

# **Making a “Home”**

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Internal Displacements and Resettlement Processes in Sri Lanka  
2002-2006



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Internal Displacements and Resettlement Processes in Sri Lanka  
2002-2006

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UNIVERSITY OF  
GOTHENBURG

**SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES**

Doctoral Dissertation in Peace and Development Research  
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*To My  
Amma and Appachchi*

# Abstract

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This study explores the process of internal displacement, settlement, return and resettlement in threatened villages in North and North-Central Sri Lanka during the ceasefire period between 2002-2006. The thesis investigates the diverse factors that affected internally displaced persons (IDPs) and their decision to stay in the host communities as well as their unwillingness to return to their original villages following the ceasefire agreement.

The study has two main aims: The first is to understand the factors that attracted the IDPs to remain in the host communities. The second is to understand the IDPs' practical situation in the original villages compared with the host communities. Within this context, the thesis examines the nature of the IDPs' socioeconomic and political relationships with the host communities as well as the obstacles encountered when they resettle in their original villages.

To explore this central question, this research examines three main factors: social relationships, economic relationships, and (in)security situations. The thesis explores how IDPs built social relationships, economic relations, and livelihoods, and their security amidst host communities as well as in their original villages. The thesis establishes how these social, economic, and (in)security factors affected the IDPs' attraction to the host community, as well as how the factors operated as obstacles for IDPs to return to their original villages.

For its empirical evidence, the thesis is based on qualitative methods, and data for the research have been collected using primary as well as secondary sources. The qualitative data were collected mainly through interviews, including long interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions. Secondary sources have been used to help interpret the primary data. The study areas lie within the districts of Anuradhapura and Vavuniya. Six village locations were selected as host communities for examination, and the northern part of Anuradhapura and the southern part of Vavuniya district were considered as the original villages.

The research finds that there is no one single reason that affected the decision to remain or to return, but rather a combination of several key factors. For example, accessibility of land for cultivation and residence are some of the main economic reasons for IDPs to return or remain. Social relationships and life (in)security situations affect the IDPs' decision to find a place where they can stay with safety. In addition, the infrastructural facilities within the host community/area and the original villages have an impact on the decision to remain or to return.

Theoretically and conceptually, the research contributes to building up a new conceptual framework/model of social relationships, livelihood strategies, and security perceptions by using existing literature and new practical knowledge. The conceptual framework contributes to understanding matters pertaining to the field of displacement, settlement, and return and resettlement process in Sri Lanka. Empirically, the thesis undertakes a systematic data collection of social, economic, and (in)security factors. This thesis illustrates that the displacements and their settlements show both marginalization and innovation between both types of people: the IDPs and the people in the host communities.

**Keywords:** IDPs, host community, displacement, settlement, return, resettlement, social relationship, economic relationship, (in)security, integration, obstacle, threatened village

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# Abbreviations

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CFA	Cease Fire Agreement
CGES	Commissioner General of Essential Services
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
DS	Divisional Secretary
FGI	Focus Group Interviews
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GN	Grama Niladhari (Village Headman)
GND	Grama Niladhari Division
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
HSZ	High Security Zone
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organizations
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEERP	North East Emergency Reconstruction Program
NEP	Northern and Eastern Provinces
NGO	Nongovernmental Organizations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
SLGF	Sri Lanka Government Forces
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
UAS	Unified Assistance Scheme
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WCs	Welfare Centers
WFO	World Food Organization

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# 1

## Introduction

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### 1.1. Research Problem

This is now like my own village. I am reluctant to return to the former village. We are not isolated now. Now, I have new relatives here and have good relationships. Here, I have my own house and land. I can't give up these things to start again elsewhere. My children also wouldn't like to go back, because they feel they have greater safety here than in other places.

Self-Settled IDP, male, Sinhalese, Madawachchiya. June 1, 2005.

No, we can't go there, because if we go there it will be difficult to spend our life. It's very good if I get a small piece of land here [in Vavuniya]. Then I can manage my life well. The government gave some land for the 9<sup>th</sup> Unit refugees. So they are ready to go there as they like it. If we are given a land allotment, we would also like to go there.

Welfare Center IDP, male, Tamil/Poonthottam –Vavuniya, Sep 20, 2005.

The above two statements were made by individuals who were internally displaced in the 1980s due to the civil war between Sri Lanka Government Forces (SLGF) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE). Several implications emerge from these statements. One is that some Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have become unwilling to go back to their original villages and prefer to remain in the place where they have been living since their displacement. The statements also indicate that some individuals face certain obstacles that prevent resettlement in the original villages. Other individuals do not face such obstacles, but still wish to settle permanently in the new location, instead of returning to the original village. In these particular places, the majority of the IDPs were of the opinion that social,

## CHAPTER 1

economic, and security factors were more important when they made their decisions on their future residences.

Studies conducted in other countries show that the IDPs determine their future residences based on multiple factors (Whitaker 2002; Duncan 2005). In this study, these factors have been divided into two sets. One is how the IDPs attract or integrate (*pull*) into their host communities and areas. The other constitutes certain obstacles the IDPs face when they return to their original villages or locations of residence (*push*).

This study aims to understand how these two sets of factors play a role in the resettlement or return of IDPs during the ceasefire period between 2002-2006. The signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) or Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) between the Government of Sri Lanka (GSL) and the LTTE took place in February 2002, brokered by Norway. Although this development raised the hopes of IDPs that wanted to return to their original places of residence and made possible the restoration of livelihoods, on the whole, resettlement was not a success.

From 1983 to 2009, the civil war in Sri Lanka devastated lives and livelihoods of people, particularly in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of the country. Violence associated with the conflict led to profound and rapid social changes. The social, economic, human, and moral costs of the war appeared in intra- and inter-district displacement, deaths, injuries, psycho-social trauma, loss of livelihoods, destruction of productive and socioeconomic assets, breakdown of social values, and dislocation of organized socioeconomic life in many parts of the country, especially in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the border districts of Anuradhapura, Vavuniya, Polonnaruwa, Puttalam, and Moneragala. Displacement of people and the resulting loss of livelihoods were two of the major socioeconomic and human costs of the war (Balakrishnan 2000; Goodhand 2000, 2005; Sanmugarathnam 2000; Brun, 2003; Løsnæs 2005). The war claimed the lives of an estimated more than 70,000 people and uprooted more than one million people, often several times, with the large majority internally displaced in the island (IDMC 2006). It has been estimated that up to 1.7 million people were displaced at different periods between 1983 and 2009 (IDMC 2012).

Displacement affected the entire country and all ethnic groups, although the majority of the displaced have been Tamils and Muslims. Many Sinhalese, especially those living in the border areas (between the predominantly Sinhalese and Tamil areas) have also been seriously affected. In addition, the displacement caused by the tsunami in December 2004 made over half a million people homeless (Global IDP Project 2004, 2005; IDMC 2006). As with conflicts in other countries like Afghanistan, Bosnia, Burundi, Guatemala, Guinea, Liberia, Mexico, Rwanda, Sudan, and Uganda, civil war in Sri Lanka involved waves of displacement, coinciding with the major upsurges in the war (van Brabant 1998). Many Sri Lankans have experienced being displaced, resettled, repatriated, and displaced

again several times (de Silva 2002; Global IDP Project 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005; IDMC 2006).

There were many issues regarding return and resettlement of IDPs in Sri Lanka during the period when the ceasefire agreement was in force during 2002-2006. Both policy makers and academics initially expected that when refugees returned to their homes, the problem of displacement would be over (Cuny and Stein 1990; Allen and Morsink 1994). Thus, some policy-oriented studies such as by UNHCR and other policy makers have argued that internal displacement ends only upon the reversal of displacement, that is, upon the IDPs' return to their places of origin (Cuny and Stein 1990).

Early in the civil war, the Sri Lankan Government policy was voluntary resettlement, and no compulsion was exerted to resettle the IDPs. They were at liberty to choose the proper time for resettlement. If they did not wish to resettle, they stayed in the Welfare Centers (WCs), and the government had to look after their needs. Consequent to the signing of the CFA, the government embarked on an ambitious program of resettlement and reconstruction. During 2004-2005, the government and other organizations initially paid some attention to the IDPs' return and resettlement; however, with time, they changed their position with regard to resettlement, self-settlement, and relocation of the IDPs. Specifically, the Government of Sri Lanka implemented some programs that provided incentives for the IDPs to return to their original villages. However, in reality, the prevailing environment discouraged this return. Return was not always possible or even desired by the IDPs. It depended on the situation in both the original villages and the host communities.

In most of the policy-oriented discussions, attention was focused on repatriation and return of displaced persons, and the resultant policy was to be implemented immediately after the cessation of war. Following the signing of the ceasefire agreement, the threat of war was substantially reduced and a relatively long period of peace appeared to exist. Although arrangements were streamlined to enable the IDPs to return to their original places of residence, their interest to do so appeared to gradually diminish, with a great majority refraining from moving out of their temporary places of residence. Some of them openly expressed their unwillingness to go back.

Some of the IDPs regarded the ceasefire agreement as a temporary measure, with the risk of resumed war looming at any moment. Although the threat to both life and the security situation in the original area was one of the main reasons for being unwilling to return, there were several other reasons, such as socioeconomic and political relationships of IDPs in both the host communities and the original villages that in turn affected their decision to return or remain. The fairly long-term displacement had resulted in them living in the host communities for long periods. Some IDPs had lived for more than 15-20 years as displaced persons, and most

of them had been displaced, resettled or repatriated and displaced again several times.

## 1.2. Aims and Research Questions

As its central research question, this study focuses on *how and why, during the ceasefire period of 2002-2006, the IDPs in Sri Lanka either remained as IDPs or returned to their places of origin*. Many IDPs simply remained in their new places of residence and resettled. Among the minority who tried to return to their places of origin, many ended up returning to their host communities.

There are two aims in undertaking this study. The first aim is to understand the role of the socioeconomic and security factors that attracted the IDPs to remain in the host communities. The second aim is to understand how these particular factors can act as obstacles to resettle people in the original places compared with the IDPs' host communities. Within this context, the thesis examines the nature of the IDPs' socioeconomic and security relationships with the host communities as well as the obstacles encountered when they resettle in their original villages. Hence, this research explores diverse socioeconomic and security factors that affected the decision of IDPs in the Sri Lanka ceasefire period of 2002-2006 either to stay in the host communities or to return to their original villages.

To explore this central question, this research examines three main factors: social relationships, economic relationships, and (in)security situation. The thesis explores how the IDPs built social relationships amidst host communities and the roles of their kinship, friendship, and other networks in building new lives in the host area. Also, this research focuses on economic factors as another important part of the IDPs' decisions to stay in the host communities. The study considers livelihood and livelihood strategies as economic activities. The study endeavors to explore what role economic relationships have played, what activities the IDPs were engaged in in order to sustain their livelihoods in the host communities, and what impact the livelihood situation had on their reluctance to return to the original villages. Further, the study focuses directly on the fear and insecurities among the IDPs in various situations: displacement, residence in welfare centers in the host communities as well as among those who had returned to their original villages. In sum, this thesis establishes how these social, economic, and security factors affected the IDPs' attraction to the host community as well as how the factors operated as obstacles for them to return to their original villages during the period 2002-2006.

More specifically, the research asks the following:

- How did the IDPs establish social relationships in their host communities, and how did these relationships compare with their social relationships in the original villages? How did kinship, friendship, and ethnic connections figure in this regard? What social benefits and hindrances were perceived by the IDPs in living with the host community, also as compared with their original villages?
- What economic relationships and activities did the IDPs' employ in order to sustain their livelihoods in the host community, and how did these material conditions compare with those in the original villages? In this regard, how was the access to land, employment, housing, education, health, and transport in the host communities compared with those in the original villages?
- What was the situation for the IDPs with regard to security in the host community compared with that in the original villages? What were the circumstances with regard to threat to life, violence, safety of women and children, threat to property, etc.?

The thesis examines these questions primarily in relation to the time period 2002-2006 and in relation to two districts in Sri Lanka, namely, Anuradhapura and Vavuniya. Reasons for the case selection are elaborated on in section 1.4 below.

By addressing these questions, the thesis makes important conceptual and empirical contributions to knowledge. Conceptually, it offers a new three-fold framework of analysis in terms of social, economic, and (in)security factors. Empirically, it offers new evidence from the perspective of the IDPs in the Sri Lankan conflict. These points will be further elaborated on in Section 1.7 below.

### Main limitations

There were some limitations of this study. First, it is important to remember that this study was not aimed at finding a definitive 'truth' applicable to all situations or contexts of displacement. The study was concerned with the particular period of the CFA from 2002-2006 in Sri Lanka. The limitation was that since this particular study took place during the ceasefire agreement period while there was ongoing civil nervousness, there was a lack of opportunity to consider some of the changing policies related to the resettlement process. The study focuses on the contemporary period and existing situations, especially the CFA period between 2002-2006. With regard to the resettlement processes, some of the policies were changed along with the changing governments. The policies implemented within

the study area were given the consideration that they deserved. Additionally, this study is exploratory and is aimed at a deeper understanding/exploration of two different sets of decisions made by IDPs and two specific geographical areas in boarder villages of Sri Lanka. Finally, return and resettlement are considered as constituting just another step in the displacement process since they were an ongoing practice within this particular period.

### 1.3. Conceptual Approach

To answer the above central research question (and its subsidiary questions), this dissertation draws on both a conceptual approach (identified in this section) and empirical evidence (as described later in the methods section). The thesis sets out to demonstrate the diverse factors that affected the IDPs' decision to stay in the host communities and their unwillingness to return to their original villages during the ceasefire agreement period of 2002-2006. The following paragraphs provide a condensed account of the theoretical issues, which is fully described in chapter 3.

To start with, a conceptual approach for this thesis requires a definition of 'IDPs.' Generally, '*displaced persons*' are dislocated within the borders of their own country or territory, whereas people in exile in other countries are 'refugees.' In other words, a refugee is a person who crosses an international border, whereas IDPs remain inside the territory of the concerned state (Cohen 1996, quoted by Chimni, 2000: 407). This study is concerned with IDPs, not refugees. Specifically, IDPs can be in different conditions: displacement, settlement, and return and resettlement.

*Displacement* involves forced migration within the boundaries of the state. Displaced persons are essentially a group of local citizens who remain within the bounds of the state and do not cross an international border. Therefore, while the displaced persons are a part of the localized group, there is a trend for them to escape and settle with community-based groups. Hence, this study considers IDPs as an entity of local people, maintaining their relationships with relatives, friends, and neighbors as the host community in their settlement places. Displacement does not only involve those people who are displaced. Those who were left behind and those who receive the displaced people can also experience changes in their lives. Hence, displacements have an impact on three types of people: IDPs, persons left behind in the original villages, and people in the host community.

The *settlements* that follow displacement should be adequately considered. The types of settlements vary depending on the conditions, such as time period of being displaced, location, links with the host community, accessing land, availability of welfare and infrastructural facilities, safety, and other economic benefits. People have different ideas about their living situation. Some may be willing to go back to the original villages, while others may be unwilling to go back. Hence,

this thesis tries to 1) clarify different settlement patterns (mainly self-settled and welfare center IDPs) and 2) consider how these patterns influence the decisions that people make either to stay in the host community or to go back to the original villages.

Regarding *return and resettlement*, the thesis explores these movements through the decisions made during the ceasefire period in relation to the displaced persons regarding their return and resettlement. During the protracted civil war, the time period and the nature of the war itself have varying impacts on return and resettlement. Generally, “return” refers to a person who was displaced from their original home that goes back to their original homes and settles there. Return home is regarded as the ultimate durable solution to a displacement crisis (Cuny and Stein 1990; Allen and Morsink 1994). However, in the late 1990s, the idea that return was the ultimate point of the displacement cycle was questioned (Black and Koser 1999). Some researchers pointed out that a complicated mix of social, economic, political, and psychological factors could create obstructions to the return and resettlement process (Ghanem 2003; Bascom 2005). In this research, return and resettlement are considered as constituting another step in the displacement process and not the end of the displacement cycle. It is regarded as a continuing problem, involving complex socioeconomic and security factors.

This study considers diverse factors that affect the decision of the IDPs to stay in the host communities and their unwillingness to return to their original villages after a long period of displacement. To explain this situation, the study could not identify a single overriding variable. The research examined three sets of factors or multiple independent variables (i.e., social, economic, and (in)security factors), which together affected the dependent variables (i.e., decisions to stay or return). In developing the conceptual framework of this study, it is necessary to recognize that, to a great extent, diverse variables generate other diverse variables that are related to the dependent variables. In order to understand the functions of variables and the impact on the decision to return or to remain, the study applies a *push-and-pull* perspective.

A push-and-pull perspective has played a significant role in research related to labor migration and, to some extent, about refugee and displacement processes (Sorensen 1996). It highlights the motivations and expectations of migrants or displaced people. As this research focuses on the socioeconomic and (in)security factors affecting one’s attraction to stay further in the host area and unwillingness to return to their original villages, a *push-and-pull* perspective is relevant.

Migration and refugee theories typically consider kinship, family and friends, and community organizations as *social relationships* (Boyd 1989). However, some definitions understand social relationships and networks as one of a series of processes that link origin and destination in the displacement and migration process (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992). A substantial amount of literature points out that

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one's social network and relationships can play a key role within the process of decision-making regarding migration and displacement (Gurak and Caces 1992; Van Hear 2003). However, building successful relationships between the IDPs and the host community can impact on the attraction of the IDPs to remain in the host community and has consequences when they continue their life in the host community without returning to their original villages. This research considers a strong social relationship/network between IDPs and hosts as a factor to *pull* (attract) IDPs to stay in the host area/community and a weak relationship/network between IDPs and the original area (with other ethnic groups) as a factor that contributes to *push* people from the area/community.

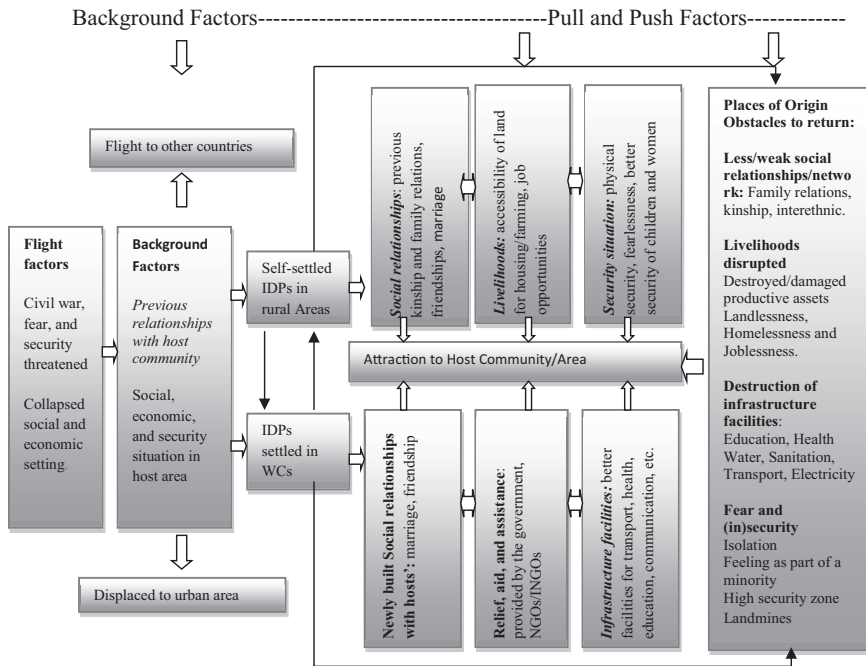
The study also considers *economic factors* as activities in livelihoods and livelihood strategies. The present study uses these concepts to identify the IDPs living conditions, income (aid and assistance), and accessibility to find land, a job, build a house, and develop their coping skills in the WCs, in the host communities as well as in the original villages. This research considers the well-established economic relationships among the IDPs within the host communities and between the IDPs and the host people, which affect their stay (*pull*) further in the host communities as well as the fallen economic relationships in the original villages that create a reluctance to return (*push*).

Fear and insecurity are often the main causes of forced migration and displacement. To explain why many individuals leave, Moor and Shellman identify major points of agreement in the literature as follows: people abandon their homes and are reluctant to return when they fear for their freedom, physical person, or lives (2004). Border villages are particularly characterized by a high occurrence of fighting, violence, the presence of both armed parties, and threats (Benedikt 2002). Fear and insecurity, in the process of displacement, are prevalent and common in several situations: during periods in displacement, stays in camps or living with the host community, and when the time comes to return. A sustainable return is mainly linked with the security situation of the original areas, particularly, physical and material security and constructive relationships between returnees, civil society (original village), and government (or regional authorities). Hence, the current study focuses on a relatively better security situation between the IDPs and hosts as a factor to *pull* (attract) IDPs to stay in the host area/community and fear and insecurity situation between IDPs and the original area (with other ethnic group) as a factor that contributes to *push* IDPs from the area/community.

The conceptual framework of the study is summarized in Figure 1.1 below:



Figure 1.1. Conceptual Framework



Sources: Derived from Kunz 1981; Van Damme 1999; Sanmugarathnam, 2001; and author's field-work

The figure summarizes the factors affecting the IDPs' (un)willingness to return to their places of origin. First, the left side shows the factors that spur flight and displacement, as background factors. Second, the middle shows the factors that attract IDPs to the host community/area. Third, the right side shows the obstacles to return to the original villages. The figure shows the two *sets of factors* -push and pull- that influence decisions about whether to stay or go (back).

In the whole process of return and resettlement, two contexts will be considered: the situation in the host area and the situation in the original area. They comprise mainly factors that IDPs are attracted to or integrated with the host community and the area and certain obstacles faced by the IDPs when they return to their original villages. To examine these factors, Chapter 4 focuses on the situation of the IDPs before they were displaced from their original areas. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 assess the factors, which attract or integrate IDPs into the host community/area, in terms of social, economic, and security factors, respectively, to answer the first parts of the three research questions. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 then examine the obstacles to return and resettlement in the original areas, relative to the social,

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economic, and security factors in order to answer the second parts of the three research questions, respectively.

### 1.4. Research Methodology

In addition to the theoretical framework discussed in the previous section, this study of IDPs in the Sri Lankan conflict will draw on a variety of research methods. The following section details the key methodological choices and their implications for the work. The discussion first considers the larger methodological issues such as positivist versus exploratory approaches, deduction and induction, and quantitative versus qualitative research. Then, the discussion details the types of evidence sources in the study as well as the data collection and the analysis processes.

#### 1.4.1. Exploration and understanding

This is an exploratory informed study, in the sense of collecting subjective meanings while seeing practically those who live them. Since this study attempts to achieve a deep understanding of the role that social, economic, and security relationships have on decisions about whether to stay or go (back) to their place of origin, it follows that reaching such an objective requires an exploration of the perceptions and subjective experiences of IDPs who self-settled and the WC IDPs living with the host communities. Thus, this involves an in-depth inquiry through qualitative methods and the collection of qualitative data.

For an understanding of the relevant factors, the research adopted an exploratory approach that aims at analyzing and understanding factors that are important, in terms of displacement, settlement, and return and resettlement process in Sri Lanka. Moreover, it is hoped that the understanding of the Sri Lankan situation realized in this study will, at least to some extent, also be relevant to other contexts and contribute to a more extensive understanding of the general situation of the return and resettlement process.

#### 1.4.2. Deduction and Induction

In this thesis, inductive and deductive ways of understanding and analysis have been combined. Conceptual development and empirical analysis were used together, each informing the other. Throughout the review of existing literature, it was found that there was a considerable lack of sources, with regard to the IDP issues. Thus, several of the factors (mentioned above), which were recognized as important during the fieldwork, were insufficiently dealt with in the available literature. Consequently, the approach became slightly more inductive than deductive, and a significant amount of empirical material forms the foundation of the thesis.

### 1.4.3. Qualitative Research

The research for this thesis has primarily adopted a qualitative approach. Miller and Rasco (2004) mention the important limitations associated with simply conventional quantitative methodologies in an attempt to understand the variety of cultural and political contexts associated with migration and refugee related issues. The use of a qualitative approach may be important in order to adequately understand the “full richness and complexity” of the refugee experience (Hinchman and Hinchman 1997). Qualitative researchers are debatably more vigilant in explicating their perceptions, particularly as there are several approaches to such research, each with a different set of assumptions. For instance, both Miller and Rasco (2004) and Bracken (2001) are clear in demarcating their methodological assumptions on their refugee related research. The reader is directed to more in-depth discussions on some of the more common perceptions of qualitative research, which mainly relate to research on refugees such as narrative analysis and qualitative research (Patton 2002; Liamputtong and Ezzy 2005).

### 1.4.4. Sources of Data

Data for the research have been collected using primary as well as secondary sources of data. Although some qualitative methods can be quite positivist; here, the qualitative methods were used explicitly to recognize subjectivity through their reliance on people’s voices collected through interviews, life histories, focus group discussions, and observations. The qualitative data in this study were collected mainly through interviews, including long interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group interviews. These particular methods (of interviews, focus group discussions and ethnographic observations) were selected as being consistent with the overall interpretative (rather than positivist) methodology of this research. The aim was to understand the people’s thoughts subjectively.

Secondary sources have been used to help interpret the primary data. For secondary data, the study has used published materials such as books, book chapters, research papers, journal articles, research reports, newspaper articles, and Internet resources. All the data offer avenues toward uncovering and understanding the multiple interpretations and meanings of IDPs.

The use of previous literature as secondary sources in the field of refugees and internal displacement in Sri Lanka should be considered as both policy-oriented documents and individual research studies. Most of them are policy-oriented study documents regarding the war situation, conducted by various organizations. Government ministries and departments and international organizations have done most of these studies. International and national media have also presented data and reports or documents. Other important secondary sources were statistical reports and situation reports published by the Divisional Secretariat offices in

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relevant areas of Sri Lanka. Basically, policy-oriented documents are important for collecting statistical data and as a situation report of the displacement and settlement process in war-torn areas. Some study reports focus on difficulties and obstacles encountered by the IDPs in returning to their original homes (MRRR and UNHCR, 2003; ADB, UN and WB 2003; DRC 2000-2004; NRC 2001-2004).

Others are more analytical, descriptive, and in-depth studies that have been done by individual researchers and research institutions. A few studies conducted by individual researchers cover different fields and areas, but all cover war-related issues (de Silva 1981, 1998, 2000; de Silva and Peiris 2000; Goodhand et al., 2000; Hasbulla 1996; Rupasinghe 1998; Shanmugaratnam 2001; Brun 2003; Rajasingham-Senanayake 2003; Korf and Silva 2003; Orjuela 2004; Skinner 2005; Løsnaes 2005; Herath 2008). Some of them are about IDPs and their issues (Hasbulla 1996; Shanmugaratnam 2001; Brun 2003; Skinner 2005). Many studies emphasize that there were many issues, including the fact that various factors were important in considering the situation of the war-torn areas. Both types of studies were used extensively as useful sources of reference in this study.

### 1.4.5. Fieldwork

One of the main aims when doing fieldwork is to have face-to-face meetings with people, to discuss the issues with them, and to interview and observe them. Although the study did not perform extensive participant observations, it did undertake some primary observations of people's activities. In this regard, the research involves studying the IDPs' social relationships, livelihood strategies, and security issues in displaced and host areas, including how they have rebuilt their lives, survived, and adapted to the new environment after becoming displaced, as well as what role those factors play and how they relate to their willingness to stay in the displaced area or return to their original villages. Hence, this study seeks to explore how both displaced and host people live together, work together, interact, and engage in their day-to-day activities.

During the fieldwork in the villages, I lived in close quarters with the IDPs as well as host communities, sometimes by myself, sometimes with friends, and sometimes with research assistants. I participated as an outsider in everyday life events, including festivals in houses, schools, temples, and churches. Sometimes, I ate with the people, stayed with them, and generally participated in their life events at their workplaces, at their homes, and at the welfare centers. In the whole process of the fieldwork, I took notes while using other data collection methods with the research assistants.

In the field as an observer, I had to answer hundreds of questions: What are you doing here? Who sent you? Who is funding you? Which non-government organization (NGO) do you represent? Are you a government representative? What good is your research and whom will it benefit? Why do you want to learn about

people here? How long will you be here? The Sri Lankan Army as well as the LTTE military personnel also questioned me. However, to avoid any problems, I explained everything about my research and its purpose. Moreover, I had to obtain permission to undertake the fieldwork from government officials, armed forces, and the LTTE military personnel.

#### 1.4.6. Working with Field Assistants

The project involved five research assistants. Three male assistants were recruited: one was a teacher and the other two were government officials. In addition, two female research assistants were employed for gender balance and to interview women. It has been advantageous to interview female IDPs in both the Tamil and the Sinhalese areas in the presence of a female. In the Sinhalese area, I worked with a Sinhalese female assistant, and in the Tamil area I worked with a Tamil female assistant from Vavuniya. It was important for the research to have more than one research assistant in order to be able to speak more freely with different groups and in terms of gender, ethnicity, and language differences among the IDPs and the hosts as well. Before we started the data collection, all of the research assistants were trained in data collection techniques, including some trial work.

I used an interpreter, especially for the Tamil area, since I lack fluency in the Tamil language. Additionally, English was not the mother tongue for the field assistants and myself. We had to transcribe and translate everything separately; specifically, what was written in Tamil had to be translated into English.

#### 1.4.7. Long Interviews

The main research technique used for the study was long interviews with displaced people, resettled people, and host community people. Much methodological guidance was taken from Grant McCracken's work on *The Long Interview* (McCracken 1988; on interview techniques more generally, see Brounéus 2011; Bryman 2012, ch 18). As this is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory, the aim was to deeply understand the IDPs and the content and pattern of their daily experience. The interviewees were selected by using a combination of snowball, stratified, and random sampling. The rationale was to obtain a wide range of positions and to have a variation on aspects such as age, class, occupation, education, and time duration of displacement. Altogether, 61 long interviews were conducted: 21 with displaced and self-settled IDPs, 20 with the host people, and 20 with IDPs at WCs.

Most of the long interviews took 2-3 hours. Sometimes, we spent two days for the same interview, as the respondents were busy and had to interrupt the interview, which was continued at another more convenient time. Most interviews took place in the respondent's house. Some of them took place in their workplaces as well. Frequently, other people were present, which might have had implications

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for the respondents' answers. For instance, when interviewing the wife, sometimes the husband interfered and attempted to answer on behalf of his wife. In that situation, I had to reschedule the interview to avoid his participation, or arrange another time to speak with him.

Long interviews were conducted using an interview guide. These guides were prepared by using secondary literature and informal interviews, pilot interviews in the first round using snowball technique, and using other sources of field data. The interview guide covered a number of themes. There were two interview guides for two communities: one for the IDPs who self-settled and were accommodated in the welfare centers and for the IDPs who were resettled, and a second for the people in the host community.

The interview guide that was prepared for the IDPs who were self-settled and stayed in the WCs consisted of three sections. The first part covered the background of the persons and their life history. The second part included their livelihood situation, social relationships, political environment, and security situation, before as well as after displacement. The last section was devoted to their attitudes, reasons and factors that influenced them to stay or go back to the original villages as well as their future plans regarding whether to return or not.

The interview guide for those who had resettled and relocated used the same interview guide, but the last section addressed their attitudes, reasons, and factors for relocation. The interview guide for the host people also consisted of three sections. The first part was the background and life history of the respondents. The second part addressed livelihoods, social relationships, as well as the security situation. The third section consisted of their attitudes toward the IDPs and their impact on the community (see Appendix 1 for the interview guide).

The interview guides were prepared according to a number of main themes, which were identified in the above-mentioned ways. Table 1.1 presents an overview of the themes and the interview guide questions.

Table 1.1. Interview Themes and Guide Questions

Themes	Subthemes and Questions
Background. Root Relationships	Place of birth, age, sex, ethnicity, education. Family members (orientation family: siblings, parents, and grandparents, their bio data and their origins). Marital status (From where is the spouse? When married?) Spouse's bio data and life history from childhood)

Social relationships	Relationship with family members, relatives, neighbors, and other ethnic groups. Solidarity with others: different ethnic group. Exchange pattern: food, goods, and labor. Disputes/tensions/conflicts: with family and with others. How did you build all these relationships before you were displaced/during the time you were displaced/after you were displaced/at the time your return?
Economic relationships and livelihood	Job/s of the respondent: income of the respondent/ ownership of lands, house, and other properties. Aids, relief, and other assistance: income of other family members and other external sources of income? Management of money: savings, investment. How did you build/rebuild these relationships before you were displaced/during displacement/after you were displaced/ at the time of your return?
Fear and (in)security	Citizenship, voting right, identity, experience in local institutions: divisional secretariat (DS) offices, hospitals, police, and urban councils. Experience in working and dealing with host people. Describe your feelings about (in)security (about yourself and particularly, women and children)? What are the challenges that you see in terms of security before you were displaced/during the period when you were displaced/after displacement/at the time of your return?
Changes	Changes in your life pattern and physical environment (tradition, religion, income, work, food, children's life, ownerships of property, behavior, and tasks of men and women? What factors impact these changes in the settlement area after displacement/after your return?
Future Challenges	Would you like to continue living in the host area/resettled area with people? Would you consider moving to another place to settle down? What are your future plans and have you any suggestions to solve your displacement issues?

Majority of the displaced and self-settled people wanted to tell in great detail their story of displacement, their settlement with the host community, their kinship relationships with the host community, their livelihood, and their achievements. Many of the IDPs in the WCs were interested in telling their stories of displacement, difficulties they underwent, and the obstacles to their return. Host community members stated facts about their relationships with IDPs and the impact on the community since their arrival.

For the most part, I was able to use a tape recorder. However, some people were reluctant to record their voices, while others agreed and encouraged me to record everything they said. Male respondents were, in general, more willing to be recorded, and younger generations also tended to be less hesitant. When we were unable to record, we had to write down everything that we needed. Men were also,

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in general, more talkative. On the whole, this long interview approach enabled me to gather a lot of data and achieve a better understanding of their displacement and subsequent settlement process in the Sri Lankan context.

### 1.4.8. Focus Group Discussions

In addition to long interviews, this study used focus group discussions. The dialogic characteristic of the focus group enabled the researcher to access the multiple and transpersonal understandings that characterize social behavior. If someone wants to know *why* people feel as they do about something, and how they arrive at those feelings, focus group interviews can provide an incredible amount of believable information (Bernard 2000). The group interaction of focus groups is important, because it gives us some understanding of what people are thinking about the topic. In the group setting, when one person forgets something or expresses the wrong thing, another person can intervene to clarify it. In this research, a series of focus group discussions were used to identify why some IDPs were more willing to stay in the host communities and what factors affected their decisions.

Eight focus group interviews were conducted for this study. The respondents were divided mainly into the two different groups (IDPs self-settled with the hosts and IDPs based in WCs) and then according to gender (male and female) and age groups (young and adults). One focus group interview was conducted with re-settled respondents in their original villages. These types of interviews revealed much information on opinions about the attraction to the host community and the obstacles to return and resettle in their original villages and about the overall factors affecting the decisions of the IDPs to stay in the host community/area and their future plans.

The focus group presents a more natural environment than that of the individual interview because participants are influencing and influenced by others - just as they are in real life (Kreuger and Casey 2000:11).

The aim in using focus group discussions was to confirm and verify the missing data, which were collected through the long interviews. I guided the discussion as a moderator, asking questions and trying to help the group to have a natural and free conversation with one another. However, the aim of encouraging participants to talk with one another, rather than answering questions back to the moderator was because it creates a real environment among them, which can produce a lot of information far more quickly and at less cost than individual interviews.

When conducting the focus groups discussions, I had help from one research assistant for using tape recorders and managing the group. Every discussion was recorded and data were transcribed as a 'verbatim transcript' using a professional



assistant. Many of the principles for charting data from long interviews also applied to these group discussions. In this study, I used the “participant-based group analysis” approach for the group data analysis rather than the “whole group analysis” (Ritchie et al., 2003). In this approach, the contributions of the individual respondents were separately analyzed within the context of displacement, return and resettlement process as a whole. The guidelines for entering data and theme categories were the same as those for entering data from long interviews.

#### 1.4.9. Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were another technique for getting information. Key informants are people who are highly knowledgeable about the topic or the particular area. Several very useful persons contributed to this study as key informants. Two of them were field officers at the government offices. Their knowledge about the field was not only important for collecting information, but also for organizing people for group discussions, for interviewing, and for other kinds of participatory events.

Other key informants included government officials such as Divisional Secretariats and Assistant Divisional Secretariats, subject clerks, refugee camp officers, and other field officers, as well as Grama Niladhari (GNs) or former Village Headman who wield the least governmental power. A number of people from NGOs were also interviewed as key informants, particularly, in the Vavuniya district. Additionally, leaders of religious institutions such as temples, churches, mosques, and faith-based schools were also interviewed, as were village leaders, community leaders, and other resource persons.

The main purpose of using key informant interviews was to guide and explore information and to confirm and clarify some data collected through the long interviews and the focus group discussions. Key informant interviews were also very useful in collecting additional information that could not be collected from the other sources.

#### 1.4.10. Data Analysis

To analyze these data, the study used the same framework that was used to analyze the data from the long interviews and focus group discussions. In addition, data were collected through key informant interviews, which were categorized according to the themes identified in the study (see Table 1.1).

As mentioned above, when I analyzed the long interviews, interview guides were followed regarding a number of main themes that were identified through previous literature and other sources of field data such as informal interviews and pilot interviews in the first round using the snowball technique. All the themes focused on were connected to the research questions, and they were elaborated on with the design of interviews. All the written and recorded data were transcribed as

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a ‘verbatim transcript’, with the help of a professional typist using a transcribing tape recorder. In analyzing the transcripts, the aim was to determine the categories, relationships, and assumptions that inform the respondent’s view of the world in general and to identify and expand on central themes, concepts, and descriptions of the proceedings and processes in a way that could further help in understanding the role of factors affecting the decision of IDPs in the Sri Lanka ceasefire period to stay in the host communities or to return to their original villages. Following the guidance of Rubin and Rubin (2005), this means that all the material has been rearranged so that the answers to the main and the follow-up questions from all the respondents were organized thematically in a document. Further, to provide a more expressive structure to the text, the interview materials and field note texts, as well as the researcher’s own comments, were broken down into data units, where blocks of information were examined together. Subsequently, these data units were combined along the same topic or a broader theme (e.g., social, economic, and security relationships, etc.) in order to get a more articulate meaning. The procedure, in this regard, referred to the reading of the transcribed interviews and field notes, the identification of sub-themes arising (e.g., kinship, friendship, ethnic relations, accessibility to land, life security, etc.), and the identification of how these sub-themes linked together in order to present findings by using standard quotes from the interview texts.

The next step in the data analysis was to look at the related factors, respectively, from the boxes of the conceptual framework (figure 1.1) and organize the themes and subthemes, as shown in Table 1.1, which identifies the previous research and the informal interviews in the pilot study and was taken together to create a description and to explore the factors that influence the return and resettlement issues. First, I looked at the flight factors and background factors and then the social, economic, and (in)security factors that attracted one (pulling) to the host community and thereafter, I addressed the factors that were obstacles to return and resettlement in the original villages.

The method of analyzing the relations between the factors identified during the interviews consisted of reporting results as text, shown as direct speech (respondents’ accounts). In this regard, the respondents’ answers to the interview questions were grouped according to keywords and themes that were evident in their answers. The thought of exploratory findings, with some immediate conclusions, consisted of providing the meaning of the texts at hand in relation to the literature and conceptual framework. In the empirical chapters of this thesis (i.e., chapters 5-10), quotes from the interviews have been incorporated into the text to describe the process and events, represent the specific issues related to return and resettlement in both self-settled IDPs and IDPs in WCs in Sri Lanka.

After the data were analyzed, and before the writing-up of the thesis, a brief outline of the findings was brought back to some of the respondents for further dis-

cussions. These discussions contributed to the validity of the findings, while deepening the understanding of the subject under study, with consequent conclusions.

### 1.4.11. Overview of the Field Area: Anuradhapura and Vavuniya

This section provides an overall picture of the study area within the districts of Anuradhapura and Vavuniya. Six village locations were selected as host communities for examination (see Table 1.2). The northern part of Anuradhapura and the southern part of Vavuniya can be considered as “threatened regions/villages,” which means that the areas were physically vulnerable from the war and were close to the boundary between the conflicting parties.

Overall, the picture of the internal displacement and the settlement process within the country was very different from situation to situation. Almost every condition depends on the situation of war and peace in the country. However, according to the UNHCR (2003, chapter 2), the displacement number during the period of ceasefire in 2002–2005/6 decreased, while the return and resettlement process had increased. According to the same source, data pertaining to some displaced persons were compared with data on those who were living in the self-settled locations, and most of them were found to be living in districts away from the self-settled areas. Specially, Jaffna and Mullativu recorded the highest numbers of displaced persons, 63,086 and 61,374, respectively. All of the displaced people in these areas were Tamil.

These two districts were selected for research emphasis for particular reasons (on issues of case study selection, see Bryman 2012: 53-61; Klotz and Prakash 2008: ch 4). By far, the majority of research on Sri Lanka has been on these areas. One reason for this was that the Vavuniya district had the third highest concentration of IDPs at that time and was the only borderline district with the highest amount of IDPs congregated in the country. Another reason was that the IDPs accommodated within the Vavuniya district were comprised of Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslim ethnic groups, and most of them represent border and threatened villages. By 2004, the Anuradhapura district became another area where a significantly large number of IDPs found self-settlement. Since the district was large in extent, displaced persons found places to resettle in scattered locations in various areas within the district. Since Vavuniya and Anuradhapura were neighboring districts at one stage, some IDPs went from Vavuniya to the Anuradhapura district as the host community.

These two main districts of this study, Vavuniya and Anuradhapura, were selected as a threatened region. Six village locations were selected as the host communities for the examination. Some of the village names have been changed to protect the confidentiality and privacy of the respondents and their villages, but the district and DS Divisions are named with the actual names. *Gallengoda* and *Gal-*

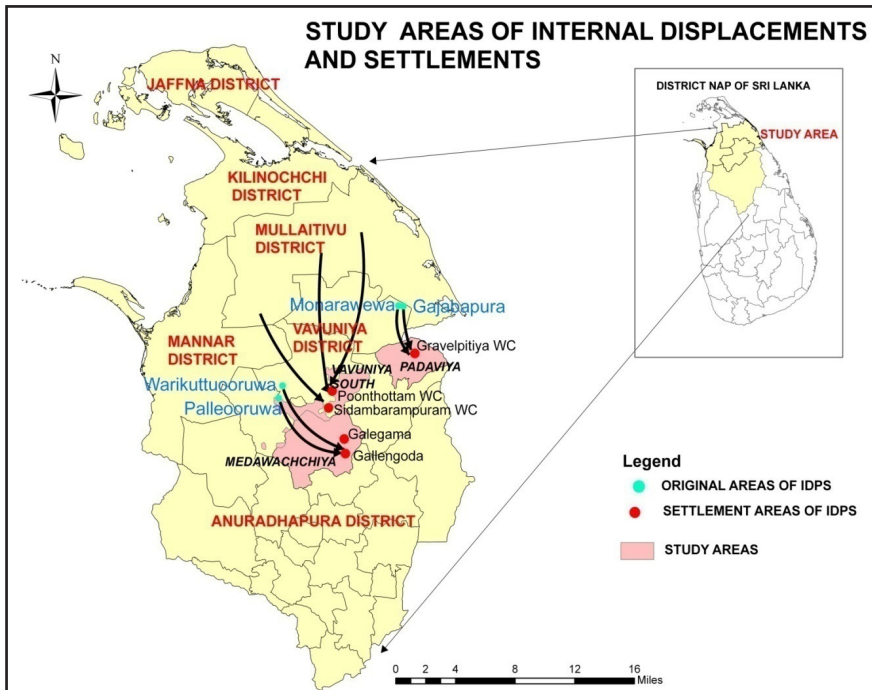
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*legama* villages together with *Grevelpitiya* Welfare Center represent the Sinhalese IDP settlements in Madawachchiya and Padaviya DS Divisions as the host communities within the Anuradhapura district. *Siddambarampuram* WC, *Poonthodam* WC, and *Pudiyasinnakulam* village represent the host communities for the Tamil IDPs' settlements in the Vavuniya district. Table 1.2. below describes the villages within the Divisional Secretariat Division and the district of the IDP settlement. It also indicates their original villages and their ethnic backgrounds. Vavuniya is a district affected by an exodus as well as an influx of IDPs. Anuradhapura is predominantly an IDP influx district. Ethnicity was an important factor in determining where the IDPs moved for safety.

Table 1.2. Basic information of the Study areas in Anuradhapura and Vavuniya

Name of host village/community	Type of settlement	DS Division and the district	Original village, DS division and the district	Ethnic background
Gallengoda	Self-settled	Madawachchiya - Anuradhapura	Varikuttuoruwa-Vavuniya-south, Vavuniya	Sinhalese
Gallegama	Self-settled	Madawachchiya - Anuradhapura	Paleo Oruwa-Vavuniya-south, Vavuniya	Sinhalese
Gravelpitiya	WC	Padaviya -Anuradhapura	Gajabapura and Monarawewa-Weli-Oya Anuradhapura	Sinhalese
Siddambarampuram	WC	Vavuniya	Vavuniya north Vavuniya	Tamil
Poonthottam	WC	Vavuniya	Vavuniya north Mulathive, Kilinochchi	Tamil
Pudiyasinnakulam	Self-settled	Vavuniya South	Pudiyasinnakulam Vavuniya South Vavuniya	Tamil

Figure 1.2. Study Areas of Internal Displacements and Settlements in Sri Lanka



The majority of the residents in the threatened Sinhalese villages in Vavuniya South and Vavuniya East moved to areas such as Madawachchiya and Padaviya. In addition, a majority of the Tamil IDPs who had been displaced from the northern part of the country were accommodated in the WCs of the Vavuniya town. This study focuses attention on both Sinhalese and Tamil IDPs displaced from their threatened villages. This does not mean that the Muslim communities were not living in the threatened villages. Several studies have been done regarding Muslim IDPs in the Puttalam district (Hasbullah 2001; Sanmugathnam 2001; Brun 2003). However, the majority of the affected communities in this study area were Sinhalese and Tamil, and also the Sinhalese and Tamil communities were the two major ethnic groups affected by the war. Nevertheless, in this study some data were gathered from the Muslim IDPs.

During the early phases of the war in the 1980s and 1990s, a majority of the Sinhalese displaced persons left the camps and selected locations for self-settlement. However, a majority of the Tamil IDPs in the Vavuniya district continued to live in the WCs for a long time. Therefore, a majority of Tamil respondents were selected from the WCs, while many of the Sinhalese were selected from the self-settled villages.

**The Study Locations: Anuradhapura and Vavuniya**

*Anuradhapura* is the biggest district in the north central province of Sri Lanka. The district consists of three main ethnic groups: Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim. The related religions of these groups are Buddhist (Sinhalese), Catholic (Sinhalese and Tamil), Hindu (Tamil), and Islam (Muslim). The population displacement and settlement problem in the district became an issue in relation to a civil riot in 1983, called “Black July.” As a result of this event, many Tamil civilians were displaced from the district to other areas and some of them to other countries. After the civil war started, many Sinhalese and Muslim people from the northern and eastern parts of the district, such as Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Trincomallee, Ampara, Mullaitivu, and Jaffna, settled down in various places, following several settlement patterns within the districts. Hence, the Anuradhapura district is not only important for the exodus of a population, but also for the influx of a population (as a host community) from other districts and other parts of the district. There are 22 Divisional Secretariat (DS) Divisions in the Anuradhapura district and two of these divisions, *Madawachchiya* and *Padaviya*, were selected as the study areas for the host community for the IDPs.

The *Vavuniya* district is centrally located in the northern lowlands of Sri Lanka. Administratively, the district is bounded by four DS Divisions – as Vavuniya North division, Vavuniya division, Cheddikulam division, and Vavuniya South division. The study mainly considers Vavuniya and Vavuniya South divisions as the field areas in the district. Vavuniya North Division covers some parts, which were controlled by the LTTE. In fact, it can be called as a border district due to the more than two decades of civil war from 1983. Vavuniya district is a very sparsely populated region, and the population density varies from division to division and in the same area from time to time (Statistical Handbook, Vavuniya district 2005). Most of these variations have occurred because of population displacement and civil war. Vavuniya town functions as a major transport center for the movement of people and goods from north to south and east to west because of its central location. As a result, it has developed as an urban center in the Vavuniya district. The population has increased in the recent past as a result of the accommodation of a large number of displaced populations from areas in the north. The district can be considered not only as a host community for some displaced people from other areas and districts but also as an area from where some people were displaced. The rural folk in the districts of Anuradhapura and Vavuniya form agricultural communities, paddy cultivation being the main source of their livelihood. Additionally, cultivation of other field crops, livestock farming, forestry, and inland fisheries are sources of livelihood (Statistical Handbook, Vavuniya 2005). Although there are some irrigation schemes in the district and middle-level tanks, cultivation is largely dependent on rainwater. The water stored in tanks is used for irrigating the paddy crops. Very often, rainfall alone is insufficient for farming if

irrigation water is not available. Therefore, many farmers prefer ‘chena farming’ (shifting cultivation) to earn their livelihood. Socially and culturally, the district has for a long time remained a traditional society dominated by agriculture and related economic activities with rural settlements, similar to other parts of the north and north central part of the country.

*Madawachchiya* is one out of 18 DS Divisions in the Anuradhapura district and is situated in the northern boundary of the district facing Vavuniya. *Madawachchiya* is an important place for many reasons, particularly, as a midpoint of the public ways from Kandy and Vavuniya to Jaffna (A9 road) (to the northern areas). It is situated around 40 kilometers (km) from Anuradhapura town, toward Vavuniya town and 60 kilometers to Vavuniya town. During the last couple of decades (after the 1983 riots), *Madawachchiya* was the main government military checkpoint to move people from southern to northern areas through the A9 road. The majority of the host people were Sinhalese. Some of the villages in the DS Division had become host communities for the Sinhalese and Muslim IDPs who were displaced from the Vavuniya and Mannar districts during the period of conflict. Hence, *Madawachchiya* DS Division is an important place as a host community for the IDPs who came from other areas. The study selected two traditional villages as the host communities in *Madawachchiya*, named *Gallengoda* and *Galegama*.

The other selected study area was *Padaviya* DS Division in the Anuradhapura district, and it is situated in the northeastern part of the district. This area has been much affected by the northeast war, including population displacement. *Padaviya* DS Division is surrounded by three main districts, Anuradhapura, Vavuniya, and Trincomalee and is situated 80 km from Anuradhapura town. Historically, the division has a long history of settlement of people in the area. *Padaviya* was included in a major colonization scheme established in the 1950s under the government irrigation settlement scheme. The majority of the populations were farmers under this colonization scheme. Fishery was another livelihood strategy in the area. This area was considered undeveloped with pockets of settlements around the village tanks. Comparatively, *Padaviya* was a very remote area within the district. Education, health, electricity, transport, and communication facilities are less developed than in other DS Divisions in the Anuradhapura district. *Gravelpitiya* is one of the WCs for the IDPs in the *Padaviya* DS Division. This is situated along both sides of the main road from *Padaviya* to Anuradhapura, and at one time the land area was prepared as a temporary WC for the IDPs. It was established in 1999 to accommodate the flow of displaced people from the *Weli-Oya* area, particularly the villages of *Gajabapura* and *Monarawewa*.

In the host community in Vavuniya, there were three locations selected for the study, namely, *Poonthottam* and *Sidambarampuram* WCs and the *Pudiyasinnakulam* resettled village. *Poonthottam* was one of the WCs with nine units, controlled by the UNHCR, and was established after the conflict in 1990. It is situated 7 km

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from Vavuniya town. In 2005, it was estimated that 1,276 families comprising of 5,095 persons were living as IDPs in 1995 (District Statistical Handbook 2005). Most of the families had come from Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, Mannar, and the northern part of Vavuniya. The *Poonthottam* WC was a very crowded place, and the living conditions there were very poor compared to those in the *Sidambarampuram* WC. Many of the dwellings in the WC were temporary huts. It was controlled by the UNHCR with support from NGOs and INGOs.

*Sidambarampuram* was the biggest WC in the Vavuniya district, and is located about 11 km north of the Vavuniya town. It was established in 1992 to accommodate the flow of displaced persons from war-affected areas such as Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Mannar, and Jaffna districts. The school buildings in Sidambarampuram were used as the core of the WC; subsequently, it was expanded by building additional shelters of various kinds. There were more than 1,300 families comprising of 7,339 persons living as IDPs in the two units of the WC, named as A and B in 1995, and after signing the CFA the number of families was reduced to 900 comprising of 3,957 persons in 2003.

In both of the WCs (*Poonthottam* and *Sidambarampuram*) in Vavuniya, the majority of IDPs had been displaced for much longer periods, some having moved from place to place four to five times prior to arriving at the WCs. Most of the IDPs came from fertile farming villages, but no farming was possible in the host area around the WCs due to some constraints. Some of them worked around the host area from time to time as wage laborers in nearby farms and paddy fields, and as skilled workers in construction sites. In addition, the more enterprising IDPs had set up grocery and other stores within the WC to cater to the demands of other IDPs.

*Puthiyasinnakulam* was a Tamil resettled village in Vavuniya South DS Division during the CFA in 2002, located approximately 10 km from the Vavuniya town. Before the war started, it was a rural and remote village with around 85 Tamil families. In 1991, due to the civil war, entire families were displaced from the village, after which it became a forest. People had lost everything within the village and they were settled in several areas, some in the northern part in the LTTE-controlled area and others in the southern part in the government-controlled area. However, the IDPs were resettled in this village after the CFA was signed in 2002. Many of them did farming for their livelihoods and additionally, some of them worked around the host area from time to time as wage laborers in the nearby farms and paddy fields in the *Mamaduwa* Sinhalese village. *Pudiasinnakulam* and *Mamaduwa* had close relationships from a very early period. Although the populations of the two villages belonged to two ethnic groups, they had reciprocal relations with, and respect for, each other.



## 1.5. Main Argument and Findings

According to the above-mentioned central research problem and subsidiary questions, the study attempted to explore important factors that shaped the return and resettlement processes in Sri Lanka during the ceasefire period from 2002-2006. Using theories and concepts of displacement and resettlement, and particular methods, the study discovered diverse factors that have influenced IDPs' decision to return or remain in host communities. The study examines the main factors that have affected this situation, and it was realized that the answer is not a simple one. These factors are very complex and influence one another. Consequently, one of the main arguments is that *multiple factors* need to be understood in relation to the situation of the return and resettlement process of the IDPs.

In these particular field areas, IDPs could be classed into two main categories, according to their places of residence: *Self-settled and WC IDPs*. Self-settled IDPs were sometimes living with relatives and friends within the host areas. Most of them had their own land or relatives' land and houses. Many of them had created a new environment for themselves among the host community. More than 80% of the Self-settled IDPs used their kinship relations to the maximum advantage in order to obtain a block of land for cultivation. However, the majority of IDPs were able to get a block of land only after the lapse of a certain period of time.

IDPs who lived in the WCs were generally less able to integrate into, or build up, social relationships with the host communities. However, living in the same location over a long period of time did allow for the development of some types of social relationships. Yet, this study determined that the settlement pattern within the host area directly influenced the development of adequate social relationships. Hence, IDPs who self-settled generally developed more positive relationships with the host community than those who lived in the WCs. The study discovered that the reasons for this difference are fewer opportunities to move freely within the host area, being confined to the WCs, and having fewer pre-existing relationships.

Different aspects were identified through the analysis of data by category of IDPs. One important category is the distinction between *young and adult* generations. Young means between the age group of 18–29-years-old and adult means age 30 years and above. The young generation were generally more willing to remain in host communities and reluctant to return to their original villages, while the majority of the adults were more willing to return to their original villages. Another distinction fell on gender lines. It was found that the majority of males were more willing to return to their former places of residence than females. A particular reason for this difference is that females tended to be more concerned about security for themselves and their children. Also important were the IDPs' *social positions*, such as civil status, age, caste, and class, which influenced their views about the decision to return or remain in the host area.

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As noted earlier, three main sets of factors have been considered in this research: *social relationships* between IDPs and hosts in the host/original area, *economic relationships* comprising of *livelihood and livelihood strategies* in the host/original area, and the *life security or safety* within the host area and/or the original area.

Issues of *social relationships* included kinship relations, marriage ties, caste, and ethnic and friendship relations. The study discovered the degree of the bond of relationship, which acted as the *pull factor* for the IDPs to be more willing to stay on in the host area. In contrast, the collapse of the social relationships in the original places of residence acted as a *push factor* in making the IDPs reluctant to return to those original areas.

The study discovered that *economic factors* were important and influential for the IDPs to determine the place of residence. The economic factors included: access to land for cultivation and residential purposes, opportunities to continue former occupations, availability of infrastructural facilities, farming and trading, and financial aid and relief. The study found that the availability of these factors in the host area acted as a key *pull factor* or attraction to the host community. Conversely, the non-availability of the same economic factors in the original villages acted as a key *push factor* or obstacle for returning.

This study also exposes *life (in)security* to be another factor that strongly attracted the IDPs to the host areas. The IDPs had to flee their original villages when their security was threatened. They realized that they were safer in the host community and thus preferred to stay there. Although security is an extremely wide concept, in this study the term security situation particularly concerns security of life from armed attacks. The people were displaced from their original areas primarily because their lives were under threat in their original villages. Verbal threats, warnings, harassments, land mines, and air attacks created a sense of uncertainty and risk, and they felt the need to leave the area. The study found the IDPs had realized they were safer in the host area than in their original area.

### 1.6. Chapter Outline

To elaborate and defend the argument just summarized, the thesis is organized into eleven chapters. Following this opening introductory chapter, Chapter 2 discusses civil war and displacement in Sri Lanka with a broad overview. The chapter summarizes the background and causes of the conflict, particularly engaged with the problem of displacement and resettlement in Sri Lanka. Following this general introduction to Sri Lanka, Chapter 2 addresses the war-induced displacement, displacement waves, and resettlement patterns in Sri Lanka.

Chapter 3 elaborates an analytical framework for the empirical chapters. This theory chapter defines and clarifies the concept of ‘Internally Displaced Persons’ in the first part of the chapter. Other sections follow to clarify the other related

concepts of internal displacement, displacement and settlement patterns, and factors of host relations, push-pull factors in displacement, return and resettlements. Subsequently, the chapter addresses the above factors of social relationships, livelihood consideration, and fear and insecurity issues.

Chapter 4 describes the background setting of the original villages, particularly, the border areas in *Vavuniya South* (Vavuniya district), *Weli-Oya* area (Anuradhapura district), and some villages in *northern* areas of the country. It focuses mainly on the situation of the people in their original villages before their flight, in terms of social relationships, livelihoods, and coping strategies, as well as issues of security. The chapter also discusses the effects of the conflict in the area, and when and why the displacement occurred from the villages in the particular ethnic group.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 explore the ‘pull’ side of factors, why IDPs preferred to continue living in the host communities, rather than returning to their original villages. The chapters that follow concern IDPs and hosts, specifically, their social relationships, livelihoods and livelihood strategies, and their security situation in the host area, respectively. Subsequently, the chapter discusses the role of the local government, international agencies, and NGOs in the context of displacement and resettlements of IDPs.

Chapters 8, 9, and 10 focus on the ‘push’ side of factors, namely, the situation of the IDPs original villages as obstacles to return and resettlement. The chapters examine displaced persons who were self-settled, relocated, and living in the WCs. Chapter 8 mainly considers the factors related to the IDPs social relationships, chapter 9 focuses on the livelihoods and livelihood strategies, and chapter 10 addresses the security situation of the area respectively, comparing the situation before and after the conflict.

The final chapter gives a conclusion. It reviews all of the findings and notes the current trends with regard to processes of displacement, settlement, return and resettlement in Sri Lanka. Moreover, drawing on the research findings, this closing chapter suggests some recommendations for a durable solution for the problem of displacement and resettlement in Sri Lanka and gives thoughts for future research.

## 1.7. Thesis Contributions

Matters of displacement, settlement, return and resettlement of IDPs have been very widely researched in many parts of the world. Nevertheless, this thesis fills some gaps in the literature. This research aims to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the field of return and resettlement processes of the IDPs by paying attention to these gaps, in the present study. This is accomplished both *theoretically and empirically*.

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Theoretically and conceptually, the research contributes to building up a new conceptual framework/model of social relationships, livelihood strategies, and security perceptions by using existing literature and new practical knowledge. The conceptual framework contributes to understanding matters pertaining to the field of displacement, settlement, and return and resettlement process in Sri Lanka. This model draws our attention to the importance of motivation and expectations of migrants, which are closely linked to the experiences and reactions of people displaced or to be displaced in their movement. This framework can be used for analyzing the resettlement issues, as it emphasizes the linkages that exist between the IDPs' original villages and their host communities (destination).

Empirically, the thesis undertakes a systematic data collection of social, economic, and (in)security factors. To identify these factors, the research used an exploratory approach and collected original empirical data for the study. Using the conceptual base of the existing literature, the research predominantly relies on empirical data and data interpretation. This thesis is based on extensive field research. Displacement generally implies a disruption of social life, social relations, and people forced to marginalize. However, displacement is not a uniform experience. It may be a process of creating changes and making new situations in the life of both IDPs and the hosts. This thesis illustrates that the displacements and their settlements show both marginalization and innovation between both types of people: the IDPs and the hosts.

The study was done in relation to the threatened villages between Anuradhapura and Vavuniya districts, which has not been addressed by earlier researchers. Primary data and knowledge of the displacement, settlement, return and resettlement of the IDPs can be useful for the comparison of other experiences.

This study also makes a methodological contribution on how to conduct research on war-affected communities in Sri Lanka. It may also provide insight in considering facts in other contexts or in the field of IDPs generally in Sri Lanka as well as other countries.

With regard to policy formation related to the settlement of IDPs, the new knowledge derived from this study can be of practical value. This knowledge provides an important contribution to the field of policy formation. The new knowledge can be used particularly in the decision making process to address the IDPs' settlement problem. This study also recognizes that the short-term programs are grossly inadequate to achieve successful outcomes for the return and resettlement issue. For meaningful reintegration, long-term and steady programs are desperately needed, according to the findings of this study.

# 2

## Civil War and Internal Displacement in Sri Lanka

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### Introduction

This chapter provides a general description of the conflict and the associated displacements. I start with (2.1.) a brief background history of the country of Sri Lanka, as well as illustrate the reasons behind the initiation of the civil conflict in Sri Lanka. Following this, I present (2.2.) a brief history of the civil struggle and human displacement. Thereafter, the next section (2.3.) describes the waves of displacement, followed by an introduction (2.4.) of the internal displacement as one of the significant varieties of displacement during the period of civil war in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, the chapter presents (2.5.) internal displacement and settlement patterns; especially, the chapter identifies the Self-Settled IDPs and the WC IDPs as the main categories among the other categories of internal displacement. Finally (2.5.1. and 2.5.2.), the chapter provides details about the return and the resettlement process during the period of CFA 2002-2006 in Sri Lanka.

### 2.1. Sri Lanka: Background and History of the Civil War

Sri Lanka, an island of 65,610 square kilometers (km<sup>2</sup>) in extent, is located in the Indian Ocean off the southeastern coast of the Indian subcontinent. The population of the country is 20.2 million (Department of Census & Statistics, Sri Lanka 2011) of which 74% are Sinhalese, 18.3% are Tamils (of whom 12.7% are Sri Lankan Tamils and the rest [5.5%] are Indian Tamils), and 7.3% are Muslims. Sinhala is

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the language spoken by the Sinhalese. Tamils and the majority of Muslims speak the Tamil language. The teachings of four main religions are practiced by Sri Lankans: Buddhism (69.3%), Hinduism (15.5%), Islam (7.6%), and Christianity (7.6%) (Peiris 2006). In general, Buddhists are Sinhalese and Hindus are Tamils. The Christian population of Sri Lanka consists of both Sinhalese and Tamils, and Islam is the main religion of the Muslims.

Geographically, the Tamil-speaking community lives in the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka. Predominantly, Sri Lankan Tamils live in the northern region, and all three communities have been living in the eastern region. The vast majority of the Indian Tamils are plantation workers who live in the central part of the country. Predominantly, the Sinhalese live in the rest of the country (Witharana 2002; Peiris 2006).

The main problem of Sri Lanka was the protracted civil war that has been going on for almost three decades. The civil war, which plagues Sri Lanka, is being fought mainly between the government forces and the organization of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE) in the north eastern region.

Although Sri Lanka has three main leading ethno-religious communities, the civil war was not the immediate result of the ethnic differences (Rotberg 1999; Spencer 1990). Different scholars identify Sri Lanka's war in different ways, such as ethnic conflict, religious conflict, political conflict, or economic/resources conflict. However, it is argued that the conflict began due to several causes, which were based on political power and resources and also ethnic identities among the Tamils and Sinhalese (Gunaratna 1998; Rajasingham-Senanayake 1999; Peris 2006). The war escalated with competing conceptions of nationalism (Rotberg 1999; Tiruchelvam 2000; Brun 2003). Since independence in 1948, there have been several struggles in the post-colonial period of the country.

In Sri Lanka, both the Sinhalese and the Tamil communities state that their history goes back longer, up to more than 2,500 years. However, as a single nation, Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim communities have lived together without much difference among them. In Sri Lanka, there has been a long history of mutual cooperation and inter-ethnic relationship (Silva 2002; Peiris 2006). Before the colonial period, the society was divided between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in the new sense of the term. It consisted of the division between the Kandyan kingdoms in the highlands and those living on the coast (Schrijvers 1998; Rajasingham-Senanayake 2002). The boundaries of these areas changed from time to time in the course of the island's history.

However, during the post-colonial period (i.e., after 1948), some scholars defined this situation as an ethnic difference (Nissan and Stirrat 1990). The majority of the Sinhalese community lived in the south, while the Tamils predominantly lived in the northern and eastern regions (Nissan and Stirrat 1990). However, the Sinhalese and Tamil communities had traditions and customs that were similar and

could not be distinguished from one another by dress or appearance. Some of them shared certain religious values and worshiped the same gods.

However, the majority of Tamils enjoyed relatively more privileges and advantages over the Sinhalese. The Tamil groups had established relationships with the west, and they had access to better opportunities in trade, commerce, education, and professional opportunities. Also Tamil groups enjoyed better educational facilities and opportunities than the others. However, the Tamil communities living in the highlands of the British-owned plantations had only work opportunities but not educational and other opportunities (Rotberg 1999). Nevertheless, national political leaders wanted to change this difference between the ethnic majority and the minority.

However, gaining independence from the British dominion rule, the concept of political identity became stronger. After the colonial period, the practices of politics emerged, indicating ethnic and language differences between the two major ethnic groups. In the struggle for gaining political power, and in the selection of candidates, politics based on ethnic consideration appeared which created an environment for competition in the inter-ethnic groups, conflicts, and then violence. For example, political power struggles used ethnicity to compete for votes (Skinner 2005). In the year 1956, due to a rise in the Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism, an alliance of Sinhala-dominated political parties was elected to power. During the first two months of its existence, an Act of Parliament declared the state language to be Sinhalese. It made Sinhala the sole official language (Rotberg 1999). As a consequence of this event, rioting broke out in the east, which was followed by various other politics that limited the access of Tamils to university education and government jobs. This situation was exploited by the political parties to achieve their own goals and purposes. However, it was leading to a limitation of some of the rights of the Tamil people.

However, the country returned to normalcy and remained so until the Sinhalese youth created *Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna* (JVP- the People's Liberation Front) in 1971. There emerged an insurrection, organized by a youth group of the Sinhalese community to capture state power. After this first aborted attempt, they arose again and made a second attempt, launching an armed struggle in the second half of the 1980s. This resulted in large-scale violence in the southern parts of the country. The revolutionary-minded Sinhala youth, became active due to the economic decline, frustrations, and the increasing trends in dissatisfaction with the administration by the ruling party. The Tamil elite turned in another direction and started thinking of creating a separate state, which they named "Tamil Eelam." From the first half of the 1980s, they used various means to engage in armed conflicts against the Government of Sri Lanka. Finally, the organization appeared as the "LTTE," and they directly dealt with the Government of Sri Lanka. This study

mainly focuses on the armed struggle between these two parties that induced internal displacement and their settlement process.

## 2.2. The Civil Struggle and Human Displacement

In the 1970s, the Sri Lankan Tamil groups argued for devolution of power, a means for the decentralization of power, and the solution proposed was the creation of a separate state. In the 1920s, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike had proposed a federal system of government for Sri Lanka as a means of devolution of power, as a solution for the ethnic differences (de Silva 1986). But that proposal was abandoned in its early stages. During the 1956 elections, the federal party insisted on a federal solution to satisfy the needs of the Tamil people (de Silva 1986). Due to the failure of the first effort in this direction, there were strong doubts among the people and at the political level, and the Sinhalese and Tamil communities began to be suspicious about the motives of each other.

In the 1970s, the government implemented some programs, after which it was assumed that the Tamils were being treated as secondary citizens. Most of the Tamil youth believed that through educational and language policies they were being treated in an unjust manner. The Tamil people enjoyed special privileges in the past and they wished to continue enjoying them once more. As a consequence, these attitudes and beliefs paved the way for an unending conflict between the two parties. The final result of all this was the emergence of an armed group within the Tamil political arena. In 1974, an organization called Tamil New Tigers (TNT) emerged with Velupillai Prabhakaran, as the deputy leader. Later, Prabhakaran transformed this organization to engage in guerilla war under the name of LTTE (Gunaratna 1998).

In 1977, the United National Party gained ruling power and declared a new constitution. In the process, Tamil politicians were consulted about language and educational matters, and the government attempted to satisfy their demands. But the armed Tamil groups had some demands, which could not be granted and a consensus was not reached (de Silva 2000). During this stage, along with the constitutional changes, and in addition to granting some of the demands, the protection of the Tamil community was assured. Subsequently, attacks took place and some Tamil groups migrated to the western countries (Gunaratna 1998). Meanwhile, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) made demands for a separate state in the north and east, and the LTTE organization launched armed attacks against the government (Gunaratna 1998; Rotberg 1999).

The civil conflict began in 1983 when 13 Sinhalese soldiers were murdered by the LTTE. Their dead bodies were brought to Colombo and a mass funeral was organized. This was followed by an attack on the Tamil civilians within the city,



and gradually the clashes began to spread to other parts of the country. The Tamil civilians suffered and this period was called the “Black July.” In 1983, Eelam War I began in Sri Lanka. Subsequently, organized violence spread throughout the country (Skinner 2005).

The response of the Tamil guerrillas had become increasingly severe since that time (Gunaratna 1998). Since the attempts by the Tamil politicians also failed in finding a political solution, Tamil military power appeared. The 1983 riots and the exclusion of the Tamil politicians from parliament at the same time contributed to the emergence of the militant groups, particularly the LTTE, as the dominant Tamil force for a separate state. After the riots, the general support for the LTTE and a demand for a separate state increased among the Tamil population both nationally and among the Tamil diaspora. According to Rotberg, although some local Tamils gave no overt support to the LTTE they were sympathetic to its goals, if not to its methods, and financial backing came from those Tamils who fled Sri Lanka in the 1970s and the 1980s (Rotberg 1999). On the other hand, the Sri Lankan government forces responded substantially to all these clashes. Hence, the armed struggle was gradually increased between the LTTE and the government forces. However, the armed conflict in the north and east of Sri Lanka over the last two decades has led to the loss of life and limb, mass displacement of persons belonging to all ethnic groups and destruction of infrastructure, healthcare facilities and schools along with a terrible impact on all the other development processes of the country. Within these circumstances, human displacement was the main issue, which is the matter on which a durable solution could not be found.

## 2.3. Waves of Displacement

Population displacement is not a new phenomenon for Sri Lanka. It has a long history of the varying experiences and waves of displacement. In the first period of displacement in the 1970s, people emigrated from the country; both the Tamil and Sinhalese elite fled to other countries in the first mass migration, which is called the brain drain. All those who fled to western countries at this time were well-educated professionals and westernized persons. Most of these people settled in the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and Britain, while others sought employment in Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, and other South African countries (Ruhunage 1996; Wanninayake 2000). At this stage, no one considered these persons to be refugees.

The second phase of the internal displacement started in the 1960s with the return of 50% of the plantation workers to India. The Governments of Sri Lanka and India signed an agreement for this purpose. Then, steps were taken to send back 50% of the plantation workers to India.

The third phase of displacement took place in the 1970s. During this period, marked by economic decline and dissatisfaction with the Sri Lankan government

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and the Tamil political elite, Tamil frustration turned to a new kind of militancy, which saw the creation of a separate state of 'Tamil Eelam' in the north and east as the only solution. Consequently, young Tamil armed militant groups who were prepared to fight for independence took control, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) emerged as the dominant voice for Tamil Eelam. During this period, the government took action to control the armed groups in the north by establishing army camps in that area. As such, many Tamils began to migrate to foreign countries. Their major destinations were France, Germany, and other European countries. Some shifted as family units, while others emigrated disguised as refugees. This outflow accelerated during the UNP regime of 1977, and it gained further momentum after the civil conflicts in 1983 (Black July). This outflow moved on gradually till recent times, leading to the formation of a Tamil diaspora in Europe (McDowell 1996; Rotberg 1999; Van Hear 2003). During this period, visas were not required for Sri Lankans to reach European countries. The outflow of refugees to Western countries between 1980 and 1984 totaled about 195,000 (Gunatilleke 1995). In addition, and at the same time, employment-oriented economic migration started in the 1980s representing all ethnic communities, mainly to the Middle East countries and Southeast and East Asia (Wanninayake 2001; Van Hear 2003).

However, conflict-induced displacement waves that emerged since the 1983 riots have created the geographical dimension called political and economic displacement when ethnic divisions occurred in Sri Lanka. Up to 1983, more than 40% of the Tamils had lived in Sinhalese or Muslim majority areas (Gunaratna 1998). However, after 1983, most Tamils moved to the north or out of the country, and with most Tamils pushed to the north and east (but a considerable number of Tamils remained in Colombo) and the Sinhalese population pushed to the south, the regional identity of Sri Lanka was mostly divided. However, the varied displacement of population in Sri Lanka resulted in a complex situation within the processes of displacement in the country that is difficult to understand, and it is also difficult to determine reliable numbers. According to the categories developed by the Global IDP Project (2002) and the Danish Refugee Council (2000), Brun (2003) categorizes them as follows

- Refugees living in Western countries

Up to early 2001, there were estimated to be about 750,000 Tamil refugees in Western countries. In Canada, there were about 400,000, in Europe about 200,000, in the United States about 40,000, in Australia about 30,000, and in other countries about 80,000 Sri Lankans as refugees (UNHCR 2001).

- Sri Lankan refugees in India

There were more than 60,000 Sri Lankan refugees in more than 100 camps in southern India in November 1996. There were about 40,000 refugees outside the camps, mostly in Tamil Nadu (U.S. Committee for Refugees 1997). At the end of 2001, there were about 144,000 Tamil refugees in India (U.S. Committee for Refugees 2002).

- Returnees from India and other countries

It is not clear how many people have really been repatriated from India to Sri Lanka during the conflict period, but there have been many waves of people's return to the country. Many of the repatriated refugees from India were living as IDPs in Sri Lanka. There were also returnees from other countries since the late 1990s. European governments have returned rejected Tamil asylum seekers to Sri Lanka (U.S. Committee for Refugees 2001).

- IDPs in border/threatened areas

About 300,000 IDPs are believed to be in the areas controlled by the LTTE. Border areas or threatened areas were so named when the government controlled some areas and other areas were controlled by the LTTE. The displaced people were most vulnerable in these areas, as their lives were at risk because of insecurity. There were inflexible restrictions on the movement of civilians from both the government and the LTTE forces, and the LTTE have their own pass systems for controlling the movement of people (Global IDP Project 2002).

- IDPs in government-controlled areas

IDPs who were living in the government-controlled areas such as Anuradhapura, Puttalam, Polonnaruwa, Trincomalee, and Vavuniya were considered as another category. Some of the IDPs in these areas were living in camps, some with friends and relatives, and others in new settlements, and yet others were self-settled. In addition, the displaced persons in the government-controlled areas can be reached more easily to give aid and assistance. Hence, they have often been located at the same place for a longer period of time. Therefore, they have been able to start rebuilding their lives gradually. This thesis has mainly considered this category which will be shown later in the thesis.

In addition, there were many categories of displacement, which were not covered by this categorization, and particularly, it does not clearly indicate who the displaced people are. Some people planned to migrate early from the area to avoid suspicion; those who had more time to plan departed as individuals or with their families to safer areas without indicating they were displaced persons. However,

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most of the forced migrants were Tamils, Muslims, and Sinhalese people living in the border/threatened areas.

However, many of the IDPs fled together and lived together in camps or displaced areas, and their destinations may also have varied according to class. Some researchers have found that the majority of the IDPs who had been staying in camps for a longer period of time had already belonged to the poorer, lower-class and lower-caste sectors among the Tamil IDPs in the WCs in the Vanni. Furthermore, those with property and relatives, especially relatives abroad, regularly found ways to leave the WCs. According to Brun (2003), among the northern Muslims who lived in Puttalam, many doctors, lawyers, and academics were not living in the WCs, but many of them settled in Colombo or larger towns within the country. IDPs who were living in Vavuniya and Padaviya WCs could not find any upper class people; therefore, they settled in safer areas outside the WCs.

### 2.4. Internal Displacement

Internal displacement within the country has also had many phases and waves during the last few decades. Before the displacement was induced by war, another form of displacement of people took place in the post-colonial time due to the government settlement policies in Sri Lanka, which can be called development-induced displacement. It caused demographic shifts and increased tensions between the ethnic communities. The Sri Lankan government settled a large number of peasant families on government land through agricultural settlement schemes in the Dry Zone (Sri Lanka has conventionally been generalized into three climatic zones in terms of the Wet Zone in the southwestern region including the central hill country, the Dry Zone covering predominantly the northern and eastern part of the country, being separated by an Intermediate zone, skirting the central hills except in the south and the west). The government expected to alleviate landlessness, reduce the population pressure in the south, and increase the food production (Lund 1983). However, the colonization schemes had been a source of tension between the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka (Bastian 1996; Brun 2003). The first colonization schemes were established in the 'Vanni' area in the 1930s (Vanni area is the name given to the mainland area of the northern province of Sri Lanka. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, neither the Tamils nor the Sinhalese were interested in cultivating in the Vanni area (Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1990).

In the 1950s, with the economic collapse in Sri Lanka, increasing landlessness resulted in direct settling in the eastern areas of the country. From 1950 to 1958, about 43 villages were created in the east. Almost half of the settler colonies were for the Muslims and Tamils from the east coast, together with the Sinhalese and 'Veddhas,' who are the aborigines of Sri Lanka from the forest villages who had been displaced because of the building of a dam and reservoir. Many people

were moved into the newly developed areas in the northeastern parts of the country to settle in new irrigation schemes (Gal Oya, Minneriya, etc.). However, in the period in-between, the infrastructural facilities and welfare facilities such as schools and hospitals, water supplies, and the various institutions that they needed were not provided rapidly. The people who were settled had their problems in health, education, levels of possible social mobility, etc. In addition, the people who came to settle felt vulnerable and mentally displaced because of the changes in the demographic and ethnic balance, with various other consequences (Aluwihare 2000). There was another half comprising of Sinhalese villagers from the southern and central parts of the country. The Sinhalese colonists were spatially separate from the local east coast Tamils and Muslims (Tambiah 1996). However, the demographic ratio and administrative boundaries in the region were changed according to the settlers in the scheme. Furthermore, this increase changed the ethnic composition of the population in the relevant regions (Brun 2003).

Another stage of internal displacement broke out in 1958, when 12,000 displaced Tamils from the southern parts of the country settled down in the central part of the country because the Sinhalese majority forced them out of their homes. The government opened refugee camps to give shelter to these homeless Tamil people. But later, they were shifted to the northern and eastern provinces (De Fontgalland 1986). In this same period, many of the professionals and educated elite among the Tamils who were affected by violence left the country and settled in European countries. Some of the Tamil plantation workers in the Uva Province (there are nine provinces in the country of Sri Lanka and one of them is called "Uva Province") chose to move toward the Northern Province. Most of these people settled in the Killinochchi area about 40 miles away from Jaffna.

The next stage of internal displacement occurred in 1977 when violence between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities emerged, immediately after the general elections. In this violence, about 7,500 families lost their houses and property (Aluwihare 2000). Many of the Tamil persons in government services such as the railway and irrigation schemes in the north central province moved to the northern and eastern provinces. There were government camps for displaced persons in Vavuniya. Around 40,000 people constituting of 7,000 families moved to these regions between 1972 and 1977. At this time, several NGOs assisted these displaced persons in their attempts to settle themselves in areas they selected (Aluwihare 2000).

A further incidence of violence between the government police and Tamil militants emerged in Jaffna in 1981. The government ordered the military to remove terrorism from the north. Many Tamil militants left for India. In the meantime, as a result of the increased violence between the government militants and the Tamil militants, many people were displaced, for example, Tamils who were living in the

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predominantly Sinhalese areas and Sinhalese who were living in the Tamil areas (Gunaratna 1998).

A mass internal displacement process started after the riots in 1983 between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority. An armed struggle started between the government forces and the Tamil militants, particularly, the LTTE, as the dominant Tamil force, and the main armed group for a separate state, which caused mass displacement within the country. Literature often distinguishes between three phases, Eelam War I, II, and III when speaking about the mass displacement phases (Skinner 2005). Eelam War I, 1983-1987, was marked by armed disagreement between the government forces and the Tamil militants in the border regions. In July 1983, with the LTTE killing of 13 government soldiers near Jaffna, ethnic riots started in Colombo (Brun 2003). Many Tamils suffered because of the violence and lost their properties during this period. A mass exodus of displaced persons took place to neighboring India, toward the western countries, and to northeastern Sri Lanka (Gunaratna 1998). This violence rapidly increased and spread throughout the southern parts of the country, and by the end of July 1983 the Tamil speaking minorities had been displaced from the southern areas of the country. However, the 1983 communal riots persisted, making 100,000 Tamils homeless in Colombo and 175,000 elsewhere in the country (Rotberg 1999). Nevertheless, again by the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, the Tamil people occupied parts of Colombo and some other districts of the country, while the conflict between the LTTE and the government forces was ongoing.

The central part of the country also experienced conflicts in the same period (in the 1980s). There were some violence and harassments in the main towns in the upcountry where riots began, and most of the Tamil people became refugees. Although the government authority claims that 6,952 persons were living in the government schools as displaced persons, when the riots spread to other districts of the upcountry, more than 25,000 people were displaced (De Fontgalland 1986; Skinner 2005).

The government responded to this situation by setting up refugee camps to accommodate these IDPs, and these camps were called 'Welfare Centers' (WCs). Most of the WCs were set up in communal places such as school buildings or religious institutions. Because of many shortcomings in maintaining the centers, the condition of these WCs deteriorated with the spread of diseases and an alternative had to be found for this issue. Nonetheless, as a consequence of violence in 1983, approximately 200,000 people became IDPs, and this number increased day-by-day (De Fontgalland 1986).

In 1984, the LTTE began a campaign of ethnic cleansing in the north east by attacking the Sinhalese villages in the northeastern border areas. It started with the LTTE killing 62 Sinhalese people by attacking two border villages known as the

Dollar farm and the Kent farm. The Government troops responded by killing the Tamils; thus, began a cycle of violence (Gunaratna 1998).

It is believed that from 1983 to 1987, between 165,000 and 210,000 Tamils fled to India (UNHCR 1998). Additionally, 400,000 were internally displaced during this period (UNHCR 1994). The outflow of refugees to the western countries between 1980 and 1984 totaled about 195, 000 (Gunatilleke 1995). With increasing violence in the north and east, in 1985 most of the people in the areas of Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Jaffna, and Mullathivu accommodated a large number of people as IDPs in the WCs; additionally, some people were settled with their friends and relatives (De Fontgalland 1986). In 1985, LTTE attacked the city of Anuradhapura killing over 120 Sinhalese civilians and injuring pilgrims inside the sacred Sri Maha Bodhi premises (Gunaratna 1998). In this period, for security reasons, most of the Sinhalese people moved away from the border areas to areas comprising of the Sinhalese majority, and some of them were accommodated as IDPs in the WCs and the others found alternative accommodation in the houses of their friends and relatives.

The second wave of displacement began with the Eelam War II that occurred in 1990-1994 when the civil conflict was continuing. People were affected by it in several ways. This period is considered as a period of mass displacement. During this period, it is estimated that more than a million people were displaced out of which almost 80% comprised displacements in the northern and eastern regions. In October 1990, LTTE forced thousands of Muslims out of their homes in northern Sri Lanka.

Consequently, they migrated to the southern parts of the country, especially, to Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, and some other districts, which became the host areas for them. At least the displaced persons found temporary accommodation in those places (Shanmugaratnam 2000; Brun 2003; Global IDP Project 2004). The Muslim families displaced from the east, particularly those living in Batticaloa, were forced to move out by the LTTE. The final consequence was that they had to finally move further toward the south.

Subsequently, Eelam War III created another wave of internal displacement in the country. This happened during the period 1995-1999. This displacement was due to armed confrontation at this stage, and the government used a new strategy and called it "*the war for peace*." This was the beginning of several attacks on the LTTE controlled areas. As a result, more than 350,000 civilians living in the north reached the southern areas. People from Kilinochchi, Mullativu, and Mannar moved down to the Vavuniya District in the south (Gomes 2002). In 1997, the Sri Lanka army launched an attack called "Jaya Sikuru" (Certain Victory), and this was done to open the A9 public highway leading to Jaffna from the south. While this attack was launched in 1998, several other paneled attacks were launched. In 1999, the LTTE retaliated with increased strength, calling it "Oyatha Alaigal" III

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(unceasing waves). The main target of these attacks was the Sri Lankan armed forces. The attacks were so severe that the Tamil communities fled southwards for safety. Thereafter, in the year 2000, both parties launched several attacks on the opposite party. Almost every one of such attacks led to mass-scale displacement of civilians (Refugee Council 2000). The data indicate that in the year 1997, 200,000 people were displaced by the conflict, whereas in 1998 the number had increased to 603,025; in 1999, there were 612,518 displaced persons from Sri Lanka and during the years 2000 and 2001, the number of IDPs grew dramatically to 706,514 in 2000 and to 731,838 in 2001 due to the intense conflicts between the government and the LTTE. Nevertheless, with the Cease-Fire Agreement between the government and the LTTE in the month of February 2002, the armed struggle ended. The security situation had improved significantly, which resulted in the decline in the number of displaced persons. Thus, in 2002 there were 462,826 IDPs and subsequently in the years 2003 and 2004, there was a steep decline in the number of the uprooted population (386,104 in 2003 to 352,374 in 2004) (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Total displaced population in Sri Lanka during 1997-2004.

Year	Number of displaced population
1997	200,000
1998	603,025
1999	612,518
2000	706,514
2001	731,838
2002	462,826
2003	386,104
2004	352,374

*Source: 2004 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook.*

However, up to the year 2002, both parties confronted each other, and the Tamil, Sinhala, and Muslim communities were exposed to displacement. Sometimes a single individual (or a family) was displaced several times. This had literally assumed the shape of a chain. Some people had to leave their residences due to a conflict, became displaced, returned when the conflict ceased, only to be displaced again with the next conflict. However, by January 2002, due to the war, almost 200,000 people were accommodated in 346 WCs or refugee camps, according to the statistical reports of the Commissioner General of Essential Services (CGES). This included districts such as Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Ampara, Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Polonnaruwa, Colombo, and Matale.



Table 2.2. Remaining IDPs by Selected Districts - 2003.

District	In WCs			Outside WCs		Total	
	No. of WCs	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
Jaffna	88	2,528	10,266	14,921	52,820	17,449	63,086
Mullaitive	26	2,067	8,595	14,106	52,779	16,173	61,374
Vavuniya	13	2,660	10,356	9,170	35,501	11,830	45,857
Puttalam	81	9,342	34,878	695	10,635	10,037	45,513
Kilinochchi	36	2,414	10,310	8,144	33,357	10,558	43,667
Mannar	6	1,435	5,427	7,006	28,239	8,441	33,666
Batticaloa	2	120	480	7,391	31,735	7,511	32,215
Trincomalee	11	1,094	4,523	3,199	16,838	4,293	21,361
Anuradhapura	39	1,905	6,975	4,505	13,594	6,410	20,569
Colombo	1	92	454	448	3,466	540	3,920

*Source: Government Agent Offices, IDP Survey, 2004.*

In addition to the WCs (or refugee camps), some displaced persons lived with their relatives and friends, in other words, outside the WCs. And their numbers, though not documented very clearly, may be thrice the numbers recorded. Accordingly, for a while, during the year 2002 when the Cease Fire Agreement was signed, the number of aid recipients was almost 800,000. Such aid had been provided by both government organizations and NGOs (The Refugee Council, 2003). According to UNHCR reports, more than 917,000 Sri Lankans had migrated to more than 50 countries, and out of them about 115,000 were reported to be in India, according to the Refugee Council (2003). There were 65,000 in the Tamil Nadu refugee camps and another 50,000 living on their own without assistance from the Indian government (UNHCR 2003).

The LTTE gave up armed encounters, at least for some time. According to the agreement, both parties refrained from armed violence. Some IDPs, especially those living in the border villages, felt relieved as they could engage in their day-to-day activities, and some other IDPs had an opportunity to have access to their houses and property. But those who were displaced were chased away from their original villages by the LTTE and could not see a safe environment for them to get back to their original villages. The majority of those who were displaced had been engaged in constructing houses for themselves. According to the UNHCR (2003) data, IDPs who were living in the self-settled locations, the majority were found to

be living in districts away from home. Specially, Jaffna and Mullativu recorded the highest number of IDPs, and in one district, the number exceeded 60,000. In the WCs in the Puttalam District, the number accommodated was the highest.

However, by that time the Vavuniya District reached the third highest, on the basis of the number of the IDPs accommodated. The IDPs accommodated within the Vavuniya District comprised of Sinhala, Tamil, and Muslim ethnic groups. By the year 2004, the Anuradhapura District was another area where a significantly large number of IDPs found self-settlement. As the district was large in extent, displaced persons found places to resettle in locations scattered in various areas, within the district. Since Vavuniya and Anuradhapura were neighboring districts at one stage, the host community for some of the IDPs who came from Vavuniya was the Anuradhapura District. During the period 2004-2005, those displaced persons who were willing to resettle in their original villages, did so, but the others who were either unwilling or could not proceed to their original villages continued to either stay in the WCs or self-settled in locations where they could live with the host community. According to the UNHCR (2005) data, 385,384 persons resettled, while 347,475 persons continued to stay in the WCs or were self-settled in a location they selected.

## 2.5. Patterns of Displacement and Settlements

Diverse patterns of displacement and also settlement can be recognized within the country for over a period beyond three decades, up to the year 2005. First, due to the protracted displacement resulting from the civil war, the great majority of the displaced persons selected places for their self-settlement and sought the help of friends or relatives from the host area. Some of them settled down in unoccupied land or land they somehow obtained from others, while some others received government assistance to construct houses to settle down.

Second, a large number of displaced persons continued to live in the WCs for many years. The time they had lived in the WCs ranged from 9 to 20 years. The WCs were normally established on land or premises owned by the government. During the first year in some of the WCs, the IDPs were accommodated in tents or huts. Subsequently, with the help of donor agencies or the government, small houses were constructed using cadjans or zinc sheets for the roofs. In most of the WCs, after a lapse of time, the IDPs were provided with facilities to prepare their own meals. However, at the WCs, there were some rules and regulations to be adopted by the residents. There was a formalized administrative system, which was operated at the WCs. This was done to solve some problems of camp residents and also to prevent conflicts with the neighboring community as well as to settle some internal problems while ensuring security of the displaced persons.

Most of the WCs were assisted either by international donor agencies or NGOs. Specifically, UNHCR, WFO, NRC, DRC, and several local NGOs provided the much needed assistance. However, in the WCs there were many shortcomings and problems associated with living conditions, environment, space and other basic facilities such as sanitation, water, and other infrastructural facilities.

Third, many of those who were temporarily living in the secure areas including even some of the indefinitely displaced, shifted to their home areas during the day time and left by sundown, and such IDPs were called “*day and night IDPs*,” and were usually engaged in primary agricultural production activities, particularly, harvesting from their fields or looking after their property. Some of the people in the border villages, mostly in the north central, northern and eastern provinces in Sri Lanka, lived within the area of their original residence and might have had access to their property during the daytime and went back to a safe area in the nighttime (The Refugee Council 2003).

Fourth, many stayed for short periods of time in secure places at times of insecurity and threat, and returned to their homes when the situation was more secure. This pattern of displacement has been common in many cases for the IDPs: temporary movement to a more secure location for weeks or months in response to a violent incident, followed by return when the situation in the home area was deemed safe enough. Many people in the northern border areas have done this repeatedly.

Fifth, there was another pattern involving small-scale, individual or household-oriented decisions for movement. Many people from the border villages in the central part of the north and northern district fall into this pattern.

However, two features characteristic of displacement in Sri Lanka are *the duration* and *the pattern of multiple displacements*. Some IDPs, such as displaced northern Muslim families, have been unable to return to their former area of residence for many years, while some Sinhalese IDPs in the Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts have been displaced since 1985. Many IDPs in camps have been displaced for 5-15 years or longer.

Although there has been a significant return since the CFA of 2002, the process of return has slowed down and those who have not yet attempted to return will find increasingly major legal difficulties as time goes by and more land becomes reoccupied. At the same time, there are possible problems arising out of the many legal and practical issues with land rights such as disputes over land boundaries, identifying property for second generation IDPs, and former homes occupied by newcomers, as well as tensions between the resettled families and the host communities (NRC, 2005).

IDPs in and around the Vanni area are frequently on the move. As the situation of the war changes and battle lines are redrawn, the IDPs always find themselves in a fluid situation. Another trend is that those who have been living in the WCs

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for several years and the returnees from India are still waiting to go back to their original villages due to the war situation.

According to Ahmad (2001), in terms of the pattern of displacement, they can be put into four categories: a) those displaced from another district, b) those displaced within the same district, c) returnees from India and persons of concern, and d) the economically affected non-displaced people.

However, the conflict in Sri Lanka has generated at least six broad categories of displaced persons:

- Those displaced and living in camps (or WCs).
- Those displaced and living outside camps (WCs).
- Refugees who have returned from Tamil Nadu and India, and living in transit camps.
- Those who have been resettled in their original villages.
- Refugees being repatriated by Western countries.
- Refugees outside the country (Gomez 2002).

According to this categorization, the first two categories can often be included in the conflict- induced internal displacement category.

Table 2.3. Glossary of displacement-related concepts in the Sri Lankan policy context.

WC	Government or UNHCR-run displaced people's camp located either on state-owned or privately owned land
Relocated settlement	Displaced people's settlement where they have been relocated from a WC to a new site, but where they do not own their plot of land or house
New settlement	Displaced people's settlement where they have been relocated from the WCs to settlements, and where people own the plots of land for houses
Model village	A new settlement where, in addition to the standard UAS (Unified Assistance Scheme) relocation package, the government also provides infrastructure, such as community centers and schools
Resettlement	Means return to one's home area (original villages)
Relocation	Means moving from a WC to a new settlement or a relocated settlement

*Source: Adopted from Brun 2003.*

This study focuses on those a) who were displaced from the northern to the southern districts and living with the host community as self-settled IDPs, b) who have been living in the WCs for a long time, and c) who have been resettled in their original villages, with special reference to six villages from the Vavuniya and Anuradhapura districts.

### 2.5.1. Return

Political proceedings in the country since 2001 have directly manipulated the return of the number of IDPs. According to the UNHCR, nearly 365,000 have returned home or to their new villages. Their return process is activated with the support from a variety of schemes by the Government of Sri Lanka and many international and local NGOs and the international community.

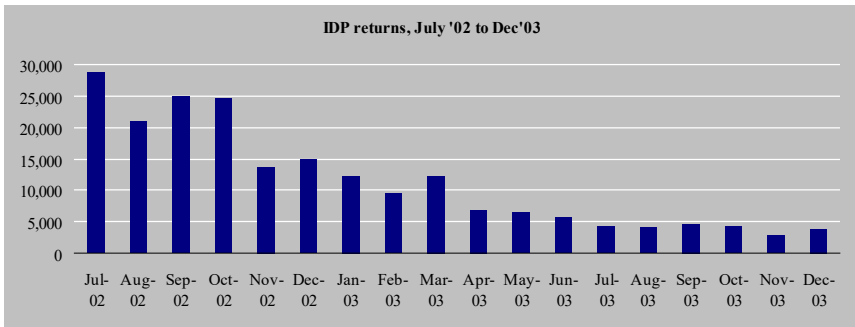
Since the CFA was signed, with almost 50% of the IDPs having returned home, the question remains as to what happens to the remaining 370,000 IDPs who are in their displaced areas. A national survey of IDPs conducted by the UNHCR (2003) and the Ministry of Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Refugees in 2003 found that 63% of the surveyed IDPs wished to return home and 25% said they wanted to remain in their area of displacement. However, the practical process was a bit different from their attitudes. The main obstacles to return mentioned by the IDPs in the WCs included inaccessibility to high security zones, poor infrastructure, landlessness, lack of employment opportunities, security concerns, and unresolved issues involving restitution of their property. Hence, the remaining number of IDPs had increased, as mentioned in the surveys in 2003.

After the signing of the CFA in February 2002 and the cessation of hostilities, as well as the improvement of the living conditions in the north east and the prospect of a permanent settlement to the conflict, some displaced families had spontaneously returned to their former homes and many others had visited their property to assess the possibility of returning. With the implementation of the Unified Assistance Scheme (UAS) of the World Bank-financed North East Emergency Reconstruction Program (NEERP) and after the CFA, IDP families returned home. In 2004, the North East Housing Reconstruction Program (NEHRP) started providing grants for the repair or construction of houses damaged by the war as part of the government's reconstruction scheme (UNHCR 2003).

According to the UN Inter-Agency Working Group on IDPs, an estimated 220,762 IDPs had returned to their areas of former residence by November 2002.

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Figure 2.1. Return of IDPs from July 2002 to December 2003.



Source: *Global IDP Project 2004*.

However, it is important to note that the majority of the IDPs had not returned and the return was gradually reduced. In view of the uncertain political climate and ground conditions in the northeast, the UNHCR continues to advise against the large-scale organized return of displaced persons. Interviews carried out by the Center for Policy Alternatives (CPA) in the northeast indicate that a majority of propertied IDPs wish to return. The findings of an island-wide survey of IDPs should determine the actual ratio of IDPs wishing to return or to relocate. The reasons for delaying their return vary greatly, depending on the ethnic groups, the size of the family, the locations of the current and former homes, the length of displacement, and current employment. These include security concerns, damage to housing, lack of infrastructure and assistance, landmines, and lack of livelihood opportunities.

### 2.5.2. Resettlement

Up to 2004, although the government policy was voluntary resettlement and no compulsion to resettle IDPs, the latter were encouraged to resettle in their original villages if they wished to settle. However, as long as they do not wish to resettle, they had an opportunity to stay in the WCs while the government and other aid agencies looked after their needs. A rehabilitation and reconstruction program was started in 1987 with the support of 22 donors, together called the Emergency Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Program. Due to the continued fighting between the security forces and the LTTE, the program could not be fully implemented (Lankaneson 2004).

Until the signing of the CFA, the problem of resettlement was tied up with the ongoing war, and the prospects of return to their original places of residence were very bleak for thousands of families in the north eastern province who had been languishing in the WCs for a number of years. The government had decided to

relocate families living in the WCs wherever possible. A new concept of resettlement in Model Villages was introduced in 1995. People from the WCs bought land in clusters with the assistance of the NGOs and well-wishers. The government provided assistance and tried to provide a socioeconomic resettlement infrastructure to allow the IDPs to undertake their normal socioeconomic life. With the signing of the MOU in 2002, the IDPs gradually began to return to their original places of residence and only the landless IDPs needed relocation. However, the resettlement process was not activated properly as wished by the government and other agencies due to many reasons. Resettlement was part of the rehabilitation of the IDPs and others who were affected. Many programs were required for the resettlers to regain their lost status and enter the mainstream society. The productive and socioeconomic infrastructure had been very badly affected in the areas of conflict. Human rehabilitation is linked to rehabilitation and reconstruction of the infrastructure. Public services such as health, education, and administration were not functioning as desired due mainly to lack of staff. Many displaced people were unable to return because their houses and surrounding areas were occupied by armed forces or paramilitary groups or by other displaced persons or because their homes were partially or fully destroyed. Many areas were contaminated by landmines and unexploded ordnances. Lack of humanitarian assistance and continuing human rights violations were major factors affecting the return of the IDPs (Global IDP Project 2005). Consequently, many IDPs had to continue living where they were, in the WCs or self-settled or living with relatives.

## 2.6. Conclusion

This chapter starts with introducing a brief history of civil war in Sri Lanka and explains the background reasons for the civil war and the reasons behind the conflict induced displacement. Different scholars identify Sri Lanka's civil conflict in different ways, such as ethnic conflict, religious conflict, political conflict, or economic/resources conflict. However, it is argued that the conflict began due to several causes, which were based on political power and resources and also ethnic identities among the Tamils and the Sinhalese. The chapter illustrates the complex situation that had developed since independence in 1948.

Although conflict induced human displacement has a long history, mass displacement started after 1983 as a result of the armed struggle being gradually increased between the LTTE and the government forces. The armed conflict in the north and east of Sri Lanka led to a loss of life, mass displacement of persons belonging to all ethnic groups, and destruction of infrastructure, and had a terrible impact on all the other development processes of the country. After 1983, some of the Tamils moved and displaced elsewhere out of the country, and with most Tamils pushed to the north and east within the country and the Sinhalese popula-

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tion centered in the south, the regional identity of Sri Lanka was mostly divided after these incidents. However, the chapter shows the varied displacement of the population in Sri Lanka, identifying the varied waves and patterns that made a complex situation within the processes of displacement in the country difficult to understand; moreover, it is also difficult to find reliable numbers. Out of the several varieties of IDPs within the country, the study mainly identifies two varieties of IDPs called Self-Settled IDPs and WCs IDPs.

However, there has been a significant return since the signing of the CFA in 2002. The process of return had slowed down, and those who had not yet attempted to return will increasingly find major legal difficulties as time goes by and more land becomes reoccupied. However, it is important to note that the majority of the IDPs had not returned, and the return was gradually reduced. Although the Government provided assistance and tried to provide a socioeconomic resettlement infrastructure to allow the IDPs to undertake their normal socioeconomic life, the resettlement process was not activated properly as wished by the government and other agencies due to many reasons. The chapter has provided an initial background with reasons, but the discussion will start from chapter 4 to 10 with field data. The next chapter will provide a theoretical and conceptual background for the process of return and resettlement.



# 3

## Internal Displacement, Settlements as well as Return and Resettlements

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### Introduction

The aim of the following chapter is to contextualize the study, introduce and clarify the central concepts, and provide a conceptual framework for the empirical chapters. The concepts and theoretical framework is, by necessity, kept very general, for the most part providing references for my own understanding of the situation. The first section (3.1.) of the chapter introduces and clarifies the concept of internal displacement using some references and provides comprehensive knowledge and related issues about the internal displacement globally. The next section (3.2.) mainly focuses on introducing settlement patterns through literature on forced migration. The third section (3.3.) brings in the factors related to the IDPs return and resettlement process, and the next section (3.4.) mainly focuses on the push and pull factors that affect the IDPs decision to remain where they settled or return to their original villages. Subsequently, the chapter addresses the factors of social, economic, and security related literature as sub-sections of section 3.4.

### 3.1. Internal Displacement

It is widely accepted that there does not exist a universally agreed-upon definition of an internally displaced person. It has only been achieved for the development

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of perfect statistics and information and for comprehensive and rational action (Cohen 1996).

According to the UNHCR, internally displaced persons can be defined as:

Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or 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 human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (UN OCHA 1999: 6).

The basic purpose of this definition is to “help identify persons who should be of concern to the international community because they are basically in refugee-like situations within their own countries” (Cohen 1996, quoted by Chimni 2000: 407).

Some of the scholars argue that on these grounds, it would be logical and understandable to prefer the term ‘internal refugees’ to ‘internally displaced persons.’ This would both recognize the ‘refugee-like’ situation of the people being referred to and make clear the distinction between them and forced resettlers, who are also displaced within their own countries but who are not in a ‘refugee-like’ situation. However, as mentioned earlier, the logic which states the use of ‘IDPs’ rather than ‘internal refugee’ is a practical, not a conceptual one; it has to do with a concern not to undermine the protection available to refugees under the 1951 Convention of the legal definition of a refugee (Chimni 2000; Turton 2003).

According to some other scholars, it is common for policies directed at IDPs to consider them as a localized group. This makes perfect sense in so far as a typical defining feature of IDPs is that they remain within the national boundary. Another aspect that may have contributed to the image of IDPs as highly localized is the tendency to flee and settle in community-based groups, and it creates a sense of village and community (Vincent and Sorensen 2001). However, field research carried out on the response strategies of internally displaced persons have shown that in order to deal with the ordeals of displacement, many internally displaced persons would have to create networks, which would not necessarily be limited to the locality, but could involve relatives, friends, or acquaintances in other parts of the country or even in other countries (Sørensen 2003). This well accepted view has come from refugee studies. Some authors use the term ‘refugee,’ which is based on a conceptualization of ‘refugeeness’ that is rooted not only in the flight and displacement of the particular individuals and groups, but also in the complex daily practices of living, constructing, networking, figuring relationships, and creating identities that such individuals and groups experience and take part in as they live in one or several host-societies. In other words, being a refugee is not a simple identity construct that emerges from one or several experiences of violence, war, persecution, and displacement from the homeland (Al-Sharmani 2004). It is in Liisa Malkki’s words, “process of becoming ... a gradual transformation, not an

automatic result of the crossing of a national border” (Malkki 1995: 114). Conversely, according to these interpretations, refugees or internally displaced persons are the product of a complicated process including war, violence, fear, insecurity, flight, displacement, marginalization as well as relationships, networks, constructing identities, and creating economic, social, and political status and other innovations.

Nevertheless, theories and concepts originally established to address refugee situations can also be used for situations of IDPs. Many studies have been conducted on refugees’ settlement, refugee assimilation, integration, repatriation, reintegration, and resettlements. Most of the international organizations and policy makers have emphasized the protection of refugee rights and assistance, and they have proposed some solutions for the refugee and displacements problems as a “Durable Solution.” They are called: *voluntary repatriation*, *resettlement in a third country*, and *local settlement*, which was also termed *local integration* in the country of first asylum. These durable solutions have been developed and promoted by the UNHCR and other policy makers. Nonetheless, recent studies and policy makers place greater emphasis on seeking a better solution for the refugee problem, and there is a big debate regarding these solutions (Jacobson 2001; Brun 2003).

The durable solutions were initiated for refugees, but they may also be applied to the concept of internal displacement (Bascom 1993; Brun 2003). The Guiding Principles on internal displacement state that return to their homes, integration where they currently reside, or resettlement in another part of the country are the main solutions to the IDP problems. When discussing IDPs, the most accepted solution to the IDP problem is repatriation or return, since most crises of displacement, even protected ones, are regarded as temporary (Jacobsen 2001; Duncan 2005). In many cases, such return can only occur when the causes of the displacement have been resolved. However, because of limited situations of safe return, repatriation or return is a poor alternative in many of the protracted conflict situations, which have ended in internal displacement. In fact, the emphasis on repatriation or return as the preferred solution may create false expectations. As this study will show, for IDPs who face situations where repatriation or return is not feasible, there is a need for more long-term solutions like integration with the host community. Because of the policy makers’ and Sri Lankan government authorities’ focus on repatriation, host community integration has become an almost forgotten solution for refugees and IDPs. This thesis attempts to show why host community integration is more important when finding a solution for the displacement problems.

According to policy makers and policy-oriented studies, displacement ends when one of these durable solutions occurs and IDPs no longer have needs specifically related to their displacement. This does not mean that they may not continue to have a need for protection and assistance, but their needs would be no different

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from those of other similarly situated citizens (Chimni 2000). Displaced people are not one homogeneous social or political category, and their circumstances of displacement vary from country to country. They are individuals with their own concerns, problems, and coping mechanisms; further, as a social category, IDPs often have very little voice, few rights under international law (unlike refugees), and an unclear political status within their own countries. Large numbers of displaced persons within a country raise serious humanitarian and human rights issues, as well as giving rise to concerns about welfare matters, living conditions, as well as land, and property issues. Moreover, continued displacement can also be a threat to security and stability (Mooney 2003; Chimni 2003). Displaced populations usually suffer marginalizing, all types of insecurities, fear and threats, particularly when they live among host populations, WCs as well as when they return to their original villages.

Regardless, when an internally displaced person comes to be referred to as one who is displaced, it also needs clarification. Conventional understanding would have one believe that the voluntary return of the displaced person to their homes or their reintegration elsewhere marks the end of internal displacement.

According to Sorensen (2003), there are many factors regarding returning home:

The final point concerns the assumption that IDPs and refugees always want to go home. The first problem that we encounter is that the term 'home' is a badly understood notion in itself. Do we mean back to where they stayed before displacement, to their birth village, to the place where they have relatives who can support them, to the place where they own land, house, or other assets, or do we mean to whatever place they feel at home or would like to make a home, or perhaps a place with good opportunities for establishing a safe and secure livelihood? (Sorensen 2003).

Can internal displacement be solved when protection is largely missing or lacking in these areas and others occupy the IDPs land and homes? For instance, in Angola, groups of IDPs voluntarily went back to their original villages, but they could not remain there because the entire infrastructure had been damaged and they had no idea about how to maintain themselves. Hence, to end the displacement process, it must be emphasized that there should be more than registering, returning, or resettling. It should include information on whether basic security and survival are assured (Chimni 2000). According to Malkki (1992), in most cases with regard to refugees, humanitarian agencies think that one of the first steps is providing a home for the settled or resettled IDPs; however, she argues that the factors related to the perception of peoples' identity as rooted within the territory should also be considered. She named it 'territorialisation of national culture' (Malkki 1992). Hence, it should be better understood how the IDPs have already prepared for their settlement in their displacement areas or host communities. According to many

researchers and institutions, there are different types of settlement patterns that can be identified among the IDPs, such as self-settlement, assisted settlements, camps or organized welfare centers, local settlement, or relocation, etc. (Jacobsen 2001; Oxfam 2005). As a consequence of these different types of settlements and situations, people have dissimilar ideas about their situation of living standards, their willingness to return or stay further in a host area or motivation to settle in a new place. The causal relations for the situation would be that the IDPs would be more attracted toward or pull toward the host community due to their settlement pattern among the host area. For instance, many scholars have shown that the self-settled IDPs are more attracted to the host community/area than camp refugees because of their networks, livelihood situation, and security situation that they have built in the host area (Jacobson 2001; Hovil 2007). In the case of Sri Lanka, this study mainly finds that the relationships between the IDPs and the hosts, including the social, economic and security relationships, are more important when they decide whether to return to their original villages or remain in the host areas and communities.

## 3.2. Internal Displacement and Settlement Patterns

Literature on forced migration depicts different types of settlement patterns among refugees. There are multiple groups of refugees at any one time, from different countries or at different periods. All groups can be summarized as several types of settlement patterns or settlement groups, such as *self-settlement*, *assisted settlement*, *camps* and *local settlements* (Jacobson 2001; Corsellis, Tom and Antonella Vitale 2005).

*Self-settlement* can be seen as “*dispersed settlement*,” “*spontaneous settlement*,” or “*self-directed settlement*.” *Self-settlement* occurs when refugees settle amongst the host community without direct government or international assistance officially. They share a local household or set up in a temporary house close to the host people, and are helped with shelter and food by the host or relatives and friends’ families and the community (Jacobson 2001; Evans 2007). *Assisted settlement* for refugees takes a variety of types, but all of them are usually on a temporary basis, particularly in the rural areas. *Local settlement* and *camps* remain as usual. Often, in urban areas, refugees are settled in mass shelters, in public buildings or communal places such as schools, temples, churches, etc. Anyway, this type of accommodation is usually on a temporary basis, as the host community needs these places for their work in the future. But in many cases for internally displaced persons, the basic settlement places such as public buildings become permanent housing for them while getting other assistance from the aid agencies.

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*Camps or Welfare Centers (WCs)* are built for the purpose of providing shelter for refugees in safer areas, usually close to the border in rural areas. However, there is a UNHCR regulation, which indicates where camps are to be built. Camps or WCs are always situated in conflict areas or very close to the border areas, and they are controlled by the UNCHR and the host government. NGOs delegated by the UNHCR provide food distribution and services such as facilities for schooling, healthcare, and water and sanitation services. These settlements are also fixed in an emergency phase and on a temporary basis. However, in many cases, these camps become permanent fixtures and remain populated for many years. For instance, there were Cambodian refugee camps on the Thai border for an extended period from 1979-1992 (Jacobson 2001).

*Local settlements* can be referred to as organized settlements and planned like a newly created village, especially prepared for refugees, but they are different from camps. They are expected to be self-sufficient up to the time of their repatriation. In Africa, particularly Uganda, Tanzania, and Sudan have widely used this kind of settlement, and they consider this settlement pattern as an alternative to keeping refugees in camps (Jacobson 2001).

Under the policy of local settlements, there are some needs and goals of the host government and donors, such as ultimate repatriation. It means that at the local settlements, they would be considered as being there on a temporary basis. But in the case of the agricultural settlements of Uganda and Tanzania, the goal was engagement in agriculture or economic development of the region, and the settlements were seen as part of the regional development strategies (Zetter 1995). However, according to some studies, local settlements are not necessarily intended to enable local integration; probably, they are intended to prevent it, because there is a limited freedom of movement within the region of the host government (Kibrebab 1989). Settlements are controlled by the UNHCR or by NGOs for a number of years, or until they become self-sufficient. Then, the settlement could be handed over to the host government, and they can be integrated into the local district. However, the settlement program has been unsuccessful due to high costs (Stein 1991). Nevertheless, there are a variety of refugee settlements.

Although all these settlement types and patterns are related to introducing refugee settlements, these patterns can also be used to identify the IDPs settlement patterns within their own country. Camps or WCs and organized settlements are usually controlled by the UNHCR and international NGOs and national NGOs who often help in various ways. The IDP settlement patterns can be associated with different views and ideas with regard to their desire to remain with the host community and unwillingness to go back. Because camp refugees have been kept away from the host community by the government or aid agencies in many cases, they do not have a chance to build much relationship with the host community.

This thesis will show the relationship between the settlement patterns with the host community and the IDPs willingness to remain further in the settled areas.

A refugee settlement is rarely fixed, but up to some extent it is in accordance with the situation in which refugees settle: the length of the stay, the size of the displaced population, and the ratio of the displaced to the host community, their coping strategies, local socioeconomic and security conditions, and the actions of the local and national authorities (Jacobson 2001). Most of the time, refugees arrive at different places in a series of waves and initial waves, and their settlement differs from the later ones. Every wave has its own characteristics. The general condition of the refugees and their degree of destitution vary widely among the different waves (Van Damme 1999). During the course of their stay, very often they move between different types of settlements. In some cases, refugees use the camps as part of a broader household strategy of survival. The workers of the refugees' extended family might live in the local community where they can cultivate or find an income for their dependents (Evans 2007).

Many refugees self-settled in the border areas, developed their own coping mechanisms, and became to some extent self-sufficient, but to varying degrees, depending mainly on the density of the refugees and the degree of integration with the host community (Van Damme 1999). Refugees were often unwilling to be relocated in camps, and in some cases, refugees moved out of camps and became self-settled (Jacobson 2001). Some refugees or displaced persons avoid camps because they are employable or because they have a relative in the host community. Others, however, may have a more unknowable reason, for example, persons with an unusually strong need to maintain personal autonomy or those who are involved in political, intellectual, or economic gain may feel hampered by the camp location (Connor 1989; Evans 2007). In general, only a minority of the refugees entered the camp in an organized settlement; the majority became self-settled (Kok 1989). In some cases, the opposite may also have happened (Jacobson 2001). However, although there are many examples of refugees willing to stay as self-settled in the host communities, there is a debate about it.

The best type of settlement for both refugees and hosts has been debated in the refugee literature for years (Kuhlman 1994; Zetter 1995). Many studies have examined different settlement situations (Bascom 1993; Hovil 2002), but only a few studies have systematically compared the different types of settlements (Bakewell 2000; Hovil 2002, 2007). Nonetheless, the majority of studies regarding refugees have taken place among organized settlements or camp refugees (Kuhlman 1994). But the debate on whether unstructured self-settlement or organized camps is the better option for refugees rages on (Harrell-Bond 1998). This is not only relevant to the case of refugees, but may also be applied to the self-settled IDPs and welfare center-IDPs.

### 3.3. Return and Resettlement

The notion that refugees ‘would return home if conditions changed’ (Krulfield and Macdonald 1998: 125) has evolved from a basic equation of return = homecoming to a more sophisticated debate (quoted from Muggeridge and Dona 2006: 415).

Both policy makers and academics have, primarily, argued that return home at the end of the refugee cycle, is a stable condition, as well as the ideal durable solution to the refugee crises (Cuny and Stein 1990; Allen and Morsink 1994). At the end of the 1990s, the idea that return was the ultimate point of the cycle where refugees could be restored back ‘home’ was questioned (Black and Koser 1999). Studies of refugees who had gone back ‘home’ indicated the complexity of their experience, characterized by economic, psychological, and social difficulties as obstacles to return (Ghanem 2003; Bascom 2005).

Research on going back could be perceived as covering two main trends: imagining the return and the reality of post-return. Return is an imagination, through concepts like the meaning of home and belonging and remembering of the past (Said 2000; McMichael 2002; Schulz 2003) and the major concept of the myth of return (Al-Rasheed 1994; Zetter 1999; Israel 2000). Return has been represented as a complete ideological system and an image of the future, and it is the only end-solution to the existing issue (Schulz 2003). But the reality of post-return focuses attention on challenges like those researched in the contexts of post-conflict reconciliation and re-integration (Dona 1995; Kumar 1996; Long and Oxfeld 2004; Arowolo 2000). The gap between pre- and post-return is connected by studies that emphasize the impact of return on exiles (Farwell 2001; Rousseau et al., 2001), return as one period of ongoing migration (Ossman 2004), and the experience of a visit home (Israel 2000; Barnes 2001) as a ‘provisional return’ (Muggeridge and Dona 2006). Consequently, this study examines return in fluid terms as IDPs may reside in both places “*dual residence*,” and it takes into consideration the struggle and obstacles with the socioeconomic and political issues in addition to the subsequent relationships with the home and the host community following their return, and whether this is a decision to return permanently or not.

### 3.4. Factors Affecting IDPs Attraction to the Host Community

Although many studies have been conducted regarding the relationships between refugees and the host communities (Chambers 1986; Kok 1989; Voutira and Harrel-Bond 1995; Whitaker 2002; Duncan 2005), rather than on IDPs and the host communities, the models of analyses in those studies can be used for studying the relationships between the IDPs and the host communities. General migration the-



ories and refugee studies focus almost exclusively on the push side in the field and tend to disregard or give little attention to the other aspect, which comprises pull factors (Assal 2007). Due to the predominance of the categories of the refugees and other displaced persons from 2005, attention has been focused largely on the question of why people are forced to move to a place, rather than examine why they stay further in the host area and are attracted to stay there (Assal 2007). In this research, I use pull factors as attraction to the host community/area, and push factors are considered as obstacles to returning and settling in the original villages.

### 3.4.1. Push and Pull Factors in Displacement, Return and Resettlement

The push and pull perspective has played an important role in research related to labor migration, and to some extent in refugee and displacement movements (Sorensen 1996). It differs from the other factors discussed by focusing on the structural causes of movement rather than on the impacts of displacement and resettlement. It highlights the motivations and expectations of migrants or displaced persons. As this research focuses on the factors affecting the IDPs willingness to stay further in their host communities and their unwillingness to return to their original villages, the push and pull perspective is relevant to the analysis.

In the last century, a large number of people moved from rural to urban areas. The push and pull model aims to identify those socioeconomic and political factors that force people to leave their hometowns, on the one hand, as well as the factors that attract people to the new locations, on the other hand. Push-pull factors suggest that circumstances at the original place of residence push people out to other places that exert a positive attraction or pull. This model can be approached from two different angles. First, it concentrates on the institutional factors in the socioeconomic and political context in which the specific conditions of the various regions are shaped. Second, from the perspective of individual migrants, it focuses on the decision-making process in which the different push and pull factors are assessed and acted upon (Assal 2007).

When it comes to trying to specify the particular reasons for flight, particularly in the context of war-induced forced displacement, the pressures mainly include discrimination, violence, real or feared discrimination, and experiences of suffering. For many people, the decision to start in a new area is not a result of growing local pressures and fear alone. However, it should also be seen as a response to the attractions and promises that the place of destination presents. Among the most regular or common pull factors mentioned in the literature is demand for labor, availability of land, and good economic opportunities (Castless and Miller 1993). For refugees or IDPs, the hope of getting asylum and being able to live a peaceful life are common factors pulling them across borders.

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According to some scholars, a push and pull perspective or framework was combined with the sociological and anthropological approaches that gave more emphasis to the integration processes and to the role of social networks based on kinship relationships or other links with people (Van Hear 1994; Assal 2007). However, later, many scholars used it to identify the transnational networks among migrant refugees through the relationships with relatives and friends (Assal 2007).

This model draws our attention to the importance of considering the motivation and expectations of migrants, which are closely linked to the experiences and reactions of people displaced or to be displaced in their movement. This framework can be used in analyzing the resettlement issues, as it emphasizes the linkages that exist between the IDPs original villages and the host community (destination), but this dimension, which is very important, has been neglected by researchers (Sorensen 1996). Particularly in the issue of war-induced displacement, mainly in the internal displacement context, the push factors can be approached from two different ways. This research concentrates first on the push or dislocation of people from the original areas since fear or intimidation has been created by the conflict. Second, it deliberates on factors as obstacles when IDPs return and resettle in their original villages. The pull approach is used in this study for identifying the factors, which basically affected the IDPs attraction toward the host community.

### 3.4.2. Social Relationships: IDPs and Host Relations

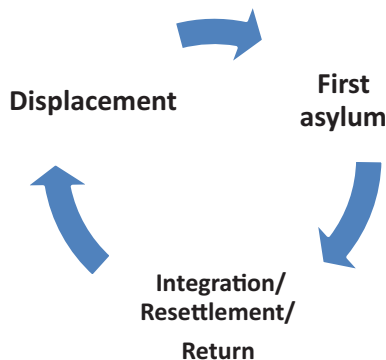
Building on the increasing recognition is important to examine the relationship between displaced people and their hosts (Chambers 1986; Kok 1989; Voutira and Harrel-Bond 1995; Whitaker 2002). When refugees or IDPs are welcomed and accepted by the hosts, they will be better able to access livelihoods and other needs without any help from the other parties such as government authorities and other national and international authorities (Bakewell 2000). However, building successful relationships between the IDPs and the host community will have an impact on the IDPs willingness to stay further and will have consequences when they continue their life in the host community without returning. This research concerns family network, kinship, friendship, and interethnic relationships as social relationship/networks in the settlement process of the IDPs in the host community and emphasizes the importance of this relationship as a factor for the IDPs to remain in the host community. In this research, I consider strong social relationships/networks between the IDPs and the hosts as a factor for attracting IDPs to stay in the host community and weak relationship/network between the IDPs and the original villages (with other ethnic groups) as a factor that contributes to push people from the area/community. Family and kinship relations comprise one of the main social relationships among the IDPs and hosts.

### Family and Kinship Relations

In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars studied the process of chain migration and the role played by the kith and kin in providing information and facilitating migration (see for instance Anderson, 1974; Hugo, 1981). However, by the late 1980s, the role of social networks in the field of migration turned toward the settlement and integration of people in the host countries (Boyd 1989). There now exists many ways of conceptualizing and studying family, kinship, friendship, and community relationship as key factors in international migration.

In the context of displacement and settlement process in Sri Lanka, adequate literature could not be found in order to understand the role of family and kinship networks. However, according to studies from some other countries, family networks and strong kin and lineage relations are important in most villages, among all the ethnic groups and the regions since they provide a sense of belonging, solidarity, and protection to the same group of people (Fleischer 2007; Evans 2007). According to recent experiences, social relations with relatives, kin, and friends have played a vital role in providing protection in the process of displacement and settlement (Evans 2007). This role has been augmented during the last couple of decades in the war situation, in finding a place to stay. There are various forms of networks formed for material and emotional support during both displacement and settlement. The decision to move to a certain destination or to stay further is affected by the presence of relatives or friends.

In the 2000s, a growing amount of literature was found on global networks, diasporas, and communities of refugees and migrants, sustaining a variety of relations with kith and kin in diaspora settings (Van Hear 2003; Schulz 2003). According to Black and Koser (1999), there is a cycle comprising of: *displacement* > *first asylum* > *integration/resettlement/return*.



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As some scholars have shown international migration of people may operate and link with a broader social field such as place of origin, in neighboring countries of first asylum, and in the wider diaspora. One of the central aspects of transnational activities is family and kinship networks. Among the extended family or relatives, those who have been displaced or need help may find some support from the link or network of diaspora (Van Hear 2003; Schulz 2003). However, this aspect can be used in identifying help among relatives and friends when people are displaced in the context of internal displacement within the country or region. Such a kinship, friendship, and other relationships among the people can be scattered in various places even within the country or region, but the link activates when their needs arise.

It is widely believed that according to the IDPs settlement pattern and their pre-existing relationship with the host area, it is more important to build a new relationship with the host community. Getting help from relatives for accommodation was similarly crucial for the IDPs. Many self-settled IDPs often lived with or near relatives who were already established (van Damme 1999; Evans 2007). The importance of support from relatives for accommodation and other livelihoods needs was also clearly related to the IDPs lack of means, which gave them little possibility of relief and assistance independently, at least in the first instance (Evans 2007). These dynamics reinforced many displaced people to self-settle in the host area. So, to build relationships between IDPs and hosts, background relationship factors, such as former kinship, friendship, and other relationships with each other were viewed as important. According to some research on the migration field in different countries, the three most important types of social relations are: familial, friendship, and co-ethnic relations, based on a shared origin (Boyd 1989; Herman 2006). These relational ties have different degrees of strength (Paldam 2000). Although in individual cases this order may be different generally, the co-ethnic ties are the weakest while the family bonds are the strongest. Among familial relations, a further differentiation is made between distant relatives and a person's immediate family (Herman 2006).

However, the social relationship between the IDPs and the host people varied from person to person (Corner 1989). In contrast, the local population includes a variety of socioeconomic groups, for example, wealthy farmers and businessmen, poor peasants, local authorities such as chiefs and village leaders, and so on (Jacobson 2001). Some IDPs and the host would develop a positive relationship, while some others would create a negative or neutral one. In general, according to many refugee studies, local people's (host community) initial unwillingness to assist and accommodate refugees within the community changes with time, due to security problems and resource burdens. Within the host community, the initial sympathy and willingness to help the refugees often turns into resistance when they are perceived as creating or aggravating these problems (Jacobson 2001).

In Sri Lanka, when the northern Muslim IDPs were settled in Puttalam, the host people played a significant role during the first stage in their reception, but the aid agencies more or less forgot how important they were as actors in the processes of displacement and integration. This had been pushed aside as a dissatisfaction and suspicion among the local people (Stepputat and Sorensen 2001; Brun 2003).

However, according to numerous researchers, the relationships between the refugees and the hosts are affected by a variety of factors such as economic and social burdens, social relationships, and the security problem of both groups, etc. (Jacobson 2001; Duncan 2005). Hence, on the one hand, tensions can arise among communities. According to Duncan (2005), this potential for conflict cannot be ignored, as it clashes between the indigenous communities and migrants and can initially be created in many of these IDP situations. This research finds the benefits and the burdens of the relationship between the IDPs and the host communities in relation to both communities.

When discussing the relationships between the IDP and the host community, another important factor that emerges is the beliefs and expectations held by both communities. According to Bakewell (2000), refugees can view repatriation and temporariness in different ways.

In many cases, refugees may want to maintain their national identity and attachment to their country of origin by remaining marked out with special status and treatment. However, there are also likely to be many, like the self-settled Angolans in Zambia, who having fled from their country, wish to establish new lives as “normal” people among those where they settle (Bakewell 2000: 372).

However, in many protracted situations, the belief in temporariness proves to be false as refugees either do not return or new arrivals take place. As mentioned earlier, in many cases host communities become upset about the arrival of refugees into the area because of perceived security threats and economic burdens. However, the evolution of attitudes from the initial stage: reception, assistance by host communities, increasing jealousy or envy, fear about threats and burdens, etc., is important in order for the IDPs to decide whether to stay for prolonged periods in the host community.

However, in some cases, host communities have different views of the temporariness of refugees. In a study of Zambia, Oliver Bakewell shows that there may be other factors that influenced an increase in refugees from Angola in the 1980s.

The people followed the patterns of migration laid in earlier generations and many came to Zambia and joined their kin who had arrived before (Bakewell 2000:360).

According to him, after the initial arrival of some Angolans, refugees settled in the host community and started to grow their own livelihoods and ultimately they

became members in the host community. Many of the people do not consider themselves as refugees (Bakewell 2000). The concept of temporariness is not only related to discussing the refugee and host community relationships, but can just as well be applied to discussing the IDPs and host community relations.

### 3.4.3. Economic Relationships and Livelihoods: IDPs and Host Relations

The study of livelihoods has generally been followed in the disciplines of economics and anthropology as well as in development studies. “Livelihoods” generally refer to the means used to maintain and sustain life and in particular, it refers to the resources, including household assets, capital, social institutions, and networks (kin, village, authority structures), and the strategies available to people through their local and global communities (Jacobsen 2002). However, there is considerable literature on refugee-host relations and the impacts of refugees and forced migration on host countries; much of this focuses on livelihood opportunities, constraints, and competition because livelihood issues are so central to refugee-host relations in most contexts (Porter et al., 2008). Chambers and Conway (1992) define livelihoods as constituting capabilities of people, tangible and intangible assets, and activities undertaken to make a living. Jacobsen’s livelihood definition is more relevant for situations of IDPs and host relations:

In communities facing conflict and displacement, livelihoods comprise how people access and mobilize resources enabling them to increase their economic security, thereby reducing the vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict, and how they pursue goals necessary for survival and possible return (Jacobsen 2002:99).

Economic relationships and livelihood situation are important and influential factors for the IDPs to determine the place of residence. In this study, economic factors and livelihood include access to land for cultivation and residential purposes, opportunities to continue former occupations, availability of infrastructural facilities, farming and trading, and financial aid and relief. The study found that the availability of these factors in the host community acted as a key *pull factor* or attraction to the host community. Conversely, the lack of the same economic factors in the original areas of residence acted as a key *push factor* or obstacle for returning.

Some studies argue that integration into the host community can be very effective for both refugees and their hosts, but they argue that this tends to relate only to the specific contexts where the population density is relatively low, implying a labor shortage, where the refugees or IDPs belong to the same ethno-linguistic group as their host community, or where there has been a history of displacement between the original villages and the host communities. In these situations,

the refugees or IDPs are able to build adequate livelihoods without generating unnecessary competition with the host community. However, some studies have shown that integration into an urban area or the most popular places is often less successful, both for displaced people and hosts, particularly where there is lack of resources and livelihood struggles occur and where the administration of the host community imposes administrative rules which hamper refugee/IDP opportunities to make a living (Black and Sessay 1997).

On the other hand, the perceived benefits of regular aid and relief of food and other goods and assistance in the welfare centers can motivate envy in poor host communities (Lawrie and van Damme 2003; Brun 2003). Economic suffering among the IDPs is a related concern in many cases of the IDPs settlement in the host communities. Lack of access to arable land is a recurrent factor undermining the livelihoods of displaced people among the hosts. In rural reception areas, this is sometimes mitigated by the capacity of local social and economic structures to provide alternative access to land or other productive resources (Black and Sessay 1997; Leach 1992).

Moreover, some studies have argued that regardless of whether displaced people are in camps or settled with the host people, the host regions, administratively, often consider that the result of refugee or IDP settlement is ripe with challenges, such as excessive resource demands and associated environmental degradation, as well as security threats (Jacobson 2002). A potential lack of access to formal employment may result in the 'refugees/IDPs' involvement in the informal sector or illicit activities such as sex trade or drugs. Hence, the innovative livelihood strategies of the displaced people (rather than any "dependency pattern") may become the cause of the host community opposition (Jacobson 2002; Kibreab 2003). The potential impact on the livelihoods of the poorer hosts was raised two decades ago by Chambers (1986), who emphasized the particular dangers in land-scarce, labor-abundant regions. A study by Whitaker (2002) on refugees in western Tanzania emphasizes the significant diversity of experience, in terms of impact on the host livelihoods, showing that the host experiences are strongly influenced by their gender, age, class, settlement patterns, the local socioeconomic situation, and host-refugee relations.

IDPs who are among the host communities generally survive by sharing the food and resources with the host communities and taking advantage of the income generating opportunities that exist in the host community. This positions the host families and the host community's work as an informal instrument of a humanitarian aid agency or NGOs, by saving lives, building flexibility, and providing necessary services. Increasing the support to host families and host communities through suitable and targeted programs can ease the burden of hosting by enhancing their flexibility, decreasing possible tensions, and helping the IDPs to survive. In contrast, it is important to identify when hosting may distort the IDPs and their

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hosts' livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms and consider ways to avoid this.

On the other hand, IDPs in host communities usually find greater opportunities for work, business, food production, etc. among other advantages than those who stay in the WCs. Joblessness, dependency, or an inability to adequately maintain their livelihood undermines one's self-respect. Income-generation or work opportunities in the host communities can contribute to self-sufficiency and raise the living conditions of the IDPs. The closer the proximity of the IDPs home and the area in which they are assisted, the easier their decision to maybe return home when conditions are acceptable, or to visit their home areas occasionally to protect their property or cultivate the fields. It may be difficult for IDPs to judge when is the right moment to return if their displacement is far from home and far from their former means of livelihood. This factor usually influences their decision to stay with the host families or host communities close to their home areas, rather than going to the WCs.

As noted earlier, literature on refugees, displacement, and migration show relationship/networks among family members and relatives linked to broader social field as well as they represented economic relationships among the refugees with their homes and with other asylums among their relatives. Nicholas Van Hear (2003) provides some evidence from the international experience from Sri Lankan refugees in the western world. He shows how, as elsewhere, migration and remittances have contributed to the survival and reconstruction of refugee households, both directly and indirectly. Remittances from asylum centers have helped to sustain displaced and war-affected people in and outside the welfare centers. In this sense, as a result of the long-term displacement, the IDPs who are living in the host areas, both in and outside of the WC or among the relatives may have created their livelihood and coping mechanism within the host area by themselves. But its economical capacity may be seen at a varying level according to the personal skills, family and kin support, settlement pattern (in WCs or self-settled), and duration within the host community.

### 3.4.4. Fear and Insecurity: IDPs and Hosts, Return and Resettlement

Fear and insecurity are often the main causes of forced migration and displacement. The definition builds on those for refugees and IDPs, as codified in international law. However, the literature on this topic is interdisciplinary and broad and includes many approaches (Moor and Shellman 2004). Some scholars who have given an alternative approach, charted in the literature, as taken by Davenport et al. (2003), begin with the choices of individual human beings. They argue that it is important to conceptualize people as making a choice to leave. They observe that in any given event of displacement, although many and sometimes most people



leave, others stay or return. To explain why many individuals would leave, they identify the major point of agreement in the literature; people abandon their homes and are reluctant to return when they fear for their freedom, physical person, or lives (Moor and Shellman 2004). In particular, borderline or border villages are characterized by a high occurrence of fighting, violence, the presence of both armed parties, and threats (Benedikt 2002).

Fear and insecurity in the process of displacement is common and is important in several situations: *periods in displacement, staying in camps or living with the host community* and when choosing to *return and resettle*. Fear and insecurity process can be activated in different ways in the first stage of displacement, and it would be the main reason for people's exile from home. This happening might include coercive measures such as forced labor, land elimination, illegal taxation, and compulsory, non-viable cropping in the case of farmers, and particularly, life threats from the armed groups. These events generally act cumulatively over time, producing declining levels of human security for the families in a community. At this point, leaving home without returning may appear to be the best or only option. In this context, people tend to leave as individuals or as family groups, though the whole community may gradually migrate over a period of years.

In the next phase, fear and insecurity generally manifest again during the displaced people's settlements. However, whether the safety and physical security of refugees are greater inside or outside of camps is an empirical question. Obviously, self-settlement is safer when camps are targets for attack by rival military. Self-settled refugees are not subjected to the insecure conditions of the camp. However, there are security problems that influence even self-settled refugees within the host community (Jacobson 2001). It is argued that since refugees are regularly fleeing from the zone of violence, they are potential agents of insecurity and will disturb the stability of the host area. In addition, the presence of large camps, separate from the surrounding population, inevitably generates gossip and suspicion (Hovil 2007). Many policy makers argue that allowing refugees to integrate freely among the host community will somehow lead to social tension. However, according to Lucy Hovil (2007), sometimes reality is different from the above argument, indicating that some refugees spoke of their relationship with the host community in positive terms.

Although there is another assumption that camps offer greater security for camp refugees, some studies clearly confirmed that the settlement structure is unable to guarantee the refugees security, and there is growing evidence that settlements create an easy collective target for their pursuer and other rebel groups (Hovil and Moorehead 2002). However, as a result of the insecurity of the settlement, refugees pave the way to leave the camp or decide not to register as a refugee and relocate in a different place (Hovil 2007).

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The feelings of fear and insecurity arise again in the next phase when refugees or other displaced people return to the original villages, after the conflict between the two parties are resolved. A sustainable return is mainly linked with the security situation of the original villages, particularly, physical and material security and constructive relationship between returnees, civil society (original villages), and government (or regional authorities). There are five types of insecurities to be addressed: physical, social, psychological, legal, and material insecurity (Chimini 2003). The absence of conditions that ensure security on all these types of security could force the refugee or displaced person to seek a safer place again.

Although ensuring the security situation in the original villages, usually people often talk about safety upon return and these concepts being incorporated into the decision to return. Official declarations of safety and personal perceptions differ, and even after assurances from trusted sources were received, anxiety about return often persisted. According to Muggeridge and Dona (2006), in the case of African refugees who settled in the U.K. in 2001, their return was dependent on several factors. Reasons to return after a long time were many and interlinked, and some decisions were made with a degree of force or pressure. Most respondents cited conditions of safety to be a main factor or reason for returning home (Muggeridge and Dona 2006).

In the case of Sri Lanka, although the Ceasefire Period was in force from 2002–2006, the majority of people who were displaced (Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims) in the border regions of Vavuniya and Anuradhapura refused to return to their original villages. Many research reports and surveys done by the government and other agencies show that one of the main factors was the security situation and physical safety in the area (DRC 2003; IDP Global Project 2004, 2005). Return in the aftermath of violence or fear and insecurity results in an unexpected dilemma. When displaced people return to their original villages after a period of time, re-integrating without fear and insecurity with their neighbors or new comers is a difficult challenge. One of the main factors that pushed people from the original areas was fear and insecurity. Thus, with the presence of fear, reconciliation is one of the most challenging processes in laying the groundwork for a sustainable resolution of displacement, particularly in connection with return.

### 3.5. Conclusion

The aim of the above chapter was to introduce and clarify factors that affect IDPs decision to remain in the host community, or to return to their original villages after being displaced from their homes. The chapter introduces varied factors that can influence the IDPs decision to return or remain in the host community after a long period of displacement. For the explanation of this situation, the study could not identify a single leading variable. Thus, the chapter examined multiple inde-

pendent variables (i.e., social, economic, and security factors). Consequently, the research has identified that the factors are very complex and that they influence each other. In order to understand the functions of the variables and the impact on the decision to return or to remain, the study applied a *push-and-pull* perspective.

Theoretically and conceptually, the chapter has developed a new conceptual framework/model of social relationships, livelihood strategies, and security perceptions by using the existing literature and new practical understanding (presented in chapter 1 with figure 1.1.). The conceptual framework has contributed to understanding the issues in the field of displacement, settlement, and return and resettlement. This framework can be used for analyzing resettlement issues, as it emphasizes the linkages that exist between the IDPs original villages and the host communities (destination) when finding a resolution for the return and resettlement issues. The factors that were found to be important for the IDPs decision to return or remain in the host communities after a long period of displacement will be discussed in the next parts of the thesis.

This concludes the conceptual part of this dissertation. The next chapters elaborate the empirical aspects of the analysis. The two parts – conceptual and empirical – are however closely intertwined. Thus, the conceptual framework detailed in this chapter has (as indicated earlier in section 1.4.10) informed of the processes of data collection and interpretation. Also, the conceptual framework is reflected in the organization of the empirical parts of the thesis. Hence, Chapters 5-7 examine respectively the social, economic, and security factors, which attract (as pull factors) the IDPs into the host community, and Chapters 8-10 will examine respectively the social, economic, and security factors that act as obstacles to returning to the original villages (as push factors). For assessing these two parts and comparing the situations, the study looks at the background situation in the original villages (in chapter 4) before the IDPs became displaced.



# 4

## Background Situation in the IDPs Original Villages before Displacement

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### Introduction

This chapter consists of two sections. First, it focuses mainly on the situation of the IDPs and their original villages before their flight and displacement (situation before 1990s), in terms of their social relationships, livelihoods, and coping strategies as well as issues of life (in)security in sections (4.1.), (4.2.), (4.3.), and (4.4.). It should be noted that the background of socioeconomic and security situation is relevant to compare with the new situation faced by the IDPs after their return to the original villages (chapters 8, 9, and 10 focus on the new situation of the original villages during the returning period in 2002-2006). Further, in sections (4.5.) and (4.6.), there will be an account of the initial period of violence, expulsion, flight, and displacement, including how the IDPs arrived to safer areas, who accepted them, and what were the patterns in their settlement after displacement. Most of the descriptions of the IDPs original villages in this section are thus taken from the field data, combined with the literature from available reports and documents. This is very general discussion in order to provide an idea about the situation in the original villages. First, I will describe the background information on the original villages in Vavuniya South, Weli-Oya Divisions, and northern areas. Second, I will examine their experiences of flight and pattern of displacement.

## 4.1. Background Situation before Exile - *Vavuniya South*

Vavuniya South consisted of traditional villages, where both Sinhalese and Tamil people lived and were threatened by the war and displaced at the same period. Both Sinhalese and Tamil people lived in the same villages, and they were displaced in 1985. All these villages were considered as *traditional villages* in Vavuniya South. However, most of these villagers resettled in their villages after the ceasefire agreement in 2002. However, the reality was different from the reported data; in some villages such as *Varikuttuooruwa* and *Paleooruwa* people did not resettle properly. There were many reasons for this situation, which will be identified in the next analytical parts of the chapters. The study selected two villages in this area, named *Varikuttuooruwa* and *Paleooruwa*.

*Varikuttuooruwa* and *Paleooruwa* were rural villages located 12 km from the Vavuniya town. They were relatively large villages inhabited by the Sinhalese and Tamil people in the Vavuniya South DS Division. *Varikuttuooruwa* was a village where the Sinhalese and Tamils lived together, and it was considered as the last Sinhalese village in the Vavuniya South DS Division. There were 320 families until the start of the war between the LTTE and the Government forces. In the 1980s, the village was developed under the 'Gam Udawa' house scheme project (a million houses scheme). It was the housing scheme proposed and implemented by the former President R. Premadasa in 1987.

The majority of the people were engaged in agricultural-based employment for their livelihood, particularly, paddy cultivation and *chena* cultivation. Some of the people looked after cattle, while doing some other daily-wage employment. All these villages have a long history, but do not have any written documents about the history and hence do not provide a clear picture of the villages. But according to some of the older people in the villages, the people have had a long history of relationships with each other. In such oral histories, many people stated that both of the villages *Varikuttuooruwa* and *Paleooruwa* were ancient Sinhalese villages and both people were relatives. Relationships with the relatives remained not only within the village, but also with other villages within the region or even outside the region. The *Varikuttuooruwa* people had close relationships with the *Gallengoda* villagers, and the *Paleooruwa* people had relationships with the *Galegama* villagers in Anuradhapura, where they arrived after being displaced from the villages.

## 4.2. Background Situation before Exile - *Weli-Oya Division*

Unlike the traditional villages such as *Varkuttuooruwa* and *Paleooruwa*, *Gajabapura*, and *Monarawewa* were *settlement villages* located in the Weli-Oya area,

among threatened villages in the eastern part of the country under the government agricultural ‘Mahaweli settlements scheme’ implemented in the 1980s. Mahaweli Settlement Scheme was a major settlement scheme in Sri Lanka, which started an accelerated project in 1977. The whole project area was divided into different zones or systems. There were five systems B, C, H, G, and L, and Uda-Walawe and Upper Mahaweli in the Mahaweli River diversion project named under this major project. Weli-Oya was a settlement (Sinhalese) village under the ‘Mahaweli System L.’ It was a subdivision in the Padaviya Division, covering eight Grama Niladhari (GN) divisions consisting of 11 villages and had an estimated population of 6,330 or 1,898 families in 2005 (Divisional Secretariat Reports – Weli-Oya Division 2005). Weli-Oya was an unusual division as it was shared by four administrative districts: Mullaitivu, Trincomalee, Anuradhapura, and Vavuniya. Although the general administration of these GN divisions was covered by Anuradhapura, people had to go to Vavuniya and Mullaitivu for some administrative and legislative purposes, such as voting. The unique geographic location of this subdivision, which was for the major part controlled by the government but partly under the control of the LTTE, became an area of precarious nature as it was often on the front-lines of fighting between the two sides. As such, it is within the combat zone of the two opposing forces. The general security situation was therefore volatile and unpredictable.

*Monarawewa* and *Gajabapura* were settlement (Sinhalese) villages under the ‘Mahaweli System L’ in the Weli-Oya area. In 1984, according to the Weli-Oya DS division data (1985), there were 500 families who had settled in this area. Farming families settled in *Monarawewa*; in *Gajabapura*, there were particularly landless people who were the second generation of the Weli-Oya old scheme. Some *pardoned prisoners* had settled here earlier on land such as *Kent* farm and *Dollar* farm, after being displaced by the Tamils from the lands before the 1980s. Many people who lived in *Gajabapura* and *Monerawewa* were people from neighboring villages, namely, Parakramapura and Sripura. All the landless families were granted land by the scheme in 1983. Some people settled down in the villages in the surrounding areas within the Weli-Oya area.

According to interviews given by the people who lived in the area, they do not have a long history of residence like other traditional villages in the area. There are only two generations in the area, and these two villages are newly created settlement villages for the second generation in the area. The whole settlement area comprised of Sinhalese people who came from various areas of the southern part of the country. Their original villages were different from person to person. They came from different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. Although this scheme was based on agricultural settlement planning, none of the people had any experience in farming or other agricultural experience; they had different kinds of experience in other fields, including also the pardoned prisoners. Most of the

settlers of the scheme had not adjusted to farming and also had not developed good relationships among other settler families in the scheme. Unlike in traditional villages, there was not much kinship bonds or a similar social base of the relationship to develop among the people in the first generation.

### 4.3. Background Situation before Exile - *Northern Areas*

The northern areas, as considered in this study, were villages in Vavuniya north, villages in the district of Killinochchi and Mulathive where the original villagers of the WCs IDPs who stayed in the Sidambarampuram and Poonthottam WCs. Villages were scattered and covered a very vast area compared to the other two locations. However, the background situation of all the villages was not much different from village to village and compared with other locations.

Generally, the majority population of the area consisted of Tamil people, and there were a considerable number of Muslims and very few Sinhalese people living here before the civil conflict started. However, these areas were considered as Tamil majority areas. According to interviews given by the people who lived in the area, they had lived a long period of time in this area. The majority of the people were engaged in agricultural-based employment for their livelihood, particularly, *paddy* cultivation and *high land* cultivation. Some of the people looked after cattle, while doing some other self-employment and daily-wage employment.

Although people returned to their original villages on several occasions, it was not successful. At the time of conducting the research in 2005, very few people had returned to the village and were living as resettled people. According to some of the IDPs, there were many obstacles to returning and resettling in their original villages (to be discussed in chapters 8, 9, and 10). This situation was not true for this area, but it was also the most threatened village in the area from which the Tamil people had been displaced due to the situation created by the government forces or LTTE organization at that time (Divisional Secretariat Report 2005).

### 4.4. Social, Economic, and (In)Security Relationships among the Sinhalese and Tamil People in the Border Villages

There were various relationships between the Sinhalese and Tamils before colonization (de Silva 2000). Alliances and marriage relationships were not rare among dynasties, though there were wars among them, too. Historically, the relations between the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Tamils (The Tamils are conventionally divided into two groups, which are Sri Lankan Tamils and up-country Tamils)



have been coexistence, punctuated by conflict from time to time. Hence, the Sinhalese-Tamil relations have always been characterized by hostility and violence (de Silva 2000).

However, after the armed conflict started between the two parties, the relationship between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in the border areas was complex and does not show the same picture. In spite of their close relationship, the Sinhalese and Tamils developed mistrust, discriminations, and fear of each other. However, according to the majority of the elderly people, before the war started in the 1980s, in many ways the Sinhalese and Tamils in the northern border areas have been closely and mutually related to each other culturally, socially, and economically. Despite ethnically segregated neighborhoods and villages, the Sinhalese and Tamils in the northern border areas had been maintaining relationships; they shared social, cultural, and economic events, to a certain extent, and can be defined as interdependent communities up to the time of the conflict and displacement.

According to people of the area, before the war started and the displacement process took place in the border/marginal villages, in the northern part of Sri Lanka, there was a positive relationship among the Sinhalese, Tamil, and the Muslim people to a certain extent. It does not mean that it has always been a positive relationship among the Tamil and Sinhalese, without any resistance or rivalry. There was some distrust and fear of each other. But it cannot be seen as a general trait among them. However, it is believed that during the period of the Ceasefire Agreement (between 2002 and 2005/6), the relationships between the Tamil and Sinhalese people continued, but it became very limited in the border areas. When I asked the Sinhalese and Tamil people about their relationship before they were displaced from their original villages, many people said that they retained the relationships with each other and were unconcerned with any differences.

According to some key informant interviews, there were social relationships between the Tamil and the Sinhalese in many ways. I met one key informant from *Madukanda Buddhist Temple*, who was the chief incumbent of this "*Raja Maha Viharaya*." He had done an enormous service to the communities where both the Tamil and Sinhalese families were living around the temple, not only during the war-affected period but also before the conflict started, particularly, in the Vavuniya area. This monk was directly assisting people of any ethnic group to solve their problems. He enjoyed an esteemed reputation for helping people to disregard any differences. He had performed a leading role in serving the displaced persons and resettling them. He stated that:

Due to the war, the cordial relationships that existed between us came to an abrupt end. However, even at present there are transactions between the Sinhalese and Tamil people. But deep in their minds, there is a scar - a scar of distrust. Everyone speaks with a thought hidden in their minds (KInt1/MS/H/VS).

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A Tamil priest from a Hindu temple (Kovil) in Vavuniya shared the same idea:

I have been living here in Vavuniya for more than 40 years. Both the Muslims and Sinhalese kept relationships with the Tamils. They had maintained a cordial relationship without conflict before the war started. Both people did not indicate their ethnic segregation. Some of them had intermarriage relationships and lived as relatives (KIint2/MT/H/VS).

The rather widespread idea among the people living in the border areas, during the early period (before the war started), is that there were neither problems nor conflicts between the Sinhalese and Tamil people. There was mutual cooperation and harmony. There were not many differences due to religious or ethnic reasons among the rural Tamil and Sinhalese. Most of the Tamil people are Hindus, even in the Vavuniya border areas, and there was mutual respect and reciprocal relationships among the Tamil Hindus and the Sinhalese Buddhists. The Tamil people also participated in the Sinhalese people's weddings and funeral functions, etc. According to them, this background had helped to develop their economic and security relationships among them.

According to one Tamil person from Vavuniya South,

Most of our neighbors were our relatives; every one comes from one family. We were the first generation children. But "Mamadu" (village name) people (Sinhalese people) were far better than our village people. Sorry to say this because we had been in close connection with those people. We used to go to work in their houses. We were well treated by them, and they provided food every time when we were engaged in work in their village [...]. They had done so many things for me without expecting a return for that. They had provided good meals and drinks when we worked there. They had paid good salary for that...

There were some other relationships developed between the farmers and businessmen called *mudalalis* (shop owners). They had interdependency relationships; farmers and some others needed to get credit from the *mudalali* for cultivation activities such as plowing the paddy field, buying fertilizer, farming inputs, collecting the harvest, and purchasing consumer goods and other requirements up to the end of one season; after processing the harvest, most of the time, the *mudalali* usually bought the entire harvest and settled his dues and returned any balance if there was any. Then, the *mudalali* became the patron of his client-farmers. Most of the Sinhalese farmers had dealt with Tamil shop owners in the area, and then both of the parties needed to keep on good terms with each other, to solve their matters. "I was a regular customer at the Tamil shops. I even borrowed money when necessary. My lands were ploughed by tractors belonging to Tamil tractor owners" (Int12/MS/ID/GMw). This illustrates the interdependent relationships with the shop owner or businessman (*mudalali*) and the customer. People expressed

that these transactions were done mostly on a credit basis. They continued their dealings with mutual trust, and it did not depend on other variables. This point was echoed by a number of informants in the area, both Tamils and Sinhalese, particularly the elderly people.

However, the IDPs remembered their past (before the start of the conflict in 1980s) in idealistic terms: “*some dreamy days,*” “*cordial, mutual, relationship.*” According to many researchers, the relationships in a surrounding village remain one of the most important points in remembering (Rubinstein 1991; Lindholm Schulz 2003). In all three locations, many people also stated that they had good relationships with each other. When some of them were engaged in daily activities, religious functions, or other working environments they had a friendly and reciprocal relationship with each other. They worked together, had dealings with money, exchanged labor, etc.

Although the interviewees often said that the relationships between the Sinhalese and the Tamils were cordial and harmonious, in the 1980s there were some tensions between them, without showing on the surface. However, generally, relations were rarely depicted as confrontational. People had memories in a dreamy way with positive thoughts. Relations were also widely experienced as having improved on the surface before the start of the conflict, but doubts were expressed regarding the depth of change. People were perceived to have generally behaved in a respectful manner and focused on their primary objectives and day-to-day activities. Nonetheless, during the riot in 1983, Tamils moved from the majority Sinhalese areas, and although there was not any tension in the border areas, both sides lived in fear of each other.

## 4.5. Background Factors for the Violence and Displacement in the Original Villages

Following, I will try to assess the main and proximate reasons for the violence and displacement of both the Sinhalese and Tamils in selected threatened areas (IDPs original villages) in the Vavuniya and Anuradhapura districts and in some northern areas. Regional variations are very important to describe the severity of the displacement and violence in the particular area. This section describes people’s ideas through their experience about the violence and displacement, which they had faced.

As described in the chapter 2, both the Sinhalese and Tamils of the border areas in the north and east experienced violence and displacement during the last three decades. Most of the Sinhalese people who were displaced were threatened with violence by the Tamil militants, and most of the Tamil people that were displaced experienced threats and violence from the government forces. However, the ten-

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sion that was created by both parties caused the population displacement of all the ethnic communities.

However, there are many ideas, arguments, and explanations in the literature on the starting point of the conflict between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. Many scholars have indicated that the main reason for the Sri Lankan civil war was the political background of the country after the independence from the British rule in 1948 (de Silva 1986; Spencer 1990; Nissan and Stirrat 1990; Rotberg 1999; Tiruchelvam 2000; Brun 2003). People who were interviewed gave their ideas about their reasons for displacement, together with their varying experiences. Every story describes threats and violence from the armed groups (LTTE or government forces). The stories about violence and displacement were similar in style. Those interviewed pointed out the same reasons, which did not vary much between one person and another in the same region. These stories were clearly based on people's own experiences, but also adjusted, remade, and repeated many times during the period of their displacement. Most displaced people in the threatened areas had to tell me this story the first time we met. However, the stories indicate their sense of separation, troubles, distress, damage to properties, and fear of life.

From the beginning of the 1980s, and particularly after the riots of 1983 (Black July) in the area, the Sinhalese families became the targets of threats from the Tamil armed groups. Particularly, after the formation of the LTTE, Tamil youths came to stay in the area and hence, new faces could be seen in the area. According to the respondents in the area, they had come from different areas, and they began to organize and conduct meeting in secret. Later on, in 1984-85, LTTE cadres threatened the Sinhalese families and demanded that they depart from the village. This was a turning point in the history of the Sinhalese settlements in the Vavuniya South threatened villages. By 1985, all the Sinhalese families had to leave their original villages.

Tamils displaced in the border village Vavuniya South, and the northern areas had a similar experience but not the threat from the LTTE militants. They explained their experience in the following ways:

{..}So one day, in the night we heard some noises of guns near our home so we couldn't be there. Then, we moved to the forest with every member of the family. We hid there till morning and came back. Then, there were some battles happening every day. The LTTE people told us to leave the houses as soon as possible. So we left our houses and the village without taking any food or valuable property. We left everything there (Int32/MT/R/VS).

This sentiment was echoed by a number of Tamil informants. Most of the Tamils had moved due to fear of shelling and artillery attacks from both parties in the battlefield. The Vavuniya South Tamil people had experienced air attacks from

the Sri Lankan Army against the LTTE. In the 1990s, there was a battle between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE. The army's location was in Thandikulam from where they hit shells and artilleries. Sometimes they may have fallen into their village. People always heard sounds of guns and bombs. In the northern part of Vavuniya such as Mullative and Killinochchi, people had also moved due to similar experiences caused by the battle between the government forces and the LTTE. However, people shared that on different occasions, different waves, and for different reasons they had to leave their homes.

Other stories were told by the Sinhalese people who had been displaced from the *Weli-Oya* threatened region, the villages known as *Monarawewa* and *Gajabapura*. In the attack on the *Kent* farm and *Dollar* farm in 1984, nearly 100 prisoners in the farm had been killed by the LTTE (UTHR(J)1993). According to the individual stories, the attacks left an atmosphere of fear. Most of the people who were displaced in this first attack by the LTTE were civilians.

This sentiment was once again echoed by a number of informants in the *Weli-Oya* area. People had experienced repeated displacements before being entirely displaced from the area. They had tried to protect their territory from the attacks by the Tamil militants several times. All stories show their disappointment, frustration, fear, helplessness, risk, and their suffering during the whole period. In 1999, they were displaced from the area totally.

## 4.6. Expulsion, Flight, and Destination

This section is based on the experiences of the IDPs regarding their expulsion and flight. The respondents were from the threatened villages in Vavuniya South, northern areas, and *Weli-Oya* area in the 1980s and 1990s. People from the area had experienced repeated expulsions, flight, and subsequent resettlement in their original villages.

They were displaced from their villages on the last occasion, but the deposition date and the duration of time was different from place to place. From the villages of Vavuniya South (traditional villages), people shared their experiences during their flight from the conflict as follows:

{..}It was during that period (1984) that Bandula's brother was murdered. It scared us. Soon afterwards, a group of young Tamil men (about 10 of them, equipped with fire arms) came to the village and threatened us. We were in fear and ran to the temple. They approached all those who came to the temple, and demanded that we leave the village immediately. They ordered the monk to raise both hands and started to search for the Grama Niladari (village headman). This event made most of us decide to leave the village as soon as possible. We spent the night in the jungle. On the following day, there was no one in the village. So, we decided to leave the village. There were no vehicles for us to travel. Then at last, a vehicle belonging to a Tamil person

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came there. We immediately got into that vehicle and left the village. We had time only to collect our clothes and important documents. We could not bring anything else with us (Int3/FS/ID/GMw).

Stories like the one above accentuate the fact that in the Vavuniya South area and other surrounding villages, displacement meant movement not to one place but several places and several times. Although they had experienced some tension during that period, they had to face unexpected incidents on that occasion. Most of the people did not expect the expulsion by the LTTE to take place, and most people thought they would be able to return to their homes soon. Also, they could not take anything away with them. The story shows that the mutual relationships between the Sinhalese and Tamil civilians could be seen as supporting each other in moving to safer areas. People displaced from the area proceeded to the Vavuniya Buddhist Temple. It became the first refugee camp in the area for the Sinhalese people.

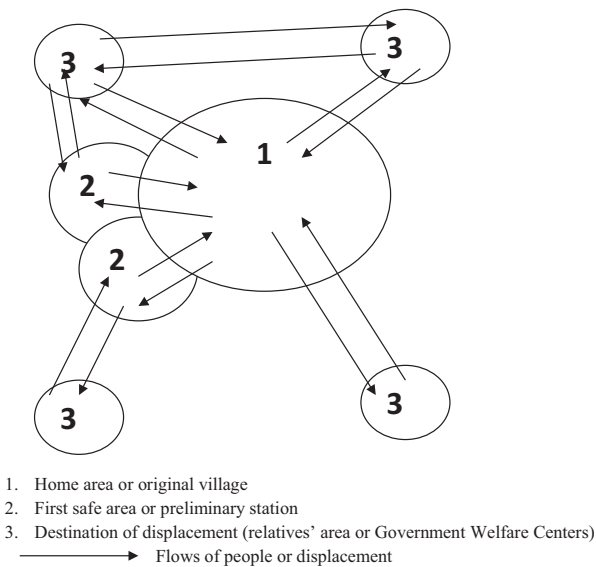
However, later many Sinhalese people from *Vavuniya South* went to the *Madawachchiya* division and surrounding villages via their kinship network and stayed with relatives. Around 60% of them went directly to their relatives' homes. Some other families went to the Vavuniya camp and later on became settled in *Gallengoda* and other villages in *Madawachchiya*. Some of the people such as those from the Paleo Oruwa village were displaced from their village and they became destitute. They were deprived of immovable properties they owned, they lost their income sources, some could not even take their movable items with them. Most of them proceeded to the refugee camp in Vavuniya (Vavuniya Temple). The priest of the temple allowed them to stay there. The Buddhist monk at the Paleo Oruwa temple accompanied the displaced families to the Vavuniya Buddhist temple. The government provided them with relief assistance. But they had to undergo different experiences in the camp, which they never dreamt of before in the village where they lived. One respondent said:

Life in the refugee camp was miserable. We suffered with the children. We received something to eat and drink. But the freedom, peace, and mental comfort required by a human being were beyond our horizon. We spent one year there, and it was a period of undergoing numerous difficulties. I pray that no human being suffers what we suffered. Our lifestyle was mercilessly destroyed. All of a sudden, we were pushed to the road. There was nothing we could do. Those who did this deserve to be cursed for the worst. If the temple had not been there, there would have been no shelter for us. Our destiny was at stake and the stress was severe (Int41/MS/ID/GLMw).

The majority of the people shared their displeasure and suffered during life in the WCs. Their story was very sad and distressing. However, about 150 families were given shelter at the Vavuniya Buddhist temple. The destitute were provided with assistance by the government. Initially, they received cooked and packed food. After sometime, they got together and started cooking for the refugees. Thereafter,

the families could prepare their own meals. Government authorities provided them a daily ration allowance. The amount was determined on the basis of the number of members in the family. They received rice, dhal, sugar, tea dust, and kerosene oil. There was a small cash payment also. Having spent about a year in the camp, the refugees went in search of a place to settle down. But many people from Paleo Oruwa thought that they should start a new life without staying in the refugee camp or the welfare center, because they had a chance to find a place to stay with relatives in the next district, in safer areas. Then they looked for self-settled status in the relative's villages, with their help (details will be discussed in the next chapter).

Figure 4.1: IDPs internal displacement and networks: Sites and flows.



Many did not go to the houses of their relatives directly from their native/original village, but some had gone directly to their relatives' villages after being displaced. The first safe places were preliminary stations, and then they prepared themselves and sought to find their settlement places, finally receiving help from their relatives. People who explained their feelings at that moment said that they got various forms to fill out so they could get the much needed material and emotional support immediately after displacement at the final settlement or destination. The decision to move, and to which destination, was affected by the nature of the reception from the relatives in the specific destination.

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The villagers from *Gajabapura* and *Monarawewa* from the *Weli-Oya* area (in Mahaweli resettlement area) had a different experience at their time of expulsion, flight, and destination. They had prior experiences of being displaced and resettled from a number of occasions, and they were used to getting some aid and relief from the government. Hence, people from both the villages had stayed for a long period as displaced and resettled people in the same area. As some stated, their experiences of exile from the area in 1999 were as follows:

Very often, we had fallen into pits while going about in the dark. We did not sleep inside the house at night. Instead, we slept in the jungle. But there, we couldn't sleep soundly every night. The army was there. But how can they protect the entire village. In 1999, the LTTE attacked the village. Then, we went away for safety to the refugee camp at the Sampathnuwara School. When a message was received about a likely attack by the LTTE, we were transported to the refugee camp by the vehicles of the Mahaweli Authority. I was the last member to leave the village. However, the men kept watch over the village at night. Anyway, finally the LTTE attack came. It was on November 7, 1999 that we men gave up watching the village and arrived at the camp to stay (Int66/FS/ID/GPW).

However, in 1999, the LTTE expanded their territory again in the *Weli-Oya* area by attacking the government forces. Consequently, even though the Sinhalese people had, on several occasions, been resettled and displaced again from the area, they had to move totally from the area, in 1999. Displaced people from the two villages first reached the school building in a safer area and stayed there temporarily for a few days.

All of us cooked together. The government provided some food items. We took turns to cook food. We slept in different sections of the building. After some time, we were brought to this camp (Gravelpitiya). It was only after bringing us here that they began to provide us with dry rations. Even at present, we receive the same dry rations as was issued in 1984 (Int69/MS/ID/GPW).

Many people in the *Gajabapura* and *Monarawewa* villages fled to the temporary refugee camp in the school, and they had to subsequently move to another place. Most of the people from these two villages could not find places through relatives or friends like the IDPs from Vavuniya South, and the background situation and displacement in the case of the *Weli-Oya* area show a bit different picture; everything had happened suddenly and all the people from the *Weli-Oya* area had to displace themselves within one day. They did not have any plan for where they should go. They had to find accommodations temporarily at schools. A few people had left the village before the incident occurred, but most of the people had stayed until the last moment. The people said that they never expected they would have to leave their land, and they thought that the government forces would never



allow people to be exiled from the area. However, after staying in several places, they finally reached Gravelpitiya in the Padaviya DS Division as a result of the intervention of the government officials, particularly the Divisional Secretary in Padaviya DS Division and other government officers.

In the case of the Tamil IDPs from the Vavuniya Northern area and other northern districts, it is a dissimilar story. What they said about their expulsion, flight, and destination is as follows:

We went to Puliyankulam first. There, we got a small house belonging to a government national housing scheme. There were 52 of those houses. In that housing scheme, one house was specially arranged for displaced people. We stayed there only for 3 days. Because the battle surfaced there too. Then, we were moved to Oddusudan and stayed there for 2 years. I constructed a small house near one of my relatives' houses. However, we left Oddusudan because of some problems. At last, we reached Vavuniya and the Army helped us to go to the Sidampampuram refugee camp in Vavuniya. (Int71/FT/ID/SW).

During the flight, they moved to several places, the meeting point between the LTTE-controlled area and the government-controlled area and the border area between the north-east and south-west. There were many stories about their suffering; the flight was alive in their memories as the symbol of how they suffered as helpless people. The mud, the rain, the cold, the diseases, symbolized their experiences of flight, of leaving their homes and moving toward an unfamiliar terrain. However, after they came under the control of the government forces of the Madu area in the North, many IDPs from the northern part of the country came to the Vavuniya WCs. Many people from WCs like *Sidambampuram* and *Poonthodam* had very long experiences of being displaced from place to place. Some people from these WCs had been relocated to new places in the Vavuniya area; however, during the period when the research was conducted in 2005/6, a significant number of the IDPs remained in the WCs and some of them said they would like to return to their original villages, while many people said they would like to stay in the host community.

However, the threatened villages of the Vavuniya and Anuradhapura districts had *two types of IDPs*. The *first* category comprised those who left before any problems arose. The *second* category comprised those who fled suddenly as a result of the abrupt threat, risk, or force. Those in the first category had several reasons to leave the area; sometimes the decision was instant, as in the case of threats or killings. Sometimes, it was planned ahead of time and done in a manner to avoid suspicion. Those who had more time to plan often took jewelry, extra clothing, kitchen items, and bedding with them, while the others sold their livestock and land to their neighbors. Some departed as individuals, leaving their families behind, whereas some others departed as a family or as groups of fam-

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ilies. Similarly, a variety of reasons were given for the choice of destinations by the IDPs who settled down in Vavuniya and Anuradhapura under the first category. The important factors were *proximity, safety, employment opportunities*, and the *presence of friends or relatives* in the host area. The majority of the *self settled* IDPs in the Madawachchiya area could be classified as falling in the first category.

The IDPs in the *second* category were those who suddenly faced security threats from the armed groups and had no option in making a decision on when and where they should move to. In such an emergency situation, the helpless people had to move without any plan or choice and had to stay at a place that was designated by some entities, such as the government officials or other organizations. With respect to some IDPs, this was the only option they were left with, i.e., to take the option and hang on for a time period under the protracted situation of the war in a certain place, where they were provided with the humanitarian relief, assistance, and aid by organizations such as the WCs. The IDPs who stayed in the Vavuniya and Padaviya WCs can be included in the second category.

## 4.7. Conclusion

Table 4.1 provides a summary of the general situation in the IDPs original villages, in terms of their original location, current settlement area, and the time period.

Table 4.1. Original and Resettlement Locations

	<b>Vavuniya South (Va)- Varikuttuooruwa, Paleo Oruwa</b>	<b>Weli-Oya-Monarawe- wa (Mo), Gajabapura (Ga)</b>	<b>Vavuniya North and other northern dis- tricts</b>
Original location	Sinhalese and Tamil border villages	Sinhalese border villages in Anuradhapura East	Tamil un-cleared villages in Vavuniya North, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu and Mannar districts
Reason for expulsion	Threatened by the Tamil militia	Threatened by the armed conflict from both parties	Fear of armed conflict by the government security forces
Current settlement areas	First the WCs and then Self-settled and living with relatives in the Medawachchiya DS Division, in Gallegoda, Galegama villages	WCs in the Padaviya Division; Gravelpitiya area under control of the DS Division.	WCs in Vavuniya; Poonthodam WC and Sidambarampuram WC, under control of the UNHCR
Period of absence from the original villages, as of 2002-2006	15-20 years	5-10 years	10-17 years

Overall, the beginning of the chapter has discussed the general situation in the places of origin for the IDPs, in terms of their social, economic, and (in)security situation in the area. It has identified that the displacement of the people was not a result of the conflict among the people of the border areas but that it was raised as a result of the political crisis between the LTTE armed group and the government forces. However, it indicated that the people had maintained better relationships among themselves before they were displaced.

Sections (4.5.) and (4.6.) explain the stories regarding the peoples' flight and displacement. The narratives include a variety of stories, facts, and incidents during the flight and the displacement of the people during the war situation in the border areas. IDPs who were displaced from the border areas had many experiences of repeated displacement, for long periods of time, and on many occasions in their life than others. Often, they recounted their long story with details about reaching their destination of the Vavuniya WCs. All of the stories evidenced the same message that they suffered immensely during the period until arriving at the destination and some of them still suffer further. However, the majority of the displaced people had to stop their journey at the WCs in Vavuniya. Nevertheless, the majority of the IDPs who were displaced from *Vavuniya South* at the end were *self-settled* in *Madawachchiya* in the Anuradhapura district, which showed a different picture after their displacement. The IDPs who were displaced from the Weli-Oya area and who remained in the *Gravelpitiya WC* also gave a different message about the IDP settlements. However, the study identified that there were mainly two types of settlements patterns: Self-Settled and settled in the WCs. The IDPs in the study area had a multiplicity of differences among them. However, people had experienced repeated displacements before being entirely displaced from the area. All of the stories show their disappointment, frustration, fear, helplessness, risk, and their suffering during the whole period. However, the chapter identified *two types of IDPs*. The *first* category consisted of those who left before any problems arose. The *second* category consisted of those who fled suddenly as a result of threat, warning, hazard, or force from another party. In the next chapter, a discussion will be launched regarding their life in the host community and safer areas.



# 5

## IDPs and the Host Communities: Social Relationships

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### Introduction

This chapter mainly presents information on some background situations of the host communities and the host areas where the IDPs settled after displacement, in terms of their social relationships/networks such as kinship, friendships, caste, and other social relationships. Understanding social background and situations is quite relevant to answering the first part of the first research question, namely, how did the IDPs establish their social relationships in their host communities, and how did these compare with their social relationships in the original villages? How did kinship, friendship, and ethnic connections figure in this regard? What were the social benefits as well as the hindrances perceived by the IDPs from living with the host community?

The chapter develops through four main steps. The first section (5.1.) starts with a general discussion on the arrival of the IDPs into the host community, whether it is viewed as important and the reason for their arrival in the area. The other sections, (5.2.) and (5.3.), will follow the discussion on both the IDPs and the host relations on how to effect their decision. All the factors will be discussed, mainly, two types of IDPs: those who self-settled and the WC IDPs. Section (5.4.) gives a brief conclusion, indicating how the evidence presented in the chapter helps to answer the first part of the first research question.

## 5.1. Background Factors for the Arrival of the IDPs in the Host Communities

In the case of Sri Lanka, it is clear that the internal displacement of the people was a major consequence of the political crisis (civil war) in the country. Hence, the main reason for the displacement from the marginal areas or threatened areas was the adverse political environment in those particular places. According to some early studies in Sri Lanka (Hasbullah 1993; Brun 2003), the reasons why the IDPs settled in particular areas also varied. The Muslim IDPs who had come to the Puttalam district indicated several reasons. The majority of them shared that one reason was that they could find employment there; some other people stated that since all the Muslim people had gone to that place they also decided to do the same (Brun 2003). One important reason that overrides all the reasons mentioned so far was, without doubt, the ethnic dimension. The fact that Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, and Puttalam areas already had large Muslim populations that welcomed the displaced Muslims exerted a substantial influence on the choice of the destination (Hasbullah 1993; Brun 2003). Moreover, according to Hasbullah (1993), the influx of northern Muslims to other areas, in particular to Colombo, was prevented by the government during the early stages of the refugee exodus from the northern province. However, the government did not enforce the concentration of displaced persons in Puttalam, Kurunegala, and Anuradhapura districts. These districts were relatively safe areas and therefore easily accessible to the displaced people coming from the war-torn areas.

The displacement and settlement areas of *Vavuniya* and *Anuradhapura*, which have been covered as the field area in this study (see chapter 1), also show the diverse background factors affecting the arrival of IDPs in the host area. Many of those who were self-settled as well as those who were living in the WCs expressed that they decided to come to the safer areas because they feared direct life-threatening or otherwise insecure situations in their original villages. Most of the self-settled IDPs reported that they had been well received by the local community at the first stage. Hence, previous relationships with the host community in the safer areas had affected the IDPs' decisions to make a home for themselves. Some others mentioned lack of opportunities, poor facilities such as education, health, water, electricity, and lack of other services as being key reasons for moving out from the threatened area. In fact, several reasons could be found for their arrival in the host community. All of these functions had also been affected by the war situation in the threatened areas. However, the reasons for the IDPs' arrival and entrance into the safer areas in the southern part of the districts led to moving from place to place, and group to group. From the point of view of the majority of the IDPs, involuntary displacement and settlement in territories of refuge are a consequence of long-term armed conflicts. From their point of view, it is not a pro-

cess of voluntary migration and settlement. However, it is clear that the improved security situation was one of the main factors that led the IDPs to choose to reside in the safer areas; in fact, all of the IDPs interviewed stated that they felt safe in their current location. When they fled from the area suddenly, their first thought was finding a safer area. Hence, feeling safe in the host area was one of the reasons for the IDPs to arrive there.

Scholars argue that as a result of the protracted civil war, the displacement process (for all types of IDPs) took place over a long period of time, and it changed people's status and provided a new environment for them to gain new experiences among the hosts, within the community or the area. On the one hand, peoples' displacement due to the civil war represents a reflection of discrimination, and it was often burdened with losses, trauma, and marginalization, and, on the other hand, such displacements and settlements may also be stated to have created innovation as well as marginalization; it is a process of creating change and new possibilities, while marginalizing people in the host areas (Brun 2001). According to Edward Said (1988), this concept can be named '*doubleness*', meaning marginalization and innovation (Said 1988). These new experiences and new environments provide a background for the people's decision to stay further in the host community or return to their original villages in these particular areas during the Ceasefire Agreement from 2002-2006. This research tries to scan displacement through this '*doubleness*' of marginalization and innovation, as factors affecting the IDPs willingness to stay in the host community or return to their original villages and those who self-settled or settled in the WCs.

## 5.2. Pre-social Relationships between the IDPs and the Hosts

In general, the relationship between the refugees and their hosts is affected by a variety of factors such as social and economic impact and security problems, among other important factors (Brun 2001). The socioeconomic settings and relationships between the IDPs and hosts change the stereotype of the category of IDPs (Duncan 2005). In the case of the northern Muslim IDPs settled in Puttalam in Sri Lanka, the host people had played a significant role during the first stage of the reception because they were of the same ethnic background and were often relatives and friends. However, later on, the hosts were more or less forgotten by the aid agencies as important actors in the processes of displacement and integration. This has pushed the hosts to a state of dissatisfaction (Brun 2001).

However, the social relationship between the IDPs and the host people changed from time to time in accordance with the background situations, which remained in the host area. On the other hand, some of the IDPs and hosts had a positive relationship, while some others created a negative one. This section shows both

the positive and negative relationships among the IDPs and the hosts in *Madawa-chchiya*, *Padaviya*, and *Vavuniya* host areas. Moreover, this chapter examines the relationships between the IDPs and the host community, as far as how they have an impact on the IDPs decision to stay further in the host community or return to their original villages as well as the consequences of that decision.

### 5.2.1. Role of Kinship Relations

According to some experiences in the context of displacement and settlements process, social relations with kith and kin and friends have played a vital role in providing protection in the process of displacement and settlement (Evans 2007). There are various forms of networks formed among relatives for material and emotional support during both displacement and settlement. The decisions to move to a certain destination or to stay further are affected by the presence of relatives or friends. There were also many examples in the case of Sri Lanka.

In the case of Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese people from the traditional rural threatened villages in Vavuniya-South became IDPs in similar villages in the *Madawa-chchiya* area. Former kinship relations created a favorable situation for them, as they were welcomed as ‘their people’ by the host community. According to their relationships, the more important background factor was their former relationships such as caste and kinship relations.

Those who lived in Varkuttuooruwa were our own people. When the LTTE started creating problems for them, they could not stay there any longer. Some of them came to our village. They are our relatives and our caste members. So we allowed them to settle down here. Life is valuable regardless of to whom it belongs. We did not have any differences with them (Int16/MS/H/GMw).

Displaced people from many of the traditional villages had relationships with other villagers in the safer areas. The opinion of some of the host community members was that they were not against the IDPs coming and staying with them because they had formerly had cordial relationships between the two groups of people. In particular, the willingness of the key groups of people in the host community was a very important factor for assessing the host community to stay over a long period. The relationship of the host community was very important to the IDPs, particularly, to select the destination after their displacement (Conner 1989; Assal 2007). Preexisting relationships between the host community and the IDPs, such as caste, kinship, marriages, and friendships helped to build a bond between the two groups of people, which was stronger than before.

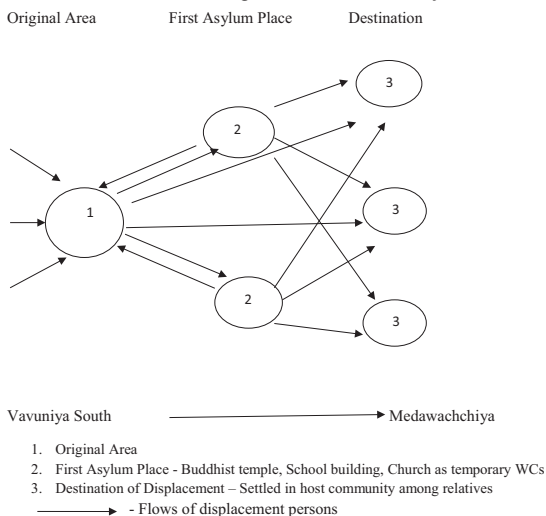
This point was echoed by a number of IDP informants as well. Here is one example from the self-settled rural area.



We have had a blood relationship with the people from this area for a very long time. But we couldn't continue those relationships as closely throughout the period for many reasons. But, we continued to think of them as "our people." At last, we met again. We could save our lives because we had a place to go. Otherwise, we could have remained in a refugee camp and survived on food offered by the others. Thanks to our relatives, today we need not depend on others for our food and other needs. They (relatives) helped us a lot (Int1/MS/ID/GMw).

When the IDPs refer to some as "our people," it means people of the same caste and same kinship group. Support from the relatives has been crucial to many of the IDPs staying in the host community. Providing accommodation, particularly during a desperate situation, is a more important factor than reaching an unknown destination. Reasons directly concerning livelihoods were cited as least important; at displacement, the most immediate needs of the IDPs were safety, shelter, and food. These needs were met by taking flight to the homes of the relatives, while earning their own living was of a lesser concern (Evans 2007). Many self-settled IDPs in the Madawachchiya rural and traditional villages have taken advantage of their relatives' support to find a place to settle down with safeguards. There were also some cases where the IDPs had self-settled through using other social relationships with the host community or an area, such as friendship and help from other relations. But in the urban part of the area, the IDPs had used their other relationships and were able to settle down in the area. Some persons (with their families) had used former economic relations with people in the host area to come and settle there, while a few other families had made their own decision to settle down in the area after buying land from the host area.

Figure 5.1. Displacement waves and IDPs self-settlement in the host villages in Medawachchiya



## CHAPTER 5

The majority of people said that before the end of their journey to the relatives' village, some of the IDPs from Vavuniya-South had sought asylum in several different places. Many of them did not go to the relatives' places directly from their native/original village. However, some of them had gone directly to their relatives' villages in the Madawachchiya area after being driven away from their villages. The first asylum places are preliminary stations, from where they prepare themselves to find their settlement places, finally receiving help from their kinship network. People who explained their feelings at that moment stated that they got much needed material and emotional support immediately after displacement and final settlement. The decision to move, and to which destination, depended on the nature of the reception from the relatives in the specific destination. During my interviews, many informants expressed at first and most often that they felt they had close social relationships with the host community and it provided a place to go and self-settle in the village. Even though they had opportunities to get some relief and assistance from the government and NGOs, they highlighted that the credit should be given to their relatives' role after they came to the host area. According to them, they had benefitted much from their relatives, particularly, in being allowed to stay in the area while giving other assistance they needed.

In contrast, the IDPs from the Padaviya and Vavuniya WC tell a different picture. Many of them did not have to make a decision about where they should go, because the armed struggle and threats from the armed groups descended on them abruptly. In the Padaviya/ Gravelpitiya WC, the IDPs said that

According to the incidents at the Weli-Oya area, everything happened very suddenly and all of us had to displace ourselves within one day. We didn't have any plan as to where we should go (Int69/MS/ID/GPW).

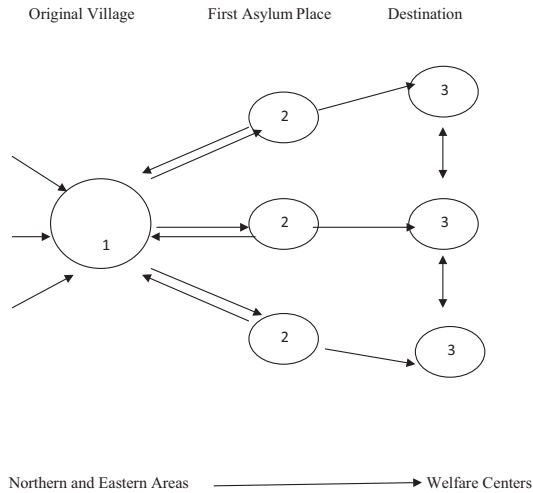
People from the *Weli-Oya* area were settled under the scheme of "*Mahaweli System L*" in 1988, and the landless poor rural families from various parts of the country, particularly, from the southern part were also similarly settled in this area. Their former relationships and network with the relatives in the original villages were very poor and scattered, the main reason probably being that they were a long distance from the native villages, and another reason being their origins which were the very marginal areas of the country. Hence, they did not have any ability to return to their original villages and could not get help from their relatives or friends at that time. However, after they were displaced from their settlement villages, they had to find accommodation temporarily at schools, temples, or other government buildings, which were the WCs. A few of the people had left the village before the violent incidents occurred, but most of them had stayed there until the last moment. The people shared that they never expected that they would have to leave their land and that they had trusted that the government forces would

never allow people to be displaced from the area. However, since the 1990s, they also had experienced several displacements, to return later and in this way temporarily settled in several places and finally, they reached the *Gravelpitiya* WC in the *Padaviya* DS Division. *Gravelpitiya* is not a traditional village or land occupied by people; it is a crown land area belonging to some government institute, but it was considered highland of gravel soil and considered as being difficult to plant and viewed as unfertilized land until the IDPs settled there. But the surrounding area consists of some traditional rural villages, and many of the host community members were farmers and fishermen. People from the host community did not know about the IDPs sudden arrival. One of the village leaders made this remark: *“We never thought they would settle here. We initially helped them. But, when they began to get government assistance, they began to disregard us.”*

According to the IDPs, there were several reasons for being unable to get more cooperation from the host community members. One of them was the inadequacy of pervious social relationships with people in the host community. A particular reason was lack of relationships such as kinship or friendship relations and the fact that the majority had arrived from faraway areas. Also, the fact that they had not owned land had contributed to the low level of relationships. Moreover, the expectation of the IDPs was that they would be able to return to their original villages in the very near future. Therefore, they were not very interested in building new relationships. On the one hand, they did believe that getting assistance from the government was more advantageous than getting help from the host community. These ideas were influenced by their past experiences regarding benefits derived from the official sources. On the other hand, the relief and assistance created a sense of displeasure among the IDPs and the hosts, and the hosts felt jealousy toward the IDPs and their greediness developed toward the aid and relief programs implemented by the government and other agencies.

In the case of the *Vavuniya* WCs, the majority of the Tamil IDPs also gave the same reasons about their background factors for arrival at the WCs and their relationship with the host communities and the areas. After they were displaced from their native villages in *Vavuniya-North*, many of the Tamil people had to go to refugee camps/WCs directly after temporary shelter in several places. Since the incidents that caused their exile from their original villages were sudden and unexpected, they had to arrive at the WCs in *Vavuniya*. The figure below shows this flow of the displacement and settlement in the WCs.

Figure 5.2. Displacement waves and IDPs settlement in the WCs in Padaviya and Vavuniya



Unlike the Vavuniya South IDPs who were self-settled in Madawachchiya, many of the Tamil and Sinhalese IDPs who came to the WCs in Vavuniya and Padaviya from the border areas and other districts did not have enough opportunities to get support from either the relatives or friends. There had been several reasons as to why the relatives or friends did not extend help to the IDPs; some of them said that all their relatives and friends were also in the same boat and that they did not have anyone to approach in the safer areas. According to some of them, many of the IDPs relatives were living with many difficulties such as low income, insecurity, risk, and uncertainty in the area, and the others were very far from them or there were many barriers to reach them at that moment. One Tamil woman from Vavuniya WC stated, "If you were poor you would go to the welfare centers during this situation, and if you had money you would not go to welfare centers, instead you would buy land or a house somewhere or you would find some relatives or friends. We had no money and no place to go so we had to go to the welfare centers" (Int71/FT/ID/SW).

According to her interpretation, there are several reasons for the IDPs to live in the WCs after displacement from their original villages. They were mainly economic problems and lack of social relationships and networks with relatives or with friends in the safer areas, which affected the helplessness of the host communities. However, all these conditions may have created loneliness and helplessness for the people so that they had to get help from other parties in the country. At the same time, although some people had some economic resources for them to lead a normal life, everything had to be given up since they had to evacuate

so suddenly. Hence, lack of resources or poverty caused some people to become helpless among the others, and it pushed people to a situation where they had to find the means for their survival. The WCs constituted one of the main options for the people who were vulnerable without any help from other people under these situations.

Some of the IDPs who settled in the Vavuniya and Padaviya WCs had come from other WCs in the northern areas and other Tamil border and threatened villages. They had been transferred from the other WCs to these centers by the government officers due to some particular reasons such as too excessive number of people beyond the capacity of the center, contagious diseases, security reasons, and other personal reasons of the IDPs.

### 5.2.2. Disputes between the IDPs and the Hosts

As mentioned earlier, during the stage of arrival and seeking settlement, many people in the host area, predominantly the relatives of the host community, welcomed people from the displaced area. In the beginning, some of the host people shared their resources with the displaced people and gave them space for residence, as well as food and allowed them to work on their fields. Although the IDPs were initially supported by many people in the host community (both relatives and the non-relatives) upon their arrival to the host area, this support gradually collapsed after a few months. There is not just one reason to explain this collapse of the social relationship between the IDPs and the hosts but perhaps several reasons.

Land ownership is one of the main factors that raised some conflicts between the IDPs and the host people in the area. One incident relayed by one self-settled woman living in the host community was that although they bought land from her sister, the land was taken back from them, soon after the transaction. According to the displaced woman, when her sister came to know that she was getting ready to cultivate the land, she took steps to leave the housing block and took back the rest of the land. Although the IDP family and the host family were very close relatives, the struggle increased and developed into a land ownership dispute.

The IDP family came to the *host area* after about a year in the Vavuniya WC and stayed initially in the home of the woman's sister. Later, they bought a piece of land (for a very low price) from them and built a house on a separate plot of land and settled there. While they were receiving some food rations and other assistance, they tried to start cultivating the rest of the land which they had bought from the relatives by digging a well in the land using some help from the government and other aid agencies. At that time, the dispute started between the two families. However, after a period of time, the displaced family and the host family settled the problem because of their close kinship.

Disputes between the IDPs and the host community did not start when the IDPs arrived in the area. They occurred when the IDPs started to settle and after they

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started to cultivate the land; it was also related to the relief aid and assistance provided to the IDPs by the government and other agencies. All the IDPs who came from the border areas were entitled to aid. Although the host communities were also living under poor economic conditions, they were not entitled to government relief. Thus, the host communities felt that their own poverty was being ignored.

It is important to reveal the interpersonal discrimination or marginalization of people by the host community. The IDP-woman in *Madawachchiya* who struggled with her relatives for ownership of the land claimed that she and her family were subject to discrimination by the hosts in the village. She said:

The villagers prevented us from bathing in the village tank. When we washed our clothes, we were scolded with them saying that we were polluting the tank water. There were remarks made to us, saying that we had been chased by the Tamils and are destitute. Sarcastic remarks were made often. We could not bathe at the tank, so we constructed a well, near the house, for that reason (Int3/FS/ID/GMw).

The entire Anuradhapura district, including *Madawachchiya*, is in the dry zone of the country so that irrigation water is essential to cultivate the paddy. Therefore, irrigation tanks are constructed in almost all the villages, and the people who are in the rural villages consider that the tank water is a common resource in the area and people use this tank water for other purposes such as bathing, washing clothes, etc. However, the host people showed their displeasure toward the IDPs in different ways. One way was being unpleasant and aggressive toward the IDPs because they were using common resources in the host community. They applied various activities and terms such as “*pollution*,” which indicated the extent to which the IDPs were a stigmatized category.

A young girl in a self-settled village in *Madawachchiya* shared another story. Although she was grateful to the relatives for accepting them, there were occasions when they were alienated. Especially at the school, they were discriminated. They were treated as students of a lower class.

Whenever a new arrival did well at the school sport events and came first, second, or third at a competitive event, sarcastic remarks were almost always made at them.

The young girl thinks that the fellow students of the host community made these remarks, probably due to the attitudes of their parents toward those who were displaced. Hence, the attitudes, beliefs, and expectations of both the displaced people and the hosts, directly and indirectly, affected them from maintaining social relationships.

However, disputes or resistance between the IDPs and the host people increased more between groups of WC IDPs and hosts than between the self-settled IDPs and hosts. Because the majority of the IDPs who self-settled had a previous

social relationship with the hosts so that they felt like they had some right to live in the area. Moreover, the host people also considered the IDPs as ‘our people’ even though they came from outside. If they had some disputes with each other, it could be solved within the group, as they were relatives. However, in the case of the WC IDPs and the hosts, they did not have that type of social relationship even earlier. Neither of the two groups of people have had much previous relationship such as kinship, friendship, or other social relationships. Hence, displeasure among the WC IDPs and the hosts was inevitable and increased even at the beginning when they settled in the WCs.

Immediately after the arrival of the IDPs to the WCs, the hosts had made various requests to many organizations asking them not to establish a WC in the area. The people had pointed out that the establishment of a WC in the area would have undesirable consequences in the area. One of them would be increased security threats. Most of the host people had pointed out that the arrival of the “outsiders” would lead to unfavorable consequences. According to some of the host members:

We dislike the behavior (of the camp people) of the adults as well as the children; they are very aggressive, lazy, trying to depend on handouts, and do not participate in common activities in the Temple or in the village, and the children do not attend school (host community member, Padaviya).

The most common complaint was that the IDPs were ‘lazy’ and simply sat around waiting for handouts. Some literature indicates that host people often compared the perceived laziness of the IDPs to their own “natural industriousness” (Duncan 2005). Many of the host people felt that the IDPs had become accustomed to receiving aid from the government or NGOs and had lost their incentive to work. Others felt that the behavior of the people living in the WCs was not interesting to the traditional villagers who had different values, and that is the reason why they raised the objections. Traditional villagers feared that the culture of a WC was undesirable and that it could have adverse effects on those living in the traditional host villages.

There are some individuals in the host community who insist that they are not involved in any relationships with those among the IDP community.

Neither my children nor myself have any relationships with those living in the welfare center. We don’t send our children to that area.

According to some individuals in the host community, there were some differences between them and the IDPs. They did not regard the IDPs as members of their village, as they were not relatives. They (the hosts) complained that the IDPs were regarded as those who were ‘misbehaved’ and engaged in ‘malpractices.’ They were

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regarded as being used to depending on others for their survival. The prevalence of these differences had diluted any tendencies to develop relationships between the two communities and had even become barriers that kept the two groups separate. According to some members of the host community, the characteristics of the children growing up in the WCs were clearly different from those of the host community children.

Most of the Tamil and Sinhalese children accommodated in the WCs had gotten used to the environment created by the organizations distributing assistance. Those that distributed assistance engaged in the distribution of food items, clothing, various other types of items, and also certain types of entertainment. Some of the host people indicated that at the Sidambarampuram WC in Vavuniya, which had been established for the Tamil IDPs, the UNHCR together with other INGOs had provided pre-schools for children and vocational training courses for the young and that outsiders had provided film shows and video displays for economic purposes without any systematic control.

According to the elders of the host communities, these background circumstances were also important factors to show the gap between the IDPs and the host community members in the area. Through those remarks, it was possible to identify some (other) factors that increased the distance between the IDPs and the host community members. Construction of separate housing units, provision of separate security services, providing assistance, and bringing the IDPs under a formal administrative structure were viewed as special treatments provided to the IDPs, while the host community was not eligible for any of those.

Considering all these facts, there are several reasons for the remarks and for all the displeasure between the WCs IDPs and the hosts. When the number of users increases in making use of the common resources, objections are likely to arise, due to the reduction of resources. The reaction to such a loss is likely to be one of displeasure. The host community felt that the limited resources should only be for themselves. On the other hand, it reflects envy and displeasure resulting from the limited common resources being used by the other people. However, at the beginning, the host people welcomed their own homogeneous people without any hesitation. But later on, due to the different attitudes and expectations, displeasure toward the IDPs arose from the host community members. Both groups of people may think about the IDPs as temporarily residing in the host communities. These two different views also mainly caused some discrimination and separation of the IDPs in the host community.

### 5.3. Creating New Social Relationships

However, regardless of the nature of the environment that prevailed during the early stages, due to the long period of living in the host community, it had been



possible for the IDPs to build various new social relationships with the hosts. During the prolonged stay with the host community, the IDPs had created new kinships and other social relationships.

Although the support of relatives was a crucial factor for the IDPs to find a place to self-settle, to continue their relationship with newly created relationships became equally or some times more important for continuing to live in the area.

My elder daughter is to be married to a rich family in this area (Int1/MS/ID/GMw). Both my brother and sister are married here (in this village). Even earlier, they were our relatives” (Int9/MS/ID/GMw). In our home area, we had a close relationship with our Tamil friends. Now, here, we have Sinhalese friends (Int77/MT/ID/SW).

Newly built relationships between the host community members and the IDPs were an important factor for the IDPs to be attracted to the host area. Protracted situations often provide the basic environment to create these types of relationships within the host community. According to some scholars, shared identity such as cultural, linguistic, and ethnic or kinship affinity are other main factors affecting relations among the refugees or migrants and the host communities (Bascom 1998; Jacobson 2001). Self-settled IDPs in *Madawachchiya* used their former background of kinship and caste relationships to build new relationships. Many IDPs indicated that they had been engaged in new networks within the host community and the area through friendship as well as marriage. Marriage ties are important to build new kinship relations, and it often decides their further residence in a particular place. These types of new social relationships were especially more important for the WC IDPs in order to continue living in the host community. It was a reason for the WC IDPs to create new bonds with the host communities.

The classically described preferred marriages among the Sinhalese are endogamous marriages between members of the same caste and kinship group, and in particular marriage between cross-cousins (the children of brother and sister). Among the effects of such marriage practices is that the kinship group becomes a sharply delineated social group, with few ties with other castes. Data from this study show that the rate of endogamous marriages among a caste is fairly stable and high. This high rate of endogamous marriages undoubtedly contributes to the reproduction of particular communities as distinct and bounded units, be they villages or neighborhoods.

The building of new kinship relations implies gaining emotional as well as material support for both communities (Evans 2007). Moreover, many studies have indicated that marriage ties are seen to create social expectations and facilitate communication and conflict resolution between refugees and the host people (Bakewell 2000; Jacobson 2001).

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In addition to the new kind of kin relations, they had possibilities to build other new networks/relationships. Due to various other types of objectives, particularly, among the young generation as well as elders, members in both the communities formed new social ties; various types of exchanges and transactions such as food and drinks, labor exchange, etc. have paved the way to build friendly relationships. In addition, through the intervention of government as well as non-governmental organizations, various types of associations were established within the host communities, where both the IDPs and the hosts enjoyed their mutual memberships. This created a background to increase the frequency of contacts between the IDPs and the hosts. In particular, under the *samurdhi* program, there were *shramadanans* (collective activities) and *small groups*' credit programs where both male and female IDPs and the host community had more opportunities to interact. Both government and non-government organizations had organized small group activities that became popular, both among the IDPs and the hosts.

Generally, among the community, people organized some other collective activities informally for the purpose of savings.

Generally, when we start a "seettu," we can meet more trustworthy people and get together in both our village and the newcomers (FGD3/FS/H/GMw).

'*Seettu*' methods became a very popular method for savings in which both parties were actively involved. Seettu is the traditional system of savings and credit, known in Sri Lanka as *seettu*. The *seettu*, a traditional name in Sri Lankan, refers to a fundraising method used among people. The participants in such a group contribute an agreed sum of money to a pool on a daily, weekly, fortnightly, or monthly basis. Cash *seettu* activities became a popular and highly important method for cash exchange. Although it is primarily an economic activity, it generated diverse social relationships. Specifically, mutual trust, good will, and friendliness among the IDPs and the hosts were promoted, and these informal relationships became dynamic and meaningful to the individuals interacting with each other.

In addition, voluntary organizations and community development organizations that were formed enabled the promotion of mutual social relationships, good will, and discussion among the members. Especially where the self-settled IDPs lived in villages in *Madawachchiya* such organizations were operational. Sports Clubs, Women's Associations, 'Young Men's Buddhists Associations,' and 'Death Benevolence Societies' were some of the examples. In most rural societies, Death Benevolence Societies are very active voluntary organizations and almost every household is a member. The main reason for its popularity is social security, participation, and cooperation. This type of organization is essential for each and every family in the event of a death in the area. The Death Benevolence Society does not receive assistance from any government or non-government organization, and

its success and strength totally depend on the members. Also, since death can occur in the most unexpected of circumstances, the cooperation of others becomes extremely important and indispensable. It appeared that membership in a Death Benevolence Society provided opportunities for increased interactions among the IDPs and members of the host communities. Some of these societies were organized by the IDPs after their arrival in the host community. In one village, the chairman of the Death Benevolence Society was an IDP.

In addition, there is the 'School Development Society' and the 'Temple Development Society.' Both IDPs and hosts were members of the 'Young Men's Buddhist Association,' School Development Society, and the Temple Development Society. But they had to join their neighboring village temple for religious purposes. After the arrival of the IDPs, the population in the village increased, thus, strengthening the homogeneous kinship group. Therefore, they collectively constructed their own temple in their village. The IDPs had taken a prominent and leading role in these activities. As a result, they were able to successfully face threats that arose from the neighboring villages. In this village, the IDPs and the hosts united and became a powerful group. There are distinct features visible in the village as a consequence of the IDPs arrival. Among the IDPs and hosts, there were some conflicts, but when dealing with the neighboring villages, they ignored their differences and faced situations as a single united force. Through such endeavors, the spirit of cooperation and coexistence gained strength. This enabled them to successfully overcome harassments and injustice from the neighboring villages.

In spite of the trivial indifferences as a social group, through their social relationships, networks, and reciprocity, the IDPs and the hosts achieved a complementary relationship, over a period of more than ten years. This trend is visible in almost all the self-settled villages. The IDPs engaged in performing roles that are uniquely those of the permanent residents of the village. Also, their economic and political relationships have become equal to those of the host community.

However, the relationships between the IDPs living in the WCs and their host communities have different characteristics when compared to the self-settled IDPs and their host communities. One of the reasons for this difference is that when the self-settled IDPs selected where to settle down, they had made use of those relationships that existed between them and the host community before they were displaced. Nonetheless, according to some studies, most probably the IDPs in the WCs did not settle in locations by considering the previous relationships among the IDPs and the prospective WC areas (Hovil 2007). However, in the case of Sri Lanka, the location of the WCs was ethnically divided in order to avoid any matters or incidents among them and also on the basis of certain homogeneous characteristics (Skinner 2005). Accordingly, the Sinhalese IDPs were accommodated in areas with Sinhalese-dominant locations, while Tamil IDPs were accommodated

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in the Tamil majority areas. Similarly, Muslim IDPs were accommodated in areas with a majority of Muslims. However, in establishing WCs, precautions were taken to ensure that the community area comprised of members of the same ethnic group. These approaches were conducive to ensuring an environment where both parties, namely, IDPs and the host community, could maintain their reciprocal relationships.

Generally, in the initial stage of the IDPs accommodation in the WCs, frequent relations between the IDPs and the host communities were rare, because of a lack of kinship and friendship relations (Hovil 2007). However, studies in some countries have indicated that marriages contracted between camp refugees and host communities are mainly for building mutual relationships (Jacobson 2001). The reasons for such a state are indicated as labeling individuals as refugees, and the perpetuation of that label continuously and that such labels are strong barriers preventing closer relationships. In addition, the uncertainty of permanent residence, identity, possibility of returning to former locations, unemployment, and absence of a permanent source of income (and one or more of these uncertainties) tend to serve as obstacles for the formation of social relationships (Duncan 2005). However, there are others who disagree with these concepts, and they state that when the IDPs receive various forms of attention and assistance, and the host community does not get any such benefits, envy is inevitable and it acts as a barrier to the development of goodwill and social relationships.

Most of the IDPs pointed out that when they arrived at the WC in the area, the responses of the host community had not been favorable at the beginning, but after creating new relationships between the IDPs and the hosts, the situation had changed.

... Later, there were intermarriages between our two groups. So, new relationships have developed now. After these events, now they are happy about us being here. But, some people ask us whether we have obtained permission to settle down here. I have told them that we would move out, when we are given land elsewhere... (Int69/MS/ID/GPW).

However, on many occasions, disregarding the objections of the local communities, the government has established WCs for IDPs. During this period of time, some of the IDPs had developed new relationships/networks with the host members and families, both bonding and bridging such as marriage, friendships, and patron-client relationships. These relationships had been useful to reduce various forms of antagonisms, according to both parties.

There had been several cases of intermarriages that had paved the way for a close affinity of relationships. For example, the interviewee above (Int69/MS/ID/GPW) had married a young woman in the host area, and now she is employed as a home guard. After marriage, she lives with the husband and his sister and father

in a newly built house in the WC, and they expect to permanently live where they are at present. The final consequence of such marriages is that the IDPs become induced to living with the host community. According to the IDP, the new marriage had enabled the IDP family to develop positive relationships with the host community.

However, development of new social relationships, especially intermarriages between the two communities, could have been made possible due to familiar ties that had existed earlier. In this regard, social institutions such as differences in caste, class, and ethnicity have influenced as a barrier for marriage ties. There were some cases of this between the Vavuniya WC IDPs and the host community. However, whatever social relations had been built among the IDPs and the host community, they were not a barrier for the emergence of other forms of relationships. Particularly, with regard to economic activities, there had been various forms of relationships and networks between the IDPs and members of the host community among different economic strata. In other words, it is a more important social bridging relationship than social bonding relationship and appears to have built mutual survival relationships among the IDPs and the hosts. This point has mainly created the attraction for the IDPs to remain living in the host community.

According to the interviews I conducted in the Divisional Secretariat offices, some respondents stated that the government's official policy was that the northern Tamils would live temporarily in the WCs as IDPs, until they could return to their original villages in the north or be relocated to new places provided by the government. However, their displacement became protracted, which led to a development that constantly redefined the relations between the IDPs and their host communities. Interaction between people from both groups became more regular and extended into social, cultural, economic, and political spheres. The IDPs and host community relations were being shaped and re-shaped by relation, competition, conflict, cooperation, and a growing sense of awareness between both the groups.

From the above discussion, there appears two interrelated understandings of the background setting for the attraction of IDPs into the host community/area that clearly affect the long-term displacement and settlements. The first is related to the category of self-settled IDPs and their relation with the host community: reception and providing assistance with accessing land and giving material and emotional support by the host community, and the second is the understanding of the IDP category of living in the WCs and has created background relations with aid, relief, and assistance provided by the government officials and aid agencies. However, these different settings and settlement categories provide various factors affecting the IDPs decision or willingness to remain further in the host communities or other decisions regarding further residence.

## 5.4. Conclusion

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the social factors, which attracted the IDPs to the host community/areas in the three different locations.

Table 5.1. Social Relationships with the Hosts as a Pull Factor

	<b>Madawachchiya DS Division, Self-Settled IDPs</b>	<b>Padaviya DS Division Gravelpitiya WC and Relocated IDPs</b>	<b>Vavuniya DS Division Poonthoddam, Sidhambarampuram WCIDPs</b>
Pre-social Relationships between the IDPs and the Hosts	Former kinship caste relations created a favorable situation	Insufficient opportunities to get support from either relatives or friends	Lack of pre-social relationships with relatives or friends in the host areas
Disputes between the IDPs and the Hosts	Land ownership and using common property were the main sources of some conflicts	Disputes or resistance between the IDPs and the hosts were greater between the WC IDPs and hosts than between the self-settled IDPs and hosts	Conflicts over limited common resources
Creating New Social Relationships	New social relations and networks built through friendship, marriage, voluntary organizations and community development organizations	Very few marriage and patron-client relationships	Few bonding and bridging links such as marriage, friendship and patron-client relationships

In this chapter, the basic attention was focused on the *social relationships* between the IDPs and the host community and these relationships were analyzed to provide an answer to the first part of the first research question. The chapter considered the social relationships, relationships emerging from kinship, marriage, friendship, and ethnic relationship, etc. The study found that the characteristic of homogeneity such as being of the same ethnic group and being a member of the same caste, and kinship relationships were highly dominant in the strengthening of relationships. Particularly, the awareness of being relatives before becoming displaced was a factor that accelerated the development of intense relationships, and this facilitated early entry to the host community. Also, the kinship relations induced the IDPs to self-settle within the host community. The study found that the kinship relationships had played a key role in enabling the IDPs to self-settle among relatives and live with a satisfactory level of security.

Nevertheless, the WC IDPs had no such option like the self-settled IDPs, but had to find WCs established by the government or international organizations and live in the government-controlled area. It was found that both the government and the international organizations had provided an important service to the dis-

placed persons. Particularly, they had constructed buildings to accommodate the IDPs and also provided dry rations and various other basic needs of the displaced persons. In such cases, the host community had not contributed anything for the well-being of the IDPs.

In addition, the study found that regardless of the nature of the environment that prevailed during the early stages, due to staying in the host area for a long period of time, it had been possible for the self-settled IDPs to build various newly created relationships with the hosts. The study found that these types of relationships led to the development of mutual trust, good will, friendliness among the IDPs and hosts and became dynamic and meaningful to the individuals interacting with each other. Such organizations were actively operational, particularly where the self-settled IDPs lived in the villages.

However, the study has revealed that social relationships were different and in varying degrees between the IDPs and the host community. The amount and strength of these relationships may vary according to the individuals concerned, their previous social relationships, and the settlement pattern. All these factors have more or less affected the attraction of the IDPs to the host community/area. Having addressed the social aspects of the research problem, the following chapter moves on to investigate the economic relationships among the IDPs and host people.





# 6

## IDPs and the Host Communities: Economic Relationships

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### Introduction

This chapter will examine what economic relationships and activities the IDPs employed in order to sustain their livelihoods in the host community and what role the self-settled IDPs and WC IDPs played with regard to access to land, employment, housing, education, health, and transport in the host community. Understanding of economic relationships, particularly, the livelihood and coping strategies is necessary to answer the first part (IDPs and host community relations) of the second research question. The aim is to show how different economic factors impact the IDPs as well as the host community members on building livelihood and coping strategies and examine how the factors affect the IDPs attraction (*pull*) into the host community.

The chapter starts, (6.1.), with a general discussion of the IDPs livelihood situation and coping strategies in the host area. Further sections (6.2.-6.5.) look in greater detail at certain aspects of economic livelihood such as land, employment, and infrastructure. The last section (6.6.) concludes the chapter by consolidating the general findings about the place of economic factors in the relationship between the IDPs and the host community members.

### 6.1. Livelihoods and Coping Strategies

Concerning the attraction or pull factor to the host community, social relationships such as kinship and family relationship were more important at the beginning or

the initial stage of access to the village and to settling down there. Besides the social relationships, economic relationships with livelihoods and coping strategies of the IDPs with the hosts are also important factors for attracting the IDPs to the host community. Many IDPs self-settled in villages in the *Madawachchiya* area after their arrival and settlement in the separate lands in the host area, and by building their own houses they tried to establish and improve their living conditions gradually. For the creation of this situation, many of them refer to their coping strategy to create their own status and the building of economic relationships with the host community by using other sources. According to some researchers, many self-settled people in the border areas developed their own coping mechanisms and became partly self-sufficient, but to varying degrees (Van Damme 1999). However, it depends on the extent of the close relationships and integration with the host population.

In 2005, host villagers in some locations in *Vavuniya* pursued their traditional livelihood activities and farming systems, even under constraining conditions. Most of the host community members continued their traditional paddy cultivation, with support from the WC IDPs in various ways. The host community had opportunities to get cheap labor from the WC IDPs who were without job opportunities in the host area. In some other locations, the conflict forced both the host villagers and the IDPs to leave the traditional resources behind and to search for alternative livelihood options. However, the WC IDPs, both Tamil and Sinhalese, had individual reasons (related to economic factors) for being attracted to the host community, while some of them came up with institutional factors. Many of the WC IDPs shared their interest in being relocated to a new place or in proximity to the WCs in the host community and continue their livelihood.

## 6.2. Accessibility of Land and Former Occupation

Economic hardship among IDPs is a related concern. Loss of access to agricultural land is a recurrent factor undermining the livelihoods of displaced people. In rural reception areas, this is sometimes mitigated by the capacity of local social and economic structures to provide alternative access to land or other productive resources (Black and Sessay 1997; Leach 1992) (Evans 2007).

In analyzing the livelihood activities in detail, having access to productive land is of great importance to the livelihoods of the IDPs (Linares 1996; Potts 2000). In the case of the self-settled IDPs, although there were some inconsistencies between some IDPs and some of the host community people, many of them had background kin relationships for providing moral support and some assistance to settle down in the villages. This support did not last; hence, the IDPs had to find

other sources of livelihood by themselves. In addition to background kin support, other key economic factors supported them to self-settle in the new area. One thing is the accessibility of arable land. According to Jacobson (2001), “*the availability of arable land increases refugees’ economic productivity.*” As mentioned earlier, although there were some difficulties when some of them were getting land, many of the IDPs from *Vavuniya* arrived and self-settled in the *Madawachchiya* rural areas as they had access to land for building their own houses and some extent of high land for the cultivation of crops. However, subsequently, discontent emerged between the IDPs and the host because of land problems, particularly as the IDPs were going to stay permanently on the hosts’ land and start cultivation. This is because land is a limited property.

However, some of the host people in the *Madawachchiya* area shared their resources with the IDPs who arrived from *Vavuniya* South.

Although this land is very small, they (his relatives) gave this land to me to build a house and I had an opportunity to buy another land (in the host area) for the cultivation (Int14/FS/ID/GMw).

Access to land, particularly, arable land is a key component for successful IDP self-settlement and to provide self-economic productivity (Bakewell 2000). In many countries, access to land depends on traditional land entitlements, such as in Guinea; thus, the farmer who occupies the land is entitled to use it (Jacobson 2001). Many of the IDPs in the villages had a chance and access to land through using their pre-existing relationships. Some people had rights for access to land through their former kinship relations. Some displaced families were given land free of charge, while others purchased land in the village. But they obtained land at very low prices; they called it “like free of charge.” Although there is a law and a legal system for the ownership of land and property in Sri Lanka, traditional land entitlements are also important for access to land in the villages. Many of the traditional villagers refused to sell their lands to outsiders and did not allow an influx to their village. (But these traditional methods have been changed since many other factors are found, such as open economic system, including availability of buying and selling land and other property). Almost all the IDPs who arrived from the border areas to the villages in *Madawachchiya* had received plots of land, at least to build their houses.

However, in the case of paddy land, the picture was different. Very few persons had been able to buy paddy lands. Many of the IDPs do not have ownership of paddy land, and many of the IDP farmers were used to cultivating paddy land by paying taxes to the owner of the land (to host community members) after harvesting the crops. Almost all the paddy lands belong to the original inhabitants of the village and were very limited. In village areas, the most important and profitable

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lands were the paddy lands. Therefore, the IDPs had not had the opportunity to get paddy lands. However, in addition to paddy lands in the village, there were some extra high lands. There were crown lands, unauthorized use of land by persons, and also reservation lands which are unoccupied and uncultivated. Hence, some of the IDPs occupied some of these types of lands, in addition to the land given by the relatives, and some of the land was given to the IDPs through the intervention of the Divisional Secretariat of the Division.

Almost every displaced farmer had earlier owned large extents of highland, paddy lands as well as a house with other properties in their native villages when they were living in their original villages (see chapter 4). However, they had to be satisfied with much less in the self-settled villages.

Some of the IDPs who arrived in the villages in *Madawachchiya* managed to visit their home area and engage in primary production at certain times. Furthermore, some of the IDPs, particularly after the improvement of security conditions regained access to their paddy lands. However, while such commutes to the less-secure areas is possible, the abandoned tracts were considered as too dangerous to visit. Some had experiences in continuing their farming activities. Nevertheless, some people tried to stay in both places as their paddy land was in the original villages and as they did not have paddy lands in the host community. In addition, there were some expectations of benefits from the government and other agencies, as they were considered as returnees. This trend improved particularly after the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) was signed in 2002. However, the resettlement program of the government and international organizations encouraged the IDPs to repatriate to their original villages. Moreover, they designed many programs for resettled people by adding some benefits to start their life again in the original villages. Hence, some people used to live in both places. Very few people returned and resettled during the period when I was doing my fieldwork in 2005.

Some displaced people had to face immeasurable problems and difficulties within the host community. According to their statements, they had problems both in finding work and carrying on working continuously. In reality, those who were previously living in the villages in the Vavuniya South Division had been engaged in agriculture and agriculture-related activities. The livelihood situation of a family in this locality (host area) is determined and influenced by the extent of land owned and cultivated. Most of the host community households have improved their economic status and strength by cultivating a substantial amount of land.

However, after becoming IDPs, some people could re-enter agricultural activities amidst many difficulties within the host community. In addition to landlessness, some other infrastructural facilities were lacking in the host area such as lack of water, lack of capital, taking care of crops (to prevent stealing), transport, and marketing. According to the IDPs, in spite of all these shortcomings, their ability to find some sort of shelter and arable land for them to live on in the host area can

be regarded as a significant victory. Also, they felt that some living conditions in the new location had been better than what they had earlier. As one said:

Gods sent us here. We were living among innumerable difficulties. We recognized that only after coming here; I feel that this is heaven. When compared with the place where we were living, this is much better and I would not leave here. Also, I bought a piece of land, and I can engage in farming much better now (Int13/FS/ ID/GMw).

It was evident that the displaced persons were thinking of their former life and reflected on the present opportunities to engage in their usual occupations and infrastructural facilities as well as other conveniences. Availability of arable land for cultivation and land for residence represented accessibility to former occupations and it symbolized the success of their life, because the main occupation of those who arrived there was farming. Hence, they felt that “*God sent us here,*”, “*this is heaven.*” Farmers, arable land, and occupations interlink concepts with one another. For IDPs who were farmers, the availability of land in the host community/area was connected to the achievement of their former occupational link, with their willingness to stay further in the host community.

In the case of the WC IDPs, they had relatively lesser opportunities for access to land in the host area/community compared to the self-settled IDPs. Although the self-settled IDPs had a chance and possibility to get access to land through their relatives, friends, or their economic capabilities, the WC IDPs had no such background or opportunities to have access to land. In many cases in Sri Lanka, a typical land allotment provided to an IDP family living in a WC by the authorities was a few perches of land or a fixed building to share as the residence. However, their future expectations for getting land and occupation from the host community for residence and other purposes had created a feeling in them to remain in the present area.

In the case of the *Padaviya* WC, for the purpose of house construction, the Divisional Secretary had given the WC IDPs allotments of land, totaling five perches for a family. When the IDPs got ready to settle down on those allotments, the Wild Life Department and the Forest Department protested against their settlement, and the government officials stated that those allotments had been given to them on a temporary basis only. But the IDPs had not vacated those allotments, while some of the IDPs had constructed permanent dwellings and some others had planted permanent crops on the land handed over to them. The Divisional Secretariat and the government demarcated land that belongs to the Wild Life Department and the Forest Department. Accordingly, the Divisional Secretariat had stated that alternative land allotments would be made and that some of the land would be allocated to the IDPs. Despite this, during the period of the field study, the problem remained unsolved.

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However, many of the WC residents are making various efforts to get the land allotments given to them regularized. Some of them have formed organizations to present their grievances and the land problem to the relevant ministries and authorities. All these efforts amply show the IDPs refusal to return to their original villages and that they are well accommodated at present. More than half (50%) of the families accommodated at the *Padaviya/ Gravelpitiya* WC, indicated their willingness to settle down on the same land or new land that had been allocated to them recently. The new land area is situated on the opposite side of the “*Padaviya Tank*” and a little distance away from the main road. Some of the families that settled down by the roadside refused the new lands. They stated “the land allotment demarcated for us is too far away from the main road. We can’t continue our business there.” They insist that this creates a lot of inconvenience for them to continue their small businesses.

The great majority of those who want to settle down alongside the main road are engaged in business activities. Some of them have constructed trade stalls in close proximity to the road and are at present engaged in business activities. Due to these reasons, the IDPs accommodated at the WC as well as those who had an opportunity to find an accommodation close to the main road and more specifically those who are engaged in business activities refuse to go back to their original villages. Also, some of them refuse to be moved to any other location.

I had to give up all my business activities, the moment I was displaced. Now, I am operating a small business (a boutique) to earn my living here (host community). For my purpose, this land is good. If I move away from here, I need a larger block of land to engage in farming. Why should I move a long distance for a minute block of land? What can I do in such a place? I am used to this occupation. So I will continue to stay here...(Int61/MS/ID/GPW).

The person who gave the above statement resides in the WC. When he was living at his original village in the Weli-Oya area, he started a business enterprise and developed it into a large-scale commercial enterprise. However, in 1999, he had to flee from the village, along with the other villagers. After being displaced due to the financial losses, he was mentally depressed. Then he began to consume alcohol. But with time, with his wife and children, he recovered from the shock and started a small shop in the house he had received at this WC and has worked hard to develop it further. According to him, he had been able to recover mostly because of the help he received from business associates with whom he had engaged in business transactions earlier, and they had assisted him to start his present business on a small scale. He said, “if I have to move away from the present place, it will just make me a displaced person once again.” This shows how income-generating activities or accessing former occupations in new places of settlement might

therefore impede a willingness to return to their original villages. This point was echoed by a number of informants in the WC.

While some of the IDPs are engaged in diverse attempts to get a block of land from the government, some IDPs had privately purchased land and had gone into occupation of the land belonging to them. Those who were able to make good earnings had bought land in secure locations, and their dependents had settled down in those places. However, it is only a very small number of IDPs accommodated at the *Gravelpitiya* WC that had been able to buy land, while the majority of the IDPs are still trying to get a block of land from the government. Those who have privately bought land continue to remain in the welfare centers, expecting land from the government and also receiving any assistance provided to the IDPs.

This is a common expectation of the IDPs living in the WCs in Vavuniya and Anuradhapura. Some of those living in the WCs in Vavuniya have bought land in Vavuniya town or in its vicinity. Some of the IDPs have sold the land they owned (original villages) in Killinochchi and Mullaitive to invest the money to purchase land in Vavuniya. According to one key informant in Vavuniya, some of the WC IDPs have purchased land in the host area.

Now they are (Tamil IDPs who came from the northern area) purchasing a house and property here (host area villages). They pay very high prices for these purchases, and most of the Sinhalese people sell their house and property and go elsewhere (KInt1/MS/H/VS).

The government does not have any mandate to interfere with the handover of private land to the displaced people in the area but can distribute government land according to their policies and preferences. Land and the distribution of land is a politically sensitive issue and are closely connected with ethnicity. The local government was not willing to extend the practice of land distribution to displaced people. One major reason for this policy must have been that the government could not justify contributing to the profound change in the ethnic ratio in the area, which would have taken place if the northern IDPs settled more permanently. It is therefore unlikely that the WCs on government land will be made more permanent settlements in the future, as this would contribute to altering the ethnic composition in those areas. But some of the key informants, such as government secretariat officials, survey department officials, and some religious leaders have indicated that the process has already started and is continuing, particularly the clearing, occupation, and cultivation of the forest land without permission in the Vavuniya district (this is very common in the rural areas of Sri Lanka; many rural farmers clear crown land without legal permission for cultivation and residential purposes).

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One person, who was involved in a small-scale trade, told me that he could not return to his original village.

No, we cannot go there because, if we go there, it will be difficult to live our lives. The government gave us some land in the 9<sup>th</sup> unit of the welfare center. So they are ready to go there. Like them, if we also get land there, we would like to go there (Int73/FT/ID/PW).

Brun (2003) points out that settling down in this manner after purchasing land, with them relocating themselves, has started to be a major obstacle that discourages the tendency to return to the original villages, and that this is an allegation cited by many Muslim organizations in the case of Puttalam. Many of the WC IDPs in Vavuniya and Padaviya also had followed these methods when they stay for a long period of time in the WCs. Instead of moving to small huts constructed by the government, the majority of the IDPs have started construction of houses according to their own plan, on the land allotments given to them. Some of them have started home gardens on their lands. Some others have planted seedlings of permanent crops such as coconut, arecanut, and other tree species. The normal features seen in the WCs are on the decrease now.

However, most of the Tamil IDPs living in the WCs in Vavuniya would not like to go back to their original villages in the north. So they have expressed their desire to obtain land in the Vavuniya area and relocate themselves with the help and assistance of the authorities. One person, who expressed these ambitions (Int73/FT/ID/PW), is middle aged, had lived in several areas of the country. After the riots in July 1983, he had settled down in Killinochchi and in 1996, due to conflicts, he was displaced and arrived at the Poonthottam WC in Vavuniya as an IDP. He continues to live in a WC. His present occupation is vending ice cream. He points out, “if I go back to my former village, it would be quite difficult to find a job and a source of income. I believe that it is far better for me and my family to obtain a small block of land and continue to live in the host community area” (Int73/FT/ID/PW). Although the IDPs complained of various problems while living in the WCs, including insecurity, isolation, and exploitation, they still have a desire to remain in the host community, either as recipients of land or without such a facility. However, they would like to remain in the WCs further with future expectations to relocate in the new area or self-settle in the host area. Many reasons could be cited to support why they would choose to further remain in the host area. The main reason is an expectation or accessibility of land and former or new occupations within the host area, while getting assistance from the authorities. It was evident that the displaced persons who self-settled or WC IDPs had thought about their former lives and had reflected on opportunities to engage in their usual occupations with infrastructural facilities as well as with other conveniences. Availability of arable



land for cultivation and land for residence represented accessibility to former occupations and these symbolized their success in life in the area.

### 6.3. Finding New Occupations and Depending on Aid and Assistance

IDPs who self-settled and WCs were used to developing their livelihood or depending on finding new occupations and receiving aid and assistance from the government, NGOs, or INGOS. It was one of the reasons for their attraction or pull as IDPs into the host community.

A considerable number of self-settled IDPs had found new jobs instead of sticking to their former occupations. The majority of the IDPs were farmers, and most of them were experienced market-oriented producers. In addition to cultivating rice, they used to grow vegetables. There were a very few individuals who were small-scale traders in the village, such as being an owner of a boutique or contractor, and some worked as carpenters, fishermen, and government servants. However, almost everyone in the area used to work as a farmer to cultivate paddy and other crops; hence, farming was the main livelihood system in these rural areas making arable land a very important factor for their coping strategy. Even if they could not get land comparable to what they had in their original villages, some of the IDPs had developed and received or bought sufficient plots of land for cultivation, while others were continuing their former occupations and some others had started on new jobs such as being carpenters, fishermen, and small traders in the host area for earning their livelihood. Some IDPs took part in jobs on a temporary basis in the informal sector, such as buying and selling vegetables and other provisions, either because it was more profitable or simply because no other work was available. At the beginning, most of the IDPs, however, had to begin their lives in the host community by working as casual farm laborers, and wage employment still remains to be the major source of cash income for the majority of the displaced families. The women were prepared to work as casual laborers as well. Very few people have found some unskilled jobs in Madawachchiya town.

Under these circumstances, the IDPs could not engage in their former occupations and had found some other related jobs within the host community. Many IDPs expressed that their occupation and livelihoods in the host community were better than living in the WCs, particularly depending on the food rations.

However, for some IDPs who had the potential to continue their former occupation or find new jobs in the displaced area, it was more important to settle as self-settled families and find employment that would help them to continue their livelihoods without difficulties. Self-settled IDPs who came from Vavuniya to the Madawachchiya area on their own managed to find new occupations or continue their former occupations, with the introduction of their techniques and adding new

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technology particularly for highland cultivation, and they were able to change the former situation of the villages.

Many people said that they started their new life in the self-settled villages, almost one or two years after being displaced (1987). They did not complain of any difficulties to adjust to the new life in the area. Basically, as they were entitled to receive *relief and assistance* (dry rations) given by the government and other agencies, it helped them to obtain their consumption needs, to some extent. After about nine (9) months of displacement, they received money from the government for the purpose of building a house. The government had received fixed sums of money from international agencies, to be given to the IDPs in order for them to build a house where they could settle currently (but later after signing the MOU in 2002, the government encouraged the IDPs to return). However, many IDPs remembered the event differently:

Dry rations were received after being displaced, but it was not sufficient for consumption needs of all the family members, but there were some families, who are receiving assistance even at present. Some displaced families were able to borrow money to construct agro-wells and buy water pumps (Int12/MS/ID/GMw).

The government had two different programs to assist displaced people at that time. One was continuing the distribution of dry rations and the other was providing total expenses for building a house and withdrawing the dry rations. Some people agreed to continue the dry rations program, while retaining the status of IDP and some others agreed to accept compensation for constructing a dwelling and using the assistance for other purposes. Some of them thought that the government should provide better assistance for the displaced persons. There does not appear to be a standard criterion for choosing which displaced people should be supported with the World Food Program (WFP) rations, and there was no obvious correlation between the provision of the WFP assistance and the living conditions within the WCs (Brun 2003). Since June 1990, the Government has committed itself to provide food to the IDPs. Each displaced person whether he or she stayed in the WC or with friends and relatives was provided with food assistance issued by the Department of Social Services. The food assistance was given in the form of dry rations (Lankaneson 2004). However, the IDPs had been given food rations for more than ten years without having any control over the distribution of rations. In Vavuniya, people with practical experience always complained of delay and often grumbled that rations were not given in time, and they also complained about the quantity and quality of the food rations issued.

However, some researchers consider that the IDPs no longer need special assistance, and it is a matter for debate (Brun 2003). But a few sacks of rice clearly amounted to very little in the way of helping the IDPs during the study. Compar-

atively, the IDPs rarely benefited from the international support framework that supports deserving people such as refugees. In theory, the responsibility for formal support of the IDPs usually falls on the local government, but in practice it is often unable or unwilling to help them (ibid.). In the case of the self-settled IDPs in the rural villages, the situation shows a little different picture about their perceptions on aid and assistance.

To start living in a new location, government assistance was needed. But not for an indefinite period. We should be able to earn our own livelihood. If we become dependents on external sources, we would not be able to achieve any progress. Mostly, my relatives helped me. Although they could not afford to give us money, they allowed us to remain in the village. They gave us land. All that help is behind whatever success I have achieved (Int1/MS/ID/GMw).

However, there were many opinions, judgments, and attitudes among the IDPs, some of whom have still been having access to their rations for more than 20 years. But many of them, who had received a sum of money as compensation and had started to build their livelihood, have begun their own livelihood strategies without any relief and assistance later on. The IDPs who had taken their total compensation, often commented that their idea was to start their new life through self-striving. The person in the interview above had received money as compensation, with other equipment for continuing his livelihood. However, the overall idea is that many people, who were self-settled and continued to accept dry rations, were not satisfied with the practical issues in assistance programs provided by the government and aid agencies; some claimed its shortcomings such as insufficient quantity and low quality of the goods. However, the majority of the IDPs who self-settled showed that their improvement of living condition in the host community was not a result of aid and assistance given by the agencies.

However, the perceptions of the host community members about this aid and assistance were different. Many people from the host community argued that behind the success in the living standards of the IDPs (compared with the host community members) was the aid and assistance given by the aid agencies, which played an important role in their progress. Although many self-settled IDPs also agreed with that idea, to some extent, they have shown that there are other different factors behind their success in improving the living conditions better than the host community members of the village.

One of the major reasons for the pulling or attraction of the WC IDPs to stay within the host area is believed to be the aid, relief, and assistance provided to them. For those who were displaced due to the war, the government bears the responsibility to provide relief, aid, and assistance. This is both a duty and a responsibility. Hence, the involvement of the government to ensure a supply of the needed assistance is substantial. Therefore, humanitarian assistance is provided by

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various departments, ministries, and organizations (Lankanesan 2000). The WFP ration is provided mostly to those WCs that are not provided with food rations by the government. However, there are no declared criteria for the selection of IDPs who should be given assistance, but anyone who presents himself as an IDP is eligible to receive assistance available from the government program to the IDPs.

Nevertheless, the situation of the WC IDPs is different from that of the self-settled IDPs. Their situation with residence, availability of support from relatives or other host members, accessibility of occupation, and land and some of the other conditions are totally different from those of the self-settled IDPs. The WC people are comparatively very isolated, with poor relationships and livelihood, and insecurity when they were displaced from their original villages. That is why they reached the WCs without going to their relatives or to another community. Hence, it is believed that basically they need relief and assistance. The problem was for how long they need to depend on relief and assistance. In the case of the Vavuniya WC IDPs, it has been more than 10-15 years of living in the same welfare center. As a result of the long-term displacement and a dependence on relief and assistance, a new culture of dependency has been created. This will be discussed further in the next section.

However, there are frequent complaints made by the IDPs, regarding obtaining food rations or its quality. In addition to the above-mentioned assistance, there are assistance programs related to housing. Most of the WCs have been established either on government or privately owned land. However, in building these new houses and also to establish the WCs, both the INGOs and the NGOs had extended assistance in various ways, in addition to educational programs and vocational training programs for the benefit of the IDPs. However, at the WCs, the most highly involved organizations were the UNHCR and ICRC.

The above discussion shows the different factors related to attracting the IDPs into the host community. In particular, the self-settled IDPs indicated that finding a new livelihood strategy and depending on aid and assistance have played a significant role in their decision to continue living in the area. The majority of the self-settled IDPs involved in this study found new occupations using the assistance they received, while the WC IDPs mostly depend on relief and assistance given by the aid agencies. As a result of both these factors, the IDPs remaining in the host community are affected.

### 6.4. Creating a New Socio-economic Setting

According to other sources presented by the Divisional Secretariat Divisions in *Madawachchiya*, when rural villages in Madawachchiya division are compared with the other urban and rural areas in the country, it can be recognized as an area with few facilities (DS Division data, Madawachchiya 2005). Even when exam-

ined from the viewpoint of job opportunities, there were relatively few employment opportunities in the area. However, the majority of displaced persons were farmers, and the existence of space to engage in agriculture caused the displaced persons to think that there could be working opportunities. However, after considering all the relevant details, it can be concluded that these areas offered few opportunities for work and employment.

However, according to many self-settled IDPs, instead of thinking about the former good life and then feeling frustrated, they thought that they should start a new life with their self-effort and with whatever assistance they received after reaching the host area. Hence, many people tried to build their new lives while facing new challenges. The main challenge was to find land to continue their former occupations. Since the majority of the people were depending on agricultural farming as their livelihood, they had to convert their skills in farming in a proper way to cultivate their highland crop they had received, with experience from the original villages.

Many IDPs who self-settled indicated a deep interest in working hard, and they had also developed some skills to successfully cultivate highland crops in their former village through experience of working with the Tamil people in the border areas. One farmer said:

When we came here in 1987, relatively poor conditions were prevailing here. Now this is a prosperous area, but those days this was a poor-looking area (Int6/MS/ID/GMw).

From the IDPs point of view, in 1986/87, when the Vavuniya southern people arrived in the host villages in the Madawachchiya Division, the economic situation of the village was poor. The majority of the rural people in these particular villages were considered as backward, both economically and educationally. It was merely because the villagers had no interest in improving their own economic conditions or building a good dwelling for them to live in. After earning some money from labor work, they would stay at home till the earnings were used up, and then they would go to work again and repeat the process, not having any savings at all. They would meet on the road or a boutique and waste their time. They had no entrepreneurship skills at all. If there were sufficient rain, they would cultivate a paddy field. They mostly engaged in *chena* cultivation. But often, the *chena* cultivation ended with losses. Under such conditions, the economic conditions within the village were at the lowest level. No one was interested in planting a coconut or an arecanut seedling. Their lands remained as neglected, unused wastelands.

In contrast, the points of view of the host community members show a different picture regarding the reasons for their economic deprivation or poor living conditions in the villages. They mentioned that natural disasters such as droughts

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and damage from wild animals were the main reasons for their poor living conditions. Nevertheless, those factors are very common in many of the rural areas in the district. There are many reasons for some villages being rich and prosperous while some are poor. Generally, progressive living depends on the availability of resources in the village. Particularly in a village in the dry zone, a tank or an irrigation water system and fertile land in the village are very important for achieving a good standard of living by the people of a traditional agricultural village.

However, this depends on the attitudes or efforts of the people who live in the village. At that time, there were other reasons that also affected the situation of these villages' economy. These traditional host villages were comprised of one particular caste (*nakathi*), with their specific occupation as *tom tom beater*. Traditionally, they used to practice and provide their service for all the other people in the area for their livelihood. However, it was not considered as a well-off occupation, and income was very little; further, they had to do other work in addition or alternatively to gain a better income. Many of them did paddy cultivation and chena cultivation to maintain their livelihood. On the other hand, the majority of the *Madawachchiya* population consisted of another caste, which was the *goigama* caste, and it is considered by some as a higher caste than the *nakathi* caste. Hence, during that period, the people, including those in the particular caste in the host villages, were more backward than the other majority higher-caste people in the area, as they had less power politically, socially, and economically. Therefore, the background situation and setting of the host area was different compared with the border villages and living with other ethnic communities.

However, the arrival of the IDPs into the host area has contributed to change the former socio-economic and political situation of the host communities. One of the respondents explained his role in building the livelihood of the family after their arrival in the area. According to him, the largest challenge for farming in the village was to obtain irrigation water for crop production. He was determined to dig a well with the help of his wife because when they settled in the village, the water stored in the village tank could only be used once in two years for irrigation and that was also only to irrigate the paddy cultivation. The tank would hold just enough water to cultivate the paddy and also to satisfy domestic water requirements. In his former village, they had realized that unless a farmer had a reliable source of water for irrigation, the best benefits of farming could not be achieved. Therefore, the first step he took to start farming in the host village was to dig a well to obtain groundwater for irrigation, and it was called an "*agro-well*." The building of *agro-wells* in Sri Lanka has been growing steadily since the mid 1980s. The government of Sri Lanka was instrumental in initiating an *agro-well* development program by providing subsidies for *agro well* construction. *Agro-well* development was seen as a potential source to bridge the gap in the availability of water

in dry and intermediate zones of Sri Lanka during the dry seasons (Karunaratne 2002).

The introduction of *agro-wells* to the area was a central point of change in their cultivation methods and strategies.

I wanted to lead a new life. My wife helped me a lot in these efforts. I dug a small well, but it was quite deep. I dug up to 25 feet below the ground level. But there was no water. But I did not give up. I kept on digging deeper and deeper till the water could be seen in the well (Int1/MS/ID/GMw).

His wife added:

When I saw water in the well, I thought that we had won. I realized that we could move away from poverty. I felt that we had won everything in the world.

As this family, many of self settled IDPs had considered digging a well as a prerequisite for successful farming due to their past experiences in the original village. Most of the successful farmers were those who owned an *agro-well* and used them to grow crops. The IDPs original villages were an excellent site to cultivate crops such as bananas, chilies, and shallots (red onion) due to the dry weather conditions in the area. Progressive farmers had invested in the construction of *agro-wells*. The self-settled IDPs stated that there were virtually no farmers in the host village who recognized the value of an *agro-well*. At the beginning, digging of the *agro-well* was not accepted by the host community.

However, as mentioned earlier, the economic situation in the villages in the *Madawachchiya* area were relatively poor compared with the other areas until the IDPs came from Vavuniya south and started highland cultivation after digging an *agro-well*. One of the self-settled IDPs, later considered as the “*good farmer*” in the area, expressed:

I am the pioneer in cultivation of shallots (red onion) and big onions in this area. When I cultivated both red onions and big onions, many people came to my land to see the crops I was growing. Soon afterwards, I started cultivation of cabbage and beetroot. At the early stage, many people said that these crops would not perform well in this area. But I kept on managing those crops. The crops grew luxuriantly. The people were surprised.

The above quotation shows the importance of IDPs introducing new knowledge and new crops in the agriculture sector in the host area. Actually, these new ideas and knowledge were not his only personal skills. The man interviewed above had some personal skills for successful farming. Generally, it is considered that many IDPs who came from the Vavuniya South Division to the *Madawachchiya* area

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had these skills and experiences in highland crop cultivation. The agro-wells system was introduced by the agricultural department to the farmers in the country in 1989. After that, most of the government institutions that were involved in the development of the agro-wells considered introducing micro-irrigation along with the agro-well. They expected that this would bring about new economic stability for the dry-zone farmers and allow them to be competitive in production (Karunaratne 2002). However, many people of the rural villages in *Madawachchiya* (host area) had no practical experience with the system. Although introducing this groundwater usage system for cultivating highland crops was not discovered by the IDPs, it was a practical experience given by the IDPs to the host area. But crop production, that is, irrigating crops with water from an agro-well was a new knowledge for everyone in the host area. One important impact on the host community was the practical introduction of the methods and strategies to the agriculture sector in the host area while giving a solution to some extent for the economic burdens in the area; later, the success of agro wells caused an “*economic boom*” throughout the area.

However, the most common experience in most of the refugee studies is the economic impact on the host community. Most probably, many host communities consider the arrival of IDPs as a burden, because it is likely that there would be competition for scarce resources such as land, jobs, and environmental resources, for instance water, firewood, and infrastructure such as schools, housing, and health facilities (Kibreab 1989; Jacobson 2001; Duncan 2005). In the case of the self-settled IDPs in the rural villages in *Madawachchiya*, the picture was different. Although there were stories about disagreement between the IDPs and the host community members regarding sharing of resources in the village, many people (IDPs and hosts) agreed that after the influx of the Vavuniya south people into the villages, many positive changes took place within the farming sector and it extended to other sectors, creating some improvements and trends such as creating market-oriented production instead of production for subsistence. It created new jobs (buying and selling). Moreover, some empirical data about the impact of the self-settled IDPs compared with those who were in camps or WCs are mixed, but the facts put forward show that self-settled IDPs can contribute positively to their host communities. The key point is that IDPs are making economic contributions without depending on formal assistance (Jacobson 2001).





Figure 6.1. A small agricultural site in a host community with both IDPs and hosts working together-2005

In the beginning, the IDPs could not get any help from any other groups of people (host people, government, or NGOs) for farming, but later many members of the host communities started to follow the IDPs as they were farming, using new methods and growing new crops such as red onions and other highland crops, e.g., cabbage, beetroot, etc., which usually grow well in the wet zone. The IDP farmers showed that these types of vegetables can be grown well in the dry zone too using altered technology, which they learned from the Tamils when they lived in Vavuniya.

There were some relatives who did not listen to us in the early stages. But later on, they came to me or to my brother to get our advice. We explained our knowledge to them. Even now, they come to us to consult on farming (Int12/MS/ID/GMw).

According to many respondents in both the host and IDPs communities in the Madawachchiya area, these events led to the development of better relationships among the IDPs and the hosts. Many people from the host community appreciated the IDPs help in introducing new ways and means of cultivating new crops, finding water, using new technology for cultivation, using different kinds of fertilizers, and crop treatments. Some of the IDPs got advice from the agricultural officers in the area, and some of them met agricultural extension workers, attended training classes, and received both advice and assistance. Generally, using these types of assistance had been rare in these villages. As a result of these events, many of the

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host villages and the surrounding areas were developed by highland cultivation, and it has spread even to the paddy lands in the area. Noteworthy, many respondents pointed out that all the changes in the situation in the area were the result of the IDPs arrival in the area.

Moreover, some IDPs, who self-settled, contacted formal financial institutions such as “*Commercial Bank*” and “*Rajarata Development Bank*” and engaged in transactions to obtain credit to buy high-quality seeds for production.

I contacted agricultural instructors and got high-quality seeds and advice. I visited banks and discussed with them how to obtain credit. My relatives encouraged me.

Many IDP farmers bought water pumps for their cultivation, and one who was mentioned earlier bought tractors, investing money borrowed from the banks. After selling his agricultural produce, he repaid the borrowed money. Then, he expanded the cultivated area and engaged in commercial agriculture. At present, he earns money by the cultivation of highland crops, paddy, and also renting out the tractor to supplement his income. During the early stages in the host village, he had engaged in poultry farming. It was an effort to make ends meet. In addition, he engaged in collecting locally produced vegetables for sale at markets in *Colombo* and *Dambulla*.

Initially, I bought vegetables and sold them in Colombo. Later, I got the villagers to transport their produce to Colombo and Dambulla markets. After creating those relationships, the farmers were able to directly market their produce. I confined my marketing activities to only what I produced.

As many people liked him, he established linkages with wholesale vegetable dealers at the “*Manning Market*” in Colombo. The *Manning Market* is the main consumer goods market in Colombo, Sri Lanka. It fulfills both wholesale and retail functions. The growth of these marketing relationships brought about significant changes in the economy of the host village. Some people called the village “*small Jaffna*” (It is believed that Jaffna was a well-known place for crop cultivation and a place where skilled farmers in the country were living in the early period, before the war started. Its farmers were very famous for cultivating highland crops successfully). The production of onions and other commercial vegetable crops is the main livelihood in the villages and the area at present. After the war started in 1983, most of the produce from Jaffna arriving in Colombo was limited, resulting in declining commercial food production in Jaffna. Additionally, a well-functioning wholesale vegetable market came up in Puttalam and other places in the dry zone (e.g., Dambulla) (Shanmugaratna 2001).

However, as a result of the IDPs experience and practice, some of the host people improved their farming methods following these systems; thereafter, some of the host farmers started cultivating and got into the vegetable business together with the IDPs. Larger amounts of money were circulating within these villages, and it paved the way for noteworthy changes in the villages.

On the other hand, since their displacement became protracted and settlement seemed to be established permanently, the people tried to develop their own livelihoods by themselves. This led to development that necessitated constant redefining of the relations between the IDPs and hosts through their introducing new methods for cultivation. Interaction between people from both groups became more regular and extended into economic as well as socio-cultural and political spheres. These interactions produced and reproduced an active interface between the two communities. The IDPs and the host's relations were being shaped and re-shaped by all these events. The existing village setting was changing and being redefined as time passed. As Oliver Bakewell (2000: 362) mentioned in his study of Western Zambia, since the arrival of the Angolan refugees:

Land is abundant in Kanongesha, and Zambian villages commented that the arrival of refugees was welcome as "turned the bush into villages."

Since the agricultural expansion and residence of the IDPs, the boundaries of the villages were extended, and abandoned land became arable lands in the Madawachchiya host areas. Demand for land for housing and farming increased the value of the land in the villages. The increased availability of market-oriented production increased the attention of many salesmen, traders, and dealers toward this area. All the host villages and several other villages in the area became a major supplier of onions, chilies, cabbage, and other vegetables to Colombo, Dambulla, and other urban areas. Indeed, the IDPs presence was felt in all sectors of the village economy. Many of the IDPs became relatively rich when compared with many of the hosts, and some of the IDPs bought vehicles such as vans, tractors, motorbikes, etc. The most common complaint that IDPs were 'lazy' and simply sat around waiting for handouts compared with the hosts (Duncan 2005) was not relevant to the *Madawachchiya* host area.

The impact on the agriculture sector and social change was differential. Some of the host community members showed their displeasure at the IDPs boom of the economic situation in their area after a few years of their arrival. However, many of the hosts also got some economic benefits due to the participation and presence of the IDPs in the villages. There were some who profited from the presence of the IDPs, particularly, receiving knowledge about highland crops. In the case of Muslim IDPs in Puttalam, the situation was different. Brun (2003) states that the

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Muslim inhabitants in Puttalam welcomed and helped the Muslim IDPs in the beginning, but that conflict gradually developed between the groups.

According to the people from both communities, after some economic improvement of the IDPs, they became the target of people's attention such as local politicians, Divisional Secretariats, and even banks and other agencies lending and investing money. Later, many of the IDPs registered as local citizens in the village proving their residency, but after the signing of the CFA in 2002, the process was changed and the government, NGOs, and INGOs asked about their return and resettlement.

All these created new economic relationships, and the social setting directly and indirectly influenced to attract and pull the self-settled IDPs into the host community and the area. The conventional opinion was that displacement generally implied a disruption of social services and social relations, and it resulted in a loss or destruction of livelihoods. In a protected situation, displacement is typically a continuous and indeterminate process (Sorensen 1998). Hence, displacement does not always represent this uniformity of experience. Long-term displacement and its settlement process cause social dislocation, psycho-social trauma, and marginalization as well as create new socio-economic situations among them and the surrounding host area within the host community. The self-settled IDPs feel that the new setting has changed their aspiration to return and resettle even in their original villages. The new setting may be a process creating changes and new situations in the arena of displacement and resettlement.

However, the general view of creating economic relationships between the WC IDPs and the hosts was very different in both the Padaviya and Vavuniya WCs. As the study mentioned earlier, most of the WC IDPs depend on aid and assistance for their survival, and to further maintain their lifestyle, they need to move out of the WCs and seek job opportunities within the host community/area. The majority of the IDPs had been farmers, small-scale businessmen, traders, fish vendors, carpenters, and laborers engaged in unskilled jobs. But agriculture is the most common livelihood strategy for almost all in the original areas. However, after their arrival at the WCs as IDPs, there were no opportunities or resources for them to engage in farming, which was their former source of livelihood. The major cause for that inability was the non-availability of access to land. The most valuable resource owned by them had been land. With loss of land, they had to depend on others for their survival. If they could find land later, it was too small and the house was small compared with their former land and house. Due to these reasons, the majority of the IDPs could not get into farming. While surviving on the assistance extended by the government and the NGOs, they had to look for alternative employment opportunities.

The majority of the IDPs accommodated at the WC in Gravelpitiya went around the host area looking for employment opportunities. Some of them were

able to find work in cultivated fields. But such work was only available during specific time periods. Some others worked in the Padaviya town areas. A few of them worked as home guards. As fishing was done daily in the Padaviya tank, some of the IDPs engaged in fishing. Fishing is an occupation that provides very high profit, and even the children were attracted to the activity as it provided quick money. A Fishermens' Association under the Fisheries Corporation controls the harvesting of fish in the Padaviya tank. The standards maintained had made the fishing industry sustainable, and the Association supervises the fishing.

However, the WC IDPs have not become members of the Padaviya Fishermen's Association. So, they are virtually poachers, and the host community members generally argue that the IDPs engage in illegal fishing. Especially, the children of the IDP families engage in fishing in a secretive manner, and on several occasions they have been caught by the office bearers of the Fishermen's Association and punished. Nonetheless, the child poachers have not refrained from poaching, as it is a highly profitable activity relative to other income sources. Some members of the IDP families earn their livelihood by being fish vendors. It is yet another highly profitable occupation. They purchase fish on a wholesale basis from the fishermen at the landing site and distribute the catch in small quantities to those engaged in selling fish in small quantities.

Accordingly, in addition to agriculture-related employment opportunities, the freshwater fish industry had provided both employment and cash income to members of the host community as well as to the WC IDPs. This indicated a relatively good availability of livelihood activities in this area for some in both communities. Although life in the host area was relatively poor compared with the original villages, the IDPs were satisfied with the income-earning opportunities available in the host community. Especially those engaged in small-scale trading activities and casual job opportunities who are looking for ways and means to permanently settle down in the host area. As analyzed earlier, their major problem is to obtain a legally acceptable ownership of a small block of land for construction of a dwelling to live in, although they would prefer to be provided land that is large enough to enable them to engage in farming to earn their livelihood. The great majority of the IDPs think that if they can find employment or some income-generating activities within the host community, they would be quite happy. Hence, this was one of the main economic factors for attracting the IDPs into the host area.

The situation of the WCs in Vavuniya was also the same as that of those in the Padaviya/ Gravelpitiya WC. However, employment opportunities varied widely according to the specific environmental conditions. For example, opportunities to get involved in the freshwater fish industry in the immediate vicinity of Vavuniya town are relatively fewer. But employment opportunities in agriculture exist to an equal extent in the Vavuniya and Padaviya areas. While paddy cultivation is the most widespread economic activity in both areas, in the Vavuniya area there is an

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abundant irrigated area with highland crops that are cultivated, which requires the help of laborers. Hence, for many IDPs, there are some opportunities to work as laborers in the paddy fields and vegetable lands owned by the Tamil hosts.

The IDPs who arrived at the Vavuniya WCs were able to contribute in a great manner to provide labor for farming. The host community members owned substantial amounts of land, but labor was not available to increase their production. After the arrival of the IDPs, labor availability increased. It provided employment opportunities for the WC IDPs. The mutual relationship between the host community members who needed labor and the IDP community who were willing to provide labor created a welcome opportunity for an economic relationship. This paved the way for certain unexpected changes within the host community/area. One of the host community members said:

In these areas, there were large amounts of uncultivated lands. After the arrival of the IDPs, most of those lands are under systematic cultivation now. The reason is the abundant availability of labor (Int78/MT/H/V).

As a result of the arrival of the IDPs into the Vavuniya WCs, the labor force available for unskilled jobs increased and served to boost agricultural intensification, and Vavuniya became a major supplier of onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables to Colombo, Kandy, and other urban areas. The impact of the activation of local economies and social change was differential. Some of the farmers in the host community cultivated their uncultivated lands and started earning better incomes. The result was that some of the host members of the area became rich, taking advantage of IDP labor.

In addition, there were some other IDPs who found temporary employment in various other fields. They were able to earn supplementary incomes from these activities in addition to getting aid and assistance from the agencies. Some young people in the WCs expect to build their livelihood and remain in the host area in the future.

My father is a laborer. He engages in cleaning and he has found some work on the basis of daily payment for work done. I am following a machinery operation and maintenance course. After I complete the course, I will be able to find a good job. Then, I can pay for the educational expenses for my brother so that he can continue his studies. We do not want to go back to our original village....(Int71/FT/ID/SW).

The respondent who made the above statement is a young Tamil female of 20 years. Her mother had passed away. At that time, she was living with her father and brother. She and her family had been displaced from the *Mullaitivu* district. What she states is that although life at the WC is not comfortable, she is not willing to go back to her original village. She is determined to survive, from what

her father earns as well as assistance from the UNHCR. She expressed that many of them have a number of individual reasons to refuse to return to their original villages and continue their stay in the WC. Many people indicated that there are problems in terms of unavailability of income-generating opportunities in their original villages. Hence, some WC IDPs perceive life at the WCs as more peaceful and safer than their original villages under these conditions.

On the other hand, creating a socio-economic setting among the WC IDPs was very dissimilar from that in the self-settled IDPs. The most common complaint was that the WC IDPs were ‘lazy’ and simply sat around waiting for handouts compared with hosts (Duncan 2005). The general view of the host members about the IDPs who stay in the WCs was very different.

Various NGOs and other organizations actively help the IDPs in the Welfare Centers. Many facilities are available there, including food, drinks, and educational facilities for children and even cinema halls, which are also established there.. {...}. So why should they move out? In the evening, they see movies at the cinema even if there are no seats. So they have a well-established daily routine there. If they move out, they have to work hard, construct a house, work in the fields, take children to school, buy food ,and clothing. None of these things have to be done in a welfare center (Key informant interview 1/host/Vavuniya).

Many host members have negative attitudes toward the IDPs and their lifestyle in the WCs, and IDPs are seen as dependent on relief assistance and unwilling to change that lifestyle. One argument is that the IDPs living in the WCs prefer to continue to remain in the area, as they have gotten accustomed to the lifestyle they had been engaged in so far. Organizations providing assistance are said to have paved the way for a “culture of dependency” and poverty and compel the IDPs to remain dependent on external assistance. According to the views of NGO staff members, as well as most of the host community members and the self-settled IDPs, when people get used to surviving on assistance on an indefinite basis, the IDPs tend to continue to remain as they are and become ‘lazy.’

There are some arguments and different views of the WC IDPs in the host areas. Some host people pointed out that the aid and assistance are necessary at the initial stage, but after more than ten or fifteen years it should not be continued. The majority of those WC IDPs are, in terms of economic relationships, associated with underprivileged, poor people like themselves. Although the IDPs had owned some properties before they were displaced subsequently, they had lost their immovable as well as movable assets. However, some IDPs had been within the poor category even before they were displaced. Having been both displaced and deprived of their possessions, the IDPs, as long as they lacked kith and kin or friends who could support them at the hour of their need, had no alternative but to seek shelter in a WC. Then, they got used to receiving assistance under their own

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administrative procedures, and that too reinforced the process of the emergency of a dependency culture. The dependency attitudes were unique toward the displaced persons in the WCs.

Nevertheless, it is believed that according to the authorities, the government's official policy is that WC IDPs are living temporarily in the WCs in Vavuniya as IDPs until they can return to their original villages in the northern areas. The ministry emphasizes the temporary status of the IDPs in Vavuniya and Padaviya and states that they are still registered as local citizens in the related areas. The relief and assistance programs that have been offered to the IDPs in the WCs, as elsewhere on the island, have not been designed according to some overall plan, and the general lack of a more long-term perspective has been subject to particular criticism (Danish Refugee Council 2000; WFP 2000). Due to the IDPs perception that they are there only temporarily, the main idea has been to support them until they are able to return to their places of origin (WFP 2000). Hence, the temporary dimension in the assistance to the displaced also means that many IDPs have become dependent on relief. The plots given to the IDPs are only for residential purposes, and there is little land for the displaced to cultivate, and voter's rights and other administrative affairs are controlled by the government authorities in the original villages. Because of the policy of return, the assistance is more relief-oriented than development-oriented. These policies must be seen in relation to the understanding of the IDPs as a category in need and a temporary category that will cease to exist once they return to their homes.

On the other hand, the understanding of the WC IDPs as being temporary in the WCs in Vavuniya and Padaviya has also affected the relationship between the hosts and the IDPs, and very little emphasis has been placed on the role of the hosts in this situation. This is related to the criticisms of the *needs-approach* or *dependency culture* given by the host people. Duffield (2001) showed that aid agencies working with a *needs-approach* have failed to understand the wider system within which the IDPs have been incorporated. The majority of the WC IDPs in Vavuniya and Padaviya claim that they would not return and will hope to stay further in the new area surrounding the host community.

The above discussion shows the different aspects of the IDPs decision to remain in the host area or return to the area where they lived earlier. Many self-settled IDPs have created a new socio-economic background among them and within the host area. As a result of building new livelihood strategies and changing the socio-economic situation, the IDPs are established firmly in the area and the community. However, the WC IDPs have different factors that attract them to the area, and they are willing to remain in the WCs and the host area. Finding new jobs, being addicted to depending on relief and assistance and to the new refugee culture were the main factors of attraction to the host community.



## 6.5. Improvement of Infrastructural Facilities

Considering some common infrastructural facilities available in the host areas and the newly settled areas, it is certainly one of the factors that influenced the IDPs attraction to further stay in the host community. Since almost all the IDPs came from rural marginal areas in the country, many people experienced the difference between unsafe marginal border areas and some other safer areas of the country. Feelings of a more secure, safer place and the availability of some common resources and facilities, such as infrastructural facilities including health, education as well as roads, transport, electricity, water and sanitation, communication facilities, and markets, etc., in the host area constituted another factor for attracting people into the area.

This place is a thousand times better than in Vavuniya Village (original village). Here, the hospital and the town are close by. Even water is available. There is a well for each house. If we go to our area, none of these facilities are available and we have to struggle to fulfill these needs and suffer with a very hard life (Int6/MS/ID/GMw).

A self-settled male IDP in Medwachchiya gave the above statement. It shows that some facilities such as health, water, and closeness of the town or urban area are important regarding their residence. It implies that people expect some facilities, which they basically need for their life. However, it does not mean that all these facilities are really available in the host area in a perfect way. As mentioned earlier, people living in the rural villages in Medawachchiya also suffer from very low living standards and fewer health facilities, education, and other infrastructural facilities compared with the other urban areas in the country. But they have a positive feeling, to some extent, about the current area because the IDPs often share information on their attitudes considering their current living standards and their former situation, as it can influence their decision on further staying in the host area.

{..} I can't leave this place because attending school is important for our children. The town, hospital, and the school are in close proximity. In our former village, these services were not within easy reach (Int6/MS/ID/GMw).

Medawachchiya (small) town is quite close to most of the self-settled villages. Although there are minimum facilities in the area to satisfy their basic needs, many IDPs feel that it is much better than the facilities in their original village. Some people said that they had no electricity in the original village, but here they can have electricity and drinking water and water for cultivation. However, these statements explain the other side of the people's living standard in their original

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villages. Even though the war affected the lives of all those who lived in the border areas, irrespective of identity, status, and income level, there are some reports of the devastating effects of conflict which were more severe on the poorer and more marginalized sections of the population. Using their contacts and resources, the richer people moved out to safer areas (McDowell 1996; Fuglerud 1999). The rest of the people suffered from scarcity of important assets for a good life and experienced landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, powerlessness, etc. Twenty (20) years of war has caused damage to the lives of many people who were mere victims of the war (see next chapter for more details).

The WC IDPs in Padaviya and Vavuniya also present the same reasons concerning their infrastructural facilities and their attraction to the host area. Some WC IDPs have their own land, house, and business in the host area using the above facilities even though they are living in a WC. One key informant in the Vavuniya WC said:

Although some IDPs stay here, they have land, houses, or their own businesses outside the camp, but they regularly register here as displaced persons to get relief and other assistance. Some people have separate families outside the refugee camp. Many people go outside the camp to work somewhere and come back to the camp (Klint3/MT/H/VS).

As a result of war, many people have lost everything they had accumulated over many generations and have been displaced repeatedly. Their sincere efforts to rebuild their lives in their original villages were failures. The total destruction of much of the physical infrastructure, including roads, hospitals, school buildings, houses, electricity supply, irrigation systems, water and sanitation services, and communication facilities due to war attacks added to the misery of the those already suffering. Hence, the majority of the adults who self-settled in the host community believe that the situations of the safer areas (host areas) are better than their former life in the original villages, at least for satisfying their basic needs. Hence, if they could, most of the WC IDPs would try to buy and collect new properties for their future residence in the host area while still living in the WCs.

Nevertheless, according to some observations done during the fieldwork, many of the IDPs who returned to resettle in the original villages usually returned to the host area after the cultivation season. In addition, some of them returned after observations from the Government Secretariat's officials. Many of the IDPs prefer the host villages for their permanent residential place and their original villages are considered as a land area suitable for cultivation and a place for gaining additional benefits. It is mostly only adults such as husband and wife or only household heads who have lands in the original villages. However, there are a wide variety of reasons for such a situation (these will be explained in the next chapter).

On the one hand, overall, the arrival of the IDPs in the Medawachchiya, Padaviya, and Vavuniya host areas affected access to environmental resources and infrastructural development in the area, both negatively and positively. Although deforestation was a problem even before the arrival of the IDPs, its rate accelerated after their arrival. In particular, engaging in *chena* cultivation, finding new lands for housing, land for other purposes, introducing highland cultivation, finding firewood, and doing some businesses resulted in *an* increase in deforestation. Sometimes only a very few physical conflicts occurred between the two communities regarding these issues in these areas. Specifically, competition between the two parties in using the common properties and infrastructural facilities increased.

On the other hand, it is believed that the infrastructural development had increased in parallel with the arrival of the IDPs into the host area. Electricity facilities, road development, school, health facilities, communication facilities, increased size of the market, town, commercial centers in the WCs and the surrounding area developed quickly. As a result of the population density, demand for everything that people use, such as prices of land, labor, and other equipment in the area increased. Hence, a buying and selling market was created, and infrastructural facilities were developed. The other facilities of the IDPs and the host communities were improved compared to the previous conditions, through small-scale infrastructural development, such as water and sanitation facilities, and improvement of housing conditions, common wells, etc., effected by the INGOs and NGOs. Further, according to some key informants in the host communities, access to education and livelihood opportunities for the IDPs and the host communities were also improved through the construction of community access roads, connecting the villages to the main roads, basically in three locations. However, it is evident that all these factors also affected the IDPs attraction to the host community, making them reluctant to return to their original villages.

## 6.6. Conclusion

Table 6.1 presents a summary of the economic factors and other infrastructure facilities that attracted the IDPs to remain in the host community/areas in the three different locations.

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Table 6.1. Economic Relationships with the Hosts as a Pull Factor

	<b>Madawachchiya DS Division Self-Settled IDPs</b>	<b>Padaviya DS Division Gravelpitiya WC-IDPs</b>	<b>Vavuniya DS Division Poonthoddam, Sidhambarampuram WCs- IDPs</b>
Livelihoods and strategies	Initial help given by relatives among host people; later relief and assistance given by the government and the hosts	Relief and assistance given by the government and the INGOs	Relief and assistance given by the government and the UNHCR
Access to land	Land given by the host community through kinship relations; could use the land as their own	Abandoned land given by the government for the welfare center; used as private property	Use government land for welfare center; no private land
Possibility to practice former occupation	Opportunities to engage in paddy cultivation and introduced highland cultivation to the area; some had the availability of the former land for cultivation	Dependent on dry rations and work on a daily basis. Opportunities to find new occupations	Dependent on dry rations and work on a daily basis, few opportunities to do former occupation
Housing condition	Separate, private houses, assistance given by the government through funds by the INGOs. Different types and conditions such as clay, wattle and daub, and brick, cement, etc.	Small huts, given by the NGOs and INGOs. Later, they built their own houses in the same place	Prepared small huts with assistance given by the NGOs and INGOs
Welfare and other infrastructural facilities	Receiving dry rations, 'Samurdhi' assistance given by the government and the NGOs. Better infrastructural facilities such as electricity, transport, telephones, etc.	Receiving dry rations "Samurdhi" and other assistance given by the NGOs. Better infrastructural facilities such as transport, electricity, telephone, etc.	Receiving dry rations 'Samurdhi' assistance given by the government and the NGOs. Better infrastructural facilities; electricity, transport, telephones, etc.
Education facilities	Relatively good educational facilities than in the original villages	Relatively good educational facilities than in the original villages	Relatively good educational facilities than in the original villages
Health facilities	Fairly good health facilities; availability of indigenous medicines and rural hospital facilities	Fairly good health facilities; very close to the hospital and other facilities	Relatively good health facilities

This chapter was concerned with the first part of the second research question, i.e., the economic relationships and activities that were employed by the IDPs in order to sustain their livelihoods in the host area and what role such factors played in regard to access to land, employment, housing, education, health, and transport in the host area for both the self-settled IDPs and the WC IDPs. The economic relationships between the IDPs and their host community not only constituted one of the major factors that attracted the IDPs to the host community/area but also served as a strong *pull* factor. After having stayed for a long period of time in the host community/area, the livelihoods of the IDPs improved and their livelihood strategies induced them to initiate and strengthen their economic relationships, and this is an important factor that has a lot of implications. However, with regard to livelihood strategies, variations could be identified among the different settlement groups such the self-settled IDPs, WC IDPs, and the resettled IDPs.

There were several key factors identified by the study regarding the economic relationships of the self-settled IDPs among the hosts such as the access to land within the host area, the opportunity for the IDPs to engage in some form of employment, the introduction of agro-wells, and cultivation of crops, the employment of new cropping patterns and activities, and the IDPs had developed linkages with the markets. In contrast, the picture was quite different for the IDPs who lived in the WCs. Their economic relationships and employment opportunities were entirely different. Almost all the individuals or families focus their attention on the dry rations and any other assistance extended to them. Some of the IDPs work for the host community and earn some money for day-to-day living. Most of the WC IDPs were compelled to seek casual employment on a temporary basis. However, the prolonged war, failure to find the right solution for displaced persons, and the donor agencies had forced them to lead a lifestyle of dependency, through failure to solve their problems in a constructive manner.

However, this situation has brought about some economic changes in the area. The land that remained fallow could be cultivated. The workers had been members among the host who had lost their job opportunities and had to decrease their demand for wages. A patron-client relationship developed between the landlords, businessmen, and the IDP laborers. Accordingly, they helped each other in certain ways. The IDPs and the host community members interacted in different ways, and whether in prosperity or poverty the IDPs adjusted to the existing situation. Protracted displacement has continued to exist, and the IDPs have adapted to the host area/community in different ways.

The study further found that a long period of stay in the WCs, getting rapidly adjusted to the living conditions there, and the newly developed relationships captivated them and provided a background for them to be content with the WC life. In addition, within the host area, the *educational, health, and infrastructural facil-*

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*ities* were much better and more accessible compared to those in the original villages. It is very likely that such services are easier to obtain in the host community.

# 7

## IDPs and the Host Communities: (In)Security Situations

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### Introduction

This chapter is concerned with exploratory data for the study's first part of the third research question. The chapter discusses the situation for the IDPs with regard to security in the host communities. The aim is to illustrate the circumstances concerning threat to life, violence, safety of women and children, threat to property in the area or within the host community, and how the political institutions addressed these issues. Understanding these situations is very relevant to answer the first part of the third research question, and it provides reasons for the attraction of IDPs into the host community and the area.

The chapter begins (7.1.) with a general discussion on security matters as they relate to displacement. The next sections (7.2.), (7.3.), and (7.4.) consider in more detail the security problems and how institutions responded to them. The last section (7.5.) concludes the chapter with general findings on the impact of the security circumstances on the IDPs relations to the host areas.

### 7.1. Security Situation, Displacement, and Settlement

Human security is a wide concept and of significant concern as it is a main factor in a discussion of displacements and settlements in conflict-ridden areas (Jacobson 2001; Duncan 2005; Hovil 2007; Evens 2007). The general impression of a place of safety is based on the principle that people should be able to leave their place

of origin when they are confronted with serious threats to their life and liberty, and that they should henceforth enjoy protection and security in the place that has admitted them into its territory (Crisp 2000). Many examples of this model can be identified in the field of displacement in many countries. However, the levels of violence and insecurity are not easy to measure; also, it is varied and numerous. It can be identified in mainly two ways for the purposes of this analysis. One point is that the host areas may be the target of direct military attacks, using aerial bombing and land-based attacks. Another one is that the host areas may be affected by a variety of non-military security threats, involving different forms of violence, intimidation, and criminal activity (Crisp 1999). In addition to domestic and sexual violence, those threats also include rape and armed robbery, conscription into militia forces, abductions for the purpose of forced marriage, arbitrary arrest, and violence between the IDPs and members of the host community (Crisp 2000).

On the one hand, it has been argued that since displaced people often flee from zones of violent conflict, they are a potential group or agents of insecurity that disturb the relative stability of the host community (Hovil 2007). On the other hand, there is another argument that refugees and IDPs are the outcome of the insecure situations (Evens 2007). In particular, there can be clashes between the IDPs and the host people. These clashes arise when there is resentment by the host people toward the IDPs for perceived poor behavior, for instance, stealing or immoral acts, or discriminations resulting from the IDPs access to relief resources, etc. (Jacobson 2001). Conversely, there can be another result that may arise when IDPs who have become integrated with the host communities are less likely to be subject to host offences because by then they are considered to be part of the community. Hence, the host area would become a safe haven for the IDPs.

However, in the cases of both the self-settled and the WC IDPs in Medawachchiya, Padaviya, and Vavuniya, different stories arise regarding the security situation among the host communities. Those stories mainly reflect two segments of the threats to life security. On the one hand, security threats involving different forms of violence, intimidation, and criminal activity in the original villages push people from the villages, and the relationship with the host community helps to prevent such risks and uncertainty. On the other hand, the political influences were most important factor to identify the places of residence, to obtain local citizenship, and to access voting rights from the political institutions. These all the situations were very important factors to attract or pull the IDPs to where they live currently.

## 7.2. Security in the Host Community/Area

In the case of the self-settled IDPs in the study area, a similar picture is shown but in a different way. As discussed earlier, the improved security situation was one



of the main factors that led the IDPs to choose to reside in the safer areas. In fact, many IDPs interviewed stated they felt safe in their current location.

I love this village more than the village where I was born (original village). We had a lot of relatives living here and it was fine. We can earn a livelihood even by working as a laborer. There is no threat to life. I don't have to depend on someone to make my living (Int6/MS/ID/GMw).

At present, we have no worries about our security. However, the future is unpredictable. But I am reluctant to go back to the former village. Now, I have new relatives and strong relationships. Now this area is like my own village (Int1/MS/ID/GMw).

As both quotations show, many of the IDPs reported that they had been received well by the host community; this is thought to be due to the existing relationships in the area. The IDPs feeling of protection mainly depends on their experiences in their original villages and the contemporary security situation of the present area. Most of the ideas they expressed compare well with the situation in their original villages and the situation of the host community. However, as discussed previously, pre-existing relationships particularly their kin relation with the host community people has been a positive background for the security of the influx of people within the host community. During the focus group discussions, many people indicated their attitude toward their security situation within the host community. The arrival and the presence of a large number of outside people happen suddenly in a village, and it inevitably generates rumors, suspicions, and some discrimination toward the newcomers. Sometimes, it would cause tension and hostility, due to overcrowding and increased demands on common properties and limited resources (Hovil 2007). Nevertheless, such tensions were localized and minimized or were only present for a short period, and it was more tolerable than threats to their life from the rebel groups. A large number of the self-settled IDPs in the study area said that they felt free from threats to life after their arrival in the host area. When they described their experiences about threats to life in their native villages, many people expressed their fear and uncertainty. Some explained further:

During the period, one of my {name} brothers was kidnapped and inhumanly killed. The dead body had been dumped into a well in the village. Within the following two weeks, another four individuals had been killed (Int2/MS/ ID/GMw).

These experiences were very serious and unpleasant. Many people believed that the current place and the situation of the host village were undoubtedly better than their original villages. When we discussed with a group of people, one adult IDP stated:

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Now we are old, but our children need to stay more in their life, they should have protection for their life... here we feel freer than there, ... now we can sleep without going into the jungle to sleep at night (FGD5/FS/ID/GMw).

The IDPs felt that they had arrived at a safer area to save their life from the uncertain situation. Almost all persons prioritized having security for their own and their family members' lives. Particularly, children and women must be safe. Hence, when an incident happens, they first move their children and women from the risk area, and the others are moved later. Moreover, many of the IDP women also stated that they felt safe in their current place of residence and that they approached their families if they were concerned about safety. However, these feelings of trust caused the IDPs to be attracted and pulled into the host area. It can be seen that although some people needed to move from the host area to their original villages to cultivate their paddy fields seasonally, they always came back to the host area as soon as possible, as it was safer and more sound than their original villages. Hence, it is believed that security is another factor for the self-settled IDPs attraction to the host area.

The related security factors for the WC IDPS, in terms of attraction to the host community, were different from those of the self-settled IDPs in the Medawachchiya area. IDPs in the Vavuniya and Padaviya WCs indicated different stories about their life security and threats in the WCs as well as within the host area. A number of WC IDPs expressed their security situation and talked about the threats to their life security in the WCs and within the host community.

Actually, we fled the village because there was a sudden spread of fear and threats to our life. We lost everything we had after getting the message that we should leave immediately. We have left everything we owned. We could only save our lives. Wounded soldiers were falling down just in front of our houses. So we could not stay there and collect anything. The only option left was to run for your lives. Here (WCs), we can actually live without fear or threat to our lives from others. I feel this is safe haven compared to living in our villages with fear. But after we came here, we found that there is some discrimination against us from some of the community members in the host area, some of the government institutions, and also some affiliated with politics (Int66/FS/ID/GPW).

WCs will generally be perceived by IDPs as a safe haven, as an area where they will get security, protection, and assistance. While threats to life, liberty, and security are often reasons for people to flee their homes, such threats do not always cease after flight, but often continue for the displaced persons during all stages of the displacement phase. Displacement, and the removal from the usual protective environment of one's own community, has the tendency to render persons more vulnerable to threats and security. The above statement by a WC IDP shows that

the WC while being a secure place is also a place where IDPs are discriminated against by the host community and the institutions in the host areas.

There was a very critical situation (in the original villages), and human beings could not live there. There was no peace. At the same time, we did not have any other place to live. We stayed in many camps after displacement from the village. But we didn't have full security in those camps. There were many threats from both parties, and sometimes military attacks, aerial bombings, and land-based attacks around our camps. At last, we came to the Vavuniya refugee camp. Here, we have relatively good security than earlier... The UNHCR members and security forces are here. However, we fear to go out after 6.00 p.m. and we're not allowed to go anywhere out of our camp boundary. Hence, now we don't fear for our children (Int71/FT/ID/SW).

The local government, the UNHCR, and other agencies may in many ways be linked with the safety and security of the WC IDPs. However, humanitarian agencies are not exposed to the same threats as refugees and IDPs, or have the same levels of vulnerability to those threats. Particularly, a person's gender, age, ethnicity, and sometimes social status, amongst other characteristics, will affect their level of vulnerability to a particular threat. Also, women and children are likely to be more vulnerable to abuse and violence in the war-affected areas. Most WC IDPs believed that their children, both boys and girls, may be at particular risk of forced recruitment or abduction for military and sexual purposes, or for labor due to reduced social and community protection, discrimination, or lack of economic, educational, and other opportunities in war-affected original villages. Hence, a number of WC IDPs show their unwillingness to return to their original villages and show their attraction to the host area and indicate even that living in the WCs is a relatively better solution for their security problems.

Almost all our camp people work around the Vavuniya town and paddy fields in the villages for a salary on a daily basis. On the other hand, like my daughter, some others as well as boys have gotten married to those in the surrounding area, so we work together and eat together. We have built good relationships with them. Hence, we feel safer here so we would like to settle down here.

However, it has been shown that, generally, the relationship between the host community and the WC IDPs can be strained and create problems related to safety and security for the IDPs. The presence of an IDP welfare center can also be considered a security risk for the host community. However, if IDPs can build good relations with the host community, it can play an important role in reducing the security problems or preventing their occurrence. For example, the host community may have valuable information related to security or may be willing to facilitate the local integration of the WC IDPs as self-settled IDPs in the host areas. A hospitable local community can also contribute to the well-being of the WC IDPs

and assist them in leading dignified lives. Therefore, the relationship between the two communities is of utmost importance, and it can also have a beneficial effect in attracting the IDPs to the host community/area.

### 7.3. Local Political Intervention

Politics and some other organizational structures affecting the displaced persons are important factors regarding the return of displaced persons to their original villages as well as attraction to the host community. Migration and displacement create demographic changes, which are directly linked with the political activities in the local and regional politics. Party politics and political influence play a dominant role in many segments of the Sri Lankan society, and it extends as a crucial factor to many sections of life security. The background for this situation has been provided by the relationship between political parties and the people. This feature can be seen at its dominant level even in the peripheral areas in Sri Lanka (Spencer 1990). The basic objective of news reporting in the mass media is to give sufficient coverage of political activities. Hence, day-to-day life of the people and resource allocation move through a very strong political base in the country (Brun 2003).

Consequently, in all difficulties and matters, people have gotten used to moving toward politicians to present their grievances. Hence, the politician often has to work as an “*ombudsman*.” The politicians also welcome this trend to play the role of an intervener, thus, building closer relationships with the people because they have to depend on the people’s vote. For instance, people appeal for help whenever floods, drought, or other disasters occur and expect relief through political representatives. It is believed that giving such relief is the responsibility of political representatives. Therefore, when people are affected by war, the political representatives get involved in the provision of relief and aid, allocating land, and providing security as well as helping in the resettlement field.

The government administrative structure in Sri Lanka is based on Provincial, District, Divisional Secretary Divisions, and *Grama Niladhari* (formerly Village Headman) Divisions. In the administrative system, the Divisional Secretary and the Grama Niladhari can be referred to as the closest administrative units to the people. They are directly related to the day-to-day activities of the people. Although the administrative units are the formal organizations that work with the people, in some instances, politicians interfere and get things done, the way they desire. The primary reason is that the patron-client relationship among the people and politicians has become a dominant force. According to Kinsley De Silva (1993), the administrative process is handled by the political representatives, as they have to respond to the needs of the people on a day-to-day basis, and particularly in relation to the developmental and social welfare activities. These politicians have to play the role of an intermediary between state administrative

activities and the people. Then, they can prove to the people that they are actively fulfilling the needs of the people. Hence, political representatives play a significant role in the day-to-day affairs of the people (De Silva 1993).

Thus, it is a normal practice that political interferences are dominant in resettlement activities, whole welfare activities, and security provided to the displaced people affected by the war. Directly and indirectly, the political representatives exert their influence in the allocation of land, registration of IDPs, and registration of the IDPs in the new locations. The task of deciding where to accommodate the displaced persons and transferring them to other locations, with special attention to those who were displaced from Vavuniya and Anuradhapura districts, was based exclusively on political decisions. The reasons for this are that (a) when the people who were displaced from certain areas are resettled in another area, the politician of the former area would lose a corresponding number of votes, and (b) the population density of the area would change.

When considering the cases of the Medawachchiya, Vavuniya, and Padaviya IDPs – both self-settled and WC IDPs – some factors and correlations can be identified between the IDPs decision to stay further in the host area/community and the local political interference. During the CFA in 2002-2006, the environment appeared to be favorable for the people to resettle in their original villages, and this became a task for the government. *Accordingly, it was implemented through the Divisional Secretariats. They had to do land inspections and allocate blocks of land, while providing both the needed welfare services and extensive security.*

In the case of the self-settled IDPs in Anuradhapura, Medawachchiya was a good example of attracting IDPs to the host area as a result of the political intervention. One government official commenting on this stated that all the preliminary activities related to resettling people in their original villages were being finalized. But he expressed the feeling that due to political interferences, it was doubtful whether the entire exercise would be a success. Further, he said:

[...] in 1985, people had to leave the area because of the threat from the armed groups. Politicians did not take care of people living here (original villages). Politicians from Anuradhapura gave greater attention to pull displaced people to the Anuradhapura area to get their help. They wanted an increase in the number of their votes for them to become members of parliament. It prevented the process of settling people down in the Vavuniya District.

The above statement was given by a Sinhalese person who worked in the government service in the Land Division section of the DS Division office in Vavuniya. After his retirement, he was working for this resettlement program with the Divisional Secretariat officials at Vavuniya. He argued that although there were many problems pertaining to the resettlement process, the main issue was political intervention. Displaced people also give their priority to political representatives

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for all their necessities and for provision of security. A large number of self-settled IDPs in the Anuradhapura and Medawachchiya areas were involved in this matter. Although they had voting rights in Vavuniya, action is being taken to register them as voters in the location where they live at present. To get more Sinhalese preferential votes, there are efforts to retain IDPs where they had settled down. Due to this reason, the IDPs who had self-settled with their relatives as well as those still living at the WCs were to be registered as voters. This situation is totally different to the observations made by Brun (2003), who described the problem of identity related to Muslim IDPs who fled from Jaffna to settle down in the Puttalam District. She points out that the political representatives were actively involved in that matter (Brun 2003).

As was mentioned earlier, the “Puttalam Muslims” have been closer to the South-Western Muslims on politics. Muslim politicians from Puttalam have supported the “pragmatist and opportunity” policies of the South-Western Muslims, and the Muslim Member of Parliament from Puttalam supported the “Sinhala only act” in 1956 (Mahroof 1995). The reward for these policies has been support from the Sinhalese population and, accordingly, the opportunity for Muslims to be elected to both the parliament and provincial councils as representatives of the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (Brun 2003).

But self-settling by the majority of the Sinhalese in the Medawachchiya area constituted a gainful event for the local politicians. One reason is that all of them are voters of two major political parties: the United National Party (UNP) and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP). The local politicians, targeting preferential votes from them, are trying to find suitable locations for them to reside and become registered voters in the area. From the time that the Sinhalese people were displaced from the Vavuniya South area, up to the year 2005, and even afterwards, the political parties such as People’s Alliance, (a combination of SLFP and SLMC) had won more seats at the *Pradeesheeya Sabha* (Political Division smaller than a Provincial Council) and Provincial Council levels. They took action to channel government assistance to the IDPs, to accomplish their political objects. By providing assistance to the IDPs and ensuring their permanent residence as well as including their names in the registered voters’ lists, it provided them advantages politically. The politicians and the local representatives played an active role in this regard. Some of the IDPs had become Divisional- level politicians and ensured an acceptance of their residence in the area. And the local politicians had influenced the Divisional Secretaries to expedite these matters.

On the other hand, there were some reasons for pushing people from their original villages (details in the next chapter). With the signing of the CFA in 2002, many Tamil families settled down throughout the Vavuniya District. While the Tamil community was the majority Sinhalese in this district, the Muslim families

remained a minority. Families displaced from the districts in the northern regions were accommodated at the WC, while some others self-settled in the Vavuniya District. All of them are Tamils. One of the key informants in Vavuniya explained that the Sinhalese villages that existed in the Vavuniya South DS Division after the Sinhalese families fled the area were used to house Tamil families. As a result of this, the former Sinhalese villages have become Tamil majority villages, and the Sinhalese families had become a minority in their original villages. Hence, the return and resettlement of the people were prevented during the CFA period. However, all of these reasons have more or less had an affect in attracting IDPs into the host community/area.

In the situation of the WC IDPs in Padaviya and Vavuniya, the political interventions played a different role. Some IDP respondents interpreted the whole process as a politically oriented activity. Keeping the population from fleeing their original villages and the resettlement process in the original villages were conducted almost by the Divisional Secretariat and the INGOs in the area, while the background control and all the decisions were made by the political representatives. However, people living in the border areas between the two parties were under a lot of threat. Hence, people often became the victims in the area. According to some of the WC IDP respondents, there was not much concern for security or protection in the area. Accordingly, the majority of the people refused to remain in the area, and people who were displaced returned to the area (see the next chapter for more details). Conversely, the great majority of the IDPs in the Padaviya / Gravelpitiya WC gradually transformed it into a relocation area. The majority of them later decided to stay in the area, since they disliked returning to their original villages, because of the security reasons and political influence.

For the Tamil WC IDPs in Vavuniya, political reasons had influenced their decisions to return to their original villages in different ways. The main political reason was the difficulty of getting back their land in the government-controlled areas. Some places were referred to as “*High Security Zones*,” and people were discouraged from settling down in those locations. A similar pattern exists in the LTTE-controlled area where people are prohibited from using the LTTE *High Security Zones* (see next chapter for more details).

## 7.4. Other Local Institutions

Local institutions also influence the IDPs continuous stay in the host communities. Specifically, some administrative institutions such as the Divisional Secretariat offices, other government institutions, and local NGOs had taken action in diverse ways regarding the settlement of IDPs who arrived from other marginal areas. Usually after displacement, the displaced persons were taken care of by the Divisional Secretariats of the relevant area where the IDPs arrived. They took the

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initiative to provide welfare services to the people, with help from the other local NGOs. Sometimes the official service helps to make the preliminary arrangements to lay the foundation for permanent residence in their new locations or host areas concerning their security. They are able to get their names recorded in the registered voters' lists, have their residence officially certified (recognized), and get the self-settlement status transformed to a permanent settlement. This usually happens in creating self-settlements for IDPs. For the others, particularly WC IDPs, necessary arrangements are made so that they can continue their lives in the WCs in safety. However, all these factors affect their attraction to the host area or where they currently reside.

In addition, together with politicians and local government institutions, the priests, Buddhist monks, and other religious leaders and their religious institutions played significant roles in the local communities, and commonly take the place of government institutions. Many arguments and disputes between the IDPs who self-settled, WC IDPs, and the host community members were solved by the priests, including land disputes and conflicts regarding the use of common resources. Hence, these institutions had been important actors in local integration processes between them or the attraction process of IDPs into the host community/area.

### 7.5. Conclusion

Table 7.1 presents a summary of the security factors that attracted the IDPs to the host community/areas in the three different locations.

Table 7.1. Security Issues with the Hosts as a Pull Factor

	<b>Madawachchiya DS Division Self-Settled IDPs</b>	<b>Padaviya DS Division Gravelpitiya WC and Relocated IDPs</b>	<b>Vavuniya DS Division Poonthoddam, Sidhambarampuram WC IDPs</b>
Pre-social security between the IDPs and the Hosts	pre-existing relationships particularly their kin relation with the host community people has been a positive background for the security	Depended on government security	Lack of pre-social security at the beginning
New situation of security between the IDPs and the Hosts	Avoided some extent to risk, threaten and uncertainty among the hosts. provided through local government security	Comparatively better security situation. Security provided by the local government and NGOs	Avoided children, both boys and girls, may be at particular risk of forced recruitment or abduction for military. Security provided by local government and the UNCHR



Local Political Intervention	Political interferences are dominant in re-settlement activities, whole welfare activities, and security provided to the displaced people	Together with politicians and local government institutions, the priests, Buddhist monks, and other religious leaders	Political decision was more important to provide security as well as resettlement activities
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This chapter has explored the study's first part of the third research question about the attraction of IDPs to the host community and area. The chapter has examined circumstances in regard to threats to life, violence, safety of women and children, and threats to property in the host area and community. The study has found that security was another factor that attracted the IDPs to the host areas. The IDPs had to flee their original villages when their security was threatened. They realized that they were safer in the host area; thus, they were induced to prefer to stay in the host area. Hence, this study found the relatively better security situation of the IDPs in the host area as a factor to *pull* (attract) IDPs to stay in the host area/community.

The findings of the study revealed that, in general, the displaced persons and displaced groups, males and females, young and old felt safer within the host areas. The IDPs who self-settled were welcomed by the hosts as they arrived, and they felt that they were relatively safer. However, with the passage of time there were conflicts, displeasure, and problems within the host community due to several reasons. But as a whole, there were no threats to their lives, and the IDPs felt safer in the host area particularly due to their kinship relationships.

But the IDPs living in the WCs had various grievances and complaints about their safety. The IDPs who arrived at the WCs had no former relationships with the host community, which led to some doubts about their safety. The host people did not receive the IDPs with pleasure, as the host people believed that the IDPs were engaging in unsuitable lifestyles. Due to this background, the IDPs living in the WCs did not have a sense of safety within the host community. However, in some of the WCs, due to the behavior of certain individuals, the women and children had been subjected to various forms of abuse and harassment. In spite of such problems and having lived at the WCs over a long period of time, the IDPs got accustomed to a lifestyle in which they could tolerate the harassment they had to face. Conversely, the people felt that there was no threat to their lives, and therefore they could tolerate difficulties and even disregard them.

The end of Chapter 7 is also the end of this dissertation's exploration of factors that pulled the IDPs to remain in the host communities after the ceasefire in the Sri Lankan civil war. Now, the following three chapters (8-10) will investigate the obstacles faced by the IDPs to return and resettle in their original villages (push factors). As with Chapters 5-7, the sequence in Chapters 8-10 considers social, economic, and security relationships, respectively. The chapters thereby develop

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answers to the second parts of the same three core research questions that guide this research.

# 8

## IDPs, Place of Origin, and the Social Relationships

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### Introduction

This chapter emphasizes the *'push'* factors, that is, situations where the IDPs returned to their original villages during the CFA period. To explore the second part of the first research question, the present chapter mainly considers the factors related to the IDPs *social relationships* in the original area, i.e., obstacles affecting their return and resettlement in the original villages during the CFA in 2002-2006. After this discussion, Chapter 9 discusses the economic factors and livelihood situation of the original villages, and Chapter 10 examines security factors in the original areas.

The present chapter examines both self-settled IDPs in the traditional rural villages and IDPs living in the WC areas controlled by the government. The first section, (8.1), gives a brief introduction regarding the new situation in the original village. The next sections, (8.2 and 8.3), discuss the lack of social relationships and the lack of inter-ethnic relationships, respectively. The last part (8.4) summarizes the overall findings.

It appears that in Sri Lanka, IDPs had faced many practical problems for a long time in making decisions on their settlements. It is clear that in the protracted situation of the conflict, they would never be able to go back to their original villages easily. Although, some issues had been solved by the people through their own initiative and efforts, some problems remained. However, the governmental as well as NGOs had opened some opportunities in this direction. The protracted conflict situation either renewed or intensified this problem from time to time.

Varying types of factors act as *push* factors from the original villages, which can have various effects on the unwillingness of the IDPs to return and resettle in their original villages. These factors can function as obstacles for the IDPs to return and resettle in the original villages and prevent them from attaining normalcy in the living conditions in the area.

When the fieldwork for this study was being done, a few of the IDPs had already gone back to their original villages in all three of the locations that we have considered in this study. A small minority of them expressed their willingness to stay in their original villages, but they say that the majority of the people who lived in the area had not gone back to their original villages from the host area where they settled down after being displaced. However, they indicated their bias, as there were obstacles for them to return to their original places; all these problems will be discussed in this section.

## 8.1. Background Situation in the Original Villages

The villages in Vavuniya South were occupied by some Sinhalese and Tamil returnees more or less, and some of the villages consisted of only Tamil newcomers who were replaced after displacement from areas originally occupied by them during the conflict period; some of the villages consisted of both Tamil and Sinhalese people as newcomers. Some of the paddy lands were cultivated by the newcomers, while some lands had been abandoned because there were only a very few persons in the area. The highland was overgrown with natural vegetation, and to facilitate resettlement some lands had been cleared by ‘caterpillars.’ Hence, it was difficult to identify the boundaries of individuals’ lands because they had disappeared and the ruins of some houses were observed. Most of the other houses had perished. Observations were initiated at the end of 2005, to provide background information of the area. However, there was a complex situation regarding the return and resettlement process.

One displaced person who arrived at his original village for the first time in 20 years said:

I was able to place my foot on my land after 20 years. I am surprised at what I see. I wonder whether it is my village. Our village was a very fertile one those days. Now that attraction has disappeared. There is jungle all around. That is where *Lionel mudalali* (name of a businessman) had his trade center. Those days, many vehicles were parked there (Int10/MS/ID/GMw).

It appears that it could have been a relatively prosperous village in the past. There had been a small town and some had owned vehicles. It is natural that after the villagers fled, it had gradually developed into a jungle. Most of the displaced persons

felt that a lot of effort had to be made to clean up the area. The attention of most of those displaced people who accompanied me was focused on the surroundings. Everyone spoke with a certain amount of shock. They remarked about what they had lost – houses and land. It implied not only a place or space but also a time that had been lost after their escape.

Near the temple, there were about 30 shops. It was a small town. There was a bakery, barber saloon, and everything else there. We had to go to Vavuniya, only if we wanted to go to the hospital. But there was a maternity ward in the village. So we could satisfy most of our needs from the village itself. At that time, there were about 360 houses in the village. This area was under the Pawakkulama project (Int58/FS/R/VS).

The above statement was given by a woman who was resettled after 20 years of displacement from the area. She explained that the village's past situation was fruitful, and they had a relatively good sense of well-being before they were displaced from the village. As she mentioned, many of the displaced people demonstrated the difference between the past and the present situations. It was common to hear comparisons with how it was when they stayed in the village, or how it was "before" and how it is now; "We had our houses permanently constructed, we had a better economic status than at present..." (Int44/MS/ID/GLMw). According to some government servants who had been working in the area from the past, they had seen the difference between the past situation and the present situation: "There are many problems. The people had good middle-class level houses. Even those who were not provided houses by the government lived well. But the situation at present is pitiful" (KIint6/MS/H/VS).

However, with deep emotions, all the people repeated the same stories many times while we (my field assistants and I) were doing fieldwork in the area; they described how they had fled, leaving behind their belongings, how afraid they were, and the occasions when they visited the land after being displaced. One thing was obvious; a place or area without anyone being there for more than 15-20 years had become a forest. However, according to some studies, on many occasions, people who recollected their past most often made some exaggerations or overstatements. In the case of the Palestinian Diaspora discourse, they had given some romanticized ideas when they were reminiscing their memories as "*we lived in Paradise*" (R. Sayigh 1979:10 quoted from Lindholm Schulz 2003). Hence, people constantly remember their past as a very prosperous period, and they feel that it would not be like that again in their lives. However, in the case of the IDPs in the Vavuniya and Welī-Oya area, their past lost represents the physical loss of houses and other property in their original villages. According to the fieldwork data, after 15-20 years of displacement, the situation in the original villages was

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nothing like it had been before and most of it had vanished, with poor living conditions and few facilities remaining in the area.

While the fieldwork for this study was being done, land surveys were being conducted and a land registry compiled in the original villages to resettle the people according to their ownership. In some villages, on some lands, huts had been constructed. They were small and newly built, and most of them had iron pipes for the roofs, which had been supplied by the NGOs, and the “Seva Lanka” foundation (an NGO) had provided the materials to build all the huts.

The situation of the villages preparing for resettlement was different from village to village. It was observed that most of the newly arrived (in 2005) people were busy constructing their houses and latrines. According to data from the Divisional Secretariat office, the construction work of the houses was organized through the Divisional Secretariat office. Financial assistance was provided in two installments for house construction per family. In August 2005, although some houses were constructed, it appeared that most families were not residing at these places. According to some key informant data, they used to work for a few days and then go back to join their families in the host areas. A few adults, mostly males, had come for temporary residence in the area.

However, some villages show some different levels of return and resettlement processes within the same location. One different pattern was observed in the *Kokkeliya* village in the Vavuniya South DS Division. Inhabitants of the *Kokkeliya* Village were both Sinhalese and Tamil. The majority was comprised of Tamil re-settlers, and the Sinhalese minority did not appear to be resettling properly. Although houses were constructed with assistance provided by the government and the INGOs, only Tamil families were resettled there. It was revealed at a discussion with the Divisional Secretary that displaced Sinhalese families were still living in the welfare centers. According to him, although the majority of the people were Sinhalese in the division of Vavuniya South, Tamils were the majority of the District of Vavuniya and border areas in the district; he stated that the resettled families were mostly Tamil, while the Sinhalese families tended to keep away from the area.

Another resettled village is Pudiyasinnakulam in the Vavuniya South DS Division, and it was different from the villages discussed earlier. They had been displaced in 1991, but all of them had come back to resettle. This village had received the attention of the NGOs, DRC (Danish Refugee Council), and NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council). After the reconstruction of the houses and latrines, people had been resettled. NRC had constructed 85 houses using the labor of the IDPs, and they were in relatively good condition. All those houses were occupied by the IDPs after being donated by the organization. Each house was built according to a single plan. The NRC also constructed other common buildings for the village. It included a church, community hall, school buildings, and an office. The NRC

organization had arranged to implement a credit program through a commercial company called “Ceylinco” (a local, private company in Sri Lanka). It can be seen as a model village in the area, but many of the other villages have not followed suit. On the basis of this information (within the field area in Vavuniya South) presented above, there are three different levels of resettling villages that can be identified. The first level was a village that had been prepared to resettle displaced families, with government assistance. Second, was a village that had been provided with assistance from the government for resettlement and continuing to build houses to resettle and third, was a village supported by various organizations to facilitate resettlement and build resettled villages.

However, there were varying *obstacles* that prevented families from resettling in the original villages in the first two types of resettlement villages besides the last type of resettlement village. The reality can be gauged by identifying each of the obstacles separately and discussing them one by one. This will help to clarify the reasons why some IDPs were reluctant to resettle in their original villages., Resettlement programs were being implemented in this manner at varying levels. The decision-making regarding the arrival of people to settle down, the failures and successes in resettlement, as well as the desire to continue to stay in the same location, together with misuse influenced IDPs to settle down in the area in a direct manner.

When the fieldwork was conducted for this research in the Weli-Oya area, at the end of 2005, there were some tensions between the two parties, and the area was under control of the LTTE. Hence, I could not cover the entire original village. However, we collected data by using assistance from other sources and methods.

At present, LTTE members are occupying our village. The army personnel are guarding about 10 miles beyond the village. At the earliest stage, the Navy had been there. The LTTE had attacked them and came up to ‘Oddusudan.’ Then the army began to slowly withdraw. They came back leaving Monarawewa and Gajabapura to fall into the hands of the LTTE (Int65/FS/ID/GPW).

This woman talks about the period of 1999-2002, before the Cease Fire Agreement. All the people felt this tension when they thought about their return and resettlement in the original villages. Their efforts to resettle were unsuccessful several times in early 2000. As I mentioned earlier, the security situation of the area mainly affected the people’s decision to return or remain. Many people shared their reasons for being discouraged to return. However, after the CFA of 2002, there were plans to implement projects for resettlement. With government assistance, a program to build homes for re-settlers was also started. The government encouraged people to resettle by providing compensation. But the majority of them lived in the WCs and according to them, there were numerous obstacles pre-

venting them from going back to their villages. Those obstacles will be compared and contrasted with the obstacles prevailing in the other areas.

In the case of the IDPs who were in the WCs in Vavuniya, many of the Tamil IDPs originally came from Vavuniya North and other districts of the northern part of Sri Lanka such as the Killinochchi, Mulative, and Mannar districts. Many people complained that the main barrier was security such as threats to one's life by the armed groups, land mines, insecurity for women and children, bomb explosions, and the establishment of a High Security Zone by the government forces, etc. Since some of the areas had been abandoned for many years, with the areas covered by the jungle. The LTTE and the security forces mined many parts of the conflict areas during the war for their defense, and after the Ceasefire Agreement landmines and unexploded ordnances became a serious problem for resettlement. According to some status reports by the government and the NGOs, hundreds of villages in the entire area have been completely devastated and they are covered with shrub jungles and bushes. The basic infrastructures such as water, sanitation, roads, school buildings, health buildings, etc., have been damaged or destroyed. Hundreds of internally displaced families do not possess any land to be able to resettle. For the landless people, who were squatting on state lands or on private lands of their employments before displacement, the government has not found suitable land to relocate them. However, many of them cannot go back to the original villages.

## 8.2. Lack of Social Relationships/Networks and Reciprocity

After being displaced for several years, those who returned to their original villages, to some extent, had been deprived of the social relationships that had existed earlier. When families were displaced, the entire relationships and networks were disrupted and restoring them to the earlier state was viewed as extremely challenging.

There was no specific place to go for us. The displaced families moved to various places. Some of them went to their relatives. Some others went to their friends. Some families rented houses. There were some who purchased houses. Some went to places like Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. At first I went to Polonnaruwa and later to Anuradhapura. Finally, I came here again (Int /MS/R/Vavuniya South).

Stories like the one above accentuate the fact that the displacement experience implies not only movement to one place, but that each and every individual (probably) finds himself/herself in many different settings for their settlements. Narratives are rich with flight from one place to another. Displacement often means mobility in a larger sense, i.e., displaced persons do not necessarily go directly



from one place to another, but moving between different settings becomes a normal condition. These journeys consisted of collective as well as on an individual basis, which has led to shattered families, kinship groups, and communities. Even if someone does not move much by himself or herself, then almost certainly he or she will have relatives or friends somewhere within the region.

We lost our family members and also relatives. We had to flee from the village without our family members and relatives (Int2/MS/ ID/GMw).

At the beginning of the conflict between the two groups, some people in the border villages had lost their family members because of attacks from an opposition group or conflict between the two parties. In this period, both the Sinhalese and Tamil were kidnapped and killed by unknown people. As a result of these incidents, some people showed their objection to being resettled after the loss of family members within the area. The above quotation was from a man who was displaced to the Anuradhapura area from the village without his brother and father. His other relatives had left to go to other areas in the district and had self-settled there. Although he could get all the land and properties when he returns, he has rejected the idea to return to the area because he had lost his relationship with relatives and family members. After displacement, they were scattered everywhere and many of them had no plans to return to the original village.

In our village, there were more than 300 families. We were all relatives. Many of them were married among the relatives. I married my mother's brother's daughter. Hence, we had a good relationship with each other. People worked together in our paddy field and exchanged labor mutually as "aththam," and we participated and helped each other in every kind of activity. But now, only 16 families have returned while others are still scattered. We have not seen our relatives so far (Int79/MS/R/VS).

According to many respondents, there were a number of relationships and networks that had been built among the villagers, some based on kinship and friendship and others based on marriage. They also shared self-help initiatives and mutual labor exchanges. It is a cooperative norm called reciprocity. These cooperative norms encourage people to get together, engage in collective action, share knowledge, preserve common resources, and share labor. A very common example of sharing labor in the village level is the *aththam* (mutual help) system. It is a traditional practice of shared labor, particularly in farming activities. As one resettled farmer said "when we used to work in the paddy fields in the early days, we often practiced *aththam*, but now no work is done here even on a daily basis." As a community, they had practiced various types of mutual exchange patterns, not only for labor, but also for food, farming tools, money, and other needs

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in daily life. However, in my view, we cannot say that the traditional exchange system like *aththam* could be seen now, as it had been 20 years ago now. They have been changed not only in the traditional village but also in the whole country because people have adopted new patterns, different from the traditional patterns of exchange. Nonetheless, people say that they have lost their various kinds of relationships and networks, within their former community. As a new community, they could practice new social relationships and build networks, but the problem was the poor arrival of the resettled people in the original village, which is the main obstacle for re-building their relationships. Generally, the scattered individuals become alienated and isolated. In the same way as the former relationships, networks had disappeared, and when they returned for settlement they had to face and develop a new lifestyle. Agricultural and labor-based lifestyles need to have reciprocal relationships among them to continue their lives in the area.

Another obstacle was that when, during the first stage, people settled down in the original villages, it was a temporary-based residence and they would return to the host area. Some of them stated that although the resettlement process is ongoing, it might not remain so for a long time. While building his house, one resettled man said:

Many of our relatives have adapted to the host area, and they would not come here. Although they come, they will go back again. If I also had land there, even I would not stay here because without people we can't stay here.

However, it appeared that the re-settlers were more attracted to living in the host area than in their original villages. Adopting or attracting people in to the host area is another obstacle to the resettlement process in the original villages (see chapters 5 and 6). Many people are looking for their former community and former relationships. Hence, the resettlement process in the village was not perceived as successful. Many people had kept their relationships with those in the host area.

The interesting thing was that when the government officials were on inspection, they wanted to indicate that they were trying to resettle if they had the opportunity. Officially, many people had included their names in the list of names of resettled families with the *Grama Niladhari* (village headman) and had expressed their willingness to resettle in the area. I asked the people, "Are you going to resettle permanently in the original village?" One person said, "Yes, of course, if they give assistance to build houses and provide other facilities and security for our life, we would resettle" (Int37/MT/R/VS). There were many people who had expressed their willingness to resettle in their former land and the village, but in interviews with the government officials, I know that it is not a common attitude and behavior of the people. One official said that "generally, those adults who represented their families bring food items for two to three days, stay during that period temporarily

in the original villages and then return to their families in the host area. Some others collect the materials provided such as farming tools, mosquito nets, and other items and keep them not in the new place, but where they are temporarily accommodated.” This clearly shows that their resettlement is a temporary measure, and the attraction to the host area remains strong.

However, it does not mean that the resettlement process for all of the villages in the area was a failure because of only a few or weak social relationships or networks among the people or with the resettlement area. A few villages were successful for particular reasons. One example was the Pudiyasinnakulam village in Vavuniya South, that is, in a resettled Tamil village; the pattern of building relationships differs from that in the other villages, as described earlier. The resettled and the new settled families were about 85 in number. Two NGOs, namely, NRC and DRC, had implemented a housing and sanitation scheme and also a project to provide credit to the re-settlers. Based on this reintegration program, the structure of the village had evolved.

Most people have the opinion that after their arrival the earlier social relationships and networks such as kinship, friendships, and neighborhood linkage development, and all the displaced people from the village could have a chance to return to their original villages within a short period.

We felt that we were reborn. It is a pleasure to come back to our village. We suffered for several years in the welfare centers. We had no place where we could go and say that it is ours. Because of the NRC, we were able to come back. They helped us a lot. They have not left us yet. Now we work together. Especially in farming activities like land preparation, all the males get together to work. Now, we must earn our own livelihood (Int32/MT/R/VS).

It appears that the social relationships of the past are being re-built. Within their living conditions, regardless of various issues and problems as a community and as a village, they are building on their relationships. They expressed feelings like “*they were reborn,*” and it represents their happiness, successfulness (relatively) in maintaining their relationship, networks, and reciprocity. It symbolizes that they are resettled and continue to live in that location of successful resettlement. To create this situation, the government and non-government organizations have played an important role. However, people had to face some problems, as revealed by the interviews with them. In fact, this community that resettled in their original village shows some key factors behind their success with the resettlement process. The government released them from the WC to go back to their original village and provided the aid and food assistance and dry rations at the initial stage of resettling. At the same time, NGOs such as NRC and DRC under the consultancy of the DS Secretariat had implemented a housing and sanitation scheme in the village. All constructions had been built with the people’s participation under directions

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of the DRC, and the project launched the reintegration program, while providing a credit program to the resettlers to build and continue their livelihoods. Thereafter, people slowly implemented their previous coping strategies; particularly, in highland farming. A few of them started doing small-scale businesses. Clearly, this shows that there are some interrelated factors; political decisions provided security and freedom to move people in to their village, and the government met their basic economic needs (dry rations). The settlement was confirmed with the provision of a housing scheme by the NGO and interlinked with the reintegration program (to build relationships with the area and among them) and provided capital (through credit) to promote self-reliance. This process has created the direction of the success of return and resettlement process.

In addition, according to some other key informants, there was another reason behind their return and resettlement. The village was very poor, and lower-caste Tamils lived in the isolated village in the border area. When they were displaced, they had the option to go somewhere and self-settle or stay with their relatives, as the other villages consisted of higher-caste Tamil people. Hence, they had to stay in the WCs during their displacement. And for them, living in the border area did not mean too many security threats from the LTTE, as they were Tamil civilians living there. Finally, they got the chance to resettle from the resettlement program, which was introduced by the INGOs under the consultancy of the Divisional Secretariat in Vavuniya-South. Hence, all people who were staying in the village earlier agreed to return again to their original village.

In the Weli-Oya area, in the Gajabapura and Monarawewa villages, there were many obstacles against resettlement, one of the factors being the lack of social relationships in these original villages also. A very small number of people stated that they would resettle. The great majority of the people in the area had not yet expressed their willingness to return, and one of the factors that discouraged resettlement was the weak state of social relationships. Many people were still living in various locations, while the majority of those people continue to live in the Padaviya area. One IDP stated:

When other people dislike returning, is it possible for us alone to go there and stay?  
They say security will be provided. But no one likes to go there yet (Int69/MS/ID/  
GPW).

The fact that many people did not want to return means that the resettlement program, initiated by the government in 2005, had failed. As noted in chapter 4, even in their residential area, they were some dissimilarities among them. Even while living in the settlement, the social linkages had developed only up to a limited level (see chapter 4). Thus, after arrival in the Padaviya / Gravelpitiya area, there were conflicting ideas and opinions among many of the IDPs.

### 8.3. Lack of Inter-Ethnic Relationships

One of the reasons for the IDPs reluctance to go back to their original villages was the disruption of earlier social relationships and networks and lack of opportunities to rebuild them with neighbors, among other ethnic groups. According to some of the respondents, the Sinhalese, Tamil, and other ethnic groups did not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity, and they had maintained various forms of linkages and social relationships, networks, reciprocity such as economic transactions and also cultural and political affiliations. All of these forms existed earlier (see chapter 4). According to many people, although there were certain kinds of problems, they helped to form positive attitudes toward social life. But often, fleeing from the village and having been away for 20 years – rebuilding those relationships to a level of confidence and trust, is an enormous challenge. To those who were reluctant go back after the long-term absence, it appears as a challenge.

In Vavuniya South, the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim groups had built various forms of social relationships in these border areas (see chapter 4). Some of the Sinhalese villages were sandwiched between the Tamil villages. Especially between the Tamil majority and the Sinhalese minority, there were strong social, cultural, and economic linkages in the area. There had been intermarriages too, and where religious activities are concerned, both parties had participated in these activities reciprocally. They displayed their cooperation by attending each other's rituals and ceremonies. The ability of people to communicate in both the Sinhalese and the Tamil languages supported interaction freely and economic activities adequately. In political activities, they engaged in transactions, and borrowing also had been done freely. Financial transactions had paved a way for strong social ties. Particularly for agricultural activities, they needed to cooperate with each other. Their livelihood was agriculture, which demanded labor and mutual help to engage in agriculture successfully. The Sinhalese people worked for the Tamil landowners for wages. The Tamil people worked for the Sinhalese entrepreneurs. Tamil people were a source of ready cash for the Sinhalese people when they needed cash.

We feel that not only this area but also its people are very unfamiliar and strange. I think they also would see us in the same way. Particularly the newcomers in the area, we had never seen them before. This is not like our early period when we were living here cordially and peacefully. War has demolished everything: we lost our land, house, and other property as well as people and their mutual relationships (Int80/MS/R/Vs).

In relation to this statement, there are two problems they had to face as returnees in their original villages. One was losing their physical property and the other was losing social property or capital along with the other ethnic groups. It is indicated that trust between the two groups of people was lost and distrust has widened.

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While discussing with most of the displaced persons, they recalled those events and state that going back to their original land with this new situation may not be possible. They suffered very much from the civil war. The civil conflict had widened and made distant the relationships that existed before the war. However, although the Sinhalese people fled from the area, the Tamil people continued to stay. New arrivals settled down in the area; the social fabric had ended and remained passive for 20 long years. Being displaced, the Sinhalese people developed suspicion, and indifference and lack of confidence surfaced. Furthermore, they thought that living with them again might lead to further problems. This was relevant for the Tamil people in some areas.

However, as a result of these events, the ethnic groups were pushed apart. In Vavuniya South, the productive growth of crops on land belonging to the Tamil people has probably made them somewhat resentful. Only a few of the Tamil and Sinhalese people are known to each other after their return. Most of the people now had grown up and had been small when the Sinhalese people fled. As a consequence, the second generation of Sinhalese and Tamil families was not familiar with each other. This distance is inevitable due to the separation for almost 20 years. In reality, among the newly grown up second generation, in place of good will there is abundant aggression. The Sinhalese are seen as enemies of the Tamils and Tamils are seen as enemies of the Sinhalese. The situation has directly influenced the non-return and non-resettling of people in the original villages.

As noted earlier, in the Pudiya-sinnakulam Village, in Vavuniya South in 1991, the inter-ethnic relationship had developed quite well between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. They had maintained considerable social ties with other Sinhalese communities in the surrounding areas, particularly with the Mamaduwa Sinhalese villagers before displacement and after being resettled.

We used to go for work in the Mamaduwa Village. So Mamadu people encouraged us to work in their places and provided food three times a day. Sometimes, they take us from the Sidamparapuram WCs to their village for work. We were well treated by them, and they had provided food every time we worked in their village. We had been there for every social occasion, such as at a wedding and a funeral. If there was any death in our village, they would come with tea and sugar. We have a strong connection with the Mamadu people today also (Int37/MT/R/VS).

Mamaduwa is one traditional Sinhalese village in Vavuniya South (and remained as a host community). Since they did not have much threat as in the other areas, they had not been displaced from the area. Usually, the village people had relationships with the Pudiya-sinnakulam Tamil people even before being displaced from the area. Sometimes when they were living in a welfare center as IDPs, the Mamaduwa people used them as laborers to work in their paddy fields. Hence, the Pudiya-sinnakulam people often appreciated the Sinhalese people. Some of them in-

licated that the Mamaduwa people had helped them. “The Mamadu people helped us to find jobs when we were in the camp and they encouraged us.” Some pointed out that their assistance was very important in order to be able to resettle in the village again.

However, there is another aspect behind this event. The Mamaduwa village is a relatively non-poor village compared with the other villages such as Pudiyasinakulam, and people had not been displaced from the village during the period. Comparatively, some wealthy people live in the Mamadu Village. Poor villagers in the area and particularly the IDPs in the WCs usually went to work as laborers in the surrounding villages. Also, according to the Mamadu people, they had a chance to get cheap labor from these particular villagers who were considered honest laborers and good workers. Consequently, all these events created positive social relationships between the two groups, which gave a fair background for displaced people to resettle in their original villages. Hence, Pudiasinnakulam was a success village for the resettlement scheme.

## 8.4. Conclusion

Table 8.1 provides a summary of the social factors, which acted as obstacles to the IDPs return and resettlement in the original villages in the three different locations.

Table 8.1. Social Relationships in the Original Villages as a Push Factor

	<b>Vavuniya South DS Division - Villages Varikuttuooruwa, Paleo Oruwa</b>	<b>Weli-Oya DS Division- Monarawewa, Gajabapura</b>	<b>Vavuniya North DS Division and some other northern areas</b>
Rebuilding Social networks and reciprocity	Very few people return, many relatives and friends were absent and the newcomers settled	Lack of social relationship with the newcomers	Lack of social relationships in the new locations, previous community members scattered from the area
Within community	Difficult to build previous social ties within the community	Very few family and kinship networks	No other ethnic groups in the area to maintain the relationships
With other ethnic groups	Poor relationships with the second generation and with the newcomers	Distrust among the Sinhalese and the Tamils	Whole area consisted of Tamil people
Sense of minority	Within the area, the Sinhalese felt that they were a minority since their population had dropped from 17% in 1981 to 10% in 2002	Since very close to the Tamil majority area, the Sinhalese felt that they were a minority	Missing their relatives and family members, friends, and neighbors

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This chapter was concerned with the second part of the first research question: the situation of the IDPs regarding security in the original villages relating to threat to life, violence, safety of women and children, and threat to property. The main purpose of the chapter was to identify the *lack of social relationships* such as kinship, friendship, and ethnic relationship as obstacles to going back to their original villages. This study analyzes them as *push factors*, while considering the conditions that prevailed in their original villages before the people were displaced and when they returned, comparatively. The analysis has taken into consideration the background situation in the original villages. Above, table 8.1 provides a summary of the factors, which act as obstacles to the IDPs return and resettlement in the original villages.

The chapter has identified several issues in the original areas regarding their social relationships. When the IDPs return to their original villages, some of the land and houses were occupied by newcomers. The newcomers cultivated some of the paddy lands, while some of the land had been abandoned and had overgrown with natural vegetation. Then there were some conflicts between the returnees and the newcomers. In preparation for resettlement, the condition of the villages differed from village to village. Lack of social relationships/networks and reciprocity and lack of inter-ethnic relations were the main factors for affecting the reintegration of people into the new environment in the original villages.



# 9

## IDPs, Place of Origin, and the Economic Situation

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### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the second part of the second research question of the study. The chapter discusses the economic relationships and activities that pose obstacles for the IDPs to return and resettle in the original villages. This chapter describes the economic situation in the original villages when the IDPs returned and resettled in the area. Here, the economic factor is considered as a *push* factor for the IDPs unwillingness to return or as an obstacle to return to the original villages. Livelihoods and livelihood strategies, access to land, employment opportunities, and housing conditions in the threatened original villages are considered as economic factors. The chapter tries to show how these factors act as obstacles for the IDPs to return and resettle in their places of origin. In addition, the chapter demonstrates some of the dissimilarities between the three locations when people return and resettle in their villages in Vavuniya South, Weli-Oya, and Vavuniya Northern area.

The chapter starts, (9.1.), with a discussion on ‘distressed livelihood’ in war-affected areas and a discussion on the IDPs livelihood situation and coping strategies in the original villages. The next parts, (9.2.-9.4.), discuss, respectively, the lack of educational opportunities, lack of health facilities, and the lack of infrastructure facilities in the original villages. The concluding part of the chapter consolidates the overall findings on the role of livelihood factors in the IDPs decisions regarding return to their original villages.

## 9.1. Distressed Livelihoods and Livelihood Strategies

Rural societies in the war-affected areas can be described as experiencing ‘distressed livelihoods’: they experience a dramatic increase in risk and uncertainty (Korf 2002).

According to Benedikt Korf, the civil war is not a temporary crisis, but a long-enduring feature. Rural societies in the war-affected areas are characterized by ‘distressed livelihoods’ or ‘livelihoods at risk.’ The people face multiple risks and uncertainties caused by many factors. The loss of economic assets due to displacement and conflict is huge, and the majority of returnees need to restart their livelihoods from scratch. In addition to lost revenue due to displacement, the situation is as follows: farmers have lost their livestock – cattle, goats, chicken – agricultural implements, tractors, carts, fertilizer, seeds, harvest, etc. Forests have engulfed the land, and it needs reconditioning before it can be used for agricultural purposes. Coconut plantations have been devastated by aerial bombings and shelling. Fishermen have lost their boats, motors, nets, and other fishing equipment. Business persons have lost their equipment, property, and business leases (CPA 2003).

Korf’s above statement describes the consequences of the protracted civil war, the background situation of the war-torn area, and the livelihood situation of the people in the area. These chapters make an effort to show almost all these factors that influence the IDPs reluctance to return to, or *push* people from, their place of origin. For this purpose, the study discusses the economic factors under selected sub-themes. Hence, this chapter is concerned with *distressed livelihood* and *livelihood strategies*, *poor farming* and *agricultural activities*, *lack of access to the former land and occupation*, *food insecurity*, *poor education*, *health facilities* and *other infrastructure facilities*, in short the economic situation in the IDPs original villages.

Livelihood strategies, nevertheless, have quite a different impact on each of the three research locations. In some locations, such as Varikuttuooruwa and Paleo Oruwa in Vavuniya South, villagers pursue their existing traditional livelihood activities and farming systems, even though under a frame of constrained conditions. In other locations, such as Welī-Oya and Vavuniya North, the conflict has forced the villagers to leave traditional resources behind and go in search of alternative livelihood options. In Pudiyasinnakulam, a Tamil- resettled village in Vavuniya South, farmers have opted for new opportunities, that is, leaving traditional paddy cultivation behind, they now earn considerable cash income from highland cultivation and from engaging in wage labor, thus, putting them into a comparative economic advantage over traditional tenant paddy cultivators. In many of the border villages in the entire area, many of the Sinhalese males depend on working

as home guards for their livelihoods. However, according to the majority of the IDPs, all the earlier livelihood activities had been under a frame of constrained conditions in the original villages. Hence, it can be called a situation of *distressed livelihood*.

Considering the former livelihood patterns in Vavuniya South villages, paddy cultivation was the most important livelihood source, while doing chena cultivation and growing other field crops due to seasonal variations or when the rainfall is not sufficient for regular paddy cultivation. However, earlier IDPs followed both cultivation methods; in addition, a few people in the area had been attached to some other occupation as their livelihood strategies. Some of them were engaged in vegetable production, particularly, using groundwater through agro-wells. Banana, chilies, shallots (red onions), beans, and cabbage were the main crops for the highland cultivation. In these villages, there were several persons who had been engaged in small-scale businesses; there were also traders, and a few people were occupied with businesses, for instance, buying and selling goods, fishing, and doing wage labor. In addition, there were a very few persons who were occupied in the state sector with middle-class jobs in the villages, and all these people had been engaged in paddy cultivation as their main livelihood strategy. However, in 1985, due to the poor security condition and threats from the LTTE armed groups, and the conflict between the government forces and LTTE, many people fled the area leaving behind economic and other properties.

When they returned during the CFA period, they had found that all the economic conditions, properties, and facilities had been lost. The land had been engulfed by overgrowth. They could not identify their paddy lands, and could not locate where they were, and there was no evidence of fences or hedges that separated their individual lands. All the houses and buildings were ruined, and almost everything in the area had been demolished. The temple, school, hospital, market, shops, roads, and other properties and facilities had vanished from the area at that time.

In the case of Weli-Oya, the livelihood strategy was farming like in the other areas, but they did paddy cultivation regularly because they had paddy lands under the settlement scheme. As in other areas, some people did carpentering, fishing, small-scale trading, driving motor vehicles, and doing unskilled jobs for their livelihoods. As discussed in chapter 4, many people mainly depended on agricultural work such as paddy cultivation for their livelihoods before being displaced from the area. But after being displaced for more than 15 years from the area, the livelihood system had collapsed and the system of their life pattern was destroyed. When their original villages were opened as a result of the CFA in 2002, people had to face many difficulties regarding their livelihoods and livelihood strategies to resettle in the area.

Tamil IDPs who came from the *Vavuniya North, Mulathivu, Kilinochchi, and Mannar* districts had similar livelihood strategies as the Sinhalese people in the rural villages in the Vavuniya District. However, after being displaced from the original villages and being absent for more than 15 years, they found that their original villages had totally changed when they returned. They had expressed many difficulties in their return and resettlement. The following sections discuss the factors related to *distressed livelihood* in the IDPs original villages.

### 9.1.1. Poor Accessibility to Former Land and Occupation

The main problem of being unable to return and resettle in their original villages was difficulties to access their former lands. The duration of absence from the area is one important factor for the conditions and the situation of the lands. Most of the abandoned land had been overgrown and the jungle had taken over. The continuous problem of the remaining landmines also affects the possibilities of using the land. Further, it is a difficult task to clearly identify specific land areas, as well as ownership of land. Since a large part of the land previously owned by the IDPs is now occupied by new residents (they are most probably also IDPs from other areas), the issue of ownership is further complicated.

There were many instances of land issues when the resettlement program was started. In the Sinhalese villages such as Varikuttuooruwa and Paleooruwa in the Vavuniya South area, one of the major issues is the inability to identify the boundaries of the land to claim ownership, as the fences had disappeared.

I came here because of the 'Land Kachcheri.' It has given a plot of land to my father. But *this* block of land was not my father's property. It was owned by someone else. My father's land is beyond this property (Int40/MT/R/VS).

Land has a particular importance for the people, particularly for the farmers in Sri Lanka. For some, the extent of land one owns is a status symbol. For others, identity is closely connected to land, with the loss of land symbolizing a loss of identity. Moreover, in Sri Lanka, which is traditionally an agricultural economy, the majority of the population is dependent on land for their livelihood and security. Since land is a scarce resource, competition for land is increasing drastically with the population growth. The overgrowth, coupled with the destruction of property means that identifying the land and its exact boundaries is a difficult task. There are some disputes over land boundaries with the increasing return of the IDPs. Identifying the property will be all the more problematic for the second generation of returned-IDPs, where the owner

was late or there were owners unfamiliar with the land (CAP 2003). The person who made the above statement was an original resident of the village. After being displaced, he was living away from the village. He was merely one of those

many people who had come to claim a right to their legitimate pieces of land. This indicates that there are some conflicting aspects of landownership. There is a need for a formal program to ensure allocation of land, on the basis of the earlier ownership.



Figure 9.1. Newcomers who occupied the land and the house after the owners had been displaced - Vavuniya South-2005

Some of the properties left vacant by the IDPs were occupied when they returned. Occupiers are often displaced persons themselves who have no choice but to occupy other people's premises. In some instances, the occupiers have been given a time period to move out by the displaced owners who now wish to return. In other cases, the occupiers have been asked to buy the property or to pay rent. In some of the border villages in Vavuniya South, another observation is that the Tamil people are in occupation of land that was owned by the Sinhalese families after their displacement from the area (see the figure 9.1). In some settlement villages, there were both Sinhalese and Tamil families living close to each other. In 1985, when the Sinhalese families fled the area the displacement continued only for the Sinhalese families (see chapter 4). After they left, some Tamil families had taken possession of both the paddy land and the highland owned by some of the Sinhalese families, who abandoned the village. And those people cultivated such lands.

We occupied this place as no one had returned for many years. We were displaced from our land from Vavuniya North. We will pay later for this land; if they sell or if

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they return ,we will return the land and the house (Relocated Tamil person - Vavuniya South).

The Sinhalese people had sold some of the land allotments to the Tamil people. Some others had leased their land to Tamil families, as the displaced people could not return or decided to keep away from the area. Regarding this state of affairs, some individuals pointed out that the Tamil people did not pay on the basis of the true value of the land, and some lands had been simply encroached, thus, gaining ownership without any payment. They point out that such Tamil encroachers had felt that the Sinhalese families would not come back to resettle. Due to this assumption, some people had offered an extremely low price or delayed paying money for what they bought. However, the factors that had led to such a situation was that the land was unoccupied for about 20 years continuously, and the owners were absent from the village. As a consequence, some of the lands were fallow or had grown into a jungle, or were occupied by other people. There are certain instances, however, where disputes have arisen with regard to the illegal occupation. This appears to be the case when the occupiers cannot return to their own properties or when they have worked on the land or house, which they are occupying and now consider as their own. Some demand payment before handing over the property or raise legal defenses such as prescription (CAP 2003, 2005). As a result of these dealings, the majority of the people in this area are left with two choices: leaving the area or rejecting to return to their original villages.

This issue has been a problem not only in Vavuniya South, but also in the Welio-Oya area and Vavuniya North. Identical views were observed among the IDPs from Monarawewa and Gajabapura in the Welio-Oya divisions. While receiving assistance from the government and other organizations, the exercise of resettlement has so far ended in failure. The government was very interested in resettling the IDPs in the Welio-Oya Division. The government provided subsidies and substantial assistance to the IDPs to resettle. They too experienced problems of having access to their former lands, as the Tamil families were occupying them. Most of the neighborhood fell under LTTE control. Due to this reason, regardless of the assistance promised, they prefer to lead a safe life. The IDPs stress that the problems preventing them from reaching their lands still exist. The most serious concern for the IDPs from Welio-Oya was the ongoing tension between the Sinhalese and Tamils groups, aimed at occupying the land in the Welio-Oya area. Most of the land in the area had been encroached by large-scale Tamil entrepreneurs, and due to riots in 1983 the Tamil people had abandoned the land. The land was later allocated to Sinhalese families (UTHR (J) 1993). Under this background, the LTTE were determined to settle Tamil families in that area, which is not favorably looked upon by the Sinhalese families.

In the Vavuniya North area, there were also numerous problems confronting the Tamil IDPs who were presently staying in the WCs at Sidambarampuram and Poonthottam in Vavuniya. The difficulty of accessing the former land was one of the main problems to return and resettle in the original areas, apart from some security reasons. Some people claim that their lands had been included in security zones. Both the government forces and the LTTE have separated some lands as their security zones in the northern areas. Hence, the establishment of high security zones was one of the main obstacles to poor accessibility to the former land. One person indicated that:

In 1994, we were displaced because at the time a battle started between the army and the LTTE. Some bombs were dropped in our village. So we got very scared. Now I hear that some offices have been built on my land, and they have given me another land, but I would like my former land because it was very fertile and well cultivated by me (Int74/MT/ID/SW).

According to some key informant sources, there was tension in the Vavuniya District due to the demarcation of the high security zone and the army occupying the private lands of people, thereby, denying them usage of such land for dwelling/cultivation purposes. Some lands in the northern part of the country were used as security operation areas with the building of bunds and other special infrastructure for security purposes, with increased restrictions on mobility and economic activities of people, including a ban on farming in areas adjacent to the major security installations.

Another point was the Vavuniya South area has fertile soils according to earlier farmers in the villages. Some of them had owned a large extent of land, as large as 10-20 acres, which was relatively big, and most of the lands were cultivated. The major income source from the area was rice production. Almost every family in these villages owned 5 to 15 acres of paddy land or even larger. Those paddy lands were cultivated during both *maha* and *yala* seasons, and a large amount of rice was harvested. But the uncertain security conditions prevailing at that time and the hard work needed to prepare the land discouraged people from starting the cultivation operations. This was another factor influencing the number of people coming back to resettle.

On the other hand, the jungle covered the tank that provides irrigation water to the paddy lands, and the irrigational channels were dysfunctional. The damage to the tank has reduced its water storage capacity. Until the year 2005, nothing had been done to renovate and rehabilitate the tank. The irrigation channels, not being maintained, had overgrown with natural vegetation, obstructing the water flow. The disruption of the infrastructure is directly related to the major livelihood of the returnee's poor condition and to the accessibility of the land used previously. Hence, this is another factor that may discourage people from resettling.

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Another aspect of the people's livelihood strategy before they were displaced was highland cultivation. Through cultivation of vegetables, the people had created an additional income source. The uses of agro-wells to irrigate the vegetables became a widely adopted method. However, the agro-wells used by the farmers before had become damaged; however, regardless of the condition, some were being used by other newcomers (farmers) to irrigate their lands.

In my former village, I had two agro-wells. I had more than 250 coconut trees in the beginning. If I was living there, I would have been economically well off by now. Then, how can I build my life again? All the coconut trees have been destroyed by the wild elephants and sometimes by bombing and shelling. Other people have used the land and the agro-wells. There are many problems. Hence, I can't rebuild my life there (Int2/MS/ID/GMw).

Most of the farmers had a very simple economic and livelihood system. However, they were self-sufficient households in many respects. Although they may be able to go back to their original villages, the economic foundation they had built up was completely destroyed by now. Property loss and financial difficulties were compounded by a number of other obstacles, which impede economic activity. Therefore, they felt reluctant to go back to their original villages. This frustration serves as an impediment against resettlement in the original village.

The person who made the above statement was a farmer; in addition, he had been a carpenter. Because his land in Vavuniya South had become a jungle, and a portion of it was occupied by the Tamil people, he rejected the idea of going back to resettle; now he has self-settled in Medawachchiya. This person's opinion represents the opinion of many others who were displaced from Vavuniya South and self-settled in Medawachchiya. He explains that the difficulty of regularizing land is a serious problem for many people in the area. These difficulties are faced by a large number of Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim IDPs who originally lived in the border villages in the Vavuniya South area.

However, except for a small number of very poor families who lived in Varikotuoruwa, the expectation of the landowner farmers who were displaced from that village was to sell or lease out their lands to the Tamil people living there and receive some sort of economic benefit. To do so, their initial attempt was to get a deed that helped them to prove that they owned the land.

Those who resettled are asking for deeds. For the convenience of those who have lost these documents, we have to do a survey before issuing them documents. Now all the land is engulfed in the jungle.....(KIint5/MS/H/VS).

Some major legal difficulties have occurred as time goes on and more land becomes reoccupied. Many problems arising out of the legal and practical issues



with land rights are possible, such as disputes over land boundaries, identifying property for second-generation IDPs, former homes having been occupied by new tenants, as well as tensions among the resettled families (NRC, April 2005, p. 25). However, regardless of whether a person wants to resettle, cultivate, or sell the land, it is important to be able to prove ownership by presenting legally acceptable documents. Accordingly, both those who arrived to resettle and those who had not yet returned to the village have been trying to get documents to prove their ownership of the land. However, the inability to find legal documents for the land they owned has resulted in people being unwilling to return to their original villages.

Another issue was that if the IDPs had a chance to access the land without any problems, they cultivated their land and took the harvest back to the host area. One farmer said that:

I take the harvest home (to the host area), I store it there. My children live there. They attend school there, so I take my harvest there. Later, I come back to this place to engage in cultivation, (Int12/MS/ID/GMw).

Although they had received various forms of assistance for things such as house reconstruction and for crop cultivation, the IDPs dislike discussing the subject of permanent resettling in the land and in the village. Therefore, a considerable number of returnees tend to *think of their original village as a temporary place of residence*. They did not want to think of it as their permanent place of residence. All the activities – except cultivation of the paddy during the season – are concentrated in the location where they are settled down now after becoming IDPs. At that location, they have constructed a permanent house for living and send their children to school. The original village was only a source of income and livelihood as well as a source to gather any possible benefits. So the original village has become a place of temporary residence and an additional resource area.

In addition, the majority of the displaced have lost their land deeds. Villages had been destroyed, and when the IDPs get back to their original village, it will be difficult for them to identify the block of land without survey plans and deeds. Most of the devastated villages were overgrown with bushes, and there were hardly any landmarks for identification of each individual's plot of land. There are villages that had been completely bulldozed by the security forces and taken over for their use.

Moreover, there were some IDPs who do not possess any land to resettle. For the landless people who were encroaching on state lands or on private lands of their employments before displacement, the government had not found suitable land to relocate them. Until then, the chances of their leaving the WCs were remote. The most vulnerable in the district were landless farmers, WC residents, and other displaced populations.

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A follow-up survey by the MRRR and the UNHCR, conducted in 2004 in the WCs in the Vavuniya District, identified *'landlessness' as the main reason for people not to return home*. The same conclusion was reached in Mannar, where 30% of the respondents cited landlessness in their place of origin as the key obstacle to return, followed by *"House in high security zone or occupied by the security forces"* (19%) and *"Joblessness in place of origin"* (17%). However, only 36% of those who cited landlessness and 18% of those who cited joblessness said they would be willing to return home if these problems were resolved. These results suggest that people were far less willing to return home if they had only little prior to their displacement (MRRR & UNHCR, 2004; UNHCR, Colombo office, August 2005).

Many of the displaced people from the northern parts who stayed in the WCs in Vavuniya were landless at the time of their displacement and have no place to return to; they remain in the WCs because they have no alternative. The government insists that displaced persons return to their original villages as a condition of aid, thus, discouraging any relocation or local integration of the displaced persons who do not wish to return to their original villages. However, obstacles to return and willingness to return differ greatly from one place to another. For the IDPs from Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi, landlessness in the place of origin was clearly the main obstacle to return – and most of those citing landlessness said that even if this problem was resolved, they were not willing to return home. One possible explanation is that many of the IDPs originating from the Vavuniya northern region (Vanni) were already IDPs in that region, having been displaced to the Vanni from upcountry and Colombo following the communal riots of 1977 and 1983. As IDPs in the Vanni, they were often without land or stable jobs. A significant number of the landless people in the WCs in Vavuniya were upcountry Tamil families who fled to the Vanni in the 1970s and 1980s. But of those IDPs originating from Vavuniya and Mannar who cited landlessness as their main obstacle to return, most said that they would be willing to return if this problem was resolved.

### 9.1.2. Poor Living Conditions and Food Insecurity

The means of living in the original villages, current livelihood situation, and food security in the area are more important factors for IDPs. The conflict has affected all facets of Sri Lankan life, but the worst cases of poverty and food insecurity exist in the north and east and adjoining conflict-affected districts. Frequent dry spells and drought exacerbate the situation in many areas within the northern and eastern parts of the country. In addition to lost revenue due to displacement, farmers had lost their livestock – cattle, goats, chicken – agricultural implements, etc. As mentioned earlier, the land has been engulfed by overgrowth and needs re-conditioning before it can be used for agricultural purposes. All the other income-generating avenues have collapsed. Subsequent to the CFA, the A-9 north-south highway opened up the former LTTE-controlled areas after two decades of

separation, revealing large-scale destruction of private property and infrastructure. The conflict had seriously affected the livelihoods and food security of the rural families in the Vavuniya South Division. Displacement and denial of access to agriculture, farm animals, forest assets, and opportunities had led to loss of production, income, and employment; large tracts of agricultural land had been rendered inaccessible by landmines or had deteriorated into the bushes. Farming equipment and infrastructure, including irrigation tanks, were in need of repair or rehabilitation. These deteriorating conditions limited the capacity of the vulnerable households to maintain adequate food security and caused unprecedented poverty, and it had badly affected the return and resettlement process, particularly in the northern districts.

Many IDPs who are living in the WCs in Vavuniya are badly affected by the war and the poor quality of the living conditions within the area where their original residence was in the northern part of the country even before their displacement (Korf and Silva 2003). Many of them indicated that poverty and helplessness were the main reasons for moving to the WCs. One IDP said that:

If you were poor, you would go to the welfare centers; if you had money you would not go to the welfare centers and you would buy land or a house somewhere or you would find some relative or friend's place for residence. We had no money and no place to go, so we had to go to the welfare center (Int75/MT/ID/SW).

Another fact, as mentioned earlier, was that a significant number of the landless people in the WCs in Vavuniya are upcountry Tamil families who had fled to the Vanni in the 1970s. As well as landlessness, commonly cited reasons for not returning included: joblessness, homelessness, food insecurity, and loss of access to common property resources. These were the main issues to be faced by people in the original villages. They had lost almost everything and had no reliable source of income. Hence, many people felt afraid to return to the original villages under these circumstances.

One 58-year-old man, who was living in the Poonthodam WC, explained his experience of the living conditions and occupations, which they did in their original villages:

We had a family-owned milk business when we lived in Kandy. But unfortunately, because of the riots in 1983, the whole of our family was displaced to Kilinochchi. When we lived in Kilinochchi, our income was very low. We weren't in any way getting a permanent income. All the time, I worked as a laborer for a little wage. {...} Most of our meals were from our own garden. We had no extra income or assistance. We did not have any way to save money.

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According to some reports, the situation of the IDPs in the LTTE-controlled areas was worse than those in the government-controlled areas. No productive employment was available to them in these areas, and government assistance never reached them in full. In addition, the government and the security forces imposed an economic blockade on the north-east, denying or restricting food, medicines, medical equipment, and fuel. Poor hospitals and transport facilities have further affected the health of the civilians and the IDPs in these areas. Rise in diseases such as malaria was noted due to the absence of proper disease-control activities (The Refugee Council, September 2003, p.26). The above quotation shows that many people who were displaced from the upcountry to the northern areas in the 1980s, did not and could not have any economic basis in their new areas when they were displaced again in the 1990s. Many of them had suffered from poverty, in addition to being affected by the war.

According to the same person who was quoted earlier, many poor people like him had to face food insecurity before being displaced, as well as after displacement. Many people like him moved to the WCs to survive, with assistance given by the agencies. Generally, dry rations were provided to the WCs by the government and NGOs, 'Food for Work' programs were supported by the WFP, for food supplementation. The government provided dry rations to the whole affected population until 1996, including the LTTE-controlled areas with the assistance of the ICRC and the UNHCR. However, since 1996, there has been a dispute over the number of IDPs in the Vanni area. The government refused to accept the figures given by the DS offices in the relevant region, and reduced the total food assistance by 50% (Lankaneson 2004). However, as a result of these factors, the majority of the IDPs, with poor living conditions in their original villages even before displacement, refuse to return and resettle again under the same conditions in the original villages.

Another point is that the majority of the people in the WCs depend on the dry rations and their poor income while they work outside of the WCs. One young female from the welfare center expressed: "We depend on my father's salary and relief from the UNHCR" (Int71/FT/ID/SW). Indeed, there were many stories of the food insecurity and insufficiency of other basic needs in the WCs. Although many people depend on relief and assistance given by the agencies, they suffered a lot from delays in the supply of the dry rations and the quality of the food items. However, a considerable number of people indicated that simply because of these shortages, they did not want to go home in the original villages. They often talked about their fear about food insecurity, joblessness, landlessness, and other difficulties in the original villages. According to them, even under no-war conditions, the situation in their original villages was worse off than the situation in the WCs. They believed that the UNHCR and other agencies at least provide dry rations and other assistances in the WCs.

When people returned to their original villages and settled down in their permanent residences, often people compared the current situation of the area where they were living and the situation in their original villages. Another story from the Sidambarampuram is as follows:

We couldn't go to our native place. It was a very critical situation, and human beings could not live there. At that time, we hadn't any other place to live. We had to pay tax if we deliver any goods. We hadn't enough income. We did not have sufficient food items. That's why we stay here as refugees.

According to Rajasingham-Senanayake, there are '*hidden economies*' of the war. Sometimes civilians become tools of war. In the border areas and in the conflict regions, paramilitary groups have developed various systems for the taxation of traders and civilians through control of the main transport routes (and the movement of persons and goods), exercising an economy based on terror, scarcity, and fear. In the Sri Lankan conflict, the LTTE pioneered a system of taxation on the movement of people and goods (Rajasingham-Senanayake 1999). According to her, since then, the army has also resorted to restricting the freedom of movement of persons and goods, more often than not in the name of security and military operations. Residents in the high security areas complain of being asked to pay large sums of money to army personnel before they are issued identification papers and passes to traverse the border. Paramilitary groups have benefited from the uncertain security situation. In Vavuniya town, PLOTE had a monopoly on the fish trade in the 1990s and coconut industry through controlling the transport of fish and coconut into the town. Fish traders had to pass PLOTE checkpoints, where they were heavily taxed (Rajasingham-Senanayake 1999). However, this vulnerability in the living conditions of the people was a reason for the people's unwillingness to return and resettle in their original villages.

### 9.1.3. Housing Conditions

The house is destroyed. There is only the foundation and ruins of the walls. The timber on the roof had been removed (Int59/FS/R/V/S).

My house is still in good condition. But another displaced family is living there at present. They are using the agro-well constructed by my father (Int5/MS/ID/GMw).

The above quotations illustrate what had happened to the houses and properties of some families who lived in Vavuniya South, after they were displaced from their village more than 15 years ago. It shows that their former houses were in diverse conditions at present. Some houses had been entirely destroyed and could not be

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rehabilitated. The home gardens were overgrown and covered with thick jungle. Some lands had been mechanically cleared by using heavy equipment such as bulldozers and caterpillars. But some others remain un-cleared. It could be observed that those houses that had been constructed with clay, wattle and daub, having cadjan roofs have totally collapsed. On some houses, remnants of former walls of wattle and daub can be seen, while the rest of the houses had perished. But in the case of houses made with brick walls, some of the walls remained although their roofs were missing. In the houses that remain, other displaced families had settled down and were living in them.

Houses in the other two locations in the Weli-Oya and Vavuniya North areas also showed the same conditions. Many of the houses had already been destroyed and the land was overgrown or used for other purposes by the armed groups or government forces. Similarities and differences when the IDPs return to their original villages during the CFA period are discussed in the following sections. However, the conditions of houses in the original villages comprise one factor that affects the IDPs decision to return or remain where they were. Most probably, the conditions of the houses in the original village directly act as push factors, thus, pushing the returnees away from the original villages. All the factors considered here regarding the houses act as obstacles to the IDPs return to the original villages.

The houses that the IDPS abandoned in the border areas and threatened villages in the Vavuniya South Division show very poor conditions. All the people had left the villages when the armed groups threatened them.



Figure 9.2. Ruins of former houses–Vavuniya South- 2005

However, the majority of the old houses had become ruins, and none of them were in a state for human habitation. For the benefit of the few families that returned to resettle, the *Seva Lanka Foundation* had provided construction materials for construction of temporary houses. With that assistance, a few temporary houses had been constructed. In such houses, iron tubes had been used for the roof construction, instead of timber. The walls were made of wattle and daub. Roofing materials used were paddy straw or cadjan. These houses had one room and accommodated the kitchen as well. There was no furniture, while some homes had a bed made of wood. It had a clay floor, and there was enough space for one person to sleep. Figure 9.3 shows the appearance of the new houses at the beginning of the resettlement process.

However, most of the items needed for a family to live were not present in the newly built houses. At a first glance, it could be concluded that they were merely temporary houses. They seemed to be more like a temporary shed put up on a farm. When I asked the re-settlers why they did not start construction of new houses, one farmer who stayed in a newly built house as shown in Figure 9.3. said:

This land and house belonged to my mother. My house was a little distance away from here. Both houses were damaged. This one was built with assistance from NGOs. I need a house to stay here only during the cultivation season. Until then, I can stay here (in a small hut). If I receive assistance, I will construct a house. I do not intend to construct a house by spending my own money (Int12/MS/ID/GMw).



Figure 9.3. A newly built house in Vavuniya South, with assistance from an NGO - 2005

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He showed the very small hut as their house in the resettled original village like other houses. It was constructed with assistance provided by the Seva Lanka NGO, and other NGOs had provided some other equipment for their paddy cultivation. According to them, people who were living in some other areas (resettled areas within the border villages) had been given some assistance to construct a house and rebuild their lives in the original villages.

The families living in the temporary houses do not appear to be very keen on constructing permanent houses for themselves; even the temporary houses had been created by mainly using the assistance provided. There were some varied levels in the resettlement program at the village level in Vavuniya South. Some villages were built permanent houses while some others were built temporary one for their residence. However, the attitudes toward and interest in constructing a permanent house indicate a willingness to resettle permanently in the resettled locations. At that time, many people were more interested in the cultivation of seasonal crops and protecting them and using their land as a place to stay to safeguard their crops. Whatever dwellings they constructed depended mainly on the assistance provided to them. They were not keen on spending their own money and investing in housing, but tended to depend on the assistance provided. The displaced persons did not have the financial strength to construct permanent houses. Some of these families were surviving on dry rations even at present.

Some of those who had the capacity to construct a permanent house did not intend to invest their own resources as a major component of housing costs. Some others, in spite of the assistance received, did not appear to be interested in constructing a better dwelling in the original village. One resettled person said, "I constructed this house because I received assistance. But I may not be able to continue my stay here. My children were living in my other house in the settled area. I came here because of the 'land kachcheri' found here". His ideas were disappointing regarding the resettlement programs.

{...} the materials I received for the house construction are still stored in "my house" (in the host area). If I get assistance, I would construct a permanent house here.

The above statements show several factors regarding the construction of the houses in the original villages in the Vavuniya South Division. Subsequently, they were resettled, but may or may not take permanent residence in their original village on the basis of several factors. Some of them use assistance for the house construction. They expected both further assistance in the future for house construction and also some degree of security. Doubts and fears waned their interest to construct permanent houses. That may be one reason for their reluctance to invest personal funds for housing. Every family that came to the threatened villages in Vavuniya South previously owned a permanent house in the host area after they were dis-



placed from their village. Some people said that their children attend school in the host area and that some of them have some properties within the settled places such as lands, vehicles, and some other properties. Some families had constructed middle-class level houses in the host community. Hence, it seems that there are other expectations. The effort to build houses in the original villages, though not for their resettlement but another purpose, may be to keep the land that belongs to them or to give it to their children. However, these events prove that many factors push people from the original village, so that they do not remain as resettled people.

Another point was that after the CFA in 2002, many resettlement programs were started, and IDPs were pushed to resettle in the original villages. But at that time, many self-settled people in the area had constructed their own houses in the host area along with collecting other necessities for their life. When they use the term “*my house,*” or “*our house,*” it often refers to his/her house in the host area, and it supports their feelings about the permanent place and future decisions as to where they are going to stay further and permanently (see chapter 5, 6, and 7).

However, the IDPs tend to think that their permanent residence is the location where their family members were living in the host area. What they needed was a place to engage in farming and earn their livelihood, while claiming their right to land in their original village. They tend to regard such land as an additional resource that provides them with an income. One such thing that had induced such thinking may be the eligibility to receive assistance for their resettlement process, on the land owned by them.

Nevertheless, the house construction activities in some of the other villages (e.g., Paleooruwa) in the same division appear to have achieved some progress, compared to such activities in the previous village (Varikuttuooruwa). Although only a few re-settlers returned, they were engaged in the construction of permanent houses. One major factor that had contributed to such progress was the provision of an advance of LKR 50,000 to construct houses, under the IDP resettlements program. These funds were provided to purchase construction materials, and the family members had to contribute their own labor for the construction work. As a result of this scheme, several houses were being constructed and the work was progressing well. They were permanent houses, with brick walls.

However, the same problem could be seen in this village also, where returning and resettlement was not a success. The above photo shows that people were not living properly there. According to data from the key informant interviews, many had returned in order to obtain assistance provided for house construction and farming activities. As the land kachcheri is held on a particular day, attendance was higher than on other days. On other days, many of them were most probably in their host areas.



Figure 9.4. Newly Built Houses in Paleo Oruwa -Vavuniya South with assistance given by the Government Resettlement Scheme- 2005

They were also self-settled in another village (Galegama) in the Medawachchiya host area. At the time I was doing my fieldwork, I met a woman at Galegama whom I met at Paleo Oruwa the following day. At that time, she had built a house in the host area at Galegama. Also, she had built another temporary house in her original village and expected some assistance to build a new house in the resettlement village too (see Figure 9.5).





Figure 9.5. A woman at her new home in the Host Area (lower left page)  
And next day at Home in Place of Origin (upper right page)

She stated that her children attended school in the host community and her husband engages in selling commodities at the weekly fair in Medawachchiya. Further, her mother and sister returned to their original village and had also constructed two houses in separate blocks of lands owned by them, and they had taken the money given by the government to build a new house. However, her name had not been included on the list for getting assistance, but her attempt was to get into the second list, which would allow her to have more money for constructing a house. Meanwhile, she had cleared the land and built a hut using assistance provided by some NGOs and was depending on dry rations available for resettled people from the government and aid agencies. “I live here and there. Our names were included in the list for the second round of assistance.....” However, according to her explanation, she represents a group for the second round to get assistance.

This event shows that the resettlement processes were being used and practiced by some people as part of their lifestyle. They were trying to prove their residence at two places. It can be called a “dual residence.” They used to travel to the resettled area (original villages) and stay for a few days and then return occasionally to the host area. Sometimes, only the parents or adults in the family used to go the original village to stay and work in their paddy fields, collect the harvest, and come back to the host community within a specific period. But other members of the family lived in the host area as permanent members. Some people joined the resettlement program, and one or two family members represented the re-settler family. This implies that they played the role of re-settlers who were going back to their original villages. This had become a common trend in the three locations, particularly, among the self-settled in the host areas where some of them have a “dual residence,” and living in the host area was a permanent feature while resettlement was treated as an additional measure to cope with the demands of the

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family. Hence, in this process, people try to keep their label of “IDPs” when they live in the host area or original village for the purpose of accruing benefits.

This “dual residence” pattern and its impact on the resettlement program should be reviewed. Most of those practicing dual residence regard their stay in the original village as a risk due to fear of being chased away again. They fear that the war will start again and they will be at risk of LTTE attacks in the future. Thus, the push factors arising from the original villages were the fears associated with insecurity, problems of land and housing, joblessness, deficiencies in the infrastructural facilities, and lack of common resources, etc. These forces push the IDPs from the original villages. The IDPs who settled in the original villages, in particular, would be beneficiaries of aid, relief, and assistance provided by the government, INGOs, and NGOs. The consequence of all these issues was that those IDPs tended to live in both places of “present house” and the “resettled house.”

There were various differences in the housing condition in the original villages in the Weli-Oya area. It is likely that a small number of houses were destroyed due to the owners’ absence from the area over a long period of time. Other displaced families occupied some of these houses. The major problem discouraging the people from resettling there is the risks associated with the lack of security. Since these people were settlers (under the Mahaweli system L scheme) and some were from various peripheral social groups, various forms of behavioral patterns were observed within the social system. For example, some of the Sinhalese people who were pardoned prisoners had conflicts with their Tamil neighbors. Under these circumstances, the majority of the Sinhalese IDPs expressed their dislike to go back to that area and rebuild their houses.

The majority of the houses in *Monarawewa* and *Gajabapura* villages in the Weli-Oya area were middle-class houses, with brick walls while the roofs were covered with tiles or asbestos sheets. One businessman and farmer from Gajabapura said:

Our houses were completely constructed. We were provided with electricity; we were given 3 acres of highland to plant coconut seedlings. I planted that entire extent (Int62/MS/ID/GPW).

He had a middle-class house and another building as a shop and mill. A few houses had daub and wattle walls, and roofing materials were either paddy straw or cadjan. As one woman said, “We had a small house because we were not settled there for long, but we had a plan to build a new house; unfortunately, we had to be displaced from the house.” Such houses had perished as soon as the roofing materials decomposed, while the houses with tiles and asbestos sheets on the roofs had remained in a satisfactory state.

However, most such houses remained in good condition as the displacement of the owners had taken place only for a short period compared with the other areas. In 1999, the villagers evacuated their houses. In 2005, these houses were in good condition and fit enough for being resettled. However, the problem was that a suitable environment for resettlement was not available. The people suspected that the security was not adequate for them to live there. According to the people of the area, defense boundaries of both the LTTE and government forces were within this area.

However, after being displaced, some people got ready to resettle in these villages. But it ended in failure. Due to promises by the politicians, some of the families decided to resettle as they had been promised a grant of some money if they resettled. “The earlier settlers were promised a payment of Rs 39,000 per family. Even that was not paid. The maximum amount of payment made was only Rs 19,000.”

The opinion of the majority of the people was that the interest to resettle emerged due to the promises made to provide them with assistance to construct their houses and also for some other purposes. During discussions with the IDPs, they complained of various shortcomings in the assistance package, delays, and inadequate attention paid to them. Although some of the IDPs expressed their interest in resettling, the great majority of those IDPs are still living in the Padaviya area, according to observations. The present struggle by the IDPs living in Padaviya is to have permanent dwellings in that area itself. This indicates their reluctance to resettle on the lands in the original villages. However, what they desire most is to obtain some land to put up a house and also receive assistance to construct it in the host area.

The original villages of the Tamil refugees living in the Poonthttam and Sidambarapuram WCs were located in the Vavuniya North area. The houses of some of the Tamil refugees were located in the LTTE-controlled areas, such as Mullaivituvu, Kilinochchi, and Mannar. When they desired to resettle in their original villages, they also had to face certain problems and difficulties regarding the conditions of their houses. According to the reports of the European Commission, the damage to the houses belonging to the Tamil IDPs in these areas was greater when compared to those in other areas. During the battles between the government forces and the LTTE, in particular, almost 80% of the houses in those areas were totally or partially destroyed (ABD, UN and WB 2003).

As mentioned earlier, another problem was that some areas had been declared as high security zones, both by the LTTE and the government forces (Global Survey 2004). Due to this declaration, people could not reach their houses, as these zones were out of bounds for civilians. Due to population growth and the emergence of new families, the need for additional accommodation facilities was increasing (IDP Global Project 2005). These data sources showed that generally the

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entire area had been suffering from many problems regarding access to their houses and living there. In some areas, by the year 2005, as a result of the resettlement programs, the non-government organizations and the government implemented several types of housing programs. At some locations, houses were constructed and people resettled.

One young man at the Poonthottam WC said:

I do not like to go there, because we think we cannot live there without earning money, and our house has been destroyed. We need a block of land here to build a house.

It is very good, if I get a small block of land in Vavuniya like our people at unit 9 of the camp (Int73/FT/ID/PW).

However, some of the statements made indicate that people preferred to stay in the Vavuniya area, rather than going back to the original village because of the poor conditions of the houses and some other factors. Many landless IDPs expressed the wish to be granted a block of land and a house, in order to be able to relocate in the area where they were currently residing (host area), in particular, in an area surrounding the Vavuniya town.

## 9.2. Lack of Educational Opportunities

In all the three locations that the study considered as the original villages, another factor that influenced the IDPs unwillingness to return was the existing educational facilities, particularly, the state of the school system, availability of teachers, and the quality of the education provided. After being displaced, a problem that most people had to face was the interruption of their children's education. In the case of the self-settled families living within a host community, the IDPs had tried to build their basic facilities within the host community; those who had lived in the WCs amidst various problems had also found alternatives, to some extent, within the area of their host community. However, for some families, while the educational facilities in the new location were relatively inferior when compared with those in their original villages, for some others, these facilities for children were far better than those available in their original village. Under such conditions, when families think of resettlement, the educational facilities existing in that area were a major consideration and concern for the parents. Therefore, the quality of the educational environment for the children was a factor that influenced the IDPs willingness to resettle in their former village.

In Sri Lanka, "educational facility or opportunity" is a concept that is highly complicated. When considered on a regional basis, the differences are highly complicated. In terms of facilities, there are differences between the rural and urban schools. There are also differences between the classified schools, in the categories

of rural schools, urban schools, and national schools. Moreover, the general public classifies schools as big schools and small schools (Lindberg 2005). In all these categorizations, there are differences in terms of the facilities available. Therefore, it can be seen that in terms of educational facilities in the different areas, there are disparities, gaps, and differences. Further, it was observed that the differences in the availability of facilities were quite varied. However, the people had access to small rural schools where facilities available were at a minimum. Additionally, the number of schools with adequate facilities was few. Accordingly, it can be seen that in the case of the IDPs, the educational facilities for their children, whether in the original villages or in the present host areas, were likely to be at a relatively low level, compared to the other urban areas in the country.

Most of the IDPs subjected to this study were mostly from the rural areas, regardless of whether the attention is focused on their original village or the present residence (in the host area). However, at those places where the IDPs lived in the host area, whether rural or semi-urban, they appeared to have relatively better educational facilities, compared to those in the border villages. After the residents of the village were displaced, the infrastructural facilities in those villages degraded and the facilities, particularly educational facilities, had dropped to very low levels. Some areas remained abandoned for more than 20 years, while in some other areas the period of abandonment ranged from 6 to 10 years.

In Sri Lanka, every citizen, regardless of any difference and without any discrimination, is entitled to a free basic education. It is both a basic human right and a need. The rule of the government is to provide all the basic facilities for education. In spite of the disparities between “big” and “small” schools, the facilities within the schooling system ensure provision of a school in every village, or at least in the adjoining village, if the population is too small. Therefore, in the rural sector, educational facilities refer to what is provided by the government to the schools. Although there were already shortcomings in the educational facilities in the remote areas, the war made these shortcomings worse. Due to the risks and uncertainties in most of the border villages, teachers were reluctant to teach in schools in these areas. It was a major problem. In Sri Lanka, competitive examinations are dominant and compulsory subjects such as mathematics, science, and English language are subjects that must be taught, for which there should be a sufficient number of teachers. In some villages, there was too few qualified teachers, and teachers from other areas were too reluctant to teach in the war-affected areas. This situation was further aggravated by shortcomings in public transport, and lack of suitable accommodation for the teachers from other areas to stay in the village.

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We should give first priority for our children's education. Their future depends on education. We had a school in our village before displacement, but now it is in ruins  
{..}(Int4/MS/ID/GMw).

When considering resettlement in their original village, in addition to considering safety of life, the IDPs also paid attention to the educational and other facilities for their children. Almost all parents considered that providing a good education for their children is a matter of the highest priority, for a parent. Particularly in Sri Lanka, middle-class families migrate to either towns or urban areas to get the children admitted to a "good school." This does not mean that poor, rural parents do not have the same view. But being poor, they are unable to achieve that target. In spite of the difficulties, parents often think of providing the best possible education for their children. While discussing resettlement, the parents very much consider the educational facilities available in the area, for the benefit of their children.

In the Vavuniya South Division, those who lived in the Sinhalese border villages recognized that the educational facilities had undergone drastic changes, as a whole. The literacy rate in these areas was quite high before they were displaced in the area (DS Division data Vavuniya South, 2005). The rural school in a village, and particularly "Gamini Maha Vidyalaya" (name of the school) in Vavuniya town, was of special importance to school children, who studied in the Sinhala medium. But in 1985, with the evacuation of the Sinhalese families from their village, the Sinhala school system, suffered a severe setback, if not a collapse. This resulted in a displacement of teachers from their villages, and the reluctance of newly appointed teachers to work in the "high risk" school areas, thus, disrupting education in the Sinhala medium. There was no opportunity to remedy this situation for more than 20 years. Even at the time of encouraging people to resettle, the disrupted educational system had not returned to normal.

There are no educational facilities for our children. Even the school buildings had not been rehabilitated. When there is no school, how can we bring our children here?  
(Int79/MS/R/VS).

The school buildings in villages such as Varikuttuooruwa and Paleooruwa have perished, and the school premises were now covered by the jungle. In the school compound, massive trees had grown. In some places, only the foundation of the school building could be seen. Before the year 1985, the number of school children attending school was approximately 300.

The majority of those who returned to the original village were the adults of the families. Their arrival had either the purpose of claiming residence or to engage in farming activities. Upon resettlement, they gave the highest priority to build a house and engage in farming. Although authorities had paid attention to these two



priorities, it did not appear that attention had been given to educational facilities for children. Therefore, the arrival of school children in the resettled area remained at an extremely low level.

The majority of the school children were attending school in their host community. In most of the original villages, reconstruction/renovation of the school buildings, provision of furniture and other items, appointment of teachers, and all the other essential facilities, remain to be attended to. In Vavuniya town too, in the Sinhala (medium) schools, the shortcomings have increased and remained at a poorer level than it was before. In the largest Sinhala school, Gamini Maha Vidyalaya, daily attendance in the year 1985 had been about 1,500 students. But in the year 2005, it had dropped down to 300 students. The number of teachers at the school had also decreased. For the General Certificate of Education (GCE) (Advanced Level) [The GCE generally comprised of two levels; the Ordinary level (O/level) and the Advanced level (A/level)] subjects in arts, commerce, and science were taught; at present, only art subjects are taught. In the school buildings, some organizations had established their offices. In one section, the IDPs were staying temporarily.

Due to all these conditions, this downfall has had an adverse impact on the education of the Sinhalese students. But in the Vavuniya South area *pirivena* (temple) education was being maintained in a relatively better state. *Pirivena* is the traditional educational institution in Sri Lanka as established in the Buddhist temple. Both laymen and priests were getting education there. *Magukanda Pirivena* was one such institution. But for school children from some marginal villages such as Varikuttuooruwa and Paleo Oruwa, Magukanda Pirivena is located too far away.

Even in the other areas, the educational facilities were not much better at that time (2005). But in Vavuniya South, in the resettled village called Pudiyasinakulam, a new school building had been constructed for the benefit of the Tamil school children. From pre-school up to higher levels, the basic infrastructure had been provided by NGOs, including DRC and NRC. The government provided maintenance and management, and educational activities there are progressing well, according to the re-settlers. There were 85 resettled families and 150 school children. Teaching is done in the Tamil medium, and classes are being conducted up to the GCE (Ordinary Level). The principal of the school is from the same village and three more teachers from the village are serving the school. The other teachers are from the adjoining villages and Vavuniya town. For higher education of Tamil children, schools are available in Vavuniya town. The majority of schools in Vavuniya town are Tamil schools, because in Vavuniya, more than 75 percent of the population is Tamil. The zonal education office in Vavuniya supervises and manages the Tamil schools in the area.

When the government forces and the LTTE started engaging in battle from 1985, residents of the border villages were displaced, and the middle-class fam-

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ilies began to migrate to Vavuniya town. This led to an increase in the population within Vavuniya town. Vavuniya town is centrally located between Vavuniya North and Vavuniya South divisions. For people living in the northern region, Vavuniya is the last Tamil town. Therefore, the majority of Tamil IDPs had chosen Vavuniya town as their preferred destination. In this period, many Sinhalese people moved to further south areas from Vavuniya. This is one reason for the high population density in Vavuniya city and the welfare centers in Vavuniya for the Tamil people. This caused many NGOs and international organizations to pay special attention to Vavuniya.

During the CFA period, after 2002, welfare programs and resettlement as well as development activities were launched through various organizations. As a consequence, there were significant improvements in educational services, health and sanitation, and livelihood programs, along with infrastructural facilities. These improvements substantially improved the educational system for the Tamil students. Both the number of school children attending the Tamil schools and the number of Tamil teachers had increased significantly. Meanwhile, most people think that the educational facilities in the northern part of Vavuniya and in the original villages in Killinochchi, Mulaitivu, and Mannar districts of the Tamil IDPs are as poor as in the Vavuniya schools. One reason for the reluctance of the Tamil IDPs to go back to their original village is the availability of better educational facilities in Vavuniya. As one young Tamil girl said, “After we migrated here, we didn’t go back since my brother is studying here (Vavuniya). Comparatively, there are better educational facilities here than in our original villages. We are unable to go there because there are many restrictions and other obstacles...” (Int72/FT/ID/SW). These shortcomings in the educational facilities in their original villages diminish their interest in returning to their original villages.

It is not a good situation to live there. So, I do not like to go there. After my sons complete their education, I will go there, if my children like it (Int72/FT/ID/SW).

Our future hopes are children. We want give them to have a good education. If we live in this camp, continuously, it will be a difficult thing for us (Int73/FT/ID/PW).

The first quote illustrates the obstacles to a good education for the children in the original village. It also connotes their unwillingness to resettle in the original village. The respondent is a mother of three children, and two of them are receiving their education at schools in Vavuniya town. Further, she states: “If we go back to our original village, the education of our children would become disrupted.” She adds, “I have to consider whether my children agree to return to the original village.” However, in interviews with young school children, I came to understand that they often refuse to return to their original villages. As one said, “I was very

small when we arrived here (host community). I remembered that we stayed in several places before we finally came here and stayed for a long time. Now I feel that here is my home and I don't want to go anywhere else. All my friends are here; now I am studying in the advanced level class." The majority of youths dislike going back to the original village. Most of the children had been very small at the time their families were displaced, and the greater portion of their life had been spent in the 'host' areas. They have gotten adjusted to the host area and wish to stay there in the future since they had been displaced for a very long period (15 to more than 20 years). They are induced to stay in their familiar location. This is due to their being attracted to the familiar environment. They probably cannot remember what their original places looked like. Therefore, it is not only better educational facilities, but also the fact that they are highly attracted to the familiar environment that may lead to them refusing to return to their original villages.

The above second quote (Int73/FT/ID/PW) makes it very clear that the main goal of parents is a better education for their children. In spite of problems and difficulties, they prefer to find a suitable site and relocate themselves in close proximity to Vavuniya, rather than moving away from it. This statement also suggests that the respondents feel that staying in the WCs is not favorable for the children's education and that living on a block of land would be favorable for the children's education. The majority of the respondents living in the WCs indicated that they would prefer to start a new life on a new block of land, rather than resettle in the original village. They emphasized that living in Vavuniya would enable their children to have a good education since the much needed facilities are available in Vavuniya. This indirectly implies that there are many shortcomings or deficiencies in their original villages.

The educational facilities for school children in Manarawewa and Gajabapura in the Weli-Oya area were similar to those in the Vavuniya South DS Division area. In 1999, both the government armed forces and the Sinhalese settlers fled from the area. The students and the teachers in the affected communities joined the "host" community. At the time of the people's displacement and immediately afterwards, the school buildings were used as WCs, at least for a short period. After they abandoned the area, the jungle gradually engulfed it. As the LTTE took control of Monarawewa and Gajabapura and their neighborhood, some Tamil families from other areas occupied the houses and the land. The school buildings were used for various other activities, excluding education.

Monarawewa and Gajabapura in the Weli-Oya area were relatively new villages, established to provide land to the landless and second-generation families within the Mahaweli L system (see chapter 4 for details). This area was close to the Tamil border area and the forest. Most of the settlers there focused on farming. These were extremely difficult areas, and welfare services such as education, health, and sanitation were at a poor level. This situation was made worse by the

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war situation that prevailed in the area. For more than 5-10 years, the people of the area were displaced, and the common facilities and services such as education were very seriously disrupted.

Disruption of the educational system in the original villages is one of the problems that exert a negative influence on the former residents from resettling in their original villages. The main problem is insecurity. These factors induce the IDPs to reject programs for resettling in the original villages. However, according to some respondents, the majority of parents did not pay adequate attention to their children's education. But some people had been keen to ensure a good education for their children. However, a major factor that led to that situation was that security, employment or work opportunities, and services were so poor that the people's attention was focused on those serious matters rather than on their future well-being. The environment was threatening, unpredictable, death lingered everywhere, and risks were extremely likely at any point of time. One key informant said, "People who were settled down in the Weli-Oya are not those who had received some education. They could use farming tools and during the war, they served as home guards" (Int70/FS/ID/GPW).

The IDPs discussed their past in the Weli-Oya area, with a certain amount of displeasure. They said that educational services were virtually nonexistent at that period of time, and people could survive there only because of the army personnel who stayed there. With this background, unlike in other areas, school age children could not engage in educational activities despite its importance. Many people shared similar views about the situation, after comparing the living environment of the "host" area with their original villages. The comments by the IDPs indicated that educational facilities in the Padaviya area were better compared to the original villages where they lived with their children.

Therefore, in spite of the educational facilities in the Padaviya area being better than those in Monarawewa and Gajabapura, the children of IDPs have failed and are failing to realize the possibilities of gaining from the better educational environment available to them. Therefore, with regard to considering the option of resettlement, although some parents have disregarded the importance of education for their children, they presented many other reasons to justify their reluctance to resettle in their original villages. However, some of those who expressed their opinions quoted earlier stated that they refused to resettle because educational services and other facilities were almost nonexistent in the area recommended for their resettlement. Therefore, the entire IDP community presently living in Gravelpitiya is engaged in an unending struggle to get a permanent part of land and a house for them to permanently settle in the Gravelpitiya area.

### 9.3. Lack of Health Facilities

Free health service is available in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, even at the rural level, common health facilities are available to everyone. However, the problem is whether everyone could have access to the welfare facility at the same level as others without any interruption. This section tries to explore the situation of health facilities in the war-torn border areas, particularly in Vavuniya South, the Welio-Oya area, and some parts of the northern areas.

Public hospitals include general hospitals, teaching hospitals, and rural hospitals in Sri Lanka. Private medical services are also available, and most of them are in the cities and urban areas. Most of the health services in the rural areas are provided by the rural hospitals for the public sector.

In the areas where clashes occur as well as in the border villages, public-sector health services play a very important role. The rural hospital system plays a vital role in particular, and all the rural areas provide people with identical health services. If there is any form of inequality, it is due to extraneous reasons. The distances from the hospital to a specific village as well as the roads and transport facilities to reach the hospital and communication facilities may be dissimilar among locations and create various obstacles. These differences may prevail particularly in the conflict areas as well as in the border villages, which intensify the insecurity to a greater level. However, in the threatened areas, as soon as the local population deserted the areas, the health services were also disrupted. Moreover, when people were resettled during the early stages, there were various differences in the establishment of restored health services in that particular area. Upon resettlement, the deficiencies in the common facilities, especially absence or inadequacy of health facilities served as a significant obstacle.

There was a difference in the adequacy of health services in the villages in the Vavuniya South DS Division before displacement in 1985, and during resettlement in 2005. Some respondents expressed their view on health facilities in their original villages before being displaced. In Varikuttuooruwa Village, one woman said: “{...} we had to go to Vavuniya only if we wanted to go to the hospital. But there was a maternity ward in the village. So we could satisfy most of our needs from the village itself...” Almost all the re-settlers commented on the satisfactory health services available in the village up to the time they were displaced in 1985, and stated further that such facilities were not available at present. Before people were displaced, there had been a rural hospital and also a maternity unit in the Varikuttuooruwa Village. Therefore, all the people in the adjoining villages also had gone to the rural hospital in Varikuttuooruwa for medical attention. But the few families who resettled mentioned that at present such facilities are not available at all.

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In Vavrikuttuooruwa Village, the buildings of the rural hospital that existed there once are no longer to be seen. And the re-settlers point out that the health services at present are at a very low level. The Seva Lanka Foundation had provided assistance for the construction of latrines, while another NGO had provided mosquito nets to the re-settlers. But the re-settlers pointed out that the other requirements to ensure good health and sanitation had not received the attention of the authorities.

It was not only the hospital facilities but also the availability of secure and safe food and drinking water, which was a serious problem in the original villages.

There is no place close by to get medical attention. There is no place to buy food items. The nearest shop is two miles away. Shortage of safe drinking water is a severe problem.

For people resettling in the Vavuniya South villages, there is no hospital in the area and other medical services do not appear to have been given the needed attention. The availability of safe drinking water is a serious problem and the great majority of re-settlers are requesting at least a few tube wells to be constructed in their area. The majority of people obtain drinking water from the wells; however, during the long period of absence, the wells had not been cleaned or maintained. Therefore, safe drinking water is virtually unavailable. Lack of these facilities and services affect the IDPs decision on whether to return and resettle in the original village.

All these health and other facilities were applicable for all border and war-torn areas (UNHCR 2004). If there were any existing facilities, they were created by INGOs or NGOs under particular conditions in particular areas. However, all the three original villages did not have that type of area when data were collected for the research.

### 9.4. Lack of Infrastructural Facilities

Another factor considered by the IDPs with regard to resettlement in their original villages was the creation of infrastructural facilities in the resettlement area. When resettling, the returnees usually tended to compare the infrastructural and welfare facilities available in the host community and the original village. The returnees therefore attempted to see whether the infrastructural facilities available in their “host” area were also available within the resettlement area. The improvement or deprivation of infrastructure is influenced by the length of period that the area had been abandoned and the level to which the infrastructural facilities had been improved under the resettlement programs. However, both the Tamil and Sinhalese IDPs who self-settled as well as those lived in the WCs referred to the infrastructural facilities that were available in their original villages and the present situation. The study basically considered transport facilities, conditions of

roads, electric power, water for farming and drinking, and telecommunication as infrastructural facilities.

One of the important problems confronting resettlers is the unavailability of an adequate public transport service. As one man from a resettled area in Vavuniya South said:

We had a public bus service from our village before we were displaced from the area. Now, there are no public transport facilities from the village. Even the roads are not in a good condition. We have to supply our own vehicles or other private vehicles for transport. If there is an emergency, there are no transport facilities.

This is influenced by the fact that public transport services provided by the government had ceased, and the government did not maintain the roads. Hence, poor and inadequate transport services are likely to be another powerful disincentive for resettlement. However, some people mentioned how they could find good transport facilities in the resettled area. The majority of border villages in Vavuniya South, the Weli-Oya divisions, and the northern areas in Vavuniya lack transport facilities. Although it was a major problem, some respondents remarked that transport facilities were available during the daytime, but in an emergency and particularly at night, transport facilities were virtually nonexistent, which was a problem not only within the village but also in the area. Generally, many of the marginal or border areas in the war-torn areas compared with the rest of the other areas were suffering from many shortcomings, including transport facilities. Since the residents of this area were primarily engaged in the cultivation of paddy and other agricultural crops, transporting their farm produce to the markets was another very difficult problem. They had to hire vehicles from some distance. Those who harvested their crops had to transport it to the markets or other locations, and the costs, even if excessive, had to be borne by the resettlers. Some of the respondents indicated that with regard to transport, there were occasions when the government security forces provided some help.

When the fieldwork in this study was being conducted in 2005/2006, the villagers had to walk, as there were no proper public transport facilities. When the fieldwork was going on, there was no indication of an effective transport service. Most of the respondents pointed out that the people had to make their own private arrangement to travel, for meeting their day-to-day needs, due to the lack of public transport. Some of the respondents pointed out that there were many other problems, in addition to the lack of public transport, and all these deficiencies led them to delay or reject the decision on whether to return and resettle.

Development of infrastructural facilities is an indication of the quality of living standards in a community. The availability or lack thereof pipe-borne water, electric power supply, a network of good roads, and communication facilities signifi-

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cantly affect the value of the land. Deficiencies in the infrastructural facilities tend to reduce the attention of people wanting to return to that area. Lack of attention by the public sector and inadequacy of services are likely to retard development activities and also deprive other services to that area. The majority of the border areas in Vavuniya South, the Weli-Oya Division and the Vavuniya North area also suffered from this issue. Low availability of roads and transport facilities from the urban areas to the villages can adversely affect services supplied to a village. This, in turn, influences the poor living standards, fewer economic activities, poor livelihoods, and fewer employment opportunities available to the people in an unfavorable manner. However, all these factors negatively affect the IDPs decision whether to return and resettle, and act to push people away from the original villages.

### 9.5. Conclusion

Table 9.1 provides a summary of the economic factors and other infrastructure, which acted as obstacles to the IDPs return and resettlement in the original villages in the three different locations.

Table 9.1. Economic Relationships in the Original Villages as a Push Factor

	<b>Vavuniya South DS Division-Villages: Varikuttuooruwa and Paleo Oruwa</b>	<b>Weli-Oya DS Division-Villages: Monarawewa and Gajabapura</b>	<b>Vavuniya North DS Division and other northern Villages</b>
Livelihoods and livelihoods strategies	Farming: paddy, high-land crops, small- scale business	Basically paddy cultivation, with small-scale business	Highland crops, paddy cultivation, and breeder and small-scale business
Accessibility of former land	Many parts of the land under shrub jungle, land occupied by others, inability to identify the boundaries. Lack of clear deeds	Covered with excessive vegetation. Newcomers occupied some parts. Tamil rebels in the area, close to the defense line of the government forces	Some lands included in the high security zones, landmines buried, other IDPs occupied the land, covered with jungle
Housing conditions: former (before being displaced)	Clay, wattle and daub, with cadjan roofs totally collapsed but those built with cement still remain. While the rest of the houses have been destroyed, other IDPs occupied a few houses	Temporary houses have totally destroyed some of the houses, but those made of cement still remain. Others IDPs occupied some houses; some parts of the house were stolen	Some are destroyed, and others occupied by other IDPs within the high security zone; stolen parts and properties of houses



Present- (after displacement in 2005)	Have built small huts with assistance given by NGO "Seva Lanka." New houses were built with assistance from the government through funds by INGOs	Proposals to build new houses with assistance given by the government	Continuing assistance programs to build houses, but they are still in the process of completion
Welfare and other infrastructural facilities	Few returnees receiving dry rations, "Samurdhi" assistance given by the government and NGOs, lack of infrastructural facilities including roads, electricity, telephones, etc.	If they return, the government will give reparations and 'Samurdhi' and other assistance given by the NGOs. Very few families returned because of lack of infrastructural facilities	Receiving assistance given by the INGOs; not much government welfare aid such as "Samurdi." Suffering due to some restrictions of goods by the government and taxation from the LTTE. Lack of infrastructural facilities including roads, electricity, telephone, and other common facilities, etc.
Education facilities	School building and other facilities in the school totally destroyed; lack of Sinhala medium teachers and students in the area, no other Sinhala medium school surrounding the area, but there were some Tamil- medium schools	Lack of teachers, lack of other facilities and poorer environment for studying in the area since the tension of the armed conflict	Lack of teachers, lack of other faculties and poorer environment for studying, tensions of the war and insecurity for students, fear of child recruitments for the rebel group
Transport facilities	Very few villages close to the main roads had any public transport, and many villages had poor facilities	Lack of transportation facilities, very small number of people occupying the area	Poor-quality of transport, many parts of the area under LTTE control
Health facilities	Poor facilities available in the whole area. Difficulties in obtaining drinking water and sanitation. Vulnerable to the spread of disease	Poor quality of health facilities, equipment and medicine; few doctors and other assistance	Very poor facilities for health. Difficulties in getting medicine because hospital facilities available in urban areas are very far from the rural villages. Vulnerable to the spread of disease

This chapter has aimed to explore the study's second part of the second research question, that is, to examine the economic situation in the original villages at the time the IDPs returned and resettled in the area during the ceasefire period from 2003-2006. It is clear from data presented in the chapter that the economic factors have been a *push* factor that helps to explain the IDPs unwillingness to return to the original villages or they act as obstacles for them to return to the original villages. This chapter has elaborated the conditions with regard to economic aspects, house and property previously owned by the displaced persons, employment and

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employment opportunities; consideration has also been given to the conditions prevailing in those areas such as infrastructural facilities, educational facilities, health and communication services, transport facilities available to, or enjoyed by, the displaced persons, both in the past and in the present.

The chapter aimed to identify the extent or degree to which those factors contributed to become a *push* factor. In addition, the chapter demonstrates the dissimilarities between the three locations when the IDPs returned and resettled in their border and threatened villages in the Vavuniya South, Weli-Oya, and Vavuniya North area. Table 9.1 above gives a summary of the diverse economic push factors acting as obstacles for the IDPs to return and resettle in original villages.

The chapter shows that there were problems and obstacles to resettle people in their original villages. For some displaced persons, registration was a problematic issue, when they were enjoying the convenience of a dual residence. Some self-settled IDPs had their names registered in the host community, while they were interested in being re-registered as households in their original villages as well. Being registered at two different locations was legally a problem, and it challenged their identity, socially. In addition, confirming their rights to house and property was necessary, but losing the relevant legal documents created a serious problem for the IDPs. Also, in some cases, their houses in the original villages were illegally occupied by unknown families and their land cultivated by other persons. Some other IDPs found that their crops, houses, and animals had been destroyed. After the people fled, those who occupied such properties immediately sold them to others. Not having the deeds and legal documents made it impossible to provide proof of ownership. Further, welfare and other infrastructure facilities such as transportation, education, and health facilities were very poor at that period, upon their return to the original villages. These acted as push factors to affect their decision on whether to return to their original villages or remain in the host communities.

# 10

## IDPs, Place of Origin, and the Security Situation

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### Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the second part of the third research question and looks at the factors related to the IDPs *security* in the original village, i.e., obstacles affecting their return and resettlement in the original villages during the CFA period from 2002-2006. In particular, the chapter explores circumstances relating to threats to life, violence, safety of women and children, and threats to property. Understanding these situations is essential in answering the second part of the third research question, and it also informs how these factors act as obstacles to their return to the original village.

The chapter starts (10.1.) with a discussion on fear and insecurity, physical safety, safety of women and children during the period 2002-2006. The next section (10.2.) pays attention to the isolation and vulnerability of the people and the threats to property in the original village when the people returned and resettled during 2002-2006. The last section (10.3.) concludes the chapter by consolidating the general findings about the security factors in the original villages.

As mentioned earlier in chapter 7, human security is a wide concept and is a significant concern, as it is a main factor in discussions on displacements, settlements, and resettlement processes in conflict-induced displacement (Jacobson 2001; Duncan 2005; Hovil 2007; Evens 2007). Return and resettlement of IDPs is a process in which all the individuals displaced from their homes during the conflict are assured of return to their original villages. When they reach their destinations, returnees should have recourse to property restitution or compensation,

and should receive strong reintegration and rehabilitation support to build their livelihoods; furthermore, the return and resettlement processes should focus on providing safety for the displaced populations when they return to their original villages. IDPs are often concerned with their safety and security from continued threats of violence, harassment, intimidation, or persecution when they return and resettle in their original village. IDPs are also reminded of how the conditions were before they became displaced as well as how it was in the host area.

The majority of the IDPs in the three locations in this study gave different views about their return and security situation in the original villages. Although the government and other parties generally indicated that the security situation of the surrounding area and the border areas was fairly good within this period, many of the people had suspicious feelings about the security of life in the original villages. Discussions follow under several sub-topics and sub-themes.

## 10.1. Fear and Insecurity

The majority of the IDPs in the three main locations indicated *fear* and *insecurity* as the main reason for their unwillingness to return to their original villages. According to the data from the respondents, there were two categories among the people in all three locations. One category of the IDPs were *unwilling* to return to their original villages due to security reasons and another category of IDPs who were *willing* to return but unable to do so purely due to security reasons. The second category represents the original villages included in the high security zones. These zones were out of bounds for ordinary civilians. Although it had been considered to provide alternative locations to those who lost land due to demarcation of areas for high security zones, it has remained only a consideration without being fulfilled. Nevertheless, the security situation and the risks involved have quite a different impact on each of the different research locations.

Whether during a period of war or in peace, security is likely to change a phenomenon within a brief space of time. Although the security situation may change during a period of conflict, it can change even during peacetime, and a bad situation may occur suddenly and instantly at any time due to many reasons. If one party deviates from peace, the other party has to respond. Then the state of security can fluctuate dramatically. This uncertainty became a reality after signing the CFA in Sri Lanka in 2002. This uncertainty had an adverse impact on all communities, including the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim. The factors associated with insecurity included being a border village, the nature of the threat or attack, and the location of the village.

We would like to see our own land and house. We were born there, we lived there, and we earned our living there. We still remember the risks we faced and the suffer-

ing we endured. Then, we left our land. Although the government asks us to return to the area, we are still not sure when we would get real peace. Our children and women will have to face risks again. Although both the Sinhalese and Tamil lived there in peace and harmony, we cannot guarantee obtaining such peace yet (Int80/MS/R/VS).

This shows that as civilians they all lived in fear. Both the Tamil and Sinhalese had the same experience about security in the border areas. He explained further:

At that time, we helped them and they helped us. When army soldiers were harassing the Tamil civilians, we saved them. Similarly in 1984 – 1985, when the LTTE was attacking the Sinhalese, the Tamil villagers came and gave us protection. It is because of them that we were able to save our lives.

The success of the return and resettlement process depends on the safety in the area. Government or local authorities have a responsibility to create the condition that enables the safe return and resettlement of the IDPs. This requirement should include clearance of landmines from the area, taking measures that ensure the respect of human rights, restoring law and order, and national reconciliation. All these requirements should be satisfied during return, resettlement, and while living in the area. However, some people have expressed that there was once mutual trust and gratitude among the ethnic groups in the area. But they believed that all the relationships vanished since their displacement from the area and now fear and insecurity have spread in place of their quiet life in the area. Most of the IDPs are concerned with, and have paid great attention to, the security of women, children, and elders in the household. As a result, the first visit of many resettlers was limited to the husband or the female head of the household. The other family members stayed elsewhere, either with the host community or at the camp where they were staying earlier. All of these aspects indicate the crucial importance of genuine security conditions to effect settling down in their original villages.

### 10.1.1. Doubt and Insecurity

Although the CFA had been activated, in 2004/2005 people still did not trust the decision about safety in the original villages. They always had doubts about the situation in their original villages, and they criticized the government and the NGOs for their efforts to resettle them there.

The reality was that it was the various non-government organizations and certain government organizations that wanted to send us back to the original villages as soon as they could. They refer to us as IDPs and they called our villages as border village. So, they wanted to send us back to wherever we lived earlier (Int61/MS/ID/GPW).

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Although the government and NGOs made efforts to resettle displaced families, the reality was that it was exposing these people to a serious risk. Although the conflict was between the government and the LTTE, those who suffered were the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim communities. The above statement indicates that both parties tried to use civilians as a cover. In fact, people are still not satisfied with the prevailing security situation.

Moreover, the WC IDPs who were going to settle in Monarawewa and Gajabapura in the Welioya area also indicate this issue in the same way. The majority of the people said that authorities often attempted to send them to their original villages by giving them various benefits.

There was a meeting and we were asked to go to Welioya. They (authorities) did not take any responsibility for our security. They said that we could resettle but there was no assurance of safety. All my properties were lost. The government did not pay us even five rupees. They said that if we are resettled, the government would provide items we needed” (Int62/MS/ID/GPW). Moreover, he continued: “In the meanwhile, there was trouble and we wanted to leave the area. The government wanted to give us the responsibility to be civil guards. I was against it.

Many of the people were not willing to resettle due to fear of threats to life. This situation posed a challenge for the government security forces and the LTTE to continue their task in the border areas. Both parties were often determined to keep their war appurtenances in the territory. They needed to settle the people under their rule in the territory, and it is believed that settling people in the territory represented the rights to the territory. For instance, on many occasions, the LTTE demanded the right to the territory (as their homeland) where they were settling the Tamil people in all the districts in the north and east, and the Sri Lankan government often tried to prevent this with the implementation of Sinhalese settlements in the same areas. The most relevant example is the case of the Welioya settlement scheme (UTHR (J) 1993). The Sinhalese people had to settle in the Welioya area since the implementation of the settlement scheme in the 1980s. However, according to some sources, these lands had been cultivated by Tamil businessmen as farmers from the beginning. Hence, most of the time, the Sinhalese civilians were under a vulnerable situation in the area because of the Tamil armed militants (LTTE). But the government forces always tried to keep the settlement scheme with the Sinhalese people, and the LTTE often tried to drive out the Sinhalese people and to settle Tamil civilians in the area instead. Under these circumstances, both parties used civilians as a human shield to cover their territory. It poses questions related to the security of civilians.

This pattern is best demonstrated by the community that planned to resettle in the Welioya area and some villages in Vavuniya South. As some people stated “if we settle down there other villages will be secure” and “most of the adult males

had to work as home guards in the village.” It is against this background that the people refused to resettle in their villages. If the people had abandoned specific areas, recovering these areas later was rather difficult. Also, these areas could be taken over by the opposing armed groups, causing the border villagers to be pushed further forward.

However, under these security-related circumstances, many people indicated their unwillingness to return to their original villages. The statement quoted earlier was made by a Sinhalese farmer in the Padaviya WC, who had previously lived in the Monarawewa Village in the Weli-Oya area. Although of all his properties and land were in his original village, he was reluctant to return there. There were many others who made similar statements. So the quote may be regarded as the common opinion of many people. It was obvious that if the security conditions would become weak at any stage, the area may become unsafe, which was one reason for the IDPs reluctance to return to their original village.

Nonetheless, this same situation does not uniformly apply to each and every village in the Vavuniya South DS Division and Weli-Oya area. Sometimes the distance to the border and the location of the village determined the level of security related to the village. The capabilities of the armed group arriving and attacking the village, habitation by a large number of people of another ethnicity, and the distance to the border were important factors for the security situation of the IDPs in the Vavuniya and Weli-Oya area.

### 10.1.2. Distrust and Insecurity

On the one hand, a number of Sinhalese villagers had no trust in the armed Tamil groups, which raises concerns about security. On the other hand, the Tamil majority had no trust in the government forces. According to them, despite the CFA, the intention of the other side was not trusted. An earlier CFA had also been ignored by the armed groups. Both the government and the LTTE have been accused of being unreliable. However, there was no common understanding between the two parties, which was very unsatisfactory according to the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim people of the area.

In 1990, when the government forces and the LTTE were at war, their gunfire and shell attacks reached our village. We fear that it may be repeated (Int39/MT/R/VS).

The resettlers of the Tamil border village in Vavuniya South make these statements when they speak about security. “We didn’t like to go back. When we remember those things how can we think of going there? We don’t know when it would start again. We can’t trust both parties” (Int73/FT/ID/PW).

They fear and distrust not only the government forces, but also the LTTE and other armed Tamil groups. They feel that when the government forces and LTTE

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confront each other, the pressure falls on the civilians. In the Tamil villages along the border, the people fled fearing the government forces. They too believe that if those events recurred, they would be displaced again. On the other hand, the Tamil villagers were also afraid of the armed Tamil youth, mainly because children were taken away by force to be trained as child soldiers. IDP Global Survey indicated the following through some survey data:

One element preventing women IDPs and their families from returning to their land is the issue of security. When families send the men to clear the land, the women fear the separation because of the large number of disappearances in the past. Returning to land in LTTE controlled areas raises fears of child recruitment (IDP Global Survey, 2004 April).

Some people express such fear. One person said:

We remain in fear till our children come back home from school. Various groups try to take our children away. Some the children are willing to join them (Int40/MT/R/VS).

The requirement of child soldiers was an allegation against the armed groups. In addition to Vavuniya, the kidnapping of children for military training has also occurred in the northern and eastern areas. The infringement of children's human rights was a serious matter in the north and east parts of Sri Lanka. However, this trend has led to a situation of insecurity among the Tamil people in the border villages. According to the UNHCR data, IDP Global Project (2004), the recruitment of children by the LTTE was a main issue in the LTTE-controlled areas.

However, this does not mean that most of the families feel that there is security in the WCs. They have a sense of insecurity even in the WCs within the host community. However, many of the people expressed that life in the WCs was relatively more secure than the situation in their original village. Almost all the statements were most probably made after they compared their life in the host area and the situation in their original village before the start of the civil war. However, the majority of the IDPs think that virtually everything is insecure if they returned to their original villages.

Another point was having distrust about the peace and the suspicion that the war would start again in the area. One farmer in the area said:

{...} they (LTTE) have stocked arms and ammunition, wherever they stayed. Recently a battalion of about 500 LTTE cadres had crossed a road in this area. Some people had seen them. {...} now they are stronger than ever before (Int67/MS/ID/GPW).



Some people believed that the LTTE was again equipping themselves and organizing for a war or for recovering territories by starting a war. However, after getting rid of the armed groups, when civilians go back to resettle, they are given protection with great care. Although the government and other organizations are attempting to rebuild confidence among the IDPs, the IDPs are looking at those organizations with doubt and suspicion. There are several reasons for this situation. One of them is that on several occasions the resettled families had to move out again, leaving the resettled area. The other major reason is that after a ceasefire period, the LTTE re-equipped and reorganized itself more strongly and then clashed with the armed forces and captured the intended areas.

### High Security Zone

The other reason is that some locations were included in the “*High Security Zone*,” which is also one of the major obstacles for resettlement. For those living in the WCs, the major obstacle to go back is the close proximity of the high security zone to their settlement. Some areas were identified as security zones for the LTTE, or their camps were located there. Some areas were included as high security zones for the government forces.

{..} My land is also included within the high security zone for the government army. I have 16 acres of land. They cannot find a similar block of land for me. Now I am living in a government office building. {...} The LTTE defense line does the same thing. People cannot go there for resettlement. Any organization would fail to give alternative land to the people who lost their lands.

The key informant who furnished the above information is a woman occupying a high position in the administrative service. Due to her profession, she has government quarters to live in and there is no sense of returning for residential purposes. She has no urgency to get back the land for agricultural purposes. But this example points out that those who are displaced at present and who earned a livelihood from agriculture would be more frustrated than others to go back and to earn a livelihood in the original village.

Limited access is prevalent in certain areas near military bases and high security zones, defined as areas near military emplacements, camps, barracks, or checkpoints where civilians could not enter. Some IDPs claimed that high security zones were excessive and unfairly affected their agricultural lands. There were many who were rendered landless by the war. The majority of the IDPs were farmers before they were displaced. The unsettled state is a threat for them to go back and engage in their usual livelihoods. Under these circumstances, even if the government were to spend heavily and allocate funds for the IDPs, it does not appear that it would be successful. The reason is that the people are offered very small blocks of land, between 20 to 40 perches, which would not be economically

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viable farming units. One example is the army camp located near Vavuniya town, which covers a large extent of land used by the armed forces. There are several such areas within the Vavuniya District and also in several other districts.

### Landmines

The existence of landmines is another factor that prevents the return and resettlement of IDPs in their original villages and leads to a sense of insecurity for the returnee people (IDP Global Survey 2004). During the civil war, the Sri Lankan Army and the LTTE planted several anti personnel mines as defensive weapons. There is an estimated 1.0 million mines in the north-east in about 640 villages. In 2002, the presence of landmines was a serious risk factor in Sri Lanka. Between 600,000 and one million landmines remain scattered across the conflict areas, mainly concentrated in the northern Jaffna and Vanni regions. Most of them are buried in heavily populated and fertile areas, representing a serious threat to civilians, particularly when they return to their original villages (CHA December 2003).

Large numbers of bombs have been buried by the LTTE for their survival, but they can kill the civilians who tread on them. Wherever the LTTE acquired any land area, they deposited a very large number of landmines (CHA December 2003). Although the removal of landmines is done before resettlement, people have great fears and suspicions and are thus reluctant to go back. Particularly, in Vavuniya and in addition, within the northern and eastern areas, this is a perpetual threat against civilian life.

However, in all the three locations, which are considered in this study, a substantial number of IDPs express their grievances about landlessness because of landmines in their original villages.

Once we suffered and we cannot suffer again. Earlier, on two occasions, people were settled and all of them had gone away. Now, many landmines are buried in our land area. Living there is still very risky. Hence, this time, there are only a few families living there at present... (Int69/MS/ID/GPW).

The opinion of the majority of the people is that living and doing daily work in the area is still too risky unless the authorities conduct a proper de-mining process. It is believed that it is highly risky to go back to their original villages. They believe that the future is too insecure and that the return to their original villages has to be delayed until security is well established. According to them, at present, the government provides sufficient assistance to each resettling family to reconstruct a house and in addition, provides other infrastructural facilities. Even under prevailing uncertainties, most of the IDPs point out that their lives would be at risk, if they go back to resettle. According to some government officials:

The process of de-mining will take a long time and this will continue to be an impediment for expeditious resettlement. The mine awareness creation campaign and mine clearings are being carried out by the LTTE and the government, with the assistance of the UN system and donor countries from 2003 (KInt6/MS/H/VS).

He indicated that it would be too difficult to clear the land mines to settle people without any doubt about their security. Hence, according to him, resettlement process in the area will be delayed further.

## 10.2. Geographical Isolation and Vulnerability

In the case of the threatened villages in the Vavuniya border areas, the majority of the returnees from *Medawachchiya* and other areas indicated that when they return and resettle in the area, another main obstacle was the feelings of *isolation* and *vulnerability* among the other ethnic groups. Most of the Vavuniya border areas consist of Tamil villages. *Varikutuooruwa* and *Paleo Oruwa* villages are situated close to the Tamil villages. The majority of the self-settled Sinhalese IDPs in the *Medawachchiya* area lived with the Sinhalese host people. Upon their return under these conditions, the Sinhalese felt and believed that they were a minority in the area. Those Sinhalese returnees, surrounded by the Tamil villages, think that they are surrounded by a strong Tamil community and that they would have to depend on them for survival.

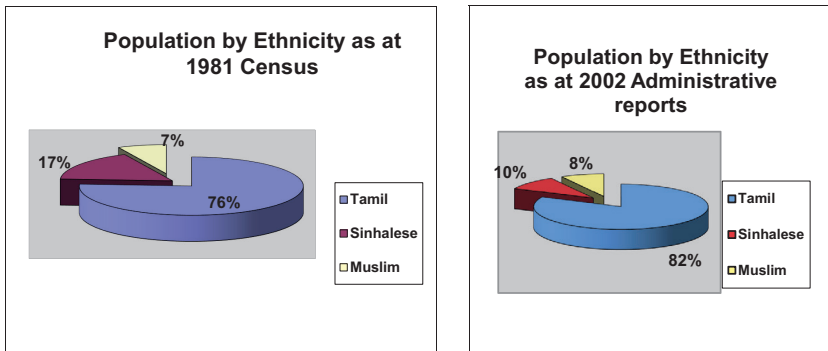
Our village is surrounded by Tamil villages on three sides. The Tamil people proceed to Vavuniya town through our village. All those around us are Tamil. We are the only Sinhalese, and are a few, living in the midst of the Tamil people (Int12/MS/ID/GMw).

The Sinhalese people had not felt as if they were a minority in the early stages. But after the conflict began, when the Sinhalese people left the villages, suddenly, some of the areas became occupied by Tamils, and other areas were empty and abandoned. After the implementation of the settlement programs following the CFA, the Sinhalese IDPs wanted to resettle, but now there is a strong fear about the LTTE militants. The above statement indicates the feelings of “*geographical isolation and vulnerability*.” According to Walter (1999), this can occur in two ways. The first is that sudden territorial changes can leave one ethnic group *isolated and vulnerable* in a region dominated by the other group. The second is that of *geographically induced insecurity* (Walter 1999). These two ways occurred in the cases of Vavuniya South and the Weli-Oya areas. Due to these reasons and being a minority, the Sinhalese people tended to reject the idea of resettling on their former land, and at the same time the Tamil newcomers occupied the area, as a

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result of displacement from other areas. Some reports have shown that population changes affect the situation in the district populations. Before the start of the civil war, an All-Island Census of the population was conducted in 1981 by the Department of Census and Statistics. According to this census, the composition of the population then was Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils (76%), Sinhalese (17%), and Muslims (7%) in the Vavuniya District. According to the information available from the senior administrative officers, in 2002, the population of the district was as follows: Tamils (82%), Sinhalese (10%), and Muslims (8%). According to this information, the Tamil population in the district has increased by 6%, the Sinhalese population has decreased by 7%, and the Muslim population has increased by 1% (Vavuniya District Report 2003).

Figure 10.1. Population by Ethnicity in 1981 and 2002



Source: Administrative data (2003) prepared by the author

First, many of the Sinhalese in Vavuniya South felt that they were in a position of isolation among the majority Tamil community. Some of their statements claim that “*Our village is surrounded by Tamil villages on three sides*” and “*we are in-between the Tamil villages.*” Second, many of the Tamil people were resettled (with newcomers) in Vavuniya South, when the Sinhalese IDPs returned to their original villages. Hence, both the Sinhalese and the Tamil had to settle together as in the previous way of settlement. This affected both IDPs, to the point of fearing each other. People indicated their *geographical isolation and vulnerability* in many ways in the interviews:.,

My land was occupied by some Tamil people who had come from other areas. I asked several times to resettle in my land. But they have not left as yet and have not given any positive answer to hand over my land. I think they expect to buy my land and continue their residence and do agricultural work. I couldn't get help from any side.

So, I feel that we are isolated in our former areas, and I think I have to sell my land (Int79/MS/R/VS).

Return and resettlement occur in conditions of safety, with the inclusion of others in the area. Losing their property rights and feeling vulnerable may push them again from the original village. Both in Vavuniya and the Welī-Oya border areas, newcomers had come and settled in the lands and houses that had been abandoned by the former local people in the area. This has happened to Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims for many areas.

This matter was raised not only by the IDPs in the area but also by some NGOs in their situation reports. Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies (CHA) (2004) highlighted this problem in the situation reports of the Vavuniya district as follows:

The Sinhalese community feels that they are being marginalized and lack facilities, especially good schools for their children's education. They are also concerned about the lack of a member to represent them in Parliament (CHA 2003).

The armed Tamil groups had threatened the Sinhalese border villages in Vavuniya and since they were living as a minority, their population had further decreased. The Sinhalese people felt that they were marginalized because gradually their welfare facilities had been reduced. Many government offices work using the Tamil language and the Sinhalese people felt that they were being marginalized among the majority of the Tamil people. This happened very often in the Sinhalese areas, for both the Tamil and the Muslim people. Consequently, the reluctance of the Sinhalese self-settled IDPs to go back to their original villages is a result of them being marginalized and the fact that they have become a minority.

The Sinhalese IDPs who lived in the WCs also showed the same reluctance to return and resettle. The IDPs who came from the threatened villages of *Welī-Oya* expressed their thoughts on what they think as a minority with other surrounding villages in the region; on the basis of the ideas they presented at the group discussions, they would feel insecure in their original villages. As one person said:

Now the whole area is covered by the LTTE, and Tamil people have occupied even our land." Another person continued "if we had some relationships earlier, now we feel, we are isolated in the area among the Tamil people" (FGD/S/M/GK3).

If they have to go back, it will be to the lands granted to them under the settlement scheme. But in those areas, those lands while being property of the government had been cultivated by Tamil businessmen without permission. They believe that their life would be at risk if they lived in the area surrounded by a majority popu-

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lation of Tamil people. Under those conditions, they fear that armed Tamil groups would force them to leave the area, if they resettle.

The Tamil people who lived in the WCs in Vavuniya also considered the low level of social relationships and felt that they were isolated from the former settling of the people, which they viewed as a major problem for resettling. The great majority of the Tamil IDPs in the Sidambarampuram and Poonthottam WCs are from villages in Mulativu, Kilinochchi, Mannar, and Vavuniya North. The major obstacle for them to go back is that they have to proceed from the government controlled areas to the LTTE controlled areas. Furthermore, the prevailing security condition (even under the CFA in 2002) in going back and returning is problematic. There were too few opportunities to build relationships with those living there. Also, most of those with whom they had close relationships such as relatives, neighbors, and close friends have migrated to different areas, and it is unlikely that relationships can be built up to the level that existed earlier. Moreover, on the land owned by the displaced people previously, new families had settled down and there were new arrivals with whom they lacked any form of social relationship; hence, most of the time they felt that they were isolated and vulnerable people in the area. In considering whether to go back to their original villages, these factors affected those who lived in the WCs, at varying levels.

### 10.3. Conclusion

Table 10.1. provides a summary of the security factors, which acted as obstacles to the IDPs willingness to return and resettle in the original villages in the three different locations.

Table 10.1. Security Situation in the Original Villages as a Push Factor

	<b>Vavuniya South DS Division-Villages: Varikuttuooruwa and Paleooruwa</b>	<b>Weli-Oya DS Division-Villages: Monarawewa and Gajabapura</b>	<b>Vavuniya North DS Division and other northern Villages</b>
Sense of minority	Being in the border areas and in isolated villages, the Sinhalese felt that they were a minority	Since very close to the Tamil majority area, the Sinhalese felt that they were a minority	Although the whole area consisted of Tamil people, the majority of people felt that they were marginalized
Fear Distrust and Insecurity	People in some of the Sinhalese villages, close to the Tamil areas, felt risk and uncertainty, and lack of government security	Since some parts were included in the LTTE control area, the Sinhalese people were afraid to return	Landmines, High Security Zone, air raids, restriction of consumer commodities, taxation, and government forces attracted to the area

Geographical Isolation and Vulnerability	Majority felt that they were isolated among the majority of the Tamil community	In border areas, both the Tamil and the Sinhalese felt that they were isolated among the other people	Majority felt that they were isolated from the former settling of the people
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This chapter has explored the study's second part of the third research question about the obstacles to returning and resettling in the original villages. The chapter has examined circumstances with regard to threats to life, violence, safety of women and children, and threats to property in the original villages. Through analysis of these factors, this chapter explains how the security situation and concerns about safety of life become obstacles to returning to the original villages. The chapter further finds that political interventions had influenced the registration of residence in the official records. This is because the proportion of the ethnic population in the total population is a factor in political party representation. The chapter also paid attention to threats to life, risks and uncertainties, warnings to vacate the area as well as insecurity conditions that would deter returning to the original villages. The chapter comparatively looks at the conditions that prevailed before the people were uprooted and displaced from their villages and the conditions at the time of the study. However, the study shows that the security situation was not main factor compared with the other factors.

Geographical isolation, vulnerability, and fear and insecurity were the main security factors influencing the IDPs reluctance to resettle in their original villages. The end result of all these obstacles and challenges was that people had decided against resettling in their original villages, which was expected by the authorities. The practical situation was different from the expected plan of the authorities.





# 11

## Conclusion

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### Introduction

This study has aimed to contribute knowledge on the issue of displacement, return and resettlement, and this knowledge may help to alleviate war-induced displacement problems in Sri Lanka. The primary objective of the research has been to explore the reasons why internally displaced persons (IDPs) choose to stay with the host community instead of returning to their original villages. The study has provided an empirical analysis on the role of social, economic, and (in)security factors that have attracted the IDPs to remain with the host community. The chapters have also examined how these particular factors act as obstacles to resettle the IDPs back to the original villages. The study has focused mainly on the IDPs who self-settled in the host communities and stayed in the WCs during the ceasefire period between the years 2002-2006. Extensive field research was undertaken at villages in the districts of Vavuniya and Anuradhapura.

By using theories and concepts of displacement and resettlement, and field data, the study has revealed various factors that have influenced the IDPs decision to return to their original villages or remain in the host communities. The study has found that the answer is not that simple. On the contrary, the factors are complex and interrelated. Consequently, one of the main findings is that *multiple factors* need to be understood in relation to the situation of the return and resettlement of IDPs. To understand the multiple variables and their impact on decisions to return or remain, the study applied a *push-and-pull* perspective.

The aim of this concluding chapter is twofold. First, a brief summary of the thesis is given, with the key empirical findings. Second, the key empirical findings of the study are synthesized and related to existing literature on return and resettlement of IDPs. The next four sections will discuss the summary of the findings

(11.1.), contribution of summary (11.2.), policy implications and future challenges (11.3.), and limitations of the study and perspectives for further research (3.4.).

## 11.1. Summary of the Findings

Overall, the study has explored the process of internal displacement, settlement, return and resettlement in the threatened villages in north and north-central Sri Lanka during the ceasefire period from 2002-2006. As its central research question, the study has focused on *how and why, during the ceasefire period of 2002-2006, the IDPs in Sri Lanka either remained as IDPs or returned to their original villages*. There were two specific objectives in undertaking this study. One was to understand the role of social, economic, and (in)security factors that attracted or integrated (*pulled*) the IDPs to remain in the host communities and places. The other was to understand how these particular factors also acted as obstacles against settlement (*push*) back to the original villages. Within this context, the thesis examines the nature of the IDPs social, economic, and (in)security relationships with the *host communities* as well as the obstacles encountered when they resettled to the *villages of origin*. Within the central question of the research, three interrelated sub-questions were developed, respectively, concerning the social, economic, and (in)security situation in both the host communities and the original villages.

### Social Factors

The first research sub-question was phrased as follows:

*How did the IDPs establish social relationships in their host communities; and how did these compare with their social relationships in the original villages? How did kinship, friendship, and ethnic connections figure in this regard? What were the social benefits as well as hindrances perceived by the IDPs in living with the host community, also as compared with their original villages?*

The first part of the first sub-question explored social relationships with the host community and how these relationships acted as pull factors to attract the IDPs to remain in the host community (chapter 5). The second part of the first sub-question examined how social factors created barriers to the IDPs returning to their original villages (chapter 8).

To address the first part of the question, attention was focused on the *social relationships* between the IDPs and the host community. The study finds that having pre-existing relationships along kin, caste, and ethnicity lines contributed significantly to finding a potential place to resettle after being displaced. When people started to live in the host community/areas, new relationships were developed be-

tween the IDPs and hosts, which further attracted the displaced people to remain in the host area. It became clear that characteristics of homogeneity such as being of the same ethnic group and being a member of the same caste, and kinship relationships, were highly influential in the emergence as well as the strengthening of relationships. In particular, the awareness of being relatives before becoming displaced was a factor that accelerated the development of intense relationships, which facilitated early entry to the host community. Also, the kinship relations induced the IDPs to self-settle within the host community. Accordingly, the study found that the kinship relationships had played a major role in enabling the IDPs to *self-settle* among relatives and live with a satisfactory level of security. However, the WC IDPs did not have such relationships with the host community, but it was found that both the government and the international organizations had provided an important service to the displaced persons.

However, the study has also identified that there had been some indifference, displeasure, and unpleasant behavior among the IDPs and members of the host community. Specifically, using common property and facilities as well as matters related to property rights and ownership, and reduction of employment opportunities for the members of the host community, which inevitably led to rivalries and conflicts. One reason for this situation was that the self-settled IDPs started constructing permanent houses for themselves (while the hosts were living in semi-permanent houses). Also, the IDPs started cultivating crops while receiving various commodities and assistance from both the government and the NGOs. Hence, the hosts felt that they were being neglected and were given nothing, while the IDPs received many benefits.

Conversely, the study found that regardless of the nature of the environment that prevailed during the early stages, due to the extended stays in the host area, it had been possible for the self-settled IDPs to develop various new relationships with the hosts, e.g., new kinship relations such as marriages between the IDPs and host families. In addition, people had developed other relationships such as friends or neighbors in various types of reciprocal relations among themselves. Through interventions by the government as well as NGOs, various types of associations were established within the host community for both the hosts and the IDPs. This created a background to increase the frequency of contacts between the IDPs and hosts.

To address the second part of the first sub-question, the study attempted to identify how the social relationships created barriers for the IDPs return to their original villages (chapter 8). This study regarded the relationships maintained by the IDPs in their original villages and also the new relationships and networks as social factors. At this stage, the kinship relations maintained while living in the original villages, relationships with neighbors, relationships with members of other ethnic groups, and the newly emerging conditions were carefully considered;

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moreover, adequate consideration was also given to analyzing the networks and reciprocities both in the original villages and the neighboring villages. The study identified that lack of social relationships/networks and reciprocity as well as lack of inter-ethnic relations were the main factors for negatively affecting the reintegration of people into the new environment in the original villages. This study analyzes them as *push factors*.

### Economic Factors

The second sub-question dealt with *economic factors*. On the one hand, the dissertation has considered how economic relationships acted as pull factor to attract the IDPs to remain in the host communities (chapter 6). On the other hand, the thesis has sought to identify how the economic factors also created barriers (push effects) against the IDPs returning to their original villages (chapter 9). It was derived:

*What economic relationships and activities did the IDPs employ in order to sustain their livelihoods in the host community, and how did these material conditions compare with those of the original villages? In this regard, how were access to land, employment, housing, education, health, and transport in the host community compared with those in the original village?*

The study considered livelihoods and livelihood strategies as *economic factors*. The current study used these concepts to identify the IDPs living conditions, income (aid and assistance), and accessibility to land, jobs, and ability to build a house and develop their coping mechanism in the WCs, in the host communities as well as in the original village.

Concerning the first part of the second research question, the current research found that well-established economic relationships among the IDPs within the host areas and between the IDPs and host people influence their decision to stay (*pull*) further in the host communities. However, with regard to livelihood strategies, variations could be identified among the different settlement groups such the self-settled IDPs, WC IDPs, and the resettled IDPs.

For the self-settled IDPs, one of the crucial economic factors that attracted or *pulled* the IDPs to a host community was the access to land within the host area. A block of land was highly important to construct a house and to cultivate crops. The opportunity available for the IDPs to engage in some form of employment was another factor that attracted the IDPs to the host area. The study found that due to the IDPs introduction of agro-wells and cultivation of crops that had never before been cultivated in the area, such as large onions and vegetables, it created an economic awakening beneficial to the farmers in the host areas. The IDPs had the tools, technology, and knowledge not only in farming but also in obtaining

credit from state banks; thus, this background provided a trust with government institutions such as banks to get credit for cultivation. This further strengthened their ability to increase productivity. The IDPs provided advice and guidance to those who sought their help. These interactions provided a foundation to build harmonious relationships with the host community. Within this area, economic progress was enabled by the employment of new cropping patterns and activities. Therefore, both the hosts and the IDPs were economically well off than ever before. Furthermore, the IDPs had developed linkages with the markets. Some IDPs had been able to purchase vehicles to transport their produce to the major markets.

The study found that the IDPs who lived in the WCs offered a different picture. Their economic relationships and employment opportunities were entirely different. Almost all the individuals or families focused their attention on the dry rations and any other assistance extended to them. Most of the IDPs arrived at the WCs as destitute persons. They had to abandon their wealth and belongings to escape death, without help from relatives or friends. The prolonged war and the failure to find the right solution for the displaced persons and the donor agencies had forced them to lead a lifestyle of dependency, through failure to solve their problems in a constructive manner.

As a result of their long stays in the WCs, they developed some economic relationships within the host areas. Some of the WCs had more than 350 families. Hence, the host villages had changed from being a village to a settlement location. The IDPs and the host community differentiation was no longer the dominant feature of this changing setting, where processes of both differentiation and integration were at work. The boundaries between the IDPs and the hosts and between the different groups of IDPs had expanded. The IDPs had been going through a socio-economic differentiation as evidenced by the emergence of rich, middle, and poorer strata among them. The majority of the IDPs worked in the host community and earned some money for their day-to-day living expenses. About 70% of the WC IDPs were compelled to seek casual employment on a temporary basis in the paddy lands and chenas as well as work in town areas close to the WCs. Many of them worked for exceedingly low wages. Therefore, the host people also cultivated even the abandoned lands since labor expenses were low. This situation led to some socio-economic changes in the area.

Protracted displacement has continued, and the IDPs have adapted to the host area/community in different ways. Some of the IDPs gradually made their stay at the WCs temporary by finding a place in the host area to live with the family members. However, many of them continued to stay in the WCs, as their registration in the WC facilitated them receiving dry rations and other assistance. However, the study further found that a long period of stay in the WCs, getting rapidly adjusted to the living conditions there, and the newly developed relationships captivated them and provided a background for them to be content with the WC life.

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Subsequently, the majority of those self-settled were in favor of continuing their residence in the host community/area. The IDPs living in the WCs were interested in residing on a block of land of their own, away from the WC, but in close proximity to the host area. So they wanted to be relocated. But the findings of this study amply indicate that the IDPs in the WCs were economically attracted to and getting adapted to, or integrated with, the host community, as their relationships gradually developed, to sufficiently attract the IDPs to the host community/area. The background and circumstances created by the aid agencies led to segregation of the host people and the IDPs to further continue the particular lifestyle of the IDPs. Various forms of aid, subsidies, and distribution of dry rations created a dependency in the economic lifestyle, and it induced the IDPs to remain as they were; consequently, it has become an obstacle to make them a self-reliant group.

In addition, within the host area, the *educational, health, and infrastructural facilities* were much better and more accessible compared to those in the original villages. It is very likely that services are easier to obtain in the host areas. When the conflict started, people had been living in locations where infrastructural facilities were poor or non-existent. Thus, it is no surprise that displaced persons prefer to remain and live in the host area.

In the second part of the second sub-research question, further concerns about the economic relationships in the original villages influenced the IDPs reluctance to return to there (*push them from the original village*) (chapter 9). The study aimed to identify the extent to which these above factors contributed to become a push factor for the IDPs to return to their original villages. All three of the original villages had almost the same situation with the economic related factors. Issues were related to, for example, accessibility of land, many parts of the land being under a shrub jungle, or occupied by others, an inability to identify the boundaries, lack of clear deeds to show ownership, lands included in the high security zones, and buried landmines. In addition, the condition of the houses and other property that belonged to them before being displaced as well as the temporary houses had totally been destroyed, but those made of brick with cement still remained. Some of houses included within the high security zone were inaccessible. Some parts of houses had been stolen, and other IDPs had began to occupy a few of the houses. During their return, a few of the returnees had been receiving dry rations and assistance from the government and the NGOs.

In addition, the study found that school buildings and other facilities in the school were totally destroyed. This, together with the lack of teachers, poor-quality of transport, poor quality of health facilities directly affected the IDPs willingness to return and stay in the original villages or remain in the host communities.

### (In)Security Factors

The third sub-research question was related to security conditions within the host community. The term *security situation* refers to fear for their freedom, physical harassment, violence, or threats to life. Drawing on insights provided by the searching of security conditions in both the hosts areas as well as the original villages, the study tries to understand how and in what way the security situation influenced the IDPs to further stay in the host area and in the WCs and how it affected their willingness to return and resettle in their original villages. The research question was:

*What was the security situation for the IDPs in the host community compared with that in the original villages? How were the circumstances in regard to threats to life, violence, safety of women and children, threats to property, etc.?*

The current study found that the presence of better security in the host community was a strong factor to *pull* (attract) the IDPs to stay in the host community (chapter 7). The IDPs who self-settled were welcomed by the hosts as they arrived, and they felt that they were relatively safe. However, with the passage of time there were conflicts, displeasure, and problems within the host community due to several reasons. There were also certain occurrences where they were called refugees, they were addressed using slang words, and they had to face various forms of harassment. But on the whole, there were no threats to life, and particularly due to kinship relationships, the IDPs felt safer in the host community.

However, the IDPs living in the WCs had various grievances and complaints about their safety. The IDPs who arrived at the WCs had no former relationships with the host community and that itself led to some doubts about safety. The host people did not receive the IDPs with pleasure, as the host people believed that the IDPs were engaging in unsuitable lifestyles. In some of the WCs, due to the behavior of certain individuals, the women and children had been subjected to various forms of abuse and harassment. However, when the IDPs engaged in working with the host community and began to build relations with the host people, their safety and security within the host area improved to some extent.

Focusing on second part of the third sub-research question, the study illustrated the fear and insecurity situation in the original villages (with other ethnic group), which acted as *push* factors, driving them away from the original villages (chapter 10). It was found that the majority of the original villagers were aware of the threats due to landmines, loss of life, and armed attacks. When they were sandwiched between the LTTE armed groups and government security forces, all kinds of risks were possible. The IDPs felt that such threats were not present in the host community. So, it was one of the reasons that caused a majority of the IDPs

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to develop a desire to continue to live in the host community. Thus, the findings reveal that safety and security constituted a factor of practical significance that attracted the IDPs to the host area.

Overall, during this study, when analyzing the factors that pulled/attractioned the majority of the IDPs to the host community, it became clear that the tendency of the IDPs to integrate with the host community was a vital factor. Social, economic, and (in)security relationships of the IDPs within the host community, as well infrastructural facilities that were far better within the host area, were the key factors that promoted integration/relationships of the IDPs with the community. However, the findings of the study clearly indicated that there were distinct differences in relation to the degree of integration/relationships among the self-settled IDPs and the host community members and the WC IDPs and hosts. In addition, there were certain differences based on the degree of relationships: age group of individuals, ethnic background, gender, and some individual factors. All these relationships, combined together, were strong enough to retain the IDPs in the host community/area. On the basis of categories, it was found that the self-settled IDPs were highly integrated with the host community, while the IDPs in the WCs were not so strongly integrated with the respective host community.

The findings of this study indicate that even during the ceasefire period, the majority of the IDPs confidence had been eroded, while doubts and suspicions about security matters rapidly increased. Also, they could not trust that they were any safer in their own original villages. Those living in the border villages were affected, both by the government security forces and the LTTE. They had frequently experienced difficulties that increased doubts and fears about their safety. Also, the trust and confidence that existed among the Sinhalese-Tamil-Muslim groups had become weaker and ineffective due to the IDPs remaining displaced over a long span of time. The mutual trust that had been destroyed could only be restored after overcoming many challenges.

Additionally, it was identified that most of the villages lacked adequate infrastructural facilities and services. In the past, too little attention had been paid to the development of border villages, and compared with villages in the center of the country, the border villages were in a woeful state. These villages had been alienated in the past due to lack of political support, in particular. Therefore, development of infrastructural facilities in these locations is a matter of the highest priority. If the border villages continue to remain as marginal villages, the people will likely be segregated further, which is highly undesirable. During the period of this study, as a whole, programs to resettle the IDPs in their original villages were ongoing. In some villages, the programs were being implemented, while plans were being drawn up for the remaining villages. However, at the locations where this study was conducted, to ensure success there was a need to implement these programs further.



However, this study also recognizes that these short duration programs are grossly inadequate to reap the needed successful outcomes. For meaningful reintegration, long-term and steady programs are desperately needed, according to the findings of this study. Especially when resettling the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim groups in their original villages, the reintegration programs should include a series of programs to achieve goodwill, and rebuild trust, etc., which can meaningfully build the socio-economic cooperation among and between the groups.

Overall, the focus has mainly been on people's subjective experiences and perceptions. The research examined multiple independent variables, which affected the dependent variables. In developing the conceptual framework of this study, it was necessary to recognize that, to a great extent, diverse variables generate other diverse variables that are related to the dependent variables. To understand the functions of the variables and the impact on the decision to return or to remain, the study examines a *push-and-pull* factor perspective. Data were qualitative, and they were analyzed with thematic analysis (grounded theory approach). The study was neither aimed at a cause-and-effect relationship, nor at producing a final truth. The purpose was to generate insights that open up and furnish opportunities for understanding the subjective feelings and perceptions of the people under study.

However, this study shows that displacement is not a uniform experience. It is a process of creating changes and making new situations in the arena of displacement and settlement. The study's contribution is that displacement and settlement of IDPs have shown marginalization as well as innovation among the IDPs and the host communities.

## 11.2. Summary of Contributions

Theoretically and conceptually, the research has involved developing a new conceptual framework/model of social relationships, livelihood strategies, and security perceptions using exiting literature and new practical understanding. The conceptual framework has contributed to understanding displacement, settlement, and return and resettlement in Sri Lanka. This model draws the readers' attention to the importance of motivation and expectations of the IDPs, which are closely linked to their experiences and reactions. This framework can be used for analyzing resettlement issues, as it emphasizes the linkages that exist between the IDPs original villages and the host communities.

Empirically, the thesis carried out a systematic data collection of social, economic, and (in)security factors. To recognize these factors, the research used an exploratory approach and collected original novel empirical data for the study. Using the conceptual base of the existing literature, the research predominantly relies on empirical data and data interpretation. This thesis is based on extensive field research. Displacement generally implies a disruption of one's social life,

social relations, and people forced to marginalize. Further, the research contributes with empirical findings from the Sri Lankan context, which might have suggestive insights for other IDP situations elsewhere in the world.

The study conducted fieldwork in threatened villages between the Anuradhapura and Vavuniya districts, which has not been done by earlier researchers. Primary data and knowledge of the displacement, settlement, as well as return and resettlement of IDPs, can be useful for the comparison of other experiences. The study also provides insight into considering facts on other contexts or the field of IDPs generally in Sri Lanka as well as other countries.

### 11.3. Policy Implications and Future Challenges

The findings of the study stress that certain factors should be considered in finding alternative solutions to the IDP problem. The policy-oriented study indicates that there are three types of solutions to end the displacement problem. They include: *returning to the original villages, becoming relocated in another area, and integrating with the host community.* On the basis of the findings of this study, a single solution cannot be directly proposed as being appropriate for solving all the problems of IDPs. The reason is that the specific situation, location, and time periods are important for finding solutions for the IDP problem. In addition, the duration of displacement, time period spent in the host community/area, the various relationships and networks established during that period, the social, economic, and political situations that prevailed in the host area, are some of the many factors that need to be considered.

It is futile to look for a solution for this problem unless the residential pattern and the relationships existing with the host community and also the original village are considered. The broad knowledge acquired through that process, serves as an entry point to identify a solution. One of the basic objectives of this study was to formulate the means to find solutions and draw the attention of scholars to this aspect. This study emphasizes that settling down IDPs as soon as the war environment ceases cannot be done instantly or in hurry, and it must be a long-term, broad-based program. At this stage, it is grossly inadequate to focus attention only on IDPs and their original villages. It must proceed further to explore the circumstances and relationships between the IDPs and the host community, and the obstacles that prevail in the original villages. Thus, it has to be a broad-based program.

All the factors discussed above have an impact on the final decision. The study also recognizes that the specific background influences the solutions that can be provided to the IDPs, and they do present themselves in diverse forms. However, the ideas and suggestions by the respondents were gathered during a period of ceasefire based on what they experienced. All these ideas are likely to differ in an

environment of continuous war or continuous peace. Displacement is a term that is likely to differ in magnitude. The war or peace situation prevailing in a country can affect it. The realities that exist in the conditions that lead to the displacement of people, their return for resettlement or integrating into the host area may have their influences at varying levels. Hence, the return and resettlement process is a complicated, long-term process for which there is no simple blueprint. A large number of factors can affect the process, directly or indirectly, either by facilitating or obstructing solutions for the resettlement process.

Therefore, when offering solutions for these problems, concepts can be extracted by studying the specific events during a given time period, adequately and carefully. Also, reconciliation and reconstruction projects should draw long-term plans based on those considerations. Accordingly, such an effort must be approached based on the basic problems and efforts, to analyze the problems. It can also be stated that this is a common challenge to be faced by the researchers in future research.

## 11.4. Study Limitations and Avenues for Further Research

There were some limitations of this study, which suggest perspectives for further research. First, it is important to remind that this study was not aimed at finding a definitive ‘truth’ applicable to all situations or contexts of displacement. The study was concerned with the particular period of the CFA from 2002-2006 in Sri Lanka. It is important to consider in future research the problems linked to resettlement after the end of the war. Also, it is necessary to examine whether the conceptual model developed in this study can be used to explore the internal displacement, as well as the return and resettlement processes in other conflict cases.

Another limitation is concerned with the lack of an opportunity to consider some of the changing policies related to the resettlement process. The study is basically based on the contemporary period and existing situations, especially the CFA period from 2002-2006. With regard to the resettlement process, some of the policies were changed along with changing governments. The policies implemented within the study areas were given the consideration that they deserved.

To end, this study was exploratory, and was aimed at gaining a deep understanding/exploration of two different settlement decisions made by the IDPs and two specific geographical areas in the border villages of Sri Lanka. Further studies that cover different areas and a variety of settlement types, which are extended across the entire country should thus be conducted. In this regard, it is suggested that a comparative study on various types of settlements may be of use.

Finally, this study has shed a meaningful light on the role of social, economic, and (in)security related factors that attracted (pulled) the IDPs to remain the host

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community while recognizing how these particular factors can also act as obstacles to the resettlement of (push) the IDPs in the original villages. The study shows that displacement and settlement can lead to both marginalization and innovation between both types of IDPs. Return and resettlement is considered as constituting just another step in the displacement process and not as the end of the displacement cycle. It is regarded as a continuing problem involving complex socioeconomic and security factors.

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## Att skapa ett ”hem”:

### Internflyktings- och vidarebosättningsprocesser i Sri Lanka 2002–2006

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#### Sammanfattning

Den här studien utforskar internflyktingar, bosättning, återvändande och vidarebosättning i hotade byar i norra och norra centrala Sri Lanka under vapenvilan mellan 2002 och 2006. I februari 2002 undertecknade regeringen i Sri Lanka och Tamilska befrielsestridarna det samförståndsavtal (Memorandum of Understanding) och vapenvilan (Ceasefire Agreement) som förhandlades fram i Norge. Trots att utvecklingen skapade förhoppningar hos internflyktingar som ville återvända till sina ursprungliga bosättningsorter och återupprätta sina försörjningskällor, lyckades vidarebosättningen på det hela taget dåligt. Den här avhandlingen undersöker orsakerna till detta.

Från 1983 till 2009 förstörde Sri Lankas inbördeskrig stora mängder människors liv och försörjningsmöjligheter, särskilt i Nordprovinsen och Östprovinsen. Våldet som konflikten medförde ledde till grundläggande och snabba sociala förändringar i landet. Krigets sociala, ekonomiska, mänskliga och moraliska kostnader uppenbarade sig i intra- och interdistriktsfördrivning, dödsfall, skador, psykosociala trauman, förlorade försörjningsmöjligheter, förstörelsen av produktiva och socioekonomiska tillgångar, och nedbrytningen av samhälleliga värderingar, särskilt i Nordprovinsen, Östprovinsen och gränsdistrikten Anuradhapura, Vavuniya, Polonnaruwa, Puttalam och Moneragala. Kriget tog över 70 000 liv och fördrev över en miljon människor från sina hem, ofta flera gånger om, där den stora majoriteten fördrevs internt på ön. Man har uppskattat att upp mot 1,7 miljoner fördrevs från sina hem vid olika tillfällen mellan 1983 och 2009.

Fördrivningarna påverkade hela landet och alla etniska grupper, men majoriteten av de fördrivna var tamiler och muslimer. Många singaleser, särskilt de som befann sig i gränsområdena (mellan de områden som till övervägande del beboddes av singaleser och tamiler) påverkades allvarligt. Under vapenvilan 2002–2006, uppmärksammade regeringen och andra organisationer till en början

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internflyktingarnas återvändande och vidarebosättning, men processen motverkades av rådande förhållanden.

Studiens centrala forskningsfråga fokuserar på *hur och varför internflyktingar i Sri Lanka under vapenvilan 2002–2006 antingen förblev internflyktingar eller återvände till sina ursprungsorter*. Många internflyktingar stannade helt enkelt på sina nya bosättningsorter och vidarebosatte sig där. Bland den minoritet som försökte återvända till sina ursprungsorter var det många som i slutändan återvände till sina mottagarsamhällen. Den här studien har två syften. Det första är att förstå vilken roll sociala, ekonomiska och säkerhetsmässiga faktorer spelade för att locka internflyktingar att stanna i mottagarsamhällena. Det andra är att förstå hur dessa särskilda faktorer kan fungera som hinder för vidarebosättning av människor på deras ursprungsorter jämfört med bosättning i internflyktingarnas mottagarsamhällen.

Med avsikt att utforska den centrala frågan undersöker studien tre huvudsakliga faktorer: sociala förhållanden, ekonomiska förhållanden och (o)säkra förhållanden. Avhandlingen utforskar hur internflyktingarna har byggt upp sociala relationer i sina mottagarsamhällen och vikten av släktskap, vänskap och andra nätverk när de skapade nya liv åt sig själva i mottagarområdena. Vad gäller ekonomiska faktorer reflekterar studien kring försörjningsmöjligheter och försörjningsstrategier. Den undersöker samtidigt olika aktiviteter som internflyktingarna deltog i beroende på situation – vare sig det gäller intern fördrivning eller vistelse i mottagarsamhällenas välfärdsläger – och hur de här faktorerna blev hinder för internflyktingarna när de skulle återvända till sina ursprungliga byar 2002 till 2006.

Avhandlingen undersöker huvudsakligen de här frågorna utifrån två av Sri Lankas distrikt: Anuradhapura och Vavuniya. Sex byorter valdes ut som mottagarsamhällen att undersöka. Norra delen av Anuradhapura och södra delen av Vavuniya kan betraktas som ”hotade regioner/byar” vilket betyder att de var fysiskt sårbara under kriget och låg nära frontlinjen mellan två parter i konflikt med varandra.

Avhandlingens empiriska underlag baseras på kvalitativa metoder och forskningsdatan har samlats in med hjälp av både primära och sekundära källor. Den kvalitativa datan samlades i huvudsak in genom intervjuer, intervjuer med nyckelinformanter och fokusgruppsamtal. Långa intervjuer utfördes med hjälp av en intervjuguide. Målet med att använda fokusgruppsamtal var att kunna bekräfta och verifiera datan som saknades, som samlades in genom de långa intervjuerna. Nyckelinformantintervjuer hölls med människor som är ytterst sakkunniga vad gäller ett visst ämne eller ett bestämt område.

Med hjälp av teorier och begrepp som intern fördrivning och vidarebosättning, och de metoder som nämnts ovan, upptäckte studien många olika faktorer som påverkade internflyktingarnas beslut att återvända eller stanna i mottagarsamhällena. Insikten blev att det inte fanns endast ett svar. Följaktligen argumenteras

i avhandlingen att *flera sammanlänkade faktorer* måste förstås i förhållande till återvändnings- och vidarebosättningsprocessen för internflyktingar.

Självbosatta internflyktingar bodde ibland med släktingar och vänner inom mottagarområdet. De flesta av dessa hade egna marker och hus. Många skapade en ny livsmiljö för sig själva i mottagarsamhället. Mer än 80 % av de självbosatta internflyktingarna använde sina släktband i maximal utsträckning för att kunna få ett stycke mark att bruka. Emellertid kunde majoriteten av internflyktingarna bara få mark efter en längre tids väntan.

Internflyktingar som bodde i välfärdsläger hade överlag större svårigheter att integreras i eller bygga upp sociala förhållanden med mottagarsamhällena. Däremot var det möjligt för de som bodde på samma plats under längre tid att utveckla en rad typer av sociala förhållanden. Generellt utvecklade dock internflyktingar som bosatte sig på egen hand fler positiva förhållanden med mottagarsamhället än de som bodde i välfärdsläger. Den här studien upptäckte att orsakerna bakom skillnaden berodde på den senare gruppens jämförelsevis begränsade möjligheter att flytta fritt inom mottagarområdet, att de begränsades till välfärdsläger och att de hade färre befintliga förhållanden där.

Olika aspekter identifierades genom att analysera internflyktingsdatan efter kategori. En viktig kategori gäller distinktionen mellan *unga* och *vuxna*. *Ung* syftar på åldersgruppen 18–29 medan *vuxen* syftar på de som är över 30. Den yngre generationen var i allmänhet villigare att stanna i mottagarsamhällena och motvilliga att återvända till sina ursprungliga byar medan majoriteten av den vuxna generationen var villigare att återvända till sina ursprungliga byar. En annan distinktion utmärkte sig mellan olika kön. Män var generellt villigare att återvända till sina tidigare bosättningsorter än kvinnor. En särskild anledning till detta var att kvinnorna hade en benägenhet att lägga större vikt vid säkerhet för sig själva och sina barn. Viktigt var också internflyktingarnas *sociala ställning*, som till exempel civilstånd, ålder, kast och klass, vilka påverkade åsikterna om att återvända eller stanna i mottagarområdet.

Frågor kring *sociala förhållanden* inkluderade släktförhållanden, äktenskapsband, etniska förhållanden och vänskapsförhållanden. Studien upptäckte att graden av förhållandets band, vilket tjänade som en *dragningskraft* (*pull factor*), gjorde internflyktingar villigare att stanna i mottagarområdet. I motsats tjänade sammanbrottet av sociala förhållanden i de ursprungliga bosättningsorterna som en pådrivande faktor (*push factor*) som gjorde många internflyktingar motvilliga att återvända till sina ursprungliga områden.

Studien upptäckte att *ekonomiska faktorer* var viktiga och inflytelserika när internflyktingar bestämde över sina bosättningsorter. De ekonomiska faktorerna inbegrep: tillgång till mark för kultivering och boende, möjligheter att fortsätta med tidigare yrken, infrastruktur, jordbruk och handel, samt möjlighet till ekonomisk hjälp och ekonomiska lättnader. Studien upptäckte att tillgången till de här re-

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surserna i mottagarområdet tjänade som den huvudsakliga dragningskraften (*pull factor*) eller lockelsen till mottagarsamhället. Omvänt tjänade bristen på tillgång till ovannämnda resurser i de ursprungliga byarna som en huvudsaklig pådrivande faktor (*push factor*) eller som hinder inför att återvända.

Dessutom upptäckte studien att *livs(o)säkerhet* utgjorde en faktor som kraftigt drog internflyktingar till mottagarområdena. Internflyktingar var tvungna att fly sina ursprungliga byar när säkerheten hotades. Verbala hot, varningar, trakasserier, landminor och luftangrepp skapade en känsla av osäkerhet och risk, och människororna kände behov av att lämna området. Studien finner att internflyktingar insåg att de var säkrare i mottagarområdet än ursprungsområdet.

Med hänsyn till det teoretiska understödet grundas forskningen på ett nytt begreppsligt ramverk av sociala förhållanden, försörjningsstrategier och uppfattningar kring säkerhet. Tillvägagångssättet förbättrar förståelsen för frågor som gäller forskningsfältet kring processer som omfattar intern fördrivning, bosättning, återvändande och vidarebosättning i Sri Lanka. Modellen riktar vår uppmärksamhet på vikten av migranternas motiveringar och förväntningar, vilket är nära sammankopplat med internt fördrivna människors upplevelser och reaktioner. Ramverket kan användas vid analys av vidarebosättningsfrågor och reaktioner hos människor som internt förflyttats. Ramverket kan tillämpas vid analys av vidarebosättningsfrågor eftersom det belyser kopplingar som finns mellan internflyktingars ursprungliga byar och mottagarsamhällena.

Vad gäller det empiriska underlaget utför studien omfattande systematiska fältinsamlingar av originaldata som rör sociala, ekonomiska och (o)säkerhetsrelaterade faktorer. Det här sonderande tillvägagångssättet visar att upplevelsen av tvångsförflyttning inte är enhetlig. Den kan innebära en förändringsprocess där nya situationer skapas både för internflyktingar och mottagare. Avhandlingen klarlägger hur fördrivningar och bosättningsprocesser skapar marginalisering och innovation mellan både internflyktingar och mottagare.

Avhandlingen innebär också ett metodologiskt bidrag till hur forskning genomförs i krigspåverkade samhällen i Sri Lanka. Den kan eventuellt erbjuda insikt i olika förfaranden vid faktaanalys i andra sammanhang eller kring internflyktingar på andra orter i Sri Lanka eller i andra länder.

Angående policyutformningen kan den nya kunskap som härstammar från den här studien vara av praktiskt värde vad gäller (vidare)bosättning av internflyktingar. Forskningen kan framför allt användas vid beslutsprocessen för att hantera internflyktingars bosättningsproblem. Studien berättar till exempel att kortfristiga program är grovt otillräckliga där avsikten är att skapa framgångsrika utfall för dem som återvänder och för vidarebosättning. För att kunna uppnå meningsfull omintegration är långfristiga och ihållande program av yttersta vikt.



**Nyckelord:** IDP, internflyktingar, mottagarsamhälle, återvändande, vidarebosättning, sociala förhållanden, ekonomiska förhållanden, (o)säkerhet, integration, hinder, hotad by



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# Appendix 1

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## Primary Sources

### Long Interviews

#### Self-Settled IDPs and Host people – Gallengoda Village- Medawachchiya DS Division

1. Int1/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, June 01, 2005
2. Int2/MS/ID/GMw - Carpenter, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, June 02, 2005
3. Int3/FS/ID/GMw - Housewife, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 06, 2005
4. Int4/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 07, 2005
5. Int5/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 08, 2005
6. Int6/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer and salesman, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 21, 2005
7. Int7/MS/ID/GMw - Businessman, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 10, 2005
8. Int8/FS/ID/GMw - Indigenous doctor, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 29, 2005
9. Int9/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 30, 2005
10. Int10/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 14, 2005
11. Int11/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 14, 2005
12. Int12/MS/ID/GMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 21, 2005
13. Int13/FS/ID/GMw - Housewife, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 22, 2005
14. Int14/FS/ID/GMw - Housewife, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 23, 2005
15. Int15/FS/ID/GMw - Housewife, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, July 24, 2005
16. Int16/MS/H/GMw - Social worker, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 07, 2005
17. Int17/MS/H/GMw - Farmer, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 8,2005
18. Int18/MS/H/GMw - Farmer, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 9,2005
19. Int19/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 10, 2005
20. Int20/MS/H/GMw - Businessman, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 10, 2005
21. Int21/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 12, 2005
22. Int22/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 12,2005
23. Int23/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 13,2005
24. Int24/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 13, 2005
25. Int25/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 14, 2005
26. Int26/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 14, 2005
27. Int27/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 16, 2005
28. Int28/FS/H/GMw – Village headman, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 16,2005
29. Int29/FS/H/GMw - Housewife, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug 17, 2005
30. Int30/MS/H/GMw - Farmer, Host person-Gallengoda, Aug17, 2005

## Appendix 1

### Returnee IDPs to Vavuniya South

31. Int31/MT/H/V - Salesman, Host person-Vavuniya South, Aug 20, 2005
32. Int32/MT/R/VS - Farmer, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 20, 2005
33. Int33/MT/R/VS - Farmer, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 22, 2005
34. Int34/MT/R/VS - Fisherman, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 23, 2005
35. Int35/FT/R/VS - Housewife, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 23, 2005
36. Int36/FT/R/VS - Housewife, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 24, 2005
37. Int37/MT/R/VS - Salesman, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 24, 2005
38. Int38/MT/R/VS - Carpenter, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 26, 2005
39. Int39/MT/R/VS - Farmer, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 26, 2005
40. Int40/MT/R/VS - Farmer, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 26, 2005

### Self-Settled IDPs and Host People –Galegama Village - Medawachchiya DS Division

41. Int41/MS/ID/GLMw - Retired Person, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Aug30, 2005
42. Int42/MS/ID/GLMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Aug30, 2005
43. Int43/MS/ID/GLMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Sep 01, 2005
44. Int44/MS/ID/GLMw - Farmer, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Sep 01, 2005
45. Int45/FS/ID/GLMw - Housewife, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Sep 02, 2005
46. Int46/FS/ID/GLMw - Housewife, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Sep 03, 2005
47. Int47/MS/ID/GLMw - Young boy, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Sep 03, 2005
48. Int48/FS/ID/GLMw - Young girl, Self-settled IDP-Galegama, Sep 07, 2005
49. Int49/MS/H/GLMw - Farmer, Host person-Galegama, Sep 07, 2005
50. Int50/MS/H/GLMw - Farmer, Host person-Galegama, Sep 08, 2005
51. Int51/MS/H/GLMw - Salesman, Host person-Galegama, Sep 08, 2005
52. Int52/MS/H/GLMw - Carpenter, Host person-Galegama, Sep 08, 2005
53. Int53/FS/H/GLMw - Housewife, Host person-Galegama, Sep 09, 2005
54. Int54/FS/H/GLMw - Housewife, Host person-Galegama, Sep 09, 2005
55. Int55/FS/H/GLMw - Housewife, Host person-Galegama, Sep 09, 2005
56. Int56/FS/H/GLMw - Housewife, Host person-Galegama, Sep 10, 2005
57. Int57/FS/H/GLMw - Housewife, Host person-Galegama, Sep 10, 2005
58. Int58/MS/R/VS - Housewife, Returnee-Paleo Oruwa, Sep 12, 2005
59. Int59/FS/R/VS - Laborer, Returnee-Paleo Oruwa, Sep 12, 2005

### IDPs in Welfare Centers —Padaviya and Vavuniya Ds Divisions

60. Int60/MS/ID/GPW - Laborer, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 13, 2005
61. Int61/MS/ID/GPW – Businessman, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 13, 2005
62. Int62/MS/ID/GPW – Businessman, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 13, 2005
63. Int63/MS/ID/GPW – Farmer, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 14, 2005
64. Int64/FS/ID/GPW - Social worker, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 14, 2005
65. Int65/FS/ID/GPW - Housewife, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 15, 2005



66. Int66/FS/ID/GPW - Housewife, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 15, 2005
67. Int67/MS/ID/GPW - Farmer, WCIDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 16, 2005
68. Int68/MS/ID/GPW - S/L army soldier, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 16, 2005
69. Int69/MS/ID/GPW - Pensioner, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 17, 2005
70. Int70/FS/ID/GPW - Social worker, WC IDP-Gravelpitiya, Sep 17, 2005
71. Int71/FT/ID/SW - House wife, WC IDP-Sidam/puram, Sep 18, 2005
72. Int72/FT/ID/SW - Young girl, WC IDP-Sidam/puram, Sep 18, 2005
73. Int73/FT/ID/PW - Salesman, WC IDP-Poonthottam, Sep 20, 2005
74. Int74/MT/ID/SW - Laborer, WC IDP-Sidam/puram, Sep20, 2005
75. Int75/MT/ID/SW - Farmer, WC IDP-Sidam/puram, Sep 22, 2005
76. Int76/FT/ID/SW - Housewife, WC IDP-Sidam/puram, Sep 22, 2005
77. Int77/MT/ID/SW - Salesman, WC IDP-Sidam/puram, Sep 24, 2005
78. Int78/MT/H/V - Laborer, Host person-Vavuniya South, Sep 24, 2005
79. Int79/MS/R/VS - Farmer, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 20, 2005
80. Int80/MS/R/VS - Farmer, Returnee-Vavuniya South, Aug 20, 2005

## Focus Group Discussion

### IDPs and Host People- Medawachchiya, Padaviya and Vavuniya–South DS Divisions

01. FGD1/MS/H/GMw - Adult males, Host person-Gallengoda, Sep 28, 2005
02. FGD2/MS/H/GMw - Young men, Host person-Gallengoda, Sep 28, 2005
03. FGD3/FS/H/GMw - Adult females, Host person-Gallengoda, Sep 29, 2005
04. FGD4/FS/H/GMw - Young females, Host person-Gallengoda, Sep 29, 2005
05. FGD5/FS/ID/GMw - Adult males, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, Sep 30, 2005
06. FGD6/FS/ID/GMw - Young men, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, Oct 03, 2005
07. FGD7/MS/ID/GMw - Adult females, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, Oct 20, 2005
08. FGD8/IDS/GMw - Young females, Self-settled IDP-Gallengoda, Nov 01, 2005

## Key informant Interviews

### Vavuniya South and Weli-Oya DS Divisions

1. KInt1/MS/H/VS - Buddhist Priest, Host person-Vavuniya South, Jul 15, 2005
2. KInt2/MS/H/VS - Catholic Bishop, Host person-Vavuniya South, Jul 21, 2005
3. KInt3/MT/H/VS – Chief Security, WC-Vavuniya, Sep 19, 2005
4. KInt4/MS/H/GMw - A Field Officer/Samurdhi, Host person-Madawachchiya, Jul 15, 2005
5. KInt5/MS/H/PV - Divisional Secretary, Host person-Padaviya, Nov 10, 2005
6. KInt6/MS/H/GMw - Grama Niladari, Host person-Madawachchiya, Nov 13, 2005
7. KInt7/FS/IDP/VS - Divisional Secretary, IDP person-Vavuniya, Nov 27, 2005
8. KInt8/FT/IDP/PV - Field Officer, IDP person-Padaviya, Nov 30, 2005



# Appendix 2

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## Interview Guide

### Interview Guide I for Host people

Place of birth, age, sex, ethnicity

Family members (at orientation family: sisters, brothers, parents and grandparents, their bio- data and origin)

Livelihood of family members and where do they live now?

Marital status (when and where, and spouses and their bio-data)

Household members (at procreation family: who, how related to informant?)

How do you occupy in this land? (Inherited, bought, rent, illegally)

Other relatives in this area

History of your life from childhood

#### Livelihood and economic situation

Job/jobs of the respondent

Income of the respondent

Ownership: lands, house, and other properties

Income of other family members

Money management: Consumption, savings, investment

#### Socio-cultural situation

Educational qualification (last class at the school)

Language skills

Religious belief

Ethnicity

#### Daily practices

Everyday life

Communication

Meeting people, conversation topics

Conversation topics with family members

#### Social relationships

Relationship with family members

Relatives

Neighbors and other ethnic groups

Solidarity with others: Different ethnic groups

## Appendix 2

Exchange pattern: Food, goods, and labor  
Dispute/ tensions/Conflict: with family and with others

### Social relationships/networks

Relationship between host and displaced people (caste, class, intermarriages, kinship, ethnic relationship, friendship, etc.)

Differences between host and displaced people (jobs, works, arranging houses, customs, habits, belief, behavior)

Rights between host and displaced people (human, social, political)

Security between host and displaced people

### After arrival of IDPs

Impact, effects for respondent

Benefits or losses due to the arrival of the IDPs

Changes in the host area due to displacement (economic, political, social, and cultural factors)

Relationship to NGOs, CBOs, etc.

Relationship to government institutions

### Attitude

Conflict: history, reasons, impacts, effect to the people

Solution: how can it be solved? What can you do for it?

Attitude towards displaced persons

### Future plan

Willingness or unwillingness to go back

Move to another place

Obstacles to live here

Obstacles to move to original villages

Children's future

House, land, marriage

Jobs, income

Other issues

Feedback

## Interview Guide II for Displaced People

### Background

Place of birth, age, sex, ethnicity

Family members (orientation family: sisters, brothers, parents and grandparents, their bio-data and origin)

Livelihood of family members and where they live now

Marital status (when and where is spouses from? and their bio-data)

Household members (procreation family: who, how related to informant?)

Other relatives in this area

History of your life from childhood

### Livelihood and economic situation before displaced

Where do you live before displaced?

Job/jobs of the respondent

Income of the respondent

Ownership: land, house, and other properties

Income of other family members

Money management: Consumption, savings, investment

### Socio-cultural situation

Educational qualification (last class at the school)

Language skills

Religious belief

Ethnicity

### Social relationships before displacement

Relationship with family members

Relatives

Neighbors and other ethnic groups

Solidarity with others: Different ethnic group

Exchange pattern: Food, goods and labor

Dispute/tensions/conflict: with family and with others

### Time in displaced

Receiving messages

When were you displaced? And where did you move first?

How did you move? (route) And how did you find a place?

With whom were you displaced? (Single, with wife or husband, with family members)

Why Vavuniya?

## Appendix 2

### After arrival

Where did you stay first?

How did you survive (food, shelter, money, and security?)

Who helped you? (Government or other organization, relatives, friends, etc.)

When did you come to the present place?

### Livelihood situation after displacement.

Job/jobs of the respondent

Income of the respondent

Accommodation, house, land

Income other family members

Assistance

### Daily practices

Describe your life now

Describe your daily activities

How do you and your family survive?

Meeting people and conversation with them

### Relationship with original villages

What kind of contact do you have with original village?

Contact with relatives, friends

Income from home (land, business)

Did you go back? Memories, etc.

Changes before and after flight

What happened to your properties after displacement (abandoned, occupied by others)

Would you like to go back? (give reason)

### Networks/integration

Relationship with relatives, friends, and host people

Language (similarity or differences)

Ethnicity (relationship with other ethnic groups)

Intermarriages

Participation: organization, group work, functions and festival, religious event, etc.

Disputes/tensions/conflicts

What are the differences between the IDPs and the host?

### Security

Describe your feeling about security (women, children)

Citizenship: voting list, citizen of Vavuniya, ID cards

Experience in local institution: Divisional Secretariat offices, hospital, polices, urban council

Experience in working and dealing with host people

### Changes

Changes in your life pattern (tradition, religion, income, work, foods, children's life, and behavior, tasks of men and women)

Changes in Vavuniya after the arrival of IDPs

### Future plan

Willingness/unwillingness to live with the host people

Would you consider moving to another place to settle down?

Do you have any suggestions on how to solve your displacement problem/s?

Livelihoods, house, land

Other issues

Feedback

