interim report released on 2nd January 2015.
- A series of television and radio advertisement on the responsibilities of public officials involved in election related activities and on voter education broadcasted.
- Engagement with the Sri Lanka Bar Association on possible legal action against misuse of public resources.
- Based on the nature of complaints received letters of inquiry were sent to selected public officials and heads of public institutions
- Frequent field visits were conducted to all 25 districts to strengthen the monitoring network and the gather information.

# ANALYZING THE MISUSE OF PUBLIC RESOURCES

The Program for the Protection of Public Resources recorded 373 complaints on various levels of public property misuse from 8th December 2014 to 8th January 2015. Active public participation and the strong network established in the regions enabled the PPPR to gather information and complaints from every district and take action on verified information thereafter. As Chart 1 illustrates the most number of complaints were recorded from the Colombo district, with 51 complaints, with Ratnapura and Batticaloa districts trailing closely behind with 38 and 35 complaints respectively.

**CHART 1 - COMPLAINTS BY DISTRICT**



Even though the PPPR primarily focused on the misuse of public resources complaints related to other forms of election law violations such as election violence, discrepancies related postal voting and issues related to voter registration were also entertained by the program. These complaints were recorded and forwarded to either the Election Department or other monitoring bodies, depending on the nature of the complaint. It is important to note that the 373 complaints analyzed below only represent the complaints recorded by the PPPR and is only a sample of the vast amount of violations that took place during the period

leading up to the 2015 Presidential election. Moreover the analysis presented in this report will only focus on the impact generated due to the misuse of public resources and will not look into the other violations that took place during the election period.

All of the complaints received by the PPPR were categorized into 13 areas for the purpose of analysis. They are:

1. Illegal Cut-outs - The illegal display of cut-outs, posters, banners, hoardings, LCD screens and other forms of propaganda material.
2. Government funds – The illegal distribution of money to citizens as election bribes through the Samurdhi and Divinaguma initiatives and during political meetings and rallies.
3. Buildings and furniture – The use of building space and furniture belonging to State institutions such as District Secretariats, Divisional Secretariats, Ministries, Local Government Authorities etc. for propaganda purposes.
4. Government vehicles – The use of vehicles belonging to State institutions for propaganda purposes.
5. Illegal offices – The construction of election offices violating the guidelines presented by the Commissioner of Elections.
6. Government buses – The use of buses belonging to the Sri Lanka Transport Board (SLTB) to transport public to political meetings/ rallies without any payment and to display promotional material.
7. Public Officials – The illegal participation of public officials in propaganda related activities.
8. Distribution of goods – The distribution of different types of goods as election bribes.
9. Promotional videos - Audio visual material with questionable content displayed in public spaces to promote the candidature of a candidate or to discredit another candidate.
10. Promotions and transfers – Promotions and transfers of public officials violating the guidelines presented by the Commissioner of Elections.
11. Media monitoring – State media promoting or discrediting a presidential candidate violating the guidelines presented by the Commissioner of Elections.
12. Prisoners – The illegal use of prisoners for propaganda purposes.
13. Not applicable – Complaints that do not relate to the use of public resources.

## CHART 2 - TYPES OF COMPLAINTS RECIEVED BY PERCENTAGE

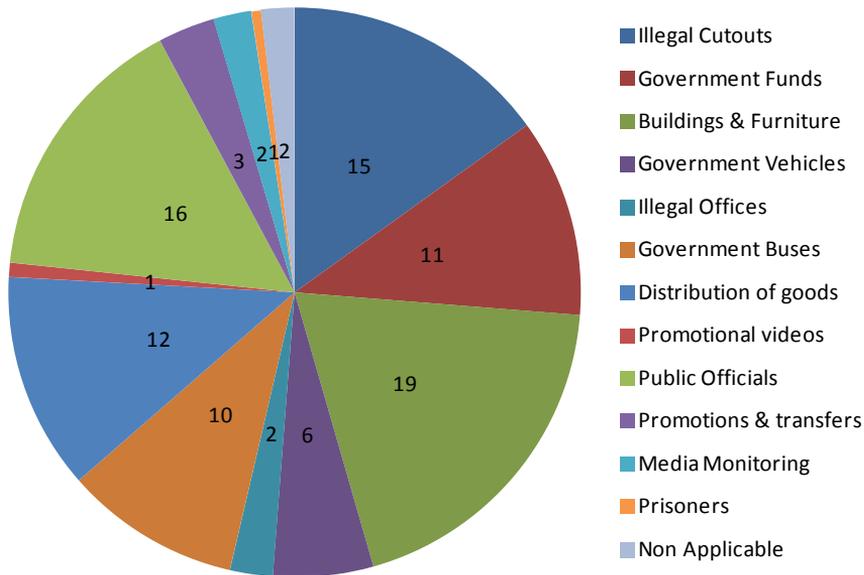


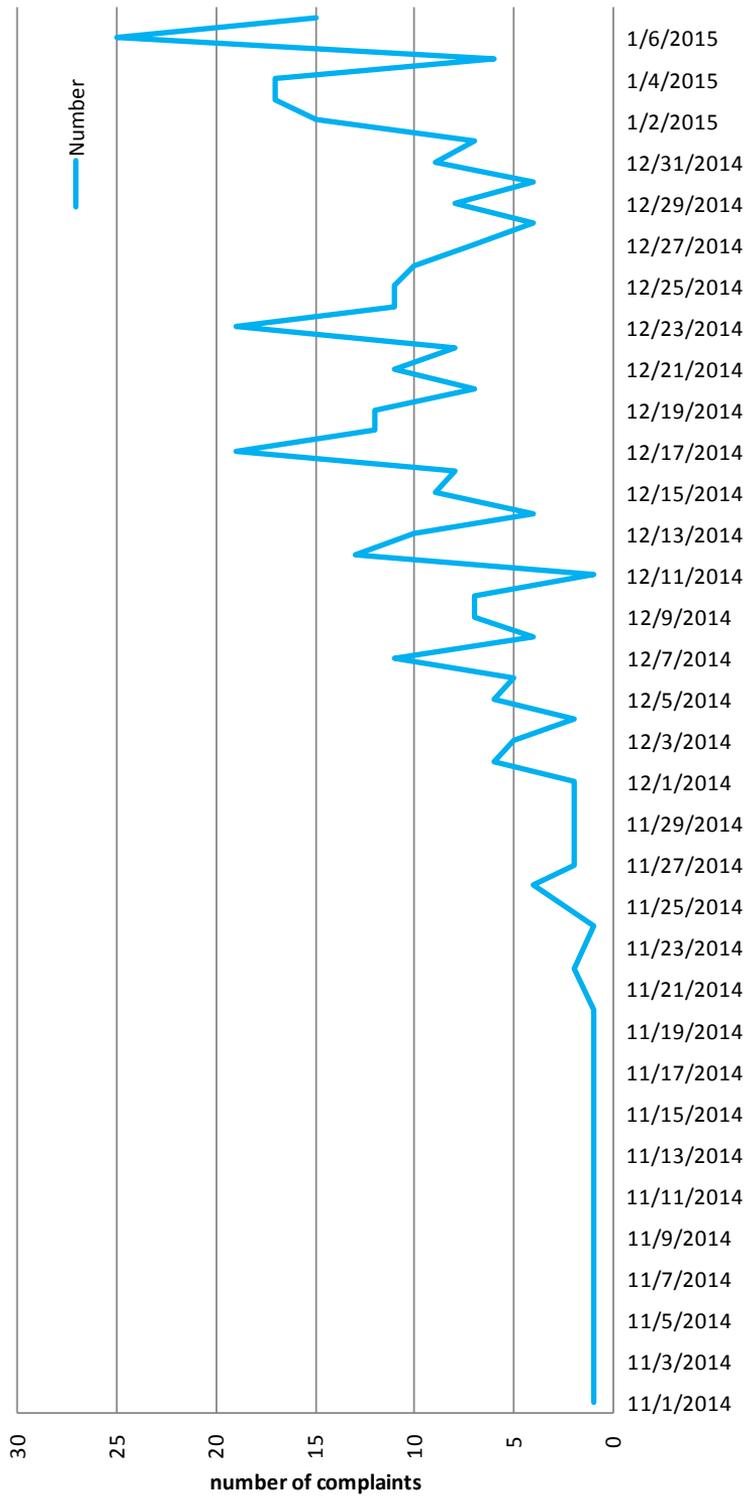
Chart 2 presented above illustrates the number of complaints recorded under each category. The PPPR received 72 complaints from across the country on instances where State institutions and/or furniture and equipment were used for political meetings while 58 complaints were received on instances where public officials, ranging from Ministries Secretaries to Grama Seva Niladaris, were involved in political campaigns. 46 and 42 complaints were recorded of instances where goods and money respectively were distributed ostensibly as elections bribes while 37 complaints were received regarding the use of SLTB buses. It should be stressed that the majority of the complaints regarding the distribution of funds and goods were received by direct recipients where some even submitted to the PPPR what was received.

**TABLE 1 - MISUSE OF PUBLIC RESOURCES BY DISTRICT**

District	Distribution of goods	Use of buildings and furniture	Distribution of funds	Participation of public officials	Use of government vehicles
Ampara	2	1	2	3	1
Anuradhpaura	1	0	1	1	0
Badulla	1	3	0	0	2
Batticaloa	1	13	8	5	1
Colombo	5	6	6	12	3
Galle	2	1	2	1	0
Gampaha	0	0	1	2	1
Hambanthota	2	1	0	2	2
Jaffna	1	9	2	1	0
Kaluthara	2	1	1	0	0
Kandy	4	3	1	1	0
Kegalle	0	3	2	0	1
Killinochchi	1	0	2	2	0
Kurungala	1	1	0	2	0
Mannar	0	2	0	1	0
Matale	0	1	0	0	0
Matara	4	2	2	5	1
Monaragala	3	3	3	0	0
Mullaitivu	0	0	1	3	0
Nuwara Eliya	0	3	0	2	1
Polonnaruwa	5	0	0	1	1
Puttlam	2	1	1	2	0
Ratnapura	6	8	3	3	2
Trincomalee	0	6	0	2	1
Vavuniya	1	2	2	5	4

Table 1 presented above provides a breakdown of all the major complaints received by district.

**CHART 3 - FREQUENCY OF COMPLAINTS**



It must also be reported there was a drastic increase in the complaints received during the last week of campaigning. What was most distressing about this fact was the increase of violations that took place on 6th and 7th January, the two days where campaigning was strictly prohibited<sup>3</sup>. The PPPR received its most number of complaints, 25 in all, on 6th January 2015. It is unfortunate that certain candidates sought to dishonor the integrity of the electoral process by overwhelming the public with election bribes and propaganda via State media during the final hours of the election period. However it was heartening to see the response of the general public to such violations, where due to their prompt response a number of such violations were halted with the support of the police and the officials attached to the Department of Election.

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3. Media Release 33 – Presidential Election 2015. Issued by Department of Election. [http://www.slections.gov.lk/pdf/pre2015/media%2orelease/MR\\_33%20Sinhala.pdf](http://www.slections.gov.lk/pdf/pre2015/media%2orelease/MR_33%20Sinhala.pdf)

## THE USE OF SLTB BUSES

Although the private bus operators are responsible for the major bulk of public transport in Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka Transport Board (SLTB), a government corporation incorporated by the Sri Lanka Transport Board Act No 27 of 2005 which comes within the purview of the Ministry of Transport, still provides a significant service to the public especially in the regions. The SLTB boasts of a fleet of more than 6700 buses but only 4600 buses are in actual running condition.

During the election period the PPPR observed more than 2400 SLTB buses, almost half of the buses in operational condition, being used regularly to transport public to the meetings and rallies of the then incumbent President and UPFA Presidential candidate Mahinda Rajapaksa even though such use was prohibited. This prohibition is provided under Article 104B (4) (a) of the Constitution<sup>4</sup> which was reinforced by the Election Commissioner by the directives issued on 26th November 2014. The buses identified by the PPPR were provided from at least 60 depots located in a number of districts and an analysis of the usage reveals that the same buses were used on a number of occasions to transport the public. (Please refer annexure 1 for details). PPPR has in possession photographic evidence and license plate numbers of the buses used.



4. “ The Commission shall have the power during the period of an election, to prohibit the use of any movable and immovable property belonging to the State or any public corporation-

- for the purpose of promoting or preventing the election of any candidate or any political party or independent group contesting at such election;
- by any candidate or any political party or any independent group contesting at such election.

by direction in writing by the Chairman of the Commission or of the Commissioner-General of Election on the instruction of the Commission.



The large-scale usage of SLTB buses commenced with the first main rally of the UPFA candidate which took place in Anuradhapura on 11th December 2014. Approximately 1100 buses were deployed from all over the country to transport public to the Anuradhapura rally crippling public transportation in many parts especially for students sitting for their G.C.E. Ordinary Level examination. This trend continued throughout the campaign where busloads of supporters were transported to meetings held in Ampara, Badulla, Chillaw, Mathugama and Kesbewa to name a few. During such meeting the PPPR received complaints from various parts of the country about the lack of SLTB buses for day to day activities.

According to the regulations of the SLTB, a bus belonging to the SLTB can be hired for a private purpose by making a payment. This fee is calculated based on the distance that needs to be covered. However SLTB buses are required to be used sparingly for private concerns as its prime duty is to provide transportation to the citizens of the country. It is imperative that private hires should be undertaken so long as it does not affect the daily transport needs of the general public. The sheer number of SLTB buses deployed for one rally alone is proof enough that the SLTB blatantly disrespected the trust placed on them by the general public by letting public resources under its custody to be misused. Moreover it is the estimation of the PPPR that the full payment for the buses used for propaganda purposes is yet to be made to the SLTB. According to the

calculation of the PPPR SLTB incurred a loss of more than Rs. 6 million per day due to the transportation of public. This calculation is based on an average deployment of 500 to 700 buses along with the cost of fuel, salaries, income and wastage. However At the inaugural rally and the final rally of the UPFA candidate more than 1100 buses were used to transport public to each location drastically increasing the cost incurred. Several trade union leaders of the SLTB were of the opinion that the loss incurred amounts Rs. 75 million. Yet it is the estimation of the PPPR that the SLTB incurred a mammoth loss of Rs. 140 million due to this gross misuse of public resources. The newly appointed Minister of Internal Transport in a letter to the Commissioner of Elections has suggested that the loss incurred could be as high as Rs. 190 million.

The PPPR have also written twice to the then Secretary to the Ministry of Transport Mr. Dammika Perera requesting him to provide details of the payments made by the UPFA candidate for the buses hired for election rallies. However to date Mr. Perera has not responded to the requests made. Although the Commissioner of Election has stated that the SLTB was paid Rs. 50 million for the hiring of buses, the PPPR has not seen a single receipt or acknowledgement of the said payments.

Even during the last Presidential election held in 2010 January, the PPPR observed over 1000 SLTB buses being used from time to time for election related activities. These buses were also provided from depots located from all parts of the country. The use of SLTB buses in 2014 have increased by 250% when compared to 2010.

It is the position of the Program for Protection of Public Resources that an essential service such as public transport should not be used to promote or discredit the candidature of any individual even after making the required payments. The level of inconvenience it creates for the general public together with the wastage and cost that is to be borne by the State because of it makes such use not only illegal but corrupt.

## **DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS**

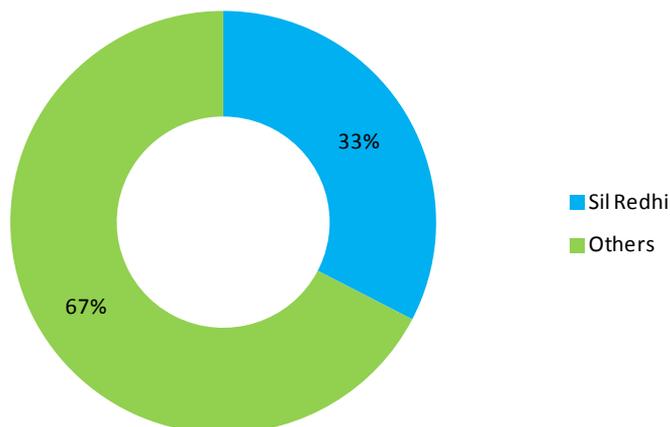
The 2015 Presidential election will go down in history as the election that witnessed the most amount of voter buying though election bribes. An unprecedented amount of Items such as school bags, school books,

agricultural products such as seeds and fertilizer, sil reddhi (material worn by Buddhists when observing sil), saris, t shirts, equipment for businesses such as salons, water hoses, sowing machines, dry rations, clocks, calendars and mobile phones were distributed at large to the public within a period of one month. Even though the PPPR only received 46 complaints related to the distribution of goods discussions with the other monitoring bodies and the Department of Elections revealed that this phenomenon took place in every district and is responsible for the wastage of a large amount of State funds.

## I. DISTRIBUTION OF SIL REDDHI, SHIRTS & T SHIRTS

The distribution of sil reddhi (material worn by Buddhists when observing sil) to mark the full moon poya day which fell on 4th December 2014 marked yet another leap in the misuse of public resources in electioneering in Sri Lanka. It was revealed by the PPPR that the UPFA candidate had ordered Sil Reddhi or five meter long white material from three private companies to be distributed via Buddhists temples to Buddhists devotees on the said full moon poya day. Each material was due to cost from Rs. 125 to Rs. 160 per meter with the entire order amounting to approximately Rs. 1000 million. Credible sources have revealed that three private companies, Clip Tex Garments, Van Guard and Praba Tex, undertook this order. The payments were coordinated by Ven. Vatinapaha Somananda Thero through the presidential secretariat. The PPPR have more information regarding the orders placed if required.

**CHART 4 - PERCENTAGE OF SIL REDDHI DISTRIBUTION**



It is still not clear from which State institution the Sil Reddhi was paid for. Initially it was believed that the Ministry of Industry and Commerce was responsible for the payments as the quotations for the Sil Reddhi was believed to be called for by the Secretary to the said Ministry. The PPPR wrote two letters to Secretary Anura Siriwardane about the issues but to no avail.



The distribution of Sil Reddhi was made more problematic due to the propaganda material that was inserted into the Sil Reddhi package. This included a booklet in some cases and a note about the UPFA candidate in others. The PPPR found the manipulation of religion and religious beliefs for election propaganda purposes abhorrent and issued a respectful requests to the Buddhist clergy to refrain from distributing such propaganda material in order to provide the public an environment free of repressive and influential forces so that they may make an informed decision on the day of election (refer annexure 2). The PPPR salutes all the religious leaders that took this message in a positive spirit and responded to our request. Certain Buddhist temples even went on to refuse the Sil Reddhi all together while others inquired as to why such material were being distributed during an election period.

However the reactions to the request made by the PPPR were not all positive. The PPPR received a number of calls from “concerned citizens” accusing the PPPR of creating religious tension, who went on to use very unreligious terms to express their concern. The Bodu Bala Sena, a Buddhist organization that maintained that they were not supporting the UPFA candidate, even lodged a complaint against the PPPR with the Commissioner of Elections. No action was taken against the PPPR by the Commissioner as the PPPR was on the correct side of the law. A Lawyers Association called Nidahas Mawbime Neethigna Sanvidanaya (refer annexure 3) too issued an unfortunate public notice about the issue misunderstanding the context entirely. The PPPR attempted to contract the said organization but was not successful.

Upon further investigation by the PPPR it was revealed that the Sil Reddhi was not the only garment distributed by the UPFA Presidential candidate. A T-shirt and a shirt were produced to be distributed among UPFA supporters. A 550,000 T-shirt order was given to Clip tex Garments with a unit price of Rs. 160. The cost of the entire order amounted to Rs. 90 million. The T-shirts were to be given to the Nil Balakaya, which is headed by Member of Parliament and the son of the UPFA Candidate Namal Rajapaksa, to be distributed among UPFA supporters.



Another order was made for 500,000 shirts at the cost of Rs. 130 million. It is still not clear which department or Ministry issued the order but reliable sources have informed the PPPR that a cash payment was directly issues by the Temple Trees itself for the shirts.

## **II. DISTRIBUTION OF MOBILE PHONES**

A mobile phone was distributed to pensioners under an initiative called Kalaguna (showing appreciation) by Youth Service Officers (YSO) attached to Sri Lanka youth in partnership with Mobitel pvt Ltd. The initiative which was jointly carried out by the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs, Sri Lanka Youth, Sri Lanka Telecom and Mobitel Pvt. Ltd stated that the objective of the program was to show appreciation to retired public officials who have served the country in the public sector (please refer attachment 4). The official circular pertaining to the distribution of the mobile phone states that it is carried out according to the provisions spelled out under the Mahinda Chinthana – Vision for the Future ( Mahinda Chinthana Ediri Dakma).

Even though the initiative was presented as a non-political endeavour it was soon evident that the mobile phone was indeed distributed as an election bribe. Several Members of Parliament, including former Minister of Telecommunications Ranjith Siyambalapitiya and former Minister of Youth Affairs and Skill Development Dulles Allahapperuma, attended events organized for pensioners to receive the mobile phone where they asked the recipients to vote for Mahinda Rajapaksa.

Actions such as these where three State departments were actively involved in promoting one single candidate by distributing a gift as an incentive would undoubtedly create a huge unfair advantage for the said candidate. The forcible involvement of the youth in this country for such propaganda purposes makes this initiative even more distasteful. Due to the intervention of the PPPR and other monitoring bodies the Commissioner of Election did issue a directive later on in the campaign to halt such distribution. However the PPPR has evidence that distribution continued in several districts even afterwards clearly violating election laws.



## THE USE OF GOVERNMENT OWNED VEHICLES

In addition to SLTB buses other vehicles belonging to State institutions were also used for electioneering during the 2015 Presidential election period. As was seen during the local level elections held in the past two years vehicles either rented by State institutions or belonging to State institutions with or without number plates were often used for election related activities. These included helicopters that belong to the Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF). The misuse of all State owned vehicles and SLAF helicopters was clearly prohibited as per the directive issued by the Commissioner of Elections on November 26th 2014.

Although the incumbent President was entitled to helicopter rides as the Head of State he was not allowed to use State owned helicopters to travel and attend election rallies without making a payment. It has been reported to the PPPR that 55 helicopter rides were used by President Rajapaksa, members of his immediate family and a few Ministers to

travel outside of Colombo to attend his election rallies. The PPPR made several attempts to contact the relevant officials of SLAF via telephone to ascertain whether they received a payment for the helicopter rides but was not successful.

In total the PPPR received 21 complaints relating to the use of government vehicles. These included vehicles belonging to Ministries and Local Government Authorities. The PPPR has details of these vehicles in its possession.

Furthermore we observed the following resources also being used for campaigning purposes:

1. Nissan van with the number WP PB 2115 (This van which belongs to the Lake House was used to transport campaign material)
2. Bus with the number 63-1631 (Bus belonging to the Rupavahini Cooperation used to transport all people to the meeting)
3. Crew Cab with the number WPLG 5369 (The employees of Lakhanda used this van to transport sound systems. The ITN logo in front of the van was covered with a piece of white paper)
4. Mobile broadcasting vehicle with the number WPLL 4587 (A mobile broadcasting vehicle used during the meeting for sound distribution)

## **IRREGULAR USE OF STATE FUNDS**

The misuse and arbitrary distribution of State funds during elections have become a dangerous trend in Sri Lankan politics. This trend has led to a voter base that expects such election bribes in exchange for their vote. Voters are often tempted to extract as many benefits as they can from candidates prior to election as they do not believe that candidates will keep their word after election. This mistrust and loss of faith explains the significant amount of complaints that the PPPR received regarding the distribution of goods and money. In fact the PPPR received 42 complaints regarding direct distribution of money while promoting a Presidential candidate. While some of these funds were channeled through the Samurdhi and Divinaguma funding schemes in an attempt to legitimize the distribution of funds, e.g.- Rs. 2500 to Rs. 10,000 were distributed to Samurdhi benefactors, other irregular use of State funds came in the form of State funded advertisements and other sponsorship of election meetings, e.g. – State funds were used to provide meals and

travelling allowances to those who were transported to election meetings and rallies.



The lady in the above photograph was given a cheque for Rs. 7000 by the Vavuniya District Secretariat during the election period.

## I. STATE SPONSORED ELECTION ADVERTISEMENTS

A review of mainstream newspapers during this election period revealed that advertisements are being published under the patronage of government institutions promoting the UPFA Presidential candidate. It has been recorded that advertisements have been published by the former Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Ministry of Transport and Ministry of Ports and Highways. Two of these Ministries came directly under the control of the UPFA Presidential candidate.

It is the observation of the PPPR that the UPFA Presidential candidate and the former President spent millions of funds on his advertisement campaign leading up to the 2015 Presidential election. Two State owned media institutions, Rupavahini Corporation and the ITN Network, aired an unprecedented number of advertisements both during peak and off

peak hours without receiving the due payments. During the last few days of the campaign the PPPR noted 40 commercials being aired in a single hour promoting the UPFA candidate both on ITN and Rupavahini. In addition a larger number of advertisements were also aired in private television and radio channels including in satellite television providers.

On 18th January 2015 The Sunday Times revealed that former President Mahinda Rajapaksa spent over Rs. 2 billion on election advertisements in mainstream media while his rival President Elect Maithreepala Sirisena spent Rs. 676 million on the same. According to a report compiled by a group of officials from the Finance Ministry Rs. 1.1 billion was spent on all electronic media channels and Rs. 630 million on radio advertisements. They estimated that approximately Rs. 1.4 billion was spent on newspaper advertisements, leaflets and brochures.

It was also revealed that Sri Lanka Tourism Promotion Bureau (SLTPB) used State funds amounting to Rs. 114 million from the Bureau for election advertising and propaganda activities. During the Election Period the PPPR sent letters of inquiry to a number of Ministries regarding the use of Ministry funds for advertising. The response of the Ministry of Education is attached as annexure 4.

The amount of money spent by all candidates on advertising alone is quite astonishing when considering that all such expenditure must be borne out of their personal resources. The PPPR calculated the cost of advertising during the 2010 Presidential election through a professional agency taking into account the rate card estimates. At the time it was believed that both candidates had spent Rs. 836,038,600.00 on advertising. In the 2015 Presidential election the UPFA candidate alone had spent a staggering Rs. 3.1 billion rupees on advertising. In a context where laws regarding the declaration of assets and liabilities are not adequately enforced one can only presume that the bulk of this amount was sourced from State funds. It is imperative that election laws be revised to include expenditure ceiling for campaigns and disclosure of funding sources to ensure the integrity of the electoral process and demand accountability from candidates.

## **THE USE OF GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS / FURNITURE / EQUIPMENT**

The most number of complaints received by the PPPR was regarding the misuse of State owned or maintained buildings, furniture and equipment. The 72 complaints included incidents relating to the use of the Temple Trees - the official residence used by the former President, the Sri Lanka Youth, Sri Lanka Ports Authority (SLPA), Road Development Authority, Divisional & District Secretariats, Local Government Authorities, Shalika Grounds in Colombo 6 and State owned schools. The resources were used to conduct election meetings, store and/or distribute goods such as calendars, diaries, watches and other propaganda material and to display cutouts and hoardings. The use of State property for electioneering not only violates public property relates laws in the country but is also deemed as a clear violation of election laws.

### **I. TEMPLE TREES**

By now it is common knowledge that the Temple Trees, which is the official residence of the Prime Minister but was used by President Rajapaksa as his official residence, were grotesquely abused during the lead up to the announcement of the Presidential election and during the election period. Even though this report primarily covers the misuse that took place from 8th December 2014 to 8th January 2015, it cannot overlook the irregular practices that took place within the Temple Trees due to its national significance and the magnitude of the wastage that took place.

Even before an election was declared by the President, the Temple Trees was transformed into a place for public gathering where hundreds of public officials were invited to dine and socialize with the President. In most cases the Temple Trees was packed to capacity with more than 6000 in attendance and all participants were treated to grand meals.

Almost 40 days prior to the declaration of elections, 100,000 people were invited to the infamous Araliya Dansala for a meal. The public officials and UPFA supporters that attended these meetings understandably attended with unbridled enthusiasm to see the residence of the President.

Similarly more than 5000 senior citizens from the Kirindiwatta village were invited for lunch on 6th December 2014 to promote the candidacy of the President. The attendees included Former Director of Education Mr. Cyril and Rev. Kusaladamma Thero of the Kirindiwatta Temple. Attendees were also given a parcel containing sweetmeats and fruits.

According to the Presidential Election Act No 15 of 1981, no candidate can entertain; provide refreshments or any other meal to any person during or after the election. Even though the meetings that took place at the Temple Trees do not strictly fall within the provisions provided in this Act, it is clear that what took place at the Temple Trees was indeed unethical if not illegal<sup>5</sup>. The PPPR is yet to ascertain how the relevant officials met the cost of these large-scale dinners and lunches. Reliable sources have informed the PPPR that certain State institutions were requested to bear the cost of the meals from time to time. However an exact estimation is near impossible. The PPPR urges the Auditor General to look into this matter as a priority case and conduct a comprehensive investigation into the matter as it not only undermines the dignity and credibility afforded to the Temple Trees over the years but is also a gross mishandling of State resources and abuse of State power.

## **II. MISUSE WITHIN THE SRI LANKA PORTS AUTHORITY**

The Ports Authority is another institution which is often subjected to misuse during election periods. During the 2015 Presidential election period one of the warehouses purchased by the Ports Authority in the Sapugaskanda Police area was entirely used for the propaganda work of the UPFA candidate. The Chairman of the Ports Authority Priyath Bandu is said to have released more than 200 workers attached to the Ports Authority to man the warehouse where cut outs, banners and hoardings

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5. According to Section 77 of the said Act " Every person who, corruptly, by himself or by any other person either before or after an election, directly or indirectly, gives or provides or causes to be given or provided, or is accessory to the giving or providing, or pays or engages to pay wholly or in part the expenses of giving or providing any meat, drink, refreshment or provision or any money or ticket or other means or device to enable to procuring of any meat, drink, refreshment or provision to or for any person for the purpose of corruptly influencing that person or any other person to give or refrain from giving his vote at such election or on account of any such person or any other person having voted or refrained from voting or being about to vote or refrain from voting at such election and every elector who corruptly accepts or takes any such meat, drink or refreshment or provision or any such money or ticket or who adopts such other means or device enabling the procuring of such meat, drink, refreshment, or provision shall be guilty of the offence of treating"

of the former President was stored. Moreover many other promotional materials were also stored and distributed from this warehouse to all parts of the country. After the election the Sapugaskanda Police raided this particular warehouse with a search warrant and discovered more than 68,000 clocks with the image of the UPFA candidate amounting to Rs. 30,000,000.

### **III. SRI LANKA YOUTH**

Sri Lanka Youth (SLY) formerly known as the Youth Services Council is another institution that was heavily involved in the presidential campaign of the UPFA candidate. It is unfortunate that the main organization dedicated towards the development, well-being and the empowerment of Sri Lankan youth was manipulated, politicized and abused thus for the benefit of a few.

The headquarters of Sri Lanka Youth located in Maharagama was the location for a number of election related activities. Several capacity building programs were conducted for youth attached to the SLY which was later implemented through the youth branch of the UPFA – Nil Balakaya. These included training on how to carry out election related work, how to promote / discredit candidates using social media and distributing the Kalaguna mobile phone to pensioners. Youth were also expected to attend election meetings and rallies of the UPFA candidate on short notice often without their consent. For instance Youth were invited to attend a Bodi Pooja (Buddhists ceremony) at the Gangaramaya located in Colombo on 27th November 2014 under a program conducted by Sri Lanka Youth. However the same ceremony was later promoted in mainstream media as a political event of the Nil Balakaya. In another instance youth were used to distribute leaflets and house to house canvassing.

The then Chairman of Sri Lanka Youth Lalith Piyum Perera spearheaded the political events organized through the organization with the support of the Working Directors and other senior officers.

## **IV. SHALIKA GROUNDS, COLOMBO 5**

The use of the Temple Trees for large-scale meetings decreased after the declaration of election but the meetings itself by no means ended. These meetings continued to be conducted at the Shalika Grounds located down Park Road in Colombo 6. The ground comes under the custody of the Sri Lanka Transport Board. Meetings were held almost daily for different groups of people to promote the candidacy of Mahinda Rajapaksa. Participants were brought to the grounds using SLTB buses and were provided with meals and a traveling allowance. There is no indication that a payment was made for the use of the ground.

## **PARTICIPATION OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS**

The use of public officials for electioneering is a serious violation of election laws and other laws governing the public service. These laws are in place to ensure that the public service is not disrupted during elections and to ensure that officials perform their duties independent of political influence. While certain public officials, such as clerical staff, can engage in election related activities while not on official duty, others such as those who hold executive positions (e.g. Secretaries to Ministries) are strictly prohibited from engaging in electioneering even off duty<sup>6</sup>.

The PPPR received 58 complaints about instances where public officials engaged in election related activities. Among them were a significant number of public officials who held executive level positions openly promoting the UPFA candidate. For the first time in Sri Lanka's election history the Secretary to the President, Lalith Weerathunga, participated in a TV discussion to promote the incumbent President's vision for the country. With him was the Secretary to the Treasury Dr. P.B. Jayasundara and the Governor of the Central Bank Ajith Nivad Cabral. All of these officials were high ranking public officials with the ability to influence public thinking due to the positions they held. Their involvement in electioneering is an abuse of power and a blatant violation of all the ethics and laws governing the public sector.

Secretary to the Ministry of Defense and Urban Development and the brother of the former President, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, maintained an election office in Colombo 6. He used his position as the Secretary to

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6. Chapter 32 of the Establishment Code of Sri Lanka

the said Ministry to summon approximately 100 retired officers from the armed forces and the Police to engage in promotional activities. Furthermore he attended the laying of a foundation stone for a seven story building at the Ananda College along with the Minister of Education Bandula Gunawardene on 2nd January 2015. At the event both officials requested promoted the candidature of the former President.

Dr. Charitha Herath and Dr. Sunil Navarathna former Secretaries to the Ministries of Media and Higher Education respectively played a major role in the election campaign of the UPFA candidate. They were seen making regular visits to the Temple Trees during the election period. Other Secretaries that engaged in electioneering include Anura Siriwardhana, Dammika Perera and H. Premasiri Secretaries to the Ministries of Industry and Commerce, Transport and Highways respectively.

Public officials attached to various fields were seen participating in electioneering and supporting candidates during the election period. Chairperson of the University Grants Commission Keshunika Hiriburegama, Vice Chancellor of University of Sri Jayawardhanapura Prof. Sampath Amarathunga and Vice Chancellor of the University of Colombo Dr. S. Hiriburegama along with several Deans convened a press conference to pledge their support to Mahinda Rajapaksa. Over 400 officials attached to the Sri Lanka Youth actively participated in propaganda work throughout the election period while officers attached to the Road Development Authority was seen putting up cutouts and pasting posters in many parts of the country while wearing their uniforms. The Governor to the Central Province Ms. Kumari Balasuriya attended an event organized by the UPFA Women's Council held on the 22nd of December at the district elections office during which she distributed blue colored sarees to the women present. Complaints regarding these violations were submitted to the Commissioner of Elections with photographic evidence by the PPPR for his prompt action.

Furthermore public officials attached to the Samurdhi Authority, Divi Naguma, Civil Defence Force, State trading Cooperation, Ports Authority and State Engineering Cooperation were regularly called up for campaign related work in the guise of seminars and other officials work. Some public officials were granted duty leave and allowances for to secure their attendance.

# **ACTION TAKEN AND DIRECT INTERVENTIONS**

Monitoring the misuse of public resources during the 2015 Presidential election was a definite uphill task. The PPPR team was often overwhelmed by the sheer number of complaints received on a daily basis and the ever increasing amounts of wastage and loss due to the misuse. However there were some victories too. Through the direct intervention of the Program for Protection of Public Resources several instances of planned misuse of public resources were partially or completely put to a stop. These efforts prevented large scale misuse and were able to save millions of rupees of State funds.

## **THE PLANNED DISTRIBUTION OF DRY RATIONS TO FLOOD VICTIMS**

On 5th January 2015 the PPPR received information that the Economic Center located in Narahenpita, situated in a building that belongs to the CWE, is preparing goods to be distributed as part of the election campaign of the UPFA Presidential candidate. The PPPR team that visited the said location discovered packets of dry rations being prepared to be sent to flood victims in Polonnaruwa and Kurunegala. It is important to note that Kurunegala was not that affected by the rains that fell during this time. One packet of dry rations was valued at Rs. 1000.

The PPPR took immediate action against this distribution of goods by making a complaint to the Commissioner of Election. The Commissioner in turn took steps to prevent the distribution of goods and thereafter went on to seal the said building. A small aircraft belonging to one of the sons of the former President was later discovered in the very same building.

## **BROCHURES THAT WAS DUE TO BE POSTED TO THE FAMILIES OF ARMY PERSONNEL**

The extent to which public resources were manipulated for election purposes was clearly exhibited by the use of army personnel for

electioneering<sup>7</sup>. Throughout the election period there were reports of army personnel engaging in canvassing and other propaganda activities supporting the UPFA candidate. In the third week of December the PPPR was able to intervene and stop the distribution of a large number of leaflets to families of army personnel. A brochure with the image of the former President was printed to be posted to 210,000 families of army personnel by the Army Commander. The PPPR witnessed a number of army personnel at the Postal Department stamping the said brochure. The postage for the brochures amounted to Rs. 5.5 million and was paid for by State owned funds.

Prior to this the PPPR submitted a number of complaints regarding the involvement of high ranking army officials in electioneering. On 17th December 2014 a meeting was held for retired officer under the patronage of Brigadier Rohitha Dharmasiri at the Trincomalee Fort Army Camp. The Brigadier addressed the officers emphasizing they should cast their vote to the incumbent President in order to avoid another war. On the same day a media briefing was held by the Chief Commanding Officer of the Gajaba regiment Major Mahesh and the 2nd Chief Commanding Officer of the same regiment Major Susith, in the presence of members of military families requesting them to vote for President Mahinda Rajapaksa.

## **POLITICAL PROGRAM AIRED ON RUPAVAHINI CORPORATION**

Clearly violating the guidelines issued by the Commissioner of Elections the Rupavahini Corporation and the ITN Network broadcasted live the final rallies of the UPFA candidate on 4th and 5th January 2015. The PPPR received 18 calls on its hotline number within a period of one hour from concerned citizens requesting the PPPR to intervene and put a stop to this live broadcast. As a result of a number of calls made by the PPPR to the Chairman of the Rupavahini Corporation the live broadcast was put to a stop by the media institution. However irrespective of the requests made by the PPPR to the ITN network, informing them of the laws they were violating, the said network chose to go ahead with the live broadcast.

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7. Chapter 32 of the Establishment Code of Sri Lanka

## **DISTRIBUTION OF SIL REDDHI**

The distribution of Sil Reddhi discussed before was another violation that was brought to the attention of the Commissioner of Election and the public by the PPPR. Through the appeals made to the public and the Buddhist clergy the PPPR was able to postpone the distribution of Sil Reddhi in many parts of the country until the conclusion of the Presidential election.

# MONITORING COUNTING CENTERS

One of the most proactive steps taken by the Commissioner of Elections to ensure the integrity of the electoral process during the 2015 Presidential election was allowing representatives of local monitoring bodies to observe the ballot counting procedure. This was the first ever occasion where independent observers were allowed inside the counting centers. The Program for Protection of Public Resources through Transparency International Sri Lanka got the opportunity to send 39 observers to 8 counting centers. Please refer Table 2 for more details. Furthermore the Overall Coordinator of the PPPR received a special approval to visit all of the polling centers and counting centers located island wide.

**TABLE 2 – ALLOCATION OF COUNTING CENTERS**

District	Name of Counting Center	Number of observers allowed
Kurunegala	Technical College, Kurunegala	7
Badulla	Badulla Viharamadevi Balika Vidyalaya	4
Kegalle	Kegalle Swarna Jayanthi Maha Vidyalaya, Kegalle	7
Ratnapura	Technical College, Ratnapura	5
Vavuniya	District Secretariat Office, Vavuniya	3
Nuwara Eliya	Gamini National School, Nuwara Eliya	2
Batticaloa	Batticaloa Hindu Vidyalaya, Batticaloa	8
Kandy	Hemamali Balika Maha Vidyalaya, Kandy	3

On 4th January 2015 the Department of Election conducted a brief training program for all the observers that were granted permission to enter the counting centers. This training provided the observers with information on the basic mechanism involved in the counting of ballots and the responsibility of the observers in monitoring and reporting any irregular activity. To supplement this training the PPPR conducted a special two hour training program on 6th January for all 39 observers with the participation of several retired public sector officials who had many years of experience as counting officers.

The PPPR commends the professionalism, commitment and integrity displayed by the Counting Officers in which TISL observers were present. It is with great pride that the PPPR reports that no significant incidents of irregularities were reported by our observers in the eight locations that were allocated to TISL. The observers were warmly welcomed by the Chief Counting Officers and invited to engage with the process of counting. The counting was done efficiently and painstakingly ensuring that the Peoples mandate was respected and upheld.

The presence of independent observers in more than 300 counting centers island wide dispelled any notion of inaccuracies and possible manipulation of results from the minds of the public. The PPPR takes this opportunity to congratulate all the Counting Officers for a job well done and lauds the leadership and initiative shown by the Commissioner of Election who gave approval for the independent observers. The PPPR hopes this initiative will grow in strength and continue as a practice in all future elections.

# PARTNERSHIPS & JOINT EFFORTS

Throughout the duration of the election period, the Program for Protection of Public Resources worked in close relationship with the other national level election monitoring bodies, namely - People's Action for Free and Fair Election (PAFFREL), Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV) and Campaign for Free and Fair Election (CaFFE). The PPPR commends the activities carried out by each of these organizations as per their different mandates to ensure that a free and fair election was held on 8th January 2015.

From the onset the election monitoring bodies worked in close collaboration to minimise election violations and to take remedial action against ongoing issues. On 10th December 2014 all the monitoring bodies assembled on a common platform and held a joint press briefing where valuable insights into election law violations were shared with the media community. The monitoring organizations called on the public to exercise their vote without fear and prejudice on the day of elections, taking into consideration the information before them about election law violations.

The PPPR also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with PAFFREL during this period. The objective of the MoU was to ensure that both organizations work complimentary to each other avoiding replication. According to the MoU PAFFREL agreed to share all complaints related to the misuse of public resources with the PPPR while the latter agreed to share all complaints beyond its mandate with the PAFFREL for necessary action. This was the second instance where such a MoU was signed and implemented successfully with PAFFREL and PPPR appreciates the support extended by the organization during the election period.

Due to the large number of complaints received and the serious nature of some of the complaints recorded, the PPPR looked into the possibility of taking legal action against those who were misusing public resources. The PPPR appreciates the support extended by Sri Lanka Bar Association in terms of free legal advice and consultation to ascertain which complaints merited litigation and how to pursue remedial action against others. Based on the evidence received by the PPPR Transparency International

Sri Lanka intends to take legal action against those who violated election laws in the near future.

To ensure well rounded teams of observers were dispatched to the Counting Centres allocated to the PPPR, the program invited the Lawyers Collective to partner in this endeavour. The Lawyers Collective released two of its members to each Counting Centre monitored by the PPPR to assist the team in case of any legal discrepancies. The presence of the legal community added validity and strength to the observer groups. The PPPR would like to record their appreciation to the Lawyers Collective for the support extended.

The PPPR also held discussions with Commonwealth Observers during the election period.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

As a monitoring body that was directly involved in the electoral process, the PPPR feels that it is duty bound to propose recommendations to further strengthen the integrity of the electoral process in Sri Lanka. The below mentioned recommendations include feedback and comments from the districts obtained in consultation with the PPPR's network of coordinators.

- The existing Sri Lankan election authority needs to transition from a Department to a fully-fledged Election Commission. It should be granted the fundamental role of preserving the integrity of the electoral process to ensure a proper functioning democratic framework.
- Introduce laws to ensure that public resources are not used for election campaigning purposes with or without payments as it disrupts public life and creates an unfair advantage towards those with power and influence.
- Introduce mechanisms to make all heads of government institutions accountable for all movable and immovable public assets under the supervision of the Commissioner of Elections.
- All public assets should be easily identifiable by the public. The official government logo should be visible on the body of all government vehicles with the exception of assigned vehicles. Rented vehicles should also carry the government logo for identification purposes.
- Public ceremonies highlighting the success of development programs should not be held during the campaign period.
- Once an election is declared all State media institutions should come under the supervision of the Election Commission or the Commissioner. Laws should be amended to enable the Election Commissioner to appoint a competent authority to oversee State media institution. The Commissioner should also be authorised to supervise and issue guidelines to all private media institutions to prevent election malpractices.

- Public sector appointments, transfers and promotions should not be done without the permission of the Elections Commissioner.
- Electioneering by public officials on duty should be made a punishable offence under criminal law.
- Strengthen the election law by incorporating regulations that makes it mandatory for the Party Secretary or the leader(s) of the independent group(s) to declare campaign expenditure and sources of funding to ensure the transparency of election financing. Introduce campaign expenditure ceiling based on the electorate and number of voters.
- Due to the delays in the regular court system rectifying election related violation during an election period is unlikely. It is recommended that a special election court to be set up to provide timely solutions to violations of the election law.
  1. Elections Commissioner should be vested with the power to recover the cost of abuse from errant candidates and other relevant parties immediately.
- Election law to be amended to accommodate election monitors in the ballot counting process.
- Introduce a predetermined calendar of elections, to prevent elections being conducted at different times at the discretion of the ruling party, through the dissolution of individual provincial and local authorities. No snap elections are to be held except when an elected authority, including the Parliament, has been defeated on a no-confidence vote.
- Promote the usage of transparent ballot boxes.

# CONCLUSION

It is clearly evident by the details discussed in this report that the pre-election period of the 2015 Presidential election was neither free nor fair. In fact, it is the conclusion of the Program for Protection of Public Resources that the election period leading up to this Presidential election was one of the most corrupt periods in the history of Sri Lanka. It was a period that flouted all laws related to governing the electoral process, chief of it being the laws pertaining to the misuse of public resources. The public cost of this election is so monumental that the PPPR is of the view that it might never be fully accounted for. In a country that could not allocate 6% of the GDP for Education in the 2014 budget it is unfortunate that a staggering Rs 3.1 Billion rupees was spent by one candidate on advertisements alone. How a Presidential candidate came across so much of money for propaganda purposes is a question to be answered by the government in power.

As opposed to the preceding days, the day of election itself unfolded without major incidents or violations. Even amidst significant limitations the Commissioner of Elections was able to create a peaceful environment for all citizens to come out in their numbers and cast their vote in a free and fair manner. The PPPR is of the view that the enthusiasm shown by the citizens of Sri Lanka on the day of the election is a reflection of their commitment to anti-corruption. The PPPR salutes those citizens that casted their vote by making an informed decision irrespective of the election bribes that they received and the benefits gained during the election period. In fact the election result clearly showcased the public's disapproval of the manner in which corruption and bribery overshadowed policy and principles.

The Program for the Protection of Public Resources calls on the newly elected President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka to create an environment conducive for electoral reforms which will ensure electoral integrity in all elections conducted in the future. It is vital that the culture of voter buying is addressed through voter education where citizens will vote for candidates with honour and integrity rather than deceit. Transparency International Sri Lanka and the Program for the Protection of Public Resources extend its fullest support and commitment to the newly elected President and the citizens of Sri Lanka to achieve electoral integrity and work towards a nation that upholds integrity.

# **ANNEXURES**

## ANNEX 01

### Name of Depot: Akuressa

No.	Bus Number
1	NB 5876
2	NC 0041
3	NA 4382
4	NA 3386
5	62 - 0538

### Name of Depot:

#### Aluthgama

No.	Bus Number
6	NB 5826
7	NB 5824
8	NB 5832
9	NA 4145
10	NB 3801
11	62-0740
12	NA 1175
13	NA 6184

### Name of Depot:

#### Ambalanthota

No.	Bus Number
14	NA 4682
15	NA 1146
16	NA 8911
17	NA 5024
18	NA 4017
19	63-2693
20	NA 0804
21	ND 5429

### Name of Depot:

#### Avissawela

No.	Bus Number
22	NB 7047
23	NA 3719
24	NA 5089
25	NA 0989
26	NA 4882
27	63-3961
28	23 - 9786
29	NA 1003
30	NA 5077

### Name of Depot:

#### Anuradhapura

No.	Bus Number
31	62-4223
32	62-4841
33	62-5881
34	63-3596
35	63-3653

36 GE 0205

37 GE 3880

38 GE 8858

39 GG 2484

40 NA 1158

41 NA 1486

42 NA 2340

43 NA 3447

44 NA 3633

45 NB 9429

46 NA 5082

### Name of Depot: Alawwa

No. Bus Number

47 NA 7155

48 63-4082

49 GE 6295

50 63-2378

51 63-4037

52 NA 3877

53 GE 0498

54 GJ 0848

55 GE 4854

56 GE 0295

57 NB 5646

58 63-3927

### Name of Depot:

#### Balangoda

No. Bus Number

59 NA 4365

60 NA 2937

61 NA 5345

62 NA 8251

63 62-7650

### Name of Depot:

#### Batticaloa

No. Bus Number

64 NB 9709

65 NA 4588

66 NA 5011

67 NA 4554

### Name of Depot:

#### Dambulla

No. Bus Number

68 63-3498

69 GE 0125

70 NA 4223

71 63-3373

72 NA 2656

### Name of Depot:

#### Daraniyagala

No. Bus Number

73 NA 4332

74 NB 8346

75 NB 8686

76 NB 5653

77 NA 2835

### Name of Depot:

#### Embilipitiya

No. Bus Number

78 NB 4472

79 NA 3975

80 NB 9445

### Name of Depot: Galle

No. Bus Number

81 NA 5226

82 NA 5266

83 NB 7033

84 NB 9033

85 NA 5254

86 NA 5212

87 NA 2844

88 NA 5250

89 NA 5217

### Name of Depot:

#### Gampola

No. Bus Number

90 63-0784

91 NA 6834

92 63-0789

93 NA 3702

### Name of Depot:

#### Hakmana

No. Bus Number

94 NB 5426

95 NA 3708

### Name of Depot: Hatton

No. Bus Number

96 NA 3555

97 NA 4786

98 NA 7176

99 NA 5784

100 NA 4706

101 61-6696

102 NA 0972

<b>Name of Depot:</b>	138	63-3050	177	NB 9230
<b>Homagama</b>	139	63-3165	178	GB 5497
<b>No. Bus Number</b>	140	NB 9242	179	63-3400
103		NA 5303	180	NA 3882
104		NA 1505	181	NB 8849
105		NA 3559	182	NB 8729
106		63-3179		
107		63-3331		
108		NA 7035		
109		NA 6996		
110		GE 9832		
111		NA 5664		
112		NB 3102		
<b>Name of Depot: Horana</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
112		NB 9550		
113		NB 6181		
114		NB 8860		
115		NB 4455		
116		NA 1103		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Horowpathana</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
117		NB 8809		
118		NA 4380		
119		NA 3471		
120		NA 2556		
<b>Name of Depot: Jaffna</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
121		NA 7163		
122		NB 3655		
123		NB 8816		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Kabithigollawa</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
124		NA 3294		
125		NB 8341		
126		NA 4905		
127		NA 4131		
128		NB 9054		
129		NA 2341		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Kadawatha</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
130		NA 4067		
131		NA 6999		
132		NA 3639		
133		NA 3708		
134		NA 4067		
135		NA 4201		
136		NA 4202		
137		NB 9806		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Kakirawa</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
141		NA 1994		
142		NA 4229		
143		63-4070		
144		NB 5677		
145		NA 4058		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Kappetipola</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
146		NA 4658		
147		NA 2341		
148		NA 3774		
149		NA 4417		
150		61-3873		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Kasbewa</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
151		NA 7054		
152		NC 0114		
153		NA 7057		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Katharagama</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
154		62-7889		
155		NA 5366		
156		62-5911		
157		NB 5468		
158		63-4371		
159		NA 4957		
160		63-2996		
161		NA 1181		
162		62-5912		
163		63-3216		
164		63-2696		
165		NA 2845		
166		63-3746		
167		NB 5460		
168		NB 5968		
169		63 - 2634		
170		63-3111		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Kelaniya</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
171		NA 1235		
172		NA 8858		
173		NA 7048		
174		NA 8958		
175		NB 5627		
176		NB 9256		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Maharagama</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
183		NA 3973		
184		63-3595		
185		63-4097		
186		NA 3334		
187		NA 5219		
188		NA 5308		
189		NA 7049		
190		NA 3113		
191		NA 7001		
192		NA 3998		
193		NA 7064		
194		NA 7014		
195		NA 1191		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Mahawa</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
196		NA 5283		
197		NA 3087		
198		NA 1196		
199		NA 5290		
200		NB 5639		
201		NA 5293		
202		NA 4387		
203		NA 3083		
204		NA 5203		
205		NA 1214		
206		NA 3084		
207		62-6312		
208		NA 3106		
209		NA 5205		
210		NA 5285		
211		NC 0254		
212		NB 9723		
<b>Name of Depot:</b>				
<b>Matara</b>				
<b>No. Bus Number</b>				
213		NB 5884		
214		NB 5446		
215		NA 1283		
216		NA 7004		
217		NB 5462		
218		63-4483		
219		NA 3827		
220		NA 7004		
221		63-4773		
222		63-4499		
223		NA 5099		

**Name of Depot: Kegalle**

No.	Bus Number
224	NA 4205
225	NA 6907
226	NA 6888
227	62-9562
228	GE 4890
229	NA 1360
230	NA 6813
231	NA 3803
232	NA 4813
233	NA 8907
234	NA 4831
235	NA 4366
236	62-9870

**Name of Depot: Mattakkuliya**

No.	Bus Number
237	NA 7036
238	NA 8266
239	NA 7061
240	NA 4686
241	NB 9721
242	NA 1261
243	NA 5210
244	NA 4688
245	NA 2939
246	NA 1194

**Name of Depot: Moratuwa**

No.	Bus Number
247	NA 1247
248	NA 4146
249	NB 1213
250	NA 5078
251	GE 7950
252	NA 3386
253	NA 7764
254	NA 4948

**Name of Depot: Nawalapitiya**

No.	Bus Number
255	NB 8931
256	NA 4364
257	NA 4928
258	GE 1418
259	NA 6142
260	NA 1199
261	NA 4728

**Name of Depot: Nikaweratiya**

No.	Bus Number
262	NA 6842
263	62-5929
264	63-3358
265	NB 8636
266	NA 6842
267	NA 1684
268	NB 5649
269	GE 1486
270	NA 3075
271	NB 8404
272	63-4903
273	61-9218
274	NA 1636
275	NA 4089
276	NA 3990
277	NB 8713
278	NA 6827
279	63-4051
280	NA 5203

**Name of Depot: Nittambuwa**

No.	Bus Number
281	GD 9872
282	65-3761
283	GB 5673
284	GD 9060
285	63-3269
286	GD 9868
287	63-2269
288	GA 6290
289	62-2650

**Name of Depot: Nuwara Eliya**

No.	Bus Number
290	63-4017
291	NB 4043
292	NA 6790

**Name of Depot: Negambo**

No.	Bus Number
293	NB 8660
294	NA 7157
295	63-0687
296	63-3933

**Name of Depot: Panadura**

No.	Bus Number
297	NA 4992
298	NA 5838
299	GE 0115

300	NB 5883
301	NA 4999
302	NA 4751
303	NB 5850
304	NB 5841
305	NB 5821
306	NA 3885
307	NA 3278
308	NA 4006
309	NB 5378

**Name of Depot: Polonnaruwa**

No.	Bus Number
310	62-8270
311	GA 6376
312	63-3144
313	NA 4463
314	NA 3609
315	NA 4751

**Name of Depot: Puttlam**

No.	Bus Number
316	NA 7124
317	NA 2848
318	NA 4173
319	NA 4043
320	GE 7691
321	NB 5642
322	NA 8944
323	NA 4129
324	NA 7125
325	63 - 0133
326	NA 3260
327	NA 4025
328	NA 4103
329	63 - 3033
330	NB 8607
331	NA 9016
332	NA 4056
333	GE 1494
334	NA 1284
335	NB 9628
336	NB 9895
337	NA 3258
338	NA 3305
339	NA 3636
340	62 - 5549
341	62 - 6337
342	NA 4384

**Name of Depot: Ratmalana**

No.	Bus Number
343	NA 4898
344	NA 3624
345	62-4171

346 62-8059  
 347 GB 4446  
 348 NA 4157  
 349 NA 5344  
 350 NA 7019  
 351 63-3189  
 352 NA 3827  
 353 NA 3237  
 354 NA 6991  
 355 NB 9544  
 356 GE 7564  
 357 NA 4194  
 358 NA 5267

**Name of Depot:  
 Thalagama**

No.	Bus Number
359	NA 1236
360	NA 3067
361	63-3688
362	NA 3476
363	NA 4019
364	63-2983
365	NA 5221
366	NA 5228
367	NA 5070
368	NA 2523
369	NA 1254
370	NB 9908

**Name of Depot: Tangalle**

No.	Bus Number
371	NB 5464
372	NA 3062
373	NA 2826
374	NB 5459
375	NA 4205
376	NA 3067
377	NA 1281
378	NA 3056
379	NA 4859
380	NA 2626

**Name of Depot:  
 Udahamulla**

No.	Bus Number
381	NA 5268
382	NA 3734
383	NA 5207
384	NC 0048
385	NA 9074
386	NA 3385
387	NA 1114
388	GE 9739
389	NA 4638
390	NA 2936

**Name of Depot:  
 Vavuniya**

No.	Bus Number
391	NB 8808
392	NA 7012
393	NA 8400
394	NA 9008
395	NB 9177

**Name of Depot: Welisara**

No.	Bus Number
396	NA 1321
397	NA 4714
398	NA 4765
399	NA 4677
400	NB 9228
401	NA 4207
402	NA 4620
403	NA 4582
404	NA 4659
405	NA 3880
406	NA 4656

**Name of Depot:  
 Ratnapura**

No.	Bus Number
407	NA 4898
408	NA 1448

**Name of Depot:  
 Vennappuwa**

No.	Bus Number
409	NB 8669
410	NV 8600
411	NB 5357
412	NB 1450
413	NA 1194

**Name of Depot:  
 Kurunegala South**

No.	Bus Number
414	NA 4237
415	NA 5082
416	63 - 2088
417	NA 2556
418	NA 0788
419	GE 0144
420	63 - 3295
421	GE 1407
422	NA 4411
423	NA 3825
424	63 - 0145
425	GJ 6385
426	NA 2822
427	NA 4865
428	GD 8168
429	NA 4126

**Name of Depot: Point  
 Pedro**

No.	Bus Number
430	NB 8816
431	NB 8931
432	NB 8936
433	NA 1635

**Name of Depot: Koggala**

No.	Bus Number
434	NB 5449
435	NA 3618
436	NA 4955
437	NB 6735

**Name of Depot:  
 Kurunegala North**

No.	Bus Number
438	NA 5340
439	63-4485
440	63-0131
441	NB 5644
442	NB 6590
443	NA 4282
444	63-0132
445	63-0426
446	GA 6204
447	62-1573
448	61-8294
449	61-9236
450	GE 1374
451	NA 4870
452	63-0145
453	NA 4815
454	61-3823
455	62-5549
456	NA 1637
457	63-2346
458	NA 3701
459	63-4173
460	GE 1376
461	NA 1635
462	63-4472
463	GD 8168
464	62-5457
465	63-2349
466	NB 5637
467	63-2138
468	61-3876
469	61-8469
470	NA 5285
471	63-4728
472	NA 3825
473	62-8397

**Name of Depot:**  
**Kuliyapitiya**  
 No. Bus Number  
 474 62 - 3385  
 475 62 - 5160  
 476 62 - 6047  
 477 63 - 0154  
 478 63 - 0681  
 479 63 - 2975  
 480 63 - 4025  
 481 63 - 4873  
 482 63 - 4877  
 483 GA 6893  
 484 GB 4147  
 485 GE 1328  
 486 GE 7681  
 487 NA 1646  
 488 NA 3095  
 489 NA 3866  
 490 NA 3866  
 491 NA 3896  
 492 NB 1232  
 493 NB 5644  
 494 NB 9490  
 495 NB 9492  
 496 NB 9504  
 497 NA 3842

**Name of Depot:**  
**Kirindiwela**  
 No. Bus Number  
 498 NA 2823  
 499 NA 3290  
 500 NB 5860

**Name of Depot:**  
**Wariyapola**  
 No. Bus Number  
 501 63 - 0171  
 502 63 - 8189  
 503 GE 7613  
 504 GE 1492  
 505 NA 6839  
 506 NA 8008  
 507 NB 1231  
 508 NB 3985  
 509 NB 5640  
 510 NB 8692

**Name of Depot: Giriulla**  
 No. Bus Number  
 511 61 - 1390  
 512 63 - 3957  
 513 GE 1478  
 514 GE 5645  
 515 NA 2840  
 516 NA 3430

**Name of Depot:**  
**Galgamuwa**  
 No. Bus Number  
 517 NA 2813  
 518 NA 2837  
 519 NA 7121  
 520 NB 1202  
 521 NB 5818  
 522 NB 8605  
 523 NB 8670

**Name of Depot:**  
**Warakapola**  
 No. Bus Number  
 524 NA 7155

**Name of Depot: Chillaw**  
 No. Bus Number  
 525 63 - 3484  
 526 64 - 0137  
 527 NA 1629  
 528 NA 1639  
 529 NA 2886  
 530 NA 4546  
 531 NA 4623  
 532 NB 4460  
 533 NB 8386  
 534 NB 8698  
 535 NB 9910

**Name of Depot:**  
**Mawanella**  
 No. Bus Number  
 536 60-8320  
 537 61-3676  
 538 61-6513  
 539 61-8480  
 540 61-9983  
 541 61-9998  
 542 62-6380  
 543 62-6514  
 544 63 - 3947  
 545 63-0017  
 546 63-1016  
 547 63-1642  
 548 63-2090  
 549 63-2127  
 550 63-2392  
 551 63-2402  
 552 63-3229  
 553 63-3254  
 554 63-6843  
 555 63-8420  
 556 63-8720  
 557 GE 1474  
 558 NA 1641  
 559 NA 2810

560 NA 2929  
 561 NA 3314  
 562 NA 3351  
 563 NA 4848  
 564 NA 5093  
 565 NA 5095  
 566 NA 8719  
 567 NA 8723  
 568 NA 8909  
 569 NB 3982  
 570 NB 5652  
 571 NB 5654  
 572 NB 8587  
 573 NB 8719  
 574 NB 8723  
 575 NB 8922  
 576 NB 9536  
 577 NB 9911

**Name of Depot: Jaela**  
 No. Bus Number  
 578 NA 7284  
 579 NA 1319  
 580 62-8083  
 581 NA 3060  
 582 43-3029

**Name of Depot:**  
**Gampaha**  
 No. Bus Number  
 583 62-3477  
 584 GA 9868  
 585 GD 4963  
 586 GA 5741  
 587 63-3265  
 588 63-4377  
 589 NA 3559  
 590 NA 4876  
 591 NA 4963

**Name of Depot:**  
**Rambukkana**  
 No. Bus Number  
 592 NA 3074  
 593 NA 1645  
 594 61-8877  
 595 NB 6801  
 596 NA 3200

**Name of Depot:**  
**Narammala**  
 No. Bus Number  
 597 63-3929

**Name of Depot: Angoda**  
No. Bus Number  
598 63-4710  
599 NA 4872  
600 63-3599  
601 NA 3795

**Name of Depot: Kalawana**  
No. Bus Number  
602 NB 7562  
603 NB 3496  
604 GD 8026  
605 NA 4901  
606 NB 6180

**Name of Depot: Katubedda**  
No. Bus Number  
607 NB 9814  
608 NA 1232  
609 NA 1268  
610 NA 1111  
611 NA 3422  
612 NA 4025

**Name of Depot: Meethotamulla**  
No. Bus Number  
613 NB 9545  
614 NA 5221  
615 NA 3421  
616 NB 9223  
617 NB 9429  
618 NA 4115  
619 NA 1125  
620 NA 9424  
621 NA 6984

**Name of Depot: Ambalangoda**  
No. Bus Number  
622 NB 9651  
623 NA 1506  
624 NA 3659  
625 NA 1146

**Name of Depot: Mathugama**  
No. Bus Number  
626 NA 4895  
627 NB 9565  
628 NB 5394

**Name of Depot: Kaluthara**  
No. Bus Number  
629 NB 5423  
630 NB 7080

**Name of Depot: Urubokka**  
No. Bus Number  
631 NA 5019  
632 NA 4319

**Name of Depot: Kandy North**  
No. Bus Number  
633 NA 2792  
634 NA 3682

**Name of Depot: Kandy**  
No. Bus Number  
635 GT 8057  
636 63-4116  
637 NA 1237  
638 NB 5639

**Name of Depot: Bandarawela**  
No. Bus Number  
639 NB 1214  
640 NB 3214

**Name of Depot: Badulla**  
No. Bus Number  
641 NA 4367  
642 NB 0392

**Name of Depot: Halebedda**  
No. Bus Number  
643 NA 4843

**Name of Depot: Nagollagama**  
No. Bus Number  
644 NA 3084

**Name of Depot: Diwulapitiya**  
No. Bus Number  
645 63-6307  
646 63-4399  
647 NA 4187

**Name of Depot: Karapane**  
No. Bus Number  
648 30-7726

**Name of Depot: Akkaraipattu**  
No. Bus Number  
649 NB 8634

**Name of Depot: Ampara**  
No. Bus Number  
650 NA 4698

**Name of Depot: Elpitiya**  
No. Bus Number  
651 NA 1370

**Name of Depot: Kala Wewa**  
No. Bus Number  
652 NB 6123

**Name of Depot: Kalawanchikudi**  
No. Bus Number  
653 NB 8631

**Name of Depot: Kalmune**  
No. Bus Number  
654 NA 3765

**Name of Depot: Killinotchchi**  
No. Bus Number  
655 NB 8860

**Name of Depot: Kothmale**  
No. Bus Number  
656 NA 3776

**Name of Depot: Theldeniya**  
No. Bus Number  
657 NA 2856

**Name of Depot: Ududumbara**  
No. Bus Number  
658 NA 1312

**Name of Depot: Hanguranketha**  
No. Bus Number  
659 NA 7115

**Name of Depot: Kurunegala**  
No. Bus Number  
660 NA 4282

**Name of Depot:**  
**Yatinuwara**  
No. Bus Number  
661 63-4224  
662 NA 6828  
663 NA 4276

**Name of Depot:**  
**Thudugama**  
No. Bus Number  
664 NB 5425

**Name of Depot: Muthur**  
No. Bus Number  
665 NB 8914

**Name of Depot: Matale**  
No. Bus Number  
666 NB 6510  
667 NA 8901  
668 NA 3633

**Name of Depot:**  
**Hakmana**  
No. Bus Number  
669 NA 4982

**Name of Depot:**  
**Siyambalanduwa**  
No. Bus Number  
670 NB 8249

**Name of Depot:**  
**Godakawela**  
No. Bus Number  
671 63-1831

**Name of Depot:**  
**Beruwala**  
No. Bus Number  
672 NA 1420

**Name of Depot:**  
**Kosgama**  
No. Bus Number  
673 NA 3657

**Name of Depot:**  
**Wadduwa**  
No. Bus Number  
674 NA 3201

**Name of Depot: Siripura**  
No. Bus Number  
675 NA 3844

**Name of Depot:**  
**Devnuwara**  
No. Bus Number  
676 NA 3977

**Name of Depot: Kantale**  
No. Bus Number  
677 NC 0299  
678 NA 2791

**Name of Depot:**  
**Monaragala**  
No. Bus Number  
679 62-2008

**Name of Depot:**  
**Kaduruwela**  
No. Bus Number  
680 GE 3881

**Name of Depot:**  
**Gammiriswewa**  
No. Bus Number  
681 61-4243

**Name of Depot: Elahara**  
No. Bus Number  
682 GA 8406

**Name of Depot: Mannar**  
No. Bus Number  
683 NB 8802

**Name of Depot: Eravur**  
No. Bus Number  
684 61-3501

**Name of Depot:**  
**Colombo**  
No. Bus Number  
685 NA 1319

**Name of Depot:**  
**Polonnaruwa**  
No. Bus Number  
686 NA 1123

# සියලුම විභාගාධිපති හිමිවරුන් ඇතුළු

මහා සංඝරත්නයට කෙරෙන ගෞරවජුර්වක ආයාචනයයි

ගරුකර ස්වාමීන් වහන්ස,

ඉදිරි මැතිවරණයට තරඟ කරන අපේක්ෂකයන් තමන්ගේ ප්‍රචාරාත්මක කාර්යයන් ලෙස ලබන ජනවාරි 04 වැනිදාට යෙදෙන පෝය දිනයේදී දිවයිනේ විභාගස්ථානවලදී සිල් රෙදි බෙදාදීමේ වැඩපිළිවෙළක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වීමට නියමිතය.

රුපියල් කෝටි ගණනක් වැය කර සිදු කෙරෙන මෙම වැඩපිළිවෙළ මැතිවරණ නීතියට සම්පූර්ණයෙන් පටහැනිය.

**ජනාධිපතිවරණ පනතේ 77 වන වගන්තිය අනුව, මෙම ක්‍රියාව 'ජන්දය දීමට දූෂිත ලෙස ඛලපෑම් කිරීමක්' වන අතර, එහි 78(1) වගන්තිය යටතේ එසේ සිදු කරනු ලබන්නන් වැරදිකරුවන් ලෙස සැලකේ.**

**එමෙන්ම ජනාධිපතිවරයා තෝරා පත්කර ගැනීම පිළිබඳ පනතේ 79 වන වගන්තිය යටතේ එය අල්ලසක් ලබාදීමක් ලෙසද සැලකේ.**

මැතිවරණය අවසන් වන තුරු මෙම ක්‍රියාව ඔබ වහන්සේගේ විභාගස්ථානය තුළ සිදු නොකරන ලෙසත්, එසේ සිල් රෙදි බෙදා දීමක් කිසිවකු විසින් සිදු කරන්නේ නම් එයට විරුද්ධ වන ලෙසත් අපි ඉතා ගෞරව ජුර්වකව ඔබවහන්සේලාගෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිමු.

## **පොදු දේපළ රැකගැනීමේ වැඩසටහන**

ට්‍රාන්ස්පේරන්සි ඉන්ටනැෂනල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා,

නො. 183/5 හයිලෙවල් පාර, කොළඹ 06.

දුරකථන - 0114369781/0115627432      ෆැක්ස් - 0112514588

# සියලු විභාගීන්ගේ වරෙන් ඇතුළු මහා සංසරත්නයට කෙරෙන නමස්කාර පූර්වක පැහැදිලි කිරීමයි.

ගරුකර ස්වාමීන් වහන්ස,

“ප්‍රාන්තපේරන්සි ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා” නැමැති රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානය (NGO) විසින් 2015-01-01 දින දරන දිවයින පුවත්පතේ “පොදු දේපල රැක ගැනීමේ වැඩසටහන” ලෙස හඳුන්වා ගනිමින් පළ කරන ලද දැන්වීමක් මගින් එළඹෙන පොහොය දිනයේ දී දිවයිනේ බෞද්ධ විභාගීන්ගේ සිල් රෙදි බෙදාදීමේ වැඩපිලිවෙලක් ඇති බවත්, එය ජනාධිපතිවරණ පනතේ 77, 78 (1) සහ 79 වගන්ති යටතේ වරදක් වන බවත්, එවැනි සිදුවීමක් යම් විභාගීන්ගේ සිදුවන්නේ නම් එයට විරුද්ධ වන ලෙසත් විභාගීන්ගේ හිමිවරුන් ඇතුළු මහා සංසරත්නයට දැනුම්දීමක් සිදු කර ඇත.

එකී රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානය විසින් පළ කරන ලද දැන්වීමේ ඇතුළත් කරුණු සම්පූර්ණයෙන් සාවද්‍ය බවත්, එවැනි ක්‍රියාවක් ජනාධිපතිවරණ පනතේ ප්‍රතිපාදනයන්ට කිසිසේත්ම අදාළ නොවන බවත්, ශ්‍රී ලංකා ආණ්ඩුක්‍රම ව්‍යවස්ථාවේ 10 වන ව්‍යවස්ථාව මගින් සෑම රටවැසියකුටම තමන් කැමති ආගමක් ඇදහීමේ අයිතිවාසිකම ඇතුළු සිතීමේ, හෘද සාක්ෂියේ සහ ආගමික නිදහස තහවුරු කර ඇති බව අපි වැඩිදුරටත් අවධාරණය කර සිටිමු.

බෞද්ධයන් විරාත් කාලයක් මුළුල්ලේ හික්මු හික්මු උපාසක උපාසිකා යන සිව්වනක් පිරිස විෂයෙහි පුජා කරනු ලබන සිව්පසය ඇතුළු පුජා භාණ්ඩ පිරිනැමීම කිසිසේත්ම අල්ලසක් හෝ නීති විරෝධී ක්‍රියාවක් ලෙස හැඳින්විය නොහැක.

මෙම රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානය විසින් කර ඇති ඉල්ලීම බෞද්ධයන්ගේ මූලික අයිතිවාසිකම් උල්ලංඝනය කරනු ලබන ප්‍රකාශයක් බවත්, රටේ බහුතරයක් වූ බෞද්ධ ජනතාවගේ ආගමික අයිතිය උදුරා ගැනීමට හෝ හැල්ලුවට ලක් කිරීමට කිසිදු රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානයකට හෝ යම් නිලධාරියෙකුට අයිතියක් නොමැති බවත්, ඒ සඳහා ගන්නාවූ උත්සාහයන්ට විරුද්ධ වීමට ඔබවහන්සේලාට අයිතියක් ඇති බවත්, ඒ සඳහා අවශ්‍ය සියලු නීතිමය සහායන් අප සංවිධානය විසින් ලබා දෙන බවත් ගෞරවයෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කර සිටිමු.

**නිදහස් මව්බිමේ නීතිඥයෝ සංවිධානය**  
අංක 41, බෙල්මන්ට් විදිය, අළුත්කඩ, කොළඹ 12.  
දුරකථන / ෆැක්ස් - 0112891203



# **A STUDY ON THE BEHAVIOR OF STATE MEDIA DURING THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**



# BACKGROUND

The Programme for Protection of Public Resources (PPPR) is an initiative taken up by Transparency International Sri Lanka (TISL) in order to combat corruption and for the protection of public resources during the elections. Under this initiative a study to monitor the state media behaviour during the campaign for the Presidential Election 2015 was also conducted. This chapter presents a summary of findings.

## INTRODUCTION

The will of the people - expressed without hindrance and in genuine, democratic elections - is the basis of authority of any democratic government. Democratic governance requires an active and informed citizenry, and the media plays a vital role in providing citizens with information they need to exercise their right to take part in governmental and public affairs. One of the main concerns of media coverage of elections is the right of voters to full and accurate information, and their rights to participate in debates and dialogue on policy matters among themselves and with politicians.

We believe that state-controlled media - television, radio and newspapers - owned or controlled by the state should be held to the highest standards of accuracy and fairness, objectivity and balance. Government in a democracy is by definition derived from the people, and the will of the people is the basis of authority for democratic government. State media therefore - like all state resources - are the property of the citizens. They must be used in the public's interest and not for the private or political interests of a person or specific political party. All state-owned and state-controlled media therefore have an important obligation to provide citizens with accurate, impartial and balanced coverage regardless of which political party or parties are in power. It is proper and even necessary for citizens' organizations, political parties and candidates to insist on media fairness, balance and accuracy and to call upon government authorities to manage public media in a way that safeguards citizens' rights to the information they need as voters.

# METHODOLOGY

The research team comprised of the team leader, lead researcher, an external resource pool (media practitioners with post graduate qualifications), research assistants (undergraduate students from social sciences and law), and three supervisors for each language (Sinhala, English and Tamil), data entry and analysts and an internal support team. The team was provided capacity building and awareness raising on media monitoring concepts, theories and practical training by a group of experts in the sector.

As the initial step, three research or survey questions were generated eliciting the purpose and goals of the research project:

- Does the state media provide unbiased, non-partisan and comprehensive information for the voters to make an informed decision?
- Does the state media provide spaces or platforms for debate and discussion?
- Does the media adhere to and respect the code of ethics, accepted practices and norms of journalism?

Three separate questionnaires were developed for print (newspapers), electronic (radio) and television with the focus of identifying the role of state media engagement towards keeping voters informed, available space or platform for debate and discussion of different views/ opinions and adherence and respect for code of ethics and elements in journalism.

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected through primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected from electronic and print media through the judgmental sampling method, using a structured questionnaire. As there are numerous aspects of media performance that could be monitored, it was felt that all three types of analysis – that is quantitative, qualitative and a combination of both were required. Thus an approach of systematic, rule steered qualitative text analysis, which tries to preserve some methodical strengths of quantitative content analysis and widen them to a conceptual concept of qualitative procedure, was adopted.

For the study, the newspapers Dinamina/ Silumina, Thinakaran/ Varamanjaree and Ceylon Daily News (CDN)/ Sunday Observer published during the period 08th of December, 2014 to 10th of January 2015 were selected. In print media the front page of all newspapers were analysed taking into consideration the space allocated for headlines in the lead news, photos, each news item with their continuations to other pages and advertisements. Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation, Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and ITN channels were monitored and for the electronic media sample the main news during prime time (6am to 8am on radio and 6p.m to 11p.m on television channels) were selected taking into consideration the broadcast of main news.

As a whole, we tried to examine whether the state media offered a fair, just and balance coverage of the election adhering to accepted professional journalistic norms and standards. The number of news items allocated for each candidate, whether such news items exalted or deflated the image of the candidate, whether the focus was on the main issues and the policies of candidates rather than personal qualities, and information on voter education, were some of the aspects taken into consideration in both print and electronic media.

**TABLE 1: METHOD OF SAMPLING**

Electronic and Print Media	Duration	Sample size
Radio	14/12/2014 – 10/01/2015	
City FM		27
Lakhada		26
Wasantham		27
TV	14/12/2014 – 10/01/2015	
ITN		28
Rupavahini		28
Vasantham		28
Channel Eye		28
News Papers	9/12/2014 – 10/01/2015	
Dinamina		28
Silumina		5
Daily news		28
Sunday observer		5
Thinakaran		28
Varamanjari	5	
Total (N)		291

# NEWS MEDIA

The influence of the media on people's voting decisions during election times has been known for a long time in mass communication research. The impact is undoubtedly dependent on how news is framed and interpreted. According to conventional wisdom, this perceived role is magnified during election campaigns when political journalists, media organizations, politicians, party machinery and candidates accelerate their political coverage efforts.

Thus as a fundamental step it was decided to find out how newspapers, radio and TV devoted time/ space for election related items and how that was shared among the presidential candidates.

**TABLE 2: TOTAL TIME OR SPACE OF NEWS LINE UP IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD**

Channel	Total time or space	Non election related	Election related	Election related			
				MR	MS	Other	Neutral
<b>Radio</b>							
City FM	340.41	85.41	255 (100%)	184 (72%)	64 (25%)	0 (0%)	7 (3%)
Lakhada	991.05	129.08	861.57 (100%)	574.11 (67%)	198.37 (23%)	0 (0%)	89.09 (10%)
Wasantham	323.10	125.54	197.16 (100%)	135.2 (69%)	13.27 (7%)	0 (0%)	48.29 (24%)
<b>Television</b>							
ITN	646.54	45.27	601.27 (100%)	329.29 (55%)	252.21 (42%)	0 (0%)	19.37 (3%)
Rupavahini	652.25	124.18	528.07 (100%)	234.52 (44%)	221.49 (42%)	0 (0%)	72.06 (14%)
Channel Eye	542.22	92.22	450 (100%)	271.11 (60%)	108.44 (24%)	0 (0%)	70.45 (16%)
Vasantham	623.09	155.57	467.52 (100%)	367.16 (78%)	50.18 (11%)	0 (0%)	50.18 (11%)
<b>Print Media</b>							
Dinamina/ Silumina	90024.1	31508.44	58515.66 (100%)	41411.08 (71%)	16204.34 (28%)	0 (0%)	900.24 (1%)
Daily news/ Sunday Observer	40431.92	1820.32	38611.60 (100%)	25067.79 (65%)	12938.21 (34%)	0 (0%)	605.60 (1%)
Thinakaran/ Varamanjari	70911	8509.32	62401.68 (100%)	41128.38 (66%)	13473.09 (22%)	0 (0%)	7800.21 (12%)

The above table shows that the state electronic media radio channelled a total of 1654 minutes and 56 seconds for the news broadcasts, out of which 1314 minutes and 13 seconds (79%) were allocated for election related news. Thus, as could be expected, more time in newscasts were devoted to election news. Out of this, time allocated for the incumbent President Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR) amounted to 893 minutes and 31 seconds, i.e., a 68% and for the 276 minutes and 04 seconds which was 21% with no time being allocated for any other candidate in the news broadcasts.

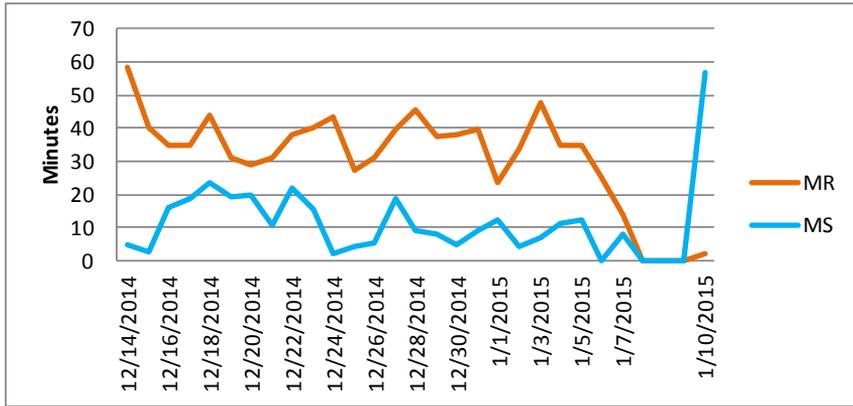
This table also highlight another feature: which is the distinct differences between Lakhanda Sinhala channel and Vasantham Tamil channel in presenting news in the news broadcasts. While Lakhanda has allocated 861 minutes and 57 seconds for election related news items on Vasantham it had been 197 minutes and 57 seconds.. Although there is no significant variation between the time allocated for incumbent President Mahinda Rajapaksa in the news broadcasts of both channels with Lakhanda broadcasting for 67% and Vasantham for 69% and there is a significantly greater variation in time allocated for the common candidate Maithripala Sirisena (MS) with Lakhanda allocating 23% while Vasantham has allocated only 7%.

The study sample for state electronic media – television the four television channels (ITN, Rupavahini, Channel Eye, Vasantham) had allocated a total duration of 2464 minutes and 10 seconds while out of this election related news items were 2047 minutes and 26 seconds which was (83%). Out of this total time allocated for the incumbent President Mahinda Rajapaksa was 1202 minutes and 8 seconds which is a (59%) and for the common candidate Maithripala Sirisena 632 minutes and 32 seconds which is a 31%. All these channels had not allocated time for any other candidate.

When taking this table into consideration there are no distinct differences in the news line up of both Sinhala channels but in the English channel time allocated for incumbent President Mahinda Rajapaksa was (64%) and for the common candidate Maithripala Sirisena 24%. While the Tamil channel had allocated 79% for incumbent President Mahinda Rajapaksa and 11% of the time for common candidate Maithripala Sirisena.

**FIGURE 1: COMPARISON OF THE TOTAL TIME OR SPACE OF NEWS LINE UP IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION (14 DEC 2014 – 10 JAN 2015)**

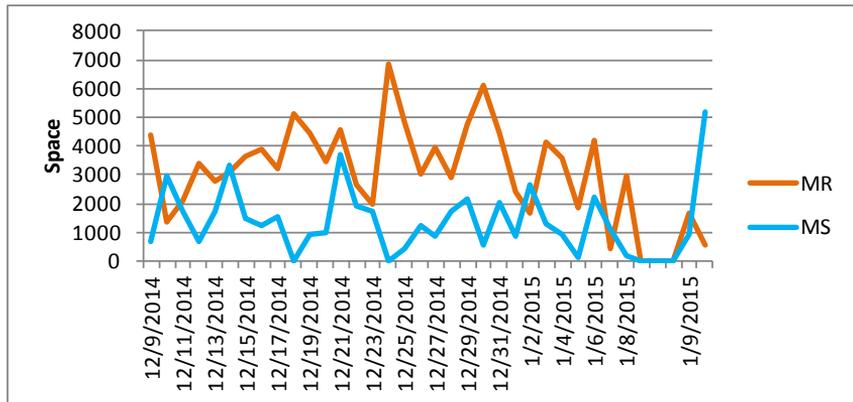
**RADIO**



**TELEVISION**



**PAPERS**



These tables clearly show the behaviour change of the state media with the defeat of MR on 08th January. The time/ space allocated for Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR) and Maithripala Sirisena (MS) shows a drastic change after the results was released. It was not clear whether it was due to providing coverage of the victory of Maithripala Sirisena or whether it was a shift in decision making powers in state media or whether it was due to both factors. Apart from Dinamina, Thinkaran and Varamanjari in all other state media the space and time for Mahinda Rajapaksa was less than 08%. The space allocation in Dinamina and Thinakaran exceeds 25% as Dinamina inaccurately reporting the victory of Mahinda Rajapaksa. This creates a serious issue leading to questioning the credibility of state media. The state media violated readers' rights to accurate information. In this instance Rupavahini and English state media had not reported or allocated any spaces for Mahinda Rajapaksa.

Consequently in analysing the data it can be concluded that in allocating the time and space of the state media, it was done without concentrating on following a proper and formal policy framework and thus it can be observed that they have conducted their communication process based on an irrational and prejudiced basis. Hence a thorough scrutiny on the behaviour of the state media during these two days reveals a sudden transformation in their prime consideration from Mahinda Rajapaksa to Maithreepala Sirisena.

# ANALYSIS OF HEADLINES IN THE PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA

The function or roles of the headlines are to index the parts of the news of greatest interest to each reader, tell the gist of the news to the reader, convey the reader the relative significance of the news and seriousness of the news: e.g.: italics and various decorative typographical devices such as boxes, stars, dashes, and so on indicate that a story is primarily included for some value other than the significance of the news it conveys.

Another function of headlines is to make the newspaper attractive. The headline in all its various forms is essential to assembling age catching yet coherent new pages and it also gives the newspaper character and stability. The consistent use of familiar headline structures gives the newspapers a relatively familiar and welcome personality.

The content of the information and messages that the media provided for the public through a variety of programmes is given a thorough concentration by the public. Specifically news is prioritized since people are inquisitive and concentrate on the content of contemporary news items. In relation to this the vitality of the function that the headlines do in providing people with information and news reports becomes highly crucial.

# ANALYZING PROCESS

Consequently within this analysing process, the manner through which both the print and electronic media have created and used the headlines, the communication that they have done by means of those headlines, the space that each presidential candidate was allocated within those headlines and also the manner through which the headlines were distributed among each presidential candidate during the time period that was selected for the research are comprehensively analysed.

In relation to the time period that was taken into consideration for the analysis, it is recognized that the total amount of the headlines in the front pages of the print media and headlines in the news in radio and television channels is 1648 and from them 446 relate to the radio, 573 to television channels and 629 are related to the print media.

**TABLE 3: THE TOTAL NUMBER OF HEADLINES IN FRONT PAGE OF NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS BROADCAST DURING THE PERIOD TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION:**

Channel	Number of headlines	Non related	Election related	Election related			
				MR	MS	Other	Neutral
City FM	171	50	121 (100%)	97 (80%)	13 (11%)	0 (0%)	11 (9%)
Lakhada	123	43	80 (100%)	55 (69%)	16 (20%)	0 (0%)	9 (11%)
Vasantham	152	66	86 (100%)	73 (85%)	12 (14%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
ITN	164	52	112 (100%)	74 (66%)	14 (13%)	0 (0%)	24 (21%)
Rupavahini	137	43	94 (100%)	53 (56%)	22 (23%)	0 (0%)	19 (21%)
Channel Eye	133	35	98 (100%)	77 (78%)	13 (13%)	0 (0%)	8 (9%)
Vasantham	139	50	89 (100%)	66 (71%)	12 (15%)	0 (0%)	11 (14%)
Dinamina/ Silumina	126	20	106 (100%)	94 (88%)	6 (6%)	0 (0%)	6 (6%)
Daily news/ Sunday Observer	205	29	176 (100%)	110 (63%)	46 (26%)	0 (0%)	20 (11%)
Thinakaran/ Varamanjari	298	89	209 (100%)	137 (67%)	34 (16%)	0 (0%)	38 (17%)

## **RADIO CHANNELS**

In concentrating on the radio channels, City FM, Lakhada and Vasantham (Tamil) it can be elucidated that the total number of the headlines is 446 and from that 287 headlines were figured out as the ones which are related with the news reports of the presidential election. A thorough examination on that group of headlines has revealed that 225 of them (78%) have provided the space for Mahinda Rajapaksa (the president during that time) and 41 of the headlines (14%) were dedicated to the common candidate Maithreepala sirisena while other presidential candidates haven't got any space among the headlines.

## **TELEVISION CHANNELS**

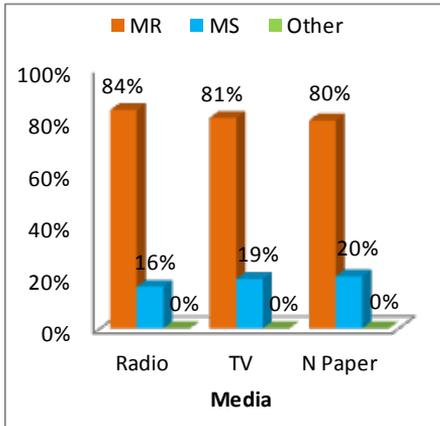
When considering the headlines that were telecasted in the television channels that were selected for the analysis, it was found that from the total amount of headlines (573), 393 (69%) have provided the space for the election and in analysing how they are distributed among the presidential candidates it is identified that 341 of the headlines (69%) have represented Mahinda Rajapaksa while 61 of them (15%) have stood for Maithreepala Sirisena. The other candidates were not allocated space among those headlines.

## **PRINT MEDIA**

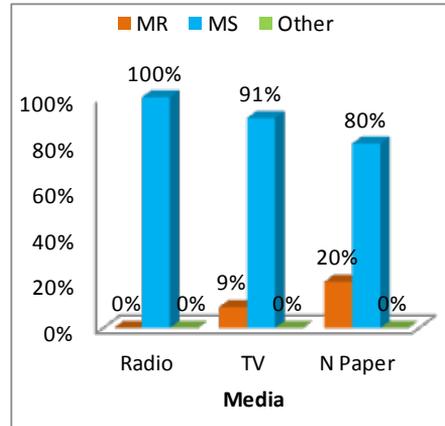
With regard to the print media that was selected for the analysis it can be analysed that from the total amount of headlines (629) in the front pages of the newspapers 491 (78%) are related with the presidential election while from them 341 (69%) have stood for Mahinda Rajapaksa and 86 of them (18%) have represented Maithreepala Sirisena. The other presidential candidates were not given space in relation to the headlines.

These two figures illustrate how the state electronic and print media allocated their news headlines for each candidate.

**FIGURE 2: NEWS HEADLINES IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA DURING ELECTION PERIOD**



**FIGURE 3: NEWS HEADLINES IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA AFTER THE ELECTION**



When one examined the overall situation it is obvious that both electronic and print media have not paid attention on the other candidates at all. It should be noted that failing to give a reasonable coverage for the candidates is another bad practice of state media. It seems to be that the government media has not considered them as official candidates for the Presidential Election.

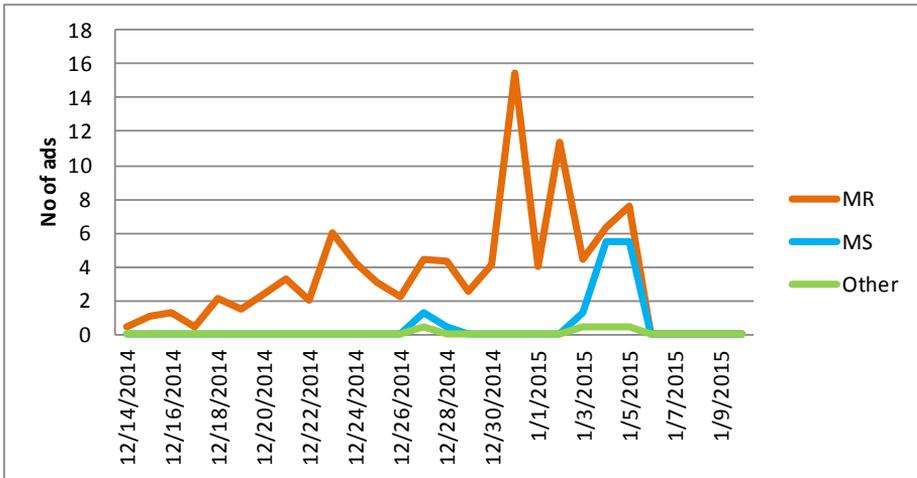
# ADVERTISEMENTS OVER RUPAVAHINI AND ITN

Under this theme advertisements broadcast during newscasts were examined to find out how they were shared between the candidates and to identify the trends of placing advertisement as the campaign reached its climax.

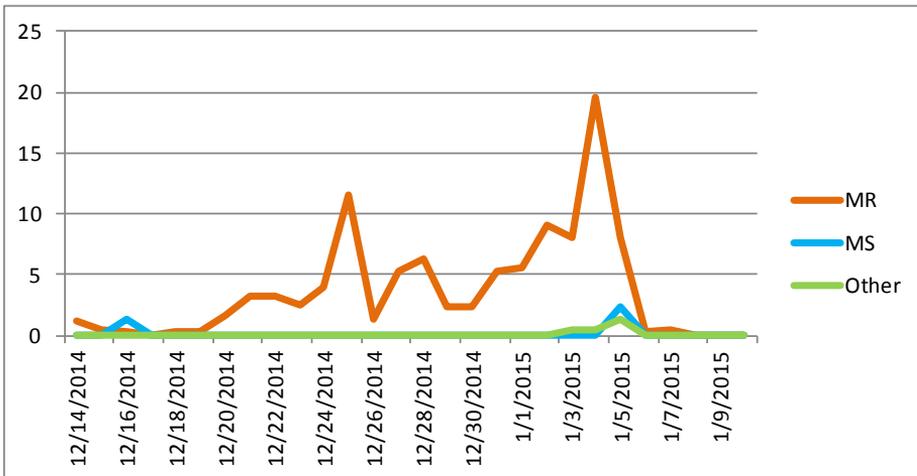
Undoubtedly television advertisements have a direct and indirect impact on viewers. During the period under review the two state Sinhala television channels Rupavahini and ITN had broadcast 679 advertisements and out of this 328 were election related advertisements of which 281, that is 86%, were directly related to Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR) the incumbent President at the time while only 29, that is 9% were related to common candidate Maithripala Sirisena (MS). Advertisements of other candidates as a total was 8 which was 2% and used for another candidate R. A. Sirisena to bring discredit to the common candidate. During the blackout period 10 advertisements in favour of Mahinda Rajapaksa were broadcast on Rupavahini.

It must be noted that while huge amount of advertisements were placed on behalf of Mahinda Rajapaksa, it is not known who paid for these and the amount it cost. In many advertisements it was not mentioned that they were paid advertisements and some were camouflaged to appear as information on development work but clearly favouring the candidature of Mahinda Rajapaksa.

**FIGURE 4: ADVERTISEMENTS ON ITN**



**FIGURE 5: ADVERTISEMENT ON RUPAVAHINI**



The above graphs show how the placement of advertisements in favour of Mahinda Rajapaksa increased as the polling day approached.

As for front page advertisements in the newspapers almost no ads appeared except one by a government organization in support of the candidature of Mahinda Rajapaksa in an indirect way. As such, these were neither counted nor compared.

# ANALYSIS OF TECHNIQUES USED TO FAVOR CANDIDATES

Allocating more time/ space for the candidates of their choice is a common ruse used by the media. In the news monitored we detected more subtle use of techniques used by the state media especially by electronic media. Apart from technical methods such as camera angles, doctored photographs, we examined three propaganda theories used to favour candidate of their choice. A brief note below explains two of them while the third is self-explanatory.

## IMAGE PRIMING

The "hypodermic needle theory" implies that mass media have a direct, immediate and powerful effect on its audiences. The theory suggests that the mass media could influence a very large group of people directly and uniformly by 'shooting' or 'injecting' them with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response<sup>1</sup>.

Here what we were trying to find out was whether the media text (TV, audio and print) is trying to 'inject' ideas into the minds of media readers (viewers, listeners and readers) expecting instant influence.

## PROMOTING IMAGES BY SPREADING IDEAS

An effort was made to find out whether the media text (TV, audio and print) is trying to 'plant' ideas into the minds of media readers (viewers, listeners and readers) in order to achieve a delayed cumulative result.

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1. Both images used to express this theory (a bullet and a needle) suggest a powerful and direct flow of information from the sender to the receiver. The bullet theory graphically suggests that the message is a bullet, fired from the "media gun" into the viewer's "head". With similarly emotive imagery the hypodermic needle model suggests that media messages are injected straight into a passive audience which is immediately influenced by the message. They express the view that the receiver or audience is powerless to resist the impact of the message. There is no escape from the effect of the message in these models. The population is seen as a sitting duck. People are seen as passive and are seen as having a lot media material "shot" at them. People end up thinking what they are told because there is no other source of information.

Theory that television cultivates or creates a world view that, although possible inaccurate, becomes the reality because people believe it to be so<sup>2</sup>.

**TABLE 4: TECHNIQUES USED IN NEWS BULLETINS TO FAVOUR CANDIDATES**

Channel	Technical		Hyperdomic Needle		Cultivation		Image building	
	MR	MS	MR	MS	MR	MS	MR	MS
City FM	121	12	145	10	142	10	133	8
Lakhada	110	13	104	8	103	7	93	6
Wasantham	65	2	56	3	24	3	32	0
ITN	77	9	97	9	152	0	166	8
Rupawahini	108	21	101	21	110	14	101	16
Channel Eye	21	4	42	9	94	4	74	8
Wasantham	37	10	47	5	17	1	114	10
Dinamina/ Silumina	37	3	29	3	40	0	70	2
Daily news/ Sunday Observer	42	12	38	22	46	23	56	12
Thinakaran/ Varamanjari	77	2	38	3	29	0	96	0

The table clearly shows how state media favored incumbent president Mahinda Rajapaksha. As stated above, state media have made use of these techniques more frequently. As for Maithripala Sirisena, all these techniques were used to discredit him and disfavor.

The following graphs further illustrate the behavior in image handling of the two main presidential candidates. It is clearly seen that during the election period SLBC has made an effort to create positive image for incumbent president while tarnishing or creating negative image for opposite candidate. The situation clearly show a need of policy reform in relation to state media.

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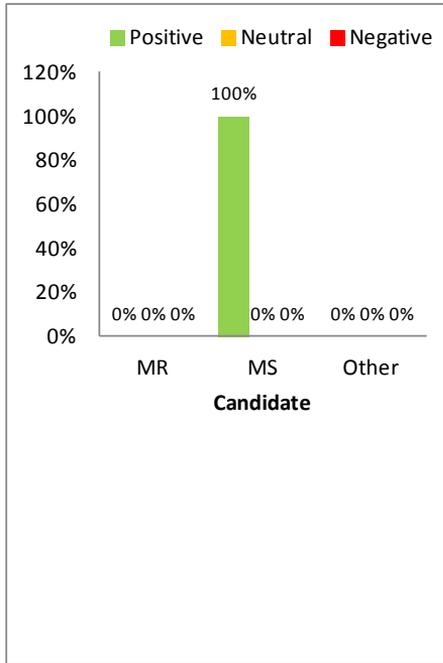
2. Cultivation theory (sometimes referred to as the cultivation hypothesis or cultivation analysis) is an approach that 'effects' tradition to determine the delayed effects of media watching developed by Professor George Gerbner. This theory posits that television may influence viewers' ideas of what the everyday world is like and the cultivation theorists argue that television has long-term effects which are gradual, indirect but cumulative and significant.

Cultivation theory in its most basic form, suggests that television is responsible for shaping, or 'cultivating' viewers'

**FIGURE 6: IMAGE HANDLING BY STATE RADIO DURING ELECTION PERIOD**



**FIGURE 7: IMAGE HANDLING BY STATE RADIO AFTER THE ELECTION PERIOD**



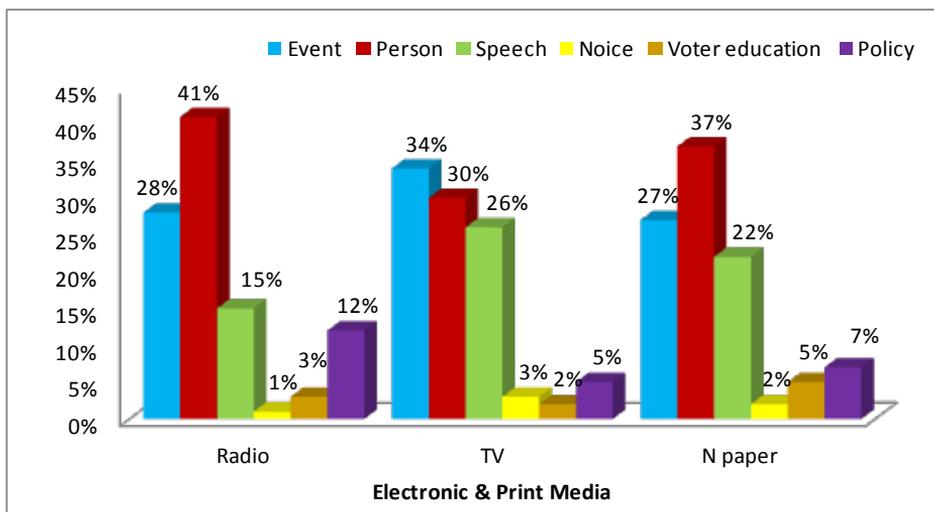
# SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MEDIA

The public and the media tend to maintain a vital interaction and interdependence since the media has got the responsibility for improving the awareness of the public and leading them to perceive the socio political consequences with a broader and rational perception. Consequently during the presidential election in 2015 the behaviour of state media; electronic and print should be given a thorough concentration in identifying how they approach and address the public in making them perceive the prevailing socio political consequences, with improved awareness.

The concept of voter education comes to surface within the approach that the state media takes toward the sphere of the public. Consequently educating the voter about every socio political circumstance that exists within the social sphere practicing a considerable influence upon public life and improving their awareness of the political manifesto, policies, principles and many other necessary details pertaining to the candidates and the political parties can be stated as an imperative responsibility of the state media.

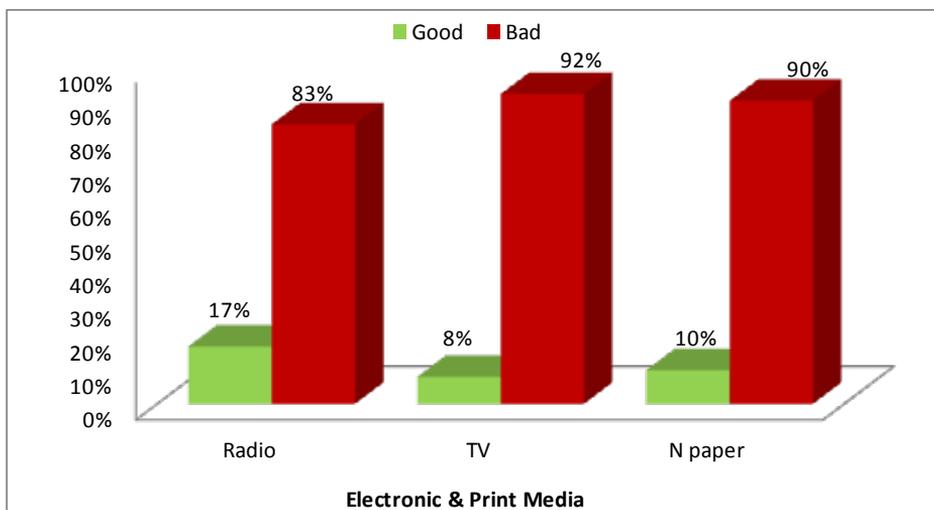
In perceiving the behaviour of the state media during the presidential election and concentrating on how they uphold their responsibility toward the public, a generalization can be developed that the state media is utilized not for the enhancement of public awareness but for exaggerating and inflating a candidate and his activities, attributing positive characteristics to his personality. Thus instead of functioning in accordance with media rules, regulations, ethics and standards the state media has adopted only the methods of advertising in relation to the incumbent President in the presidential election.

**FIGURE 8: CONTENT OF THE ELECTION RELATED NEWS ITEMS DIVIDED UNDER SIX MAIN CATEGORIES IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA**



In concentrating on the behaviour of state media through analysing those categories of media within one overall picture it can be elucidated that they have allocated less space for improving the awareness of the people and developing a crucial discourse about the political manifesto of the candidates while giving highest priority for unnecessarily emphasizing the incidents, inflating the characters of the candidates and telecasting the speeches without maintaining a proper perimeter.

**FIGURE 9: CONTENT OF THE ELECTION RELATED NEWS ITEMS DIVIDED UNDER TWO MAIN CATEGORIES IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA**



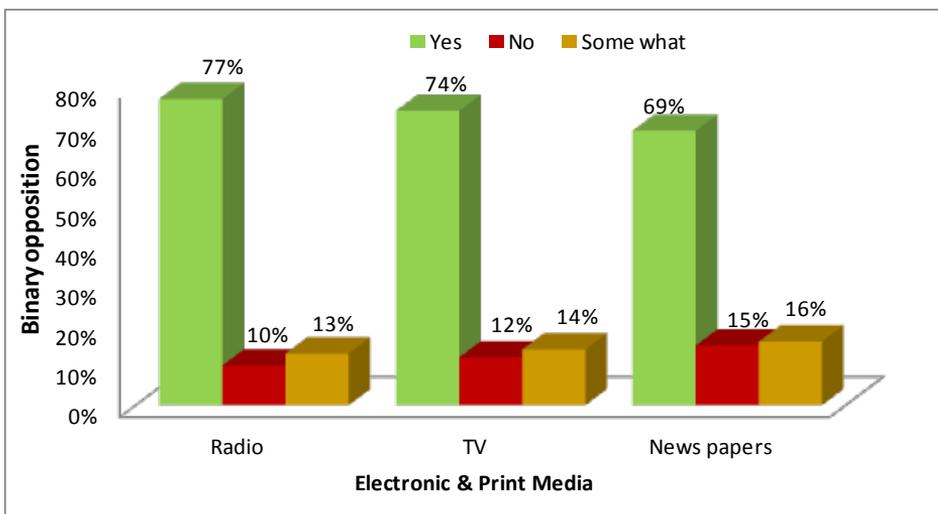
In examining above mentioned detailed factors categorizing as the Good media practice and Bad media practice it can be identified that both the electronic and print media have utilized their capacity in an unconditional and inappropriate manner.

# INSTITUTE VIEW

## INCLUDING THE PERCEPTION OF THE INSTITUTE/ JOURNALIST WITHIN THE NEWS REPORT

Within the process of news reporting the responsibility of the journalist is identified as approaching and perceiving the incident and the content of the news story through an objective and unprejudiced view. During an election period using the media in order to promote the particular candidates or the political parties with whom the institution is allied and towards whom the institution practices a certain preference tends to become advantageous to them while producing a negative effect and influence on others.

FIGURE10: INSTITUTE VIEW IN STATE ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA



In examining the above graph and the conveyed data, it can be observed that the news reports were strictly manipulated by the institutional view points and the personal perceptions of the journalists. According to the print media that situation can be observed as 75% in relation to the newspapers Dinamina and Silumina, while Thinakaran- Vaaramanjari , and Daily News-Sunday Observer have manipulated perceptions 73% and 61%) of the time respectively.

In relation to radio, the institutional influence can be observed within their news presentation as;

- . City FM - 56%
- . Vasantham - 90%

In relation to the television channels the situation can be stated as follows,

- . ITN - 94%
- . Rupavahini - 60%
- . Channel Eye - 56%
- . Vasantham - 85%

Thus the image which is created by these observations and details conveys an imperative generalized fact that the above mentioned state media has utilized their scope and capability to promote and convey the institutional viewpoints rather than developing and presenting the news reports through a rational, unbiased and objective perception.

### **“DASA DESIN” BROADCAST OVER CITY FM ON 20TH OF DECEMBER 2014 IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF HATE SPEECH**

According to Prof. Raphael Cohen- Imagor's "Hate speech is defined as bias-motivated, hostile, malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and/or prejudicial attitudes towards those characteristics, which include gender, race, religion, ethnicity, colour, national origin, disability or sexual orientation. Hate speech is intended to injure, dehumanize, harass, intimidate, debase, degrade and victimize the targeted groups, and to foment insensitivity and brutality against them" The researchers felt that the program 'Dasadesin ' broadcast over “City FM” used purposely and persuasively to

- intimidate and threaten the opposition camp
- incite one camp to act discriminately and with hostility or violence
- instil fear in the minds of voters
- create a climate of hate and prejudice

The programme opening is given by the producer the Chairman Hudson Samarasinghe himself posing the question to the listener whether it will rain and further says indicating that the common candidate has invoked the wrath of nature thus there could be thunder showers and destruction.

The second segment deals with property of Prabhakaran's sister and is not supported by any sources but is done merely to induce hatred among listeners and hinting about the common candidates possible links with LTTE.

While, the third segment is an interview, with a Minister S. B. Dissanayake where the presenter tries to prove that the common candidate has links with the US government to bring discredit to him.

In another segment a Tamil commentator gives an exaggerated bloated account of Mahinda Rajapaksa's rally held in Batticalao. Next he goes on with his alleged charges against minister Champika Ranawaka an ally of the common candidate and claims that former president Chandrika Kumaratunga initiated casinos in Sri Lanka. Foul language not accepted in broadcast media or in decent speech is used while the tone contains anger and hatred in despising the common candidate and his supporters.

## PERCEPTIONS OF MEDIA IN IMAGE HANDLING

Binary opposition provides a mechanism for meaning construction through approaching the text and the latent meanings thus focusing on analysing the portrayals, concepts and the themes that are structured in order to build or disrupt an image of a person<sup>3</sup>.

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3. Binary oppositions, a concept popularized by structuralist groups, explains the generation of meaning in signs by reference to two basic states in which the elements within the system can exist. Giving meanings to signs and interpreting them directly relate with the cultural structure of the system that is involved.

## ANALYSIS

Within this analysis developed with close scrutiny on the concept of Binary Opposition, the two leading candidates of the Presidential Election, Mahinda Rajapaksa (MR) and Maithreepala Sirisena (MS) are considered as the two major components in building the binary opposition. Consequently Maithreepala Sirisena is attributed negative and disapproving characteristics in turning his persona to be the opposite of Mahinda Rajapaksa. To exemplify this aspect further, it can be mentioned that the building of the character of Mahinda Rajapaksa in opposition to the persona of Maithreepala Sirisena is carried out within the social context referring to the concept 'Hero Vs Villain'.

In this study we tried to examine how selected media have portrayed the two main candidates during election period. Two newspapers (Sinhala and Tamil) published by ANCL and two TV channels (Rupavhini and ITN) were selected for this exercise. The main recurrent themes were selected after a frequency count of appearances.

Presented below is the binary oppositions that was found in the front page of Tamil newspapers Thinakaran (Lake House Group) during the monitoring period. Only the front page contents (headlines, news stories and photographs) were considered for selection.

MAHINDA RAJAPAKSE	MATHRIPALA SIRISENA
Doesn't deceive people	Deceives people
Gains confidence of Tamil people	Loses confidence of Tamil people
Wins the hearts of the people	Fails to win the hearts of the people
Saves the people	Betrays the people
Marches towards success	Drifting towards defeat

**The narrative is so structured as to bring out the portrayal of the two candidates thus:**

Mahinda Rajapaksa does not deceive people and thereby is able to gain the confidence of the Tamil people and win the hearts of (all the) people and (will) save the people and thus marches towards certain victory at the elections.

In contrast, Maithripala Sirisena who deceives people is unable to gain the confidence of the Tamils and fails to win the hearts of the people because he betrays them and will drift towards certain defeat at the forthcoming elections.

It is not unclear what the choice Thinakaran paper offers its readership when faced with a portrayal like these. The paper is, clearly and obviously, trying to manipulate the minds of people and thus not provide the voter with an accurate, balanced and comprehensive account of the situation so as to make a fair and informed decision.

For comparison sake let us now examine the binary oppositions found in the front page of Sinhala newspapers Dinamina/ Silumina (Lake House Group) during the monitoring period. Thus a comprehensive analysis is developed based on the process of building the binary oppositions stressing on how they identify, refer to the contemporary socio political consequences and detect the existing relationships in developing the binary oppositions.

MAHINDA RAJAPAKSE	MATHRIPALA SIRISENA
Gains popularity among people	Gains popularity among people
Wins over opponents	Loses own allies and associates
Providing relief to destitute given priority	Providing relief to destitute not given priority
Defeats Western conspiracies	Supports Western conspiracies
Defends heroic forces	Betrays heroic forces
Strengthens democracy	Weakens democracy

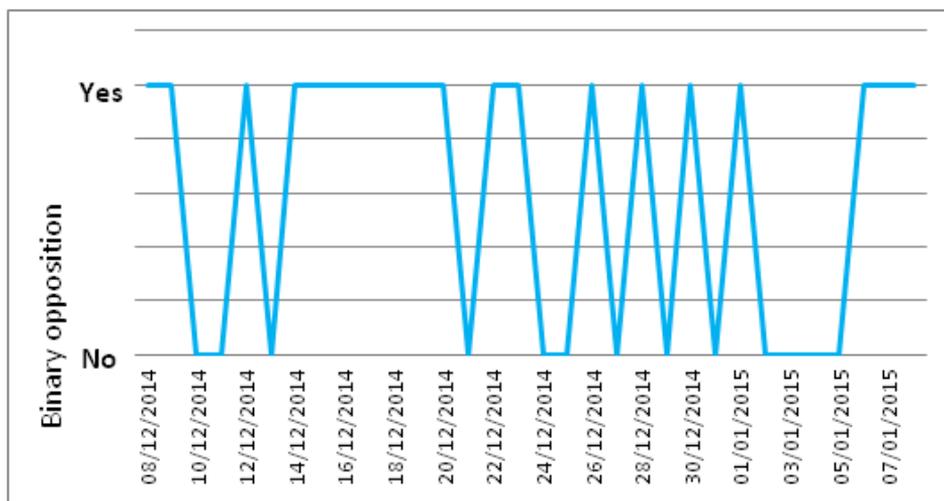
In the Sinhala paper the portrayal of the two candidates is different as can be seen from the above binary oppositions. It takes the following forms:

Mahinda Rajapaksa gives priority to provision of relief to the needy and gains popularity by winning over the opposition and is able to defeat Western conspiracies in order to safeguard armed forces and strengthen democracy.

When compared provision of relief to the needy is not a priority of Maithripala Sirisena and thus is unable to sustain popularity losing even the supporters of his camp and supports Western (and foreign) conspiracies thereby betrays heroic armed forces and weakens democracy.

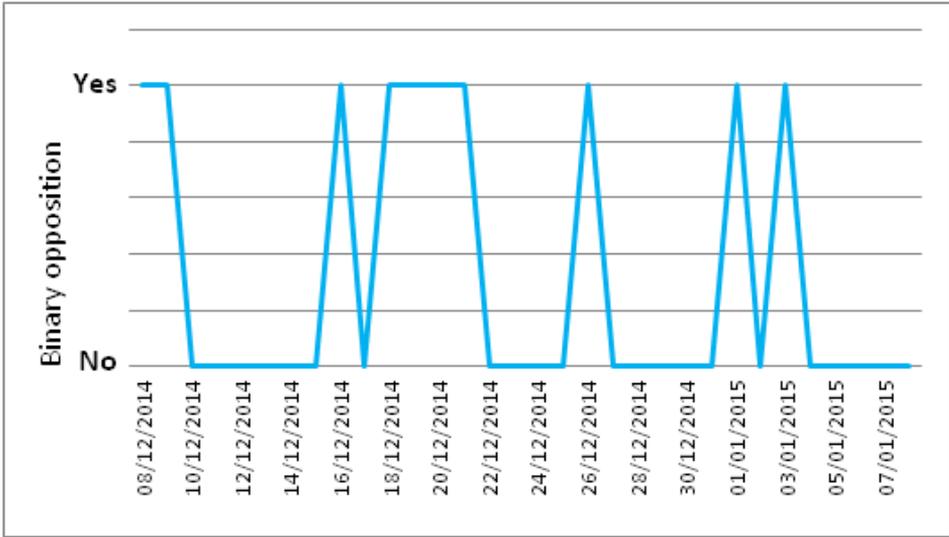
Thus in considering the relationship between those binary oppositions and the contemporary socio political consequences the analysis can be developed as follows:

**FIGURE 11: THE PROGRESSION OF THE ATTRACTION OF THE PUBLIC**



The development of the imperative fact that the public are attracted to Mahinda Rajapaksa was carried out during the two days followed by the declared date for the nomination of the candidates building to a sustained progression from 14th to 21st of December 2014. In perceiving the underlying factor that instigated this progression it can be identified that it resulted because Maithreepala Sirisena launched his initial steps as the presidential candidate during this period. Accordingly again this building was highlighted as a progression during the period from 5th to 7th of January 2015 and this can be perceived as a consequence which evolved due to the fact that it is necessary to build this development during the few days immediately preceding the election.

**FIGURE 12: SOURCES**



In concentrating on the concept that is developed as ‘The presidential candidate Mahinda Rajapaksa can attract the opposition party’ it can be scrutinized on the fact that the particular proposition was highlighted and established based on the series of incidents which occurred in relation to the departure of the former Secretary of the United National Party, Tissa Attanayaka from the party and his union with UPFA leader, Mahinda Rajapaksa during 8th and 9th days. Accordingly from 7th to 21st it was highlighted as a progression. This is the particular time period during which the common candidate, Maithreepala Sirisena has taken the initial measures of this electoral programme and the break-away political leaders and activists of UPFA and other political parties have allied with him. This development of the proposition ‘The presidential candidate Mahinda Rajapaksa can attract the opposition party’ was continuously carried out specifically during the times when the members of the government joined with Maithreepala Sirisena.

The development of the proposition that ‘Mahinda Rajapaksa provides facilities for the victimized people’ was carried out throughout the whole month of December and it should be considered that during that whole month details were reported about the disasters that occurred in several areas of the country. This was highlighted as a progressive factor during the period from 16th to 19th December 2014 and the disastrous situations which occurred in the North Central province can be identified as the underlying factor for this particular proposition development. Again

this building process was carried out during the period from 26th of December 2014 to 4th of January 2015 and this was the particular time period during which natural disasters like earth slips were reported from Badulla district and other areas in the hill country.

In concentrating on the building of the propositions; “Defeats the Western conspiracies and Enhances the democracy”, in relation to the time period from the day of nomination to the 5th of January (the last day for the canvassing of the political campaigns), it can be observed that from 8th to 12th of December 2014 these propositions were not highlighted. It can be identified that these propositions were built only after the political manifesto of Maithreepala Sirisena was presented and after a thorough focus to it was provided. Accordingly due to the Christmas season these two propositions were not highlighted during the period from 24th to 26th of December 2014.

Here too, the paper is clearly and obviously trying to manipulate the minds of people and thus not provide the voter with an accurate, balanced and comprehensive account of the situation so as to make a fair and informed decision. It is interesting to note that the manipulators apparently opted for two different portrayals taking into consideration the target ethnic groups. They wanted Tamil readers to consider Mahinda Rajapaksa as the saviour of Tamil people who provides relief to all while on the other hand he is portrayed as the war hero who will safeguard the armed forces in the face of Western conspiracies among the majority Sinhalese. On the other hand in relation to those social perceptions Maithreepala Sirisena is portrayed in a negative light.

By constructing this type of portrayal, the papers have sought undue advantage for a particular candidate thereby displaying unethical, unacceptable and dishonourable practices on the part of the journalists.

# OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

- Analysis of main news bulletins of state electronic media and the front page texts of newspapers revealed that a single candidate (Mahinda Rajapaksa) received excessive favour and unfair preference over the other 18 contestants.
- Not only was the main rival candidate given a backseat, the state media as a whole tried to vilify, dishonour and destroy his image.
- During the related period except for two candidates Mahinda Rajapaksa and Maithripala Sirisena all other candidates received near zero coverage.
- Textual analysis of latent meaning in texts showed an attempt by state media to exalt one candidate (Mahinda Rajapaksa) while deflating another (Maithripala Sirisena).
- Paradigmatic textual analysis shows that texts were so constructed to bring out binary oppositions. These demanded victory for Mahinda Rajapaksa and defeat for Maithripala Sirisena.
- Hate speech over state radio employed to instil fear in the minds of voters (spiral of silence effect) and to create a climate of hate and prejudice.
- State media acted in a highly arbitrary and haughty manner even paid no respect and attention to the Election Commissioner's guidelines and warnings.
- Government/ officials should be held responsible for allowing state media to be abused by working in a biased, prejudiced and partisan way.
- On the whole, taking further the unethical practices followed during presidential elections 2005 and presidential elections 2010, it was observed that the state media failed to provide balanced, fair, unpartisan information so as to enable the voters to make an informed decision at the presidential elections 2015.
- Journalists and program makers of state media showed callous disregard for accepted journalistic norms and practices and ethical behaviour.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

After a decade or more of observing and monitoring the behaviour of state sector media, we feel the situation has taken a turn for the worse. They act with disdain and disregard (even the guidelines and warnings of the Election Commissioner were ignored) showing no will or tendency for change. We see two strong reasons that bring about the situation:

Excessive control of the state media by the government in power on the false and misguided assumption that the incumbent government has the right to use these public institutions for purposes they deem fit. This is not a surprising finding, as for us in Sri Lanka experience it as a daily occurrence and experience magnified several folds during election time. The other disheartening factor is the poor performance of the journalists in these institutes, due to perhaps, lack of training. Or is it fear or personal disadvantages?

A three layered proposal is suggested as remedial action.

- Setup an independent print and broadcasting authority paving way for the establishment of Public Service Broadcasting in Sri Lanka.
- Create necessary structures to democratize the ownership of media and to create a system to democratize the allocation of the frequency spectrum so that different communities can establish their own media.
- Provide both print and electronic media journalists with further opportunities to enhance their capacities to perform as ethical professionals.

The Election Commissioner should be empowered to act instantaneously and decisively when his guidelines and warnings regarding the behaviour of media (both state and private) are disregarded or breached.

# ANNEX 01



## මැතිවරණ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව தேர்தல்கள் திணைக்களம்

මැතිවරණ කොමසාරිස්  
தேர்தல்கள் ஆணையாளர்

දුරකථන/தொலைபேசி : 011-2868444  
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මගේ අංකය : DE/CE/02/05      ඔබේ අංකය :      දිනය : 2015.01.01  
எனது இல.      உமது இல.      திகதி

අනුර සිරිවර්ධන මහතා / සුදර්මන් රඳලියගොඩ මහතා,  
ස්වාධීන රූපවාහිනී සේවය,  
වික්‍රමසිංහපුර,  
බත්තරමුල්ල.

### ජනාධිපතිවරණය - 2015

#### ජනාධිපතිවරණයේ රාජ්‍ය මාධ්‍ය හැසිරීම පිළිබඳ ප්‍රාන්ස්පේරන්සි ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා හි නිරීක්ෂණ වාර්තා (වාර්තා - 01)

නිදහස් හා සාධාරණ ඡන්ද විමසීමක් සඳහා මාධ්‍ය ආයතනවල ලිපි ගිණුම යටතේ මගේ සමාංක හා 2014.12.16 දිනැති ලිපියෙහි පිටපතක් නැවත ඔබගේ අවධානයට එවමි.

02. මාධ්‍ය උපමාන හා නීති රෙගුලාසිවලට අනුකූලව මාධ්‍ය ආයතන ක්‍රියාකළ යුතුය යන්න එමගින් සවිස්තරාත්මකව ඔබ වෙත සන්නිවේදනය කර ඇත. එකී ලිපියෙහි අඩංගු පූර්ණ අන්තර්ගතය වෙත ඔබගේ අවධානය යොමුකරන ලෙස නැවතත් අවධාරණය කිරීමට සිදුවී ඇත්තේ ප්‍රාන්ස්පේරන්සි ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා - පොදු දේපල රැකීමේ වැඩසටහන සංවිධානය අස වෙත කරන ලද නවතම පැමිණිල්ලක් හේතුවෙනි.

03. ඔබ ආයතනයේ ප්‍රධානී හා විවිධ වැඩසටහන් විකාශනය පිළිබඳව ඔවුන් විසින් කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයකින් පසුව දෙසැම්බර් 16 සිට 22 දක්වා රාත්‍රී ප්‍රධානී විකාශනයේ ප්‍රධාන සිරස්තල ප්‍රධාන අපේක්ෂකයින් සඳහා දී ඇති කාලය අනුව විශ්ලේෂණය කොට ස්ඵූල ප්‍රස්ථාරයකින් ඉදිරිපත් කොට ඇත. එක්සත් ජනතා නිදහස් සන්ධානයේ අපේක්ෂකයාට සිය පක්ෂයේ අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම වෙනුවෙන් දින හතේම ප්‍රධාන සිරස්තල අතර ඉඩ විශාල වශයෙන් වෙන් කොට ඇතැයි පැමිණිලි කරන ඔවුන් පොදු අපේක්ෂකයාට පමණක් නොව අනෙක් අපේක්ෂකයින්ට ප්‍රධාන සිරස්තල අතර කිසිදු කාලයක් ඉඩදී නැතැයි ද , මහජන මුදලින් නඩත්තු වන රාජ්‍ය මාධ්‍ය නිරවද්‍ය, සමබර, අපක්ෂපාතී හා අපාක්ෂික ආකාරයෙන් ක්‍රියාකරමින් විවාදය හා සාකච්ඡාව සඳහා සුදුසු මහජන වේදිකාවක් සැපයීම මගහැර ඒකපාක්ෂික ප්‍රධානී හා වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරනැයි ද ඔවුන් තම 2014.12.25 දින දරණ ලිපියෙන් මෙසේ පැමිණිලි කොට ඇත. ප්‍රාන්ස්පේරන්සි ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා ආයතනයේ එම පැමිණිලි ලිපියේ පිටපතක් මේ සමඟ අමුණා ඇත.

04. මෙම නිරූ ප්‍රස්ථාර අධ්‍යයනයෙන් ස්වාධීන රූපවාහිනී සේවයේ ඒකපාක්ෂිකභාවය එනම් එක්සත් ජනතා නිදහස් සන්ධානයේ ජනාධිපති අපේක්ෂකයා ප්‍රවර්ධනය කරමින් අනෙක් ප්‍රධාන ප්‍රතිවාදී අපේක්ෂකයා අහතියට පත් කිරීම සිදුවී ඇතැයි ඕනෑම කෙනෙකුට පෙනී යනවා ඇත. තවද මෙම සංවිධානයෙන් කෙරෙන ප්‍රකාශය අසත්‍ය නොවන බවට ඔබ ද එකඟ වනු ඇතැයි සිතමි.

05. අවසාන වශයෙන් මාගේ සමාංක හා 2014.12.16 දිනැති ලිපියේ (05) ඡේදයට ඔබගේ දැඩි අවධානය යොමුකරන අතර මෙම ලිපිය ලද බව දැන්වීමට හා මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඔබ ගන්නා ක්‍රියාමාර්ග පිළිබඳව දැනුවත් කිරීමට කාරුණික වුව මැනවි.

# ANNEX 02



## මැතිවරණ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව தேர்தல்கள் திணைக்களம்

පොදු කාර්යාලය : 011-2868441, 2868442, 2868443  
 பொது அலுவலகம்  
 ෆැක්ස්/தொலைநகல் : 011-2868426

මැතිවරණ මහලේකම් කාර්යාලය  
 සරණ මාවත, රාජගිරිය (10107)  
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 எனது இல.

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 உமது இல.

දිනය : 2015.01.01.  
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### ජනාධිපතිවරණය - 2015 රාජ්‍ය මුද්‍රිත මාධ්‍ය හැසිරීම.

ච්‍රාන්ද්‍රපේරන්සි ඉන්ටර්නැෂනල් ශ්‍රී ලංකා ආයතනයේ පොදු දේපළ රැක ගැනීමේ වැඩසටහන මගින් ඔබ ආයතනයෙන් මුද්‍රණය කොට බෙදාහරින දිණමිණ, සිඵමිණ, තිනකරන්, වාරමංජරී, ඩේලිනිවුස්, හා ඔබ්සවර් යන සිංහල, දෙමළ හා ඉංග්‍රීසි පුවත්පත්වල දෙසැම්බර් 20 දා සිට 26 දා තෙක් දින හතෙහි මැතිවරණ ප්‍රවෘත්ති සඳහා වෙන්ව ඇති ඉඩකඩ ජනාධිපති අපේක්ෂකයන් අතර බෙදීමෙන් ඇති ආකාරයෙන්, මැතිවරණයට අදාළ පුවත් අන්තර්ගතය-ප්‍රතිපත්ති පැහැදිලි කිරීම අපේක්ෂක ප්‍රතිරූපය ප්‍රවර්ධනය, අපේක්ෂක ප්‍රතිරූපය ගර්භාවට ලක්කිරීම, ප්‍රතිපත්ති කටයුතු විවේචනය හා ඡන්ද ආයතනය දැනුවත් කිරීම යන විෂය කරුණු යටතේ බෙදීමෙන් ඇති ආකාරයන් ස්ඵමිත ප්‍රස්ථාර මගින් විශ්ලේෂණය කරමින් මා වෙත නවතම ආකාරයෙන් පැමිණිල්ලක් 2014.12.30 දිනැතිව ජනාධිපතිවරණයේ රාජ්‍ය මුද්‍රිත මාධ්‍ය හැසිරීම පිළිබඳ නිරීක්ෂණ වාර්තාවක් සමගින් ඉදිරිපත් කොට ඇත. එම පැමිණිල්ලේ පිටපතක් මේ සමඟ අමුණා ඇත.

02. එම නිරීක්ෂණ වාර්තා අනුව අදාළ සතිය තුළ වර්ග සෙන්ටිමීටර්වලින් වෙන්කොට ඇති ඉඬ ප්‍රමාණය අනුව එක් අපේක්ෂකයන්ගේ ප්‍රතිරූපය ප්‍රවර්ධනය (වර්ග සෙන්ටිමීටර් 19611.38) සහ ප්‍රති අපේක්ෂකයා අගතියට පත්කිරීම (වර්ග සෙන්ටිමීටර් 10368.77) සඳහා වෙන්වූ සමස්ථ ඉඬ ප්‍රමාණය සලකා බලන විට ඔබ ආයතනයෙන් ප්‍රවර්ධනය කරන අපේක්ෂකයාගේ ප්‍රවර්ධනය සඳහා සමස්ථ ඉඬ ප්‍රමාණයම වෙන්වී ඇති බව පෙනේ.

03. නිදහස් හා සාධාරණ මැතිවරණයකට අදාළව මාධ්‍ය විසින් පිළිපැදිය යුතු උපමාන, නීති හා රෙගුලාසි මා විසින් ඔබ වෙත පැහැදිලිව සන්නිවේදනය කොට තිබියදී නිරවද්‍ය, සමබර හා අපක්ෂපාතීභාවය ඇතුළු සම්මත මාධ්‍ය ආචාර ධර්ම රැසක් ඔබ ආයතනය මගින් බරපතල ලෙස උල්ලංඝනය වී ඇති බව මාගේ හැඟීමයි. එසේම රාජ්‍ය මාධ්‍ය ඒකපාර්ශ්විකව භාවිතා කිරීම පොදු දේපළ අපහරණයක් සේ සැලකීමට ද සිදුවේ. මෙම නිරීක්ෂණ වාර්තා අධ්‍යයනයෙන් පසු ඔබ ආයතනයේ උක්ෂ පුවත්පත්වල හැසිරීම ඡන්ද විමසීමේ සුජාතභාවයට කැලලක් වන බව ඔබ ද අවංකව අනුමත කරනවා ඇතැයි මම අපේක්ෂා කරමි.

04. එම නිසා නිදහස් හා සාධාරණ ඡන්ද විමසීමකට අවශ්‍ය වන, මැතිවරණ දිනයට පෙර කාල වකවානුවේ පෙළ ගැසෙන ක්‍රියාවලිය සඳහා මැතිවරණ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව හා එහි නිලධාරීන් ගන්නා උත්සාහය සඳහා ඔබගේ ද අවංක ආයතනිකව කාරුණිකව අපේක්ෂා කරන අතර මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඔබගේ දැඩි අවධානය යොමුකොට ආයතනයේ කීර්තිනාමය ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම සඳහා අදාළ බලධාරීන් දැනුවත් කරමින් සුදුසු ක්‍රියාමාර්ග කඩිනමින් ගන්නා ලෙස ඉල්ලමි.



# **ELECTORAL INTEGRITY**

**A Review of the Abuse of State Resources and Selected Integrity Issues during 2015 Presidential Election in Sri Lanka**



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