The Voice of the Vanni Tamil women for Peace

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

University of Agder, 2016

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Abstract

The civil war in Sri Lanka came to an end in 2009, costing more than 40,000 civilian lives and resulting in major destruction of private and public property. At the end of the civil war the government of Sri Lanka promised peace through passing of amendments to the constitution, initiating reforms to institutions and ensuring human rights and freedom for civilians. The government's promise of peace has become subject to the criticism of ethnic politics. While assuring peace through constitutional and institutional reforms and human rights and freedom for civilians, the government has promoted victors' peace by celebrating the military victory over the LTTE and maintaining the military bases in the North and the Eastern regions.

The contemporary peace in Sri Lanka has been questioned in the research, examining the narratives of the Vanni women. This research aims to produce a new knowledge of feminist perspective on peace analysing a dualistic situation of the reality and the imagination of peace in the voice of Vanni women. In addition, the research is intended to understand the gender lines in the feminist discourse of peace. How has peace been perceived by the war affected Vanni Tamil women in Sri Lanka after 2009? What are the constraints on peace in the narratives of the Vanni Tamil women?

The research has collected primary data in the villages Mullativu and Killinochchi in the area called the Vanni area. The empirical data has been collected fromthirty-nine Vanni Tamil women, four civil organizations in Kilinochchi and one in Jaffna, five Tamil intellectuals in Jaffna. Additionally empirical data has been collected through four focus group discussions. Semi-structured interview guidelines have been used when conducting interviews. The research is based on qualitative data and the narrative analysis has been utilized in constructing the argument synthesizing empirical and theoretical data.

Key Words: Civil war, Feminism, Peace, Vanni Tamils and Violene

Acknowledgement

Dedication

I dedicate this work to pay the tribute to the men and women died in the Sri Lankan civil war.

Declaration by Candidate

I, Wasala Mudiyanselage Shakila Aruni Samarakoon, hereby declare that the thesis "Voice of Vanni Tamil Women for Peace" has not been submitted to any other type of academic degree in other Universities than the University of Agder, Norway.

Aruni Samarakoon

01/06/2016

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CID	Criminal Investigation Department
FCG	Focus Group Discussion
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
ICRC	International Committee of Red Cross
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
UN	United Nations
US	United States

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Appendix A: <u>Pictures</u>

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Chapter One: Introduction

I hear his widow cry in the night"

I hear his children weep

And always within my sight, O God

The dead man's blood doth leap!"

The Blood Vote, 1917 (Connell, 1987, p.135)

1. Introduction

Seven years after the end of the civil war in Sri Lanka, the political figures and institutions at national level have focused on passing a new constitution to resolve the questions of power sharing, to institutionalize good governance and democratic principles, to promote effective checks and balances and empower the people and establish accountability in governing structures (Edirisinghe, 2016). In his speech before the Parliament the current president Maithripala Sirisena has mentioned his wish and desire for a new governing document for the country to guarantee that Sri Lanka does not see a repetition of a bloody ethnic civil war, a civil war where 100,000 people died during the years between 1972-2009 (Aljazeera, 2016). The president and the prime minister of Sri Lanka have agreed on the need for a new constitution to reconcile the ethnic communities and recover the wounded hearts of the ethnic minorities (The Indian Express, 2016).

The need for a new constitution is not a new political discourse, but it is important to understand how to reconcile and recover the ethnic relationships and include the voice of women in peace building. This thesis presents the voice of the Vanni women who have been subject to armed conflict and violence for more than three decades and their perception on peace which is important in designing a new constitution.

This study is on the narratives of the Vanni Tamil women in the villages found in the districts Killinochchi and Mulativue in Sri Lanka. The narratives reflect the perceptions of peace and constraints on peace after the civil war. The discourse of peace in the narratives of the women is similar to the negative and the positive peace in Galtung's argument (Galtung, 1967,

Galtung, 1969). The narratives of the women have discussed the gender lines in the negative and the positive peace which is not found in Galtung's theory of peace and violence. The concept of feminization violence is one of the examples in the narratives that show gender lines in peace in the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women. In that case, the Vanni Tamil Women have become the agents of gender power in defining peace and their voice for peace to include everyone in the Vanni community. The study has further focused on the constraints on peace which consequently limits the space for the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women.

The empirical data has been collected from thirty-nine Vanni Tamil women, four civil organizations in Kilinochchi, one in Jaffna, five Tamil intellectuals in Jaffna and three Focus group discussions (FGDs). A semi-structured guideline has been used when conducting the interviews (see Appendix 1). This research is in the position of inductive epistemology and it is an endeavor to build up a broader perspective of women's perceptions of peace and constraints on peace. The research has followed the principles of narrative analysis to construct a feminist perspective on peace building in Sri Lanka. The discussion of constraint on peace raises awareness of mapping and designing peace as women sensitive programs in the constitutional and institutional reforms.

1.2. A Feminist Perspective

Women in any society based on patriarchal values have a secondary status in the political, social and economic sphere. The secondary status for women has been exaggerated in the coalition of race, ethnicity, caste, class and age (Butler, 1990). The secondary status of women is a socially constructed phenomenon, which is called 'Gender'. Gender prevails on a set of man-made laws which determines and fixes the destiny of women (Butler, 1990).

Simone de Beauvior argues that the whole question of who is a woman relates to the concept of gender and the biological and sociological behavior of woman has been conceptualized by the power of gender. Beauvior further mentions that 'women' or 'feminine' is the negative form of 'men' or 'masculine'. In addition, feminine-masculine dichotomy makes an asymmetric power relationship and woman is subjected to control by masculine power (Beauvoir, 1997). Gender is a power or hegemony over the body and sexuality of women and it is a socially constructed ideology which denied the autonomy of women as in Michel Foucault's argument (Armstrong, 2003). In the words of Joan Scott "*gender becomes a way of denoting cultural construction, the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles*

for women and men. It is a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of the subjective identities of men and women. Gender is in this definition, a social category imposed on a sexed body" (Scott, 1986, p. 1056). Referring to Gramsci, some feminists argue that gender is a socially constructed hegemony to dominate women (Confortini, 2006).

Gender discourse is about the normative understanding of the social reality and it explains the feminist side of the story which is the ice-berg in the context of masculine domination (Scott, 1986). History has been a His+ story. Gender discourse turns to the discussion of Her+ story with the feminist aspect in gender power (Urban Dictionary, 2006). "We are learning that the writing of women into history necessarily involves redefining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance, to encompass personal, subjective experience as well as public and political activities. It is not too much to suggest that however hesitant the actual beginning, such a methodology implies not only a new history of women, but also a new history" (Gordon, Buhle and Dye, 1976, p.89).

As in the poem of the Blood vote, women have been identified as victims of civil war by losing their children and husbands rather than understanding the loss of their lives as women. This thesis aims at identifying the voice of women as victims of civil war and underline gender discrimination as in the old story and at the same time bring out her story as an independent feminine voice for her rights and freedom and her engagement in peace.

1.3. Synergy of Feminism and Peace

Women in peace discourses have been categorized as victims, survivors and peace makers at the ground level. In the argument of genealogy of feminist peace and conflict theories, Weber points out that as in the man-made world, woman has been identified as a natural peace maker but she has a role in war. However, her role in wartime or revolutionary periods has been underestimated or unnoticed by patriarchal institutions (Weber, 2006). Galtung mentions that woman is naturally peaceful but man is aggressive (Galtung, 1969). Galtung's argument elaborates on the masculinity of war and femininity of peace in a way that stereotypes men and women roles in war and peace (Confortini, 2006).

According to Alison, the stereotyped gender roles in war have led to increased violence against women. The sexual violence against women is not only violence against humanity but also a symbol of masculine power in war (Alision, 2007). Ann Tickner observes the stereotyped gender roles in peace as "the association of femininity with peace that lends

support to an idealized masculinity that depends on constructing women as passive victims in need of protection" (Tickner, 1992, p.59). The gender aspect encourages a passive recipient's role for women rather than being independent agents in peace as in Ticker's opinion. It is a challenge to bring out women's voices in peace if they have been the passive recipients of peace.

The peace researchers, like for example Reardon, argue that the purpose of the voice of women in peace is to build a space for women and men or a whole world that is free of violence and where dignity and freedom of human rights are found (Reardon, 1993). Berenice Carroll argues that the direct action of women in peace building or social change should be explored more. The studies of direct actions of women have fallen into the studies of participants and pay little attention to define the scope and power in the direct actions of women. In other words, the direct actions of women have been underestimated in the contemporary literature of peace studies (Carrol, 1989).

In Sara Ruddick's argument on feminist maternal peace politics in Maternal Thinking (1980) she points out that the direct action of women for peace has been concealed by gendered politics. Sara has taken the role of a mother as an example to explain the powerless woman in society and mentions that the reproductive capacity of women make the women powerful and make them take action against war and for peace (Ruddick, 1980). This research agrees with Ruddick' argument of how a mother can stand up against the deaths of her children in war. The question, however, is how the reproductive power helps the women who are not mothers but were affected by civil wars. It is a challenge as Confortini mentions to make the women and their contribution visible in peace building. (Confrotini, 2010; Burguieres, 1990).

Confortini mentions that "*most importantly, both feminism and peace studies, unlike much of the rest of social science, have an explicitly value-laden normative agenda: their ultimate goals are peace (for studies) and gender equality (for feminism). Although the degree of compatibility between the two objectives can be and has been subject to feminist scrutiny, that these two goals can be implemented together*" (Confortini, 2006, p. 334).

This study is an effort to explore the women's voice for peace and make them visible and find a space for their voice. The study in a way becomes normative of personal politics as Confortini mentions (Confortini, 2006). Nevertheless, in many circumstances, the researcher has tried to maintain the distance from personal politics and remain in a rational framework. The researcher has formulated the following problem statement and research questions.

1.4. Problem Statement

Peace is a human need and a peaceful environment ensures the dignity, human rights and freedom of human beings, including women. Although peace is a significant condition for everyday lives of human beings, many countries have engaged with violence and conflicts which are opposed to peace (Reardon, 1993, Galtung, 1967, Huntington, 1996, Paris, 2004). The contemporary peace discourse, studies of international relations, the dialogue of conflict management and the action plans of conflict resolution have faced a dilemma of how to resolve conflicts, avoid violence and achieve sustainable peace. The feminist discourse connects to peace studies by assuming women to be a voiceless group in wartime and it is important to give them a voice (Summerfiled, 1998; Confrotini, 2010; Burguieres, 1990). However, giving a voice to the voiceless women is not a sufficient process to establish lasting peace in the context of the victors' peace like in Sri Lanka. In the victors' peace, the most visible armed violence has come to end but there is still no guarantee for a violence free society, human rights, dignity and freedom for women in particular and for every ethnic group in general and a space for the voice of women (Goodhand, 2010).

The paradox in the victor's peace is that the women in wartime and peace time have a voice but it reflects a voice for others rather than for themselves. The examples are the mothers' voice for their children and the wives' voice for husbands. In that way the women are not in need of being given a voice but rather be given a space for their voice.

Based on the mentioned paradox and the fact that the Vanni Tamil Women have been living with violence and war for more than three decades, this research therefore has formulated the following research problem:

How has peace and a society free from violence been ensured for the Vanni Tamil women after the end of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka in 2009?

1.4.1. Research Questions

Two research questions are being discussed in the study.

1. ***How has peace been perceived by the Vanni Tamil women in Sri Lanka after 2009?***
2. ***What are the constraints on peace in the narratives of the Vanni Tamil women?***

1.5. Research Objectives

The key objective of this study is to produce new knowledge on feminism and peace referring to the feminist aspect of peace in the context of Sri Lanka. Examining the feminist aspect of peace will elaborate on the collation of ethnicity, caste and class in representing the voice of women. Additionally this research intends to challenge the nationalist ideology of peace as a western hegemony and focus on peace as a need in everyday life. Lastly, the research attempts to understand who the women are speaking up for. Is their voice a voice for themselves or for somebody else?

The existing literature on the Sri Lanka civil war, peace agreements, lessons-learned and post-war has produced a vast range of knowledge on gaps, challenges, prospects, constraints and possibilities of peace building. This study is an extension of the peace building discourse in post-war Sri Lanka and it focuses on the constraints in the process of making a space for the voice of the Tamil women.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The contribution of this study would be of interest to scholars in Women's studies and Peace and Conflict Resolution, as well as to policy makers in peace building process at national and international level. This study would be a significant work for the scholars who are seeking new knowledge related to the discourse of representing the voice of women and making a space for the voice of Vanni Tamil women.

The significance of the study is relevant for policy makers as it provides the baseline idea of peace and peace building in the war affected communities. The discussion of the women's voice for the political changes and the needs of the Vanni Tamil women would be a policy guideline to refine the ideology of gender sensitivity in peace building process.

1.7. Rational of Selecting the Vanni Tamil Women

The Vanni Tamil Women have been subjected to physical, sexual and psychological violence during and after the civil war in Sri Lanka (Chawade 2011). The Vanni area was a military base of the LTTE before 2009. After 2009 it has become the military base of the GOSL. Two types of armies are symbols of masculine power which subordinate the civilians in gender in general and female civilians in particular.   Few have noticed the domestic and public violence against the Vanni Tamil Women in the area. This study has chosen the Vanni Tamil Women to convey their inside stories in the struggle to construct peace in everyday life. The villages in Kilinochchi and Mullaivu are economically underdeveloped and the life standard is under the poverty line. The question of how women can achieve peace in an area full of structural, symbolic and personal violence has been a motivation to select the Vanni area as a research area.

1.7.1. Self-Reflexive

This research has been influenced by the self- reflexive. Self–reflexive is a condition of making reference to personal experiences and thoughts. Rose mentions that it is important to acknowledge the researchers' peculiar form of reflexivity and their partiality which helps the reader to understand the researcher's position, the research and research context (Rose, 1997). This research has acknowledged the influences of self-reflexive. The two following experiences recognize the position of this research on the Vanni Tamil women in the post-war peace building of Sri Lanka.

"*When I was travelling alone using the public transport of Sri Lanka at night, my mother was panic-stricken and phoned several time to check on me. Her frequent saying was that 'who knows about you' and 'where would we go to search for you if something happened to you (me')".*

Her questions of agent (who knows) and institutions (where to seek) motivated me to rethink the state's human and social security policy for women in Sri Lanka. These questions have further taken me to examine the insecurity of women in the war affected communities of Sri Lanka. Being a Sinhala girl from central highlands brings me some protection, but I am aware of my status as an unmarried girl and this can make me insecure even in normal situations like

travelling alone at night. The insecurity experienced in my everyday life has driven me to understand the insecurity of ethnic –other women's everyday lives.

Picture. 1.1. Two Children; one is Sinhala – Buddhist (above); one is Tamil (below)

I have found a nice Picture of my nephew which reminds me of a child who was killed in 2009. The child in black t-shirt in the Picture is my nephew who born seven years ago. I have never met the child in the second Picture but read about his death online, how he was captured and later killed (BBC News, 2013). The name of the child in the second Picture is Balachandran. Though he has no connection with the bloody civil war in Sri Lanka, he was killed in 2009 at the end of the civil war. I have asked myself that if my nephew was to be killed by someone, what I can do to bring attention to his death and put focus on why and how he was killed? These two personal narratives and thoughts have motivated me to collect the narratives of Tamil women in the Vanni area who have lost their beloved ones.

1.8. Thesis Outline

Chapter One is the introduction chapter of the research explaining briefly the current debate of liberal peace and the ideological position of the research, problem statement and research questions, objectives and significance of the study and rational choice of the research area. **Chapter Two** describes the contextual back ground of the research. The chapter presents the geographical, historical and anthropological views of the Vanni area and the Vanni Tamil Women. The research methods, opportunities and challenges in data collection and the insider-outsider concept are found in **Chapter Three. Chapter Four** contains the literature review of the negative and positive peace and the critical lens for the negative and positive peace in the feminist discourse. **Chapter Five** examines the perceptions of peace in the voice of Vanni Tamil Women. **Chapter Six** analyses the constraints on the voice in the peace

discourse of Vanni Tamil Women. **Chapter Seven** encloses concluding remakes, recommendations and elaborate prospects for future studies.

Chapter Two: Research and Contextual Background

2. Introduction

This chapter describes the contextual background of the study. The chapter has been divided into four sections. Section one explains briefly the lessons learned of the peace building in Sri Lanka. Section two is describes the historical, political, economic and social factors of the Vanni area. Section three presents the stories of the Vanni Tamil women and gender line in those stories. Section four contains the information of empirical sites, Kilinochchi and Mullativu.

2.1. Lessons Learned From the Peace Building in Sri Lanka

The Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) militarily defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) in May 2009. The primordial and current literature of Sri Lanka civil war has discussed the root causes and the evolution of the conflict (Goodhand, Korf and Spencer, 2011; Winslow and Woost, 2004; Brass. 2010; Stokke and Uyangoda, 2011). The Sri Lanka civil war is a political question of state reform, the scope and function of nation building project, citizen-state nexus on economic prosperity and welfare and the political recognition of rights, liberty and freedom (Stokke and Uyangoda, 2011; Richardson, 2005). Richardson mentions that the ethnicity, un-remedied structural weaknesses in post-colonial economy, ruling class exploitation, social disruptions caused by the failure of privatization, deregulation and structural adjustment of democratic governance policy and leadership failures have radicalized the Tamil youth group causing them to take arms and start a civil war against the GOSL (Richardson, 2005). The Tamil youth group has assumed a separate state or a Tamil Elam as a remedy for the social, political and economic inequalities experienced in the Tamil community (Richardson, 2005).

The Tamil youth interest in a separate state has challenged the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka. The GOSL has become the guardian of territorial integrity (Fernando, 2013). The security policies, annual budget allocations for national security, recruitments to armed forces and international relations have reflected the government's interests to preserve the territorial integrity by means of military and diplomatic power (Uyangoda, 2009; Roger, Spencer and Uyangoda, 1998; Human Rights Watch,, 2009). The

government civil war policy has promoted the discourse of territorial integrity and 'one country, one nation policy' (Ven.Dambara Amila Thero speech, 2011).This study is an endeavor to seek the feminist aspect on peace building the civil war in Sri Lanka through the data analysis of the empirical site called the Vanni in Sri Lanka.

2.2. The Vanni Area

The empirical site of this study is the Tamil minority women living in the Vanni area of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is an ethnically diversified country. The major ethnic group is the Sinhalese (74%) and the major minority is the Tamil (18%). Other ethnic minorities are Muslims (7%) and Burghers (the descendants of European colonists and), Malays and the aboriginal Veddahs and gypsies (1%) (Department of Census and Statistics, 2012). The current percentage of female population of Sri Lanka is 50.7 % and 1,180, 236 women are Tamil (Department of Census and statistics, 2015). This study is on the group of war affected Tamil women living in the Vanni area.

The Vanni area has been chosen as a specific context for the research. The Vanni is a region consisting of two districts, Mullativu and Killinchchi. Before 2009 the government had de facto administration in these two districts, but the de jure control of the two districts was in the hands of the LTTE (The United Nations, 2009).).

The following maps 2.1. and 2.2 depict the geographical location of the Vanni in Sri Lanka.

Map: 2.2. The Vanni Area in Details: Vanni is a collective term for five districts, Jaffna, Killinochchi, Mullativu, Mannar, and Vavuniya
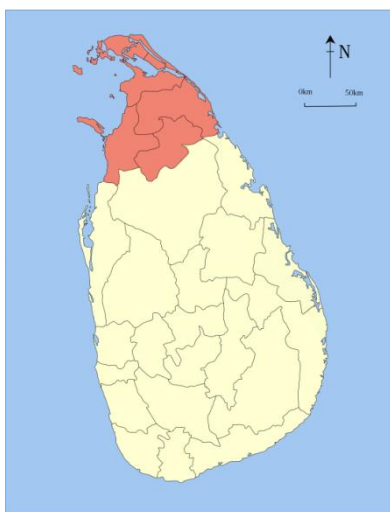
Map. 2.1. The Vanni Area in the map of Sri Lanka

2.2.1. The Vanni History

According to written and archeological historical evidences of Sri Lanka, Vanni was an autonomous political entity that acted independently from the rest of the kingdom. The Vanni chieftains had governed the territory that boarded to the North Tamil kingdom and the South Sinhala Kingdom. The administration of the Vanni area functioned very much like feudal lords offering military protection and rewards to major kingdoms (Silva, 1981). Vanni had been acting in history as an independent political entity. A survey department map of 1852 describes the Vanni and the North Central province as 'unknown country' (Perera, 2015). The Vanni had been identified as a country or independent territory within the governing system of Sri Lanka. The Vanni chieftains had collaborated with the Kandyan Kingdom in the struggle against the colonization project of the Western power.

The Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon and its Dependencies volume 02 cities that, *"When the English (one of the colonial rulers) took the possession of the country (Sri Lanka) in 1759 , it enjoyed tranquility for some years, until 1803, when Pandara Vanniya (one of the Vanni Chieftains), said to have been one of the original Vanniyars (claim the political autonomy of Vanni rulers) deposed by the Dutch, raised a formidable insurrection against the British government, and being assisted by the Kandyans, with whom we were then at war, soon overran all the northern districts, and had the boldness to penetrate as far as Elephant's Pass into the peninsula of Jaffna "* (Lingajothy, 2013).

It means that the Vanni and the Kandyan Kingdom of Sinhala majority had consented to defeat colonial power and reconstruct the regional autonomy of Vanni. Inter-community marriage between the Kandyan Sinhalese and Vanni Tamils was a common phenomenon in the ancient time of Sri Lanka (Lingojothy, 2013).The Tamil consciousness of political freedom and native land had been developed from the historical struggle for the regional autonomy of the Vanniyars (the people of the Vanni area) (Lingajothy, 2013; personal conversation with the Catholic priest in Kilinochchi, 2015).

The governments of post-colonial Sri Lanka had accepted the Tamils' native land concept and nationalism through the policy of resettlement from the 1950s to the 1960s (personal conversation with the priest in Mankulam, 2015).

The priest revealed that *"the majority of the resettled people in the Vanni area are originally from the tea estates in the central highlands. They were resettled here in 1956 after the ethnic riots. They are Indian origin Tamil working in the plantation sector. The government policy of resettlement has brought them to the Vanni area because the government recognized the Vanni as a land of Tamil community"* (personal conversation with the priest in Mankulam, 2015).

The resettlement policies of the GOSL and the LTTE have slightly changed the ethnic composition in the Vanni. Haris mentions that "Although these areas of the Vanni are today entirely Tamil, there was previously a significant Muslim community, who were forced to migrate by the LTTE" (Harris, 2005, p. 60).

2.2.2. Demographic, Economic and Political Factors of the Vanni area

According to Somasundaram, "The area called the Vanni comprises mainly the districts of Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu and adjoining parts of Vavuniya and Mannar districts in Northern Sri Lanka. With the more recent migrations, an estimate of the total population would have been between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand, consisting exclusively of Tamils. Due to conflicting political compulsions the exact number remains controversial*"* (Somasundaram, 2014, p.176). *"During the wartime and post-war period, there was acute pattern of internal and external migration. The Tamil natives have left the Vanni for right to life and migrated to safe areas either in the Sri Lanka southern community or foreign countries. The demographic composition of the Vanni has changed now due to internal and external migration"* (personal conversation with the Tamil intellectual in Jaffna, 2015). There is poor facility to access online the government's sources of the demographic composition of the Vanni.

Before 2009, the Vanni was a separate administrative entity governed by the LTTE. Balasingham mentions that "the LTTE had gradually built up an alternate administrative structure in the Vanni amounting to an autonomous, separate, de facto state. There were separate police, judicial, financial (tax bank), administrative, medical, social and other services" (Somasundaram, 2014, p. 176). Harris points out that "(Vanni) much of this region was under continual LTTE throughout the period of conflict. Its main urban center, Killinochchi, is (was) now a seat of the Tiger's administration (Haris, 2005, p. 60). However,

the public administration of the Sri Lanka government functioned in the Vanni but the rules and regulations for the government administration were made by the LTTE. Politics was under the domination of the LTTE and there was no alternative political discourse in the Vanni (personal conversation with the administrator officer in Killinochchi, 2015).

Prior to 2009, the economy of the Vanni was regulated by the LTTE. As revealed by the many Vanniars, there was the equal distribution of resources but poverty and lack of technological innovation. Additionally, the absence of state's development policies lowered human well-being. For example, the majority of the Vanniar had no electricity before 2009 (personal conversation with the priest in Mankulam , 2015). At the end of the civil war, the liberal peace policy of the government planned a rapid development for the Vanni area of Kilinochchi and Mullativu. According to the Government Agent for Kilinochchi, Ms. Rubawathy Ketheeswaran, *"the Kilinochchi district is being transformed into a hub of economic and livelihood activities and the Government is focusing on the daily needs of the people concentrating on development activities "* (Krihnaswamy, 2013). The government and international as well as local civil agents have been collaborating in implementing the de-mining programs, developing economic and social infrastructures and resuming the livelihood and improving human resources and integrating ex-combatants to the society (Krihnaswamy, 2013).

The examples of the infrastructure development can be found in the reconstruction projects like the road and railway construction[1]. The railway track between Colombo and Jaffna has been constructed by the India Railway International Ltd with the assistance of the Indian Government (Fernando, 2013). At the end of the civil war the GOSL has designed the peace through development policy to reconstruct, rehabilitate, recover and reconcile the war affected area and the communities. The mega development project in the war affected area has shown the physical recovery but the human recovery is questionable. The following section aims to understand the pattern of human development and the connection of human and physical development in the war affected area. The discussion of human development has narrowed down to the story of the Vanni Tamil women.

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[1] Please refer the Appendix –A for further detail , in page 122-123

2.3. The Story of the Vanni Women

Came the airplanes- on us

Throwing bombs

Died relations-ours

Relations fell

Race destroyed- Tamil

Race disappeared

Life –destroyed – our

Life scattered

Suffering saw- we

Sadness imposed

Caged by the war- we were

Trapped in suffering

Enough the sorrow- we

Escape to survive –

Poem by Vanni IDP school student, a witness of the civil war in 2009 (Somasundaram, 2009)

The meaning of the poem in English: The families were scattered, immediate family members went missing, and some died. Some were left in a critical condition of being injured; every one ran for their life or escaped in order to survive. Every Tamil has living memories of the deaths, missing and injured people of the Vanni community.

The situation in the Vanni from 2006- 2009 has been described in the poem. The everyday life of the majority in the Vanni from 2006-2009 was a struggle to save one's life from artilleries, shells, bombs and hunger (Somasundaram; 2010; Hensman, 2009). "The total destruction of civilian infrastructure that ensured in the bitter fight to the end between the Sri Lankan military forces and the LTTE with an estimated civilian population of around 300,000 trapped in between is an ineffable human calamity" (Somasundaram, 2010, p. 2). These people have lost their loved ones, homes and livelihood (Hensman, 2009). The violence they have suffered goes beyond the description of words." (Somasundaram, 2010).

Although the civil war came to end in 2009, the women in the area pointed out the violence in the everyday life that they suffered because they were internally displaced woman, war widows, female-combatants and truth seekers. The feminist argues that the categorization of women in gendered language signifies the mutual exclusiveness, masculine power, super/subordination dichotomy (Confortini, 2006; Connell, 1987). These categories are identified in the narratives of the Vanni Tamil women and indicate that the masculine power, super/subordination dichotomy and exclusiveness in peace are categories found in Sri Lanka after the end of civil war.

It is visible in the empirical data that women in these categories are interconnected. For example, a woman who is displaced is also an ex-combatant or a widow. This study thereby tries to follow a flexible categorization. The following categorization points out the masculine power of violence and women's subordination to man-made violence.

2.3.1. Internally Displaced Women

By most estimates, 70 to75% of the refugees and displaced persons uprooted by conflict are women and their dependent children (Martin, 2004). At the end of the civil war both men and women in the Vanni community were displaced (Somasundaram, 2010). This research has focused on understanding the narratives of displaced women in the Vanni community.

> "*I have seen many dead bodies on the roadside. We put sand on the dead bodies of some people we know. When there was sever fight and shelling, we went to the bunker, praying to God. Hindus prayed to their Gods and Goodness. Christians prayed to Jesus. **I never thought I would come back to the village alive**"* (Personal conversation with a woman in Kilinochchi).

The stories of internally displace women mentions the masculine power of the LTTE and the Sri Lanka army in the violence or in the civil war. Confortini argues that the masculine power of the army forces (either the LTTE or the Sri Lanka army) has been justified by the society accepting man is a naturally aggrieves and suprodinators and woman is naturally peaceful and subordinators (Confortini, 2006). "In enacting the war, strategists were also recreating the existing gender order. Violence then reproduced the gender order and language war a medium through which this process was enacter" (Confortini, 2006. p. 354)

2.3.2. War Widows

The notion that death can come at any time has been common in the Vanni community for more than three decades. The Vanni community has been crushed either by military power of the LTTE or the Sri Lanka army (Alison, 2009). The deaths of many members of theVanni community are not normal but rather the results of war hazard. The death of the family breadwinner has caused economic and social issues in households and in some cases the father's death has changed the destiny of all family members. Fatherless families and widows are now key issues in the Vanni community (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

> "***If her father was here, I wouldn't have to work so hard, He would have provided everything for my daughter's studies***" (Personal conversation with a woman in Kilinochchi).

Widowhood is a masculine terminology according to Confortini's argument of gendered language (Confortini, 2006). Carol Cohn mentions about the terminology that "*The activity of trying to out-reason defence intellectuals in their own game gets you thinking inside their rules, tacitly accepting the unspoken assumptions of their paradigms. You become subject to the tyranny of concepts. The language shapes your categories of thought… and defines the boundaries of the imagination*" (Cohn, 1987, p. 714). The terminology of widowhood confines the thoughts of women to the territory of widow and defines their actions as widows rather than woman or a victim or survivor of the civil war.

2.3.3. Ex- Combatants

The female ex-combatants are in significant number in the Vanni community. Social, political and economic factors motivated the Vanni Tamil women to join the LTTE movement.

> One female ex-combatant shared her testimony of joining the movement; "*The most amazing time I had in my life was the period that I was in the LTTE movement. I joined it because I have political belief in the movement*" (Personal conversation with a woman in Kilinochchi).

Both male and female combatants in the military movement have fought for justice, social security and freedom. Alisons points out in the study of the LTTE in Sri Lanka and the IRA in North Ireland   that "anti-state, liberatory nationalism often provide more space

(ideologically and practically) for women to participate as combatants than do institutionalized state or pro- state nationalisms" (Alisons, 2004, p. 447). The political agenda of the women in the LTTE movement was to establish a just society, social security, equality and freedom for Tamil community (Alisons, 2009). It is a women's choice either to be an agency of ethno- nationalism or be an agency of traditional culture (Cockburn, 2013).

"We did our best for the Tamil people. We fought for these people. Now they forget us; I am disappointed by their social behavior. Now I regret the decision to fight for them, but I never regret joining the Movement" (Personal conversation with a woman in Mullativu).

One of the political challenges in post-conflict society is how to re-integrate the ex-combatants into the society. There is very little literature, policy and legal codes on the agreement of reintegrating male and female ex-combatants to society (Mcmullin, 2013). The gender dimension in DDR has focused on understanding the challenges in re-integration program (Hauge, 2015).

The concept of ex-combatants is a symbol of subordination as Confortini mentions (Confrotini, 2006). The masculine power of the Sri Lanka army subjugated the LTTE in 2009. The army's super-domination prevails over the ex-combatants in regulating their everyday activities and identifying female ex-combatants as a sex-object that can be used for satisfying the sex-desire of male victors in the Sri Lanka civil war.

2.3.4. Truth Seekers

*"My youngest sister was recruited to the LTTE in 2009. The LTTE threatened me to join the movement. I said 'no'. Then my younger sister decided to join it. She has been missing since 15th January 2009. My parents could not bear her disappearance. They are suffering from psychiatric disorder. I have informed International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) and the government about my youngest sister's disappearance. **I don't know what has happed to her**"* (Personal conversation with a woman in Millativu).

US senator Hiram Warren Johnson said in 1918, "he first causality when the war comes, is the truth" (May, 2012, p.62). The truth should be put first on the recovery programs after the war. What is the truth is a dilemma in post-war context (Mendeloff, 2004). Mendeloff points out "over the past decade a general consensus has emerged on the need for states and societies to

address past-crimes and misdeeds in the aftermath of war and violent conflict" (Mendeloff, 20004, p. 355).

The concept of accountability in post-war context has been involved with the truth seeking mission. The Truth and Reconciliation commission of South Africa is one of the effective models that has recognized, legitimized and shared the stories of perpetrators and victims of apartheid (Truth and Reconciliation commission, 1998). Truth is a fundamental pillar in a reconciliation process in order to accept the misdeeds and war crimes that happened in wartime, but it is not a phenomenon to judge the war crimes and misdeeds (Verdoolaege, 2008). The empirical sites or the Vanni Tamil women point out the gap in the truth finding and the contemporary reconciliation process in Sri Lanka.

According to the stories of the Vanni Tamil women, the truth has become ethnic and gender biased after the civil war in Sri Lanka. These women have understood that the truth seeking has had a slow progress due to the government intervention in the process and the government ignorance of dissemination the truth. This is a structural violence as Galtung mentions (Galtung, 1967). Confortini argues that the trust has become a subject to gendered politics. Gender biased truth is away from rationality. (Confortini, 2006). The story of the missing girl and the efforts to seek the truth about the accident reveals the government's ignorance in disseminating truth.

Feminization of violence is another issue in the stories of truth seekers. The feminization of violence has influenced the well-being and freedom of the family. Banerjee points out that the family is the central discourse of feminisation of violence. Banerjee mentions that on the point of feminisation of violence, woman is alienated from her-self and becomes a subject of the family (Banerjee, 1996). However, the stories of the Vanni Tamil women mentioned the effect of feminization of violence for the family as well as for themselves. The Vanni Tamil women have made a comparison of the interaction of feminization of violence and structure in the two periods; the period before 2009 and the period after 2009. Before 2009 the Vanni was administrated by the LTTE.

The LTTE administration had removed the structural and cultural violence against women. As mentioned in the personal conversation with the president of Women Rural Development Society (WRDS) in Dharmapuram, "*the Vanni area was free from sexual abuses under the administration of the LTTE. The LTTE severely punished child abuse, sexual harassments and domestic violence*" (Personal conversation with the WRDS, 2015). After analysis of many

conversations with the Vanni Tamil women, it is valid to argue that the root causes of structural and cultural violence was not eliminated during the LTTE administration but human behavior of violence was controlled. After 2009 the Vanni Tamil women have become the subject of structural, cultural or symbolic and personal violence of the social rituals inside the Tamil community as well as outside of it. The stories of Vanni Tamil women and female ex-combatants citied in Human Rights Watch report 2013 mentions that the Sri Lanka army as a government institution perceived the women as sexual objects and dishonored and disrespected the women's dignity by sexually abusing them (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

Apart from sexual violence, the Vanni Tamil women have been subjected to many types of physical and psychological violence. The study of Kottegoda and Emmanuel highlights that women in conflict areas faced a higher risks of sexual, physical and psychological violence. Many stories of violence in that study related to marriage at very young age (around age 16-17), unemployment and social vulnerability (Kottegoda and Emmanuel and Emmanuel, 2008). However, the government sources of Sri Lanka have said that post-war liberation policy is able to provide the wellbeing and freedom of the Vanni people in general and the Vanni Tamil women in particular. During and after the civil war in Sri Lanka the war affected Vanni Tamil women have been placed as subalterns in decision making for the reconstruction, recovery, rehabilitation and reconciliation of the war affected communities and areas. Previous studies on women in conflict and peace have discussed the matter of women rights violation, the challenges for women in participating in the decision making system and ethnic and gender based discriminations in political systems. The women's voice for rights, equality and freedom has been ignored in the political system of Sri Lanka (Thiranagame, 2011; Gunasinghe and Sivathamby, 1989; Bastian and Luckham, 2003; Devotta, 2002). This study is an extension of the study the feminist aspect on peace in the political system of Sri Lanka after civil war.

2.4. Empirical Sites- Killinochchi, the city of Peace and Hope?

This research has been collecting empirical data in two sites, Kilinochchi and Mullativu. The big English letters on the signboard beside the A-9 road says "Kilinochchi - **the city of peace and hope"**. Immediate thoughts that came to mind were "Whose city? Whose peace and whose hope?" The Pictures in the Appendix A are examples of symbolic violence in the Vanni area. [2]

The Killnochchi District is situated in the northern part of Sri Lanka, covering a land area of approximately 1237.11 square kilometers. The climatic conditions of this district are dry, humid and tropical. The average annual rainfall in this region is 1325 mm, where 75 % of the rain falls during the period from September to December mainly caused by the North –East monsoon periodical wind. The usual temperature range in the area throughout the year is from 25^0 to 30^0 c (The Government of Sri Lanka, 2013).

The district consists of 4 divisional secretary divisions, 95 Grama Niladari Divisions and 329 villages. The 4 divisional secretariats are Karachi, Kandawalai, Poonagary and Pachchilaipalli. Three local authorities are rendering their services to the entire people in this district.

Table 2.1 presents the general information of sex ration of the demography in Kilinochchi. According to the sex ration in Kilinochchi, the majority are women. Women as a majority group in Kilinchchi have challenges in reconstructing and recovering their life and resuming the peace in everyday life.

Table 1.1. The Population of Killinochchi

DS Division	Female	Male
Karachchi	36,202	33,506
Kandawali	12,658	11,669
Poonakary	11,825	11,631
Pachchilaipalli	5,879	5,586

(The Department of Census and Statistics, 2012)

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[2] Please Refer the pictures in appendix – A, in page 123-124

The empirical data of the research was planned to be collected in the Kandawali DS division villages of Dharmapuram or Tharmapuram – East and West Tharmapuram or Dharmapuram was under the control of the LTTE for more than three decades. Government administration had functioned under supervision of the LTTE. The government institutions had no autonomy and superiority on decision making. The central government had paid for the administrators in the area, but their duties and policy implementations were decided by the LTTE (Parashar, 2014).

The majority of the Dharmapuram East and West population have been displaced from their homes once or several times. They were displaced in 1958, 1977, 1988 and 2009. In 2010 the majority of the people were able to settle permanently in Dharampuram East and West villages. The majority of Tamils in the area can speak Sinhala and still have connections with the South –Sinhala community.

The Dharamapuram village has been affected by civil war and was severely damaged in the period between 2000 and 2009. The village was chosen for the research because the area is full of war affected people. The resettled population in general and resettled war affected women in particular has challenges in rebuilding and recovering their lives after the war. The research examines the feminist aspect of peace in the everyday life of these women.

2.4.1.The villages of data collection

The empirical site of this research is on the narratives of thirty-nine war affected Vanni Tamil women. Table 01 displays the numbers of women's narratives.

Table 2.2.The numbers of women's narratives

Kilinochchi -18	Mulltivu -21
Dharmapuram West- 08	Udayarkattu- 05
Dharmapuram East- 10	Kepapullavu- 04
	Oddusudan- 02
	Vellamullavikkal- 03
	Mankullam- 07

Three focus group discussions have been conducted in the villages of Mankulam, Dharmapuram East in Killinchchi and in Mankula and Kepapulavu in Mullativu

The semi-structured interviews have been conducted with UNHCR in Kilinochchi, CARE international Kilinochchi, Jaffna Manger's forum and Caritas in Jaffna and Catholic churches in Dharamapuram, Kilinochchi and Mulative and Mankulam. Five intellectuals in the Tamil community have been interviewed.

The semi-structured interviews with the war affected Vanni Tamil women, civil actors in Kilinochchi and Mulative and Tamil intellectuals in Jaffna University reflect the civil perceptions and definitions of peace in Sri Lanka.

2.4.2. Mullativu, the city of Army Symbols

Second area of the research is Mullativu. Because of the number of army camps in Mullativu it is natural to give the village the name the City of the Army Symbols. Mullativu was the LTTE military base before 2009. In May 2009 the territory and the people had been taken under government control (Pieris, 2014).

The Mullativu District occupies the eastern part of the main land. The Mullativu district covers a land area of approximately 2.516,9 square kilometers including forest area (Mullativu Distirct Secretariat, 2015). According to Mullativu District Secretariat, this district had a population of 77,515 as per 1981 population. Due to the war situation in this district census data was not collected during the period 1991-2001 (Mullativu Distirct Secretariat, 2015). After 2009 displaced and war affected people resettled in the area and the following table is about the resettled population, number of Gramaniladari divisions [3](GN) and number of villages.

Table 2.4 shows the population in the area, all of them resettled, number of GN divisions and villages in the Mullativu. According to table number 2.4, everyone in the village was displaced in the war time and resettled after 2009. The resettled people have been displaced

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[3] The large geography of Mullativu has been divided in to small scale administrative units. The administrative unit is in a hierarchical order starting from District secretariat, divisional secretariat (DS) and *Grama Nilladari* divisions (GN -village level administrative unit).

multiple times. They have challenges in fulfilling the material needs such as housing, employment and non-material needs as healing psychological disorders.

Table 2.3. Numbers of resettled population, in GN divisions and villages, Mullativu

Division	Resettled population (Number of Families)	Number of GN divisions	Number of villages
Maritimepattu	12742	46	219
Puthukkudiyiruppu	11914	19	179
Oddusuddan	5585	27	114
Thunukkai	3525	20	36
Manthai East	2706	15	68
Welioya	4060	09	18

(TheMullativu District Secretariat, 2015)

Mullativu is one of the poorest districts in Sri Lanka. The annual report of district official poverty lines mentions that minimum expenditure per person to fulfill the basic needs in Mullativu is Sri Lanka rupee 3854 or US$ 27. However, the majority of people living in Mullativu have insufficient earnings to fill the basic needs (Mullativu District Secreatarit, 2015). Mullativu after the civil war has become a war tourist place for South – Sinhala community, particularly for Sinhalese. 'Dark tourism' in Mullativu has been supported by the Sri Lanka army as it has been running the war museums and providing accommodations for local tourists (Pieris, 2014). The local tourist attractions in the Mullativu area have been rejected by local Tamil people living in Mullativu due to the fear of losing Tamil local identity of the area (Rees, 2013). These ideological differences led to the decision of making Mullativu the research area of this study. The empirical data has been collected in the Mullativu villages of Kepapulavu, Oddusudan, Vellamullivaikkal and Mannkulam.

The next chapter on research methodology describes the research methods of data collection in the Vanni area and the methodology of data analysis.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.Introduction

This chapter will explain the research methods and methodology of the study. The chapter has been divided into four sections. Section one is to understand qualitative data and the justifications for the choice of research methods. Section two describes the research methods of selecting the participants for the research and the methods of data collecting and the methodology of data analysis. Section three explores the challenges and strategies of data collection. Section four explains the trustworthiness of qualitative research.

3.1. Qualitative Data

This research is based on qualitative data. It is an effort to read the social reality through the scientific lens (Nachimas and Nachimas, 2008). Therefore the research has collected narratives/ stories (words) more than numbers. Bryman cites that "most obviously, qualitative research tends to be concerned with words rather than numbers…" (Bryman, 2004, p. 266). Bryman further argues that qualitative research has features that are inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, stress the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants and implies constructionism (Bryman, 2008).

The objective of using the qualitative data of the research is to understand the different individual perspectives. In other words, the qualitative data of the study is able to point out the different readings on social reality. For example, the Vanni Tamil women have defined and understood the peace in post-war context in different ways. To some peace is freedom and to others peace is material development. Qualitative data has given approaches to examine and understand the different viewpoints and perspectives of social actors.

Qualitative data is worthy to understand socially invisible power, symbolic interactionism (Silverman, 1997). Silverman argues that "the need to broaden our conception of qualitative research beyond issues of subjective 'meaning' and towards issues of language, representation and social organization" (Silverman, 1997, p.1). Qualitative data thereby is a tool to understand the power of language, impacts of social organizations on human behavior and power of social symbolism. For example, the everyday life of Vanni Tamil women has been

shaped by the ethnicity and caste system of the area. The pressure of ethnicity and caste on the Vanni Tamil women's everyday life has been revealed by their words.

This study is to understand the feminist perspective on peace in the voice of Vanni Tamil women. The study has connected with feminist or women's studies. Experts like Bryman assume that "qualitative research is associated with a feminist sensitivity and that by implication; quantitative research is viewed by many feminists as incompatible with feminism" (Bryman, 2008, p.288).   Mies argues that qualitative research has capacity to merge the voice of women to facts (Bryman, 2008).   According to Maynard, qualitative research is able to point out the women's sensitivity of empirical data (Bryman, 2008).

This is an anthropocentric study. The study has applied ethnography, the anthropological approach feminist perspective on peace and constraints to peace. The focus of ethnographic studies is on examining micro cultures or subcultures in a particular context that regulate the behavior and the pattern of thinking of people (Baszanger and Dodier, 1997).Baszanger and Dodier mention that ethnographic studies encourage the field worker to immerse himself/herself in the field conditions and gain access to the point of view of others who share different or similar perspectives (Baszanger and Dodier, 1997, p.12). The fieldworker of this study is from Sinhala community and lives in an area not affected by the war.   The ethnographic approach of the study has connected the fieldworker to the Vanni Tamil community of the war affected North area and helped to understand war affected Vanni Tamils' perspective on peace in Sri Lanka after 2009. "By understanding the perspective of others through an empathetic relationship and being in the context the fieldworker would be able to reconstruct the point of view of others. (Baszanger and Dodier, 1997, p.12). Baszanger and Dodier cite the argument of Gadamer (1976) and Ricoeur (1986) that the assumption of empathy as the process through which the point of view of the other becomes transparent to the field worker is vulnerable to criticisms arising from hermeneutic interpretation of texts and actions (Baszanger and Dodier, 1997).

The qualitative data of the study has been collected by semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions.

3.2. Selection of Research Participants and the Methods of data collecting

It was not difficult to find the research participants for the study of war affected women. The difficulty was in the choosing of the participants. Snowballing sample method has been used in this study. According to Bryman, "*snowballing sampling is a technique in which the researcher initially samples a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research. These participants will then suggest others and so on*" (Bryman, 2012, p.415). As chapter two discussed, all the women in the Vanni area are the victims and survivors of the civil war and they have shared more or less similar experiences in the wartime and post-war period. Their common experience of the civil war has made a strong social bond among them which was helpful when recruiting participants for the research. The language interpreters of this study helped with finding participants using the snowballing technique and then the particular participants were selected.

Using the snowballing sample method   accessed was given to the civil society actors. The researcher's Christian faith (religious faith) was useful to establish the connection with the local churches and then connect to the Christian civil society network. For example, the Jaffna Bishop House suggested the possibility of interviewing the Caritas about the civil society project of recovery and rebuilding of the war affected communities.

3.3.1. Interviews

This research has collected the narratives of the war affected Vanni women. The study as a narrative analysis centers on written texts. Gubrium and Holstein mention that "the text may start out as spoken accounts, but these eventually take transcribed textual form. The interviews are transcribed and the texts analyzed for various purposes" (Gubrium and Holstein, 2008, p. 1). And narrative analysis has noted and compared the similarities and differences, specifying vocabularies, plotlines or themes (Gubrium and Holstein, 2008). This study has paid attention on the facial expressions, the waves of speech, emotions and non-verbal conversations and stances. The narratives of the study have been collected by the semi- structured interviews and focus group discussions.

Flexibility is a vital factor of the interviewing of war affected women in Kilinochchi and Mullativu. These women were subjected to many forms of violence during and after the civil

war in Sri Lanka. According to the experiences in the research area, the best way to initiate a conversation with these women was to ask basic information about their life and village, but the conversation would adapt according the various contexts. Following dialogue was often used to get access to the women in Kilinochchi;

"How are you doing? I am university student. Can I talk to you? I just want to know a few things about your life. "

The war affected women in Mullaitivu, the area 62 kilometers away from Kilinochchi, have closed minds and it was very difficult to get access to them as a researcher. The conversation with these women started by asking "*How long have you been in Mullaitivu?*"

The war affected women in Kilinochchi are used to outsiders due to its geographical location and economic and social exposure. Killinochchi was the administrative base of the LTTE for a long time.

One of the Jaffna intellectuals has said that "*Kilinochchi and A-9 were the most popular and attractive locations for the liberal peace agents. The LTTE had taken the government representatives or the international liberal peace agents either to Jaffna or Kilinochchi. None of the liberal peace agents of the international community or the GOSL had any interest in Mullativu*" (Personal Conversation with a Tamil Intellectual)

Compared to Mullativu Kilinochchi is a flexible context for an outsider to build social contacts. In a short period of time, the war affected women in Kilinochchi were willing to share their stories. On the other hand, it took a long time and it was very difficult to get access to the war affected women in Mullaitivu. It is because Mullativu had been a military based of the LTTE and the area was severely damaged during the civil war. The research observation of Mullativu implies that the people in the area are still frightened and afraid of the military power of both the GOSL and the LTTE. The war affected women in Mullativu have shown little interest to share their stories.

It was difficult to stick to the interview guidelines. In many interviews, the order of questions has been decided based on the responses of the interviewee. The flexible order of the interview is important in order to seek in-depth information of the preferences, perspectives of the war affected women on peace. Bryman mentions that the flexibility of the semi-structured interview is able to bring up the interviewee's point of view on issues, events, patterns and forms of behavior (Bryman, 2004). Leidner describes that the semi-structured

interview has allowed the interviewer to pursue topics of particular interest to the interviewee (Leidner, 1993).

In some cases, the interview developed into a new direction. For example, the interview with the war affected women in Mullativu district Udayarkattu village had a particular interest to discuss the political, social and economic disturbances of the widows of ex-combatants. Following interview is an example of the development of a new discussion in the semi-structured interview.

Interviewer: *How long you have been in Udayarkattu?*

Interviewee: *I am a widow. My husband died in 2009. My husband was in the LTTE police. We had a good time. My husband took care of me as a 'queen'. Now I am nothing!!! (*She was weeping*). No social recognition and economic capacities. I have been isolated in the village. Sri Lanka army keeps eye on my every movement. No freedom for me (*again weeping*).*

The interviewee showed interest in continuing the discussion along the line of the widows of the ex-combatants. The interest of the interviewee in the widows of the ex- combatant constructed a new tendency of discussion in the research. Semi-structured interview is an instrument to carry out in-depth interviews referring to oral and life history (Bryman, 2004).

This study has used the semi-structured interviews to collect the data from civil society actors, intellectuals and public administrators. Semi-structured interviews provide a genuine access to the worldviews of members of social settings or of people sharing common attributes (Bryman, 2004).

Focus group discussion is an additional research method that has been used for empirical data collection for this study.

3.3.2. Conducting Focus Groups

According to Bryman "the focus group method is an interview with several people on a specific topic or issue. Focus group typically emphasize a specific theme or topic that is explored in depth, whereas group interviews often span very widely" (Bryman, 2004, p.345-346). As Bryman mentions, focus group is a tool to explore the discussion in depth and it is a method to identify different dimensions in the discussion (Brymna, 2004).

The number of focus group discussions depends on the time available and resource factors. Bryman cities Calder that "when the moderator reaches the point that he or she is able to

anticipate fairly accurately what the next group is going to say, then there are probably enough groups already" (Bryman, 2004, p.349).   This research found peace as a common topic in the discussions of the civil war. Thereby this study carried out three focus group discussions. Two discussions were in Kilinochchi and one was in Mullativu.

Peace is the common experience to the focus group participants, but participants had different viewpoints on the peace after the civil war ended in Sri Lanka. The highlighted and agreed viewpoint of the focus group discussions in Kilinochchi was that peace can be brought by abolishing violence and ensuring   well-being, human rights, freedom, identify and trust building. Though this was a common point, they had different points of view on the means to end violence and building up the positive peace. The collective point of the focus group discussion in Mullativu was that peace can be realized through the policies of well-being, freedom and human rights.

Bryman argues that "in focus groups participants are able to bring to the fore issues in relation to a topic that they deem to be important and significant. This is clearly an aim of individual interviews too, but, because the moderator has to relinquish a certain amount of control to the participants, the issues that concern them can surface" (Bryman, 2004, p.348). Focus group is an opportunity to understand the collective sense of individuals on the issue (Bryman, 2004).

Secondary data has been reviewed in the chapter of literature review. The literature review chapter of the study aims to present the contemporary discourse of peace and the feminist aspect on peace.

3.3.3. Analysis

This study has followed the interpretative and explanative narrative analysis and inductive methodology to construct a new theoretical perspective emerging from empirical data. The methodology of the research is to analyze the narratives of the empirical data and develop a connection between individuals' everyday life and social reality. "*Stories in society deploy a distinctive narrative reality along with a preferred form of analysis. Because the reality in view is about both the substance of stories and the activity of storytelling, it is imperative that in addition to what is said and record on any occasion, researchers go out into the world, observe and listen and document narrative's everyday practices*" (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009, p. 15).

Riessman points out that "the analysis of narratives thus becomes of a way of analyzing experience. In as much as storytellers are active in shaping their accounts in addition to communication information, stories re-present inner lives and social worlds" (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009, p. 19). As Riessman mentions, narratives is about the experience. This study has collected the narratives of the war affected Vanni women that reflects the experiences and strategies followed in the everyday life to save their lives and keep the family's wellbeing in the wartime and after the war (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009). In that case, the Vanni women's experiences, feelings, understanding, knowledge of the wartime and post-war peace building can be found in their narratives.

However, the process of narrative analysis is mostly hidden from view. Narrative analysis is limited to textual by-products. Ethnography is a solution that can understand the circumstance of storytelling (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009). Francesca Polletta explains "stories are differently intelligible, useful and authoritative depending on who tells them, when and for what purpose and in what setting" (Polleta, 2006, p. 3). Ethnography is a technique that can understand the agents and agency of the story and the effect of social setting on narratives (Gubrium and Holstein, 2009). Ethnography is the analytical tool of this study. It helps to read the social setting and its impact on the narratives of the war affected Vanni Tamil women

Even though the story of Vanni Tamil women is the center of the study, the secondary data on peace revealed the general contemporary debate on peace and feminist perspective on peace. Qualitative content analysis has been used to analysis the secondary data. Qualitative content analysis is an approach that is described as ethnographic, and emphasizes on allowing categorization of data and on recognizing the significance for understanding meaning in the context in which an item is being analyzed (Bryman, 2004).

3.3.4. Ensure Anonymity

A unique technical system has been used in coding the interviews. The interviewees have been given no names, but are indicated with the sex or profession of the interviewee and first letter of the research area; M for Mulative, K for Kilinochchi. Though Jaffna is not a key research area of the study semi-structured interviews were carried out in an intellectual community in Jaffna. The interviews with the intellectual community have been represented in a system of sex, profession and J for Jaffna.

3.6. Challenges and Inside- Outsider strategy

Nancy Naples mentions that the insider or outsider approach in feminist epistemology encourages the understanding of dimensions in social life. "Outsiderness" and "insiderness" are not fixed or static positions and capable to illustrate social locations (Naples, 1996). The feminist epistemology of this research persuades to adapt the insider/ outsider position in order to understand the social reality in the Vanni community.

This study re-examines the feminist perspective on peace in the voice of the Vanni Tamil women. The critical approach of the study posed a risk to the researcher's life. The area is under control of public administration, though the military and the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) officers have substantial power to monitor the behavior of civilians. Therefore, collecting the empirical data in the area was a threat to the researcher's lives.

The key challenge of the study was the researcher's lack of awareness of the conditions in the Vanni area. Other than two short visits to Jaffna, the researcher has never lived in the Vanni area before. Information about the real political situation of the Vanni was obtained from secondary sources which did not give clear and neutral political thoughts about the area. Vanni Tamils have been defined as a pro-LTTE group or the enemies of Sinhala community by people in Colombo, Kandy and Galle. The researcher's parents defined Vanni as a risk area to conduct a research in for an unmarried Sinhala girl.

A meeting with the female government officer who had already been to Kilinochhci and Mullativu was arranged. She defined the Vanni people as victims of war and a vulnerable group to violence. Tamil Psychological councilor from Colombo mentioned: "*You can cry with them, but it is hard to trust them. Never mention you are a student from a Norwegian university*" (Personal conversation with the Tamil Psychological councilor, 2015). At the end of the meeting with that Tamil councilor, the researcher was terrified and afraid of going to the Vanni area alone. The strike of the public transport system of Kandy- Mullativu on November 15th, 2015 and the flooding in the Vanni area were sources of additional frustration.

Picture 3.1. The floods in Oddusudan, Mullativu (Photo taken by the researcher, 2015)

Picture 3.1. shows the difficulty of walking in the Vanni area for data collection because of the floods. The researcher used the Three–Wheeler *or Tuk-Tuk* to avoid the difficulty of walking through the floods when accessing some places in the Vanni area. The Three-Wheeler cost some money and it was difficulty finding Three-wheelers.

The south Sinhala community still defines and understands the Vanni as an unsafe place for an unmarried Sinhala girl and the Vanni Tamil community as an ethnic enemy. The prejudgments of the Vanni area are a challenge to conduct a neutral research. Because of this a psychological session with a friend, Dr. Amila Hewarathne was scheduled. He is a psychiatrist at the general hospital, Colombo. It was a short and informal counseling sessions to prepare for the filed work in the Vanni area. The short council sessions from the 11th of November to 14th of November, 2015 helped to rethink previous definitions of the Tamil community and the Vanni area. The four day counseling sessions helped to increase the self-confidence of the researcher and to improve the understanding of the Vanni Tamil as a group of citizens in Sri Lanka. Additionally the personal faith in Jesus, encouraging and comforting emails from the fellowship at Misjonshuset in Kristiansand and support from friends and social network in Norway and Sri Lanka helped to increase self-confidence and stamina to continue and complete the field-work.

The pre-assumption on safety issues in the Vanni area encouraged the search for a female research assistant. The female research assistant was a former student of the University Ruhuna and she is from Galle. Her presence made impacts on the interviews with the war affected women and civil organizations. The interviewee of Jaffna managers' forum showed signs of being displeased when a girl from Galle was brought to the interview. The research assistant was consequently advised to rather observe the situations and not engage in the discussions of the interviewees.

The secondary data on the war affected Vanni women has been stored in the decentralized administrative system. This secondary data contributed to the planning of the research. For example, the village officer of the Dharamapuram area helped to find the primary sources of ex-female combatants and the information of disappearances. However, the data of the civil

war has been stored in the different administrative offices in the Vanni and this made it difficult to access this information through the government sources about the data on the war affected women. The data on some issues of war affected communities like displacement are found in the local government offices. But important information of disappearances and deaths are either in the military offices or in national government and that information has never been made available to the public. It was very difficult in a limited time period to coordinate all institutions to collect the data. There are no online accessible official websites to collect the secondary data on war affected communities from.

The difficulties of collecting the secondary data of the government sources were overcome in various ways. Personal network was used to access the government sources. For example, the friendship of Ragnhild Madland at the University of Agder and mrs. Arularasi at the university of Peradeniya helped to build up the friendly and trustworthy connections with the public administrators in Kilinochchi and collect the secondary data on the Vanni women. Mrs. Arularasi made personal calls to the divisional secretary in Kilinochchi and requested his help for the required task. Personal contact with journalists and academics in the University of Peradeniya and the University of Jaffna was established to get access to the empirical data on the Vanni women. That personal social network was very helpful in order to gain access to the government sources and the empirical data on the Vanni women.

The government agencies in Kilinochchi and Mullativu doubted the objective of the research, the researcher's ethnicity and student identity of the University of Agder. . The very first time the government agency rejected the request to meet the female ex-combatants and collect data on the war affected women. In the case of Kandawali divisional secretariat in Kilinochchi, a letter from the Norwegian embassy about the research was asked for, even though the research had no connection with the Norwegian foreign policy. Civil organizations like the World Vision in Kilinochchi did not accept request letters of the University of Agder and the Norwegian embassy letter which clearly stated that the research was to realize academic objectives.

 The issues were resolved by finding alternative sources for accessing the empirical and secondary data on the Vanni Tamil women. The Christian identity was helpful to meet the civil actors and the government agents who came for Sunday service. The Christian identity helped to connect with the Vanni women who use to come to the church. The Christian faith was also a door opener to get access to the empirical data of the Vanni women directly. Every

Sunday the researcher went to St. Luke church in Dharamapuram where she encountered many Tamil women who were affected by the war in several ways. Personal contact with them was made and the snowballing technique was used to find additional participants for the research. The researcher's presence at the church helped to build trust with the community and to become an insider of the community.

The common religious faith of the researcher and the Vanni women in the village made the researcher an insider of the Vanni community. Because of this the villagers, the public administrators from the church and civil society activists showed trust in the researcher. However, the government Criminal Investigation Department (CID) did not trust the researcher's presence in the Vanni area. One evening two officers of the CID in civil came to the researcher's rented room in Kilinochchi to make inquiries about the work and her presence in the Vanni area. They checked the national identity card and all the official documents and inquired about the stay. In that conversation, one officer emphasized the issue of the researcher's safety. His words were *"You cannot trust the Tamils. They are different. You are a Sinhala girl. You should think of your safety first"* (Personal conversation with the CID officer, Kilinochchi). After the meeting with the CID officers the researcher's freedom to be in the Vanni area to collect data was restricted. However, the primary and secondary data collection was almost completed at that time and the researcher was about to leave the area. It was difficult to collect data on war affected female ex-combatants. There was no official system of data collection on war affected ex-combatants. Civil organizations in Kilinochchi did not open up to the researcher's request to meet the female ex-combatants.

At the very beginning, it was difficult to meet any women through the civil organizations and the civil organization in the Vanni rejected the request to meet the Vanni women. Once an official request was made to have an interview with the branch manager of World Vision, one of the civil organizations in Kilinochchi. The branch manager requested to have the research proposal sent over, the permission letter from the University of Agder and the letter from the Norwegian Embassy. Attachments of every document was e-mailed to the branch manager, but he never replied. A phone call was made to remind him about the meeting, but he did not provide any support. Through personal contacts a meeting was arranged with the branch manager of Care International in Kilinochchi. He assisted in connecting the researcher with the war affected Vanni women and the female ex-combatants.

Visits to the public market were usually made with the land lady (*amma*) of the rented room in Kilincochi. The people in the public market noticed the researcher and tried to talk to her and become her friend. The market is a very small place and it was easy to build relationships with the people in Dharamapura, Killinochchi and become an insider of the Vanni community. The insider approach and living with the Vanni people contributed to the access to the war affected women and the collection of their narratives.

Poor knowledge of Tamil language was an issue, so interpreters were hired. They did the job on interpreting the interviews from Tamil language to Sinhala language. Three male and two female interpreters were hired. The male interpreters had poor sensitivity in interpreting the women's issue. Two of the interpreters were from Killinochchi and they have close contacts with and background knowledge about the interviewees. Some interviewees had no interest to share the story with the interpreter. Some did not trust the researcher or the interpreter. The insider-outsider strategy was employed to overcome the language barrier. The researcher was an outsider in the interview setting. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and cross-checked with the interpretations made in the research field. Becoming an insider was achieved through observing the facial expressions and body language of the interviewees. The inside observation role enabled an in-depth understanding of the conversations and in some circumstance the researcher put herself into the shoe of the interview to understand the pain of the interviewee. In certain situations it became difficult to continue the verbal conversations. For example, many interviewees stopped talking for a while and took a long break to answer the question of "How did the family member disappear?"

The researcher attempted to be an insider to understand the Vanni women's pain, regret of joining the LTTE-movement and lack of protection that they expressed in the interviews. For example, the interview with the wife of a disappeared male ex-combatant in Mullativu made deep impressions as she shared the following:

> "I (interviewee) asked my husband to surrender to the Sri Lanka army. Then he did. I took him with me to the army camp in Vavuiya. Since that he has been missing. At that time, I had a two months old girl to care for. Now my girl is 6 years old. She needs her father" (The interviewee stopped taking, looking at the researcher. Cried. She was breathing fast…). She continued talking. "I did it… I took him there…" (Oho…. Crying again… much louder).

In order to symbolize an insider identity the researcher dressed up like an ordinary Tamil girl, with a small black dot on her forehead (*pottu*/ decoration) and a long hair plait. A few Tamil words were learned to start a conversation at the public-market and to get transport. In other circumstances, the role as an outsider increased the understanding of the Vanni women. For example, the land lady of the rented room in Kilinochchi tried to do the rituals on the *Mahaveer day* celebrations [4] for her dead son who was an ex-combatant secretly in her bedroom. Being an outsider in that context, it was possible to understand the situation of the land lady very well. In that setting she represented the role as a mother of a dead son. This opened up a new perspective on the situation of the Vanni women.

3.4. Trustworthiness of Qualitative Research

There is a prolonged discussion of the reliability and validity of the qualitative researches. Bryman mentions that "qualitative researchers have tended to employ the terms reliability and validity in very similar ways to quantitative researchers when seeking to develop criteria for assessing research" (Bryman, 2015, p.384). According to Bryman, four criteria have developed for assessing the reliability and validity of qualitative research and are important for the trustworthiness and authenticity of qualitative study. The four criteria are credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (Bryman, 2015).

The qualitative researcher depends on the data of multiple accounts of social reality and the credibility is a fundamental element that should be ensured in data collection. Many and possible accounts of social reality can be found, but these accounts should be credible. Credibility is a technique of rationality in the recruitment of participants and on analysis of narrative (Bryman, 2015). This study has followed the familiarization strategy to maintain credibility in recruiting the participants and colleting their narratives. Being familiar with the empirical sources, building up a close relationship with them and constructing a social cob web is helpful to understand the perceptions of peace in the narratives of the Vanni women.

The transferability of this study has developed on the strategy of thick description. Thick description is a strategy of Lincoln and Guab to understand the uniqueness and significance of

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[4] Since 2009, the LTTE mahaveer day celebrations has been ill-legalised in Sri Lanka. It is a remembrance day observed by the Sri Lankan Tamil people to remember the deaths of militants who fought for the LTTE (Maaveerar Naal, 2016)

the qualitative context (Bryman, 2015). The thick description of this study is on the description of social setting, circumstance and the emotions of interviewee.

Dependability can be used in the process of an audit trail (Bryman, 2015). As a part of an audit trail, daily records of the field experiences were kept and the research assistant was asked to do the same. At the end of a day, researcher and assistant sat down and checked on the empirical data and synthesizing and rethinking the viewpoints in the voice of Vanni women.

The conformability of the study has been maintained through the method of triangulation. The method of triangulation is to corroborate and keep the consistency of the qualitative research (Bryman, 2015). The triangulation method of the study was used to identify weaknesses and strengths of the qualitative data.

Chapter Four: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

4. Introduction

This chapter presents the contemporary literature on peace and violence and the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter is divided into five sections. Section one is to define peace and describe how peace have been categorised by the contemporary research of peace. Sections two and three are to understand Galtung's theory of negative and positive peace and to describe the elements of the negative and the positive peace. Section four presents the contemporary critiques of Galtungs theory. Section four explains the theoretical framework incorporating to feminist lens on peace.

4.1. Conceptualising Peace

The scholars in peace discourse argues that the conceptualising peace is a complex task due to the difficulty of following a precise and abstract form of definition for peace. Anderson points out that "although various definitions of peace appear in the literature, there is no consensus on a conceptually clear definition to guide researchers in developing, measurement procedures and indicators" (Anderson, 2004, p.101). Many colloquial terms of peace in the literature have derived from the Western languages and Anderson argues that the definitions of peace in literature thereby reflect the western linguistic hegemony (Anderson, 2004). In the article of Definition of Peace, Anderson however, tries to articulate the terms of peace in different languages. For example the Hebrew and the Arabic words for peace citied in the article as a meaning of 'whole' and 'undivided' (Anderson, 2004). Additionally, Anderson focuses on peace in the Oxford Latin Dictionary stating that "peace is seen as a relationship among people based on a common agreement or understanding" (Anderson, 2004, p. 102).

Apart from Hebrew, Arabic and Latin terminologies of peace, Sinhala language has defined peace as Saa-ma-ya. The English meaning of Saa-ma-ya is the tranquility, harmony, absence of violence and free from war, reconciliation (Clough, 2006, p. 665)). Tamil language identifies peace (*Saa-ma-da-na-m*) as the state of prevailing during the absence of war, harmonious relations, freedom from disputes, cease hostility, the absence of mental stress and the general security of public places (Shabdkosh, 2016). The languages of the Western and non-Western world define peace in different words, but its content reflects a common

meaning of the absence of violence, harmony and freedom. Based on the colloquial definitions of the peace in different languages, Anderson proposes that "peace is a condition which individuals, families, groups, communities and/ or nations experience low levels of violence and engage in mutually harmonious relationships " (Anderson, 2004,p. 103).

In examining the genealogy of the problem of peace, Richmond brings up the four categories of peace (Richmond, 2006). These categories are the '*victor's peace'*, the '*institutional peace'*, the '*constitutional peace'* and the '*civil peace'* (Richmond, 2006). "The victor's peace has evolved from the age-old realist argument that a peace that rests on a military victory, and upon the hegemony or domination of a victor peace is more likely to survive" (Richmond, 2006, p.293). Some theorists in peace studies refer to peace in Sri Lanka after the civil war, as an example of the victor's peace. At the end of the civil war in 2009, the government of Sri Lanka declared Sri Lanka to be a free country and a free society for every ethnic group, nevertheless, there are still signs of domination and hegemony by the Sri Lanka army in the war affected Northern and Eastern regions (Hoguland and Orjuela, 2011).

Richmond's second category is the institutional peace that rests upon ideas to anchor states within a normative and legal context in which states multilaterally agree how to behave and how to enforce or determine their behaviour (Richmond, 2006). Richmond describes the third category, thus: "The constitutional peace rests upon the liberal Kantian argument that peace rests upon democracy, free trade and a set of cosmopolitan values that stem from the notion that individuals are ends in themselves rather than mean to an end" (Richomond, 2006, p. 293). The last category, the civil peace, relies on individual agency rather than state, multilateral or international agency. The civil peace develops the citizen advocacy, mobilisation and the attainment or defence of basic human rights and values, human security and social justice (Richmond, 2006). Richmond mentions that the civil peace can achieve through the projects of aid, assistance (financial, technical and human) and disarmament.

The content of institutional, constitutional and civil peace corresponds to Galtung's understanding of the positive peace. Johan Galtung is a prominent peace researcher and his studies on peace and violence are contemporary relevant to understand peace in different contexts (Fischer, 2013). This research has used Galtung's theory of negative and positive peace to identify peace in the voice of the Vanni women that be analysed in the following chapters. The Peace is defined by Galtung as "the idea of contains an element of contacts and cooperation. It is not only the absence of negative interaction (absence of violence), it also

implies the presence of an element of positive interaction (with justice, equality, freedom)" (Galtung, 1967, p. 12). The negative and the positive peace dimensions has explained in Galtung's peace discourse. Galtung argues that the negative peace is a means to eradicate violence and the positive peace is a means to establish freedom, well-being and make sure the right to identity and right to survive. Hence, these arguments suggest peace as a means to end violence and to a new beginning (Galtung, 1967). This research has focused on Galtung's argument of the negative and the positive peace to realise the nature of peace explained in empirical sources. Thereby, the research has paid attention to understand the negative and positive peace as in the following paragraphs.

4.1.2. The Negative and Positive Peace

Repeating Galtung's argument, the negative peace is a concept in the sense of absence of organized, collective violence (Galtung, 1967). Galtung, however argues that the negative peace is a problematic. The world can realize the peace as end of violence, but in long term peace is necessarily to cooperate with the principles of rights, equality, and freedom. The positive relationships or cooperation's between state to achieve rights, equality and freedom is defined as the positive peace (Galtung, 1967). The positive peace is the capacity to deal with conflict nonviolently and creatively. It is a concept of cooperation to fulfill the necssiarites of life, such as food, shelter and medical care (Galtung, 1967; Galtung,2013). The following table explains the negative and the positive peace in the argument of Johan Galtung (Galtung, 2013).

Table 4.1.The Negative and the Positive Peace clarification (Galtung, 1996)

Violence	Direct Violence, Intended harming, hurting	Structural Violence, Unintended harming, hurting	Cultural Violence, Intended or Unintended justifying violence
Negative Peace	Absence of cease fire	Absence no exploitation; no structure	Absence of justification and no culture
Positive Peace	Presence of cooperation	Presence of equity, equality	Presence of culture of peace, and dialogue
Peace	Negative + Positive	Negative + Positive	Negative + Positive

The above clarification of the negative and the positive peace shapes the Grewal argument as the negative peace is in a way encouraging the positive peace by ending violence (Grewal, 2003). According to Hakan Wibeg that the negative and the positive peace is significant to adjust the structure, actors and culture in order to establish lasting peace (Wibeg, 1981). The next discussion is to understand the nature of negative peace in the view of Johan Galtung.

4.2. The negative Peace

As in the above discussion, the negative peace is a means to end violence. The concept of violence in the circumstance of negative peace relates can be discussed in six dimensions as mentioned by Galtutung (Galtung, 1967). The negative peace discourse explains the characteristics of violence and refers to a process to end violence as a way to build up the negative peace.

4.2.1. Physical and Psychological Violence

The first dimension is physical and psychological violence. "Under physical violence human beings are hurt somatically, to the point of killing. It is useful to distinguish further between 'biological violence', which reduces somatic capability (below what is potentially possible), and 'psychological violence as such', which increases the constraint on human movements- as when a person is imprisoned or put in chains, but also when assess to transportation is very unevenly distributed, keeping large segments of a population at the same place with mobility a monopoly of the selected few. But that distinction between violence that works on the body, and violence that works on the soul; where the latter would include lies, brainwashing, indoctrination of various kinds, threats, etc. that sever to decrease mental potentialities " (Galtuhg, 1969, p. 169). However, Galtung points out that "the borderline between physical and psychological personal violence is not very clear, since it is possible to influence physical movement by means of psychological techniques, and vice versa: physical constraints certainly have mental implications" (Galtung, 1969, p. 175).

The plenty of literature has been discussed the physical and psychological violence against humanity in the wartime and in the everyday life (Leatherman, 1988; Ristanovic, 2000; Weinstein, 2007; Ratner, 2012; Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Horowitz, 1973; Gur, 1968; Solotaroff and Pande, 2014; Somasanudaram, 2010). According to that literature, physical and

psychological violence is a war strategy but the individuals and the structure may carry out the physical and psychological violence against humanity in normal circumstances too. Solotaroff and Pande point out the sample cases of the psychological and physical violence against South Asian girls and women in the wartime as well as in the everyday life of normal circumstance (Solotaroff and Pande, 2014). However, Galtung pays attention on physical and psychological violence in the specific circumstance of the wartime and after the war, but he highlights the importance of continuing the peace as a means to establish the violence free society for everyone (Galtung, 1969). Referring to the post-war context of Sri Lanka Daya Somasundaram indicates that war and natural disasters have psychosocial impacts not only on the individuals but also on the families, communities and society. In the process of peace building, it is vital to address the consequences of psychological violence on the individual psyche in order to integrate the individuals to society and ensure the normal everyday life for them (Somasundaram, 2010). In the wartime state and also armed group/s followed physical and psychological violence as warfare strategies. Galtung proposes that the negative peace can build ip in ending physical and psychological violence by a process of recovering the victims (Galtung, 1969). (Galtung, 1969).

A Leavitt and Fox advocate align the peace process with physical and psychological wellbeing of the war affected people generally and the war affected children specifically. The physical and psychological wellbeing policy in the peace building agenda contributes to recover physical and psychological disorders, to establish normal everyday life and build up reconciliation among the people in the same community and between the other communities (Leavitt and Fox, 1993). Galtung's argument of peace as means to end violence can further discuss with the dimension of negative and positive influential violence.

4.2.2 Negative and positive approach to influence violence

The second dimension exists on the negative and positive influential violence (Galtung, 1969). The negative and positive approach to influential violence depends on the understanding and concept of dichotomy of right and wrong. Structure has power to decide what is right and what is wrong (Galtung, 1969). "Thus, a person can be influenced not only by punishing him/ her when he/she does what the influencer considers wrong, but also by rewarding him/her when he/she does what the influencer considers right" (Galtung, 1969, p. 170). Galtung has taken an example of rewarding system in current consumer society. The reward-oriented system in the consumer's society rewards amply he/she goes in for

consumption, while negatively punishing him/her who does not engage with the reward consumption system (Galtung, 1969).

 Certain scholars define the Wilsonian approach at the end of the World War 11 and the present-day UN missions in conflict affected contexts as examples of positive approach to influence the end violence. The positive approach to influence to end violence promotes the partnership of state, civil society and community in peace building (Ginty, 2011; Goodhand, 2006). However, the Wilsonian approach and the UN missions or rewards to end violence policy have been criticised on unsustain to bring up peace and the possibility of returning the countries to violence (Paris, 2004; Richmond, 2009). The international civil community and state actors encouraged the positive approach to end violence in Sri Lanka from 1987 to 2007 designing peace accords and rewarding aids. None of the peace accords were able to assure sustained peace in Sri Lanka which said the failure of rewarding system for positive approach to end violence (Orjuela, 2008; Devotta, 2002). In the context like Indonesia, the positive approach was effective in making peace after the tsunami in 2004 (Shea, 2016). The peace building in Indonesia as a positive approach to influence violence signifies that the effectiveness of positive approach depends on the objectives and behaviour of influencer or the actors (Shea, 2016).

4.2.3 Objective Side

The Galtung's discussion of the object side of violence denotes the form of structural and indirect violence in contexts. Galtung mentions that the object side of violence is hurt. The hurt may come from symbols. Galtung explains his argument further on referring to the experiment of nuclear arms. "There may not be violence in the sense that anyone is hit or hurt, but there is nevertheless the threat of physical violence and indirect threat of mental violence that may even be characterised as some type of psychological violence since it constrains some actions " (Galtung, 1969, p.170).

Galtung suggests that peace as a means to end violence is in need of abolishing or eliminating object side of violence (Galtung, 2010; Galtung, 1996). The object side or indirect violence come from the social structure itself between humans, between set of humans (societies), between set of societies (alliances and regions) in the world (Galtung, 1996). Galtung argues that peace should develop as a path to combine the political and economic dimensions to address the object or indirect violence. In that case, he proposes democratisation, de-

militarisation, equal distribution of economic benefits and making community dialogues (Galtung, 1996).

The end of object side of violence is challenging in the context of victor's peace. Sri Lanka is a case to understand the challenges pertaining to eliminate structural violence in the context of victor's peace. The military monuments, the army and the military intervention in everyday life of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka question the capability of build-up peace as a means to end object side of violence (Deegalle, 2006).

4.2.4 Subjective side

Subjective side is another dimension of violence. Subjective side focuses on the behaviour of actors or persons. Galtung states that "whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts. Again it may be asked: Can we talk about violence when nobody is committing direct violence, is acting? This would also be a case of what is referred to above as truncated violence, but again highly meaningful. We shall refer to the actor that commits the violence as personal or direct, and to violence where there is no such actor as structural or indirect" (Galtung, 1969, p.170). Galtung argues that the actor can be a person or the structure/ institution. According to Galtung, poverty is a subjective violence produced by the policy of uneven distribution of actors or institutions. Galtung, thereby presents that poverty can remove through changing the behaviour and actions of actors. Similar phenomena can apply in the context of peace building, adapting peace as a means to change the actions and behaviour of actors in order to sustain peace (Galtung, 1996). Nevertheless, there is no universal agreement on the way of changing the actor's behaviour in the process of eliminating the subjective violence. Roland Parris advocates first institutionalising the behaviour of actors and then liberalising to eradicate subjective violence and establish peace (Parris, 2004).

4.2.5 Intended or Unintended violence

This dimension is important to understand the responsibility and accountability of violence makers. Under this circumstance, the intention of the violence makers has taken seriously than the consequences of the violence (Galtung, 1969). "This connection (understanding of intention) is important because it brings into focus a bias present in so much thinking about violence, peace and related concepts; If the concern with peace and peace is absence of

violence, then action should be directed against personal as well as structural violence" (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). It is important for peace process to understand the intention of violence happened in the wartime and in post-war time. The reconciliation process in the post-war context is to diagnose the root causes and intention of violence and discuss the intention of violence in open- political forum as done by the South African Truth and Reconciliation commission (Graybill, 2002). However, Mark Salter discussing the violence in Sri Lanka mentions that the peace developed as a means to understand the intention behind the violence is a most demand task in the post-war contexts (Salter, 2015).

4.2.6 Manifest and Latent violence

"Manifest violence, whether personal or structure, is observable; although not directly since the theoretical entity of 'potential realisation' also enters the picture. Latent violence is something which is not there, yet might easily come about" (Galtung, 1969, p. 172). Galtung further mentions that the latent violence can find in the situation of actual realisation level easily decreased. He argues that after a military revolution, society is based on hierarchal structure that can be produced the manifest violence and also latent violence. One way of avoid the hierarchical militarisation is by replacing the non- hierarchical civil organisations (Galtung, 1969).

4.3. Positive Peace

Galtung mentions the positive peace is to ensure a peaceful means to resolve conflicts. The positive peace is connected the two elements, cooperation and integration, the four standards of well-being, freedom, identity, survival and the ten elements of the presence of cooperation, freedom from fear, freedom from want, economic growth, absence of exploitation, equality, justice, freedom of action, pluralism and dynamism (Galtung, 1967). According to Galtung, the positive peace identifies as a peace by peaceful means and it is a non-violent and creative conflict transformation. In the process of creative conflict transformation, Galtung suggests to increase and strength the opportunities for four standards, well-being, freedom, survival and identity through the process of cooperation and integration (Galtung, 1996).

Well-being can be ensured by filling the basic human needs and economic security, health, economic security and fundamentally the state of being happy (Searle, 2008). Positive peace policy is to provide the goods and services for human to being to be happy (Galtung, 1996).

Galtung mentions that in the context of war, the people can die not because of the warfare but because of the malnutrition, lack of medical attention, hitting the weakest first, the children, the elderly, the poor and the women. In case of positive peace, state, civil society and community are responsible to pause the avoiding of the opportunities for physical and psychological well-being (Galtung, 1996). Survival is a significant standard in the specific circumstances like the post- war where can continue the life with the least turbulences. The positive peace can expand the opportunities to survive through legitimising human-friendly policies like human rights, anti-exploitation, equal distribution and anti-deprivation (Galtung, 1996). Freedom in the discourse of the positive peace relates to free from repression, detention, expulsion, marginalisation and fragmentation and freedom to enjoy human and fundamental rights (Galtung, 1996). The identity locates in the positive peace as a process of integration and reconciliation against alienation. The positive peace can promote integration and reconciliation through the policies of legitimising the equal citizen's status and making space for public choices (Galtung, 1996). The four standards of the positive peace connects to a ten elements which are necessary conditions in achieving the positive peace.

Figure 4.1. The nature of positive peace (Galtung, 1996)
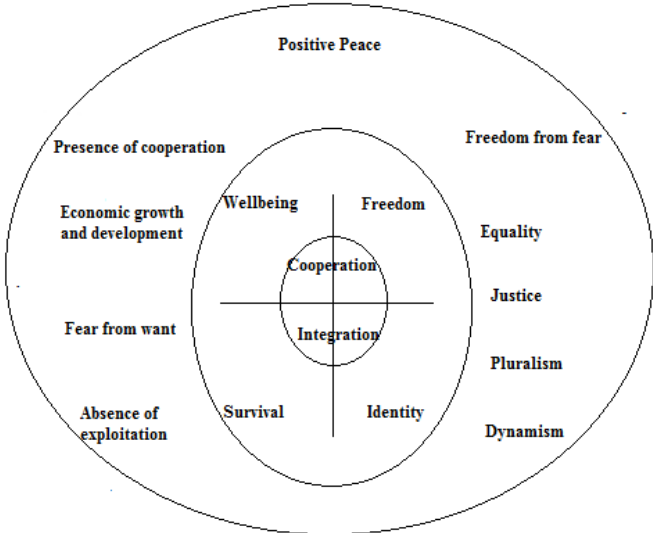
The core argument of the positive peace of Galtung can be summarised as in the figure number 4.1. The centre is the positive peace and it is circled by the major principles of integration and cooperation. The circle of integration and cooperation connects to the four dimesons of wellbeing, survival, freedom and identity. The two principles and four dimensions is connected to the ten elements. According to Galtung, the positive peace is a

basic condition to maintain everyday life in a peaceful way and ten elements play a key role in making the positive peace in everyday life (Galtung, 1967).

4.3.1 Presence of Cooperation

Presence of cooperation denotes a pattern of interaction between nations or community and the exchange of values, commodities, services, knowledge, people between nation states and decrease the isolation and increase the interdependence (Galtung, 1967). The positive peace is able to increase the interdependence among the nation states for resolving the inter and intra conflicts. The postivie peace encourages the structural adjustments to implement the policy of presence of cooperation and provides the financial and technical assistance to build up peace (Owen, 1994). However, the policy of interdepence has been criticized on the western politics in the policy agenda and questions the transparency of the interedependce agreement between the core and peripheral states (Stokke and Uyangoda, 2011). Though the presence of cooperation has demerits, it is an important element to bring the financial and technical aids from core to periphery in the world politics as well as in the domestic politics (Galtung 1996).

4.3.2 Freedom of Fear

Freedom of fear indicates the free from negative events that possible to occur in the future. In other words, the positive peace is capable to remove the vulnerabilities of natural and social calamities and assure the security of individuals and nations (Galtung, 1967).The freedom from fear is a popular project in the American peace building policies from Franklin Roosevelt to Barack Obama. Freedom from fear has identified as a world-wide means to reduce the pattern of using warfare in the world (Shulma, 2009). The American tradition of peace building later has embedded the freedom from fear in the international human rights bill and today the freedom has been renamed as freedom from terror (Shulma, 2009). Current geopolitical ideology has taken the freedom from fear or terror into the world politics. The actors of international community have engaged with policy making to freedom from fear through the positive peace agenda (Ginty, 2011). Freedom from fear, thereby has become an international politics but its focus is on securing the citizens of nation states (Ginty, 2011). The discourse of freedom from fear implies the role for the international peace actors and international politics in making the positive peace (Shulma, 2009).

4.3.3 Freedom from Want

According to Galtung, freedom from want means that neither in the life of the individuals nor in the life of the nations should major, primary needs remain unsatisfied or unsatisfiable. Thus, Galtung mainly refers to such needs as hunger, thrust, shelter, sex and basic security (Galtung, 1967, 15). The positive peace is to enhance the access and the opportunities to fill the basic needs and encourages the actors/ agencies engagement with the basic needs and also it is important to ensure economic security of every nation state and its inhabitants in everywhere (Shulma, 2009).

4.3.4 Economic Growth and Development

Galtung mentions economic growth and development is a way to organise the structure of nation states and the relations between nations in an attempt to distribute resources evenly and increase per capita and develop social and political institutions. The positive peace is a network to build up the core and periphery relationships among nation states to cooperate in economic growth as well as in social and political development (Galtung, 1967).

4.3.5 Absence of Exploitation

By absence of exploitation, Galtung means that "all value exchanges between individuals as well as between nations take place at, roughly equal terms. Thus, no individual shall be able to receive very much more from another individual than he/she gives back to that individual (the example, for instance labour force in exchange for money), nor shall any nation be able to extract from another nation much more than she/ he gives to that nation (the example, for instance, the rate at which raw materials are exchanged for industrial products in world trade) (Galtung, 1967, p.16). It is arguable that the absence of exploitation in the positive peace agenda has taken the Neo-Marxist approach in reconciling the human relationships in the local communities and the relationship between nations in the world community after civil or world war/s (Rummel, 1981).

4.3.6 Equality

Galtung points out the concept of equality in the positive peace as a manner to entitle of having same essential values for all individuals and nations. "Extreme gaps in opportunities and resources at the disposal of individuals or of nations should not be tolerated" (Galtung, 1967, p. 15). Galtung focus of equality is on the equality among nation states and individual groups. Olsson argues that though Galtung has neglected the gender equality in the concept of equality in the positive peace agenda (Olsson, 1973). Bjorkdahl and Selimovic mention that peace in realism view has identified equality is a utopian concept. Feminist on positive peace, however can encourage equality to be realistic in peace building process (Bjorkdahl and Selimovic, 2016).

4.3.7 Justice

Justice may mean roughly the same as by equality but there is also the dimension of basic, fundamental rights, not only individual or national worth or value (Galtung, 1967). The traditional aspect of justice and peace have firmly disconnected from one and another. The positive peace bridges peace and justice in the contemporary models of peace building. Justice has entrenched the positive peace forming victim-centred policy making, opening the space for the stories of ex-combatants and soldiers and the victims and victimisers in the wartime. Justice, thereby in the positive peace can understand as a process of reconciliation, integration and cooperation (Sriram, Godos, Ortega and Herman, 2013).

4.3.8. Freedom of Action

Freedom of action is to open freedom to carry on the actions of individuals and nation states without any interventions. However, freedom of action is a subjective format on the respect to freedom of other individuals and nations (Galtung, 1967). Pruitt suggests the freedom of action in positive peace agenda builds up the 'culture of peace'. The culture of peace is a method of open participation and communication and a structure to integrate intuitions and address the root causes of violence (Pruitt, 2013).

4.3.9 Pluralism

By 'pluralism' denotes that nations and the world should contain a large social and cultural diversity of forms co-existing side by side, and by, 'dynamism' indicates that at least parts of the nations and parts of the world are constructed in such a way that a change or conditions for a change are built into the structure (Galtung, 1967, p.16). The co-existence on social and cultural diversity can implement by legal pluralism. Nagy argues that the legal pluralism is a modern process to establish justice. Nagy further mentions that, the positive peace is a program for justice through the policies of legal and social pluralism (Nagy, 2008). The dynamism or exclusion of ideologies and behaviour of violence against humanity can put in practice through the positive peace designed under the cooperation of state and civil society (Herrhausen, 2008).

4.3. Critical Lens on Galtung's Negative and Positive peace

Though the positive peace is able to localise, it criticises on the missing of feminist lens and as a concept of utopia or unattainable. Confortini (2006) argues that Galtung's theory of negative and positive peace is a point of departure of peace from feminism. Galtung should develop the theory by articulating the feminist aspect of direct, structural and cultural violence and also by understanding the feminist point of view in eliminating violence as a process of the negative and positive peace building. "Galtung's theory would benefit from an understanding of gender as a social construct that embodies power relations, rather than as a synonym for sex. And this feminist understanding allow to see how several categories that shape and permit to make sense of understanding deeply gendered and involved in the production and reproduction of violence at all levels. Many feminist see language as constitutive of our social relations and they have successfully shown that language both reflects and reproduces existing gender relations. Furthermore, some feminists have shown that gendered language actualizes possibilities and impossibilities, so that certain social worlds only become imaginable (thus pursuable) through some rather than other forms of verbal communication" (Confortini, 2006, p.335-336). In the Galtung's theory of the negative and positive peace, men-women dichotomy has seen as a natural program rather than a socially constructed program. Using the ideology of men-women as a biological dichotomy, Galtung argues that men are aggressive and women are peaceful by naturally (Galtung, 1969). Confortini's argument encounters Galtung's argument of men-women dichotomy in peace

and violence highlighting men –women dichotomy is a gender concept, constructed by society (Confortini, 2006).

Another criticism for the positive peace is that it is a utopian model. For realists, positive peace is a utopia at best. It is an unattainable goal. Whatever may be its prospects, the argument is that it is not unreasonable or too much expect that some of the elements of positive peace are ingrained in any peace accord (Sahadevan, 2012). Refereeing to certain peace accords, Sahadevan mentions that the positive peace is not embed into the peace accords because of the interests of personal political agenda of nation states and international community. Peace processes underline the need of an inclusive approach in peace making. "However, this approach in reality constraints and limits the task of accomplishing peace since leaders representing different groups and interests in a conflict may not easily agree on a common framework of solution" (Sahadevan, 2012, p. 77). The concept of utopian has been confronted by the human rights approach to peace building. Human rights approach has been considered as a policy framework for the positive peace and it carries out the elements of positive peace in action (Johnston and Slymovics, 2010).

Instead of negative and positive peace, Kenneth Boulding proposes 'stable peace', combining the notions of the end violence and cooperation and integration for peace. In spite of seeking the present of violence and achieve positive peace, Boulding believes that the peace can achieve through exploring how social systems such as religion or ideology and economic behaviour diminish or increase the changes of movement towards stable peace (Boulding, 1977). The concept of stable peace identifies the dichotomy of negative and positive peace might be a false one. Anyhow, the stable peace understands as a very positivist and enlightenment ideals and much relates to positive peace (Grewal, 2003).

The theoretical framework of this research is on the feminist aspect of the negative and positive peace and next section is to discuss it further on.

4.4. Feminist Approach to Negative and Positive Peace

Despite the criticism, this study has used the Johan Galtung's theory of violence and negative and positive peace as a theoretical approach to analysis the empirical findings of the war affected Vanni women in Sri Lanka. The empirical findings are in the narratives of war affected Vanni women. In this study as Confortini mentions, the theory of violence has

incorporated to the feminist aspect. The justification of choosing Galtung's theory negative and positive peace is that, peace is a relatively defined concept and the ideal peace for war affected communities can be hidden in violence. The violence may not much visible but existing in post-war context. The discourse of violence by Johan Galtung contributes to understand the prevailing violence in the direct, indirect, cultural and structural forms.

According to Reardon, the contemporary feminist discourse on peace is on the research of investigating human knowledge and human society. Peace and feminism are in different paths though, both of them are in a search of politics of transformation (Reardon, 1985). Besides, "peace researchers must recognize the legitimate claims of women to full participation in all human affairs including peace research. Such recognition, and movement toward the merger of feminism and the peace movement, would be a fitting and perhaps salvational culmination to the International Women's Decade (1975-85)" (Reardon, 1985, p. 1). The feminists like Jean Elshtian, Christian Sylvester, Ann Tickner, and Terrell Northurp contribute to feminism and peace projects by challenging gender and expanding women's role in making decisions for peace. Elshtian mentions argue that claims of women's natural or cultural superiority in matters of peace and war only serve to reproduce, in inverted, a world based on gendered dichotomies and power hierarchies (Elshtain, 1988). Elshtian's argument challenged the gender concept of man is aggressive and woman is peaceful by nature. Sylvester is another feminist criticised women's homogeneity and the generalisation of peace as a feminine task (Sylvester, 1987).According to Ann Tickner that "the association of femininity with peace lends support to an idealized masculinity that depends on constructing women as passive victims in need of protection. It also contributes to the claim that women are naïve in matters relating to international politics. An enriched, less militarised notion of citizenship cannot be built on such a week foundation" (Tickner, 1992, p.59). Carroll has found that the disassociation of feminine discourse with peace disempowers both women and peace (Carroll, 1989).

Confortini cites Northrup argument that feminism can integrate to the theories of conflict resolution. The feminine lens on conflict resolution will construct a 'new thinking' and alternative ways to look at problems. Feminist and peace studies, both address issues of identity and human needs as oppose to power politics and recognise the importance of concepts such as relationship, diversity and interdependency. Feminism and peace studies both acknowledge the existence of multiple 'realities' and of cultural and historical differences in world views. Most importantly, both feminism and peace studies, unlike much

of the rest of social sciences, have an explicitly value-laden normative agenda: their ultimate goals are peace (for peace studies) and gender equality (for feminism). Although the degree of compatibility between the two objective can be and has been subject to feminist scrutiny, that these goals can be implemented together (Confortini, 2006, p. 334).

Feminist aspect on peace has two dimensions. One dimension is to construct feminist role in peace building and second dimension is to deconstruct gender role on women. In the process of constructing feminist role in peace discourse, feminists as aforesaid argue to increase the women's participation and enhancing the room for feminist discussion. In the task of deconstructing gender role, feminists question the traditional feminine roles in peace discourse.

The construction of gender role in peace studies can be found in the literature like Sara Ruddick's, Maternal Thinking (1980). Ruddhick identifies the putative relationship between gender and the politics of peace mentioning the mothers tend to develop a moral commitment to social values that foster human growth, life preservation and peace keeping. The maternal thinking as in the argument of Ruddick, is a way to bring the personal politics in private sphere to public sphere (Ruddick, 1990). Ruddick follows Marry Wollstonecraft in a way of understanding mother's role as an individual who sacrificing justice, truth and everything for the sake of their own children violating the most scared duties, forgetting relationship that binds the whole family of each together (Rumsey, 1990). The analysis of mother's role in peace making reveals the construction of gender role of women as a caretaker, actor of biological reproducer than an individual person. According to Rumsey. Maternal thinking is a project of subordination women by themselves (Rumsey, 1990).

The construction of gender roles in peace studies is a problematic in the discussion of who is woman of Simone de Beauvior (1949). In the second sex, Beauvior mentions that "one is not born, but, rather becomes, a woman. Woman is losing her way, woman is lost. One wonders if women still exist, if they will always exist , whether or not it is desirable that they should, what place they occupy in this world, what their place should be" (Beauvior, 1949). Gender roles as motherhood, widowhood and any other forms of hood in women's lives question the representation of woman as an individual human being rather than a person in social bonds (Butler, 1999; Confortini, 2006). Confortini realises the construction of gender roles in peace bulding as a project of gendered language and a process of mutually reinforcing gender and violence in the negative peace (Confortini, 2006).

Confortini mentions that gender language encourages that violence is a men's task and peace is a women's task as already discussed in early paragraphs. In peace building task, gender language develop gender divisions and isolate women in engagement with peace-making as Confortini argues. Confortini mentions masculine power in the reproduction of violence which Galtung has not much discussed in the theory of negative and positive peace. "Galtung does not talk about the mechanisms through which violence discourse gets abstracted , which not only serve to justify violence as domination (and sex as domination), but also to limit our choices for political options " (Confortini, 2006,p. 351). Masculine power in violence symbolises by giving male names to the army regiments, bombs and other artilleries and that masculine power subordinates women in the war and in peace by taking leadership in decision making (Confortini, 2006, Cohn, 1987). Cohn points out that the masculine power of gendered language that "the activity of trying to out-reason defense intellectuals in their own games gets you thinning inside their rules, tacitly accepting all the unspoken assumptions of their paradigms. You become subject to the tyranny of concepts, the language shapes your category of though.., and defines the boundaries of the imagination" (Cohn, 1987, p.90). The masculine power of gendered language will confuse the truth and reality by the way of describing the world (Butler, 1990).

Confortini mentions that "Galtung relies on biological sex to understand the process but which violence becomes acceptable and accepted in society. Feminists talk about masculinities and femininities. Masculinity and femininity are not biologically determined categories. They are, instead, socially constituted ideal types to which 'real' men and women must conform" (Confortini, 2006, p. 353). Connell perceives the gender order as constituted by and dependent on a power hierarchy of masculinities and femininities, at the top of which stands the ideal of hegemonic masculinity. This in turn is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women (Connell, 1987). Messner argues that the masculinity is a form of hegemony instituted to increase man's power and establish 'manliness' ideal (Messner, 1990). According to Confortini, the construction of gender roles in peace is a way to establish masculine hegemony and increase violence which is oppose to peace. Thereby, feminist discourse in peace is worth to pay attention on deconstructing gender roles in peace building (Confortini, 2006). The masculine power in making violence against women can be identified as feminisation of violence The feminisation of violence is a project to subordinate women and it establishes the power hierarchy in the society (Banergee, 1996).

In the process of deconstructing gender roles, Confortini suggests to understand gender as a social constructed and adjust gendered categorisation (Confortini, 2006). Feminists argue that "gender is only marginally related to biological sex. It is instead a social construct, socially learned behaviour and expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity" (Peterson and Runyan, 1999). Confortini mentions that "gender can be seen as an analytic category, which helps to organize the way people think about the world. People thus come to see social reality as a set of mutually exclusive dichotomous categories, in relationship of super/ subordination one to the other" (Confortini, 2006, p. 341). In the peace discourse, the emergence of super/subordination dichotomy in decision making can be understood through the awareness of gender values in that decision making. About the gender based categorisation, Butler mentions that "gender categorisation builds up on two controversial concepts, politics and representation. On the one hand, representation serves as the operative term within a political process that seeks to extend visibility and legitimacy to women as political subjects; on the other hand, representation is the normative function of a language which is said either to reveal or to distort what is assumed to be true about the category of women" (Buttler, 1990, p.2).

The ideology of gender as a social constructed and gender based categorisation signifies the masculine power in subordinating women in public and private sphere. That subordination of women connects with the six dimension of violence in structural, symbolic and personal spheres. The masculine power and the subordination of women can be found in the negative and positive peace as expressed in the narratives of the Vanni women in the following chapters.

Chapter five: Peace through the Voice of the Vanni Tamil Women

5. Introduction

This chapter will explore peace through the voice of a specific group living in a particular context. Thereby the chapter is to answer the first research question of how the peace has been perceived by the Vanni Tamil women. The empirical findings signify that the Vanni Tamil women have perceived peace as a means to end violence (negative peace) and also as a means to establish well-being, freedom and assure survival and identity and build up trust (positive peace) which relates to the ten elements discussed in the theoretical chapter.

The narratives of Vanni Tamil Women demonstrate that the distinction between negative and positive peace is sometimes subtle and may not be easily distinguished. Hence, this conceptual distinction should not be seen as a dichotomy but rather as a continuum, where situations are classified as falling closer to one end of the spectrum or to the other. The empirical data contains the few interviews with the intellectual in the Tamil community and the international and local civil society actors. Those interviews emphasise the dichotomy of the negative and positive peace and also that the positive peace is a real need in the everyday life.

The chapter has been divided into three major sections. Section one is to understand the peace after 2009 in the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women. Section two is to present their opinion of the negative peace with reference to the dimension of violence. Section three is to understand the positive peace in the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women. The summary of the argument can be found in section three.

5.1. The Vanni Tamil Women's discourse of Peace after the Civil war

The literal meaning of peace expressed through the voice of the Vanni Tamil women is '*Samadanam*' (compromise/ consolation/ plea). According to the idiom in the Vanni Tamil Women's stories, peace means the absence of violence, conflict and armed struggle and simultaneously peace means to be able to live happily, without any disturbance. The literal meaning of peace as expressed by the Vanni Tamil women is very similar to the colloquial phrases in the literature review.

One of the Tamil women explained in her understanding of peace that,

> "*Peace means the absence of the violence, conflict and civil war. Peace means having a free life. Freedom to breath. Freedom to walk. Freedom to eat. Freedom to live with others peacefully.* ***After all, peace means to have a free everyday life***" (Female, M).

Vanni Tamil Women understood peace as freedom from violence and freedom to have rights. In their view, freedom means free from violence (the negative peace) and free to have rights (the positive peace). These women perceived that after 2009 they have the victor's peace. They further mentioned that the defeat of the LTTE or the military victory is a peace for the government and the Sinhala –the Southern community, but not a peace for the Tamil community in the North and the East. Through the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women it was pointed out that the victor's peace has increased violence and dissatisfaction, decreased the level of the four standards, survival, well-being, freedom and identity, and demolished the ten elements in the positive peace as mentioned by Galtung (Galtung, 1967).

The peace discourse of the Vanni Tamil is challenging the Galtung's ideology of peace as a women's work (Galtung, 1967; Hing, 2006). The voice of Vanni Tamil Women for peace mentions that peace is a collective action of society and the accountability of the political institutions to make a peaceful environment to live happily. In the peace discourse the Vanni Tamil Women highlights that women can be agents of peace if they have power to eliminate the constraints to peace as Francis argues (Francies, 2015). In addition, the peace discourse of Vanni Tamil Women signifies that they have a voice for peace and they are not in need of being given a voice, but rather they are in a need of being giving a space for their voice. In that case, the Vanni Tamil Women's discourse of peace challenges the gender power in the patriarchal project of giving a voice for them as they are asking for a space for their voice. The voice for peace in narratives of the Vanni Tamil Women does not signify the need of women only. It contains the need of the both men and women and this disagrees with Banerjee (1996) theory on alienating women in the discourse of feminization of violence. The other side of the feminization of violence is that the violence occurs in the domestic sphere which Galtung (1967) has not paid much attention to in his discuss of the theory of negative and positive peace.

The following discussion is to understand the feminist discourse in the negative peace as explained by the Vanni Tamil Women.

5.2. The Negative Peace in the Voice of the Vanni Tamil women

In the Galtung's discourse of violence, he refers to the sex rather than gender based violence (Galtung, 1967). However, in Confortini's argument, gender is a socially constructed phenomena and violence based on gender symbolizes masculine power in patriarchal society over women which is more powerful than sex-based violence (Confortini, 2006) Agreeing with Connell (1987), this study argues that violence in the Vanni area build up the social inequality, hierarchy and subordination against women. As Connell mentions that domestic violence, rape, harassments, depriving well-being, absence of freedom to move, and any other form of freedom and military presence symbolizes the masculine power of domination over women (Connell, 1987). In the Vanni context, the masculine power is not only to subordinate women but also subordinate ethnic other, the Tamil community. The following discussion is to understand the peace through the voice of Vanni Tamil Women, several war affected Vanni Tamil Women pointed out that "peace means the absence of violence". The stories of the Vanni Tamil Women displayed that they understood peace to be a way to eradicate violence. They further mentioned that violence goes beyond the format of physical violence. The violence can appear in the forms of psychological, objective and intended violence or as in the six dimensions of Galtung (Galtung, 1967). Based on the narratives of the Vanni Tamil Women, peace should be identified in order to end the forms of violence as described in the following paragraphs.

5.2.1. Physical and psychological violence

As Galtung mentions, the objective of physical or psychological violence is to hurt somatically or spiritually (Galtung, 1967). According to the Tamil women, though there is no longer visible physical violence by the Sri Lanka army and the GOSL, the women are subjects to psychological violence. According to the Vanni Tamil Women, the major psychological violence is to identify them as Tamil women. They further said that burden of their identity as Tamil women was exaggerated by the dichotomies of ethnicity, caste, race, and class.

The focus group discussion in Killinochchi revealed that psychological violence was exercised by the government and the Sinhala community against the Vanni Tamil Women. "*The government and the Southern community have suspected us (the Vanni Tamil women) to be the supporters of the terrorism, though we are not. But we stand up for our rights*" (Focus group, K). The majority of the women said that few, including the government, have

recognized the Vanni Tamil Women as humans made of flesh and blood. But everyone has defined the Vanni Tamil Women as either a member of Tamil community, a widow, or an ex-combatant. In the stories, the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned that they were subjected to the psychological violence carried out by the Tamil community as well. The psychological violence from the Tamil community comes from gender and caste institutions. The majority of the Vanni Tamil Women complained about psychological hurt from the social isolation by the Tamil community based on widowhood.

The Tamil identity as Confortini (2006) mentions, becomes a form of subornation of the women in the Vanni context. The Tamil women and the Tamil community have been subordinated by the Sinhala community, military organization and the government. In the Vanni context, the masculine power has constructed Sinhalese as an aggressive and brave ethnic group who was able to rescue the vulnerable Tamils. In that case, Tamils are equal to the vulnerable group. Further, the term vulnerable group can be replaced by the term feminine group. Consequently the brave Sinhalese can be seen as having rescued the Tamils or the feminine group and easily produce violence towards this vulnerable group.

According to the Vanni Tamil Women, peace should able to end the psychological and physical violence. However, the women perceived the prevailing peace as one not addressing the psychological violence, but one that could be able to address the physical violence to a certain extent. They mentioned that though visible physical violence came to an end in 2009, physical violence still remains in the domestic sphere. The Vanni Tamil Women's perception on the physical violence differentiated from Galtung on the discourse of domestic violence. Even though the physical violence in the public sphere has been controlled after the civil war, the Vanni Tamil Women declared that the domestic sphere is now full of physical violence. The Vanni Tamil Women asserted the domestic violence to be physical violence. The story of the ex-combatants shared the stories of domestic violence as follows;

> "*I was in the LTTE movement. I did heavy work. I was in charge of the of the LTTE's store. When I got married, I left the movement and become a housewife. I have a daughter. My husband was a nice person. He has changed a lot now. He is an alcoholic. He beat me and was both violent, both verbally and physically. When the LTTE was here, he could be punished for domestic violence. I am afraid of making a complaint about the domestic violence to the responsible government officer in fear of what they*

could do to my husband and also they have never taken the domestic violence seriously"
(Female, M).

That story signifies the two sides of the domestic violence. One side is that the domestic violence is not only violence against the physical well-being but also against psychological well-being of women. It symbolizes the male control over her body and decision making. Though she is a subject to the domestic violence, she has no courage to take action against it. She has no trust in the administration institutions for eliminating the domestic violence. And she has been an independent woman who was in charge of important work in the LTTE movement. But now her independence has been controlled by the personal or direct violence and the indirect or structural violence. Many women revealed similar stories as the one mentioned above.

The content of these stories signifies the personal and structural violence in controlling women in the domestic sphere. These women understood peace as a means to eliminate the domestic violence. According to the feminist lens on peace in the theoretical argument, the domestic violence is a project of masculinity power to subjugate women at the domestic and public sphere (Confortini, 2006) The domestic violence in the context of Vanni cannot define as a simple form of personal violence as Galtung mentions (Galtung, 1967) but, a form of violence in patriarchal structure to subordinate women by masculine hegemony. The masculine hegemony in patriarchal structure has forced women to tolerate violence and formatted women to be silent in violence. This is similar to the argument of Messner that socialization the men to do struggle for life and women to accept it as it is (Messner, 1990)

Another form of violence in the Vanni Tamil Women's peace discourse is objective and subjective violence.

5.2.2. Objective and Subjective Violence

As mentioned in the literature review, symbols can produce violence. The symbolic violence may not generate physical violence but psychological violence which restricts freedom (Galtung, 1967). The empirical data of this study has mentioned the symbolic violence in the Vanni community. The voice of Vanni Tamil Women pointed out that the cultural or symbolic violence in the Vanni community is a restriction to their freedom when making dialogue, communicating or moving and it basically limits their freedom to have a normal everyday life.

The memorial towers of the Sri Lanka army are the main symbolic violence in the Tamil community. The women said that before 2009 the Mullativu area was full of the memorial towers of the LTTE. Now the area is filled with the memorial towers of the Sri Lanka army. The memorial towers of both the Sri Lanka army and the LTTE are symbolic violence which restricts their freedom to have a normal everyday life with freedom to move and to act. The Picture 5.1.

Picture 5.1. The memorial tower of the army in Mullativu city centre. (Picture taken by the researcher, 2015)

shows the army memorial tower in the middle of the Mullativu city center.This is a grand memorial tower build by the Sri Lanka army in Mullativu city centre. It indicates the list of the death soldiers in the wartime. The text on the tower wall is in Sinhala language. Basic meaning of the text is that the tower is to memorise the deaths of the army heroes who were born with braveness and courage. It is a symbol of cultural violence that is further explained in the following text.

The Vanni Tamil Women said that the grand memorial towers of the Sri Lanka army in the Vanni area is a symbol of the army power and these memorial towers tell one side of the story in the civil war. The Vanni Tamil Women additionally said that the grand memorial towers and the museums in the Vanni area have made the Vanni Tamil Women cry. They revealed that the grand memorial status, towers and museums are symbolic violence conducted by the Military intended to hurt and scare the Vanni Tamil Women. According to the stories of the Vanni Tamil women, peace can eradicate symbolic violence though constructing the symbols for their communities as well. One Vanni Tamil woman said that "*the LTTE people are our daughters and sons. They came forward to fight for our freedom. They died for us. We would love to celebrate and remember their birth and death, but we have no freedom to do it. We have no way to represent the voice of dead sons and daughters*" (Female, M).

The Vanni Tamil Women commented that peace is not to demolish the army towers but to build up the memorial towers for people who died during the wartime. The Vanni Tamil Women perceived that the symbolic violence can end by making the counter–symbolic violence. The counter-symbolic violence in the negative peace has not been discussed by Galtung (1967). The most important feminist aspect in the symbolic violence is the feminization of violence (Banerjee, 1990). In the feminization of violence the woman's voice against violence is not a voice for herself as a feminine being, but rather for others and especially for her family. Under that circumstance, she stand against the violence that harms

her family, her sons and daughters, her community. The feminine aspect of violence is thereby questionable in this context. This argument can be found in the following narratives.

The literature review has explored the subjective violence is a phenomenon based on the behavior of actors or persons. Subjective violence in the Vanni area has been described by the Vanni Tamil Women as follows: *"We, the Vanni Tamil people, have been subject to the violence of either the LTTE or the Sri Lanka army. We have never gained freedom, identity, and well-being. We have always been subjective to the violence of many parties (the Tamil armed groups, the Indian peace keeping army, the LTTE or the government). We have never had any freedom,"* (Female, K). The testimonies of the Vanni Tamil Women disclosed that subjective violence produced an unfree society and limited well-being, freedom and identity and no means to survival. Moreover they mentioned that the national politics is a sign of subjective and objective violence. The Vanni Tamil Women pointed out that the political actors in national politics were attempting to hurt the Tamil community by depriving them of equal distribution, rights and freedom and constructing the government hegemony in the Tamil community. The Vanni Tamil Women perceived that poverty is a subjective violence of the uneven distribution policy of the government and the poverty is an unending cycle that has caused violation of the rights and freedom of the war affected men and women.

The Vanni Tamil Women wanted peace that could abolish the actor's behavior that produced the violence. They believed that structural adjustment would help to change the behavior of the actors and make them actors of non-violence. In other words, the Vanni Tamil Women were looking for a change in the government behavior in mapping to end violence, restructuring resource distribution and assurance of the justice for the deaths and victims and survivors of the civil war.

The stories of the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned that the objective and subjective violence has connected with intended and unintended violence.

5.2.3. Intended and Unintended Violence

The theoretical discussion mentions that intended and unintended violence is a discourse to examine the institutional responsibility and accountability of violence. The voice of Tamil women pointed out that a lot of violence developed in and after the war due to the government failure in taking responsibility for and accountability of citizens. Women said that *"The government should take the responsibility for the deaths and disappearances, destruction of*

private property and denial the fundamental and human rights in and after the civil war". The example of intended violence is that the government has bulldozed the houses belonging to the Tamil community and build up the army camps on their land. The government has not even provided a housing scheme for the bulldozed houses.

One Vanni woman mentioned that when she came to the village at the end of 2010, she found her house in a better condition. But she was not allowed to go back to her house. Next day she found that her house had been bulldozed by the government /army. She had to make a temporary house by herself to stay on her land.

> Her words were; "*I got nothing from the government but destruction. I have no money to build up a new house. The government has given no financial or any other support to build up my house*" (Female, K).

At the focus group discussion in Killinochchi, one Vanni woman raised her voice on the stealing of private property by the Sri Lanka army. She further said that "*the army has taken all the doorposts and window frames. When we were returning from the camps in Vaunniya, I saw many army trucks full of furniture driving on the A-9 road from Killinochchi to Vaunniya side*" (Female, K). Stealing and destroying the private property and occupying private land are intended acts of violence as expressed by the Vanni Tamil Women.

Picture. 5.2. The foundation of bulldozed house in Mullativu (Picture has been taken by the researcher, 2015)

"*My house has been bulldozed by the Sri Lanka army in 2009. It is not just a house. It is a house with a lot of good memories. I and my husband worked so hard to build this house. The army just bulldozed it. The army said that the house should be demolished to clean the area from the land mines. I did not get any compensation for my bulldozed house*" (Female, K)

As the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned, the majority of the houses in Kilincochi and Mullativu had been bulldozed by the Sri Lanka army as a strategy to clear mining, though it is an intended violence of destroying private property belonging to the Tamil community. These women said that some houses remained because the army had been using the houses as army offices. The Vanni Tamil Women defined the bulldozing policy of the government and the

army as a strategy to encroach the Tamil land for the use of the army. The asked for a national policy to investigate the matter of misusing the Tamil land and bulldozed houses and implements the effective and efficient policy to resolve the land matters as a way to end intended violence.

The Vanni Tamil Women understood the GOSL and the army as major sources of making and spreading violence against the Vanni people. They reported that the women were subject to cases of rape, verbal abuse, discrimination and harassment towards carried out by the civil and army officers of the GOSL. One of the Jaffna intellectual interviewees said that "*Many people disappeared in Jaffna after 1995. They went missing when Jaffna was fully controlled by the Sri Lanka government and the Sri Lanka army. I have seen many dead bodies beside the roads. I have observed the violence against women at the army check points. This is a well-known fact. The GOSL and the army did and spread violence in Jaffna before 2009 and later in the North and the East regions*" (Male, Intellectual, J). The Tamil women and the community understood that the intention of the violence of the GOSL and the army was to eliminate the Tamil ethnic groups from the island. They have not realized that the Sinhala ethnic group in the Southern Sri Lanka was subject to the similar forms of the violence of the GOSL and the Sri Lanka army.

The Vanni Tamil Women described the intention of the civil society as protecting and avoiding violence. The Vanni Tamil Women understood the civil society as a promoter of the violence free society and they relied on civil society for bringing forth peace. However, the women did not take into consideration the silent role of civil society as a type of violence as mentioned in the theoretical reading (Galtung, 1967). For example, the UN played a silent role and it left the North and the East regions in the wartime. According to the theoretical argument, the silent role in the wartime is a form of violence which ignored the possibility of avoiding violence (Galtung, 1967). Though the civil society had no intention of making and spreading violence, it failed in protecting and safeguarding the civilians and their rights in the wartime.

The feminist aspect emphasizes that the intended violence of the government and the army is a project of subjugation of the Tamil community and Tamil women (Confortini, 2006). According to the statistics in the research methodology chapter, the majority of the population in the Vanni area are women and they are young aged widows with young children. These women have lost property and incomes and they are vulnerable. The widowhood made the

vulnerability double. In that context, the government project of bulldozing houses indicates the subjugation of vulnerable Tamil women. That subjugation caused to increase violence against the Tamil women in the area. Confortini identifies the continuous situation of violence as a 'cycle of violence' (Confortini, 2006). "*The cycle of violence in abusive relationships relies on periods in which the batter does not use force against his victim. These periods, however, are instrumental to tension build up in a relationship and always lead to more violence. In addition, many women who have experienced abuse report that batterers' threats feel as degrading, intimidating and hurtful as the actual blows*" (Confortini, 2006, p. 337). The voice of the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned the manifest and latent violence which protracted in form of intended and unintended violence in the Vanni community.

5.2.4. Manifest and Latent Violence

Galtung cites that the manifest and latent violence can found in a society after a military revolution (Galtung, 1967). The stories of the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned that the presence of the military is a major manifest violence in the Vanni community. Despite the discourse of peace building at national level, the Vanni area is militarized. The women said that the government has justified the militarization to preserve the territorial integrity and sovereignty but it limited the sovereignty and freedom of the citizens. The following pictures 5.2 and 5.3 point out the military intervention in the everyday life of the Vanni community. The two pictures remind of George Orwell's story of 1984. The 1984 states that "It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. Big Brother is watching you, the caption beneath it ran" (Orwell, 1984, p. 3). In the Vanni context, Orwell's phrase should be modified as the army is watching you and mind your behavior. The presence of the military in a civil area is a manifest violence that is a direct threat to the freedom of the Vanni community.

The army just arrived at the vehicle collision that happened on the way from Killincochi to Mullativu. Sri Lanka police is the responsible institution to examine the vehicle collision in normal civil situation. However, that responsibly has been taken over by the army in the North Sri Lanka. It symbolizes the power of Sri Lanka army in regulating the everyday life of the Vanni people.

Picture 5.3. The army intervening in vehicle collision (Picture has been taken by the researcher, 2015)

The army has checked the Dharampuram village, in Kilinochchi, three times a day. The army soldiers with weapons ride on the cycles around the village. It signifies that the army is watching the people every day.

Picture.5.4. The Army checking the village (Picture has been taken by researcher, 2015)

According to the testimonies of the Vanni Tamil Women, the base for the latent violence is found in the community. The hierarchical social structure based on gender, caste and class are sources of the latent violence in the Vanni area. The women highlighted the marginalization, social isolation and diverging in the everyday life based on widowhood, caste and class. The story of the Vellar woman mentioned the caste impacts on her social life and communication connection with other women in the Vanni area. However, her story shows the positive side of the caste domination. She has become a social leader (in fact, she is the president of the community organization of Women's Rural Development Societies) and can influence the everyday life of other women because of her upper caste background. *"My husband is from Vellalar caste. (Originally elite caste of the Tamil community who belongs to the agriculture land (Vellalar, 2016)). He does not like to have food or at least water from houses in the neighborhood. I am just following his caste rituals. Though people do not like the caste*

system, I got a powerful voice and social reputation and domination over others because of the upper caste I belong to" (Female, K.).

In the discussion of latent violence, Vanni Tamil Women have become the agents of the latent violence and the community structure has supported her role in carrying the latent violence. Other than caste, the women have become agents of gender roles as a type of violence and consequently they contribute to maintain the latent violence in the area. Supporting to views of Confortini (2006), these women are in the cycle of maintaining latent violence when passing on gender roles from generation to generation. As the women learn the cast rituals from their husbands, they make them their own and pass them on to the society., In that way many women in the Vanni area also pass on the gender roles to their sons and daughters where the man should be a provider and the woman should be a care-taker in the family. Even though the post-war structure is changing these gender roles in a way of constructing female–breadwinner in widows' households, the women still carry on the gender roles of the woman as a caretaker and the man as a provider. Observing the context, it has been noticed in many interviews that the women would like give the men (the man in the house, young or old) the opportunity to take part in the conversation (man in house, in young or old ages) to speak about peace and the trouble in everyday life. It has symbolized the gender aspect of women where the man should speak in the public sphere.

Discussion of manifest and latent violence leads to negative and positive influence on violence in the Vanni community.

5.2.4. Negative and Positive influence of Violence

The negative and positive influence of violence depends on the dichotomy of right and wrong. The existing literature points out that structure and agency has power to determine the right and wrong in violence, but that power is checked by the principles of justice, morality and rights. The stories of the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned that what is right to them is not right to the government. What is the right thing to government is not the right thing to the Vanni Tamil Women.

The Vanni Tamil Women mentioned the dissatisfaction of the rewarding system in the negative and positive influence of violence. In their understanding the rewarding system did not distribute resources evenly. For example, the widows of male ex-combatants mentioned how they were discriminated in accessing the compensation scheme of the government. Her

husband's legacy of being a former LTTE-combatant lead to discriminate her as she was not including in the compensation scheme of the government. The history of the families and their engagement with the LTTE have resulted in an unequal distribution system of rewards in the Vanni community.

All the stories of the Vanni Tamil Women concluded that the peace was a means to end violence. In other words, the Vanni Tamil Women wanted to have negative peace. In addition the discussion has shown the gender lines in the structural, symbolic and personal violence and the power of masculinity to subordinate women. However, they did not limit their voice to speak up for the negative peace. They wanted to eliminate the violence and also transform the war affected lives to normal everyday lives in a civil situation. Under that circumstance, they proposed the positive peace. The Vanni Tamil Women's ideology of positive peace focused on five characters; survival, well-being, freedom, identity and trust building.

5.3. Positive Peace in the Voice of the Vanni Tamil Women

The positive peace discourse of the Vanni Tamil Women mentions the peace as a means to maintain four interconnected principles; survival (freedom from political repression), well-being (even distribution of resources), freedom (freedom from exclusion) and identity (abolishment of alienation). The positive peace ideology of the Vanni Tamil women is very similar to the positive peace argument of Johan Galtung, but it has added one more principle, i.e. trust building (integration). Moreover, the positive peace concept of the Vanni Tamil women has connected to the ten elements as discussed in Galtung's theory of positive peace (Galtung, 1967).

The feminist discourse locates in the positive peace disagreeing with Simone de Beauvior argument on woman is the negative form of man (Beauvior, 1997) In the Vanni context, the voice of Vanni Tamil women represents men and women as one common group who desires the positive peace. The Vanni Tamil women perceived themselves as a part of man rather than a negative form of man. They nonetheless pointed out the effect of asymmetric power of man–made institutions like the military and the government in the Tamil community. That asymmetric power is a challenge in achieving the positive peace.

5.3.1. Survival

The Vanni Tamil Women mentioned that peace is a way to establish the repression free environment for survival. Moreover, they pointed out that the survival is free from killings and disappearances and freedom of action or non-intervention and freedom from fear. The Vanni Tamil Women said that today they have no armed conflict and no more killings, but many disappearances and no freedom of action. The army in the uniforms or in the civil can intervene in their everyday life at any time. "The army can take my son who was in the LTTE movement at any time and can kill him or make him disappear at any time. I am concerned about my son's future. The presence of the army in the area made me so scared. I hope there will be a day where we can have normal lives" (Female, K).

Analyzing the Vanni Tamil Women's perspective on survival as a positive peace, it can be argued that these women wanted to end violence (negative peace) and start living as normal civilians. They wanted to end the militarization and they have a hope of living under the civil administration. The term 'normal' in their stories indicates the civil administration. However, the Vanni area has been under control of the civil and military administration since 2009 and the government withdrew the army intervention in the administration in 2014. However, as the army camps are still situated in the area, their presence is a threat to survival according to the Tamil women. Some women in the Vanni area told me that though the area is now free from physical killings there is enough of psychological killings. The psychological killings appeared in the forms of symbolic (the army camps) and structural violence (army and the political institutions at national level).

5.3.2. Well-being

The Vanni Tamil Women's stories defined wellbeing as a principle of positive peace which is divided into two major streams, physical wellbeing and psychological wellbeing. As expressed, the physical well-being depends on even distribution of resources, freedom from want, absence of exploitation, economic growth and development, fundamental ability to have a 'poverty-free' life and live in stable economic conditions. They complained about the issues of land distribution which affected the income of the families. The women and the civil administrators mentioned the urgent but slow progress in mapping land distribution after the war. The women told me that their traditional paddy land areas have been occupied by the Sri Lanka army and it has forced the Vanni people to find alternative sources of income. This goes particularly to the Vanni Tamil Women, including widows. Many income alternatives

for women are now in the manual labour or garment sector which is not socially recognized sectors. Through the story of one widow in Mullativu, she shared her experience of land issue.

> *"Before 2009 I had a land in Kepapullave. Now an air force camp has occupied on my land. I was a farmer. Because I have lost my land, I am working as a coolie labourer outside the village. I have to walk in the evening after my work. I am so afraid of walking alone in the evening or in the night from the bus stop to my home because of the army camp in the village. And also, I cannot find the coolie work in the rainy seasons. In one way, I have no stable income from the coolie and the other way; I have lost my social reputation being a collie"* (Female, M).

The previously mentioned story indicates the feminization of violence which has not been discussed in the Galtung's theory (Galtung, 1967). The feminization of violence has been produced by either state or society and caused exclusion from psychological and physical well-being, rights, freedom and identity for the women. (Pickering, 2011; Ahemd, 2004, Confortini, 2006).

The feminization of violence highlighted in the women's narratives related with well-being, freedom and rights. And also, the narratives mention that the feminization of violence is a product of the government and social structure. The majority of the Vanni Tamil Women participated in the research are widows. The widowhood is a barrier for them to claim back their private property and establish themselves as a breadwinner. As revealed by some women, they could not access to the resources distributed after the war because they did not have a legal marriage certificate or it was challenging to legitimize the marriage entered into under the LTTE law. According to their explanation, uneven resource distribution is not just a character of physical well-being but also a project of masculine politics to prevent the women's choice and capabilities to have better lives. Many women highlighted that freedom from want is an essential condition of physical well-being. Freedom from mal-nutrition, insufficient medical caring, freedom from unemployment and freedom to have a shelter are main issues to recover under the positive peace. Many women have not gone to school due to poverty, insecurity in the wartime, lack of education facilities and being unpaid labour for the family. The new generation after the civil war is still in a struggle to begin school education due to scarceness of human resources in schools, poverty, changing family breadwinner paradigm from father to mother or young children (the male breadwinner of family in the

Vanni community was destroyed by the civil war), lack of enthusiasm about education and physical and psychological injuries from the civil war.

Every school girl of the research who was physically injured by the civil war said that it is difficult to concentrate on school work or any other activities in the warm weather. The women who have bullets inside their body or brain told about the difficulties in controlling emotions and the pain in their body when engaging in physical work or studies. One mother shared the story of how her daughter got injured in the war and how her son dropped out of school to provide an income for the family. "My daughter is just 15 years old. Her head got injured during the war. Since that she cannot concentrate on her studies for longer periods of time. She is very emotional as an effect of her injury. She gets upset and angry because of simple things, particularly in the dry season because of the dynamic reaction of the bullet in her head. I have no idea what her future will be like. I only want to give her a safe life. It is difficult for me as a widow to provide the health support for my daughter. Look at my son. He dropped out from school to help me in farming" (Female, M).

In the discussion of positive peace, the Vanni Tamil women want to resolve the barriers to well-being and simultaneously develop the opportunities to reach the freedom from want. However, their perception was that the mega development projects of the government in the area could not resolve the issues of physical well-being. They perceived the development projects of the government to be like parachutes that have been launched in the local community from the outside and the projects have no sense of understanding the real issues of the local community.

The Vanni Tamil Women had not mentioned directly the psychological well-being, but they were in need of psychological well-being. The psychological disorder of these women was evident in the situation of telling their stories, They were weeping, having dejected looks, were at times speechless, despairing and emitting a long, deep breath. Many Vanni Tamil Women went speechless and cried when they started to tell the experiences of the wartime. The Vanni Tamil Women shared the following: "We are mothers. We are sisters. We are wives. We are human. We have got the pain of losing our people. We need someone to listen to us. , We need someone who is trustworthy and understands our pain" (Female, K). The interview with the pastor of the St. Lucks' church in Kilinochchi revealed that "these women have wounds in their hearts. It is worth listening to them, encouraging them to continue their lives. It is important to tell them they are not alone. As a church we could pray. Many women

who come to the church to open up about their pain want to us to pray for it. There is no proper formal counseling program to understand the pain of these women and how to show empathy" (Male, Pastor, K). In the interview with the mother of a dead female ex-combatant, she told that she was in a psychotherapy program organized by the World Vision, a civil society. In the program she got advised and guidance on how to recover from her nervous and psychological breakdown. The program, however, only lasted for three months. She would like to continue the psychotherapy if she could join a program.

The physical and psychological well-being have connected to freedom and identity. According to the stories of the Vanni Tamil Women, freedom and identity are fundamental in gaining survival and well-being. Aforesaid testimonies have highlighted the importance of identity (not as an ex-combatant or a person of the Tamil ethnic group, but as a civilian) and freedom in accessing the positive peace of survival and well-being. The following discussion is to understand freedom and identity in more depth.

5.3.3. Freedom

According to the Vanni Tamil women, freedom is a significant principle for maintaining normal everyday life. The ideal freedom of the Vanni Tamil Women has clashed with reality in post-war context. The ideal freedom of the Vanni Tamil Women contained the freedom of expression, freedom to move and freedom to association. In fact, the ideal freedom of the Vanni Tamil Women is in the political stream, but they connected that political freedom as a gateway to reach the freedom in economic and social streams. The three pillars of freedom mentioned throuh the Vanni Tamil Women's voice have been challenged by the government and military authority. As the women highlighted in many stories, the government and the army are key agents of depriving freedom. The Vanni Tamil Women assumed that the guardianship of the Tamil civil administrators may contribute to safeguard and ensure their freedom. The Vanni Tamil Women have seen that the masculine power in social and political structure caused the construction of gender roles and deprived them of their rights based on gender.

As Galtung mentions, freedom links with justice and equality (Galtung, 1967). The Vanni Tamil Women stories pronounced that justice and equality are branches of freedom. They wanted to tell the stories of disappearances, war tragedies, deprivation, and social isolation in order to bring justice to themselves, the dead and disappeared beloved members in the family

and the community. The freedom of expression and association has been understood as a path to reach justice. In addition, the Vanni Tamil Women conceded the interconnection of justice and peace. The story of a female ex-combatant in Mullativu said that peace and justice are equal fundamentals to live sustainably in the Northern and Southern communities. In her words "*Peace is the justice for me. Justice for my disappeared husband. Justice for my two children. Justice for people who died during the wartime. Justice is not a process that goes against anyone* (Female, M).

Equality is another branch of freedom. Equality in the Vanni Tamil Women's voice implied equal opportunities and also the presence of cooperation as discussed in the literature review. They claimed equal opportunities in politics and economy on the same ground as the other ethnic groups. They did not mention the need of equal opportunities for women. They accepted the male hegemony and supported decision making in patriarchal institutions at local level. Their stories mentioned the need of equality to represent the interests and willingness of their family members and not themselves as women. Therefore, the theoretical argument of equality in the literature review was challenged by the gender aspect of women in empirical data, believing male-favored local intuitions as equal opportunity providers. The presence of cooperation in the literature discussed the cooperation between core and peripheral states. In the empirical chapter the concept denotes the cooperation among major and minor ethnic groups in creating equal opportunities. The Vanni Tamil Women understood that the Sinhalese patriarchal political institution in the core have no interest to provide equal opportunities for Tamil ethnic group in general and for Tamil women in particular in the periphery. In other words, the core institutions have power to create equal opportunities but the Sinhala–male patriarchal political values restricted those opportunities. The Vanni Tamil Women assumed that the positive peace was able to construct the political interests in the core institutions for creating equal opportunities for the Tamil women in periphery.

5.3.4. Identity

"*I need to identify meself as a widow. I married under the LTTE law. But I don't have a legal marriage certificate. I am a widow now. My husband died in 2009 by shell attack. I could not claim the compensation or any support on the death of my husband because I have no marriage certificate issued by the GOSL. To the government, I am neither a widow nor a married woman, but I have been treated as a widow by Tamil society*" (Female, K).

The story of the female ex-combatant and a widow showed the crisis of identity to be resolved by positive peace. The concept of identity relates with pluralism and dynamism. As Nagy points out, legal pluralism is a political technique of accepting diversity (Nagy, 2013). The Vanni Tamil Women in their stories looked for the legal pluralism to accept them with ethnic and ideological identity. And their anecdotes underlined the historical legacy of the LTTE and their engagement with the LTTE. They said that the LTTE was a part of their everyday life for more than three decades and it is impossible and not a realistic plan to keep the LTTE identity away from their lives. However, the LTTE identity in their everyday life was not meant as a threat to others, but rather recognition of their role as women during the time of the LTTE.

The narratives of the Vanni Tamil Women accepted that the civil war no longer existed and that the LTTE had been militarily defeated by the GOSL. They mentioned the symbolic power of the defeated LTTE which has caused the Tamil community to be alienated as a secondary group of citizens. The women proposed ethnic integration under positive peace to ensure the ethnic and gender identity. The women mentioned that the gender identity is not an issue in public politics and in the government institution, but in private politics and social institutions in the public sphere.

The Vanni Tamil Women added one more principle to the positive peace, namely the principle of trust building.

5.3.5. Trust Building

The Vanni Tamil Women's voice included the concept of trust in the relationship between the state and the Tamil community. As mentioned in the concept of identity, Tamil women have been alienated by the state on the legacy of the LTTE. The Women said that the LTTE and the Tamil community have been defined as symbols of terrorism by the government and the Sinhala community. Therefore the trust is a key issue to be recovered and be reconstructed in the post-war context for a healthy relationship between the state and the Tamil community and among Sinhala, Tamil and other ethnic communities.

Still trust building is a challenging task in the Vanni community as the Vanni Tamil Women mentioned.

A story of a female ex-combatant shared the vulnerability in trust building at the post-war stage;

> "*The government has never trusted us (Vanni people and the ex-combatants) because the government has never lived among us. But the LTTE lived among us. It made us trust their work and they trusted us. That's the reason we love the Elam and the LTTE. Nobody trusts me after the end of the civil war in 2009. The government has never trusted me and is never going to trust me. For example, no matter what happens on the on the25th and 26th of November, the days when the movement celebrates the birth of the leader, I have to work. If I was absent on those two days, the army started to make inquiries and made several things difficult for me. The army assumed I was not at work because I was celebrating the birthday of the LTTE leader. I did not do it. It is the truth. However, I would like to commemorate the friends I had in the movement, but it is not about taking the arms into my hands again. Though I have tried to explain it, neither the government nor the Sri Lanka army trusts me*" (Female, K).

The positive peace should be able to repair the broken relationship of trust between the state and the Tamil community and make impact on the reconciliation among ethnic communities. The concept of positive peace through the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women was based on moderating the existing peace as Tamil-friendly and end violence as in the negative peace. As explained in the stories of the Vanni Tamil Women, the positive peace is not the start of a new life , but it is a technique to transform negative peace (end violence) into stable peace (maintain a violence free society). In that case, empirical findings have supported the moderation of positive peace as a means to shift from ending violence to maintain a violence free society. The voice of the Vanni Tamil Women for peace poses a challenge to the ideology of peace as western hegemony. This research does not agree that peace is a result of western hegemony or hegemonies as explained by Oliver Richmond in the theoretical chapter (Richmond, 2005).

Richmond mentions that peace is a product of print capitalism in the western world. This hegemonic conceptualization has underlined that peace is a project to establish the western power over the non-western world (Richmond, 2005). As a contrast to Richmond's ideology of peace as a project of western hegemony, the narratives of these Vanni Tamil Women reflect peace as a condition for a better life and it is a real need in their everyday life. The

aspect of real need in peace discourse cannot be defined as a result developed from the western hegemonies. These women have shared their feelings, perspectives and understanding of peace which is apparently similar to the peace in the western world. Additionally, the concept of feminization of violence in peace discourse has developed a public space for the women who have been victims of the indirect and structural violence (Coney and Mackey, 1999). The narratives of the study clearly mention that if women have a space for their voice, that voice demands a society without violence for both men and women and rights for every human being.

5.4. Chapter Concluding Remarks

The peace in the stories of the Vanni Tamil Women is a version of negative and positive peace which is very similar to the theoretical discussion, but their perception of negative and positive peace still deviates from the definition of the theoretical discussion. They perceived peace to be a means to end violence and develop well-being, survival, freedom, identity and trust building. In the case of defining peace, the women identified the impacts of feminization of violence which has not discussed in the theory of the negative and positive peace of Johan Galtung. The feminization of violence has been produced by the governing and social structure and that form of violence can appear in the forms of direct or personal violence and indirect or structural violence. Galtung (1967) has not focused on the domestic violence, but focus on the domestic violence is important in order to end violence. The next chapter, chapter six, will analyze the constraints to peace according to the voice of the Vanni Tamil Women.

Chapter Six: Constraints on Peace in the Voice of the Vanni Tamil women

6. Introduction

This chapter is to answer the research question of what the constraints on peace are in the narratives of the Vanni women. The chapter has been divided into three sections. Section one is to understand the structural violence referring to the three elements of military, public administration and the uneven distribution of resource. These three elements are symbols of masculine power and influenced by the patriarchal political institutions at the national level. Section two explains the symbolic or cultural violence. Section three mentions the personal violence which has not been much discussed in Galtung's theory of negative peace (Galtung, 1967). Galtung points out the personal violence with connections to sex which is biological dichotomy (Galtung, 1967). But Confortini argues that Galtung's theory should link with gender which is social constructed phenomenon rather than sex, the biological construction (Confortini, 2006). The personal violence in the voice of Vanni Tamil women links with the domestic violence which is a consequence of structural and symbolic violence. Section four contains the conclusion remarks of the chapter.

6.1. Structural Constraints to Peace

In the Vanni women's opinion, the structural constraints for peace are produced by the national politics and the central government. They assumed that the objective of structural constraints in the national politics is to eliminate the Tamil community from Sri Lanka. They argued that the structural constraints can be removed through political change at the national level. Removing structural constraints will contribute to the positive peace. As the Vanni Tamil women pointed out, the structural constraints are not only against the Tamil community, they are also against the Tamil women. In other words, structural constraints symbolize the masculine power over women. Ending of masculine power and abolishing structural constraints will lead to develop the positive peace in the Vanni community as the Vanni Tamil women said. According to the voice of the Vanni women, the structural constraints are embedded in the militarization and public administration and the uneven distribution of resources.

6.1.1. Militarization

Militarization is the key structural constraint according to the Vanni women. They identified the militarization as intended (the intention is to harm the Tamil community) and subjective violence which disrupted the freedom from action, freedom from fear, freedom to expression, freedom to association and the freedom to move and it disturbed the trust building as presented in the discussion of Galtung's positive peace (Galtung, 1967). They further said that militarization caused uncertainty and insecurity in their lives. They observed the army as an oppressive instrument during the wartime and the presence of the army after the war trigged the oppression against the Tamil community more than ever. Several Vanni Tamil women shared that

> "The army had not been a humanitarian and Tamil friendly institution. They killed our men, women, daughters and sons. They took everything we had. Though they have been limited to the army camps and make no physical harm to us, how can we trust them? They killed us in the wartime, but now they want to be our guardian? Can it possible?" (Females, M).

Their argument reflects the subordination of Tamil community and super-ordination of the military which Confrontani mentions in her argument of super/subordinate dichotomy (Confortini, 2006). In the context of the Vanni, male super-ordination has appeared as Sinhala–male hegemony over Tamil–female. The super/subordination dichotomy can be found in the stories of the wartime experiences in the following paragraphs.

The wartime stories mention the masculine power of the military as Reardon argues in the theoretical chapter (Reardon, 2002). Reardon mentions the connections of military institutions with patriarchy and how that connection turn to the oppressive and a dominate system against women. Reardon further argues that the military institution is a place of masculinity which shows super/subordination based on gender (Reardon, 2002). The following testimonies mention how the military became an oppressive, dominant and masculine institution in the wartime and those testimonies have declined Galtung's argument of man being naturally more aggressive than woman (Galtung, 1967). According to the testimonies of wartime, the violence in public sphere has been made by both men and women military actors. In that case, female military actors have become aggressive and agents of violence, a fact which disagrees with Galtung's theory.

The majority of the Vanni Tamil women mentioned how the male and female army persons produced the verbal and physical violence. And the women have noticed that women and children were victims of the verbal and physical violence more than men. They said that the verbal violence was a strategy of the army to dominate, threaten and dishonour the women. The verbal violence was a well-known phenomenon among the Vanni women, a phenomenon which is not in Galtung's theory of negative peace (Galtung, 1967). However, the theory of gendered language in violence by Confortini mentions the verbal violence against women (Confortini, 2006). The Vanni Tamil women mentioned the verbal, physical, sexual and psychological violence made by the Sri Lanka army (the male and female soldiers and the officers) at the end of the war and in the IDP camps. A woman in Mullativu shared her experience of military violence in the IDP camps.

"*I was beaten by the female army personnel when I came to the government controlled area. I went through many verbal abuses. I was asked to remove all of my clothes. I was with my two children. The army personnel made me stand naked in front of my children. How could I face my children afterwards? I was without my husband. He died in 2009 by a shell attack* [she was wiping away her tears]. *I was sent to the camp. The very first days I went through the number of difficulties in managing everyday needs; no food; no sanitation; my children cried for food*" (Female, M).

In the interpretation of the empirical data referring to the theoretical reading, the military activities in the wartime and in the IDP camps can be defined as super-domination over subordinated women and an institutional ignorance of avoiding the violence. As the women mentioned, the army has intervened in the distribution of essential goods and deprived them of the freedom to move and association. Additionally the army was a threat to the physical and psychological well-being of the Vanni people in the IDP camps. The army did not allow the Vanni people to leave the IDP camps and forced them to live in the IDP camps with all forms of ignorance and deprivation which can be define as violence. And also, the military power forced them to be naked and denied the privacy though it was a security purpose. According to the literature of violence, the army behaviour is a development of structural violence which dishonoured the Vanni Tamil women forcing them to remove the cloths in a public sphere. The dishonouring or harming of the dignity of women is an event of showing the masculine power which Reardon has described (Reardon, 2002).

The aforesaid military experiences of the Vanni Tamil women have caused them to define the 'military as an oppressive, masculine instrument' and they said the presence of the military in the Vanni area recall the bitter memories of the wartime and the IDP camps. Thereby they desired a demilitarization of the Vanni area. As they said that, the national politics and political institutions want the presence of military in the Vanni area to oppress and keep the Vanni community under control. Moreover, the government used the military to keep the eye on the civilian behaviour which the women defined as a psychological violence. The women said that the psychological violence came as a challenge to the privacy. As an example of military intervention on privacy the Vanni Tamil women mentioned the checking of the villages by the army soldiers three times a day.

One of the Vanni Tamil women revealed that "*It has become normal to see the army with weapons, riding cycles around the village. We have no privacy. However, now the situation is better than the early days. At the early days of 2010, after the resettlement, it was difficult to have a civil normal life. The military intervened in the everyday life in many ways; for example, if I got a visitor, the army and the CID officers would come to the doorstep and make inquiry about the visitor.). We are free from such pressure now, but still the army can intervene in the everyday life at any time*" (Female, K).

This story reflects the theoretical reading of Ann Tickner on feminist aspect of achieving global security. Tickner argument mentions the domination of masculine aspect in national and global security and the development of masculinity in national security policy against feminist needs of freedom (Tickner, 1992). The male soldiers with weapons riding cycles in villages three times a day can be mentioned as a policy of national security which reflects the masculine power in the security policy. As the women said, these soldiers' visit three times a day cause the loss of privacy and the freedom of the women and it mentions the men's controlling power over women (army men's controlling power over the Tamil community) after the civil war.

The stories of female ex-combatants and widows of male ex-combatants showed the male-army domination and intervention into their everyday life. This can be interpreted as feminization of violence and also masculine power of controlling the women's lives after the war. A female ex-combatant shared her experiences with the army after 2009. "*If I get a visitor, first a CID male person will come with a lot of questions and the TID will come later.*

TID still investigates our daily routines even though we have no arms and should now be considered as civilians" (Female, M).

The priest of the Anglican Church in Dharmapuram mentioned the difficulties caused by the army in the women's lives after the civil war. According to the priest, the women have become objects that need to follow the army commands. All the areas of the community have been affected by the masculine power of the army, as exemplified in the story of another priest. The priest of St. Luke's church said that the army intervene with freedom and produce fear in the Vanni area. He said that,

"*If the church mass took fifteen minutes longer than the usual time to finish, the CID and the army persons were here to ask lots of questions. Once I had a prayer meeting that took more than the usual time. The army commander (the chief of the camp nearby) was here with many soldiers and asked a lot of questions. I was asked to come to the camp several times to explain the reasons of the people's assemblies at the church on Sundays*" (Catholic priest, K).

As mentioned in the research methodology chapter, the army and the CID persons intervened in data collection. It mentioned how the Sri Lanka army was keen on keeping eye on the outsiders in the Vanni area. Additionally the participants of the survey hesitated to share their testimonies with an 'outsider' because they assumed the researcher to be a spy of the Sri Lanka army. All these stories have mentioned that the militarization is a constraint for the negative and the positive peace and the militarization has also become an instrument of masculine power to dominate the women. Further on, the masculine power of the army is not only an instrument to suppress the the feminine, but also an instrument to suppress the ethnic groups that are different from themselves. Referring to Confortini's argument, it can be argued that the masculine power does not only subordinate the women but also men in other ethnic groups (Confortini, 2006).

The fear of the presence of military in the Vanni area has affected to the everyday activities of the Vanni Tamil women and the community. The women have fears of moving alone if an army camp is set up in the village. This fear was so strong that it disturbed the everyday life activities of the ex-combatants. The ex-combatants said that they lived under the terror of army, fearing that the army could arrest them at any time in any place without a warrant. Though it is against the human and fundamental rights, these women believed that the army can do anything to them at any time. In that sense, the women have perceived themselves as

sexual objects that are vulnerable to the army domination. In addition, the women understood the army or the military as an omnipotent institution which was not under civil or humanitarian law.

The Vanni Tamil women were against any form of militarization. They did not accept the militarization policy of the LTTE. They mentioned the LTTE intervention into the everyday life. The area was full of the LTTE camps and armed rebellions and full of violence which challenged the survival, well-being, freedom and identity and the ten elements of rights in Galtung's theory of the positive peace (Galtung, 1967). They had a life full of terror and violence. The LTTE used the violence as a counter power to eliminate violence. For example, the women said that the LTTE had given capital punishment for rape and child abuse. The strict policy of the LTTE had caused to safe guard the women from sexual violence, a form of violence which occurred frequently under the military power of the Sri Lanka army. Though the LTTE produced the violence, the Vanni Tamil women justified that violence as helpful to keep the society free from violence. According to the stories of the Vanni women, the army is a collective power of Sinhala, Buddhist men. They realized that the army members can do any kind of violence against women and that violence could dishonour the women.

They have spoken against military violence, but they had to be careful when expression their opinion as the military presence was strong in the area. The space for their critical approach towards military violence can be ensured through the demilitarization policy, but they said the government has been slow to implement this policy. The militarization of the public space that restricts t the Vanni women's voice can be explained by referring to the argument of Confortini of the military as a patriarchal institution with a vertical structure with men on top and women on the bottom. And in that vertical structure, men and women with patriarchal political ideology legitimize the structural violence (Confortini, 2006).

The vertical public structure in the Vanni community has kept the women's voice against militarization at the bottom through the masculine power of the military. That masculine power has been established by the national political institutions as the Vanni Tamil women said and those political institutions reflect the patriarchal values which are obstacle to understand the real needs of Vanni women. The clash of patriarchal values and the feminist perspective is visible also in public administration.. Thereby the Vanni Tamil women has defined the public administration as a structural constraint which works against the negative and the positive peace.

The following discussion is to examine the view points of the Vanni Tamil women on public administration and how it is a constraint on negative and positive peace.

6.1.2. Central Administration System

Galtung argues that the violence built into the structure shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Inequality has developed in the structure which leads to the unequal distribution of resources. The power holders can decided the pattern of distribution and that distribution is not only materials or economic but also nonmaterial such as education, health care etc (Galtung, 1969). Confortini extends the argument of power holders in the structure referring to gender power. Confortini mentions that the masculine power in the structure and distribution system will cause discrimination and marginalization against women (Confortini, 2006).

This argument has been reflected in the narratives of the Vanni Tamil women related to the central administration system which replaced the LTTE military administration in 2009. The women said that in 2014, the central government has divided and shared the administrative tasks with the provincial and regional administration and the army withdrew their involvement with the civil administration. Though these three paradigm shifts can be seen in the administration system in the Vanni community, the Vanni Tamil women mentioned it as simply a change of actors more than the change of context in the administrating system. They said that the administration before 2009 centred on the hegemony of the LTTE and now it centred on the hegemony of the government and hegemony of administrators.

The absence of understanding of the people and the context are key constraints of the public administration in the opinion of the Vanni women. The women made complaints about the absence of women's sensitivity in the administration. The male actors in power have decided the policy for the war affected women without communicating and understanding their real needs. According to the Vanni women, the male actors in the public administration were inefficient and ineffective in resolving the burning issues in everyday life. These women said that they are in need of finding an income, compensation for the dead and disappeared people, rebuilding of the houses and ensuring education opportunities for children. But male and female actors with patriarchal values in the public administration have ignored these needs or paid little attention to implementing policies to fill these needs.

At the focus group discussion in Mullativu, the women revealed the difficulties in accessing administrators and communicating grievances, particularly the grievances related to the dead and disappearances during the wartime and the land issues after the war.

A woman in that focus group discussion strongly criticized the inefficiency of the public administration system;

"*I am a widow. My husband was lost in Vellamullivikkal, 2009. I have a number of tasks to do; house hold activities, taking care of children; bringing them to school; going for the parents meeting at school and finding some coolie to feed the children. So I have no time to waste in an AG office. When I went to apply for the compensation last time, the officer was not in his seat. It is difficult for me to return to the office at another time due to the things I have to do at home*"(Female, M). Another woman in the focus group discussion told about the difficulties in communicating and presenting the grievances in their everyday life. She said that "*Though I want to tell my grievances, I am a woman. I have some issues that I want to share in a confidential way. The AG office has no room to share the thoughts in a confidential way. I would like to share those with a female officer rather than a male officer*" (Females, M).

The women shared that the deaths and the disappearances during the wartime is a major issue and every one was seeking the 'truth'. Therefore, the women thought the public administration should help the truth seeker with opening access to the information, simplifying language in related documents and reducing the quantity of the documents. Their argument mirrored Galtung's ideology of ignorance as a structural violence (Galtung, 1969). Galtung writes, "When one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when 1 million husbands keep 1 million wives in ignorance there is structural violence " (Galtung, 1969,p. 114). In the case of the Vanni area, the women have been kept in ignorance by the male and female actors with patriarchal values in the public administration. In fact, these women's needs have been kept in ignorance by the government and its executive arm of the public administration.

In addition the women mentioned the difficulties in filling out and handing over the documents related to the disappearances. To them some questions are complicated. For example, the form to investigate the disappearances included the question of respondent consent either to continue the searching of the disappeared person or stop the searching. The

women asked, how can they agree to either continue or stop searching for them unless they clearly know what happened to the disappeared people. Many women mentioned the difficulty of collecting documents as legal evidences for the disappeared and dead in the wartime. They left the dead bodies beside the roads, in the fields or basically everywhere. They could not report to the civil administration (the post-mortem, the village officer) about the deaths. They pointed out the difficulties of providing the documents about unreported deaths for the compensation. The majority of the women mentioned that the compensation is essential to recover the family economy.

However, the documents for unreported deaths have become a barrier to access the compensation. The same difficulty was reported when claiming the property rights. Many women brought up the difficulty in demanding the land rights due to the issues of the documents. For more than two decades the Vanni land distribution had been administrated by the LTTE. Now the government has taken over the land administration and rejected the documents issued by the LTTE. The women said that they would cooperate with the land policy of the government, but they wanted to legalize the land documents issued by the LTTE. They highlighted that they lived on that land for more than three decades and they believed they had a right to live on the same land and had an objection to be removed from the land under the government land policy.

Aforesaid narratives relates with the theoretical reading of Galtung's on structural violence which hamper the need of bodily and psychological integrity, basic material needs, human rights and non-material needs (Galtung, 1969). The feminist aspect in the discussion is that the good life of the women has been denied by the government and the administration with male hegemony (Confortini, 2006). Confortini mentions Gramsci and Foucault in describing the male hegemony or gender power in the government and points out further that the male hegemony or gender power is a method of control (Confortini, 2006). Mentioning Confortini's male hegemony and gender power as a control method, this research argues that the difficulties with documents, complex procedure to apply for compensation and investigation for the deaths and disappearances is a method of control over the women and their intention to find out what happened to their beloved family members and others during the wartime. These complex processes have limited the space for these women's voice for peace.

After the comparison of the government and the LTTE administration, the women would prefer the LTTE as a corruption free, effective and efficient system. During the focus group discussion the women recalled the LTTE administration with smiley faces.

> *"The LTTE administration was efficient, bribery and corruption free and effective in solving the problems in the everyday life. For example, we had a very good medical care system. Each hospital had government trained doctors and two or three LTTE trained doctor. And also, the LTTE had the corruption and bribery free policy. If any incident was reported about corruption or bribery the LTTE would punish the perpetrator in public "*(Focus group, M).

The stories of the Women highlight the need for an administration as a system that is free of corruption and bribery and that functions on the principles of efficiency and effectiveness and promotes the equal distribution of resources. According to the women, the current administration system in the Vanni area is corrupt, inefficient and ineffective and violates the well-being, equality, freedom from want and justice for the community members. The women said that the corrupted, inefficient and ineffective public administrators intervened in the resource distribution for physical well-being in the Vanni community and made unequal access to the resources and deprived the opportunities to freedom from want and justice which are described in the theory of negative and positive peace (Galtung, 1967; Galtuhg, 1969). For example, the policy of compensation for the victims and survivors of the civil war was designed by the public administrators. In that case, the administrator has power to prioritize the names on the list of compensation. That power of the male administrators caused them to take briberies in forms of sex or finance which in turn can control the women (Focus group, M).

This research argues that when synthesizing the empirical and secondary data, the male hegemony in the government and the public administration has systematically deprived the good life of women. In the Confortini's argument, gender is a symbol of power relations that has caused control over women's lives, producing violence against women (Confortini, 2006). This research agrees with Confortini on the point that gender power produces violence against women. However, the thesis inclines toward the argument that gender power combined with the political power located in the governing system dominates the women and deprives them of a the public sphere where their grievances can be displayed. The thesis disagrees with Galtungs' on his view that women naturally tend to be peaceful (Glatung, 1967). In that way,

Galtung attempts to construct that men are naturally aggressive and women are naturally overcome by the men's aggressiveness or violence. Galtung's argument can be interpreted as if the peaceful nature of women tends to tolerate the violence. This research has shown that the Vanni Tamil women did not tolerate the violence in structure but they had no public space to bring forth their intolerance against violence. They have spoken up against the violence, but they have no public space because of the male hegemony in the public administration and the militarization as described above.

6.1.3. Uneven Distribution of Resources

The uneven distribution of resources is another constraint to peace producing violence as explained through the voice of the Vanni Tamil women. They mentioned that the uneven distribution of resources developed through the corrupted, inefficient and ineffective public administration. They further said that the uneven distribution of resources was visible in the policy of compensation for the victims and the survivors of the civil war. Additionally the uneven distribution has deprived them of the well-being in everyday life. Though the government has initiated the mega-level development projects they made little impacts in the well-being of everyday life and those projects are not addressing feminist needs. One example stated by the women is that the development focuses on the main transport system, but ignores the difficulties in the transport system inside the villages. Picture number 6.1. shows the difference between the main roads and the roads inside the villages.

 This photo shows the differences between the main road and the sub road in the Vanni area. As mentioned in the text, the Vanni women said that the development of the main roads has made little impact on their well-being in everyday life after the civil war.

Picture: 6.1: The main road and the roads inside the villages in the Vanni (Picture has been taken by the researcher, 2015)

The women identified the resource distribution at the end of the war as a method of constructing well-being and freedom (basically the freedom from want). The rudimental economic need expressed through the Vanni Tamil women voice was to make an income for the family. Many of the women highlighted the need for finical capital for self-employments.

In that case, the women rejected being dependent on aids, but wanted to initiate 'independent' income. Though they asked the government to provide initial capital as a policy of resource distribution for making independent income, the government ignored it. The government's ignorance in the policy of proving capital for the income generating projects was understood by the Vanni Tamil women as violence against the freedom from want. The ignorance of economic need has increased the poverty level in the area which has led   the women to find ways of living through ill-legal activities as the empirical data mentioned. They stated that some women brew *kassippu* (Molasses illicit) to feed the families and some women were in ill-legal employments like prostitution. This situation developed as the consequences of the poverty which came from the economic constraint.

The situations revealed above correspond to Galtung's argument of structural violence of ignorance (Galtung, 1969). The men in the positions that made decision that should lead to well-being in the area have ignored the basic human needs as expressed through the voice of the women Confortini argues that the structural violence of ignorance of women's needs is a form of violence that forces the women to do ill-legal activities in order to earn a living. Confortini's argument is on prostitution which is a consequence of poverty (Confortini, 2006). In the Vanni context, the women have become ill-legal alcohol producers due to the structural ignorance to fulfil their economic needs and providing physical well-being. Confortini mentions that the forced violence in the structure has deprived the choices and independence of the women in decision making. Confortini has identified that kind of violence as repressive policies (Confortini, 2006).

The repressive policies connect with exploitation which subordinates women and exclude their voice for peace (Confortini, 2006; Carroll, 1972). Berenice Carroll argues that the cult of power or the power of the system can influence the potentials (Carroll, 1972). Similar to Carroll, Galtung argues that violence has a power to influence the physical or psychological potential of human being (Galtung, 1967). The repressive policy is a system that influences the physical and psychological potential as well as exploits the physical and sexual potential of women with reference to the context of Vanni women's stories.

During the interview with a pastor in Killinochchi, the pastor pointed out that,

> "*The majority of the women are now vulnerable after the war. Many are widows who have no choice and capacity to feed the family. These women lived in a patriarchal structure that was dominated by men in breadwinning and decision making for the*

family. Now their men died during the wartime and no savings or anything is left to make a living for them. These women have labour power which can be used in farming and in constructing fields. But they were not paid enough for their labour power. The women cannot bargain, because then they will easily be replaced by some other women. Some men, especially army persons, used the women as sex workers. The women in sex work were never paid well" (Catholic pastor, K).

As Carroll argues, gender power in the Vanni structure has influenced the potential of women and lead to exploitation of them physically and sexually. Gender as a power in the structure was not able to make a space in the public sphere for the women's voice, nor was it sufficient to enable the women themselves to make this space (Carroll, 1972). The discrimination in making a space for their voice has increased as mentioned in the discussion of symbolic or cultural constraint.

6.2. Symbolic Constraints on Peace

Referring to Confortini, the symbolic constraints to peace in the Vanni context can be understood as the violence of patriarchal value system. Confortini mentions in the theoretical argument that gender is a social construction to maintain patriarchal value systems. Gender discourse distinguishes the men-women behaviour and helps to organize the way people think about the world (Confortini, 2006). Tickner mentions that "people thus come to see social reality as a set of mutually exclusive dichotomous categories in relationship of super/subordination one to the other" (Ticker, 1992, p.5). The theoretical argument of super/subordination division and gender-based thinking pattern consequent to violence can be found in the following empirical data of the Vanni women's stories. The super/subordination division and gender-based patriarchal values were displayed in the concepts of widowhood, female ex-combatants and gender based labour exploitation.

6.2.1.Widowhood

As the women said, the gender based standards against the widows appeared in the social integration. The patriarchal politics challenged the widows' integrating into the society as normal women. The difficulty in social integration developed into a violence against the well-being of the widows. For example, at the end of the civil war and at the very beginning of the resettlement, the majority of the widows were vulnerable in practical works like constructing

the temporary shelters, making the things for living and claiming the landownership. Many men were afraid to help these widows because of the society defining their help as male labour exchanged for sex. The people talked behind the backs of men who would help the widows. The people would say that the men helped the widows with the intention of having sex with them. The labour exchanged for sex is a form of violence against the widows which is accepted by both men and women in the Vanni community because of the patriarchal values in the society. The patriarchal values stigmatize these women twice, first as widows of combatants and then as woman who will exchange labour for sex. A story of the combatant widow mentioned how difficult it was being a widow in the Vanni community. *"I am a war widow. My husband was in the LTTE police. He died in a shell attack, 2009. Since that I have been living in this village. I have no friends; no social life. The women in my neighbourhood never want me to socialize with them"* (Female, M).

Though many Vanni Tamil women are war widows, non-widows have not understood the political incorrectness of the patriarchal politics in mistreating them as war-widows. In addition, the patriarchal politics caused the physiological violence and in some cases it formed the physical violence against war widows. The men tried to sexually and physically harass the war widows as the Vanni Tamil women mentioned. If a war widow cried out against the sexual and physical harassments, the society decides it is her fault due to her behaviour. As the Vanni Tamil women revealed, the war widows had to tolerate many forms of violence.

6.2.2. Female Ex-Combatant

The LTTE found the human resources from the Vanni area and Killinochchi and Mullativu were the hearts of the LTTE. The LTTE left Jaffna and moved their military and administrative basis to the Vanni area after 1997 (Wilson, 2000). Since that the Vanni men and women have been recruited to the LTTE. After the military defeated the LTTE, these men and women combatants in the movement were sent to the government rehabilitation camps. The majority of the male and female ex-combatants came back to the villages where they were born. As the Vanni Tamil women said, now these men and women have issues with re-integrating into the community. The female ex-combatants highlighted the frustration and hopeless economic difficulties in living in the village they were born. The ex-combatants perceived these issues of re-integrating to not only be a social constraint but also a political constraint. As mentioned above, the military power in the Vanni community have given no

space for the ex-combatants to share their thoughts and find understanding for what happened to them and to have freedom and right to live freely. The female ex-combatants told about how the community rejected them because the military kept an eye on their social connections and actions and they assumed that the community was afraid that the military would start scrutinizing their lives as well. The female ex-combatants in the Vanni area told that the community have seen them as dishonoured women as they have been in the army camps. "*The people suspected that we have been raped by the army and we are not women with sexual purity anymore*" (Female, M). The concept of sexual purity challenged the LTTE female ex-combatants image of independent and strong women. After the war the concept of sexual purity subordinated the women as a sexual object rather than a heroine that fought for the Tamil freedom. In the case of sexual objectification of the female ex-combatants it posed a challenged to the identity of being a normal woman.

The military terror and the sexual objectification constrained the voice of female ex-combatants related to the negative and the positive peace. These two constraints violated the survival, freedom and identity of the ex-combatants. In the theoretical discussion Confortini mentions that the masculine aspect in the military has objectified women and made the subordination status for women in the public space (Confortini, 2006).

6.2.3. Gender based Labourlabour Exploitation:

Gender based labour division is another social constraint in the opinion of the Vanni women. Numerous stories of the Vanni Tamil women contained the consequences of labour exploitation based on gender based labour division. As in the theoretical argument, gender based labour division is a symbol of super/ subordination and the hegemony of patriarchal value system over women. Many women said that they had been unpaid workers for the agro-business of the family or subordinated their labour power to the family. The unpaid labour or the subordinated labour status deprived them of their right to education and right to have a childhood. The girls were not allowed to receive schooling during the wartime. They were asked to stay home to help with domestic chores and to get married at a young age. The girls used to marry at a very young age and produced children. After the war many of these women have become the young war widows who are economic dependent and illiterate and have no employment skills. The women shared how these women had the responsibilities of taking care of the children and at the same time be the breadwinner of the family after the death of their husbands. In that case, they were subjected to being exploited when selling the labour

power for a day-today living and they had to play the domestic role at home as a guardian of the children.

As claimed by the Vanni women, the social constraint produced the violence against the negative and positive peace. The symbolic violence was a challenge to the physical and psychological well- being and freedom of the women and it constructed the secondary status for the women. Moreover, symbolic or cultural constraint has limited the space for the voice of women turning them into subordinators and excluding them from the public space as Confortini argues (Confrotini, 2006).

6.3. Personal Constraint on Peace

The personal constraint to peace in the Vanni women's voice is found in the domestic violence. According to literature personal violence occurs with subject (Galtung, 1967; Confortini, 2006, John, 2006). John argues that in a socialization process, the girl-boy dichotomy has given the gender roles for men and women and a woman in that process has been identified as a subject in the public and domestic sphere. And in many societies the girl is the second sex, 'the other'. Being the second sex, she has become the subject to be controlled in the domestic sphere (John, 2006). The second sex and the power of controlling have been extended to the domestic violence in the context of Vanni area. As discussed in the section about symbolic constraint, the woman in the Vanni community is the second sex, 'the other', and subject to male hegemony. The second sex, 'the other' argument is reflected in the context of the Vanni area as alienating the individual power of woman from her labour and body in the domestic sphere. She has been subjugated in the domestic sphere by the violence of a patriarchal value system.

The following story mentions how the domestic violence in a patriarchal system alienates the choices and power of the woman who has been in the LTTE movement, a movment which is considered as the emancipation movement of women. "I was in the LTTE movement. I did heavy work. I was in charge of the of the LTTE's store. When I got married, I left the movement and become a housewife. I have a daughter. My husband was a nice person. He has changed a lot now. He is an alcoholic. He beat me and was verbally and physically violent towards me" (Female, M). In her story she pointed out the connection of personal violence to structure which increased the violence against women "*When the LTTE was here, he could be punished for domestic violence. I am afraid of reaching out to the government officers in fear*

of what they could have done to my husband and also they have never taken the domestic violence seriously" (Female, M). She has perceived the LTTE, rather than the government, as a saviour from the domestic violence. Though the LTTE is a masculine organization, she has found it to be an organization that was sensitive to the needs of women. Her story can be used to argue that the male hegemonic government, as explained in the structural constraint, plays a role of ignoring the domestic violence which has caused to increase the domestic violence which victimizes the women. The Vanni Tamil women mentioned that the domestic violence remains in the society due to the minimum intervention of the government to regulate the violence, the acceptance of men as being naturally aggressive, the assumption that women should able to tolerate violence and lastly the man-woman super/subordination dichotomy found in the domestic sphere. In other words, the personal violence has increased due to structural and symbolic violence in the area.

6.4. Chapter Concluding Remarks

As a conclusion this chapter argues that the constraints discussed limit the space for the voice of the women even though they already have a voice for peace. Through n their stories it is revealed that they have no power to construct the space for their voice unless the structural, symbolic and personal constraints are being challenged through reforms. The constraints link to Galtung's discussion of violence and can be categorized as structural, symbolic and personal constraints (Galtung, 1967). However, trying to understand the nature of constraints through a gender lens challenges Galtung understands of men as naturally violent and women as naturally peaceful (Confortini, 2006; Reardon, 2002; Tickner, 2011). Additionally the gender lens makes it possible to understand the gender based double standards of these constraints against the war affected women in the Vanni area. Furthermore, the gender aspect identifies how the structural, symbolic and personal constraints are interconnected in producing violence and how violence becomes a masculine power and dominates the women in the public and personal sphere. According to the Vanni women, structural and symbolic violence have emerged through the government militarization and uneven distribution of resources and these policies reflect the masculine power. In the Vanni women's words, the men in the government have decided what is best for them, but they have never given the women the space to present their voice. They have further mentioned that the structural and symbolic violence have contributed to increasing the personal violence.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7. Introduction

How has peace been perceived by the Vanni Tamil women in Sri Lanka after 2009? What are the constraints on peace have been revealed in the opinions of the Vanni Tamil women? The research questions link to the research problem: *How has peace and a society free from violence been ensured for the war affected Vanni Tamil women after the end of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka in 2009*? The Vanni Tamil women have been living with violence and war for more than three decades. The contemporary peace literature has produced sufficient knowledge of peace building in Sri Lanka after 2009. However, there is a vacuum to be filled in the literature of the feminist perspective on violence and peace in the condition of win-lose or in the victors' peace.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 7.1 summarizes the findings of the research on peace and the constraints on peace as presented by the voice of the Vanni Tamil women. Section 7.2 describes the implications for future research and section 7.3 presents the policy implications.

7.1. Summary of the Findings

This research has found that peace is a context related substance. Peace has in Sri Lanka at the end of the civil war developed in the format of a victor's peace. According to the speeches of the political figures in the national politics the victors' peace brought forth by the good efforts of the Sinhala male soldiers safeguards Mother Sri Lanka and the Tamil men and women who been victims of the civil war. The safeguarding concept in the victor's peace has been rejected by the Vanni Tamil women highlighting that they are still living in a context full of structural, symbolic and personal violence. The structural and symbolic violence has been perceived as a project of subordinating Tamil women, depriving them of physical and psychological well-being, freedom, identity, as well as posing a threat to their survival. The subordination has emerged in the masculine power of the institutions like the military and the central administration. The exercise of masculine power has been determined by gendered politics in the area. The women and men in the military and public administration have been persuaded to exercise the masculine power over Tamil women and men. In that case,

masculine power is not a symbol of the male sex but a symbol of hegemony, super-ordination and subjugation of men and women in Tamil ethnic groups.

Another finding of the research is the feminisation of violence. The feminisation of violence goes beyond Galtung's discussion of sex based violence (Galtung, 1967). The women's stories of insecurity, uncertainty and the fear of be raped at any time and in any place cannot be reduced to as sexual violence. It is a form of violence and a form of male power over women's body and patriarchal domination over women's sprits (Carrol, 1989). The women's fear of being raped links to the male domination over the women's bodies. In addition the fear of living in the society as a raped woman connects to patriarchal domination over her sprit, dignity and social recognition. The stories of female ex-combatants reflect fear of isolation in society and the possibility of being raped by the Sri Lanka army serves as examples of the feminisation of violence. Galtung mentions that the ignorance of avoiding violence is also a form of violence (Galtung, 1967). Thereby the government has played a role in violence when ignoring and avoiding the violence which is accountable for increasing the feminisation of violence in the Vanni area. The feminization of violence has increased in the domestic sphere due to the minimal role of government intervention to stop domestic violence. The finding of increasing domestic violence as conveyed by the voice of Vanni Tamil women leads to the argument that the patriarchal governing institutions and politics have a poor sense of understanding when it comes to the real needs of the Vanni women. The poor understanding of the real needs of these women questions the government's connectivity with the war affected community.

The research has found that violence is a political strategy of the governing system. Violence is not only a strategy to subordinate Tamil women but also to dominate Tamil males. The narratives have highlighted the minimal role of the government in eliminating the violence. This supports their argument of violence as a governing strategy. This finding is a challenge to the morality and transparency of the government policy in peace building.

Gendered language is another finding of the research. The gendered language is a development of gendered politics to marginalize the voice of women (Confortini, 2006). The terminology of widow and widowhood is a form of marginalisation and reveals gender power used on the identity of woman. Her identity as a woman of a dead husband, i.e a widow, is stronger than her identity as simply a woman. The categorisation of women associating to

gender, ethnicity, race, caste and class has increased the structural, symbolic and personal violence against the Vanni women.

One of the important findings in the research is that to end the civil war is not an ultimate goal for peace, but rather to construct better living conditions and a violence free society. This supports feminist's arguments (Reardon, 1993; Confortini, 2006, Ticker, 1992). Based on this finding, peace needs to/can be modified to a means to reach the positive ends with respect to human rights, survival, well-being, freedom and identity. Further it can be mentioned that peace is a means to end violence and provide better living conditions with respect to survival, freedom, identity and well-being.

Though peace is possible to achieve, there are constraints on peace found in structural, symbolic and personal forms. The structural constraints of militarization, central based public administration and the uneven distribution of resources have developed as consequences of ethnic politics at the national level. The symbolic constraints and the personal constraints are interconnected and are developed from the structure. The masculine power in the structural constraints limits the space for the voice of Vanni Tamil women and consequently excludes the voice of Vanni Tamil women from the peace building process.

These research findings pave the way to open new paths to study peace further. The following discussion aims to understand the future research opportunities in the field of peace and feminist studies.

7.2. Implications for Future Research

This research is on the feminist epistemology of peace. The peace discourse connects to ending violence and maintaining a violence free society and constructing the positive peace with respect to survival, well-being, freedom, identity and trust building. The research argues that peace and violence are anti-theses, though well-connected theses in the feminist discussion of peace building.

The future research can develop in the stream of peace, violence and gender studies on the lines of perspectives, actors and contexts. This research has analysed the women's perceptions of peace. It can be extended to understand men's perspective on peace. It can further develop an understanding of peace from males of different ethnic groups. The research has been confined to understand the perceptions of peace and violence. However, future researches can

expand on peace and development, peace and equality, peace, participation and representation and peace and good governance.

In the case of actors, this research has been limited to the narratives of Vanni women. However, it can extend into future researches on the peace of central, provincial and local government actors and in-depth researches on civil society actors in the wartime and at the end of civil war in 2009. The role of civil society in the wartime has hardly been discussed in the current literature and it is worth to do a research on the civil society's engagement with avoiding the civil war. Additionally the military as an actor has many stories to tell about peace and its engagement with war and peace building after 2009.

This research has contextually been confined to the Vanni community. There are other contexts in Sri Lanka that have also been direct and indirect subjects of violence during and after the civil war. For example, the Muslim community in the Eastern regions and the Sinhala communities in the villages located at the boarders in the war areas are some of the contexts that can be used for the researches.

Based on the Vanni context and the narratives of the Vanni Tamil women, this research recommends the following policy implications.

7.3. Policy Implications

This research has attempted to initiate a critical discussion of peace in Sri Lanka after 2009, pointing to the opinion of the war affected women in Sri Lanka. The empirical findings have led to three types of policy implications: policy of institutional reforms, policy of economic reforms and policy of social reforms.

- ❖ **Policy of institutional reforms**;
  - The proposal for a new constitution can articulate the interests of war affected women and war affected people in the Vanni area. The constitution can entrench the chapter of fundamental rights, establish commissions to inquire disappearances and deaths and form a power sharing mechanism.
  - The state is in need of distinguishing between ethnic politics and power politics. Ethnic politics addresses the ethnic polarisation, but national politics can unify ethnic groups by the process of democratisation and the removal of majoritarian democracy from power politics.

- Demilitarisation is an important institutional reform for peace. Demilitarisation can be implemented by reducing the quantity of the army, eradicating the presence of the army in the northern and eastern regions, forbidding the army to engage with religious functions and advocating the army as a military organisation to work on the security task of the state and not the civil tasks of the government.
- Decentralization should be included in the institutional reforms. Decentralization diminishes the central government hegemony in the public administration and also it establishes the vertical and horizontal crossed up and downward communication between the civilians, the government and the administration. Public administration should follow the principles of transparency and efficiency, as well as women's sensitivity.

❖ **Policy of economic Reforms:**

- The policy of economic reforms can be located in the pattern of distribution. The distribution policy should disconnect with the ethnic politics and should develop as a provision to the everyday life. The economic policy should be able to bring forth the economic opportunities rather than making the mega level infrastructure development. For example, economic policy on agriculture can develop the well-being of the war affected community which is important to the peace.

❖ **Policy of social reforms:**

- The society should abolish the stereotyping of the women and widowhood. The stereotyping is possible to abolish by constructing an open discussion in the society. The civilians should condemn the stereotyping and objectification of women, the state should provide the legal support for the condemnation and the civil society should raise the awareness of condemnation and the civil support for it.

Hopefully the critical approach of this research of feminist aspect on peace and violence will not harm the Vanni Tamil women. The goal has been to give a space in the public sphere for the voice of the Vanni Tamil women who have dreams of peace and dreams of a society free from violence. Their testimonies commonly agree that peace is not simply a task of ending a civil war. Peace is also a means to achieve the violence free society.

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Appendix A- Pictures

Infrastructure Development in the Vanni area

Picture 2: 1.The Kilincochi- Mulativu road (A-35) **(Picture has been taken by the Researcher, 2015)**

Picture number 2.1. and 2.2. are examples of the development of infrastructure and agriculture in Kilinochchi . The impressive, tarmac road and the green paddy field symbolize the resuming of economy in Kilinochchi. The tarmac road is a government project of infrastructure development to make transportation infrastructure safe, efficient and economical in Killinochchi. The developed transport system is significant in order to establish the normality and economic development in the war affected communities. The green paddy field represents the reviving of normal work in the war affected communities. The two Pictures are parables of moving the war affected areas and communities towards the normal everyday lives associating the government reconstruction and recovery projects.

Picture 2.2. Green paddy field in Killinochchi **(Picture has been by the Researcher, 2015)**

Photo 2.3. Rail way from Colombo to Jaffna (photo has been taken by the researcher, 2015).

Photo 2.3. has been taken at Mankulam train station in Mullativu , 2015. It is a sign of the Northern railway life of Sri Lanka that erupted on 1990. The train that went from Colombo to Jaffna on 13 June 1990 could not return to Colombo till early 2015 because the LTTE set off explosion and caused destruction to the Northern railway track and train station. The reconstruction project of the GOSL has rebuilt the Northern line with the collaboration of India which is providing technical knowledge and financial assistance. The reconstructed Northern railway indicates the unification of North and South and it makes the everyday transport easy and brings normal life to the war affected communities.

Symbolic Violence found in Killinochhci- A city of Hope?

Picture 2.4. The Water Tank- A symbol of the war destruction in Kilinochhci (Picture has been taken by the researcher, 2015)

The Picture 2.4. of the destroyed big water tank in the middle of Kilinochchi city center demonstrates the destruction of the LTTE and it condemns the rebirth of the terrorism. However, it encourages the revenge of the Sinhala community over the Tamil community as they have not seen the clear difference of the LTTE and the Tamil community. It is important to display the terror of the civil war in a neutral war. The erupted water tank in the middle of Kilinochchi city center can be interpreted as a war victory of the Sri Lanka army that encourages the Sinhala army triumphalism over the Vanni Tamils in the area. The symbol of army triumphalism in Killinochchi raises the questions of who has peace and what peace exists in Kilinochchi and who has hope for peace?

It is contradiction to define Kilinochchi as a city of peace when there is symbolic violence and military present in the city. It is contradiction to define Kilinochchi as a city of peace when there is symbolic violence and military present in the city.

Picture 2.5.   The war memorial plaque in Kilinochchi (Picture has been taken by the researcher, 2015)

Picture number 2.5 is a symbol of military victory and military power over the Tamil community in the Vanni area. It symbolises the military ownership of the Vanni territory. The military presence is psychological torture for the Vanni community and symole of masculine power (Confortini, 2006).

Picture 2.6. The War memorial Plaque in Vellamullivikka, Mullativu (Picture has been taken by the researcher, 2015)

This Picture was taken in Vellamullivaikkal, Mullaitivu in 2015. The memorial plaque informs about the military power in the Vanni area. Vellamullivaikkal is the geographical place where the civil war of Sri Lanka came to end. Thousands of people died and got seriously injured in the last stage of the civil war (The United Nations, 2011). However, there is no single memorial to remember these people, only memorials to remember the victory of the Sri Lanka army. It implies that the reconciliation and recovery process in the Vanni area is not victim or survivor centered.

Appendix B- Documents

Guidelines of semi-structured interviews

Basic information

    I.   Name

    II.   Age

    III.   Education level

    IV.   Occupation

    V.   Village

    VI.   Marital status

    VII.   How war has been affected your life?

Everyday life

    VIII.   How is your everyday life? Working? Your hobbies? Your family?

    IX.   How long you have been living in the area

    X.   Are you an internal migrant?

Peace and Everyday life

    XI.   How do you define/ understand the peace after the war?

    XII.   Who works on peace building of everyday life in the area?

    XIII.   Have you ever got involved with the government peace building in the area?

    XIV.   How you can be involved with peace building in order to your understanding?

UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

Letter- University of Agder, Norway

Kristiansand, 16 November 2015

To whom it may concern

Request for permission to conduct research in Killinochchi District, Sri Lanka

Ms. Aruni Samarakoon is a M.Sc. student in Development Management program at the University of Agder, Norway, from 2014-2016. Students of M.Sc. program are requested to conduct research on subject relevance topic as a part of the program. Ms.Samarakoon has chosen a research topic on the contribution of war affected Northern Tamil women to the peace building of post-conflict Sri Lanka. The empirical data of the research has been planned to collect in Killinochchi district, Sri Lanka from November 2015 to January 2016. The research sample encompasses interviews and focus group discussions with five political figures at national and local level, the district divisional secretariats and divisional secretariats of Killinochchi district, and two other administrators, five civil society actors, thirty war affected Northern Tamil women and five to ten female ex-combatants.

This research is to realize the academic objective of fulfill the requirements of M.Sc. program and to generate new knowledge. The researcher obligates to keep the information confidential and respect the identity, trust and belief of informants.

I hereby request your permission to conduct and collect the data from the war affected areas in Sri Lanka and expect your fully support.

Thank you

Sincerely,

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