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Deepthi Lekani Waidyasekera

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SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT-INDUCED INTERNALLY DISPLACED POPULATION IN THE PUTTALAM DISTRICT OF SRI LANKA FROM 1980 TO 2012

by

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
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In partial fulfilment of the requirements

For the degree of
Master of Arts

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December
2012
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This thesis, submitted by Deepthi Lekani Waidyasekera in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Geography from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

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Title Spatial Dimensions of Conflict-Induced Internally Displaced Population in the Puttalam District of Sri Lanka from 1980 to 2012

Department Geography

Degree Master of Arts

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Deepthi Lekani Waidyasekera
July 18, 2012
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To My Thesis Committee
Professor Douglas Munski
Professor Devon Hanson
Professor Lana Rakow
ABSTRACT

During and after the Sri Lankan civil conflict of 1983-2009, the island’s Internally Displaced Population (IDP) became a key constituency requiring the central government’s attention. Thus, it is important to ask: What are the spatial dimensions and socio-economic implications of Sri Lanka’s Puttalam District IDPs? Archival and contemporary sources from various disciplines were utilized when reviewing the literature and revealed widely divergent opinions about the historical geography and the current initiatives regarding IDPs. The research study’s mixed method approach combined qualitative and quantitative techniques. Data collection extensively relied upon secondary sources from the Sri Lankan government and the United Nations. The findings emphasized the importance of security in migratory movements, especially repatriation, of IDPs for 1990, 2002, 2011, and 2012; significant social transformation also was noted. Recommendations relevant to Sri Lanka were developed concerning community reconciliation and redevelopment which are useful to other sovereign states with IDPs.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Overview and Relevance of the Topic

Sri Lanka is a sovereign state located on a strategic island in the Indian Ocean whose historical geography basically is noted for relative political stability but which also is interspersed with periods of political conflict. Sri Lanka’s most recent such difficult time was a lengthy one, beginning and escalating dramatically after anti-Tamil riots in 1983 only to end in 2009. This armed conflict between the Sri Lankan Government Forces and the Liberation of Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) put the Sri Lankan people into a spiral of violence. Disregard for human rights by extremists on both sides of the issues underlay the arrests or kidnappings of many individuals. There were other forms of assaults and abuses of the civilian population by some rebels and rogue members of the government forces in dreadful cycles of retaliation and counter-retaliation. Particularly of interest to this study were the recurring waves of intimidation, threats, and forceful recruitment of combatants by the LTTE that also forced thousands of families to flee their native lands.

One of the consequences of this situation is the occurrence of internally displaced populations. The individuals are referred to by the acronym “IDP” in the professional literature and thus IDP is the term used throughout this thesis for people who are
internally displaced. Thus, there were hundreds of thousands of Sri Lankans who became victims of conflict-induced displacement within their own nation-state. It should be noted, however, that those people who manage to flee across an internationally-recognized border can claim protection and assistance under the 1951 Refugee Convention. No such system exists for the IDPs. These people are dependent largely on their government which has the primary responsibility to protect and assist them (Brooking Institute 2005). Meanwhile, IDPs still remain at high risk of future violence, malnutrition, and diseases plus may be forced to flee several times in the course of being part of the IDP community which can fluctuate widely in size over time.

However, the migration-related impact of the recent 26-year ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is rooted in part to earlier such troubles on the island. The ethnic violence of 1958 also led to this type of displacement of Tamils living in predominantly Sinhalese areas and Sinhalese people living in predominantly Tamil areas. Furthermore, internal displacement occurred during the spates of major ethnic violence in 1977 and 1981. However, those past episodes had not provided such a large array of people with as complicated socio-economic and social problems since the ending of the civil disturbances that occurred during the period of 1983 to 2009.

The sheer volume of displacement radically changed starting in the 1980s when ethnic tension became more acute after an incident in 1983 in which 13 government soldiers were killed in the city of Jaffna by LTTE and rioting erupted across the country. Following that violence, Sri Lanka became embroiled in armed conflict between government forces and the LTTE. With the exception of a few periods of calm, the hostilities persisted for 26 years. Intense fighting happened in the north and east of the
island and was characterized by widespread human rights violations against people and
group. Those abuses included the use of civilians as human shields, attacks on places of
worship and refuge, retaliatory killings, abductions and disappearances, and targeted
assassinations. The resulting massive human displacement contributed to create an
enormous humanitarian crisis.

By the beginning of 2009, almost 300,000 IDPs were recorded (UNHCR 2009). At the end of 2011, over two and half years after the defeat in May 2009 of the LTTE by
Sri Lankan government forces, the Internally Displaced Monitoring Commission (2011) identified that 125,000 people still remained in the IDP camps, with host families, or in a transit situation as of 31 December 2011 (IDMC 2011).

While the spatial distribution of these people is concentrated in northeastern Sri Lanka, there are dimensions of this internal displacement that affect other parts of the island which is internationally-recognized as a sovereign state. For Sri Lanka’s successful re-integration of these groups, it is necessary to examine their internal movements, their change of location through time, and their current spatial distribution. This particular study is of significance because throughout South Asia there are a number of places with IDPs. Restoring the communities of these people, be it in Sri Lanka or on the Indian subcontinent, will enhance regional stability and a more secure global economy and political condition.

Problem Statement

The main objective of this study is to examine the spatial patterns of the movements and the socio-economic implications of the IDPs in Sri Lanka. There are
three research questions presented here that have been used to examine the underlying broad concepts in this study.

![Figure 1. Location of Sri Lanka in South Asia. Source: Wikipedia.](image)

push and pull factors of migration are considered (Lee 1996). However, the recent phase of hostilities has been notably brutal, most of those people displaced in 2006/2007 and 2008/2009 for example, reported fleeing their homes to escape artillery bombardment and
air raids targeting the areas around their homes (UNHCR, 2009). Therefore, they reluctantly were compelled (pushed) to flee from their habitual residences. The temporary destination for these IDPs is determined basically by the relationships that they have with people in the host regions to which they decided to flee. An area being free of politically-induced violence is one of the key factors for selecting the particular destination. The crucial gravitational pull factors of their temporary destination included distance from the place of origin, accessibility, livelihood opportunities, availability of amenities, facilities, and utilities. How these factors influence the movement of people to select the place of the temporary destination has been investigated in this study. The most popular departure points are for those IDPs who wish to seek refuge ultimately in the state of Tamil-Nadu in south India. According to statistics provided by the Sri Lankan Commissioner General of Essential Services, as of January 2, 2002, there were about 174,250 persons in 346 welfare centers in the districts of Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Baticaloa, Ampara, Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Polonnaruwa, Colombo, and Matale. Moreover, the arrival points in various districts in the southwest and northwest areas of Sri Lanka received the people fleeing from the departure points of Jaffna, Mannar, Killinochchi, and Mullaitivue.

The second question is what are the important demographic characteristics of this particular IDP community? Selected demographic factors that must be considered are age, gender, ethnic, and religious composition. According to a baseline UNHCR survey in 2004 (and the source of the data cited in this paragraph), 53% of IDPs in Sri Lanka are in the age group of 18-59; another 30.7% are in the age group of 5-17. Over 60 and 0-4 age group show 3.8% and 12% respectively. The country representative of the Secretary
General of Internally Displaced persons found that IDPs were especially vulnerable to threats to their physical security. Women and children constitute the largest group among displaced populations in Sri Lanka. The number of displaced women exceeds those of the men significantly. Also, women face gender-based discrimination and are exposed to gender-specific violence and exploitation. That year, women were 50% of the Northern Province’s and Eastern Province’s population plus 64% of the females were working age of 14-64 years compared with 32% of male counterparts (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, 2004).

It would be instructive in this paragraph to provide a “snapshot” of the demographic composition of IDPs whose region of origin is in the Northern Province and Eastern Province of Sri Lanka by using Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka data from 2004. This date is from a crucial time during the modern era of the island’s sovereign political geography. The female population over 65 years in these provinces was 4% compared to 5% of the male. Women’s labor force participation in the north and east prior to the worst period of ethnic conflict was low. In the Northern Province, it was only 16% which is significantly lower than the male rate of 55%. The female labor force participation rate was 18% compared to the male rate of 64% in the Eastern Province. Unemployment rates showed wide disparities. In the Northern Province it reached 32%, nearly five times that of males and 38% in the Eastern Province where the male rate was 9%. Younger age groups suffered the highest unemployment in both provinces, especially among those persons aged 20-29.

Because of the conflict, many women and men could not participate effectively in the active labor force. Members of all ethnic groups were expelled from their native
districts of Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, Mannar and Vavuniya in northern Sri Lanka since 1983, including Tamils who might have been expected to have been more likely to stay when the LTTE managed to establish its Tamil-oriented insurgent state. The displaced Muslim ethnic group in particular numbered over 75,000 people (Refugee Council, 2003). The collapse of community and family structure, including the support provided by the extended family, has made IDPs more and more vulnerable.

Third, the study is a way to investigate further the existing resettlement programs by asking this question: How might the resettlement programs for returning IDPs to their habitual residence be improved? The factors affecting resettlement, suitability of solutions and practical mechanisms for local integration are examined in this study. This complex displacement situation needs group-specific solutions. The researcher has provided her perspective on answering this question by including in Chapter V of this study what are anticipated to be suitable recommendations for resettlement, reintegration, and local integration for bring about the sustainable solution for this complex problem within the sovereign territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. It is the researcher’s contention that any split of the island’s geographical land is not at all a sensible solution, particularly when considering the physical context of Sri Lanka.

**Limitations of the Study**

The research in this study will be somewhat controversial because of reliance upon sources reflective of a sovereign government (Sri Lanka) and a rebel group (LTTE) each having a strong nationalistic approach to what was a long and terrible conflict. As a result, the secondary data considered here also has some further limitations. Unfortunately, the government organizations responsible for the collection of statistical
information at various scales of inquiry could not always provide the most detailed data being sought by the researcher. This is in part due to the ongoing difficulty of creating a commonly accepted and well-identified baseline of initial statistics and later data that truly can indicate the number of IDPs and their demographic profiles when IDP migration movements are so fluid at given time periods. Meanwhile, non-governmental data providers on the other hand are also not totally reliable for detailed data because of the awkward historical relationships that they have with internally displaced people and the group which became identified as the insurgent non-state actors, i.e., the LTTE, in this civil disturbance.

However, trying to collect the necessary primary data as a field study being undertaken by the researcher herself has had serious limitations, too. The significant level of time constraints and high costs of field work alone put into jeopardy the preference to undertake her ability for the primary data collection for the analysis of this study. Thus, it was decided in accordance with her research supervisor to rely upon only the secondary data in lieu of personally-collected primary data.

Yet, even with these limitations of possible statistical uncertainty of data from governmental and non-governmental sources coupled to the lack of recent field data collected as a primary methodological approach by the researcher, this study has both merit and relevance. How so? It is because the researcher does have first-hand experience on the island of Sri Lanka as a Sinhalese academician whose “geographer’s eye” is a good and reasonable filter that includes awareness that she, too, has a vested interest in the subject when viewing this issue with its multi-faceted dimensions. Recognizing
possible flaws with her own perspective as part of the complex set of limitations is an important part of establishing the parameters for how this study could be undertaken.

**Background to the Study**

Having thus “set the ground rules”, it is crucial to present the background to the study through reviewing three key aspects of geographical inquiry: 1) examining briefly the island’s physical geography; 2) considering an abbreviated historical geography of Sri Lanka; and 3) a presenting brief explanation of the islands geopolitical conditions in modern times.

**Physical Context of Sri Lanka**

Sri Lanka is a sovereign nation that also is an island nation in the Indian Ocean. Located in South Asia, it is southeast of India in a strategic location near major Indian Ocean sea lanes. The statistical data in this paragraph is available from a number of sources, but these geographic facts reflect information from the Surveyor General of Sri Lanka (2007) The total area of Sri Lanka is 65,610 Km², with 64,740 Km² of land and 870 Km² of water. The length of coastline is 1,340 Km. Extensive faulting and erosion over time have produced a wide range of topographic features including three zones based on their respective elevation. These are the central highlands at 500 meters to 2,524 meters; the intermediate zone with heights between 30 meters and 200 meters above sea level; and the southwest ridges and valleys which rise gradually to merge with the central highlands. Extensive erosion in this last area has worn down the ridges and deposited rich soil for agriculture downstream. In the southeast, however, a red, lateritic soil covers relatively level ground that is studded with bare, monolithic hills. The transition from the plain to central highlands is abrupt in the southeast, and the mountains appear to rise up
dramatically. A coastal belt about 30 meters above sea level surrounds the island and mostly consists of sandy beaches. Figure 2 is a satellite image that helps the reader obtain a sense of these different geomorphic differences being highlighted in the paragraph above.

**An Abbreviated Historical Geography of Sri Lanka**

**Evolution of Land Use and Settlement Pattern of Sri Lanka**

Although the human colonization of Sri Lanka appears to have started on the island about 34,000 years ago, the dominant patterns of human settlements have been identified as occurring during the last 3000 years (Dereniyagala, 2004). Principally, it consisted of a village farming system. Until the 1970s, the majority of people lived in small villages and engaged in agriculture. The typical settlement pattern in the rice-growing areas traditionally has been a compact group of houses surrounding the religious centers that serve as the community’s spiritual focal points. The life-sustaining rice fields and some irrigated homestead gardens often surrounded the houses of the traditional farmers in more modern times.

Reflecting upon the evolution of the general land use and settlement pattern of Sri Lanka, the nature of most people’s livelihood changed over time from slash-and-burned agriculture to subsistence agriculture and then to commercial crop farming. This is a reflection of how the expanding population triggered the system of slash-and-burned to decline steadily in favor of permanent cultivation by private owners. Until the 13th century, the village farming communities were mainly on the northern plains around Anuradhapura and eventually Polonnaruwa with a much later settlement shift toward the southwest.
Figure 2. Physical Configuration of Sri Lanka. Source: Google. The three geomorphic zones are distinguishable by elevation. The Central Highland (200 meters and above) is the more mountainous part of Sri Lanka that is evident in the southern third of the image above. The plains region (30-300 meters) is seen more so as being across the island in the north central third of the image. The coastal belt (sea level to 30 meters) is the coastal littoral with related various complex shorelines viewed along the edge of the island.

As of the early 1980s, the northern and eastern plains were sparsely populated while the Jaffna Peninsula was densely populated. Although it is a dry area, that peninsular region has been substantially and intensively cultivated. Since the 1980s, the southwest now contains most of the people, and villages are tightly clustered with little
unused land. In the central highlands people also had the rice cultivation put onto terraced hillsides. This was stimulated in part by how in the 1960s and 1970s the central government implemented large-scale irrigation projects to restore the dry-zone to its former agriculture productivity. Known as the Mahaveli Irrigation Project, it was intended to recreate in the dry-zone the lush landscape historically associated there with the ancient Sinhalese civilization.

At the inception of the 16th century, and especially during the British colonial period of the 19th and 20th centuries, the commercial plantation economy came into existence and flourished in Sri Lanka. This form of monoculture emphasized luxury crops such as tea and contributed a large share of the economy’s GDP, most particularly during the later phases of that colonial administration. This brought about a change of lifestyle from subsistence agriculture to commercial crop farming, but it came at a high price in terms of social change. Contract labor, akin to indentured servitude, was introduced into the highlands by the British planters with bringing laborers from the south of India to work on those plantations. By the late 20th century, the descendants of these workers on large plantations lived in “line rooms” containing 10 to 12 units. These people were being identified as the Indian Tamil ethnic group distinct from the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnicity, the evolution of which will be explained later in this chapter.

Meanwhile, the coastal belt saw a completely different lifestyle and settlement pattern to the village and commercial crop lands. The settlement pattern there developed from older fishing villages. Separate fishing settlements expanded laterally along the coast, linked in the modern era by a coastal highway and a railway. The mobility of the coastal population during colonial times and after independence led to an increase in the
size and number of villages, as well as to the development of growing urban centers merging into each other and finally into towns.

**Historical Geography of Sri Lanka in Terms of a Timeline Approach**

**Pre-Historic Period: 1000-800 BCE**

A timeline of Sri Lankan historical geography is provided with Appendix A and starts with an entry reflecting that the human colonization in Sri Lanka first appears at the site of Balangoda. The group who lived there, known collectively as “Balangoda Man”, arrived on the island about 34,000 years ago and have been identified as Mesolithic hunters and gatherers who lived in caves (Dereniyagala, 2004). Meanwhile, the prehistoric early Iron Age appears to have established itself in south India by early 1200 BCE (Deraniyagala, 1992). Supposedly the earliest manifestation of this change in tool-making in Sri Lanka is radiocarbon-dated to 1000-800 BCE at sites at Anuradhapura and the Aligala shelter area in Sigiriya (Karunarathna & Adikari, 1994). However, the true beginning of the Iron Age in Sri Lanka more likely is found at Anuradhapura, where a large city-settlement was founded before 900 BCE. The hunter-gatherer people known as Veddas, who still live in certain parts of the island, may have migrated from the Indian subcontinent in this time period.

**Ancient Sri Lanka: 6th Century BCE**

The most complete and widely-recognized early historical records of Sri Lanka generally begin their narratives of the island’s historical geography with the arrival of Vijaya and his 700 vassals (de Silva, 1981). Vijaya was a prince in what now is considered West Bengal in India. Vijaya landed on Sri Lanka near Mahathitha (Mannar). Mahathitha (Mannar) was an ancient port linking Sri Lanka to India and the Persian Gulf.
Here, the Palk Strait was used by local and foreign merchants connecting the ships travelling the Southern Silk Route between China and the Eastern Mediterranean. Consequently, the present-day Sinhalese are a mixture of the pre-Viyayan Period inhabitants with the followers of Vijaya who came to the island from various parts of India. Thus, the Sinhalese are recognized for being of the Vijayan Indo-Aryan culture and practicing Buddhism, as distinct from other groups in neighboring parts of South Asia, particularly southern India (Ranewella 2000).

**Medieval Sri Lanka: 3th Century BCE- 18th Century CE**

During the Anuradhapura Kingdom, the person who was king was ruler of the country and responsible for the law and the army plus being the protector of the faith. The links between Devanampiya Tissa (250-210 BCE) with Emperor Asoka led to the establishment of Buddhism by the monk Mahinda around 247 BCE. This monk’s role was crucial to Theravada Buddhism as a form of that religion which diffused to Sri Lanka.

It was at this general time that Elara (205-161 BCE), the south Indian Tamil invader, ruled the island north of the Mahaveli River (Pihiti rata) while the southwest part of what eventually we know now as the sovereign state of Sri Lanka was ruled by Kelni Tissa (sub-king of Maya Rata) and King Kavan Tissa who was the regional sub-king of Ruhuna.

**Purported Historical Basis for Tamil Claims to Sri Lankan Territory**

In order to analyze the eligibility as well as legitimacy of the claims made by Tamil groups in Sri Lanka for territory, it is essential to discuss the placement of Tamil rulers as leaders of conquests and occupations in Sri Lankan historical geography. The
historical records reveal that the ethnic tension between Sinhalese and Tamil people on the island we now call Sri Lanka goes back to 6th century BCE. According to the *Mahawansa*, a Buddhist sacred text accepted by the Sinhalese and many non-Tamil, non-Sinhalese as being historically accurate, the first of five Dravidians (ethnically Tamil) rulers, Pilaya Mara, was removed from the throne by the Sinhala king, Valagambahu1 (89-77 BCE) which ended the Tamil rule and restored the Sinhalese kingdom. Later, Dutugamunu (161-137 BCE) the eldest son of King Kavan Tissa, defeated the south Indian Tamil invader Elara in order again to restore the Sinhala dynasty.

The Sinhalese Anuradhapura Kingdom was invaded by the Cholan (Tamil) forces of Rajaraja I and led to the formation of the Kingdom of Ruhuna, where the Sinhalese kings ruled during the Chola occupation. Chandarkumar (2011) in his paper on “The history of the Tamil in Ealam and Jaffna kingdom” takes the pro-Tamil stance that during 983-1014 CE the Sinhalese kingdom came under direct rule of the Chola. He contends that In 1017 CE the whole island was brought under the Cholan rulers, a contention that is disputed by Sinhalese scholars (de Silva, 1981). During their occupation of major parts of the island, the Cholans are said to have deposed the Sinhalese kings of that time according to the litany of the Tamils (Chopra, 1979). The significant change, according to Chopra (1979), was the shift of the capital from Anuradhapura to Pollonnaruwa, which subsequently became the capital for the Sinhalese kings once the Sinhala kingdoms were restored.

Having reached the 13th century of the CE, the suffix of “CE” now will be dropped as part of the dates after the CE year of 1200 in this thesis because the transition between the medieval and modern eras of historical geography has been reached by the
researcher. Thus, in 1247 a major Malay chieftain from Thailand, Chandrabahu of Tambaralinga, invaded the island, moving to the northern areas to secure a kingdom for himself. However, Parakramabahu II, a Sinhalese king, was able to respond with reasonable effectiveness and somewhat limit the area of occupation of these Malays. When Chandrabahu embarked on a second invasion against Parakramabahu II’s forces, the Tamils from southern Indian known as the Pandyas allied with the Sinhalese. They came to support the Sinhalese kingdom as the Malays were seen as more threatening to the interests of the Pandyas than was Parakramabahu II’s kingdom. Forces from the Pandyas killed Chandrabahu in 1262 (de Silva, 1981).

It is appropriate to note that the Mahawansa, written around 400 CE by the Buddhist monk Nagasena who used the Deepavamsa, the Attakatha, and other written sources available to him, seemingly correlates well with independent ancient Indian histories of the period. While having justified the adequate clues that are provided by these chronicles of a strong Tamil presence already on the island now known as Sri Lanka, the Tamil historians have been arguing vociferously, and wrongly in this researcher’s estimation, that the motive for such ancient record-keeping was driven by religious fanaticism; these Tamil claims allege that the Buddhist priests kept their own version of the history of Ealam (the Tamil name for that ethnic group’s territorial claims on the island) in the form of the Mahawansa and Culawansa. They also have argued that these sacred texts were written long after the events described took place and therefore, these cannot be considered as accurate records of those events. Further, the Tamil scholars claim it was the priests who mainly tried to convey a religious message using the events to illustrate the importance of Buddhism, hence to them the Mahawansa
is considered as a very biased version of events. As such, this researcher believes that the Tamil-oriented revisionist version challenging the Buddhist sacred texts actually is more confusing than helpful for making all the facts available to understand the contemporary problem of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, in a recent Tamil-oriented revisionist study (Chandarkumar, 2011) stated that before, during, and after the period of the rule of the Chola throughout South Asia (notably focused upon the current Indian state of Tamil Nadu), the Tamil of Ealam (today’s island of Sri Lanka) became increasingly conscious of their separate ethnicity. Thus, the Tamils of Ealam became a source of support for South Indian invaders be they Cholas, the Cheras, the Pallavas, or the Pandyas. Indeed, it was claimed in the mid-20th century by pro-Tamil scholar Rasanayagam (1933) that in the era of the 4th century CE to 8th century CE that there were kings in the Jaffna Peninsula of Tamil cultural origins who ruled independently during some periods and at other times under the Sinhalese kings of Anuradhapura. This notion is accepted by the Sinhalese scholar, de Silva (1981) in a history of Sri Lanka because it does appear that the Kingdom of Aryachakrawarthi was formed around the town of Jaffna on the Jaffna Peninsula by the ancestors of the current Tamil ethnic group. Admittedly during the ebb and flow of medieval political intrigue in the 14th Century, the Aryachakrawarthi Kingdom (Jaffna) probably was the most powerful kingdom on the island. Consequently, whenever Sinhala power declined, the Tamil moved southwards to demand tribute from the Sinhalese of the southwest and central regions. During this time, Jaffna supposedly had effective control over the northwest coast to what is today’s Puttalam District and the focus of the case study of this thesis.
Colonial Period of Sri Lanka 1505-1948

The more “neutral” position in the interpretation of Sri Lanka’s historical geography seemingly is provided by de Silvia (1981). He indicated that the Jaffna kingdom was poised for the establishment of what might be termed “Tamil Supremacy” over the island. Yet, there were more than Tamils and Sinhalese in the midst of these political upheavals. They involved the various ethnic groups of the island, including the Coastal Moors, a Muslim ethnic group which arrived and flourished in certain areas of the island thanks to inter-coastal trading activities. Meanwhile, there was a new invader on the horizon: the Portuguese. This Renaissance Era European power sought control of the island with its strategic location in the Palk Strait. The Portuguese also recognized the importance of the Jaffna Peninsula as the region that funneled the connections of all interior Sinhalese kingdoms to the south of India. The Portuguese therefore would be helping to create the modern basis for political problems that would last through occupations by the Dutch and British. The colonial era would not end until 1948 which is why it is appropriate to start this section of the thesis with a brief review of the Portuguese involvement with the Tamils and Sinhalese.

Portuguese Period: 1505-1638

The first European invaders were the Portuguese. Arriving in 1505, they found that the island was divided into seven kingdoms and this political situation slowed their intrusion. Subsequently, the Portuguese established a fort at the port city of Colombo in 1517 and gradually expanded their control over the coast line. The Jaffna Kingdom came to the attention of the Portuguese for several reasons which included their Roman Catholic missionary activities. According to Abeyasinghe, (1986) Jaffna under
Portuguese, many of the kings of Jaffna contested for supremacy of the region with the Portuguese. In 1617, King Cankili II, for example confronted the Portuguese, but was defeated. The Tamil rebels led by Migapulle Arachchi had assistance from King Thanjarur, a Tamil ruler from what is now known as Tanjore, an area of modern Tamil Nadu in southern India. This combined force of Tamils was successful in stopping, but not totally defeating the Europeans, in areas occupied by the Portuguese. Consequently, after being beaten decisively, Migapulle Arachchi moved his administrative center elsewhere on the Jaffna Peninsula.

Meanwhile, these Iberian Europeans were seeking to stop the support to anti-Portuguese forces in the Kotte Kingdom, a major Sinhalese political entity that then was flourishing. Furthermore, the Jaffna Kingdom also functioned as a logistical base for the Kandyan Kingdom, a Sinhalese region with nominal Tamil populations located in the central highlands. This was an area without its own control of any seaport, so it relied upon the Jaffna Kingdom as an entry point for any military aid which would have arrived from the South Asian subcontinent. Finally from the Portuguese perspective, it was feared that the Jaffna Kingdom might become a base of operations for launching any Dutch invasions beyond the Jaffna Peninsula in the greater struggles for control of the traffic in the Spice Islands Trade due to the Jaffna Kingdom’s strategic situation astride key sea lanes.

The king, Cankili I, was ruler during this time in Jaffna, and it was he who restricted contacts with the Portuguese plus even ordered the massacre of 600-700 Parava Catholics on the island of Mannar. These non-European Catholics were brought from India to Mannar to take over the lucrative pearl fisheries from the Jaffna Kingdom.
However, all attempts to recover the Jaffna Kingdom’s total territory from the Portuguese met with failure. Meanwhile many lowland Sinhalese were forced to convert to Christianity while the Coastal Moors, an Islamic group with roots in the Arabian Peninsula who came to the island as part of the inter-coastal trade, were religiously persecuted and forced to retreat to the central highlands. The Buddhist majority disliked the Portuguese occupation and its influences, thereby welcoming any power who might rescue them. When the Dutch landed in 1602, the King of Kandy appealed to him for help. Until then, none of the kingdoms were successful in overcoming Portuguese dominance, either Sinhalese or Tamil. Unfortunately, Dutch assistance was not forthcoming until after nearly 30 years of Dutch-Portuguese conflict over the sea lanes beyond the inter-coastal trade routes.

**Dutch Period of Sri Lanka: 1638-1796**

The King of Kandy, Rajasinghe II, made a treaty with the Dutch in 1638 as a strategy to overcome the domination of coastal regions by the Portuguese. The main conditions of the treaty were that the Dutch should surrender the coastal areas they would capture to the Kandyan king with the king in turn granting the Dutch a monopoly over trade throughout the entire country. Once the Dutch seized the Portuguese possessions in the middle of the 17th century, they had direct control mainly over the Jaffna Peninsula, the western province, and what are the Galle and Matara districts in Sri Lanka’s modern Southern Province. Consequently, neither party the Kandyan king nor the Dutch, would maintain the agreement’s clauses.

By 1660 the Dutch controlled the whole country except the Kingdom of Kandy. The Dutch rulers expanded their control into the interior but could not dislodge the rulers
of the Kingdom of Kandy. Still, these Europeans who replaced the Portuguese as colonizers managed to hold sway strongly elsewhere on the island until 1796. Furthermore, the Dutch persecuted the local Catholics, and the remaining Portuguese settlers then left the Buddhist, Hindus and Muslims alone. The ethnic legacy of the Dutch period on the island as known at that time as Ceylon is the Dutch Burghers. The Dutch also gradually modified the Sinhalese system of ‘rajakariya’ (service due to the king) to suit the needs of their trade and government, but the Dutch made no radical changes in this Sinhalese form of feudalism. The development of foreign trade, especially in cinnamon, brought Muslims in even large numbers into Sri Lanka. The Dutch further changed the society by establishing an elementary education system which made large portions of the Sinhalese and Tamil populations literate. However, they increased further differences between low-country and up-country people, i.e., those people living in the coastal area and immediate environs and those people in the hilly and more mountainous parts of the island.

**Ceylon as the Transition into the Era of Modern Sri Lanka**

**British Period of Sri Lanka: 1796-1948**

Ceylon as a British colony, the pre-cursor to modern Sri Lanka, began when the British captured the maritime zone in 1796 from the Dutch. The British eventually pushed into the interior and occupied the Kandyan kingdom in 1815 but only finally gained full control over the island in 1818. During this period, the island went through greater changes than in all its previous history. British policy and methods of government have helped mainly in the advancement of the people living in the southwestern coastal areas and the Jaffna Peninsula. They established, on the recommendation of the
Colebrook Commission, a common form of administration for the whole island. This resulted in uniting the three separate administrative units of the Tamil (north and east), the Kandyan (central) and the low country (west and southern), rather than keeping apart each group and region from each other as had been the Dutch policy. The provinces were rearranged, uniting the Kandyan lowlands with low country Sinhalese and Tamil districts. At the same time a common system of law courts was established for the whole island thereby bringing all persons under the rule of law and making them all equal in its sight. Moreover, the British missionary school system (Wesleyan and Anglican) began its work in Jaffna in 1816 where the Portuguese originally had based Catholic missionary activities. Between 1812 to 1832, the Protestant missionary societies opened 253 schools in which about 10,000 pupils were taught (Mendis, 1952) According to Mendis (1952), the British period as the most important and, in his estimation, interesting period of the island’s history, thereby probably reflecting an Anglophile’s wistful look backwards in the early days of post-independence for the former British colony.

Contemporary Political Context in Sri Lanka

1931 to Post-Conflict Sri Lanka

Background to the Independence Movement. Although independence did not happen until 1948, it is important that it is understood that the root of that movement can be traced to the 1930s. Thus, this section of the thesis that deals with the contemporary political context in Sri Lanka must involve taking a step in reverse in chronology and returning to a crucial time in the period of British colonialism It is done so to give better continuity to the topic of Sri Lanka’s evolving political context.

Independence Movement
The Ceylon National Congress was founded as an independence movement during the early 1930s. The political party at that time was called the Ceylon National Congress, and his entity was the umbrella group under which different factions functioned along ethnic lines. Operationally, it was split along ethnic lines basically because of the refusal of the Ceylon Tamils to accept minority status. The independence movement then broke into two segments, one called “constitutionalists” and dominated largely by moderate Sinhalese politicians and the other a more radical group consisting of all the different ethnic groups but mainly being a mix of Tamils, Muslims, and the other non-Sinhalese ethnic groups as recognized in censuses of the mid-1930s. This time of an overall political awakening was the first period in which the Ceylonese started to raise interest in outright independence from colonial rule.

Meanwhile, the Tamil Organization was led by G.G. Ponnambalam. It was he who had pioneered the rejection of multi-ethnic national Ceylonese identity when he declared himself a “Proud Dravidian” and proclaimed the necessity for an independent political as well as ethnic identity for the Tamils. His ethnically-based perspective underlay how he publicly and hostilely criticized the historical chronicle known as the *Mahawamsa*. Reaction from both majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils to such controversial statements, particularly when viewed as being defamatory to the Buddhist Sinhalese, polarized the general population. Invectives exchanged between the populace gradually changed from words to blows. This negativism helped trigger a particularly violent outburst in Nawalapitiya and in 1939 led to the first politically significant Sinhala-Tamil riot in the 20th century (Russel 1982).
Ponnambalam then submitted the proposal of Tamil rights to the British government in Sri Lanka. However, the Soulbury Commission, a key British Foreign Office task force during that time, rejected the proposal of Ponnambalan and criticized his group for what was seen as an unacceptable condition. Basically the leading Tamil politician of this time period called for not just the protection of Tamil rights for the 15% of total population of the island in 1931 that were claiming Tamil ethnicity, but Ponnambalam was demanding the Tamils having an equal number of seats in the parliament to that of the Sinhala who were 72% of the population based upon that census. The separatist-leaning Tamil nationalist politics, created by Ponnambalam, were carried forward by J.V. Chelvanayakam.

From the late 1930s to the late 1970s, the politics on the island were transforming people’s perceptions of what should be their future with ideas ranging from a centralized state but with a multi-ethnic population to a more federalized state with ethnic territories recognized to being more than one state. As of independence in 1948, the centralized state option underlay Ceylon’s launch into internationally recognized sovereignty. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s there was relative calm and economic growth such that the centralized state was a successful player in world relations as well as the world economy even when there were occasional outbursts of ethnic violence caused by extremists from all the different ethnic groups represented on the island. Eventually, the centralized state adopted the name “Sri Lanka” in 1972 and ceased to use “Ceylon” not merely to reflect the name preferred by the majority Sinhalese but to continue to distance itself from the colonial past rooted in occupations of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British.
During the time of S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake (prime minister of Ceylon from 1956 until 1959), Sinhala was established as the state’s official language but with Tamil accepted as being a special second national language. The 1978 constitution of the Sinhalese-dominated United National Party government led by J. R. Jayawardana offered special concessions to the Tamils in a bid to maintain peace and discourage potential succession actions by a growing radical group among the Tamils. Sinhala was to remain the official language of administration throughout Sri Lanka, but Tamil was given a new “national language” status, thereby recognizing early acceptance of its importance to a multi-ethnic state. Further, Prime Minister Jayawardana led the effort which also eliminated a major Tamil grievance by abolishing the “standardization” policy which had made university admission for Tamils more difficult. In addition, many top-level positions were offered to Tamil civil servants.

**Slide into Civil Conflict.** Yet, the Tamil political leaders were not satisfied with those concessions offered by the Sri Lankan government, and they pressed for having an all party conference to be called in an effort to obtain better terms on the political offers. Meanwhile, the Tamil Tigers (LTTE), the military wing of the radical Tamils, escalated their terrorist attacks. In addition to the LTTE there were few other well-armed Tamil groups: the People’s Liberation Organization of Tamil Ealam, Tamil Ealam Liberation Army, and the Tamil Ealam Liberation Organization. Many of these organizations were operating from training camps in India’s Tamil Nadu State.

It must not be forgotten that the eruption of civil conflict in Sri Lanka between the sovereign central Sri Lankan government and the LTTE saw mass migration of Tamils to escape the hardships and bitter life of a country torn at war. The poorer segment of that
ethnic community, who sold everything they had to be able to get a passport and ticket, sought asylum in foreign lands, thereby creating the basis for what is sometimes called the Tamil Diaspora. The bitter ethnic fighting in Sri Lanka had driven over 400,000 Sri Lankan Tamils from their traditional homelands in the North Province and Eastern Province, forcing them to find refuge around the globe. For the past quarter-century the more radical elements of the Tamil Diaspora has influenced the shape of the Sri Lankan political landscape through its financial and ideological support to the military struggle perpetrated quite violently by the LTTE for an independent Tamil state. Although the May 2009 defeat of the LTTE has dramatically reduced the Tamil Diaspora’s influence, a significant number of Tamils outside Sri Lanka seemingly continue to support a separate state, and the Tamil Diaspora’s money can ensure the remnants of the LTTE cadres play a role in the country’s future.

**Contemplating the Post-2009 Era**

The nature of Sri Lanka’s future, however, depends on how the sovereign national government in Colombo deals with its Tamil citizens in the coming months plus how strongly the international community presses the government to enact constitutional reforms to share power with and protect the rights of the Tamil and other minorities. The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, however, potentially could be a never-ending phenomenon. Therefore, the sovereign central government needs a durable political solution for long lasting answers to the socio-economic and political problems of the Tamils while not undermining the relationships of the other minorities to them and to the Sinhalese majority. To ensure that the current peace is a lasting one, the Sri Lankan government must address the legitimate grievances at the root of the conflict the political
marginalization and physical insecurity of most Tamils in Sri Lanka. Any significant improvement in the political position of Tamils and other minorities in Sri Lanka thus will come slowly and with difficulty. Yet, it will bring long lasting peace to have successful cohabitation of all ethnic groups in Sri Lanka.

Summary and Transition

Chapter I has been the opening chapter to this thesis. It has provided several key components in setting-up the study of the three research questions. Those three questions deal with a particular part of the world, Sri Lanka, which is why it was crucial to provide the reader with background about the physical geography of the island, to give an abbreviated historical geography of Sri Lanka, and to introduce the basic elements of the contemporary geopolitical conditions of the island with respect to the Sinhalese-Tamil disagreements regarding issues of Tamil sovereignty.

The remainder of the thesis consists of four chapters, an assortment of appendices, and references. After the literature review (Chapter II), there is chapter on methodology (Chapter III). Chapter IV is the part of the thesis focused upon data collection and data analysis. The fifth chapter is the conclusion and recommendations which means that Chapter V is the “bookend” to Chapter I’s introductory nature. However, to be able to proceed, it is important to present the literature review which next is made available to reader starting on the next page.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

In order to understand the choice of methodology used to conduct this study, it is important to consider the existing literature concerning IDPs from a range of disciplines. While much of the emphasis of this thesis is the geographical perspective, there also is literature to be reviewed drawn from the scholarly fields of history, community development, and other disciplines which are interrelated to the general topic. Consequently, this chapter is divided into five sub-sections in which each part interweaves the review of literature from a topical and not so much a disciplinary perspective. The five topics are the history of the internal conflict, current initiatives regarding IDPs, the community based approach, national reconciliation and integration, and conceptual base of the research. The last section of this chapter is a summary of it and a transition to Chapter III. Now that this overview to the Chapter II has been provided, the first topic of the literature review is presented.

Review of the Documents on the History of the Internal Conflict

Literature that is related to this facet of the research problem has been reviewed extensively in order to understand better the perceptions of sovereignty held in the Tamil community in Sri Lanka as well as the concerns of the non-Tamil minorities and the Sinhalese majority. It became clearly obvious that there are two segments of historians,
i.e., Sinhalese and Tamil, that have been explaining the strong presence of the Tamil community in ancient Sri Lanka in two different ways. Because of this controversy, there have been intense debates among these scholars. Thus, caution is necessary when looking into the pitfall of ethnic-oriented popularized history which is characterized by highly divergent interpretations of it. These conditions make it especially difficult to produce a totally unbiased historical geographical analysis of Sri Lanka. Indeed, throughout South Asian and elsewhere in the world, there are those historians and other authors, notably from the popular press, who specifically present their evidence as falling along their ethnic and religious lines, and as such may distort intentionally or unintentionally the correct images and chronicles of particular places. Even the most neutral author might be viewed by those people holding polar opposite opinions of being biased when all that writer, such as this researcher, is attempting to weigh carefully the evidence and not to have her own “blinders” affect as balanced an interpretation of the facts as possible in a thesis.

Furthermore, these types of orientations may dispose the particular writers to concentrate exclusively on economic motives and conflicts. For example, *Mahawamsa* is not considered an accurate document by the leading modern Tamil historians in Sri Lanka such as Chandrakumar (2000, 2011). They tend to say repeatedly, that the *Mahawamsa*, being a Buddhist-based chronicle, is a document that is similar to the *Torah* in the Jewish community wherein it is viewed by non-Jewish scholars as historical records that were focused specifically on a particular religious group’s traditions and not inclusive of the other peoples of the time period in which the specific sacred text was being prepared from a collection of spiritually significant writings. In contrast, such a
position is refuted in its entirety by Sinhalese and other non-Tamil scholars such as de Silva (1981).

Of relevance to historical geography’s overall disciplinary contribution to this research, the Tamil historians argue about the time period that the events were recorded, i.e., that evidence they have used suggest that the Mahawamsa was written long after the events described even took place. Having given these explanations for their objections, they have taken a position not to consider these documents as an acceptably accurate record of events and as being instead a highly biased version of those events. According to Chandrakumar (2000) an outspoken Tamil scholar, this and other sacred texts were written by Buddhists priests who mainly tried to convey a religious message using the events to illustrate the importance of the Buddhist religion. Not only do the descriptions of the events contain a heavy religious flavor, the history itself was modified to glorify those kings, i.e., according to him, the Mahawamsa emphasizes only Buddhism and the Sinhala kings (Chandrakumar, 2000).

In contrast, de Silva (1981), a noted Sinhalese scholar, pointed out that the origins of both communities in general and the Tamil community in particular in Sri Lanka are possible to be traced from Balangoda Man which comes from the earliest period of historical geography as presented previously in Chapter I. Moreover, there are other key instances of earlier ethnic tensions on what would become known as the island of Sri Lanka. These include the intrusion of the Dravidian peoples from what is now India’s Deccan Plateau in approximately the 3rd Century BCE. It also was shown in power struggles, i.e., the Tamil kings, at Anuradhapura reigning for 22 year plus the great influence of the Kingdom of Elara due to its external trade domination with South India
for 44 years (Geiger 1912). Furthermore, de Silva (1981) noted the impact of Southern Indian megalithic culture which came to the island of Sri Lanka around 500 BCE. He suggested that all these factors would have been influential for the emergence of the Tamil community as a separate identity in Sri Lanka. To establish his stance on the concept which emphasizes harmony and a spirit of life, he indicated, based on the sufficient evidence available to him in the last part of the 20th century, that the island that we now call Sri Lanka was in the first few centuries of the Common Era (CE) more so a multi-ethnic society rather than simply a plural society.

However, the current second decade of the 21st century remains a time wherein the ethnic disagreement for territorial claims and political freedom for the Tamil community in Sri Lanka still is debated with varying degrees of questioning based solely upon people’s respective ethnic backgrounds. Historians from each side of the conflict should have sufficient professional neutrality to use sensible judgment to sift through the historical evidence so to support using ancient and medieval archival data as a tool in the problem solving initiatives of post-conflict Sri Lanka in a more positive fashion. Yet, this is exceedingly challenging to do because of underlying political issues.

No matter which side is taken, it seems fairly safe to state that the continuous political rancor between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils led to the recent civil war in Sri Lanka because the Tamil political leaders were not satisfied with the government concessions offered to them in a bid to secure peace in the late 20th century. Consequently, the additional volatile component of Tamil political leadership in the Sri Lankan parliament gave implicit encouragement to Tamil militants to escalate their terrorist attacks in the early 1980s. Thus, it is considered a key point in any timeline
regarding Sri Lanka’s historical geography and contemporary geopolitics that the official outbreak of the Sri Lankan civil war occurred when the LTTE detonated a landmine on the 23rd of July in 1983, at Thrunelveli on the Palai Road in the Jaffna Peninsula. The victims were 13 soldiers of Sri Lanka Army. Thus, the killing of the 13 soldiers of the central government, the PRI (Palai Road Incident) became a crucial turning-point and led to the 26-year long civil unrest that has been seen as a separatist rebellion among pro-LTTE supporters and as a terrorist war by pro-Sri Lankan government supporters. This violent action is referred later in this thesis as the “PRI” for the sake of not having to repeat the story of this carnage in detail each time it must be referenced.

Since the PRI to 2009, three statistical groups of victims have become evident. First, most sources suggest that almost 100,000 people were killed. Second, were the IDPs. Third were the refugees. Probably more than one million people were displaced in total numbers. As such, that estimate of displaced people includes the number of IDPs and those people who left the island for parts of the world beyond the sovereign state of Sri Lanka. Having used this sub-section of Chapter II to give insight into the past underpinnings of the conflict, it is appropriate in the following sub-section of this chapter to examine key literature regarding displacement of people in the sense of current conditions in Sri Lanka.

Documents on Current IDP Initiatives

Displacement is considered as a forced migration of people. Article II of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (United Nations On Human Rights 1998: 1) defined “internally displaced persons as persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or place of habitual residence, in
particular as a result or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situation or generalized violence, violence of human rights or natural or manmade disaster, and who have not crossed an international recognized state border”. Looking at this definition in the light of how types of migrants are categorized, we realize a distinctive new issue of migration that needs to be addressed here in part because there is an increased number of IDPs all over the world.

Technically, IDPs are not considered to be refugees in this UNHCR definition. Instead, the movements of IDPs generally are short-term in distance and confined within the sovereign state of their homeland, so their legal status is not to be confused with that of international refugees. After crossing one or more international borders, members of this other migrant group, i.e., the international refugees, often are characterized by traveling to destinations which may be as far away from their homeland as the other side of the world.

To put the size of the IDPs population in the early 21st century into some perspective, the Asia-Pacific region, including Sri Lanka, alone had 3.3 million IDPs as of 2004 (IDMC, 2011). Urban IDPs in particular have increased in the last few decades, and they especially find themselves in a very uncertain situation often without any hope. So, it is necessary to solve their life uncertainty problems, because the role of IDPs is significant in social transformation and peace building within a fragmented society (Felden, 2008).

Sri Lanka’s IDP numbers have fluctuated between an estimated 500,000 people since the PRI in 1983 to possibly more than one million people by 2009 with the numbers starting to decrease rapidly when the civil unrest was coming to an end (Ministry of
Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, 2009). As in all internal conflicts, the heaviest casualties were civilians. Consequently, thousands of Sri Lankans have been forced to flee their habitual residence, resulting in a breakdown of social and cultural structure and identity.

Because this thesis emphasizes a case study of the Puttalam District in Sri Lanka, a brief overview of displacement in that area is appropriate to provide here as a precursor to the more detailed information about the Puttalam District that is being presented in Chapter IV. Thus, it is important to recognize and to repeat in this paragraph the data cited as most accurate and available from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) survey carried out in the Puttalam District Centre in 2004 (UNHCR 2004). According to that survey, 53% of all the IDPs were in the age group of 18-59. Another 30.7% of the IDPs were in the age group of 5-17. IDPs in the aged over 60 and in the 0-4 age groups composed 3.8% and 12% respectively of the total group. It is crucial to repeat, too, that women and men are affected differently by displacement and play different roles in the local integration and resettlement process. Furthermore, when a household is displaced and loses access to the main productive assets, it largely affects their economic situation.

 Gender role and family relationships also change accordingly. Increasing dependence on the female member of the household becomes a norm, transferring from being a male–headed household to being a female-headed household. Over time, this process often accelerated the creation of vicious cycles of crime and poverty that spread through IDP settlements and communities. Ultimately, these cycles become compounded and worsen a nation’s prospects for economic, political, and social development
Gomez (2002) described how such a national human rights commission might contribute to defending the rights of the internally displaced. The main area of concern is answering this question: What is the role of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) for the internally displaced population in the country? Gomez (2002) indicated that the NHRC could begin with integrating internal displacement issues into existing and future government policies plus the Sri Lankan legal framework. According to that author, the problems usually faced by the NHRC are to generate the capacity within the institution to perform these tasks. In order to achieve this particular task, the commission decided to examine the status of vulnerable groups and to identify the role that the commission could play with regard to these groups. In this process one of the three groups identified by the commission was the internally displaced population. The NHRC identified IDPs as an especially vulnerable group and a segment that required its attention. Until such time, the Sri Lankan Commission had not examined human rights violation pertaining to IDPs, although Sri Lanka then had a large number of IDPs.

In order for overcome these problems, that particular study developed two sets of recommendations with one for the government in general and the other for the NHRC in particular by Gomez (2002) who had described and analyzed the characteristics of the internal displacement in Sri Lanka. According to Gomez (2002), the conflict in Sri Lanka has generated at least six broad categories of displaced persons: those displaced and living in camps or welfare centers; those displaced and living outside camps or welfare centers; refugees who have returned from Tamil Nadu, India and are living in transit
camps; those who have been re-settled; refugees being repatriated by Western governments; and refugees outside the country.

The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), as noted in its report released on 31st December 2011, identified the number of obstacles that delay the return of IDPs to their places of origin. These people are still in need of assistance related to their displacement until they return to their permanent homes. Among the concerns of the IDPs, many of them could not access their land and any shelter or housing plus had a lack of security of tenure over such property. There have been limited livelihood opportunities and a lack of basic services. Also, the construction of permanent and temporary shelter was slow in 2011, leaving the vast majority living in inadequate shelters. Overcrowding and exposure to adverse weather conditions left them vulnerable to ill health and other threats from natural hazards. Furthermore, gender-based violence and being less able to move around safely on their own was a major problem for female IDPs. Then, too, the Sri Lankan armed forces continued to play a significant role in controlling civilian activities and public administration in the areas which had been affected by the armed conflict. This has had impact upon those IDPs who also were engaging in commercial activities, hindering some returned IDPs restoration of their livelihoods.

The magnitude and the complexity of IDP issues globally has created a challenging problem for the sovereign governments when assisting IDPs is basically a responsibility of the particular central governments that hold those IDPs. The government of countries that have a considerable number of IDPs should ensure IDP rights, especially because they are exposed to violence and various violations of their rights either by their own sovereign state or by Armed Non-State Actors (ANSA). In 2011, the IDMC
identified that the vast majority of violence worldwide against IDPs is committed by ANSA elements. Consequently, IDPs and other civilians are becoming victims of these activities because those national governments have lost their monopoly of the use of force and their judicial system (IDMC, 2011). In this case, ANSAs have various obligations towards IDPs under international law, which can be found in the Geneva Convention and its additional protocols. Similarly for IDPs, there also are protections in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the Kampala Convention as well as the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. However, most leaders and other members of ANSAs lack knowledge of such legal standards relevant to IDPs.

The UNHCR (2006) also has noted an important shift of international thinking about the IDPs. This situation has emerged when people in need of aid and protection in their own countries have claims on the international community when their governments either cannot or will not fulfill their responsibilities to the IDPs. This often is when there is a breakdown of state authority, but international intervention in such circumstances challenges the notion of state sovereignty. Such conditions can become an international relations nightmare at best and a geopolitical powder keg at worst. The 2011 conference on IDPs that the IDMC organized in Geneva focused on the theme of “Armed non-State actors and the protection of internally displaced people”; this meeting of members of the IDMC recognized that IDPs ought to benefit from the same protection as other civilians, they may have particular vulnerabilities and needs because of their displacement, and it is essential that all stakeholders take these concerns into account (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2011). Therefore, even as general provisions of international humanitarian law
or international human rights law may provide protection for IDPs, they may not be sufficient to address the specific needs of IDPs such as the protection against forcible return, the provision of identity documents, and the needs of specific groups of IDPs, e.g., internally displaced women and children. In this respect, normative tools noted above such as the guiding principles are of particular importance in seeking to achieve comprehensive protection of IDPs. Usually, ANSAs either directly or indirectly can cause displacement, violate IDPs’ rights or hamper the efforts of humanitarian actors to protect IDPs.

Even before the work of the UNHCR in 2006, the Inter Agency Standing Committee (1999) report stated that in addition to government responsibility, the humanitarian organizations also could act as legitimate agencies on behalf of IDPs. Sometimes, international intervention is needed largely because of collective interest in regional security and stability. The vulnerability of IDPs is increased if inadequate attention continues to be given by the government or non-government organizations. The overall first objective of the humanitarian organizations is, therefore, to promote international organizations on IDP needs such as to provide dry rations, medical care, shelter and security. Second, these groups are to analyze the IDP safety requirements and act when any rights are being violated. However, humanitarian assistance also can have a negative impact on societal transformation necessary for the IDPs by promoting ongoing dependency in the temporary settlement destination (Holt, 2001).

Through case studies done by the IDMC in 2011 focusing on the interaction between ANSAs and IDP communities in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Colombia, the IDMC identified that three challenges exist for humanitarian agencies. First, it is crucial
for humanitarian agencies and donors to find balance between quick response and a thorough and ongoing analysis of the domestic context and dynamics, including the historical relationships involving displaced communities, state institutions, and ANSAs. Thus the knowledge of the local culture, traditions, and values is essential to ensure timely and effective assistance. Second, based on such contextual analysis, humanitarian agencies must adopt their assistance strategy to address the needs of IDPs but also to enhance the “self-protection” capacity of local communities, while ensuring the inclusion of local partnerships. Third, humanitarian organizations must also comply strictly with the principles of neutrality, impartially and independence, to avoid being perceived as supporting one or other party to the conflict.

**Importance of the Community Based Approach**

Within the general literature concerning the current situation for Sri Lanka, this sub-section is needed to highlight the topic of the importance of the community based approach to examining the conditions at present on this strategically important island as a means to make the transition into reconciliation and re-integration, the literature of which is presented in the fourth sub-section of Chapter II. Thus, it is recognized that IDPs need a special community based approach. For example, Cohen and Deng (1998) have suggested that the efforts of local nongovernmental organizations are more effective than any central government’s weak process. They further stated that the basic needs such as health and sanitation, important medical requirements, and an adequate standard of physical and mental health can provided by the local and international nongovernmental organizations.
However, attaining the necessary accessibility to such services is complicated. To overcome this constraint, the IDMC (2011) has presented to its membership and the general public how humanitarian organizations can implement their programs where ANSAs operate. The dialog building with ANSAs has been identified as initial objective. Understanding and responding to their complaints with providing international standards of protection can be a long-term objective. Also, such discussions might raise the need to adopt assistance strategies and programs to the evolving situation on the ground and at each stage of the displacement cycle. Advocacy for the respect of the rights of IDPs is one of the suggestions to produce actions that seek to prevent displacement which came out of these discussions so to ensure humanitarian space and access to communicate or to promote durable solutions for IDPs in line with the United Nations Guiding Principles. Consequently, some humanitarian organizations feel challenged and threatened by the restrictions of some central governments on their contact with ANSAs. Finally, they suggest that the humanitarian agencies have to comply strictly with the principle of neutrality, impartially, and independently to avoid supporting either party involved in the conflict (IDMC 2011).

**National Integration and Reconciliation**

Having presented literature relative to the importance of the community approach to this topic as a precursor to examining the literature on national integration and reconciliation, it must be noted first in this sub-section of Chapter II that some aspects of the national agendas of both parties seemingly constrain the current reconciliation programs in Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, we need to be aware that moving down the geographical scale, from global to national, the 1980s witnessed a vigorous debate on
nationalism. This new interest has been kindled by two modern nationalisms—the new minorities of Western Europe and liberation nationalism of the Third World (Williams, 1980, 1985). Indeed, nationalism that is practiced in Sri Lanka currently is considered a major obstacle for political freedom of minorities in multiethnic societies (Anghie, 2006). Thus, only certain countries and societies theoretically are capable of becoming sovereign, i.e., simply, the countries should be civilized in the fullest sense of social justice as well as in terms of economic development and political structure to become a sovereign state (Anghie, 2006). Typically described in normative terms, the nation-state that has encouraged violence leading to questionable ends cannot be considered civilized. Common examples of such state-supported negative actions are committing unprecedented barbarism against civilians, extermination of indigenous people in colonizing territories by the supposedly civilizing nations, practicing an ethnic cleansing policy of a country, and having a similar effort at ethnic cleansing within a country by some of that state’s ethnic groups against other ethnic groups. For example, the Muslim people, a small but historically important minority in Sri Lanka, were chased out of the Jaffna Peninsula not by the armed forces of the sovereign central government but by the LTTE.

Yet, what are the demographic consequences of such types of ethnic cleansing vis-à-vis preparing for national reconciliation and integration? It should be noted that because of the final years of civil unrest in the early 21st century, the latest official Sri Lankan census available in the World Fact Book (CIA 2012) is from 2001. Thus, it is used as part of the calculations which have indicated that the Sri Lankan Tamils, who were the second largest community with 12% of the population in the Sri Lankan
benchmark Census of 1981, has come down to 3.9% of the population in the Census of 2001. Meanwhile, the Sri Lankan Moors have shot up from third position to second position (7.2%). The Indian Tamil group is at 4.6%. The Sinhalese were 73.8% of the total ethnic population of Sri Lanka based upon the Census of 2001. Thus, these figures indicate that the Sri Lankan Tamils have dropped to the bottom of the list with all other communities surpassing it.

It must be remembered that the Sri Lankan Tamils constituted around 1.2 million in the pre-Eelam war period (Eelam being the Tamil name for the island). The decline in the population of Sri Lankan Tamil mainly was due to the post-1983 politics of violence. Mass migration of the Sri Lankan Tamils followed the ethnic riots in the early 1980’s. While pockets of these Tamil migrants increased abroad, the Tamil population decreased in Sri Lanka. The LTTE in particular welcomed this trend as these overseas pockets were seen as source of revenue. But the flip-side of it was the drop in population which can have serious political implications, particularly in electoral geography, on the island itself.

According to Antony Giddens (1985), the relationship between the nation-state and state-induced or state-sanctioned violence is that the overemphasis upon one group’s cultural sensibility of sovereignty is what helps to unleash negative administrative power within a clearly demarcated territory. Consequently, international awareness and promotion of social justice, if coupled to the economic pressures of globalization, become sources of protection of IDPs with respect to state-promoted violence against its citizens and entire ethnic groups with such a sovereign state. In order to address this complication to reconciliation and reintegration, it is a requirement to analyze the
importance of comprehensive treatment of social factors in the formation of ethnic solidarity.

Meanwhile, Hechter and Levi (1979) have suggested that the concept of the cultural division of labor is necessary to incorporate the equally important segmental division of labor in the formation of ethnic solidarity. In other words, the diversified labor incorporation is a strategy to enhance the ethnic solidarity because ethnicity is a cultural boundary plus ethnicity is used to enhance the status and power of majorities.

The question as to what extent members of the cultures interact wholly within the boundaries of their group has been presented by Kofman (1982) in what perhaps is a seminal article, “Differential modernization, social conflicts and etho-regionallism in Corsica”. Here Kofman (1982) highlighted the concept of ethno-regionalism in order to take us a step beyond the simplification of a core-periphery model and attempted to integrate the array of social forces and processes operating within any given region. He further stated that the simplicity of a core-periphery schema, i.e., the heterogeneity of social groups and micro-regions, is lost but replaced by a conventional homogeneous region. The region, as the arena of an ethno-regionalist, is not a unified entity but perceived in different ways by the centralizing state and the regionalists themselves. Kofman (1982) further identified none of these approaches are sufficient to address the complexity of the issue on ethnicity and cultural boundaries as either “institutionlists” or “situationalists”. Institutionalists use ethnicity to enhance their status and power. In contrast, the situationalists consider ethnicity as a cultural boundary.

Meanwhile, Ferris et al. (2012) in their study looked at how central governments have fared in terms of implementing 12 practical steps to prevent and address internal
displacement, as outlined originally in a key 2005 Brookings Institute publication. The study revealed that the political will was the main determining factor of response to internal displacement. Also, government cannot always control the factors that cause displacement, or may itself be responsible for displacement. Consequently, Ferris et al. (2012) have indicated that the governments can take measures to improve the lives and uphold the rights and freedom of IDPs. This particular study examined 15 countries out of the 20 countries with the highest number of IDPs as created by civil conflict, generalized violence, and human rights violations. The countries in the study were Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Georgia, Iraq, Kenya, Myanmar, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, and Yemen. None of these governments were able to be fully protecting and assisting IDPs. Unfortunately, many national authorities themselves have been among the chief perpetrators of violence of human rights abuse that have led to displacement.

Furthermore, the presence of foreign military forces and/or non-state armed actors limit the ability of many states to exercise full sovereignty over their territory and therefore to prevent the conditions that drive people into displacement. As noted by Ferris et al. (2012) there are four conditions that stand out in particular: 1) implementing their responsibilities toward IDPs; 2) the countries with particular political difficulties, 3) inadequate government capacity; and 4) in-between countries such as Sri Lanka.

Also to consider is the IDMC (2011) study that revealed that Sri Lanka has at times not always been able to move as swiftly as desired by NGOs/PVOs to bring an end to displacement. Still, as of 2011, only an estimated 448,000 people remained registered to be returned to their places out of once probably was more than a population of one
million IDPs. The still-to-be-repatriated IDPs are registered mainly to be returning to their places of origin in the northern and eastern provinces, a part of Sri Lanka which continues to be affected by the residue of war, e.g., fields still needing to be cleared of land mines. Such negative conditions as the presence of unexploded ordnance makes it difficult to quickly to reach a durable solution with regard to IDPs (IDMC 2011).

IDPs are found globally, so some of the literature on reconciliation and reintegration that is occurring beyond Sri Lanka has possible relevance for this study. For example, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights conference held at Belgrade in 16th April 2010 was focused on current government policies and associated successful local integration processes relative to the Roma population in Serbia. What was discussed there might have some lessons for policy-makers in Sri Lanka in certain aspects of generic concerns for dealing with the concerns of IDPs. During this set of roundtable discussions, there was a highlighting of the difficulties found in reintegration of IDPs such as loss of personal documents, registration for residence, discrimination, lack of implementation and funding for policies, inadequate housing, unresolved property claims, and lack of adequate assistance for repatriated persons (Office for Democratic Institution and Human Rights-2010). Such generic issues identified above do transcend boundaries globally because almost all such conditions identified in Serbia for the Roma have counterparts in Sri Lanka as will be explained in Chapter IV of this thesis.

Similarly in Sri Lanka, IDPs have not been accorded a special place in the legal system. Instead, they are merely considered citizens with the same obligations, rights, and duties, as those who have not been displaced. There is no single piece of legislation that
addresses the IDPs specifically. Some authors contend that the existing provisions are scattered in an unsystematic, disorderly manner, with little cohesion, and do not address critical concerns (Angel, 2008). In “National Legal Framework for IDPs in Sri Lanka- A Critical Analysis”, an Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies paper, Angel (2008) used conditions in Sri Lanka as a case study to operationalize a general theoretical discussion of IDP legal framework in a concrete national context.

By doing this, Angel (2008) made certain recommendations from his perspective for the legal framework to be effective in creating the sustainable conditions leading to durable solutions. First, the recommendations that were highlighted in his study are that domestic law should be based on universally-recognized principles of international law and the United Nations Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement. Second, it should be established that there is the national goal of preventing displacement, and that sovereign states should seek to do so by anticipating the risk that may generate displacement, i.e., there should be dissemination of information on human rights and creation of necessary programs to provide attention for populations at a risk of displacement. Third, it should be defined, determined, and clearly stipulated that the central state’s responsibility includes handling any internal displacement, ensuring that the rights of IDPs be enacted and protected under the law. Fourth, it should be established that humanitarian organizations should receive attention in procuring and guaranteeing the means to ensure protection and assistance for providing for the needs of IDPs for health, shelter, food, transportation, and other necessities of life. Providing legal guarantees to IDPs to access humanitarian aid, projects, and programs, and offer the necessary mechanisms that allow IDPs to develop the wherewithal necessary for their sustainable subsistence is a key fifth
recommendation. A complementary sixth recommendation in this regard is one to establish objectives, parameters, and a basic scheme of a national policy for the fundamental protection of IDPs that specifically guarantees that the national policy includes projects and programs for overall quality of life development of IDPs at all phases of displacement. Moreover, such efforts should provide the means for protection at all phases such as their economic consolidation, social stabilization, and rehabilitation so to enable the reintegration of IDPs into the society of Sri Lanka. Then, too, there should be created as a result of the seventh recommendation a national system exclusively concerned with IDPs, through a separate authority or ministry accountable for related matters. The final of Angel’s (2008) recommendations is that there should be the establishment of the right to voluntary return while also delineating the government of Sri Lanka’s primary responsibility of providing post-displacement protection.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that the rights of IDPs are partially secured by eight existing common national laws with the Sri Lankan constitution’s fundamental rights section (Gomez, 2002). Unfortunately, these laws have not been enforced as sufficiently or as quickly as some external agencies, e.g., the UNHCR, would like to see regarding IDPs. Therefore, a comprehensive national legal framework is suggested by authors such as Gomez (2002) to strengthen the central government’s ability to gradually mitigate the problem of displacement.

Before moving into the section of Chapter II that includes highlights of the literature on the conceptual base for this study, it is appropriate for a personal comment to be made concerning the readings in general associated with this fourth sub-section of the literature review. As a personal aside as a Sinhalese geographer seeking to use that
academic discipline’s tools to promote a return to the peaceful conditions on the island to encourage national integration and reconciliation in Sri Lanka, this researcher can state with honesty that every person should and must take quite seriously the literature of reconciliation and reintegration if we ever are to move forward toward not just peace in her homeland but where ever other parts of the world have populations of IDPs.

**Conceptual Base**

Having now covered the previous sub-sections of the literature review, it is essential to consider certain seminal texts and related readings which can be seen as putting the more geographical aspects of the research into an appropriate conceptual base. The root of this framework would be associated with the social geography approach that “place” in its fullest sense of the word is a key construct for understanding IDP-related migrations. This is exemplified in “Place: Connections and Boundaries in Independent World” by Castree (who has indicated that place is among the most complex of geographical ideas (Castree, 2009).

According to Castree (2009), place has three meanings: a point on the earth’s surface, the individual and group identity, and scale of everyday life. He has argued that the recent explanation and understanding of these three segments implied that different places were discrete and singular. Changes have taken place with globalization, so he has suggested that practitioners of human geography should rethink their traditional ideas about the concept of place. Furthermore, in this scenario the human geographers should be identifying the concept of place precisely. They have to understand that the places identified should not become the same even as globalization is a homogeneous process; the challenge here is how to conceptualize place difference and place interdependence
simultaneously. This is because the globalization concept is a somewhat liberal procedure and not identified as limited to land or human interactions among the places.

Agnew (1987) also has identified the complexity of place under three principles: place as location, a sense of place, and place as locality. First, a specific point on the earth’s surface is the place as location. Second, a sense of place explains the subjective feelings people have about places, including the role of place in their individual and group identity. Finally, a setting and scale of people’s daily actions and interactions is considered as the locality of a place.

Not only social geographic concepts but also community development concepts must be taken into consideration in this study. Interdisciplinary concepts of community development include human capital, social capital, physical capital, financial capital, environmental capital, political capital, and cultural capital (Green & Haines 2012). Understanding community development concepts from this perspective has many advantages and also presents distinct ways of having more successfully analytical problem-solving.

One of the continuing arguments in the field of community development that helps to provide the conceptual base to this current study about Sri Lanka’s Puttalam District is whether policies and programs should emphasize place or people (Green & Haines, 2012). For nearly two decades, supporters of people-based policies contend that there is no evidence that place-based programs really work (Lemann 1994). These critics point out that it is very difficult to attract established business to poor communities and the tendency is for workers to leave such communities. But Lemann (1994) in contrast, has explained why the place-based approaches are much attractive. According to him,
first, politicians represent geographic area, so they see logical benefits in promoting the welfare of places. If they can provide benefits to residents, they are more likely to get re-elected. Also, philanthropic foundations invest in place-based development because they can have a greater impact at their smaller scale.

Although the Regionalism Paradigm, as place-based structure, is a traditional approach to community development, it can be appropriate to use as a framework if that approach addresses the social and economic forces such as ethnic segregation, lack of resources, and other issues. The Regionalism Paradigm still has attractiveness as a community development strategy. However, the challenge for regional development strategies is that to remain connected to community-based organizations and local efforts to mobilize residents. Without these connections, regionalism can take a “top-down” approach and lose grassroots support (Green & Haines, 2012).

The asset building in community development is one of the practical approaches that can be applied for a completely destroyed community. Oliver (2001) stated that an asset is a special kind of resource that can be used to reduce or prevent poverty and injustice. He further noted that an asset is a stock that can be drawn upon, build upon or developed plus a resource that can be shared or transferred across generations. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) previously highlighted the importance assessment of community assets as a way to identify strengths and resources that can contribute to a strategic planning process. Then, too, the network theory can be applied to the small group level of people’s organization in the local community. The important characteristics are web of lateral connections and absence of reliance upon a formal bureaucratic structure in order to have a well-connected community (Gilchrist, 2009).
The main components of network are two-fold: a set of nodes (individuals or organizations) and the link between them (Wesserman & Faust, 1994).

Reconciliation is another strategy of community development that falls within the notion of the conceptual framework of this thesis. It is a crucial aspect in community development with certain oppressed groups including ethnic minorities. It functions best when there is honest dialogue between the two, or more, groups that are involved with the reconciliation process. Reconciliation in community development holds obvious positive implications for restoring a place’s harmony and tranquility as well as future economic development. Therefore, reconciliation requires careful consideration of counseling concept such as the building of rapport, self-awareness, transparency, consistency, and trust (Tan, 2009). Ief and Fiske (2006) developed a community development model that describes the change in the leadership levels from top-bottom approach to bottom-top approach from community elites (traditional development model) to local grassroots (NGOs). Talking all these concepts into consideration, the best conceptual framework for this research is to develop special place-based and people-based community development approach for this study.

Summary and Transition to Chapter III

The above review of the literature of the five key sub-sections has allowed the researcher to show the different opinions of scholars, scholarly organizations, and individuals on the overall problems of IDPs from a wide range of disciplines. It is obvious that there are distinct controversies within any countries due to sometimes intense ethnically-based disagreements over their respective nationalistic approaches. Consequently, the historical documents sometimes can become perceived as unreliable
for minority groups within the respective countries. As noted earlier in Chapter II, it is the researcher’s opinion that these archival materials ought to be made more sensible through neutral judgment and interpretation by historians, irrespective of their own ethnic and religious lines. Also included in this chapter was consideration of how most of the previous studies focused their attention to the characteristics of IDPs and integration of these groups at the national level and how international organizations should access them within the framework of the agendas of sovereign governments. These studies found that IDPs are a special group of migrants and recommended a specific policy to address this problem for a long lasting solution. However, none of these previous studies were focused on the importance of any of the geographical distributions of IDPS even though it is clear that all these studies have significant geographic regions of IDP concentration, particularly in Sri Lanka. Having finished the general literature review in Chapter II concerning IDPs, it is appropriate to continue into Chapter III with an examination of the literature upon which the researcher has adopted specific methodology in order to study the geographical distribution of IDPs in Sri Lanka which is described in Chapter IV of this thesis.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The main objective of this chapter is to provide an explanation of the methodology that was adopted in this study. The selection of methods has been based on the three research questions. Hence, a mixed-method approach was used: qualitative study with elements of quantitative analysis. The qualitative approach was used to examine the secondary data and information that was generated from a wide range of sources. That analysis has been supplemented by a limited quantitative approach. Geospatial techniques have been employed in order to map most successfully the distributions of the IDPs who are the subject of the case study. This research specifically is referenced to the Puttalam District in Sri Lanka which is why the chapter’s next section is focused upon describing the basic characteristics of Puttalam District in appropriate detail.

The Puttalam District as the Case Study Area

Nationally, there are nine provinces, 25 districts, 256 divisional secretariat divisions, and 160 electorates in Sri Lanka’s sovereign territorial administration. Provincial administration is the second-level administration with districts becoming the third-level administration in this hierarchy. Each of a province’s districts is divided into a number of Divisional Secretary Divisions; this level often is abbreviated as “D.S.” A D.S.
in turn is subdivided into Grama Niladari Divisions, the lowest level of governmental administrative unit in Sri Lanka. However, in this study, the research emphasized using the third-level administrative unit of the Puttalam District as a case study area. The Puttalam District is located in the North Western province in Sri Lanka.

As a result of the armed conflict in the northern and eastern parts of the country, most of the people who lived in those areas were displaced from their places of origin and consequently had to seek refuge in other places within their home district or out of those districts. In 1990, a sizeable number of IDPs entered and settled in the Puttalam District from the northern part of the country, specifically people who had lived in the Jaffna and Mannar districts of the Northern Province.

The Puttalam District is in the North Western Province of Sri Lanka. Going in a clockwise direction, the district is bordered on the north by the Northern Province’s district of Mannar; located along its northeastern side is the North Central Province’s district of Anuradhapura; it shares a border on its east with the North Western Province’s other district, Kurunegala; it is bordered on the south by the Western Province’s district of Gampaha; and its western side is a shoreline and coastal area associated with the Indian Ocean. The district has land area of 3072 Km² including inland water bodies and a coastal belt of 288 km in length (Statistical Section of the District Secretariat Office of Puttalam 2010)

The district is administrated at the more local level through certain political structures. There are 16 divisional secretariat divisions, and there are 548 Grama Niladari divisions. The Puttalam Urban Council and the Halawatha urban council are the two urban councils functioning in the district, i.e., the places which function as the two chief
cities of the district as well as areas in which urbanization is more significant and in contrast to the more rural parts of the case study area. The total number of rural-based local government bodies of the district is 24, out of which ten are Pradeshiya Sabhas and 14 are Sub Pradeshiya Sabhas (Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka 2011); A Pradeshiya Sabha and its secondary level, the Sub Pradeshiya Sabha, function as a means for assessing public viewpoints as well as providing the central authorities with a structure for administering the rural areas outside municipal councils (largest urban areas) and the urban councils (smaller urban areas).

The Puttalam District is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious area and has been so since ancient times. The most current and comprehensive census is from 2001 that can be used for baseline statistics. Thus, at that time the total population of the district was 709,677 people and consisted of 523,116 people identified as Sinhalese (73.7%), 48,072 people recognized as being Sri Lankan Tamil (68.07%), 2,227 people identified as Indian Tamil (0.3%), 133,134 people recognized as being Sri Lankan Moor (18.75%), 735 people identified as the Burgher population (1.0%), 1214 people recognized as being Malay (1.71%), 674 people identified as Sri Lanka Chetty (.95%), 34 people recognized as being Bharatha (.000004%), and 471 people as being grouped together under the category of “Other” (00006%) (Census of Population and Housing 2001). Basically, the refugees of 1990 came to the coastal areas of Puttalam, Mundal, Wanathavilluwa and Kalpitiya.

Figure 3 is a map of the places of origin and place of destination. The places of origin are located in the Northern Province whereas the place of destination is to be found
in the North Western Province. This particular map helps to clarify the spatial aspects of the case study.

![Map of Case Study Area and Places of Origin](image)

**Figure 3.** Case Study Area and Places of Origin. Constructed by Author based on the Department of Survey Generals’ Information

**Methods**

**Archival Search**

Historical qualitative information of internal displacement has been quoted in this study and noted in the literature review. Secondary sources were reviewed extensively, too, as an information-gathering method. Valuable information was garnered from
previously published focus group discussion results obtained through earlier studies related to IDP conditions, specifically, demographic related data which were included for the key places in Sri Lanka involved in this researcher’s study. These archival sources helped to identify those individuals who are the IDPs and their characteristics in terms of not only demographics, but also social, cultural, and economic status. Such data further provided an opportunity to map the locations of this group of IDPs.

The historical documents particularly were reviewed extensively so to identify the perception of the sovereignty among the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. A significant amount of archival documents had to be reviewed to understand the causes that created the existing problem of IDPs in Sri Lanka in general and the Puttalam District in particular.

As part of developing the study’s methodology, it was crucial to review key geographical and community development concepts in order to provide the conceptual base to understand the underlying conditions leading to the general issues of IDPs in Sri Lanka. As will be seen in Chapter V, this helped in identifying appropriate recommendations for the problems of these uprooted people. However, to reach that point, it was necessary to undertake all the appropriate methodologies for studying the research questions noted below.

The first research question of geographical distribution has been examined in terms of two geographical regions: where IDPs have originated (places of origin) and where they currently have settled (places of destination). In between movements of these people during cease-fire periods since 1990 also were analyzed. Then, the visualization of these data has been done in two different methods: Weighted Flow Diagrams and the
integrated method of Google Satellite Images with ArcGIS version 10. This technique was done to develop maps of places of origin and place of destination. Each flow of the flow diagram has a size-based line reflecting the flow of the quantity measured in terms of population numbers. ArcGIS specifically was used to show the areas of IDP concentration in the Puttalam District.

To deal with the second research question of this thesis which emphasizes the “face” of IDPs, the existing published demographic profiles were investigated in order to identify the specific characteristics of IDPs. Secondary sources on basic demographics of these groups such as age and gender profiles and ethnicity were examined to see whether those factors have any significant impact within the displaced nature of these people. The role of gender as a key difference among refugees is one which is used to address the different life experience of women and men in a number of cultural, economic, political, and environmental arenas. For example, we must consider as academicians the cultural concerns regarding human reproduction and how gender differences exist with respect to the social geography notion of ‘landscapes of fear’. Further, gender as a social relations, which is means used to analyze how the relationship between males and females differ from place to place and between different cultures as well as how it can change over time. Also, gender as a social construction is important to be considered when concepts are related to traditional understandings of male or female characteristics. Eventually, we even need to consider what influences exist to develop the concept of ‘mother nature’ and what do we think of when we talk about ‘male tasks’ and ‘female obligations’. In most cultures many of these constructs are in use daily, and they area a means of socializing children into these gender relations. For example females in the most cultures are
becoming second class citizens when the society as a whole is practicing the traditional cultural concepts of that society, specifically when the gender role is emphasized to restrict women’s personal and professional opportunities. Then, too, there is the probability of occurrences of human rights violations which are highly irrespective of people’s gender in civil conflict situations. The current study included investigating the dimensions of these demographic items and these variations are given in terms of bar charts, line graphs and pie-charts. In addition, the sex ratio and dependency ratio have been calculated in this study.

In order to answer the third research question, which considers re-integration and reconciliation, community mapping elements were employed in this study so to identify what resources are available for the reconciliation process and how to help solve pertinent issues of IDP re-integration. Reliance has been made upon various surveys that already have been were conducted by the government and non-government organizations to identify what level of contribution that IDPs can make in their own re-settlement decisions and programs as based on their specific desires. The use of community mapping is a vibrant way of telling a community story. Further, it can highlight the rich array of community assets, analyze the relationship between income and the location of services, and document the existence of vacant lots and buildings for future use by enterprises that encourage entrepreneurship among the community members. Access to community mapping as a method has allowed the researcher to examine the factors of security, resettlement, provision of essential services, provision for infrastructure facilities and livelihood, and provision for local integration. Thus, community mapping is a key investigatory method in this study so to recommend a possible sustainable solution.
to many aspects of the IDPs problems. The set of livelihood opportunities is one of the most important variables in community revitalization. Community assets that are available to local reconciliation and general economic integration, and the social reintegration process has also been analyzed in this study. Similarly, positive and negative implications of local integration and return to the place of origin of IDPs were investigated, too.

**Concepts**

A spatial analysis have been made in the context of the social geography of these people. As noted already in Chapter II of this thesis, “place” is a concept that has the connections and boundaries in an interdependent world (Castree, 2009). This complex geographical idea has three meanings that need to be reiterated: place as location-specific point on the earth’s surface; a sense of a place—the subjective feelings people have about place, including the role played by the place as far as their individual and group identity; and place as locals, i.e., locality or a setting and scale for people’s daily action and interaction. These characteristics of place are important in finding a solution for many problems of IDPs.

The integrated approach to community development is being applied as a broad concept for the sectorial development of this region. Community development always has had a diverse set of objectives: solving local problems, addressing inequalities of wealth and power, promoting democracy, and building a sense of community including local economic development, political empowerment, service provision, housing programs, comprehensive planning, and job training.
The network theory of community development (Gilchrist, 2009) in particular has been included here as a conceptual method to see how such an approach might further strengthen the ties between the multicultural ethnic groups in the northern and northeastern parts of Sri Lanka plus how useful might be its diffusion to the whole sovereign nation-state. In this case, the application of network theory as a method of research means that we must consider lateral connections and the avoidance of formal bureaucratic structures as essential characteristics of networks. Instead, a bottom-top approach is to be constituted by public participation for decision-making. The network is comprised of connections either through individuals or organizational units and the linkages between them. The importance about the network ties is that they enable the nodes to be influences upon one another.

The main area of concern in this method of community development is to establish the capacity of becoming aware of their existence. While applying the integrated approach theory, the theory of democracy in community development also is a key construct. This factor will enhance the capacity of the community in increasing the quality of planning, adaptation of planning, and decision-making concerning planning within the system; the emphasis for Sri Lanka would be for the co-existence of multi-ethnic societies in a single sovereign state. However, community development has some limitations due to issues of that same diversity of the people and their preferences in handling justice and fairness in decision-making among the members of a particular community.
Summary and Transition

The comprehensive mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies that has been adopted in this study has given an opportunity to investigate insights of the IDP issue in a scientific manner. The qualitative and quantitative methods that constitute the research methodology here are rooted in the best practice of current studies of internally displaced populations. Secondary data that has been considered here has much usefulness but with some limitations, notably the filtering of others before the researcher has had the opportunity to utilize such information. It was not possible for this researcher to engage in primary data collection overseas due to various reasons, most notably that of financial and temporal costs of travel to/from Sri Lanka to conduct fieldwork. However, it was possible to undertake in the United States a reasonably thorough examination of archival sources that are focused upon the contemporary cultural, social, and community development practices of Sri Lanka.

Still, we must not ignore the places where these communities are concentrated, their identity, and the daily action. Therefore, the overall success of the lives of IDPs is based on the integration of these two phenomena: the people and the point of the earth’s surface. Thus, the research methods are neither a pure people-based nor pure place-based approach. Mainly, both strategies have been utilized as a methodology by implementing an integrated approach. As such, community development must have a sense about the place. Further, community development theories were applied in order to give insights into the prospects of reconciliation and re-integration of the IDPs. Having presented this chapter’s explanation of the overall research methodology, Chapter IV follows as that
part of the thesis in which the researcher has provided observations regarding the data collection and data analysis of the case study area of the Puttalam District of Sri Lanka.
CHAPTER IV
DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

Overview

The research findings that are given below are focused upon the Puttalam District as the place of temporary destination in Sri Lanka in terms of the geographical and spatial distribution of the IDPs. As such this chapter is subdivided into eight sections following this overview, i.e., the first section of the chapter. Next, there is the part of the chapter in which the justification is presented for the selection of the specific case study area which is the Puttalam District of the North Western Province of the sovereign state of Sri Lanka. Then, there is the third section of the chapter in which the researcher has provided an explanation of the research design techniques for the data collection and analysis. The fourth part of this chapter is a vignette that has emphasized the historical geography context for the spatial distribution of the IDPs in the Puttalam District. Next, the IDP movements have been analyzed, based on the flow of people from the Districts of Jaffna, Mannar, Mullitive, and Killinochchi to the Puttalam District in 1990. Then, there is the section of this chapter which includes the highlights of the analysis for IDP movements in 2002. It, in turn is followed by the part of this chapter which includes the examination of the IDP distribution for 2011 and which emphasizes how there is a marked difference between the 2002 flow and the 2011 flow of returnees. Further, the analysis of spatial characteristics also is made for the people remaining in the Puttalam District’s IDP camps
as of 2012 in the eighth section of this chapter. Before moving into Chapter IV, there is the ninth section of this chapter which is a summary of Chapter III.

It especially needs to be highlighted that this chapter focuses upon the results of the data collection and data analysis. As such, it specifically includes the maps of movement patterns during 1990, the 2002 ceasefire period, and 2011 plus a map of the balance number of families registered in the Puttalam District as at 2012. Those first three of these maps are based on the weighted flow diagrams which are maps which depend on the volume of flow of each year, and the fourth map shows the current locations of IDPs as pockets of population in the Puttalam District. In this case, assessment of the causes of population movement, i.e., from their places of origin to place of destination, and the gravitational attraction factors of destination that influence for their choice for ultimate settlement also been investigated. Secondly, the effects of the demographic characteristics such as population growth, age, and gender, on their social harmony has been analyzed and presented. Finally, the current government initiatives in resettling these people and condition of re-settlement and national integration of IDPs in the Puttalam District also are discussed in this chapter. Having now provided some insight into the key analytical pieces of this chapter, it is appropriate to give an explanation of why the researcher selected this particular case study area.

**Justification of the Case Study Area**

The ethnic conflict that prevailed in Sri Lanka caused many of the people to be displaced. For example, the forced eviction of the group known as the Northern Muslims in 1990 led many of these people to flee from the northern part of the island to the southern part of it. Even though Muslims fled all over the country, a majority of the
Muslims settled in the district of Puttalam. They became identified as the Northern Muslim IDPs principally because of their origin and the shared tragedy of eviction. According to the Sri Lanka Department of Census Statistics (2010) the Muslims were only about 8% of the total population of 997,754 in the Northern Province in Sri Lanka. However, the Muslims that have remained in the Puttalam area as a long-term displaced population is a significant one. Other ethnic groups are present as IDPs in the Puttalam District, too. This has resulted in a complex situation between the IDPs and the host community. The lack of resources and the political climate underlies a tense IDP-host relationship.

Taking the above into account, the researcher selected the Puttalam District as a case study area to understand better this complex issue of potential ethnic spatial distribution. Therefore, the emphasis of the case study has been a detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of conditions and their relationships resulting from substantial IDP relocation. This influx of population brought about substantial resource shortages that was felt by all the stakeholders in this part of Sri Lanka. The results can be categorized as the following: discrimination of IDPs relative to access for the resources and opportunities to rebuild their lives; extensive resource scarcity and loss of opportunities for the host population; and an environment of tension, hostility, and sometimes violence between the IDPs and host population. Resource scarcity may lead to harmful social effects, including constrained economic or agricultural production, forced migration, segmentation of society along ethnic and religious lines, and disintegration of social institutions, all of which can lead to conflict. In his seminal 1994 article published in *Atlantic Magazine* and titled “The Coming Anarchy”, Robert Kaplan argued that
resource scarcity can prompt conflict, and conflict and violence have become the norm of those locations with serious environmental decay.

Research Design, Techniques of Data Collection, and Analysis

This study was structured around the stratified sample of data as selected from the case study area of the Puttalam District. The researcher considered different micro-level spatial locations in this fashion: urban, e.g., Puttalam Urban Council Area; semi-urban, e.g., Kalpitiya; and rural, e.g., Mundal and Wanathawilluwa. This was done to attempt to find the spatial significance of what were to be the new temporary settlement places. By doing so, the researcher also recognized micro-level socio-economic issues faced by the displaced people such as the inability to satisfy basic needs, the differences among the same ethnic group within their micro-cultures, misbalanced and jeopardized local structures and modes of coexistence within the host communities, and strain on the local economies and complexities in IDP-host relationship. However, humanitarian intervention unintentionally also created problems among IDPs and poor people of the host population, becoming one of the depressing conditions for the poor segment of the host-community. Repatriation has become tense, too, as the older generations of IDPs have spent time at the present location for about twenty-two years (1990-2012). The protracted nature of the length of being IDPs in the Puttalam District has brought about two distinct characteristics: the original IDPs and related generational in-migrants; and the offspring of the IDPs who have been born in the place of destination. In this case, the older IDPs have maintained memories that have tied them to their place of origin and, consequently, more of the willingness to return plus they have anticipated with a hopeful attitude about the conditions that would be there for their children.
Yet, one cannot forget for most of the IDPs there was the devastating impact of the many periods of civil disturbance on the socio-economic conditions. The results of which have included loss of income, production, and personal assets plus lack of self-esteem and social status and, in extreme cases, loss of life. Furthermore, the people living in the temporary housing situation with the minimum facilities for such an extended time generally are more likely to be suffering from psychological and psychiatric problems. In addition, the Puttalam District’s resulting over-supply of labor did drive down wages in the local economy and affected the poorer members of the host community. Furthermore, the lack of lands for cultivation have made IDP livelihoods even more miserable.

Meanwhile, often the children of IDPs married within their ethnic group of fellow IDPs or people of similar cultural background who were long-term residents in the Puttalam District. Thus, the younger generation of IDPs started their own childbearing years and created family ties despite the protracted displacement. Such differences in memory of place and ties to place are important factors that have to be taken into consideration for this analysis of IDP conditions in Sri Lanka.

Geographical Distribution of IDPs in the Puttalam District

This case study is highly dependent upon secondary data. There is reliance upon the data produced by the Ministry of Resettlement, Sri Lanka, particularly coming from that ministry’s Secretariat for the Northern Displaced Muslims, to identify the spatial distribution pattern of that group of IDPs. The Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees official documents also been used extensively in this study, too. The sources of data reflect the circumstances at various times for the IDPs which are reviewed briefly below.
Most of the people who lived in the northern districts fled instead of living in LTTE-controlled areas. Indeed, many of the more moderate Tamils in particular were reluctant to be subject to LTTE control, so they sought refuge semi-voluntarily as they fled south and west to other parts of Sri Lanka. Furthermore, most of the Muslim and Sinhalese people specifically were forced to flee to avoid the depredations being committed by the LTTE during the horrible year of 1990. Approximately at the same time, the communal conflict between Muslims and Tamils was leading to displacement of both communities elsewhere within the northern part of the island. In addition to those dreadful circumstances, the shortage of food and other essential items in the war zone due to the economic embargoes of both the central government and the LTTE authorities also were responsible for peoples’ displacement. Another major cause of the forced migration to the south was that of many families fleeing to protect their children from forced recruitment as child soldiers by the LTTE.

During this intensified violence, factions from these ethnic groups were in sporadic fighting, resulting in many civilian casualties. Thus, the people who lived in the northern districts of Sri Lanka fled to the south and the west in general to seek better security, but the Muslims and Sinhalese from those areas particularly gravitated to and settled in the Puttalam District.

**Patterns of Displacement Since 1990**

The pattern of population movements analyzed in this study is considered in a set of four years: 1990, 2002, 2011 and 2012. Thus, the discussion below has been based on the chronology of events during and after the civil conflict in Sri Lanka. Consequently, the patterns of displacement are highlighted below first for 1990 and next for 2002 with
the years 2011 and 2012, the two most current years for data, being presented at the last part of this section of the chapter.

**1990 Movements- from Place of Origin (Jaffna, Mannar, Mullaitivu and Killinochchi) to Place of Destination (Puttalam)**

One displaced group, the Northern Muslims from the northern part of the island, have been living in IDP conditions in the Puttalam District of Sri Lanka’s North Western Province since 1990. This group consists of about 60,000 persons (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2010). These are the earliest of the IDPs who were forced to flee their homes and came largely as 49,860 people from Mannar, 3,420 IDPs from Jaffna, 4,380 people from Mullative, and 1,440 IDPs from Killinochchi districts (Sri Lanka Ministry of Re-settlement, 2011). The remaining 1.5% of this group consists of the people from Vavuniya, Trincomalle, and Batticaloa districts. Figure 4 shows the influx of these people from the Northern Province’s districts to the Puttalam District in the North Western Province. The percentage distribution of the IDPs is as follows: 1) the largest percentage, about 83.1% of the IDPs, were from Mannar; 2) 7.3% of them came from Mullaitivu; 3) 5.7% of the IDPs originated from Jaffna; and 4) 2.4% of the IDPs were from Killinochchi. These figures are further reflective in the ethnic composition of the districts of departure. The largest Muslim population of 49.4% was in the Mannar District in 1990 (Census and Statistics Department, Sri Lanka, 1990) which explains why the largest number of IDP’s have come from that part of the Northern Province.
Figure 4. In-migration to Puttalam District from Places of Origin-1990.
The main causes for the 1990 displacement is that of seeking safety as war resumed. The focus group interviews done in 2010 in the Puttalam District among IDPs by Badurdee (1990) stated that the changes of lives of the northern Muslim IDPs began with their eviction by the LTTE on 22 October 1990. Here the Muslims of these districts were asked to leave their homes within a span of 24 hours that was later extended to 48 hours. The order was announced through loudspeakers and enforced by armed LTTE cadres who went house-to-house ordering the Muslims to leave their respective towns and villages. The incident was a shock to many Muslims who had kept cordial relationships with the Tamils for an exceedingly long time. The expulsion was ruthless, and a population of 60,000 men, women, and children left the area by sea or land. Most of the Muslims of the Mannar District fled and arrived at places of relative safety in the Puttalam and Kalpitiya areas. These people were accommodated in 116 welfare centers which were opened mostly in the predominantly Muslim divisions of Kalpitiya, Puttalam, Mundal, and Wanathawilluwa.

**Reasons for Selecting the Puttalam District as the Place of Destination**

The choice of destination for the relocation of these evicted peoples apparently has been influenced largely by the considerable similarity of ethnic minority concentration of the areas of destination compared to that of the origin. It is fairly clear that they selected to relocate themselves for temporary destinations within their ethnic group, especially the Muslim population of the Puttalam District. It is highly likely that they believed that the concentrated numbers of their ethnic group could help them to live without fear and be comfortable when the ethnic tension between Muslim and Tamils escalated at the time of their departure from their places of origin. They seemingly
believed that if they were to stay with their own ethnic group, it would be safer than living with a different ethnic group. As such, the two major reasons influencing their relocation decision were as follow: the area should be free of political violence; and there is an ethnic group similar to them in sufficient concentration for any culturally associated relationship that they would have with the host population. Obviously, when the displacement is related to any aspects of ethnic cleansing, people wish to seek of their relatives’ support until having established themselves in a safer place.

**2002 Movement**

The ceasefire agreement in February of 2002 was expected to bring normalcy to the conflict areas. It temporarily stopped major fighting. However, the agreement failed to end the displacement of people. In spite of the ceasefire agreement, tension between Tamils and Muslims increased. As a result, the number of returnees was much smaller than expected. Table 1 illustrates the spatial distribution of displaced persons as of 2002. While the five districts of the Northern Province contained the largest number of IDPs, i.e., 547,395 persons, the Puttalam District which is in the North Western Province alone held 63,322 people. Out of that number, 70% were in welfare centers and 30% of them were with their friends and relatives (UNHCR 2002). It must be reiterated that the Puttalam District held the second largest concentration of IDPs in 2002, and this condition helps to confirm the importance of having selected that particular area of Sri Lanka for the case study.

The majority of displaced Muslims who were in the Puttalam District in 2002 strongly wished to return to their places of origin which were mainly in the Mannar and Jaffna districts (Figure 5). According to the compilation of the information available in
Table 1. Distribution of Displaced Persons in 2002.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of Welfare Centers</th>
<th>In Welfare Centers</th>
<th>With Friends or Relatives</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>103,355</td>
<td>437,874</td>
<td>547,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8,915</td>
<td>42,638</td>
<td>51,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarder</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10,049</td>
<td>1,860</td>
<td>11,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puttalam</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>44,386</td>
<td>18,936</td>
<td>63,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,415</td>
<td>7,728</td>
<td>9,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>179,798</td>
<td>509,306</td>
<td>691,964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Relief, Rehabilitation and Resettlement, UNHCR

the global IDP data base of the Norwegian Refugee Council (2005), as of October 2002 only limited repatriation occurred. While avoiding Mannar Island, there were 325 Muslim families that resettled in the Mannar District but with only 34 Muslim families out of 709 such families returned to the town of Jaffna with merely about 30 Muslim families moving-back to Mullaitivu.

The main reason for Northern Muslims to have reluctance to return at that time and even later into the first decade of the 21st century appears to be fear for their security. Most IDPs needed a permanent solution to the conflict and a security guarantee before considering a permanent return. In Killinochchi, however, there even are indications that they may not have been allowed to resettle. It is noteworthy that while a handful of Muslims entered into agreements to receive rent from persons occupying their business premises in that town, none of those Northern Muslims expected the occupiers to leave that area so that they truly could return permanently.

According to the Northern Muslims’ Rights Organization, even though the LTTE had stated it would give Muslim lands back, there still were Tamil occupiers and LTTE
elements who had not vacated those particular properties. As noted in the information of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) (2003), many Muslim IDPs had undertaken visits to check the status of their land and property, in both central government controlled and LTTE-occupied areas. The CPA further indicated that some of the Muslim men even had gone back to their properties on their own while leaving their families behind in the Puttalam District. Furthermore, it appears that a small number of the Muslim male returnees in Musali Division and Mannar District were successful in preparing their lands and rebuilding their houses while aiming at restarting income generating activities prior to their families coming and being resettled.

Another dimension in the lack of return flow to the region by the IDPs is that, according to the Global IDP data base of 2005, there was (and still is apparently) considerable skepticism of the Northern Muslims regarding the agreements between the signatory groups. For example, although the agreement between the LTTE and the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) in 2002 encouraged the Muslims to return to their places of origin, it was not successfully implemented. This happened even though the LTTE had assured the Muslim peoples’ safety and freedoms as early as 1998 during an earlier period of the civil disturbances. Consequently, the 72 Muslim families which returned to the Jaffna District faced severe restrictions from the LTTE when practicing their trades and other elements of their livelihoods. As a result, 55 of those Muslim families that were repatriated in 1998 then engaged in return migration to the Puttalam District in 2002. Consequently, such a lack of legal protections to property as well as security for persons would be a key factor for the small number of families to have returned to their original residence during 2002.
Figure 5. Returnees to Places of Origin in 2002 - Sri Lanka.
2011 Movement

Figure 6 is the map which is the flow diagram of resettled people in their places of origin as of 2011. However, the total number of IDPs recorded for that year was 73,237 persons and was split such that part of that population was grouped into 17,795 families. Only 10% (7861 persons) of these people have resettled in the Jaffna District, but in the Mannar District it is seen that 77% (56,553 people) of the IDPs are returnees, reflecting the largest amount of people who were leaving the Puttalam District welfare camps since 1990. Another 9.5% (6959 persons), or the third largest group, had gone back to Mullaitivu, and finally, the number of returnees to Killinochchi is recorded as only 2% (1,480 people) and which also is one of the long-standing places of origin for IDPs in this study. The IDPs from the places of Vavuniya, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee represented only 1.5% (384 persons) of the total IDPs in the Puttalam District.

The spatial distribution of the returnees to these places of origin is seen in the table below which is arranged by D.S. division when it comes to the numbers of families and of individuals. In summarizing these data, the D.S. divisions of Mannar and Musali received 40% and 36% respectively of the IDPs who had returned to the Mannar District. The largest numbers of returnees during 2011, i.e., 99% of the returnees to Jaffna District, were received by the Jaffna D.S. division. The Mullaitive D.S. division of the Mullaitivu District has received 99% of the total returnees to that area in the Northern Province during 2011. The data of Table 2 reveal that the large number of IDPs who have been in the Puttalam District were returning to be resettled in their places of origin.
Figure 6. Returnees to Places of Origin in 2011 - Sri Lanka.
Table 2. Summary of Resettled Families and Persons as of February 2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>D.S. Division</th>
<th>Families Resettled</th>
<th>Persons Resettled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mannar</td>
<td>Musali</td>
<td>4,922</td>
<td>20,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manthai West</td>
<td>2,029</td>
<td>8,088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanantan</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>2,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mannar</td>
<td>5,589</td>
<td>22,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madhu</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>3,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>13,769</td>
<td>56,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullaitive</td>
<td>Mullaitive</td>
<td>1,678</td>
<td>6,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ottusutan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>1,690</td>
<td>6,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vavuniya</td>
<td>Vavuniya</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheddikulam</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaffna</td>
<td>Jaffna</td>
<td>1,886</td>
<td>7853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Velanai</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sandiruppai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>1,889</td>
<td>7,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killinochchi</td>
<td></td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trincomalee</td>
<td>Kuchchawely</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kantalai</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thampalagamam</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batticaloa</td>
<td>Eraur</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Valaichchenai</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>17,795</td>
<td>73,237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Resettlement, Sri Lanka 2011

IDPs in the Puttalam District as of 2012

As of 2012, the total number of families that were registered as part of the IDP community in the Puttalam District was recorded as 18,145 families (Table 3). The number of families to have been resettled during this period was 15,212. The remaining number of families that need to be resettled is 2,933 and totaled 11,732 individuals as of
15 March 2012. About 56% or 1656 families were in the Puttalam D.S. division which is the largest IDP concentration in this part of the North Western Province. Another 29% and 10% are in the D.S. divisions of Kalpitiya and Wanathawilluwa respectively. Halawatha and Nattandiya D.S. divisions together had only 1.5% of the total IDPs in the Puttalam District needing to be resettled. However, a small percentage still is concentrated at Karuwalagaswewa, Anamaduwa, Nawagatheyama, Madambe, and Mahakubukadawala D.S. divisions.

Table 3. Number of Families Registered, Resettled, and Remaining Number of Families to be Resettled 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. D.S. Division</th>
<th>Families Registered</th>
<th>Families Resettled</th>
<th>Families Remaining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Puttalam</td>
<td>6,657</td>
<td>5,001</td>
<td>1,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kalpitiya</td>
<td>9,241</td>
<td>8,380</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mundal</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>3,350</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wanathawilluwa</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Karuwalagaswewa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Anamaduwa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Nawagatheyama</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nattandiya</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Madambe</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mahakubukadawala</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Halawatha</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>18,145</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,212</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,933</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Resettlement, Sri Lanka 2012

The persons or families who have remained in the Puttalam District are there due to various reasons. Generally, the contamination of conflict-affected areas with landmines and unexploded ordnance (UXO) has been a main obstacle to some IDPs trying to return to their places of origin. During 2010, a lack of funding prevented clearance agencies from keeping up with the fast pace of IDPs starting to return to their places of origin.
beginning in late 2009. Also, access to food, health service, sanitation facilities,
livelihood, education, and transport was limited due to ongoing contamination with
landmines and UXO in many areas surrounding the returnee villages. Some areas also
remain within the government-controlled high security zone. The people displaced from
these areas had not been informed as to when the military occupation of these zones
would end. Access to their past livelihoods is still insufficient in the north of Sri Lanka
due to continuing contamination of areas by land mines and UXO thereby making
agricultural activities virtually impossible. Some property owners also cannot go to their
properties because of the presence of IDP camps or separate (ex-LTTE cadres)
rehabilitation centers located on those specific pieces of property. Landlessness in the
places of origin is clearly the main obstacle to return, especially for the IDPs of the
Mannar District of the Northern Province (Table 4).

Table 4. Place of Origin of Remaining IDPs in Puttalam District as of 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jaffna</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>4,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Killinochchi</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mannar</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>2,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mullaitivu</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>1,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Vauniya</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,933</td>
<td>11,732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Unfortunately, most people displaced by the conflict frequently lost official
government identity documentation, including crucial records related to land ownership.
The people who possess permits to use state land may no longer have the documents to
prove this after displacement, technically making them encroachers when they do return. The absence of other important civilian documents is also one of the constraints that the IDPs face in their return process. The main documents missing according to the survey of Norwegian Refugee Council (2010), are National Identity Card, marriage certificate, and birth certificate.

Figure 7 is the pie-chart which illustrates the place of origin for the remaining IDPs as of 2012. After carefully analyzing the numerical information of these remaining IDPs in the Puttalam District whose place of origin is one of the districts of the Northern Province of Sri Lanka, it is evident that the largest IDP group, about 47%, belongs to the Jaffna District. The second largest group of 22% is associated with the district of Mannar. Killinochchi and Mullaitivu both contain 9% and 9% of the IDPs respectively. There were 6% of the IDPs with connections to Vavuniya. The remaining 7% of the total IDP balance of population was associated with other places of origin not named above. These IDPs remain in the Puttalam District because there are so many restrictions prevailing in those areas for these IDPs to return to their specific places of origin.

**Demographic Analysis of the Internally Displaced Population in the Puttalam District**

First, it is important to focus attention on the natural increase of population of IDPs over the period of the past 21 years. The IDPs who were concentrated in the Puttalam District camps during 1990 numbered about 60,000 and increased by 3,322 people (63,322) in 2002 and grew by another 9,915 (73,237) people by 2011. This increase in population largely is attributed to natural increase coupled to some later IDP in-migration. There is no other significant in-migration of anyone else having taken

place in the Puttalam District due to the heavy influx of new IDPs. The calculations resulted in the percentage change during 1990 to 2002 as 5.5% and the population change from 1990 to 2011 shows 22%. Further, the change between 2002 to 2011 is about 15%.

It is clear that the population of IDPs has changed only a small percentage at the beginning and then increased by four times over this 21 year time span. The increase from 2002 to 2011 indicates three-fold growth comparing that to the change that occurred during 1990 and 2002. This is a remarkable and substantial change.
Sex Ratio and Gender Relationships

The general sex ratio of the Puttalam District was 98 as of 2010 as calculated using the available official sources. When also including the IDPs in the overall population, the value of the general sex ratio will go further down, meaning that the female bulge in the population has become higher than the male number. Unfortunately, the necessary raw demographic data for specific calculations was not available so there is somewhat questionable accuracy of the sex ratio among the IDP segment of the population when attempting to calculate that group’s numbers in the indices of sex ratio. As such, an estimation has been done based on the general sex ratio and the researcher’s extensive personal knowledge on this topic from her years of living in Sri Lanka during the civil conflict.

Women and men are affected differently by the displacement and play different roles in the resettlement process. During any armed conflict, men, more so than women, are generally at risk of being suspected of belonging to one of the warring factions or of being forcefully included in an armed group. This often reduces their mobility to leave with family members and, in many instances, can result in death whether or not these males were associated with the LTTE or supporters of the central government in Colombo.

According to the Global IDP (UNNCR, 2005), when a household is displaced and loses access to its main productive assets such as land or a business, it severely adversely affects that household’s economic situation and also changes to some degree the gender roles and relationship among its members. In many cases men face serious gender-identity problems as they can no longer provide the daily meals and income for the
family and become increasingly dependent upon female members of the household. Accordingly, women often have to assume extra responsibility for their family, including taking up areas of activities that have so far been considered “male domains”. This has been the case of displaced Muslim families in the Puttalam area, e.g., this is where women have found it easier to find employment in harvesting the onion fields in part because they will accept lower salaries than male workers. Consequently, men suddenly have found themselves idle and with added responsibility for domestic duties at home and with the children. So, this condition has promoted challenges to the social and cultural values plus general ethnic practices.

However, there may be an additional attack on gender identities. For example, many of the women among the IDPs find it difficult to deal with their new role in society. Widows especially are facing many such problems. Not only have they lost the economic and social support of their husbands, but they also have had to take overall responsibility for the household. Unfortunately, in many cases they simultaneously have had to come to terms with a socially stigmatized position. One such prejudice against them has been the tendency for the IDP widows to be referred to erroneously and insultingly as “prostitutes” by those non-IDP people in the vicinity who resent them and dislike how these widows have intruded into the community (Global IDP, 2005).

**Ethnic Composition of Internally Displaced Population of the Puttalam District**

Table 5 shows the number of displaced persons on the basis of ethnicity and regions in 2002, a benchmark year in this case study. Almost 85% of the displaced persons belonged to the Sri Lankan Tamil community, and they mostly were
concentrated in the Northern and Eastern Provinces prior to becoming IDPs.

Approximately 10.7% were Muslims of which 93.3% of this sub-group living in the Puttalam District at the time of collection of this data. Only 1.7% belonged to the Sinhalese sub-group while another 4.7% was Indian Tamil in as of April of 2002. It is appropriate to remind the reader that the Indian Tamil ethnic designation refers to those Tamils who came to the island as contract workers when it was the British Colony of Ceylon.

Table 5. Displaced by Ethnic Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
<th>Tamils</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>696,005</td>
<td>1,190</td>
<td>693,161</td>
<td>1,563</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>43,039</td>
<td>2,456</td>
<td>32,954</td>
<td>6,593</td>
<td>1,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border</td>
<td>35,436</td>
<td>23,845</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>10,882</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puttalam</td>
<td>68,156</td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>3,226</td>
<td>63,607</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>24,641</td>
<td>6,220</td>
<td>8,478</td>
<td>9627</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>867,277</td>
<td>34,881</td>
<td>738,490</td>
<td>92,272</td>
<td>1,634</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Relief, Rehabilitation and Resettlement, UNHCR.

Resettlement and National Integration

The data for the third research question was gathered from a wide range of sources. The list of data sources scoured principally emphasized the Sri Lanka Ministry of Resettlement, the Sri Lanka Ministry of Nation Building, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Norwegian Refugee Council, the Human Rights

Commission of Sri Lanka, other United Nations Organization data sources, the International Organization for Migration, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, and the Refugee Council of United Kingdom. It should be noted that the Sri Lanka Ministry of Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation, which was responsible for the IDP matters during early 2009, was a major source of secondary data. Furthermore, as a consequence of the improvement of unstable condition of IDPs, the need of having the ministry of this portfolio has been reduced. After identifying the magnitude of resettlement problem, the government of Sri Lanka consequently has established the Ministry of Resettlement specifically to look into the problems that IDPs face with regard to their displacement and resettlement related matters. As such, some data prior to 2009 has had to be taken from the UNHCR reports which have quoted the Ministry of Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation. Still, the establishment of the Ministry of Resettlement
means that all the most necessary data for this researcher’s thesis mainly were collected from the said ministry.

Rehabilitation and resettlement of these IDPs is one of the great challenges that the Sri Lanka faces today. On one hand, the Ex-LTTE cadre integration is the most critical issue of the political phase of reconciliation. On the other hand, there are the negative economic and social consequences of protracted displacement such as long-standing land claims and limited resettlement options that the non-LTTE IDPs have had until recently. Comparably in many global cases, this is a result of being forcibly displaced due to violent conflict which is common worldwide, e.g. the Thai-Burmese border, the Bangladesh-Burmese border, Colombia, Georgia, Burundi, and Afghanistan (Badurdeen, 2010).

The Government of Sri Lankas’ Resettlement policy is basically two-fold: resettling IDPs in their original places of settlement and, when necessary, alternative places for homes with their consent. The UNHCR study on resettlement options revealed that many people have given their consent for the different options available to them. Table 6 below is given to summarize those options for the reader’s convenience.

**Resettlement Options**

Most of the Muslim people who were forced by the LTTE to leave their homes in the north of Sri Lanka in 1990 still are living in protracted displacement in the Puttalam District. In fact, by June 2010, only a small minority appeared to have integrated locally in the Puttalam District (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2011). According to the survey carried out by the Norwegian Refugee Council in 2010, encouragement has

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return to place of origin</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local integration</td>
<td>5,564</td>
<td>13,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relocation in the place of origin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relocate in elsewhere</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future decision</td>
<td>8,574</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNHCR 2010.

been made of the system based in the Puttalam District as the “go-and-see” visit to Jaffna. Such trips were organized by the IDPs themselves within their community organizations.

Yet, according to the UNHCR survey in 2004, only about 325 families were prepared to return to their homes immediately as possible. Approximately 60% of the survey population considered it as a decision to be made in the future. Another 38% of the respondents reported their willingness to engage in local integration, i.e., about 5,564 families. The report further stated that none of these families were interested in relocation elsewhere as a solution at that time.

However, as per the 2009 survey by UHNCR, the percentage of families that would like to return home has increased to 88% from 2% in 2004. In this survey another dimension was identified of IDP opinion, i.e., 10% would like the relocation in the places of origin, whereas the relocation was not at all accepted as even a temporary solution in the previous survey. Meanwhile, the willingness to be engaged in even more local
integration has gone down from 38% to 2%. These results clearly reveal that there is the shift of opinion through time in terms of preference for possible resettlement options that could be offered to IDPs. Badurdeen (2010) noted in her working paper, “Ending internal displacement: the long-term IDPs in Sri Lanka” that earlier that Shewfelt (2007) gave support to the idea that the opinion shift is closely related to the environmental context in which IDPs live. Badurdeen (2010) further disclosed that the main factors affecting these new preferences is the security aspect. In a nutshell, the positive change in the security context emerging after the war shifted the opinions of many IDPs towards returning to their places of origin.

The survey report compiled by the Norwegian Refugee Council in 2010 has provided a listing of the reasons for the willingness to return to places of origin. The list highlights the role of their home town as being perceived as having better economic opportunities than the Puttalam District, especially the availability of house and land properties. On the other hand, for some IDPs the reasons for wanting to remain in the Puttalam District are the house and property which they have acquired, having better economic opportunities in the area of Puttalam than their place of origin, and having children who do want to stay in the Puttalam District.

However, the return policy should be considered as being in three viable options. One is whether the IDPs would be willing to return if they have houses and land in their original places of origin. Second, if they would be willing to return if they have only land but no houses, Third, if they were willing to return, but have no houses or no land in their place of origin.
Similarly, the local integration option also should be considered as having the same three conditions as above. First, IDPs who have properties including home and land in the present location and therefore unwilling to go back to their place of origin; second, they have land but no house on it in the current location; and third, the IDPs who do not like to return to their place of origin and like the present location even though they have neither land nor house (Badurdeen, 2010).

Until the internal conflict ended in May 2009, the local integration in the Puttalam District appeared to be the only solution available to IDPs. Lacking security through to this time, there was no favorable environment prevailing to encourage the return of IDPs. However, in the post-conflict era, return has become a more popular solution among the IDPs than local integration and settlement elsewhere (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2010). That study identified that while protracted nature of displacement has meant local integration in the Puttalam area for some IDPs, in general the impact of long-term displacement has been negative. It seems that many IDPs in the Puttalam District were becoming forgotten or getting lost in the various bureaucratic systems as a consequence of their displacement going back to before 2009 and being named as an “Old IDPs”.

**Summary and Transition**

In conclusion, this is the chapter of this thesis in which the researcher has identified the condition of the IDPs in Sri Lanka in general and the Puttalam District in particular. However, the Puttalam District by and large is the place wherein there is the facilitation of the Muslim IDPs. In 1990, approximately 60,000 Muslims were evicted by the LTTE from the north and continue to live in the Puttalam, Anuradapura and Pollonnaruwa areas as a result of ongoing LTTE attacks on their villages. During the
ceasefire agreement between the central government and the LTTE, a small number of IDPs returned to their places of origin in the areas of Mannar, Jaffna and Mullaitivu in 2002. It is noted that there is a marked difference between the 2002 flow and 2011 flow of returnees; this seemingly is because 2002 was a year in which there only was a temporary ceasefire whereas 2001 is two years after the ending year of the civil conflict and the time by which a fairly peaceful environment had come into existence. As such, the volume of returnees is expected to be larger in 2011 than the volume of returnees in 2002. As of 2011, 96% of the IDPs who originally were in the Puttalam area’s IDP camps have been returned to their places of origin with only 4% remaining in the Puttalam District by 2012. As far as their demographics are concerned, the population has increased from 1990 to 2011. Furthermore, the gender roles have been transformed from male domination to female domination over this period of time. It must be highlighted that the socio-cultural transformation was one of the significant factors associated with the changes in gender roles. Finally, the status of the resettlement process of the Sri Lankan government shows that most of the IDPs have resettled in 2011 while only some are remaining in the IDP camps due to the reasons such as the land demining process still is in progress, lack of documentation to prove their ownership of property, and lack of facilities for their children’s education. Consequently, Chapter V will be where the reader is provided the specific recommendations for handling these problems that these people now are facing to bring about the solid and long lasting solution to the IDP problem.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overview

This chapter first is focused upon a set of concluding remarks regarding the major research findings and reflections concerning the research questions as analyzed in Chapter IV. Second, the researcher has speculated upon the appropriate recommendations for the problems still remaining to be solved in handling the geographical distribution, demographic-related problems, and issues of resettlement process in the Puttalam District in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, this chapter includes a discussion of the future possibilities for research with regard to this topic, i.e., consideration of whether the IDPs will have problems as a consequence of any new conflicts and trying to remain in the same places in the future. Finally, the concluding statements emphasize the importance of this topic in order for there to be support of the organizations that currently are involved with problem-solving initiatives involving IDPs in Sri Lanka.

Major Research Findings of the Study

The current underlying conditions affecting IDPs in Sri Lanka are traced back to the 1980s. Although ethnic tension and violence is not a new phenomenon on the island over the centuries in different fashions, it had escalated after the PRI with the July of 983 ethnic riots in Jaffna City. The number recorded as IDPs as of that month was 100,000; the migration of these people was attributed largely to their response to various military
operations launched by both sides: the LTTE and the central government forces.

Eventually, more than 500,000 people were displaced during the early period of that conflict and which persisted to the early 21st century. Subsequently, until the final confrontation between the rebels and the government forces, another set of IDPs called New IDPs joined the old IDPs in the various IDP camps and other places of refuge while being displaced. By then, the total number of IDPs came to around 800,000-1 million people as of May 2009 (Sri Lankan Ministry of Rehabilitation, Relief, and Reconstruction, 2010).

In particular for this study and beginning in 1990, there was the eviction of the Muslim community which lived in north and were called “Northern Muslim IDPs”. The forced migration of that time period resulted in a population of displaced people that was around at least 60,000 people and more likely 100,000 IDPs in total (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2010). Nearly 60,000 of these IDPs were relocated in the Puttalam District. Thus, the focus of this thesis has been to provide an analysis and discussion of the geographical distribution of these groups of people from the Northern Province districts of Jaffna, Killinochchi, Mullaitivu, and Mannar whose destination became the Puttalam District in the North Western Province. Such IDP-related migration involving these parts of Sri Lanka was examined for the key years of 1990, 2002 and 2011 with the emphasis being in-migration to the Puttalam District for 1990 and 2002 and out-migration from that district by 2011, two years after the end of the civil conflict. It should be noted that the research on IDPs for 2012 was focused upon those IDPs remaining in the Puttalam District and not engaged in return migration to the Northern Province or relocation elsewhere in Sri Lanka.
The researcher found that in 1990, there was a large influx of IDPs into the Puttalam district where they settled down with their relatives or went into camps run by the central government or by NGOs. Small numbers of these IDPs engaged in being repatriated during the ceasefire period of 2002 (2.5%, or 1556 individuals), but a large number, i.e., about 95%, of the remaining IDPs returned to their places of origin in 2011 as a consequence of the end of the conflict in May of 2009. Returning home finally had become a realistic possibility for these IDPs. By 2012, only 2% of total IDPs were remaining in the Puttalam IDP camps for various reasons which included the following: waiting on the results of the ongoing demining process, having difficulties in the recovery of lost personal documentation; and dealing with complications as a consequence of the loss of permits to occupy the government-leased lands for agriculture.

In the Puttalam District, the infusion of a large number of IDPs unbalanced the ethnic mix of population and exacerbated tension between the original host community which did include Muslim, Sinhalese, and Tamil groups. Because of the inadequate management of interpersonal as well as civil conflict, tension erupted among these ethnic groups. While initially the internally displaced fleeing violence received sympathy and assistance from this district’s host populations, such support declined later when those hosts felt that the IDPs had overstayed their welcome. Tension between some of the local communities and the IDPs developed in a significant fashion (Badurdeen, 2010). Moreover, the population of IDPs have increased by 13,237 people during the 21 years of civil unrest. Natural increase among the IDP population has had significant influence for the population to be increased by that number. This additional population is called the New Generation IDPs, i.e., they are the offspring of the original IDPs and later IDPs who
found refuge in the Puttalam District. Meanwhile, the sex ratio has changed from 105 to 98 by 2010. Accordingly, gender roles and related social and cultural conditions also evolved over the time. Ethnic composition of IDPs is identified such that the majority of these people belong to the Muslim ethnic group, and their traditionally rigid culture has been affected in various ways by the displacement.

In traditional Muslim families, the females have exceedingly specific roles. The traditional roles of these women have been changed significantly as a result of displacement. Here there were advantages and disadvantages for these females. On one hand, some women come out stronger with new skills, different ideas, and a strong self-esteem. However, many of these Muslim women have been finding it difficult to deal with their new roles in society. Widows especially are facing many problems such as they lost economic and social support of their husbands and have had to take overall responsibility for the household. Unfortunately, one negative consequence of this cultural shift has been these widows are perceived as having a socially stigmatized position.

Furthermore, not only gender, but age also influences largely in the integration of IDPs. The choice of return seemingly is largely dependent on the age factor. The trend appears to be the older groups of IDPs are choosing to return and many of those of the younger generation, which has not known life outside the Puttalam District, preferring to stay in this area. Meanwhile, throughout the 26 years of civil unrest, children who were growing-up in these turbulent times and living in the IDP camps often were affected negatively by the spates of sometimes prolonged disruption of their education.

As significantly, opinions regarding choice of re-settlement options also changed over the time based on the status of the conflict. As of 2002, the local integration option
was very popular among the majority of the IDPs, and relocation option being the least popular. However, in contrast in 2011, this has turned around, resulting in the geographical pattern of IDPs who have resettled in places of origin which became more popular than the local integration; re-location in the places of origin also appeared as one of the preferred options. It was generally believed that the older generation of Muslim IDPs prefer to return, while, the younger generation would tend to prefer local integration. However, a recent survey of Muslim IDPs from the Jaffna Peninsula shows that about half prefer to return and half prefer local integration, with the old and the young generation both roughly equally divided between the two options (IDP Population, Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2010).

Recommendations

Rationale for the Recommendations

The researcher has spent considerable time and effort looking at the geographical nature of the IDP issues of Sri Lanka with particular attention to the Puttalam District in the North Western Province of this sovereign island nation. Based upon such work and in the tradition of applied geography as practiced by geographers engaged in community development, it is appropriate now to make a contribution to not just the literature about community engagement as undertaken by geographers but to the problem-solving efforts in Sri Lanka regarding IDPs. These recommendations are presented in seven sets of sub-sections below. The seven subheadings are meant to convey the sub-topics regarding IDPs with the sub-sections aligned in what the researcher believes will help the reader realize the inter-related nature of the recommendations.
Institutional Data Collection

First, the government should develop either a highly specialized institution that could be collecting additional data on the IDPs of the past and present or improving the existing institutional capacity to gather such increasingly important information. This especially would be in regard to addressing demographic concerns in each district such as, Secretariat for Northern Displaced Muslims attached to the Puttalam District Secretariat Office. In the case of the latter, it would be highly useful not only for researchers but for the Sri Lankan central government if that secretariat would be given sufficient support so to be able to collect even more vital data on age and gender that is specific relative to IDPs of the respective districts. Second, the central government should consider developing a unique identification authority of Sri Lanka to provide a way to empower the IDPs who currently have not documents to prove their citizenship or land claims.

Human Security

Three recommendations regarding improving security for the IDPs in the broadest sense are provide here. First, resettlement of displaced people should be done immediately as possible in the land-mined areas once the de-mining has been completed. Such action ought to be encouraged because the displaced people have the right of being resettled in their original places and enjoying their own properties. However, there should be a conducive environment to live with dignity, after completing the de-mining process and providing their basic needs should be major component of the resettlement process. This should be a major responsibility of the government and non-government organizations in Sri Lanka. From the government side, the Ministry of Re-settlement and
in the non-government side the responsibility should be held by the humanitarian organizations with collaboration of UNHCR in Colombo. During such security-related resettlement, it must not be forgotten that the IDPs also should be entitled to necessary support including dry rations, housing aid, agricultural tools, infrastructure, and livelihood facilities to upgrade their living conditions.

Second, it respectfully is recommended by the researcher that efforts are made by all stakeholders so to build better coordination between Sri Lanka’s Naval Force and the local fishermen through civilian-military relationship programs. In the case of returnees, it is crucial to ensure the security and privacy among the people when security forces are deployed in the areas. As part of such an effort, the government could provide appropriate information about the existing lasting solution approach that comes through local integration and return to places of origin including the benefits they are entitled.

Finally regarding security in the broadest sense of the term, this researcher respectfully is recommending that the Ministry of Re-settlement of Sri Lanka immediately remove either the IDP camps or separate rehabilitation center locations in its government-controlled properties in order to resettle the prolonged IDPs in the Puttalam District. For Mannar IDPs the Ministry should initiate a mechanism to have a government permits available to those IDPs who have lost this type of document to prove their holding permission to engage in agricultural pursuits on government-leased lands. As noted in the sub-section on Institutional Data Collection in this chapter, improvements are needed to provide identity papers and land claim documents which is why it may be appropriate to consider a digital online ID system available for IDPs needing such legal documents. Such digital records, if handled to include necessary safeguards to avoid
computer hacking of the data, would be one step, too, in opening-up Internet usage as a means to take IDPs beyond their current limitations for being part of the digital world within and beyond the sovereign state of Sri Lanka.

**Livelhood**

IDPs in the Puttalam district had been engaged in fisheries, farming, and small business as sources for their income for past generations. Most of the people had their own lands. Before displacement, they were engaged mainly in agriculture, fishing, masonry, and carpentry. The percentage of population working as government officers showed about 2.4% as per the data given by the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka. It respectfully is recommended to implement new and different forms of income generation activities as related to micro-finance activities of private banks, vocational training and skill development training targeting IDPs in the area until they resettled in their places of origin. As an example of a possible specific action for implementation, it would be appropriate to look, too, at the opportunities of central government initiatives of micro-finance through state-owned banks. It would be feasible, it is hoped, that loans could be made of 50,000 rupee each to IDPs so to enable them to engage in any small-scale livelihood efforts and to participate with other IDPs in pooling funds for leveraging when involved in small-scale projects being underwritten by those local and national groups who undertake PVO-style money lending for such economic development. Finally, it must not be forgotten that such livelihood self-sufficiency should expand to the host community, thereby lessening the conflict between the host community and the IDPs.
Education

It respectfully is recommended that the government and NGOs work together to provide facilities to rebuild the schools or improve the capacity of existing schools in specific areas of Puttalam, Kalpitiya, Wanathavilluwa, and Mundal divisions with an emphasis upon public-private partnership programs. Similar action also is needed to upgrade or to restore the educational facilities at the places of origin for IDPs who have returned so to continue the education of their children. As noted earlier in this chapter regarding the importance of IDPs having connections to the digital world within and beyond their current community, technology must be part of an effort directed at restoring legal documents and reducing the isolation of IDPs. Internet-based education must be part of improving educational offerings, notably in vocational education. Today’s worker in the global information/service-based economy must have training in how to use such technology for a wide range of employment opportunities.

NGOs and PVOs

In addition to the above factors, advocate with the government to increase its engagement in addressing durable solution issues of the Puttalam IDPs and old IDPs in general. Moreover, they can engage with the Sri Lankan central government to encourage it to focus on both the return and local integration options. In contrast, the NGOs should assist the IDPs to understand better their rights to a durable solution and to provide proper information and counseling on the two options on return and local integration. On one hand, the NGOs could discuss with the central and local authorities in both the Puttalam District and the return areas of the north about the barriers to IDPs for achieving local integration such as political rights and sustainable return by providing access to
former housing, land and work plus assist civil authorities to address these specific concerns on the other.

Furthermore, it is vital that there be a way to ensure that there are true choices of either returning or local integration. For example, it would be highly productive to consult with IDPs on the factors that have to be addressed in order to attain the much sought reintegration upon return to the Northern Province or else engaging in local integration in the Puttalam District. Improvement of coordination between government bodies in the Jaffna Peninsula and the Puttalam District about information-sharing and return-related activities will be immensely beneficial to bring about the end to this specific issue for IDPs. It cannot be emphasized enough that it is highly important to educate people choosing to integrate locally about their voting rights in relation to the elected government offices of the Puttalam District and to assist them with registering locally, i.e., de-registration from the places of origin and registration in the Puttalam District.

**Demographic Issues**

Government officials in Sri Lanka had anticipated that at the end of the war the women would return to their traditional roles. As noted earlier, approximately 93% were traditional Muslims who were practicing Islam as one of the minority religions found in Sri Lanka. However, their expanded role came via new experiences in displacement that will remain as part of their personas due in large measure to coping with poverty, handling increased economic demands, having had contacts with different groups, and even accepting altered self-identity. Education also will play a big role in the move towards new viewpoints as most families have a strong desire to see their children
educated and work in professional jobs. As a Sinhalese woman as well as an academic geographer, this researcher supports that welcome change of gender role and respectfully recommends a way to encourage maintaining an appropriate balance between male roles and female roles. This is probably best done through a way which is to mix approach of those roles for future enhancement of the lives of both genders.

**Community Development**

It will be important to provide programs that also assist poorer groups of people in the Puttalam District in order to avoid ethnic tension; this is in line with the “do no harm” approach. Non-violent communication programs could help with how to deal with the anger, the frustration, the discrimination, and the humiliation experienced by this segment of the local population when competing with re-integrating IDPs for jobs, land, and social status. Such positive efforts in community development also will further enhance to how to understand the depth and breadth of nonviolence and to acknowledge that part of one’s persona can be a violent streak and that the individual needs to bring about a qualitative change in that person’s attitude (Rosenberg, 2003); this will help all the people build healthy, respectful, satisfying relationship.

Furthermore, this approach will help the local community, the Puttalam District, and the other areas of Sri Lanka to have a good step along the way to transformation violence to peaceful environment. Thus, this researcher respectfully recommends that all the stakeholders undertake sensitizing of the diverse ethnic communities in northern districts, where people from different communities will be returning around the same time. Tolerance and respect for peoples with divergent views is needed not just for successful community development but to help expedite the healing process that is
needed in light of 26 years of civil conflict. Finally, at the broader level, this researcher respectfully would recommend the integrated approach of community development by improving physical, human, social, economic, environment, political and cultural capital for the sustainable development of the community with a small-scale community development projects, specifically with a bottom-up approach should be applied.

**Importance of the Topic and Suggestions for Future Research**

The IDP problem in Sri Lanka is not new to the people of this sovereign state. People were survived about 26 years with this internal conflict. Since the date that the central government of Sri Lanka declared the armed struggle is over, the IDP issue became an even more urgent problem to solve. As such, it should be addressed carefully as it appears to be complicated as the current study has shown. Hence, proper planning is essential. Other studies of this nature would be immensely beneficial for the policy planners and the implementing agencies so to target their problem-solving initiatives to be focusing on rehabilitation, resettlement, and reconciliation within the existing society in order to enhance economic, social, and cultural capacity so to live with harmony and self-esteem. However, the future studies should be on this question “How can lessons learned about effective rehabilitation, resettlement and reconciliation efforts done by the central government of Sri Lanka in the immediate and early post-conflict era be used to develop comprehensive legislation that addresses the IDPs specifically to cover all aspects of this group of people? This is to say, more to the point, “How does the assessment of any implementation of recommendations and handling of policy help to improve future planning for starting to bring closure in the future to the IDP issues in Sri Lanka?” Why this question? Because the restoration of these communities of these
specific places will enhance the stability of the Indian sub-continent in general and Sri Lanka in particular. Moreover, the use of spatial analysis is vital to better understand how such migration movements changed the cultural landscape prior to the end of the conflict and will be a tool to help in the post-conflict transformation of that cultural landscape when people migrate back to the places of origin.

**Benediction**

The IDP problem is not only a problem of Sri Lanka, or only a South Asian regional concern. Today, it also has become a global issue. The United Nations’ prediction of alarming displacement in the world is not only due to the nation’s conflicts, but further due to population explosion, and natural hazards such as climatic change and geological changes plus economic depressions, including confrontations between political ideologies. Therefore, it can be justified as a global phenomenon. In other words, displacement’s nature will be an effect of sudden change of the environment which intern adversely affects to the human kind. For example, the indigenous people in the reservation areas of the world will be largely affected by this sudden change of integrated environment: physical, social, economic, political, environmental and institutional we see the results of a form of possibilism as the best practice with appropriate changes. Finally, I believe this thesis will be interesting therefore, to be read by each and every person, irrespective of their special field of study or profession which will provide broader knowledge on behavioral science as it relates not just to the IDPs of Sri Lanka but throughout the world.
APPENDICES
### Appendix A
**Time Line of Sri Lankan Historical Geography**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancient</td>
<td>10,000 BCE-543 BCE</td>
<td>Mesolithic Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayan</td>
<td>6th Century BCE</td>
<td>Sinhalese settlers led by Prince Vijaya, arrive from India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Anuradhapura</td>
<td>250 BCE-459 AD</td>
<td>King Devanampiyatissa ruled the country; establishment of Buddhism; Tamil invasion; unification by King Dutugamunu, a key Sinhala ruler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Anuradhapura</td>
<td>459 AD-1071</td>
<td>A complicated time of alliances and conflicts between Lanka (the Sinhala) and several South Indian states such as Pandya, Pallava, and Cholas. Cholas conquer Anuradhapura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval</td>
<td>11th Century through 16th Century</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polonnaruwa</td>
<td>1073-1215</td>
<td>Native Sinhalese defeated the Cholas; reign of Parakramabahu I and reunification of political system under the Sinhala rulers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Pre-Independence</td>
<td>1505-1948</td>
<td>Periods of European colonial occupation and local resistance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1505-1638</td>
<td>Portuguese occupy the coastal regions and attempt to move inland; displaced by the Dutch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandyan Kingdom</td>
<td>1597-1815</td>
<td>Native capital moves to Kandy; the Sinhala rulers and Tamil nobles hold out against various European invaders for nearly 220 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Colonial</td>
<td>1656 - 1796</td>
<td>Dutch conquer the Portuguese colonial areas and also attempt to expand into the interior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Colonial</td>
<td>1796-1948</td>
<td>Last king of Kandy is deposed and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Post-Independence</td>
<td>exiled to India. Whole island is ruled by the British Government.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Civil Conflict</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>Ceylon officially moves to the status of independence and is recognized by the international community as a sovereign state with the transfer of government from the British.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950s through early 1980s</td>
<td>Transformation of the island’s economy from colonial-based to more a more global-focused one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Ceylon is renamed Sri Lanka.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Conflict and Post-conflict Rebuilding</th>
<th>1983</th>
<th>Official emergence of Tamil secessionist movement and the PRI, the latter occurrence being that which is the formal start of the civil conflict.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980s through 2002</td>
<td>IDPs become numerous as a response to the civil conflict; some ethnic groups, e.g., the Northern Muslims are forced to flee from the Northern Province and re-settle as IDPs in the Puttalam District of the North Western Province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Temporary cease-fire with limited results in terms of return migration of IDPs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Defeat of Tamil LTTE movement by Sri Lankan Government Forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2009-2012</td>
<td>Post conflict development.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Mahawamsa or The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka.

The Mahawamsa is the single most important work of Sri Lankan origin written in the Pali language during the 4th century BCE by the monk Nagasena. The Mahawamsa tells a story that spans nearly 2,500 years of Sri Lankan history and geography. It is comprised of three parts, all written at different times of the island’s history, but it provides the most complete continuous historical record of over more than 2000 years. As a historical document, it is viewed as one of the world’s longest unbroken record of history. It should be noted that the Chulawamsa is the chronicle for the period of the 4th century BCE to 1815, and that the writing resembles the Attakatha style of poetry. While not considered a canonical religious text, the Mahawamsa is an important Buddhist document of the early history of Sri Lanka, beginning near the time of arrival of Buddha. It also provides the information of then contemporary royal dynasties in the Indian Subcontinent. The following is the summary of Part 1 (Chapters 1-37) of the text, and the wording is based upon the following the work of Wilhelm Geiger (1912). Italicized entries are paraphrasings by the author in consultation with her graduate advisor of the text as translated by Geiger

Abbreviated chapter summaries of the Mahawamsa.

1. The Visit of Tathagatha- 563 BCE to 483 BCE
   - Buddah’s visit to Mahiyanganna, Nagadeepa, and Kalyani

2. The Race of Mahasammata
   - The time under King Mahasammata and his family

3. The First Council
Resolution of the conflict among bhikkus on the dead body of the Master

4. The Second Council
   A Second Dhamma Sangayana dealing with conflict resolution

5. The Third Council
   The third Dhamma Sangayana dealing with people’s concerns

6. The Coming of Vijaya
   Explanation of emergence of the Sinhalese through the marriage between the daughter of the king of the Vangas, the Kalingas and the Vijaya from Magadha country with the son of Sinhabahu and Sinhasivali

7. The Consecrating of Vijaya

8. The Consecrating of Panduvasudeva

9. The Consecration of Abeya
   The year without a king following King Vijaya’s death
   Paduvasudevas’ arrival in Upattissagama and his birth story

10. The Consecration of Pandukaahaya
    Continuation of previous chapter “Consecrating of Abeya”

11. The Consecrating of Devanampiyattissa Tissa
    The story of peaceful governance and time without conflict under Devanampiyattissa’s regime

12. The Converting of Different Countries
    Conversion of 60,000 people to Buddhism including 3500 sons of noble families and 1500 daughters of noble families receiving the Pabbajja

13. The Coming of Mahinda
    Mahinda’s visit and meeting with King Devanampiyatissa

14. The Entry into the Capital
King Devanampiyatissa’s water festival for dwellers in the capital

---- The Great Hunt

---- Formal establishment of Buddhism

15. The Acceptance of the Maha Vihara

Emergence of Bukkhu and Bukkuni. (During this time thousands of the women were allowed to the first stage of salvation and then the second stage of salvation plus the emergence of pirivana.)

16. The Acceptance of the Cetiyapabbata Vihara

Expansion of Buddhism and building of the rock-cells on Cetiya Mountain.

17. The Arrival of the Relics

18. Receiving of the Great Bodhi Tree

_The monarch remembered the word spoken by the thera, that he should send for the great Bodhi-Tree. The glorious great bodhi-tree was displayed to the whole people, planted in the golden vase. Planted bodhi-tree on the east side of the foot of a beautiful and great sala-tree, he allotted to it day by day with many offerings._

19. The Coming of the Bodhi Tree

Description of the grand arrival of the bodhi tree, coming with eight gold and silver vessels.

_Establishment of the nunnery of Upaskavihara
_The well-beloved, the great theri Sangamitta brought the lofty wisdom, hidden in her abode. She brought about it in such a wise way the good of dwellers in Lanka while in the pleasant Mahamega-grove that was endowed with many wonderful powers._

20. The Nibbana of the Thera

21. The Five Kings

Time of the Tamil invaders.

_Two Damilas, Sema and Guttaka, conquered the king Suratissa. But when Asela had overpowered them, the son of Mutasiva had ruled for ten years onward from the time of Anuradhapura. A Damila of noble descent, named Elara, who came hither from the Cola-country to seize on the kingdom ruled for forty four years._
22. The Birth of Prince Gamini

Birth of Duttagamini who defeated the Elara as a king

23. The Levying of the Warriors

Concerning the great warriors of the king: Kandula, Nadhimitta, Suranimala, Mahasena, Gothaimbara, Theraputtabhaya, Bharana, Velusumana, Khanjadeva, Phussadeva and Labhiyavasabba

King Elaras governing in the eastern district near the Citta-mountain

24. The War of the Two Brothers

Pre-war period between Dutta Gamini and Elara

25. The Victory of Dutta Gamini

When the king Elara heard that king Duttagamini was come to do battle, he called together his ministers and said: The king is himself a worrier and in truth many worriers follow him. What think the ministers. What should we do? King Elaras’ worriers, led by Dighajantu, resolved: tomorrow we will give the battle. The king Duttagamini also took counsel with his mother and by her counsel formed thirty two bodies of troops.

26. The Consecrating of the Maicavatti-vihara

Reunion of the island under one kingdom

The king distributed places of honour to his warriors according to their rank for them as he wanted to honour them.

27. The Consecrating of the Lohapasada

The theri rich in merits, ever intent on meritorious works, who framed his resolve in wisdom, founded and consecrated the great thupa, Lohapasada.

28. The Obtaining of the Wherewithal to Build the Great Thupa

29. The Beginning of the Great Thupa

Groundbreaking for Maha Thupa, called ‘Ruwanwellisaya’, and the story of how the materials originated in the: Himalayas
The location for the Thupa was decided, and the day came for the laying of the foundation stone by the king. He called all bhikkus to the ceremony of foundation stone to Ruwanwelisaya. During this time there was an arrival of foreign monks.

30. The Making of the Relic Chamber

Constructing the relic chamber and explanation of that construction, including how the Bhikkus participated in building the great thupa.

31. The Enshrining of the Relic

Ceremony of enshrining the relic

32. The Entrance into the Tusita-Heaven.

*Ninety nine viharas have been built by the great king including Ruwamwalisaya had a great idea of going to Thusita Hevan after his death by doing the chittyas.*

33. The Ten Kings

Key kings during this period being, King Dutta Gamini, King Saddhathissa, King Uttiya, and King Watta Gamini

34. The Eleven Kings

Ruling of the island based on Buddhist values according to the story of eleven kings of Lanka

35. The Twelve Kings

Listing of key leaders during this turbulent period

- King Mahadathika – 6 years
- Amandagamani Abhaya – 9 years
- Prince Kanirasanutissa - 3 years
- Cullabaya - one year
- Sivali – 4 months
- Ilanaga – 1 year
- Chandamukha Siva - 8 years
- Yasalalakathissa – 7 years
- Vankanasikatissa – 22 years
- Mahalla Naga - 6 years

36. The Thirteen Kings

Listing key leaders in another time of upheaval
Bhatikatissaka - 24 years
Kanittihatissaka – 18 years
Khujjaaga - one year
Sirinaga – 19 years
Voharikatissa – 20 years
Abayanaga – 8 years

37. King Mahasena.

Younger brother of Jethhatissa ruling 27 years as a king and doing enormous service to the society based on the Buddhist culture and values.
Appendix C
Selection from the UNHCR Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

Source: http://www.unhcr.org/43ce1c0f2.html: accessed on 8 July 2012. Note; This is the cover page of the second edition of this document which was published in 2004.
The following statements are taken verbatim from the 2004 United Nations document, *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*. They were accessed on 8 July 2012 from [http://www.unhcr.org/43ce1cff2.html](http://www.unhcr.org/43ce1cff2.html).

From Introduction – Scope and Purpose (page 1):

2. For the purposes of these Principles, internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

From Section I General Principles (pages 2-3):

Principle 1
1. Internally displaced persons shall enjoy, in full equality, the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic law as do other persons in their country. They shall not be discriminated against in the enjoyment of any rights and freedoms on the ground that they are internally displaced.
2. These Principles are without prejudice to individual criminal responsibility under international law, in particular relating to genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Principle 2
1. These Principles shall be observed by all authorities, groups and persons irrespective of their legal status and applied without any adverse distinction. The observance of these Principles shall not affect the legal status of any authorities, groups or person involved.
2. These Principles shall not be interpreted as restricting, modifying or impairing the provisions of any international human rights or international humanitarian law instrument or rights granted to persons under domestic law. In particular, these Principles are without prejudice to the right to seek and enjoy asylum in other countries.

Principle 3
1. National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction.
2. Internally displaced persons have the right to request and to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from these authorities. They shall not be persecuted or punished for making such a request.

Principle 4
1. These Principles shall be applied without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability, property, birth or on any other similar criteria.
2. Certain internally displaced persons, such as children, especially unaccompanied minors, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female head of household, persons with disabilities and elderly persons, shall be entitled to protection and assistance required by their condition and to treatment which takes into account their special needs.

From Section V Principles Relating to Return, Resettlement and Reintegration: (pages 14-15)

Principle 28
1. Competent authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to establish conditions, as well as provide the means, which allow internally displaced persons to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country. Such authorities shall endeavor to facilitate the reintegration of returned or resettled internally displaced persons.
2. Special efforts should be made to ensure the full participation of internally displaced persons in the planning and management of their return or resettlement and reintegration.

Principle 29
1. Internally displaced persons who have returned to their homes or places of habitual residence or who have resettled in another part of the country shall not be discriminated against as a result of their having been displaced. They shall have the right to participate fully and equally in public affairs at all levels and have equal access to public services.
2. Competent authorities have the duty and responsibility to assist returned and/or resettled internally displaced persons to recover, to the extent possible, their property and possessions which they left behind or were dispossessed of upon their displacement. When recovery of such property and possessions is not possible, competent authorities shall provide or assist these persons in obtaining appropriate compensation or another form of just reparation.

Principle 30
All authorities concerned shall grant and facilitate for international humanitarian organizations and other appropriate actors, in the exercise of their respective mandates, rapid and unimpeded access to internally displaced persons to assist in their return or resettlement and reintegration.
REFERENCES


West Bengal, India: Refugee Watch.


