THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION IN THE CONTEXT OF COVID 19 IN RURAL SRI LANKA.

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ABSTRACT

WHO highlights that the media including traditional forms of communication can play an effective role in empowering people in the context of Covid-19. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to examine the role of traditional forms of communication in empowering rural communities in Sri Lanka in the context of Covid 19. The geographical location of this study is Anuradhapura district, North Central Province. The Focus Group Discussions were carried out with twenty people and personal interviews were conducted with five key people in the same geographical area. The qualitative data were analyzed thematically. The results show that the traditional forms of communication can play a vital role in empowering rural communities in the context of Covid-19. Moreover, the community-based traditional communication implemented during the pandemic, play an effective role in dealing with the current health situation. Therefore, the responsible authorities should facilitate strengthening this communitybased communication mechanism by providing financial and infrastructure facilities. The Ministry of Health and Indigenous Medical Services also can conduct some awareness programmes to educate rural people on Covid 19. Combining traditional media with mainstream media and new media is another alternative solution to empower the rural communities in the context of Covid-19.

Keywords: Traditional forms of Communication; Rural communities; Covid-19; Sri Lanka

ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received: 28th August 2021 Accepted: 8nd December 2021 Published: 22th December 2021

Volume 11 Issue 2

INTRODUCTION

The World Health Organization (WHO) emphasizes that the COVID-19 pandemic is the defining global health crisis which is the greatest challenge faced since World War Two. This global pandemic makes negative impacts on the socio- cultural, economic and political sectors at the local and international levels. In this context, some health guidelines, safety measures, vaccination as well as some cultural and spiritual solutions have been introduced by various countries in the world. WHO has also highlighted that the role of mass media is significant in educating, motivating and informing people on covid- 19 news, practices, guidelines etc. (World health statistics: monitoring health for the SDGs, 2020). Ghassabi & Zare-Farashbandi (2015) also note that mass media play a special role in providing information and making people aware of a crisis situation during a health crisis or a disaster. There are different types of mass media such as old media like TV, radio, newspapers, traditional media like folk drama, songs, tales etc., new media such as social media etc.

Madhubhashini (2021) also notes that traditional folk communication can be seen in every part of the country as there is a proximity between communities and traditional folk communication such as folk songs, dramas, ritual performances, drumming etc. Furthermore, the folk media communication has been created from the rural surroundings through creativity, cultural beliefs and practices of rural communities. Folk media has its own interactive communication skills and capacities which help to find the solutions for the needs and issues faced by the community such as health issues, legal issues, financial issues, social and cultural issues etc. Folk media has not been alienated from rural settings and media literacy is not essential to use folk media compared to mainstream media. Folk media is also an effective tool in educating and motivating rural people, providing information and entertainment to make rural communities stronger in facing their day-to-day struggles, needs and issues. The traditional forms of communication can be also used for health crisis management.

It has been also proven by several researches that folk media can be used for empowering people during Covid-19. The United Nations (UN) has also highlighted that, folk songs, music, dramas, puppet shows, village meetings etc. can be used to educate and motivate people in Asia and Africa for a healthy lifestyle during Covid-19 pandemic. When the pandemic situation in Sri Lanka is concerned, Sri Lanka was affected by Covid-19 from March 2020. The country was once fully locked down (March- May 2020) and at present only the affected areas are under lockdown or isolation due to higher spread of this virus among citizens. In this context, health guidelines for Covid-19 have been introduced by the government for the safety of the citizens. Since there is no permanent medical treatment for Covid-19, the vaccination was introduced by western medicine to strengthen the immunity of the people to prevent from Covid-19 (Monthly News Bulletin- December 2020, Ministry of Health in Sri Lanka).

According to the records of the Department of Census and Statistics in 2019, 81% represent the rural communities in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, Madhubhashini (2021) notes that even though the vaccination was introduced as a preventive measure, still people get infected with Covid 19 after having the two doses of vaccine. Therefore, people in the rural settings started using natural remedies, food, folk communications and practices, traditional community-based safety measures and mechanisms etc. to prevent from Covid 19. WHO (2020) also emphasizes that physical health, mental health, social wellbeing as well as moral and spiritual health are important to maintain a healthy life for humans.

It was also found that there is a possibility of using the traditional folk communication for rural communities to prevent from Covid-19 according to the research report on Covid-19, socio economic impact in Sri Lanka published by the Faculty of Humanities and Social

Sciences at the University of Ruhuna in 2020. But no scientific research was done on traditional forms of communication in the context of Covid 19, theoretically and methodically. In this context, the main problem of this study is how to use traditional forms of communication in empowering rural communities in Sri Lanka in the context of Covid 19. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to examine the role of traditional forms of communication in empowering rural communities in Sri Lanka in the context of Covid 19.

LITERATURE REVIEW

TRADITIONAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

Scholars and researchers in the field of communication studies define traditional folk media communication in different ways. "Traditional forms of communication are the indigenous means of communication. The folk performing art forms are used for moral, religious, and socio-political ends from the time they originated" (Kodavath, 2015: 1). This shows that traditional forms of communication are the symbols of a particular culture. Moreover, traditional forms of communication have emerged based on the socio-cultural, moral and religious practices, beliefs, values etc. of communities. Therefore, traditional forms of communication play an effective role in the rural settings.

Different forms of traditional communication are used by rural communities. Prasad (2013) notes that folk theatre, folk songs, predominantly narrative forms, including ballads, folk tales, and other storytelling forms, religious discourses and puppet shows are the main forms of traditional folk media in India. Madhubhashini (2021) notes that folk songs, folk dance, folk tales and riddles, proverbs, rites and rituals, ceremonial occasions, idioms, chattering, gossips, 'Kavikola' (a form of traditional poem paper), 'Kelapaththara' (a kind of informal notice), Pethsam (petitions), leaflets, notices, loud speaks etc. are popular traditional forms of communication among rural communities in Sri Lanka. The traditional communications are used to find the solutions for socio- cultural, spiritual, economic and political needs and issues connected to the livelihood of rural communities. The interesting thing is that the communities use several "Athbeheth" which are traditional home remedies and treatments for various types of diseases.

COVID 19 AND ITS IMPACT

The world has witnessed various virus infectious diseases such as Antonine Plague, Leprosy, Plague of Justinian, New World Smallpox outbreak, Cholera, Yellow Fever, Russian Flu, Spanish Flu, Asian Flu, Hong Kong Flu, HIV/ AIDS, Swine Flu, SARS, Ebola, MERS etc. WHO highlights that the COVID-19 pandemic is the greatest challenge faced by the people in the world. Coronavirus disease known as COVID-19 is an infectious disease caused by a newly discovered coronavirus. The COVID-19 pandemic was identified as a global crisis from January 2020 by the WHO. Therefore, the new health and safety measures were taken such as social distancing, lockdown, curfew, limiting outside activities, washing hands etc. On the other hand, several unproven and fake products and methods were introduced by various countries. In this context, vaccines were introduced as a critical new tool in the battle against this virus. About seven different vaccines were introduced by various countries (World health statistics: monitoring health for the SDGs, 2020).

As far as all these facts are concerned, it is understood that Covid-19 is a serious infectious disease at the global level. The covid-19 pandemic has also made a serious impact

on the whole social system in the world. The COVID-19 pandemic is far more than a health crisis, it is affecting societies and economies at their core (UN framework for the immediate socio-economic response to COVID-19, 2020). WHO (2020) also states that, there is a serious negative impact on socio- economic and health sectors due to the pandemic. Therefore, people around the world are also suffering from hunger, less income, less food and nutrition etc. New normal life has become challenging with all these difficulties (World health statistics: monitoring health for the SDGs, 2020).

As far as the Sri Lankan context is concerned, Sri Lanka has victimized a number of epidemics such as Malaria, Cholera, Smallpox, Measles etc. The Covid-19 has become the most critical health issue in Sri Lanka among all the other viral diseases. The research report on Covid-19, socio economic impact in Sri Lanka published by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in the University of Ruhuna in 2020 shows that apart from the serious health impact, there is a negative impact on social and economic sectors in Sri Lanka due to the pandemic. Economic stress on families due to the pandemic shows high percentage and this leads to some issues like child labour and gender-based violence. The sudden mental stress is supposed to badly influence family relationships and education of children. The same study suggests that indigenous knowledge and traditional forms of communication, religious rituals etc. can play a significant role in empowering the public in the pandemic spiritually, socially, economically and culturally.

TRADITIONAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION FOR HEALTH-RELATED ISSUES INCLUDING COVID 19 AT THE LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS

Flora et al. (1989) note that communication can be effectively used for health promotion and education. The strength of communication for health promotion is that they tend to reach very large audiences. Furthermore, the media can be used as a primary change agent, an educator and a supporter in any health crisis. The folk media communications, beliefs, practices etc. of communities can also be effectively used for health-related issues.

Panford et al (2001) note that Mexico, Philippines, Nigeria, as well as Ghana use folk dramas to educate rural communities about various health issues, such as family planning, breast-feeding, and HIV/AIDS. In rural Gahana, folk dramas and songs are used to educate people about a wide range of health and social issues. The folk media are useful in educating people about the specific issues as the health messages are given to the public with creativity and entertainment. The United Nations (2020) also states that traditional songs, music and poetry can be used to educate people about safety measures and health guidelines to prevent from Covid-19 in West Africa.

Being a multi-religious and multi-cultural country, India has different forms of traditional folk media unique to different regions in the country. Mathiyazhagan et al. (2015) note that folk media vary from place to place, culture to culture and region to region. For instance, Nautanki is one of the popular theatre performance traditions in northern India. This is used to empower people about health, HIV/AIDS, women's empowerment, dowry, immigration, and family planning. Harikatha is unique to Andhara and Karnataka in the southern region in India while Jarta is a popular folk theatre in Bengali. All these folk media are used to empower and educate the general public with contemporary issues.

Padmananbha & Sathish (2020) note that traditional folk media can also be successfully used to provide health messages related to Covid-19. 'Yakshagana', a vibrant south Indian folk

drama is used for creating awareness about the health guidelines, safety measures etc. related to the Covid-19 among rural communities in Karnataka. The guidelines and messages are given using dance, music, dialogue, costume, and stage techniques with a unique style in this folk drama. The folk beliefs are also used in this pandemic to boost the immunity to prevent from Covid-19: drinking one cup or one hundred and fifty milliliters of 'Ayush Kwath' everyday which is a mixture of holy basil, cinnamon, ginger roots and black pepper, taking one amla fruit or one-three grams of amla powder daily, drinking warm milk with half teaspoon turmeric every morning and evening etc. Indians also pray to gods and obtain blessings to get rid of this pandemic.

As far as Sri Lanka is concerned, the people in various parts of the country use different forms of traditional communication for health-related issues. Galagedarage (2021) notes that apart from the traditional medicines and remedies, rural communities use some rites and rituals for health-related issues. For example, when a person is bitten by a snake, people take the person to a 'Weda Mahaththaya' (a traditional ayurvedic doctor) or to the 'Devalaya' (religious temple) rather than taking to a hospital to save the life in rural areas.

This shows that different forms of communication play a vital role in health-related issues among rural communities at the local and international levels. The traditional forms of communication are also used by rural people in Sri Lanka during the covid 19 pandemic. Somannada (2020) notes that different traditional forms of communication, food habits, ayurvedic herbs, spices and medicine can be effectively used to prevent from Covid-19. Drinking boiled Ginger and Coriander, tie a thread which bears a piece of Perunkayam (Asafetida), preparing porridge using herbal leaves, adding Turmeric (Kaha), Clove (Karambunatti), Cinnamon (Kurundu), Pepper (Gam Miris), Cardamom, Lemon Grass (Sera), Nutmeg and Mace (Sadikka and Wasawasi), Ginger (Iguru) for curries are some of these folk beliefs and practices.

The research report on Covid-19, socio economic impact in Sri Lanka published by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in the University of Ruhuna in 2020, shows that indigenous knowledge, remedies, traditional healing methods, rituals, observances, religious prayers and practices etc. are used by people in rural areas against COVID-19. For example, using neem leaves (Kohombha kola) as an antibacterial, antimalarial, antiviral, and antifungal leaf against viral infections like Covid-19. The literature review shows that no field research was conducted theoretically and methodically to examine the role of traditional forms of communication in the context of covid 19 in Sri Lanka though very few studies are carried out on traditional practices and beliefs. Therefore, this research was conducted to fill in this gap and to achieve the purpose of the study.

The literature shows that the different traditional forms of communication such as rites and rituals, ceremonies, folk performances etc. can empower rural people in health-related issues. Therefore, development communication can be considered as the main conceptual framework of this study. In simple terms, development communication is, use of communications for the development purposes. "Development communication is the science of human communication linked to the transitioning of communities from poverty in all its forms to a dynamic, overall growth that fosters equity and the unfolding of the individual potential" (Quebral,1971:1). Gupta (2015) notes communication can be used to empower people. Therefore, the different forms of traditional communication help in taking people from poverty to prosperity as well as from ill-health to health physically and spiritually.

This shows that communication can also be used to empower people in health-related issues. In this sense, development communication is given the main conceptual framework for

this study. Therefore, this study is also carried out in a rural village in Anuradhapura district to examine the role of traditional forms of communication in the context of Covid 19.

METHOD

The geographical location of this study was Wahalkada in Kebithigollewa Divisional Secretariat in Anuradhapura district, North Central Province. The North Central province has the highest rural population (1,266,663-96%) compared to other nine provinces in Sri Lanka according to the population statistics of the Department of Census and Statistics in 2011. The same report emphases that in Sri Lankan context, Municipal Council, Urban Council and Town Council areas are "urban", while Village Councils are "rural".

Dissanayake (1985) notes that 'Gama' in a rural setting (Rural village) is defined as a small settlement having between 1000- 3000 inhabitants which is smaller than a town and larger than a hamlet. Wahalkada has 1211 of population according to the Department of Census and Statistics in 2011. The Department of Health in the North Central province has also found that Wahalkada also has successfully managed the covid situation with support of the health sector professionals such as Public Health Inspects (PHI) and midwife. The rural communities in this area use folk media communications in the context of Covid-19 pandemic. The location of this study was selected based on the above-mentioned criteria, statistics, facts and justifications.

This study used a qualitative approach to obtain data using Focused Group Discussions (FGD) and interview method. FGD is a structured discussion used to obtain in-depth information (qualitative data-insight) from a group of people about a particular topic. It is adequate to have 6-12 participants for each FGD (Omar, 2018). Therefore, two parallel Focus Group Discussions were conducted with twenty people (10 participants for each FGD). The purposive sampling was used to select the respondents. The personal interviews were conducted with five key people in the same geographical area: a Buddhist monk in Wahalkada temple, 'Grama Sewa Officer' (government officer for the area), 'Weda Mahattaya' (traditional ayurvedic doctor), Public Health Inspector and the midwife. The data were collected in August 2020 after the first wave and beginning of the second wave with support of three research assistants. The qualitative data were analyzed thematically.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It is important to identify the socio- economic, cultural background of the people in Wahalkada. The majority of people are Sinhala Buddhist and the minority is Tamil Muslims. As far as their professions are concerned, the majority of people engage in paddy cultivation and chena cultivation. Some are in civil security service, defense forces and also engage in honey hunting and animal hunting. The people face various issues in their day-to-day life such as elephanthuman conflicts, a lack of clean water, post war challenges, low income, childhood marriages, teenage pregnancies, illegal marriages etc. The people in Wahalkada had gone through the civil

war for more than 30 years and now are struggling with the above -mentioned socio- cultural and economic issues. It was reported that the income level of people has decreased during this pandemic since there was no space for them to be involved in the agricultural related professions. The results also show that domestic violence had increased to a considerable level during this time period.

As far as the media usage of the people is concerned, mainstream media such as television, radio, newspapers etc. is used. But the traditional folk media is more effective and closer to the people compared to the mainstream media. The results show that the interactivity and interpersonal communications among this community are quite high since the traditional forms of communication are quite popular among people. The internet signal coverage is very poor in this area and about 365 students in Wahalkada could not have the online learning opportunity during COVID-19 pandemic. Wahalkada Primary school is the only school which is available for the children in the area. Galagedarage (2015) also notes that TV, radio and print media are quite popular among rural communities in Sri Lanka. Especially rural people are always away from the new media due to poor ICT and social infrastructure facilities in the rural setting, affordability issues, lack of English and IT literacy, attitudinal issues etc.

Wahalkada was also completely locked down during the 1st wave of Covid-19, same as the other areas in the country. The people in Wahalkada were completely inside the house and mainstream media like TV and radio were used by the people during the lockdown. The newspapers were also not available during this time period. Some people in Wahalkada did not want to use the television media much, as the income level of the people became very low during the lockdown. Therefore, the results show that the majority of people used radio media during this particular period and some used both TV and radio media for the information needs during the pandemic. The communities used to follow news to make them aware of the current updates about Covid-19 pandemic. But there is no adequate motivation or education for them to apply these health guidelines until the health sector officers in this area (Public Health Inspector and midwife) advised them to follow the health guidelines. This shows that community-based traditional communication mechanisms are much more effective in empowering rural communities with the required information, updates and guidelines.

The mainstream media like TV, radio and newspapers limit the two-way communications between the communicator and the receiver while community-based media always encourage the interpersonal and face to face communications (Flora et al., 1989). Several respondents stated that mainstream media like TV and radio just only provide the information about the Covid-19 pandemic, but these media are not close to people like traditional forms of communication, to educate, motivate or provide information about this serious health crisis in the country. People cannot react or provide feedback or comments or response to the mainstream media. The mainstream media also cannot exactly fulfil the needs of the marginalized, grassroot level or rural people due to the limitations of mainstream media. In order to cater to the needs and issues of the people, a community-based traditional communication mechanism has been developed with the support of the government servants working in this area such as police, Public Health Inspector, midwife, agricultural officer, development officer. This community-based communication mechanism is called 'Suwa Sahana Kamithu' (Health Relief Committee). The youth society, women society, farmers' society, and funeral committee in the village provide the leadership for this committee aiming

to give a strong communication mechanism to empower the people in this area during Covid-19 pandemic. The support from the Buddhist temple and the mosque in Wahalkada is also given to this community-based intervention.

It is evidenced by the people in Wahalkada that this communication system has mainly facilitated to make them aware of the negative impact of Covid 19, the nature of this virus, formal health guidelines and instructions etc. Highlighting the importance of using home remedies, health food etc. to avoid this disease and advising people to reduce the mental stress caused due to the domestic violence and economic problems, facilitating and motivating people to rebuild their socio-economic status are also done by this community-based committee. The Public Health Inspector in Wahalkada mentioned that "A three- wheeler was sent around the village with a loudspeaker every day to give health advice, instructions and guidelines about Covid-19 to the people. A leaflet has been designed including all the health guidelines to be distributed among the villagers. The health guidelines such as washing hands properly with soap or hand wash, steaming using natural herbs and tips to identify the symptoms of Covid-19, contacting the PHI for further health assistance, doing meditation and some religious activities for mind relaxation during the home stay etc. were given to the people".

Apart from these, this committee has introduced a proper mechanism to facilitate people to buy vegetables, fruits, dry items and other essential goods. Furthermore, all the arrangements have been made to send lorries and vans with all these essential stuff to the village. The people were also informed about the important dates, times and details about these services using these communication mechanisms. These initiatives taken during the first wave, show that traditional media such as loudspeakers, leaflets and rites and rituals can be used to educate and facilitate people during the pandemic. Madhubhashini (2021) also highlights that the traditional forms of communication such as leaflets, loudspeakers, rites and rituals play a significant role in empowering rural communities to fulfill their day-to-day needs.

WHO (2020) also emphasizes that physical health, mental health, social wellbeing as well as spiritual health are important to maintain a healthy life for humans. This shows that people need some kind of spiritual support in a health crisis. Suwa Sahana committee' (Health Relief Committee) has made arrangements to broadcast Pirith (Buddhist Sutra) chanting specially 'Ratana Sooththaraya' (one of the Buddhist Sutras) everyday using a loudspeaker to obtain religious blessings to get rid of this pandemic. In Wahalkada, 'Devol Maduwa' ceremony which is a traditional low country Sinhalese dance, practiced to propitiate 'Devol' deity, was held after the lockdown following all the health guidelines and safety measures to get the blessings from Goddess 'Paththini' to get rid of this pandemic. People also pray to God 'Pulleyar' (Gana Deviyo) and Goddess 'Muthumari Amman' to get the blessings during the pandemic. In Wehalkada, Buddhists started to conduct bodhi pooja regularly while Muslims did regular prayers and religious activities to obtain religious blessings during this serious health issue.

The most important thing is that the "Suwa Sahana committee" (Health Relief Committee) continuously monitors this Covid-19 health supportive mechanism to facilitate the people. A woman in the village mentioned that "During the second wave, some meetings and demonstrations were conducted by the Public Health Inspector and the midwife to educate and motivate people on health guidelines to prevent from Covid-19. Specially counselling sessions and awareness sessions on Covid 19 were given to the pregnant women, people with weak

health and old people in this area. This also helped us to release the stress due to domestic violence, financial issues etc." Chapke (2002) also notes that the village level meetings are useful in educating and motivating rural communities as there is a strong face to face interaction taking place in such contexts.

The people in Wahalkada also used available resources, folk beliefs etc. during this pandemic to protect themselves. The people used to hang neem leaves (Kohomba kola) during this pandemic at the entrance of the house and the gate to communicate that the self-quarantine takes place in the house. This occurred when a member of the Sri Lanka Navy cluster reported from the Wahalkada area during the first wave. This particular person has been on leave when he was identified as a close contact of an infected Navy personal. Therefore, the family had to go through self-quarantine process. The people believe that apart from this incident, none of the people in this area was infected by Covid-19 due to the strong communication mechanism and the healthy lifestyle of people.

Apart from the traditional forms of communication used during the two Covid waves, people in Wahalkada also used natural herbs, home remedies and healthy food based on the cultural practices and beliefs. The people in Wahalkada also believe that drinking coriander (koththamalli), Ginger tea (Iguru tea), false calumba (weniwel gata) etc. are good to boost the immunity to fight against the coronavirus. Boiling neem leaves (Kohomba leaves) or lemon leaves (dehi kola) and steaming, washing the whole body in turmeric and boiled neem leaves, putting neem leaves on the bed for kids, adults, and pregnant mothers, washing food and stuff in turmeric, salt and lemon water, tie a thread which bears a piece of Perunkayam (Asafetida) are the traditional folk beliefs used by the people to fight against the coronavirus.

On the other hand, some food, unique to this area are used to boost the immunity system to prevent this disease based on the traditional folk beliefs of people. 'Wasangatha Kiribath' (epidemic milk rice) - a kind of milk rice prepared to boost the immune system during pandemics. This is prepared using traditional rice like Suwadal, Beheth Hinathi, Dadhanala, Ma wee etc., and green gram (mun ata), sesame seeds (thala ata), maize (Corn)- bada irigu, cashew nuts (kaju), Raisins (muddharampalam), Gourd (labu) as well as adding cow milk, coconut milk and ghee (githel). This particular community also prepares "Wasangatha Wenjanaya" (epidemic curry) – a kind of cuisine prepared to boost the immune system during pandemics, which is prepared using Dhal, Pumpkin and Aguna leaves (unique leaves to Sri Lanka).

CONCLUSION

As far as the findings are concerned, the aim and objectives were achieved, and the problem was answered in this study. The different forms of traditional communication such as rites, rituals, ceremonial occasions, community-based traditional communications etc. were used by rural communities in the context of Covid-19.

The results show that traditional forms of communication play a vital role in empowering rural communities in the context of Covid 19. Moreover, the community based traditional communications really help people to educate on health practices, guidelines, as well as to fulfill needs of people during the pandemic. The responsible authorities can facilitate strengthening this community-based traditional communication mechanism by providing

financial and infrastructure facilities. Because the 'Suwa Sahan committee' (health relief committee) is operated by the communities with their own management, ownership, sustainability, and funding. The authorities can also facilitate the introduction of this community-based traditional communication mechanism to other areas in order to empower rural communities to fulfil their needs in the context of Covid-19. The Ministry of Health and Indigenous Medical Services also can conduct some awareness programmes to educate people in terms of using traditional medicine, remedies etc.

It is also found that there is no internet coverage in this area at least to engage in elearning during Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, responsible authorities should provide internet coverage to this area. Another solution is to combine traditional forms of communication with mainstream media and new media to empower the rural communities in the context of Covid-19. The results show that the people in Wahalkada face some problems in their day-to-day life such as low-income level, domestic violence, mental stress etc. Therefore, the responsible authorities should also take necessary actions to find solutions for the problems faced by the communities since adopting to the new normal life is also another new challenge.

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