



**Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement –
Policy and Practice**

Edited by
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**Forced to Move:
Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement –
Policy and Practice**

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Priyanthi Fernando, Karin Fernando and
Mansi Kumarasiri**

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The **Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA)** was established in 2001 as an independent institute providing professional services on poverty related development issues. CEPA provides services in the areas of applied research, advisory services, training, and dialogue and exchange to development organisations and professionals. These services are concentrated within the core programme areas that currently include: Poverty Impact Monitoring, Poverty and Conflict, and Poverty Assessment & Knowledge Management. (www.cepa.lk)

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Foreword

CEPA's annual symposium on poverty has now become a regular notable event in the intellectual calendar of Sri Lanka. Over the years, participation in the symposium, which focuses on a particular aspect of poverty every year, has expanded. Although the main language of the symposium is English, simultaneous translation of the proceedings into Sinhala and Tamil has contributed to opening up the event and the body of knowledge to a wider audience. This year's symposium attracted over 80 people including researchers, academics, policy makers, university students, media personnel and representatives of development agencies, interested and involved in displacement and resettlement issues.

The 9th symposium focused on involuntary displacement and resettlement. Large scale resettlement of people is nothing new to Sri Lanka. Irrigation of the dry zone and settlement of people in these areas became a significant development strategy of this country, some of it starting in the colonial period. The more significant projects were implemented in post-colonial Sri Lanka. The Accelerated Mahaweli Project remains one of the largest development projects ever undertaken by Sri Lanka.

As the papers in the volume show, in recent times, involuntary displacement has become complicated. A number of factors have contributed to it. The civil war that has ravaged the country for more than two decades, the 2004 tsunami and large scale infrastructure projects have resulted in displacement and resettlement. In other words, Sri Lankan displacement has been due to conflict, natural disasters and development. This raises a complex set of issues both in understanding the processes behind displacement, and in the search for policies and practices that deal with involuntary resettlement. It is therefore important to take into account different contexts in which displacement occurs while also being conscious that varying resettlement policies and programmes can potentially aggravate inequities among different affected groups as well as among their host communities. This volume is a contribution to this debate on improving policies and practices for all forms of displacement and resettlement.

Sunil Bastian
Former Chairman, CEPA

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Common Threads in Resettlement Policy and Practice

1 Introduction

Sri Lanka has had a long history of people being displaced, voluntarily or involuntarily, with generations of families having had to deal with the repercussions of being relocated and resettled. Displacement and resettlement issues have been on the agenda in the recent past because of three phenomena that have had a significant impact on Sri Lanka: the war between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the tsunami of December 2004 and the big infrastructure projects (mainly irrigation, power and transport) of the last three decades. Displacement and resettlement is likely to continue. The advent of peace requires the resettlement of women, men and children displaced due to the fighting; the predicted increases in natural disasters and climate threats point towards dislocation of people living in vulnerable environments; and a development agenda heavily driven by infrastructure is more than likely to require addressing the resettlement needs of those displaced by development projects.

Any resettlement process is rife with dissension between the affected people and the implementers; the affected people struggle to make the best out of a bad situation, while the state or project implementers struggle to deal with the contradictions of (re)construction and resettlement and issues such as supplying basic needs, handling long term livelihoods restoration, and trying to be transparent and equitable in delivery. Resettlement processes have limited financial or human resources and are often not fully planned. Implementers learn through trial and error, but the learning acquired is often lost once the resettlement is completed and rarely transferred to other contexts or institutions. Resettlement policy can play an important role in giving structure and accountability to resettlement processes.

CEPA has worked on resettlement issues in development induced displacement and displacement due to conflict, and has participated as advisors and evaluators in post-tsunami resettlement activity. The discourse and practice of resettlement in each of these situations is different, with the result that the conversations about implementation principles and processes and the issues of equity, transparency and accountability that govern them are being discussed in distinctly separate forums. CEPA hosted a symposium on the theme *Forced to move: involuntary displacement and resettlement – policy*

and *practice* to bring together on a single platform policy makers, practitioners and researchers from the areas of conflict induced, development induced and natural disaster induced displacement and resettlement. The symposium aimed to explore what is common as well as different in their approaches and to work towards greater effectiveness and equity in resettlement through examining lessons learnt and best practice.

This edited volume comprises a range of papers that look at different aspects of resettlement from the perspective of livelihood restoration, vulnerability and ensuring equitable and participatory processes. They include examples from development induced displacement and resettlement in the construction of the expressway from Colombo to Matara and from improvements to storm water drainage in the Lunawa basin; tsunami reconstruction and resettlement of fishing families and of poor, urban female headed households; and issues relating to people displaced by Sri Lanka's internal conflict that focus on livelihood impacts, relationships with host communities and more epistemological issues of defining and finding solutions to problems of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). In this introductory chapter we aim to bring together some key learnings from the papers, and from the discussions that they stimulated which we hope will be of use to those involved in all stages of resettlement – implementing, planning and policy making.

2 Typologies of Resettlement

Resettlement is a response to displacement, or involuntary movement. Displacement is forced migration, where people move because of an external shock – whether it be a development project, a natural disaster or civil conflict. The shock sets in motion a displacement that is not always predictable, for which a starting point can be established, but the end point is less clear. Does displacement end when certain types of services are provided, when livelihoods are restored, when a certain time has lapsed or when people return to their original homes? Different types of displacement require different resettlement responses. These are described below.

Development induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) occurs as a result of human driven economic activities, mainly related to large scale infrastructure projects such as irrigation, power and roads. This type of displacement tends to be justified on the grounds of the greatest good for the largest number, and is often supported by the international financial

institutions, such as the World Bank. It is assumed that all potential alternatives have been considered and displacement is the last resort. There is a consciousness, within the international institutions in particular, of the risks of impoverishment to those displaced, and this has led to resettlement practice that aims to address these risks. The risks are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, decrease in health levels, loss of access to common property assets and community articulation (Cernea, 2000). The Sri Lanka National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP) has been influenced by this discussion.

Conflict induced displacement and resettlement (CIDR) occurs as a result of human conflict. CIDR starts at the point of an onset of violence and transitions into a phase when people flee the area of conflict and establish themselves in temporary shelters or camps where their basic needs are provided for until such time as they are able to relocate permanently into new areas or move back into their original locations. Displacements due to conflict are rarely preventable, outside of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Resettlement practice is focused on providing 'care and maintenance' during the transition phase, and searching for 'durable solutions' that will either integrate displaced people into the host communities, or return them to their original homes.

Natural disaster induced displacement and resettlement (NIDR) is caused by natural or environmental disasters. These disasters are said to be the leading cause of displacement worldwide (Muggah, 2008) and those displaced are sometimes called environmental or climate refugees. There is debate as to whether what is considered a natural disaster is purely ecological, or a function of human activity (e.g. land degradation, pollution). The practice of dealing with natural disaster induced displacement can take the form of early warning risk management, as well as post disaster emergency and restoration. Like with CIDR, those affected by natural disasters can be resettled in new or safer locations, or helped to return to their place of origin. It is also possible to have preventive activities that can help reduce the vulnerability of the people who live in disaster-prone natural environments.

Whatever the cause of the displacement, some level of service provision is required to normalise and restore people's lives and to put in place durable solutions – to compensate for losses, address vulnerabilities and rebuild lives and livelihoods. The separation of displacement and resettlement into the three categories described above means that resettlement practice, the discourse that informs it and the institutions that deliver the service are

compartmentalised and there are few opportunities to develop common guiding principles. In this chapter we will try to bridge the three discourses and pull out some common concepts based mainly, but not exclusively, on the presentations and discussions that took place at the 9th Annual Symposium on Poverty Research in Sri Lanka on the subject *Forced to Move: involuntary displacement and resettlement - policy and practice*.

3 Restoring Livelihoods

Involuntary displacement, whether due to development projects, natural disasters or conflict, are disruptive of livelihoods and one of the now accepted tenets of resettlement is the commitment to restore these livelihoods to at least the levels that existed prior to displacement. Much of the rhetoric is, however, to 'build back better'.

There are several issues about livelihood restoration that resettlement policy and practice need to take into account. In Chapter 1 of this volume Amirthalingam and Lakshman suggest that the drop in incomes for those displaced by the violence of a conflict is likely to be more significant than it is for those displaced by development activity, because they have no time to plan their evacuation and organise the removal of their assets. This is also true for natural disasters where there is limited early warning. Assets such as livestock, household equipment and food stocks are immovable in conflict and disaster situations whereas notification of evacuation from development projects often supports the relocation of these assets, including sometimes building materials. In practice though, development induced displacement can happen relatively suddenly if notice to evacuate is not well communicated or well understood; and the nature of the resettlement 'package' determines how much of the assets can be moved to the new locations. Despite being provided with early notification of eviction, people displaced by the Southern Transport Development Project also comprised those whose assets could not be moved. They included a horticulturalist who could not relocate his trees, and a cattle owner who had to receive special dispensation to relocate his herd.

A second issue about livelihood restoration that forms the basis of Amirthalingam and Lakshman's paper is the obvious one that livelihoods are not homogenous, and that the potential for restoration varies according to the type of livelihood that is affected. For instance, where livelihoods are dependent on labour, recovery is greater where the labour and skills have a

high demand in the new, host location. This was also true of skilled labourers resettled due to the Southern Transport Development Project (STDP). Agricultural labourers and fishermen find it difficult to restore their livelihoods if they are displaced to locations of considerable distance from their agricultural lands or fishing areas, or when these areas are inaccessible for security or other reasons. Home based enterprises, largely the domain of women, take time to regain a new clientele. Where livelihoods are dependent on capital and entrepreneurship, the loss of these assets can severely depress the individual or household's ability to continue their livelihood activity. Formal sector waged employment, especially in government, provides the most stable form of livelihood, sustainable even with displacement. Restoration programmes need to consider the impact on different livelihood portfolios of the displaced, irrespective of how the displacement occurred.

Some of the principles adopted by the resettlement implementation plans of development induced displacement (e.g. the Southern Transport Development Project) have helped mitigate livelihood impacts. One is the principle of resettling within close proximity to the original location, a principle that is not as easily adopted in displacement due to conflict. [In conflict situations though, 'resettlement' takes on two meanings: there is the original displacement due to the conflict, often to resettlement camps that are by definition if not in practice, temporary; and the second is the resettlement to the place of origin post-conflict.] However, as Kumarasiri discusses in her paper (Chapter 1), even this impact has not been uniform, with other factors influencing the recovery process. For instance, those who lost larger tracts of cash crop agricultural land were able to recover more rapidly than smaller land holders who were more demotivated by the displacement. Another critical factor for recovery of livelihoods is the time taken to address livelihood needs. Where displaced families have had to concentrate on rebuilding their homes before they could think about their livelihood, the period of recovery becomes protracted, especially where the livelihood is linked to home-based production.

Development induced resettlement practice also tends to compensate heavily for loss of livelihood assets; so even though commercial property owners among the displaced in the Southern Transport Development Project have been relatively impoverished in the short term, they have been able to use their compensation to restore their livelihoods. The greater the value of their original assets, the higher the compensation and greater the likelihood of achieving past livelihood levels.

Gunewardene and Wickremasingha's study (Chapter 1) of the social and economic impacts of resettlement on tsunami affected coastal fishers indicates the importance of livelihoods being restored in a manner that takes into account long term sustainability. The widespread provision of boats, nets and other fishing equipment has alerted the fishing industry to the potential destruction of fishing stocks from over fishing, while the types of boats and nets provided has led to a reduction in Beach Seine Fishing (*maa del*), a traditional artisanal community based fishing method which needs a specialised locally made net. This has had considerable impact on the livelihoods of the fisher community in terms of loss of labour work.

The following issues are thus critical to the restoration of livelihoods:

- The existence of early warning and preparedness for displacement (possible in cases of development induced dislocation, and to some extent through recognition of the vulnerability to disasters).
- The understanding of the differential impact of displacement and resettlement on different livelihood groups and the ability to address these different impacts with a varied portfolio of compensation that can also adequately compensate for the loss of livelihood assets.
- The time taken to address livelihood needs in the face of other priorities (e.g. restoring the home).
- The possibility of relocation in close proximity to the place of displacement, to minimise disruption to social and economic networks and markets.
- The need to assess the long term sustainability of restored livelihoods, and to recognise how interventions can influence the different factors that affect a household's livelihood portfolio.

4 Vulnerability

The process of displacement can be particularly difficult for those who are already vulnerable (the poor, the elderly, people with disabilities) and it can also create new vulnerabilities because of loss of livelihoods, adverse impacts of displacement on mental and physical health, friction with host communities, as well as other factors.

The focus on vulnerability also highlights issues of who becomes the target of external assistance. In a context where vulnerability exists in the host communities of people resettled due to conflict, development, or natural disaster, many of the tensions between resettled populations and their host communities, arise when the concept of vulnerability adopted by external agencies focuses only on the displaced and does not extend to those already living in the surrounding areas.

Often this goes hand in hand with the process of 'labelling' or categorising people as 'internally displaced persons' (IDPs) in the case of those dislocated by the conflict, 'affected people' in cases such as displacement due to the construction of the Southern Expressway, or 'tsunami-affected' or 'drought-affected' labels where displacement is because of natural disasters. 'Labelling' helps define who the dislocated are. According to Brun (Chapter 2) labelling and categorisation can have different effects: it can homogenise the people made vulnerable by dislocation and fail to recognise the inherent differences among them; it can privilege them in relation to other groups of people not labelled in the same way; it can localise them by establishing their status as people from a particular place; and it can contribute to the politicisation of the resettlement process. Brun makes these observations from her study of Muslims evicted from the North by the LTTE and resettled in Puttalam, but the same can be true of other displaced people. The term 'affected people' used in the development induced and natural disaster contexts implies passivity and disregards the active agency of those who have been resettled.

As Brun observes, categorisation is necessary if we are to interrogate displacement in all its forms, but we need to be aware that it could lead to fixing people in a role and contribute to tensions, especially tensions between host communities and the resettlers. The paper by Thalaysingam (Chapter 2) explores how the labelling of IDPs and the protracted nature of this displacement challenges the traditional notions of vulnerability. It examines the relationship between IDPs and host communities in the Puttalam district and the conflicts that arise between host and IDP communities when only certain vulnerabilities are recognised and catered for. CEPA's experience with resettlement due to the construction of the Southern expressway shows that these tensions are present in some of those locations as well. Caron's paper (Chapter 3) in this volume provides examples of how a host community challenged the resettlement of some groups of people in their midst because they considered the displaced persons to be of lower social status.

CEPA's work on monitoring resettlement activity of the Southern Transport Development Project provides some insights on how vulnerability is dealt with. The institutional framework for dealing with resettlement has the capacity to address vulnerabilities that have been identified as existing prior to land acquisition, through payment of special allowances and the provision of non-monetary support. It has less space to address the vulnerabilities created by the project. The project focuses on physical displacement and those who are categorised as 'affected' have typically lost houses or land, or have been subject to construction related impacts. The institutional mandate and capacity to deal effectively with the vulnerability of those people who were not physically 'affected' but who lost their livelihoods or who are affected by the loss of common property (i.e. water sources) for example or changes to the environment (e.g. flooding due to blockage of local irrigation works) were much weaker when compared with the focus on 'affected persons'.

In the STDP, different vulnerabilities (women, the elderly, and the disabled) were identified and the tendency to homogenise vulnerability through the provision of a single allowance was avoided by working on a case by case basis. On the other hand, narrow categorisation (e.g. limiting the analysis of gender issues solely to female headed households), has precluded dealing with other groups of vulnerable people such as women engaged in home based livelihoods. The 'affected people' have been able to reduce their vulnerability by using their compensation and other support received to increase their financial and fixed asset base, make good investments and strengthen their networks. Vulnerability increased when people lost the stability of their income sources, when networks broke up, and there were problems of illness to cope with, in addition to the trauma of resettlement.

Vulnerability can be discussed from different perspectives, and the above discussion is far from exhaustive. However, it highlights some important issues such as:

- The value and the dangers of categorisation, and the need to examine the categories in the international discourse.
- The importance of considering the relationships between the displaced persons and their host communities. Humanitarian and development agencies need to recognise that categorisation of IDPs or 'affected persons' usually excludes dealing with vulnerability in the host communities and could thus result in tensions.

- Development projects often create groups of vulnerable people outside of the dual categorisation of affected people and hosts (i.e. people who did not lose physical assets, those affected by construction and those made vulnerable after resettlement). The mandate and capacity of agencies dealing with resettlement need to be broadened to deal with these groups of people.
- One of the better practices of dealing with vulnerability is to engage with people on a case by case basis. If people are able to use the compensation and assistance provided to increase their assets and strengthen their networks, they are likely to reduce their post-resettlement vulnerability.

5 Equitable and Participatory Processes

The preceding discussion suggests that one of the values of categorisation is to identify who is (and who is not) entitled to benefits that accrue from government or non-governmental sources, even though that demarcation itself can be problematic and create tension. The issue of equity arises from how these categories are defined. Caron's paper (Chapter 3) is based on research with urban poor households displaced by the tsunami and shows how existing policy and practice can result in considerable inequity. The concepts of the Tsunami Housing Policy, and the administrative practice of its implementation tend to discriminate against single women, non-marital cohabiting couples and some ethnic and social groups. Judgement is left to the local government officials, usually the Grama Niladhari, to categorise the beneficiaries. Under the policy, encroachment has been regularised, but women with housing deeds in their own name have often been disregarded in the allocation of new houses. Another difficulty for the urban poor has been the process of self-resettlement. Insufficient compensation to purchase land in close proximity to their original residence has forced some families to move out of the district. Caron also shows that some of the displaced have failed to obtain their total entitlements because illiteracy and low levels of education prevent a good understanding of the documents and procedures involved.

In contrast, de Silva and Gunatilleke (Chapter 3) on the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Committee (LARC) process instituted by the Southern

Transport Development Project, provides a description of a positive institutional arrangement, one that delivered the entitlements of those who were displaced by the project. The design of LARC is based on two important principles: compensating at 'replacement value' and providing space for affected persons to understand the basis for the compensation decisions, influence the decisions made in relation to their case and present any grievances relating to the compensation process or amount. LARC was not without its problems. Documentation was woefully inadequate and as a result, there was some concern about the transparency and fairness of the process. The process did however provide people whose land was acquired with compensation based on replacement value, which increased their capacity to replace their lost land and assets. People considered it a more equitable and participatory process and as such it has helped avoid, to a large extent, large scale grievances regarding compensation that could have resulted in court cases and project delays.

The Lunawa Environment Improvement & Community Development Project (Chapter 3) took an innovative approach and incorporated participation into the design of the project from the beginning. The resettlement here took place under the statutory laws of Sri Lanka, but the whole process of determining compensation, designing resettlement sites and effecting relocation was carried out in a consultative and participative manner. Hewawasam suggests that the final result of this process was that the relocation of residents in the Lunawa Basin happened 'voluntarily' rather than 'involuntarily' – they no longer felt that they were being forced to move.

There are several issues that arise from the discussion on equity and participation processes:

- It's a fact that equity does not mean homogenising the displaced population and providing a 'one size fits all' solution. Rather, it means having the capacity to understand the differences between different displaced social groups and to be able to cater to their particular needs and capacities. This was the basis for LARC.
- It is important that implementers are gender and poverty sensitive, and that they understand thoroughly the difficulties faced by poor people and women, especially those with little human and social capital.
- The LARC process and the process adopted by the Lunawa project both indicate that the government delivery mechanisms can be flexible and innovative and that it can be done in a way that allows for a more equitable and participatory process.

6 Conclusions

The papers in this volume aim to capture the differences that exist among different types of resettlement and the complex issues that have to be dealt with in order to put resettlement processes in place. Bringing together diverse perspectives to one platform helps profile the common principles that need to be followed if resettlement is to address issues of equity in the delivery, the restoration of people's livelihoods, and the physical infrastructure of their living environment. The discussion points to the possibility of drawing up overall guiding principles that can be applied across the different forms of resettlement.

In terms of practice, the varied cases captured in this compilation highlight the range of complexities and social issues that have to be considered. They include issues of pre and post resettlement, short term and long term, as well as those arising from procedures adopted, relationships with host communities and the wider social, economic and political context. It is expected that this publication will add to the growing body of knowledge on resettlement policy and practice, and that it will contribute positively to influencing the way these policies and practices are designed and implemented both within and across the different types of displacement and resettlement.

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ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් හා ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ පොදු ආදර්ශයන්

1 හැඳින්වීම

ස්වේච්ඡාවෙන් හෝ නිසඟයෙන් අවතැන්වීම නිසා පුද්ගලයින් නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේ හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනගතකිරීමේ ප්‍රතිවිපාක පිළිබඳ දිගු ඉතිහාසයක් අප සතුව ඇත. සුවිශේෂී වූ සිද්ධි තුනක් නිසා අවතැන්වීම හා නැවත පදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ ගැටළු ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට බලපා ඇත. මෙම සිද්ධි නම්, පසුගිය දශක තුන තුළ ශ්‍රී ලංකා ආණ්ඩුව සහ දෙමළ ඊළාම් විමුක්ති කොටි සංවිධානය (LTTE) අතර පැවති යුද්ධය, 2004 දෙසැම්බර් සුනාමි අවස්ථාව හා මහා පරිමාණ යටිතල පහසුකම් ව්‍යාපෘතීන් (ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් වාරිමාර්ග, විදුලිය හා ප්‍රවාහනය) වේ. අවතැන්වීම හා නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම ඉදිරියටත් සිදුවනු ඇත. සාමය ළඟාවීමත් සමගම යුද්ධය නිසා අවතැන්වූ කාන්තාවන්, පිරිමින් හා ළමයින් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනගත කිරීම අවශ්‍යව ඇත. අනාවැකි පළකර ඇති ආකාරයට වර්ධනය වන ස්වාභාවික විපත් හා දේශගුණික විපර්යාසයන් නිසා අවධානමට ලක්විය හැකි පරිසරයන්හි ජීවත්වන්නන් අවතැන් වියහැක. ඊට අමතරව වැඩි වශයෙන් යටිතල පහසුකම් ප්‍රධාන කොටගත් සංවර්ධන න්‍යාය පත්‍රයක් තුළ සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති නිසා අවතැන්වුවන්ගේ යළි පදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් ඇති කරයි.

ඕනෑම ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියක බලපෑමට ලක් වූ පුද්ගලයන් සහ ක්‍රියාකරුවන් අතර මතභේද බහුලව තිබේ. එනම් බලපෑමට ලක්වූ පුද්ගලයන් නරක තත්වයෙන් හැකිතාක් හොඳ තත්වයකට ඒමට වෙරදරන විට රජය හෝ ව්‍යාපෘති ක්‍රියාකරුවන් (නැවත)ගොඩනැගීම සහ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය අතර ප්‍රතිවිරෝධතාවයන් තේරුම් ගැනීමට හා මූලික අවශ්‍යතාවයන් ලබාදීම, දිගුකාලීන ජීවිකා වෘත්තීන් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීම, වින්විදුභාවයෙන් හා සාධාරණත්වයෙන් සේවාවන් සැපයීම වැනි ගැටළු සඳහා විසඳුම් සොයා ගැනීමට උත්සහ කරති. ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලීන් සීමිත මූල්‍ය හා මානව සම්පත් වලින් යුක්තවන අතර බොහෝවිට සම්පූර්ණ වශයෙන් සැලසුම් නොකළ එකකි. ක්‍රියාකරුවන් අත්හදා බැලීම් හා වැරදීම් තුළින් ඉගෙනගන්නා නමුත් එමගින් ලබා ගන්නා ඉගැනුම් බොහෝවිට එම ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලිය අවසන් වූ පසු වෙනත් සන්දර්භයකට හෝ වෙනත් ආයතනයකට මාරුවීමක් සිදුවන්නේ කලාතුරකිනි. ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියක් සඳහා ව්‍යුහයන් සහ වගවීමසහගතභාවයක් ලබාදීමේදී ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ප්‍රතිපත්ති වැදගත් භූමිකාවක් රඟ දක්වයි.

CEPA ආයතනය සංවර්ධනය හේතුවෙන් සිදුවන අවතැන්වීම් සහ ගැටුම නිසා අවතැන්වීමේදී මතුවන ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ගැටළු පිළිබඳව ක්‍රියාකර ඇති අතර පශ්චාත් සුනාමි නැවත පදිංචිකරවීමේ ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වලදී උපදේශකවරයෙකු හා ඇගයුම් කරන්නෙකු වශයෙන් සහභාගී වී තිබේ. මෙම ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය හා සම්බන්ධ කතිකාවත හා ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම අවස්ථාවන් අවස්ථාවට වෙනස් වේ. මෙහි ප්‍රතිඵලයක් වශයෙන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ මූලධර්ම හා ක්‍රියාවලීන් සහ ඒවා පාලනය කරන්නාවූ සාධාරණත්වය, විනිවිදභාවය හා වගවීමසහගතභාවය හා සම්බන්ධ ගැටළු පිළිබඳ සාකච්ඡාවන් එකිනෙකට වෙන් වූ

වේදිකාවන් තුළදී සිදුවේ. CEPA ආයතනය අකමැත්තෙන් අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවත පදිංචිකරවීම- ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ භාවිතයන් මාතෘකාකරගෙන සංවිධානයකල සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේදී ගැටුම්, සංවර්ධනය හා ස්වාභාවික ආපදා හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීම හා නැවතපදිංචි කිරීමේ තේමාවන් යටතේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදකයින්, විශේෂඥයන් සහ පර්යේෂණකරුවන් එක වේදිකාවක රැස්විය. සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේ අරමුණ වූයේ ඔවුන්ගේ ප්‍රවේශවල පොදුතාවයන් මෙන්ම වෙනස්කම් සහ උගත් පාඩම් හා යහපත් භාවිතයන් අනුකලනය හරහා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීමේදී වඩාත් කාර්යක්ෂම හා සාධාරණව ඉදිරියට වැඩ කළ හැකි ආකාරය පිලිබඳව අනාවරණය කර ගැනීමයි.

ජීවිකාවන්ගේ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය, අවදානම්සහගතභාවය හා සාධාරණ සහ සහනාගීන්ව ක්‍රියාවලීන් තහවුරු කිරීම යන පර්යාවලෝකනය හරහා නැවත පදිංචි කිරීම පිලිබඳ වෙනස් වූ දෘෂ්ටික්ෂේප මෙම සංස්කරණය කරන ලද වෙළුමේ අඩංගු ලිපි මාලාවෙන් සොයා බලයි. මෙම ලිපි පෙළෙහි, කොළඹ සිට මාතර දක්වා වූ අධිවේගී මාර්ගය ගොඩනැගීම තුල හා ලුණාව දෝණියේ වැසි ජලය ඉවත් කිරීම වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම වැනි සංවර්ධනය මගින් අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවත පදිංචිකිරීම; සුනාමි නැවත ගොඩනැගීම සහ ධීවර පවුල් සහ දුප්පත් ග්‍රාමීය ස්ත්‍රී මූලික ගෘහකුටුම්භ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය; ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ අභ්‍යන්තර ගැටුමට සම්බන්ධ ජීවනෝපායික බලපෑම් හා ධාරක ප්‍රජාව අතර සම්බන්ධතාවයන් සහ අභ්‍යන්තර අවතැන්වූවන්ගේ ගැටළුවලට විසඳුම් අර්ථකථනය කිරීමේ හා සොයාගැනීමේ වැනි ඥානවිභාගී ගැටළු පිලිබඳ නිදසුන් රැලක් ලිපි පෙළක් ඇතුළත් වේ. මෙම හදුන්වාදීමේ පරිච්ඡේදය තුළින් මෙම ලිපි පෙළෙන් දැක්වෙන මූලික පණිවිඩයන් හා එම ලිපි මගින් සාකච්ඡාවලින් ඉස්මතු වූණු මූලික කරුණු එකට එක් කිරීම අපගේ අරමුණ වේ. මෙය නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය හා සම්බන්ධ සියළුම ස්ථරයන්ට අයත් වන්නන්ට ප්‍රයෝජනවත් වේ යැයි අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමු.

2 නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම පිලිබඳ ආකාරයන්

ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය වනාහි අවතැන්වීම හෝ නිසඟ ඉවත්වී යාමකට ලබා දෙන පිලිතුරයි. අවතැන්වීම වනාහි බලෙන් සිදුකරනු ලබන සංක්‍රමණයයි. එනම් පුද්ගලයින් බාහිර කම්පනය හේතුවෙන් පදිංචිය වෙනස් කිරීමයි. මෙය සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති, ස්වාභාවික ආපදා හෝ සිවිල් ගැටුම් නිසා සිදුවිය හැකිය. බොහෝවිට අවතැන්වීම්වලට පටන් ගැනීමක් ස්ථාපිත කළ හැකි නමුදු එහි අවසානය එතරම් පැහැදිලි නොවේ. විවිධාකාර සේවාවන් ස්ථාපිත කිරීම, කාලයක් ගතවීමෙන් පසු ජීවිකා වෘත්තීන් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීම හෝ පුද්ගලයින් ඔවුන්ගේ මුල් නිවාසවලට ආපසු පැමිණීම යන කරුණු වලින් අනතුරුව අවතැන්වීම අවසන් වේද? විවිධාකාරයේ අවතැන්වීම් සඳහා විවිධාකාරයේ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන අනුකූලතාවයන් අවශ්‍ය වේ. එය පහත විස්තර කර ඇත.

සංවර්ධනය හේතුවෙන් ඇති වන අවතැන්වීම් හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය (DIDR) හටගන්නේ ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් මහා පරිමාණයේ වාරිමාර්ග, විදුලිය හා මහාමාර්ග වැනි යටිතල පහසුකම් ව්‍යාපෘති හා සම්බන්ධ මිනිසුන්ගේ ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වල ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙසය.

බහුතරය සඳහා උපරිම යහපත යන තේමාව පාදක කොටගෙන මෙවැනි අවතැන්වීම් සාධාරණීකරණයකට වාඩි හැකියාවක් ඇති අතර ලෝක බැංකුව වැනි ජාත්‍යන්තර මූල්‍ය ආයතනද මෙයට බොහෝවිට සහයෝගය දක්වයි. මෙයින් හැඟෙන්නේ සුදුසු විකල්පනයන් පිළිබඳව සැලකිලිමත්විය යුතු බව හා අවතැන්වීම සැමවිටම අවසාන විකල්පවිය යුතුබවයි. අසරණවීමේ අවධානමක් අවතැන්වූවන්ට තිබේ යැයි සංජානනයක් අන්තර්ජාතික ආයතන අතරේ පවතින අතර, මෙම සංජානනය එම අවධානයන්ට පිළිතුරු සැපයීම අඩංගු කරගත් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියකට මඟ පාදා ඇත. ඉඩම් අනිමි වීම, රැකියාවන් නැතිවීම, නිවාස අනිමි වීම, ආන්තිකරණය, ආහාර සුරක්ෂිතභාවය නැතිවීම, සෞඛ්‍ය මට්ටම් පහළ යාම, ප්‍රජාවට අයත් වත්කම්වලට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය හා සාමූහික අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම අවහිරවීම එම අවධානම් අවස්ථාවන් වේ (වර්නියා, 2000). ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය පිළිබඳ ජාතික ප්‍රතිපත්තිය (NIRP) මෙම සාකච්ඡාව විසින් බලපෑමට ලක් වී ඇත.

මානව ගැටුම්වල ප්‍රතිඵලයක් වශයෙන් ගැටුම් හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම (CIDR) හටගනී. ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය හටගැනීමත් සමඟ ඇතිවන ගැටුම් හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම වෙනත් අවස්ථාවකට පරිවර්තනය වන්නේ ස්ථිරවම අලුත් ප්‍රදේශවල හෝ ඔවුන්ගේ මුල් වාසස්ථානවල පදිංචි කරන තෙක් ඔවුන්ගේ මූලික අවශ්‍යතාවයන් ලබාදිය හැකි තාවකාලික නිවාස හෝ කඳවුරුවල පදිංචිවීමෙනි. ගැටුම් නිරාකරණය හා සාමය ගොඩනැංවීමට පරිබාහිරව ගැටුම් නිසා ඇතිවන අවතැන්වීම් වැළැක්විය හැක්කේ කලාතුරකිනි. විපරිවර්තන අවධියේදී 'සැලකිලිමත්වීම සහ නඩත්තු කිරීම' හා අවතැන්වූවන් ධාරක ප්‍රජාවට අනුයුක්ත කිරීම හෝ ඔවුන් ඔවුන්ගේ මුල් පදිංචි ස්ථානයන්ට නැවත යැවීම සම්බන්ධ කරගත් 'කල්පවන්නා විසඳුමක්' උදෙසා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලිය යොමුව ඇත.

ස්වාභාවික ආපදා හේතුවෙන් සිදුවන අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවතපදිංචි කිරීමට හේතුව වන්නේ ස්වාභාවික හෝ පරිසරාත්මක ආපදාවන්ය. මෙම ආපදාවන් ලොව පුරා අවතැන්වීම ඇති කරවන ප්‍රධානතම හේතුව ලෙස හැඳින්වෙන අතර (මහා,2008) ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවල මේ ආකාරයට අවතැන්වූවන් පරිසරාත්මක හෝ දේශගුණික සරණාගතයින් ලෙස ද අර්ථ දක්වයි. ස්වාභාවික ආපදා ලෙස අර්ථ දක්වන්නේ හුදු පාරිසරික හෝ මානව ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයක්ද නැතිනම් මානව ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයේ කෘත්‍යයක්ද (උදා:- ඉඩම්වල එළදායීතාවය පහත වැටීම, පරිසර දූෂණය) යන්න පිළිබඳව විවාදයක් පවතියි. පෙර අනතුරු ඇඟවීම්, අවදානම් කළමනාකරණය හා පශ්චාත් ආපදා හදිසි තත්වයන් හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය ස්වාභාවික ආපදා සඳහා විසඳුම් සැපයීම වශයෙන් දැක්විය හැකිය. මෙම ස්වාභාවික ආපදාවලින් බලපෑමට ලක්වූවන් සංවර්ධනය හේතුවෙන් ඇති වන අවතැන්වීම් හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය මෙන් අලුත් හෝ ආරක්ෂාකාරී ස්ථානවල නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම හෝ ඔවුන්ගේ ප්‍රකෘති ප්‍රදේශවල නැවතපදිංචි කරවීමට උදව් කළ හැකිය. මෙය වැළැක්වීමේ සුදුසු උපායමාර්ගයක් ලෙස, විවිධ ආපදාවලට නැඹුරුවක් ඇති ස්වාභාවික පරිසරයක් තුළ ජීවත්වන පුද්ගලයන්ගේ අවදානම් සහගතභාවය අඩු කිරීමට උත්සහ කළ යුතු වේ.

අවතැන්වීමේ හේතුව කුමක් වුවත්, පුද්ගලයන්ගේ ජීවන රටාව සාමාන්‍ය තත්වයට පත්කිරීමට හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීමට සහ අතිමි වූ දේ සදහා වන්දි ගෙවීම, අවධානම් සහගත තත්වයන්ට විසදුම් සෙවීම සහ ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිත හා ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් නැවත ගොඩනැගීමට හැකි වන ආකාරයේ කල්පවත්නා විසදුම් සැපයීමට නම් යම් මට්ටමක සේවා සැපයීමක් අවශ්‍ය වේ. අවතැන්වීම හා නැවත පදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ විභේදනය ඉහත දැක්වූ ආකාරයට අංශ තුනකට වෙන් කිරීමෙන් සිදු වන්නේ නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේ භාවිතාව සහ සේවා සපයන ආයතන එක එක කාණ්ඩවලට බෙදීම නිසා පොදු මූලධර්මයන් ගොඩනැගීමට ඇති ඉඩකඩ අවම වීමයි. ඉහත දැක්වූ තුන් වැදෑරුම් කතිකාවත එකට යා කිරීමට සහ නිසඟයෙන් අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම, ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ භාවිතය තේමා කොටගත් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දර්ද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණයේ විෂය වූ 9 වන වාර්ෂික සමුළුවේදී සිදුවූ ඉදිරිපත්කිරීම් සහ සාකච්ඡාවන් තුළින් ඉස්මතු වූ පොදු සංකල්පයන් හුවා දැක්වීමට මෙම පරිච්ඡේදයෙන් උත්සහ කරයි.

3 ස්වාභාවික ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීම

සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති, ස්වාභාවික ආපදා හෝ ගැටුම් යන මොනයම් හේතුවක් නිසා හෝ සිදුවන අවතැන්වීම් මගින් ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් කඩාකප්පල් වන අතර නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳව දැනට පිළිගත් මතය නම් පැවතුණු මට්ටම්වලට මෙම ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් නැවත ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීමට කැපවීමයි. කෙසේවෙතත් සුලභ මතය නම් 'වඩා යහපත් තත්වයකට නැවත ගොඩනැගීමයි'.

ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීම පිළිබඳව අවධානයට ලක් කළ යුතු කරුණු කිහිපයක් ඇත. සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් නිසා ඇතිවන අවතැන්වීම්වලට වඩා ප්‍රවණ්ඩකාරී ගැටුම්වලින් සිදුවන අවතැන්වීම් වලදී ආදායම පහත වැටීම වඩාත් සුවිශේෂී වන බව අමර්තලිංගම් සහ ලක්ෂ්මන් යන අයගේ සොයාගැනීම විය. මීට හේතුව වන්නේ, ඔවුන්ට ඉවත්වීමට සහ ඔවුන්ගේ දේපළ ඉවත් කර ගැනීමට සැලසුම් කිරීමට ඔවුන්ට කාලය නොමැති වීමයි. මෙය ස්වාභාවික ආපදාකරුවන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් ද සත්‍ය වේ. මක්නිසාදයත්, ඔවුන්ටද ඇත්තේ සීමාසහිත අනතුරු ඇඟවීමේ කාලයකි. සමහර දේපල එනම් පඳු සම්පත්, ගෘහ උපකරණ හා ආහාර ගබඩා ආදී වත්කම් ගැටුම් හා ආපදා අවස්ථාවලදී රැගෙන යා නොහැක. නමුත් සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති මගින් ඉවත් කිරීමේ නිවේදනයක් සමග බොහෝවිට ගොඩනැගිලි ද්‍රව්‍ය ඇතුළත්ව මෙවැනි වත්කම් නැවත ස්ථානගත කිරීමට උදව් කළ හැක. එහෙත් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේදී සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති නිසා අවතැන්වීමේදී ඉවත් කිරීමේ නිවේදනය හොඳින් සන්නිවේදනය හා තේරුම් නොගැනීම නිසා නව ස්ථානගත කිරීම සාපේක්ෂව ක්ෂණිකව සිදුවිය හැකි අතර වත්කම් කොපමණ ප්‍රමාණයක් රැගෙන යා හැකිද යන්න පිළිබඳ තීරණය කෙරෙන්නේ නැවතපදිංචි කිරීමේ 'පැකේජයයි'. දකුණු ප්‍රවාහන සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතියෙන් අවතැන් වූ පුද්ගලයන්ට කල් ඇතුළුව ඉවත් කිරීමේ නිවේදනයන් නිකුත් කළද වත්කම් රැගෙන යා නොහැකි අයද ව්‍යාපෘතියෙන් අවතැන්වූවන් අතර සිටියෝය. මොවුන් අතර ගස් වෙනත් ස්ථානයකට ගෙන යාමට නොහැකි වූ උයන් වතු පාලකයෙකු සහ සිය ගව පට්ටිය වෙනත් ස්ථාපයකට නොහැකි වූ ගව අයිති කරුවෙකුද විය.

මෙම පරිච්ඡේදයේ අමර්තලිංගම් සහ ලක්ෂ්මන්ගේ ලිපිය පදනම්ව ඇත්තේ ජීවිකා වෘත්තීන් සජාතිය නොවේය යන්න සහ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය සඳහා ඇති ඉඩකඩ බලපෑමට ලක්වී ඇති ජීවිකාවෘත්තීයේ ස්වාභාවය අනුව වෙනස්වන බවයි. උදාහරණයක් වශයෙන් ශ්‍රමය මත පදනම් වන ජීවිකා වෘත්තීන් නව ධාරක ප්‍රජාව තුළ ශ්‍රමය හා කුසලතා සඳහා වැඩි ඉල්ලුමක් පැවතී නම් ඉක්මනින් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනයට හැකියාව ඇත. කෘෂිකාර්මික ශ්‍රමිකයින් සහ ධීවරයින්ට ඔවුන්ගේ කෘෂි බිම්වලට හෝ ධීවර ප්‍රදේශවලට ඔවුන් අවතැන්වී සිටින ප්‍රදේශයේ සිට සැලකිය යුතු දුර ප්‍රමාණයක් තිබුණහොත් හෝ ආරක්‍ෂක හෝ වෙනත් හේතූන් සඳහා එම ප්‍රදේශවලට ප්‍රවේශ වීමට නොහැකි වුවහොත් ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීම ගැටළුකාරී බව සොයාගෙන ඇත. විශාල වශයෙන් කාන්තාවන් විසින් පාලනය කරන ගෘහස්ථ ව්‍යාපාරයන්ට අලුත් ගනුදෙනුකරුවන් නැවත එක්රැස් කිරීමට කාලයක් ගත වේ. ප්‍රාග්ධනය හා ව්‍යවසායකත්වය මත පදනම් වූ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන්වල මෙම වත්කම් අහිමිවීම ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් කරගෙන යාමට පුද්ගලයෙකුට හෝ පවුලකට ඇති හැකියාව බරපතල ලෙස අවම කරයි. විධිමත් අංශයේ වැටුප් ගෙවන රැකියාවන්, විශේෂයෙන් රාජ්‍ය අංශයේ රැකියාවන් අවතැන්වීමත් සමග වුවද දිගටම කරගෙන යා හැක. අවතැන්වීම කොයි ආකාරයට සිදු වුවද ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය වැඩසටහන් අවතැන්වීමට ලක්වූ පුද්ගලයන්ගේ විවිධ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන්ගේ ආකෘතියට ඇති කරන බලපෑම පිළිබඳව සැලකිලිවය යුතුය.

සංවර්ධනය හේතුවෙන් සිදුවන අවතැන්වීම්වලදී (උදා:- දකුණු ප්‍රවාහන සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතිය) ක්‍රියාත්මක වන නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම් සැලසුම විසින් පිළිගත් සමහර මූලධර්ම අවතැන්වීමෙන් ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන්වලට ඇති කරන බලපෑම අඩුකර ගැනීමට උදව් වේ. මින් එකක් නම්, මුල් ස්ථානයට වඩාත් සම්පව නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේ මූලධර්මය වන නමුත් එය ගැටුම හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීමේදී එතරම් වඩාත් පහසුවෙන් යොදා ගැනීමට නොහැකිය. ගැටුම් අවස්ථාවේදී, 'නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම' අර්ථ දෙකක් ගනී. මින් පළමු වැන්න භාවිතයේදී කෙසේ වෙතත් නිර්වචනයේදී බොහෝවිට තාවකාලික ලෙස සිදුවන නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමයි. දෙවැන්න පශ්චාත් ගැටුම් අවස්ථාවේදීම මුල් ස්ථානයේම පදිංචි කිරීමයි. නමුත් කුමාරසිරිගේ ලිපියේ සාකච්ඡා කරන ආකාරයට (1 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) අනෙකුත් හේතූන් නිසා ප්‍රකෘති තත්වයකට පත්වීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය ඒකාකාරී නොවන අතර එයට විවිධ කරුණු බලපායි. උදාහරණයක් වශයෙන්, අවතැන්වීම විසින් වඩාත් මන්දෝත්සාහි වූ කුඩා ඉඩම් අයිතිකරුවන්ට වඩා විශාල වශයෙන් වගා කළ කෘෂිකාර්මික බිම් අයිතිකරුවන් ඉක්මනින් ප්‍රකෘති තත්වයකට පත් වේ. ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් ප්‍රකෘති තත්වයකට පත්කර ගැනීම සඳහා මූලික වන අනෙක් කරුණ වන්නේ, ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන්වල අවශ්‍යතා ආමන්ත්‍රණය කිරීමට ගතවන කාලයයි. තමන්ගේ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් ගැන සිතීමට පෙර නිවාස නැවත ගොඩනැගීම සඳහා අවධානය යොමු කළ යුතු අවස්ථාවන්හිදී විශේෂයෙන් එම ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් ඔවුන්ගේ නිවාස පදනම් කරගත් නිෂ්පාදන හා සම්බන්ධ වේ නම් යථා තත්වයට පත්වීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය දිග්ගැස්සේ.

සංවර්ධනය හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීමේදී වන්දි ලබාදීමේ භාවිතාව නැඹුරුවන්නේ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීය වත්කම් අතිම වීම සඳහා වන්දි ලබාදීමටය. එබැවින්, දකුණු ප්‍රවාහන සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතියේදී අවතැන් වූ වාණිජ දේපළ හිමි අය කෙටිකාලීනව සාපේක්ෂ දුප්පත්වීමක් වුවද ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනයට ඔවුන්ගේ වන්දි මුදල් භාවිතා කිරීමට හැකිවිය. ඔවුන්ගේ මුල් දේපළවල අගය වැඩි වන තරමට ලැබෙන වන්දි මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය වැඩි වන අතර පසුගිය ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් මට්ටම්වලට ළඟා කර ගැනීමට ඔවුන් සතු හැකියාව වැඩි වේ.

දිගු කාලීන නිරසාරභාවය පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කරමින් සිදු කෙරෙන ජීවිකාවෘත්තීය ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනයේ වැදගත් කම සුනාමියෙන් බලපෑමට ලක්වූ මුහුදුබඩ ධීවරයින් නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේදී ඇතිවන සමාජ හා ආර්ථික බලපෑම පිළිබඳව ගුණාවර්ධන හා වික්‍රමසිංහ යන අයගේ අධ්‍යයනයෙන් (1 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) පෙන්වනු ලබයි. මහා පරිමාණයෙන් සිදුව ඇති බෝට්ටු සහ දැල් සහ අනෙකුත් ධීවර ආම්පන්න ලබාදීම හේතුවෙන් හැකි ප්‍රමාණය ඉක්මවා මාළු ඇල්ලීම නිසා සිදුවිය හැකි මාළු තොග අඩු වීමේ ප්‍රවණතාවය පිළිබඳ ධීවර කර්මාන්තයට අනතුරු ඇගවීමක් ලැබී ඇත. සපයා ඇති බෝට්ටු සහ දැල්වල ස්වාභාවය නිසා විශේෂයෙන් දේශීයව නිෂ්පාදිත දැලක් භාවිතා කරන සාම්ප්‍රදායික මාළු ඇල්ලීමේ ක්‍රමවේදයක් වන මාදැල් කර්මාන්තය අවමවී ඇත. කුලී රැකියා අතිමවීම නිසා ධීවර ප්‍රජාවේ ජීවන වෘත්තීන්වලට මෙය සැලකිය යුතු බලපෑමක් කරයි.

ඒ අනුව ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන්ගේ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීමට බලපාන විවේචනාත්මක පහත දැක්වෙන ගැටළු වැදගත් වේ.

- යම් මට්ටමකට අනතුරු ඇගවීම් පැවතීම හා අවතැන්වීම සඳහා ඇති සුදානම (සංවර්ධන හේතුවෙන් සිදුවන අවතැන්වීම්වලදී හා අපද්‍රවලට ලක්වීමට ඇති අවදානම පිළිගැනීම මගින් යම් තරමකට සිදු කළ හැක)
- විවිධ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් කණ්ඩායම්වලට අවතැන්වීම හා නැවතපදිංචි කිරීමෙන් ඇතිවන විවිධ බලපෑම් තේරුම් ගැනීම සහ ජීවිකාවෘත්තීය දේපළ අතිමවීම සඳහා ප්‍රමාණවත් වන්දි ගෙවීම.
- ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනයේ අනෙක් ප්‍රමුඛතාවලට (උදා:- නිවාස ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය) මුහුණ දීමේදී ජීවිකාවෘත්තීය අවශ්‍යතාවන් ආමන්ත්‍රණය කිරීමට කාලයක් ගතවේ.
- අවතැන්වූ ප්‍රදේශයට වඩාත් කිට්ටුවෙන් නැවත පදිංචිවීමෙන් පෙර නිකුණු සමාජ ආර්ථික ජාලය හා වෙළඳපොළ අතර අවහිරතාවයන් අවම කරගත හැකිය.
- ප්‍රතිස්ථාපිත ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන්හි දීර්ඝකාලීන නිරසාරභව මෙන්ම මැදිහත්වීම මගින් ගෘහයක ආකෘතියට ඇති කරන විවිධාකාර වූ බලපෑම හඳුනාගෙන අධ්‍යයනය කළ යුතුය.

4 අවධානමට ලක්වීම.

දුප්පත්, වැඩිහිටි, ආබාධ සහිත පුද්ගලයන් වැනි දැනටමත් අවධානයට ලක්වී ඇති පුද්ගලයන් සඳහා අවතැන්වීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය බොහෝදුරට අපහසු විය හැකිය. එසේම අවතැන්වීමෙන් ඇතිවන මානසික හෝ ශාරීරික සෞඛ්‍ය තත්වයකින් පීඩා විඳීම, ජීවිකාවෘත්තීන් අහිමි වීම හා ධාරක ප්‍රජාව සමග ඇතිවන ගැටීම් නිසා අවතැන්වීමෙන් පසු නව අවධානම් සහගත තත්වයන් ඇතිවිය හැකිය.

අවධානමට ලක්වීම පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කිරීමේදී බාහිර සහයකකයින්ගේ ඉලක්කගත කණ්ඩායම් විය යුත්තේ කවුරුන්ද යන්න හඳුනා ගැනීම වැදගත් වේ. ගැටුම, සංවර්ධනය හෝ ස්වාභාවික අපද්‍රා නිසා නැවතපදිංචි කළ ප්‍රජාව අතර මෙන්ම ධාරක ප්‍රජාව අතරද අවධානමට ලක්විය හැකි පුද්ගලයන් බොහෝවිට සිටියි. එවැනි අවස්ථාවන්වල ආයතන මගින් අවතැන් වූ අවධානයන්ට ලක්වූ පුද්ගලයන් පමණක් මූලික කරගත් වැඩසටහන් ධාරක ප්‍රජාවටද ව්‍යාප්ත නොකිරීම තුළ එම කණ්ඩායම් දෙක අතර ආතතීන් ඇතිවීමට හේතු වේ.

බොහෝවිට මෙම ගැටුම් පුද්ගලයින් 'නාමකරණය' හෝ කාණ්ඩගත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියන් සමග එනම් ගැටුම නිසා 'අභ්‍යන්තර අවතැන්වූවන්' ලෙසත් දකුණු අධිවේගී මාර්ගය ගොඩනැගීමට අවතැන්වීමකදී 'බලපෑමටලක්වූවන්' ලෙසත් ස්වාභාවික ආපදා හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීම නිසා 'සුනාමියෙන් බලපෑමටලක්වූවන්/නිසඟයෙන් අවතැන්වූවන්' ලෙස හැඳින්වීමට සම්බන්ධය. 'නාමකරණය' මගින් වෙනත් ස්ථානයක පදිංචි වූයේ කවීරුන්ද යන්න හඳුනාගැනීමට පහසුවූවන් ඔවුන්ට අනුව (2 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) නාමකරණය සහ කාණ්ඩගත කිරීමෙන් විවිධ බලපෑම් ඇතිවිය හැක. එය අවධානමට ලක්වූවන් වෙනත් ස්ථානයක පදිංචි කිරීමේදී ඔවුන් සජාතියකරණය කරන අතර ඔවුන්ගේ නෛසර්ගික විවිධත්වයන් හඳුනාගැනීමට අපොහොසත් වේ. එසේම අනෙක් කණ්ඩායම්වල පුද්ගලයන් ඒ ආකාරයටම නාමකරණය නොකිරීමෙන් එයින් අවතැන්වූවන්ට පමණක් වරප්‍රසාදයන් ඇති කරදිය හැකි අතර එම ප්‍රදේශවල පුද්ගලයන් වශයෙන් අවතැන්වූවන් ස්ථාපනය වීමේදී ඔවුන්ව වෙනත් තැනකින් ආ පිරිසක් ලෙස හඳුන්වා දෙනු ලැබේ. එමගින් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලිය දේශපාලනීකරණකයට යොමු වේ. ඔන් මෙම නිරීක්ෂණයන් කරනු ලැබුවේ LTTE සංවිධානය විසින් උතුරෙන් පිටමං කළ පුත්තලමේ පදිංචි වූ මුස්ලිම් ජාතිකයින් පිළිබඳව කළ අධ්‍යයනයකිනි. නමුත් මෙය අනෙකුත් අවතැන් වූ පුද්ගලයන් සම්බන්ධයෙන්ද සත්‍යයක් විය හැකිය. සංවර්ධනය හේතුවෙන් සහ ආපදා හේතුවෙන් අවතැන්වීමේදී යොදා ගන්නා 'අවධානයට ලක්වූවන්' යන පදය අකර්මණ්‍ය අර්ථයක් දෙන අතර ඔවුන් තුළ සිටින ක්‍රියාකාරී නියෝජිතයින් නොසලකා හරිනු ලැබේ.

බුන්ගේ නිරීක්ෂණයට අනුව, සෑම ආකාරයකටම අවතැන්වීම අනුකලනය කිරීමට හැකිනම් කාණ්ඩගතකිරීම සුදුසු වේ. එමගින් අවතැන්වීම වඩාත් දෘෂ්‍යමානව දැක්විය හැකිය. නමුත් එමගින් ඔවුන්ව යම්කිසි භූමිකාවකට තිර කිරීම හෝ ආතතීන් සම්පාදනය කිරීමට (විශේෂයෙන්ම ධාරක ප්‍රජාව හා නැවත පදිංචි කළ ප්‍රජාව අතර) හේතුවන බව දැනුවත්ව විය යුතුය. මෙම වෙළුමේ තලයසිංහම් විසින් රචිත ලිපිය (2 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) මූලික වී තිබෙන්නේ, පුත්තලම දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ IDP හා ධාරක ප්‍රජාව අතර ඇති සම්බන්ධතාවයයි. එමගින් IDP ලෙස නාමකරණයේදී සහ දිග්ගැස්සුණු අවතැන්වීම්වලදී සාම්ප්‍රදායිකව අවධානමට ලක්වීමේ ක්‍රම අභියෝගයට ලක් කරන්නේ කෙසේද යන්න විමසා බලයි. මෙහිදී පුත්තලම දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ IDP හා ධාරක ප්‍රජාව අතර ඇති සම්බන්ධතාවය සහ ඇතැම් අවධානයට ලක්විය හැකි අවස්ථා පමණක් නදනාගෙන ඒ සඳහා අවශ්‍යතාවයන් ඉටු කිරීමේදී ඇති වන ගැටුම් අධ්‍යයනය කරයි. දක්ෂිණ අධිවේගී මාර්ගය ගොඩනැගීමේදී නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ CEPA ආයතනයෙහි අත්දැකීමෙන්ද, පෙනී යන්නේ මෙම ආතතීන් ගැටුමෙන් අවතැන්වීමෙන් පමණක් ඇති නොවන බවත් අවතැන්වීම සහ නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ වෙනත් අවස්ථාවලදී ද ඉදිරිපත් වන බවත්ය. මෙම වෙළුමේ කැරොන්ගේ ලිපියේදී (2 වන පරිච්ඡේදය), ධාරක ප්‍රජාව ඔවුන්ගේ අදහසට අනුව අවතැන්වූ පුද්ගලයන් පහළ සමාජ මට්ටමක අය බව සලකමින් ප්‍රතිස්ථානගත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියට අභියෝගයක් වූ අවස්ථාවකට උදාහරණයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරයි.

දකුණු ප්‍රවාහන සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතියේ නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් CEPA ආයතනය විසින් විපරම් කර බැලීමේදී, අවධානමට ලක්වීම පිළිබඳව වඩා විනිවිදව දැකීමට අවස්ථාව සැලසීය. අවධානයට ලක්වූවන්ට විශේෂ දිමනා ගෙවීම සහ මූල්‍යමය නොවන සහනයන් සැපයීම හරහා නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ ආයතනික රාමුවට ඉඩම් අත්පත් කරගැනීමට පෙර සිට පැවති අවධානම් තත්වයන් ආමන්ත්‍රණය කිරීමට හැකියාවක් ලැබී ඇත. නමුත් එයට ව්‍යාපෘතිය විසින් නිර්මාණය කරන ලද අවධානමට ලක්වීම් ආමන්ත්‍රණය කිරීමට ඇති අවකාශය අඩුය. ව්‍යාපෘතිය අවධානය යොමු කරගන්නේ භෞතික අවතැන්වීම් පිළිබඳ වන අතර, මෙහිදී බලපෑමට ලක්වූන් ලෙස සලකන්නේ නිවාස සහ ඉඩම් අහිමිවූ හෝ ඉදිකිරීම් සම්බන්ධව 'බලපෑමට ලක්වූවන්' පිළිබඳවය. භෞතිකව 'බලපෑමට ලක්නොවූ' නමුත් ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිතා වෘත්තීන් අහිමිවූ හෝ පොදු දේපළ (උදා:- ජල සම්පත) අහිමිවීම නිසා බලපෑමට ලක්වූ පුද්ගලයන් (උදා:- පාරිසරික වෙනස්වීම්, ප්‍රාදේශීය වාරිමාර්ග ක්‍රමයේ අවහිරතා නිසා ඇතිවන ගං වතුර ගැලීම් ආදී) පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කිරීමට එහි තිබූ ආයතනික වරපත්‍රය හා හැකියාව ඉතා දුර්වලය.

දකුණු ප්‍රවාහන සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතිය තුළ, විවිධ අවධානමට ලක්වූවන් (කාන්තාවන්, වැඩිහිටියන් හා ආබාධිතයන්) හඳුනාගත් අතර සැමට සරිලන එක් දීමනාවක් වෙනුවට එක් එක් පුද්ගලයන්ගේ අවස්ථාවට අනුව දීමනා දීම තීරණය කිරීම හරහා සජාතීයකරණයකට ඇති නැමියාව වලක්වාලිය. අනෙක් අතට, අවධානයට ලක්වූවන් පිළිබඳ පටු වර්ගීකරණයන්, (උදා:- ලෙස සිත්‍රි පුරුෂ සමාජභාවය ගැටළු විශ්ලේෂණය කාන්තා මූලිකත්වයට පමණක් සීමා කිරීම) නිවාස මූලිකරගත් ජීවිතා වෘත්තීන් අතිමිච්ච වැනි වෙනත් අවධානයට ලක්විය හැකි අවස්ථාවන් හඳුනාගැනීම වළක්වාලයි. ඔවුන්ට ලැබුණා වන්දි මුදල හා වෙනත් උපකාරයන් භාවිතා කරමින් මූල්‍යමය හා ස්ථාවර දේපළ වර්ධනය කරගැනීමෙන්, අලුත් ආයෝජනයන් කිරීමෙන් හා තම ජාලයන් ශක්තිමත් කිරීමෙන් ඔවුන්ගේ අවධානම් සහගතභාවය අඩු කරගත හැකිය. පුද්ගලයන්ගේ ස්ථාවර ආදායම් මාර්ග නැතිවීමෙන්, ඔවුන්ගේ ජාලයන් බිඳවැටීමෙන් සහ මැඩපැවැත්වීමට අපහසු රෝගාබාධවලට අමතරව නැවතපදිංචි කිරීමේ කම්පනය හේතුවෙන් අවධානමට ලක්වීමේ හැකියාව ඉහළ යා හැක.

අවධානම් සහගතභාවය විවිධ පර්යාවලෝකයන්ගෙන් ඉහත සාකච්ඡාව මෙන් සංකෂිප්තව සාකච්ඡා කළ හැකිය. කෙසේවෙතත්, එහිදී මතුවන වැදගත් ගැටළු පහත පරිදි වේ.

- කාණ්ඩගතකිරීමේ අගය සහ හයානක බව සහ එම කාණ්ඩ ජාත්‍යන්තර කතිකාව තුළ අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය.
- අභ්‍යන්තර අවතැන්වූවන් සහ ධාරක ප්‍රජාව අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳව සැලකිලිමත්වීමේ වැදගත්කම. IDP හා බලපෑමට ලක්වූවන් ලෙස අවතැන්වූවන් නාමකරණයේදී ධාරක ප්‍රජාවේ සිටින අවධානයට ලක්විය හැකි පුද්ගලයන් සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන් ඇතුළත් නොවේ. මේ හේතුවෙන් පුද්ගල කණ්ඩායම් දෙක අතර ආතතීන් ඇතිවිය හැකි බව මානුෂවාදී සංවර්ධන නියෝජිත ආයතන හඳුනාගත යුතුය.
- සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති බොහෝවිට බලපෑමට ලක්වූ පුද්ගලයන් හා ධාරක ප්‍රජාව යන කාණ්ඩගත කිරීමට පරිබාහිරව අවධානමට පත්වූ කණ්ඩායම් නිර්මාණය කරයි. (උදා:- ඉදිකිරීම් නිසා බලපෑමට ලක්වූ සහ නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමෙන් පසු අවධානමට ලක් වූ භෞතික දේපළ අහිමි නොවූ පුද්ගලයන්) ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය සම්බන්ධ ආයතනවල වරපත්‍රය හා හැකියාව මෙම පුද්ගල කණ්ඩායම්වල වගකීමද ඇතුළත්වන පරිදි වෙනස් විය යුතුය.
- අවධානම් සහගතභාවය සම්බන්ධයෙන් එක් යහපත් භාවිතයක් වන්නේ අවස්ථාවට අනුව අවදානමට ලක් වූ පුද්ගලයන් සමග සම්බන්ධවීමයි. පුද්ගලයන් සිය වන්දි මුදල් සහ ආධාර භාවිතා කොට ඔවුන්ගේ දේපළ සහ ජාලයන් වර්ධනය කිරීමෙන් නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමෙන් පසුව ඇතිවන අවධානම් සහගතභාවයන් අඩු කිරීමට හැකි වේ.

5 සාධාරණ හා සහභාගීත්ව ක්‍රියාවලීන්

ඉහත සාකච්ඡාව දක්වන පරිදි මෙම කණ්ඩායම්ගත කිරීමේ ගැටළුව ආතතින් ඇතිකරවන සුළු වුවද, රාජ්‍ය හා රාජ්‍ය නොවන මූලාශ්‍ර මගින් නිකුත් කරනු ලබන ප්‍රතිලාභ ලැබීමට සුදුසු (හා සුදුසු නොවන) අය හඳුනාගැනීම කණ්ඩායම්ගත කිරීමේ එක් අගයක් වේ. මෙම කණ්ඩායම් නිර්වචනය කරනු ලබන ආකාරය අනුව 'සාධාරණත්වය' පිළිබඳ වු ගැටළුව ඉස්මතු වේ.

සුනාමියෙන් අවතැන් වූ දුර්දතාවයෙන් පෙළෙන නාගරික ගෘහකුටුම්භ සමග කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයක් කැරොන්ගේ ලිපියට (3 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) පාදක වී ඇති අතර මින් වර්තමානයේ භාවිතාවන ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ භාවිතයන් සැලකිය යුතු අසාධාරණතත්වයක් නිර්මාණය කරන බව පෙන්වා දෙයි. සුනාමි නිවාස ප්‍රතිපත්තියේ සමහර සංකල්පයන් හා එම ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ ඇති පරිපාලන භාවිතාවන්, තනිව ජීවත් වන කාන්තාවන්, විවාහයකින් තොරව එකට ජීවත් වන්නන් හා සමහර ජාතීන් හා සමාජ කණ්ඩායම් හට වෙනස් කොට සලකනු ලබයි. බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී ප්‍රතිලාභීන් කණ්ඩායම්ගත කිරීමේ තීන්දුව ඉරාම නිලධාරී වැනි ප්‍රාදේශීය පලාත් පාලන නිලධාරීන් වෙත පැවරේ. මෙම ප්‍රතිපත්තිය යටතේ නව නිවාස බෙදාදීමේදී අනවසර පදිංචිකරුවන් නීතිගත කරනු ලැබුවද බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී තමන්ගේ නමට ඉඩම් ඔප්පුවක් හිමි කාන්තාවන් සැලකිල්ලට ගෙන නොමැත. නාගරික දිලීන්දන් මුහුණපාන තවත් අපහසුතාවයක් නම්, ස්වයං ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියයි. තම මුල් පදිංචි ස්ථානයට සමීපව ඉඩමක් මිලට ගැනීමට ලැබුණු වන්දි ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවීම නිසා සමහර පවුල්වලට දිස්ත්‍රික්කයෙන් පිටවී යාමට සිදුවී ඇත. අඩු සාක්‍ෂරතා හා අධ්‍යාපන මට්ටම් නිසා ලියකියවිලි සහ ක්‍රියාපටිපාටීන් පිළිබඳව හොඳ අවබෝධයක් නොමැති කමින් තමාගේ සම්පූර්ණ හිමිකාරත්වය ලබා ගැනීමට සමහර අවතැන්වූවන් අපොහොසත් වී ඇති බව කැරොන් තවදුරටත් පෙන්වා දෙයි.

මීට ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධව, ගුණාතිලක හා ද සිල්වා යන අය විසින් රචිත ලිපිය (3 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) දක්ෂිණ ප්‍රවාහන සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතිය මගින් ආයතනිකරණය කරන ලද ඉඩම් අත්පත්කරගැනීම හා නැවතපදිංචි කිරීම පිළිබඳ කමිටුව (LARC) හා සම්බන්ධ ක්‍රියාවලිය අවතැන්වූවන්ට තමන්ගේ හිමිකාරත්වය ලබාදුන්නාවූ ධනාත්මක/සාර්ථකවූ ආයතනික සැලැස්මක් පිළිබඳ විස්තරයක් සපයයි. ව්‍යාපෘතිය නිසා ලාක් ක්‍රියාවලියේ සැලැස්ම වැදගත් මූලධර්ම දෙකක් මත සකස් වී ඇත. එනම් 'ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන අගයට' සරිලන පරිදි වන්දි ලබාදීම සහ වන්දි ලබාදීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියේ පදනම තේරුම් ගැනීම සඳහා බලපෑමට ලක්වූවන්ට ඉඩම් සලසා දීම, තම වන්දි ලබා ගැනීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය හා සම්බන්ධව ගනු ලබන තීරණවලට බලපෑම් කිරීම හා වන්දි ලබාදීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය හෝ වන්දි ප්‍රමාණය පිළිබඳ යම් දක්ෂතාවලින්ද ඇතොත් එය ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම යන්නයි. කෙසේවෙතත් LARC ක්‍රියාවලියේ අඩුපාඩු නොතිබුණේම නැත. ලේඛනගත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය කොහෙන්ම ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවූ අතර මේනිසා ක්‍රියාවලියේ විනිවිදභාවය හා සාධාරණත්වය පිළිබඳ ගැටළු පැන නැගී ඇත.

කෙසේවෙතත්, මෙම ක්‍රියාවලිය මගින් තමාට අහිමි වූ ඉඩම් හා වත්කම් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය කිරීම සඳහා ඇති අවස්ථාවන් වැඩි කරමින් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන අගය අනුව වන්දි ලබාදීම නිසා ඉඩම් අත්පත්කරගනු ලැබුවන්ට මෙමගින් ප්‍රතිපාදන සැලසිණි. මෙම ක්‍රියාවලිය සාධාරණ සහ සහභාගිත්ව ක්‍රියාවලියක් වශයෙන් පුද්ගලයන් සලකනු ලැබූ අතර එමනිසා වන්දිලබාදීම පිළිබඳ බරපතල දුක්ගැහවිලි නිසා ඇතිවිය හැකි හඬ හා ව්‍යාපෘති ප්‍රමාදවීම් අවම කරගැනීමට උදව් දී ඇත.

ලුනාව පාරිසරික සංවර්ධන සහ ප්‍රජා සංවර්ධන (3 වන පරිච්ඡේදය) ව්‍යාපෘතියේ සැලැස්මට මුල සිටම සහභාගිත්වය ඇතුළත් කරනු ලැබීම මගින් නව්‍ය ප්‍රවේශයක් ලබා දී ඇත. මෙහිදී ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය සිදුවූයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ව්‍යවස්ථාපිත නීතිය යටතේ වුවද, වන්දි මුදල් ප්‍රමාණය තීන්දු කිරීමේ සම්පූර්ණ ක්‍රියාවලිය, ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන වැඩබිම් සැලසුම් කිරීම හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය සිදුවීම උපදේශනාත්මක හා සහභාගිත්ව ආකාරයෙන් සිදුවී ඇත. එමනිසා ක්‍රියාවලියේ අවසාන ප්‍රතිඵලය වශයෙන් ලුනාව ද්‍රෝණියෙහි නැවත පදිංචිකරවීම නිසඟ ආකාරයට වඩා ස්වේච්ඡාවෙන් සිදුවී ඇත. තමා බලෙන් ඉවත් කරනු ලැබූ බවත් බලපෑමට ලක්වුවන්ට නෙදෙැනිණි. මෙම සාකච්ඡාව තුල සාධාරණ සහ සහභාගිත්ව ක්‍රියාවලිත්තෙන් මතු වන කරුණු කිහිපයක් ඇත.

- සාධාරණත්වය යනු අවතැන්වූ පුද්ගල කණ්ඩායම සමජාතීය කිරීම සහ 'සැමටම සරිලන' විසදුමක් ලබාදීම නොවේ යන කරුණ මින් තේරුම් කෙරුණේ විවිධ වූ අවතැන්වූ සමාජ කණ්ඩායම්වල වෙනස්කම් හඳුනාගැනීමට හා ඔවුන්ට විශේෂවූ අවශ්‍යතාවයන් හා ශක්‍යතාවයන් ඉටු කිරීමට ඇති හැකියාවයි. LARC ක්‍රියාවලියෙහි පදනම වූයේ මෙයයි.
- ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නන් ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සමාජභාවය හා දුර්ද්‍රවාවය පිළිබඳ සංවේදී වීම වැදගත් වන අතර දැනින්දැන්, කාන්තාවන් හා විශේෂයෙන් මානුෂ හා සාමාජීය ශක්‍යතාවයෙන් අඩු පුද්ගලයන් මුහුණ දෙන අපහසුතා පිළිබඳව ඉතා හොඳින් අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීම වැදගත් වේ.
- LARC ක්‍රියාවලියෙන් හා ලුනාව ව්‍යාපෘතිය අනුගමනය කරනු ලැබූ ක්‍රියාවලියෙන් රාජ්‍ය සේවා සැපයුම් නම්‍යශීලී හා ශක්‍යතාවයෙන් යුක්ත විය හැකි බව පෙන්වා දෙන අතර එමගින් වඩා සාධාරණ හා සහභාගිත්ව ක්‍රියාදාමයක් සඳහා ඉඩකඩ සැලසේ.

6 නිගමන

මෙම වෙළුමේ අඩංගු ලිපි මගින් ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රමයන්ගේ ඇති විවිධත්වය හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේදී විසදිය යුතු සංකීර්ණ ගැටළු හුවා දැකිවීමට උත්සහ කරයි. මෙම විවිධවූ පර්යාචලෝකනයන් එක් වේදිකාවකට ගොනු කිරීම

සාධාරණ සහ සහභාගිත්ව යන ලක්ෂණ වලින් යුක්ත වීම, ජීවිතා වෘත්තීය පදනම ස්ථාපිත කිරීම හා ඔවුන් ජීවත් වන වටපිටාවේ ඇති භෞතික යටිතල පහසුකම් යන කරුණු ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියට ඇතුළත් කිරීම සඳහා උදව් වේ. මෙම සාකච්ඡාව විවිධ ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලීන් හරහා යොදාගත හැකි පොදු මෙහෙයවීමේ මූලධර්ම සැකසීමට ඇති හැකියාව කෙරෙහි ඉලක්ක වී ඇත.

ක්‍රියාදාමයන් ගත් කල, ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලියක් ක්‍රියාවට නැංවීමේදී සැලකිල්ලට ගත යුතු සංකූලතා හා සාමාජයීය කරුණු මෙම ලිපි ගොනුවේ සාකච්ඡාවේ ඇති නොයෙක් සිද්ධීන් මගින් පිළිබිඹු වේ. මේවා අතර පශ්චාත් සහ පූර්ව ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන, කෙටිකාලීන දිගු කාලීන, යොදාගනු ලැබ ඇති ක්‍රියාදාමයන් නිසා ඇතිවන ගැටළු, ධාරක ප්‍රජාව හා පුළුල් සාමාජයීය, ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික සන්දර්භයන් නිසා ඇතිවන ගැටළු ඇතුළත් වේ. ප්‍රතිස්ථාපනය පිළිබඳ දිනෙන් දින පුළුල් වන ශාස්ත්‍රීය සාහිත්‍යයට මෙම ප්‍රකාශනය දායකත්වයක් ලබා දේයැයි බලාපොරොත්තු වන අතරම, විවිධ වූ අවතැන්වූ කණ්ඩායම් හා ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලි තුළ ප්‍රතිපත්තින් හා භාවිතයන් නිර්මාණය කිරීමේ හා ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන ආකාරයට මින් බලපෑමක් ඇති කළ හැකි වේයැයි සිතමු.

மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கை மற்றும் செயற்பாட்டிலான பொதுவான தொடர்புகள்.

1 அறிமுகம்

மக்களின் சுய விருப்புடனான அல்லது பலவந்தமான இடம்பெயர்வுகளிலும் இவ்வாறு இடம்பெயர் வைக்கப்பட்டு மீள் குடியமர்த்தப்படுவதினாலான பின்விளைவுகளை சந்ததிகளின் குடும்பங்கள் கையாள வேண்டியிருப்பதிலும் இலங்கை ஒரு நீண்ட வரலாற்றைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. இலங்கையில் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க தாக்கத்தை ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ள மூன்று நிகழ்வுகளின் காரணமாக இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் தொடர்பான விடயங்கள் அண்மைய கடந்த கால நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல்களில் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளன. இலங்கை அரசுக்கும் தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகளுக்கும்மிடையிலான யுத்தம், 2004ம் ஆண்டு டிசம்பர் மாத சனாமி பேரலை மற்றும் கடந்த மூன்று தசாப்தங்களின் பாரிய உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளிலான செயற்திட்டங்கள் (பிரதானமாக நீர்பாசனம், வலு மற்றும் போக்குவரத்து) என்பனவே அம்மூன்று நிகழ்வுகளுமாகும். இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள் குடியமர்த்தலின் முக்கியத்துவம் தொடர்பாகவே காணப்படுகிறது. சமாதானத்தின் தோற்றத்திற்கு யுத்தம், இயற்கை அனர்த்தங்களின் எதிர்பார்க்கையிலான அதிகரிப்புக்கள் மற்றும் பலவீனமான சூழல்களில் வாழும் மக்களை வெளியேற வைக்கும் காலநிலை அச்சுறுத்தல்களின் காரணமாக இடம்பெயரும் பெண்கள், ஆண்கள் மற்றும் சிறுவர்களின் மீள் குடியேற்றம் மிகவும் தேவையானதாகும். மேலும் உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளினால் பாரியளவு தூண்டப்படுகின்ற அபிவிருத்தி செயற்பாடுகளும் அச்செயற்திட்டங்களினால் இடம் பெயர்க்கப்படுவோரின் மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் தேவைகள் நிறைவேற்றப்படுவதனை மிகவும் வேண்டி நிற்கின்றது.

எந்த ஒரு மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறையும் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்கள் மற்றும் அமுல்படுத்துவோரிடையில் அபிப்பிராய பேதங்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. அரசு அல்லது செயற்திட்ட அமுலாக்கலில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோர் புனர்நிர்மாணம் மற்றும் மீள் குடியமர்த்தலின் முரணான நிலைகளை அடிப்படைத் தேவைகளை வழங்கள் நீண்ட கால ஜீவனோபாயங்களை இயல்பான நிலைக்கு கொண்டுவரல், மற்றும் வழங்குவதில் வெளிப்படையாகவும் சமமாகவும் நடந்து கொள்ள முயற்சித்தல் போன்ற விடயங்களை கையாள்வதுடன் போராடும் போது பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்கள் மோசமான சூழ்நிலைக்குள்ளிருந்து சிறந்ததை உறுவாக்கப் போராடுகின்றனர். மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறைகள் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட அளவு நிதி மற்றும் மனித வளங்களையே கொண்டுள்ளதுடன் பொதுவாக திட்டமிடப்பட்டதல்ல. அமுலாக்கம் செய்வோர் சோதனைகள், தவறுகளினூடாக கற்றுக் கொள்கின்றனர். ஆனால் இவ்வாறு பெற்றுக்கொள்ளப்படும் அறிவானது அம்மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் முற்றுப்பெறுவதுடன் முடிவடைந்து விடுவதுடன் ஏனைய சூழ்நிலை அமைப்புக்கள் அல்லது நிறுவனங்களிற்கு மிகவும் அறிதாகவே மாற்றீடு செய்யப்படுகின்றனர். மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கை மீள் குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறைகளிற்கு கட்டமைப்பு மற்றும் உத்தரவாதம் வழங்குவதில் ஒரு முக்கியமான பங்கினை வகிக்கின்றது.

வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம் அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மோதல் காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வுகளின் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் விடயங்களில் செயற்பட்டுள்ளதுடன் சுனாமியின் பின்னான மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயற்பாட்டினால் ஆலாசனை வழங்குவோராகவும், மதிப்பீட்டாளர்களாகவும் பங்கேற்றுள்ளது. பல்வேறுபட்ட ஒன்றுசூடல்களில் அமுலாக்கல் கொள்கைகள் மற்றும் செயன்முறைகள், அவற்றை ஆளுகின்ற சமத்துவம், வெளிப்படையான தன்மை, மற்றும் பொறுப்புடைமை என பல விடயங்களிலான கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றங்கள் கலந்துரையாடப்பட்டு வருவதால் ஒவ்வொரு சூழ்நிலைகளிலுமான மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் விவாதம் மற்றும் செயற்பாடு என்பன வித்தியாசமாகும். வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம் கொள்கை உருவாக்குபவர்கள் செயற்பாட்டாளர்கள் மற்றும் மோதலால் தூண்டப்பட்ட, அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட மற்றும் இயற்கை அழிவுகளின் காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் துறைகளிலிருந்தான ஆய்வாளர்களை ஒரு தனி மேடைக்குக் கொண்டு வரும் நோக்குடன் “பலவந்தமான வெளியேற்றம் - பலவந்த இடம்பெயர்வு, மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கை மற்றும் செயற்பாடு” எனும் கருப்பொருளிலான மாநாட்டினை நடாத்தியது. இம்மாநாடு அவர்களின் அணுகுமுறைகளிலான பொதுவான அதே போல் வித்தியாசமான விடயங்களை ஆராய்வதனையும் இன்னும் கற்றுக் கொண்ட பாடங்கள் மற்றும் சிறந்த செயற்பாடுகளுடன் ஒன்றிணைந்து கூடியளவு வினைத்திறன் மற்றும் சமத்துவத்துடனான மீள்குடியமர்த்தலினை நோக்கிய செயற்பாட்டினை நோக்காகக் கொண்டிருந்தது.

திருத்தம் செய்யப்பட்ட இப்பகுதியானது ஜீவனோபாய மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தல் பலவீனமான தன்மை மற்றும் சமத்துவமான மற்றும் பங்கேற்கும் செயன்முறைகளை உறுதிப்படுத்தும் பார்வைகளிலிருந்தும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தலின் பல்வேறு கூறுகளை ஆராய்கின்ற பல கட்டுரைகளை உள்ளடக்குகிறது. இவை மாத்தரையிலிருந்து கொழும்பு வரையான கடுகதி நெடுஞ்சாலை நிர்மாணத்திலான அபிவிருத்தி காரணமாக தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் மற்றும் லுனாவைப் பள்ளத்தாக்கில் புயல்காற்று நீர் வடிகாலமைப்புக்கான விருத்திகள், மீள் பிடிக்குடும்பங்கள் மற்றும் வறியோரின் சுனாமி புனர் நிர்மாணம் மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்வு நகர்ப்புர்ப் பெண்கள் தலைமைத்துவக் குடும்பங்கள், மற்றும் இலங்கையின் உள்நாட்டு மோதலினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களின் ஜீவனோபாயத்திலான தாக்கங்கள், புகலிடம் தந்த சமுதாயங்களுடனான உறவுகள், மற்றும் உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களின் பிரச்சினைகளை வரைவிலக்கணப்படுத்தி தீர்வு காண்பதிலான மனித அறிவு ஆய்வியல் விடயங்களுடன் தொடர்பான விடயங்களிலிருந்தான உதாரணங்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளன. இவ்வறிமுக அத்தியாயத்தில் நாம் ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரைகள் மற்றும் அவை தூண்டி எழுப்பிய கலந்துரையாடல்களிலிருந்தான சில பிரதான கற்கைகளை முன்கொண்டு வருவதை குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டுள்ளோம். மேலும் இது அமுலாக்கம், திட்டமிடல், மற்றும் கொள்கை உருவாக்கம் என மீள்குடியமர்த்தலின் எல்லாக் கட்டங்களிலும் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள யாவருக்கும் பயனுள்ளதாக அமையுமென எதிர்பார்க்கின்றோம்.

2 மீள்குடியமாத்தலின் வகைப்பாடுகள்.

மீள்குடியமாத்தலானது இடம்பெயர்வு அல்லது விருப்பமின்றிய வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான ஒரு துலங்களாகும். இடம்பெயர்வானது அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டம், இயற்கை அனர்த்தம், அல்லது உள்நாட்டு மோதல், ஆகிய ஏதோவொரு வெளி அதிர்ச்சியின் காரணமாக மக்களை வெளியேற்ற வேண்டிய நிலைக்கு தள்ளப்படுகின்ற ஒரு பலவந்த புலம்பெயர்வாகும். இவ்வதிர்ச்சி எப்போதும் எதிர்வு கூறப்பட முடியாத ஒரு இடம்பெயர்வினை அமைக்கின்றது. ஆனால் இதற்கு ஒரு ஆரம்பப் புள்ளி நிறுவப்பட முடியுமெனினும் முடிவு தெளிவற்றதாகும்.

குறித்த வகையான சில சேவைகள் வழங்கப்படும் போது ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தப்படும் போது குறித்த காலம் கடந்து விட்ட பின்னர் அல்லது மக்கள் தனது சொந்த இடங்களுக்கு திரும்பும் போது இவ்விடம் பெயர்வு முடிவுறுகின்றதா? பல்வேறு வகையான இடம்பெயர்வு வித்தியாசமான மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் துலங்கள்களை வேண்டியுள்ளன. அவை கீழே விவரிக்கப்படுகின்றன.

அபிவிருத்தி காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் (DIDR) பிரதானமாக நீர்பாசனம், வலு மற்றும் வீதிகள் போன்ற பாரிய உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகளுடன் தொடர்பான மனித பொருளாதார செயற்பாடுகளின் விளைவாக ஏற்படுகின்றது பொதுவாக இவ்வகையான இடம்பெயர்வு பெரும் எண்ணிக்கையானோரின் பெரிய நலனுக்கானது எனும் அடிப்படையில் நியாயப்படுத்தப்படுவதுடன் உலக வங்கி போன்ற சர்வதேச நிதி நிறுவனங்களின் ஆதரவையும் பெறுகின்றது. எல்லா சாத்தியமான மாற்று வழிகளும் கருதப்படும் இடம்பெயர்வே இறுதி அடையாளமாக இருந்தது என எண்ணப்படுகின்றது. சர்வதேச நிறுவனங்களிடம் இருந்த குறிப்பாக இடம் பெயரும் இம்மக்களின் வளம் குன்றிய நிலைக்கு ஆளாகின்ற ஆபத்துக்களைப் பற்றிய ஒரு உணர்வே இவ்வாபத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும் நோக்கத்துடனான மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறைக்கு இட்டுச் சென்றுள்ளது. இவ்வாபத்துக்கள் நிலமின்மை, தொழிலின்மை, வீடு வாசலின்மை, ஓரப்படுத்தப்படல், உணவுப் பாதுகாப்பின்மை, சுகாதார நிலையிலான வீழ்ச்சி, பொதுச் சொத்துக்களை பெற்றுக் கொள்வதற்கான வழிகளின்மை, மற்றும் சமுதாய மூட்டுப் பேச்சுக்கள் என்பனவாகும் சேர்னியா (2000). இக்கலந்துரையாடல் இலங்கையின் தேசிய பலவந்தமான விருப்பமின்றிய மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கையில் (NIRP) செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தியுள்ளது.

மோதலில் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் என்பன (CIDR) மனித மோதல்களின் விளைவாக ஏற்படுவதாகும். மோதலில் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் ஆனது வன்முறையின் தோற்றத்துடன் ஆரம்பித்து மோதல் நிகழும் பிரதேசங்களிலிருந்தும் வெறுண்டோடி வேறு தற்காலிக புகலிடங்கள் அல்லது முகாம்களில் தம்மை நிறுவிக்க கொள்ளும் கட்டத்திற்கு மாற்றமடைகின்றது. இத்தற்காலிக புகலிடங்கள் அல்லது முகாம்களில்

தம்மை நிறுவிக்க கொள்ளும் கட்டத்திற்கு மாற்றமடைகின்றது. இத்தற்காலிக புகலிடங்கள் அல்லது முகாம்களில் தம்மை நிரந்தரமாக வேறு ஒரு புதிய இடத்திற்கு பெயரக் கூடியவர்களாக அல்லது தமது சொந்த இடங்களுக்கு திரும்பிச் செல்லக்கூடியவர்களாக ஆகும் காலம் வரை இவர்களுக்கு அடிப்படைத் தேவைகள் வழங்கப்படுகின்றன. மோதல் தீர்வு மற்றும் சமாதானத்தைக் கட்டியெழுப்புவதல், என்பவை தவிர மோதல் காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வு தவிர்க்க முடியாதது. மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறையானது மாறும் கட்டத்தில் அரவணைப்பையும் பராமரிப்பையும் வழங்குவதிலும் இவ்விடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களை புகலிடம் வழங்கிய சமுதாயங்களுடன் ஒன்றிணைத்தோ அல்லது தமது சொந்த இடங்களுக்கு திரும்பச் சொய்தோ நிலையான தீர்வுகளைத் தேடுவதிலும் கவனத்தைச் செலுத்துகின்றது.

இயற்கை அழிவினால் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் இயற்கை அல்லது சூழல் அனர்த்தங்களினால் தூண்டப்படுகின்றது. உலகளாவிய ரீதியில் இடம்பெயர்வுக்கான பிரதான காரணம் இவ்வழிகளே என்று கூறப்படுகின்றன. (முக்காஹ் 2008) மேலும் இவ்வகையான இடம்பெயர்ந்தோர் சில நேரங்களில் சூழல் அல்லது காலநிலை அகதிகள் என அழைக்கப்படுகின்றனர். இயற்கை அனர்த்தம் எனக் கருதப்படுவது முழுதும் சூழல் சார்ந்ததா அல்லது மனித செயற்பாட்டின் (உதாரணமாக நிலச்சீரழிவு, மாசடைதல்) விளைவானதா என விவாதமொன்றுள்ளது. இயற்கை அழிவு காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வுடன் கையாளும் செயன்முறையானது முற்கூட்டிய எச்சரிக்கை ஆபத்து முகாமைத்துவம் அதே போல் அனர்த்தத்தின் பின்னான அவசர தேவை மற்றும் மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தல் எனும் வகைகளில் அமையலாம். மோதல் காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வினைப் போல் இயற்கை அனர்த்தங்களினால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களும் புதிய அல்லது பாதுகாப்பான இடங்களில் குடியேற்றப்படலாம். அல்லது தமது சொந்த இடங்களிற்கு திரும்பிச் செல்ல உதவி செய்யப்படலாம். பல்வேறு அனர்த்தங்களுக்குள்ளாகக் கூடிய இயற்கை சூழல்களில் வாழும் மக்களின் பாதிப்புறு நிலையினைக் குறைப்பதில் உதவக் கூடிய தடுப்புச் செயற்பாடுகளையும் மேற்கொள்ள முடியும்.

இடம்பெயர்வுக்கான காரணம் எதுவாக இருப்பினும் மக்களின் வாழ்க்கையை இயல்பு நிலைக்கு கொண்டு வருவதற்கு மற்றும் அவர்களது இழப்புக்களை ஈடு செய்வதற்கு பலவீனங்களை முன்வைப்பதற்கு மற்றும் வாழ்க்கைகளையும், ஜீவனோபாயங்களையும், மீளக்கட்டியெழுப்புவதற்கான உறுதியான தீர்வுகளை வழங்குவதற்கு குறித்த சில மட்டத்திலான சேவைகள் வழங்கப்படுவது தேவையாகும். இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் மேற்காட்டப்பட்டவாறு மூன்று விதங்களாக பிரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளதானது மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறை அவை தெரிவிக்கும் உரை மற்றும் சேவைகளை வழங்கும் நிறுவனங்கள் பிரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன என்பதனைக் காட்டுகின்றதுடன் பொதுவான வழிகாட்டல் கொள்கைகளை விருத்தி செய்வதற்கான வாய்ப்புக்களும் மிகவும் சிலவாகும்.

இவ்வித்தியாசத்தில் இம்முன்று உரைகளையும் நாம் இணைக்க முயற்சி செய்வோம். மேலும் பிரதானமாக ஆனால் முழுமையாக அல்ல, பலவந்தமான வெளியேற்றம் - பலவந்த இடம்பெயர்வும் மீள் குடியமர்த்தலும் - கொள்கை மற்றும் செயற்பாடு எனும் கருப் பொருளிலான இலங்கையின் வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சியிலான ஒன்பதாவது வருடாந்த மாநாட்டில் இடம்பெற்ற முன்வைப்புக்கள் மற்றும் கலந்துரையாடல்களின் அடிப்படையில் சில பொதுவான எண்ணக்கருக்களை வெளிக் கொண்டு வரவும் முயற்சிக்கிறோம்.

3 ஜீவனோபாயங்களை இயல்பு நிலைக்கு கொண்டுவரல்

அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டங்கள், இயற்கை அனர்த்தம் அல்லது மோதல் எது காரணமாயினும் அதனால் ஏற்படும் விருப்பமற்ற அல்லது பலவந்தமான இடம்பெயர்வு ஜீவனோபாயங்களை அழிப்பதாகும். மீள்குடியமர்த்தலின் தற்போது ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்களுள் ஒன்று குறைந்தது இடம்பெயர்வின் முன்பிருந்த நிலைக்கேனும் ஜீவனோபாயங்களை மீள் நிலைப்படுத்துவதற்கு திடசங்கற்பம் கொள்வதாகும். இருந்தாலும் விவாதங்களில் பெரும்பாலானவை பின்னைய நிலையை முன்னிலும் சிறந்ததாக கட்டியெழுப்புவது என்பதாகும்.

மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கை மற்றும் செயன்முறை கவனத்தில் கொள்ளவேண்டிய ஜீவனோபாயத்தினை மீள்நிலைப்படுத்துவது பற்றிய பல விடயங்களுள்ளன. மோதல் வன்முறையினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களுக்கு தமது வெளியேற்றத்தினைத் திட்டமிட்டுக் கொள்ளவோ தமது சொத்துக்கள் அகற்றப்படுவதை ஒழுங்கு செய்து கொள்ளவோ எந்தவொரு கால அவகாசமும் கிடைக்காமையினால் இவர்களது வருமானத்திலான வீழ்ச்சி அபிவிருத்தி சார் செயற்பாடுகள் காரணமாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களிலும் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு அதிகமாகும் என அமிர்தலிங்கம் மற்றும் லக்ஷ்மன் கூறுகின்றனர். இது மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட அளவு முன்னெச்சரிக்கையுள்ள இயற்கை அனர்த்தங்களுக்கும் உண்மையாகும். மோதல் மற்றும் அனர்த்த சூழ்நிலைகளில் வேளாண்மை விலங்குகள், வீட்டு உபகரணம் மற்றும் உணவு சேமிப்புக்கள் அசைக்க முடியாதவையாக உள்ளன. ஆனால் அபிவிருத்திச் செயற்திட்டங்களின் போதான வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான அறிவிப்பு சில நெரங்களில் கட்டடப் பொருட்களையும் உள்ளடக்கிய இச்சொத்துக்களையும் இடம்மாற்ற உதவுகின்றது. ஆனால் நடைமுறையில் வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான அறிவிப்பு சரியாக தொடர்பாடப்படாவிட்டால் அல்லது நன்கு புரிந்துகொள்ளப்படாவிட்டால் அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு திடீரென நிகழ முடியும். மேலும் இதன்போதான மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் திட்ட ஒழுங்கின் தன்மையே எவ்வளவு சொத்துக்கள் புதிய இடங்களிற்கு எடுத்துச் செல்லப்படலாம் என்பதைத் தீர்மானிக்கின்றது. வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான முன்னறிவிப்பு வழங்கப்பட்டிருந்துமே தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டத்தினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களுள் தம் சொத்துக்களை கொண்டு செல்ல முடியாதிருந்தவர்களும் உள்ளனர். இவர்கள் தனது மரங்களை

இவ்வித்தியாசத்தில் இம்முன்று உரைகளையும் நாம் இணைக்க முயற்சி செய்வோம். மேலும் பிரதானமாக ஆனால் முழுமையாக அல்ல, பலவந்தமான வெளியேற்றம் - பலவந்த இடம்பெயர்வும் மீள் குடியமர்த்தலும் - கொள்கை மற்றும் செயற்பாடு எனும் கருப் பொருளிலான இலங்கையின் வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சியிலான ஒன்பதாவது வருடாந்த மாநாட்டில் இடம்பெற்ற முன்வைப்புக்கள் மற்றும் கலந்துரையாடல்களின் அடிப்படையில் சில பொதுவான எண்ணக்கருக்களை வெளிக் கொண்டு வரவும் முயற்சிக்கிறோம்.

3 ஜீவனோபாயங்களை இயல்பு நிலைக்கு கொண்டுவரல்

அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டங்கள், இயற்கை அனர்த்தம் அல்லது மோதல் எது காரணமாயினும் அதனால் ஏற்படும் விருப்பமற்ற அல்லது பலவந்தமான இடம்பெயர்வு ஜீவனோபாயங்களை அழிப்பதாகும். மீள்குடியமர்த்தலின் தற்போது ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்களுள் ஒன்று குறைந்தது இடம்பெயர்வின் முன்பிருந்த நிலைக்கேனும் ஜீவனோபாயங்களை மீள் நிலைப்படுத்துவதற்கு திடசங்கற்பம் கொள்வதாகும். இருந்தாலும் விவாதங்களில் பெரும்பாலானவை பின்னைய நிலையை முன்னிலும் சிறந்ததாக கட்டியெழுப்புவது என்பதாகும்.

மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கை மற்றும் செயன்முறை கவனத்தில் கொள்ளவேண்டிய ஜீவனோபாயத்தினை மீள்நிலைப்படுத்துவது பற்றிய பல விடயங்களுள்ளன. மோதல் வன்முறையினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களுக்கு தமது வெளியேற்றத்தினைத் திட்டமிட்டுக் கொள்ளவோ தமது சொத்துக்கள் அகற்றப்படுவதை ஒழுங்கு செய்து கொள்ளவோ எந்தவொரு கால அவகாசமும் கிடைக்காமையினால் இவர்களது வருமானத்திலான வீழ்ச்சி அபிவிருத்தி சார் செயற்பாடுகள் காரணமாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களிலும் குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவு அதிகமாகும் என அமிர்தலிங்கம் மற்றும் லக்ஷ்மன் கூறுகின்றனர். இது மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட அளவு முன்னெச்சரிக்கையுள்ள இயற்கை அனர்த்தங்களுக்கும் உண்மையாகும். மோதல் மற்றும் அனர்த்த சூழ்நிலைகளில் வேளாண்மை விலங்குகள், வீட்டு உபகரணம் மற்றும் உணவு சேமிப்புக்கள் அசைக்க முடியாதவையாக உள்ளன. ஆனால் அபிவிருத்திச் செயற்திட்டங்களின் போதான வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான அறிவிப்பு சில நெரங்களில் கட்டடப் பொருட்களையும் உள்ளடக்கிய இச்சொத்துக்களையும் இடம்மாற்ற உதவுகின்றது. ஆனால் நடைமுறையில் வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான அறிவிப்பு சரியாக தொடர்பாடப்படாவிட்டால் அல்லது நன்கு புரிந்துகொள்ளப்படாவிட்டால் அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு திடீரென நிகழ முடியும். மேலும் இதன்போதான மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் திட்ட ஒழுங்கின் தன்மையே எவ்வளவு சொத்துக்கள் புதிய இடங்களிற்கு எடுத்துச் செல்லப்படலாம் என்பதைத் தீர்மானிக்கின்றது. வெளியேற்றத்திற்கான முன்னறிவிப்பு வழங்கப்பட்டிருந்துமே தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டத்தினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களுள் தம் சொத்துக்களை கொண்டு செல்ல முடியாதிருந்தவர்களும் உள்ளனர். இவர்கள் தனது மரங்களை

இடம்மாற்றிக்கொள்ள முடியாத ஒரு தோட்டக்கலை நிபுணரும் தமது மந்தைகளை இடம்மாற்றுவதற்கு விசேட பங்கினை பெற்றக்கொள்ள வேண்டியிருந்த மந்தை உரிமையாளரும் அடங்குகின்றனர்.

அமிர்தலிங்கம் மற்றும் லக்ஷ்மணின் ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரையின் அத்தியாயம் 1 இன் அடிப்படையை ஆக்குகின்ற ஜீவனோபாய மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தலிலான இரண்டாவது பிரச்சினை ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் ஒரே வகையானவையல்ல எனும் தெளிவான வெளிப்படையாகும். மேலும் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட ஜீவனோபாய வகைக்கேற்ப மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தலிற்கான ஆற்றல் வேறுபடுகின்றது. உதாரணமாக கூலி வேலையில் தங்கியுள்ள ஜீவனோபாயங்களை திரும்பவும் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளல் புதிய, வாழ்விடம் தந்த பிரதேசங்களில் கூலிவேலை மற்றும் திறன்களிற்கான கேள்வி அதிகமாகையால் இலகுவாகும். தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டம் மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்பட்ட திறனுள்ள வேலையாட்களின் விடயத்தில் இதுவும் உண்மையாகும். விவசாயத்தில் ஈடுபட்டோரும் மீள்பிடித் தொழிலாளர்களும் தமது விவசாய நிலங்களிலிருந்து அல்லது மீள்பிடி பிரதேசங்களிலிருந்து கருதத்தக்களவு இடம்பெயர்க்கப்படும் போது அல்லது இப்பிரதேசங்களினை பாதுகாப்பு காரணங்களால் பயன்படுத்த முடியாது இருக்கும்போது தமது ஜீவனோபாயங்களை மீள்நிலைப்படுத்துவதில் கஷ்டங்களை அனுபவிக்கின்றனர். பெரியளவில் பெண்களின் தலைமையில் உள்ள வீட்டு அடிப்படையிலான தொழில் முயற்சிகள் புதிய வாடிக்கையாளர்களைத் திரும்பவும் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள சில காலம் எடுக்கின்றனர். முலதனம் அல்லது தொழில்முயற்சியாண்மையில் தங்கியுள்ள ஜீவனோபாயங்களைக் கருதும் போது இச்சொத்துக்களின் இழப்பானது தனிநபர் அல்லது குடும்பத்தின் தமது ஜீவனோபாய செயற்பாட்டினைத் தொடர்ந்து மேற்கொள்வதற்கான ஆற்றல் கடுமையாக சோர்வடையச் செய்யப்படுகின்றது. முறைசார் துறையிலான சம்பளம் பெறும் தொழில்கள் விசேடமாக அரச துறைத் தொழில்கள் இடம்பெயர்வுடனும் கூட நிலையாக அமையக்கூடிய மிகவும் உறுதியான ஒரு ஜீவனோபாய வகையினை வழங்குகின்றது. இடம்பெயர்வு எந்த விதத்தில் இடம்பெற்றிருந்தாலும் இம்மக்களின் பல்வேறு ஜீவனோபாயங்களிலான தாக்கம் மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தல் நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்களின் போது கருத்தில் கொள்ளப்படவேண்டும்.

அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வின் (தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டம்) மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் அமுலாக்கல் திட்டங்களால் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட சில கொள்கைகள் ஜீவனோபாயத்திலான தாக்கங்களை குறைப்பதில் உதவியுள்ளன. இவற்றுள் ஒன்று மோதலிலான இடம்பெயர்வுகளின் போது இலகுவாக ஏற்றக்கொள்ளப்பட முடியாத சொந்த இடங்களிற்கு அண்மையிலான பிரதேசங்களிலே மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்படலாகும். (மோதல் சூழ்நிலைகளில் மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்படல் இரண்டு அர்த்தங்களை எடுக்கின்றது. ஒன்று வரைவிலக்கணப்படி நடைமுறையிலில்லாவிடின் தற்காலிகமாக மோதல் காரணமாக சொந்த இடங்களிலிருந்து இடம்பெயர்ந்து முகாம்களில் குடியமர்த்தப்படலும்

மற்றொன்று மோதலின் பின்னர் சொந்த இடத்தில் மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்படலுமாகும்). இருந்தாலும் டி சில்வா மற்றும் குமாரசிரி தமது ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரையில் (அத்தியாயம் 1) கலந்துரையாடுவது போல் இத்தாக்கமும் திருத்தியமைக்கும் செயன்முறையில் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தும் ஏனைய காரணிகளுடன் சீரற்றதாகவே உள்ளது. உதாரணமாக பெரிய அளவிலான பணப்பயிர் விவசாய நிலங்களை இழந்தோர் இடம்பெயர்வினால் ஊக்கமிழக்கின்ற சிறியளவு நிலங்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளோரிலும் விரைவாக நல்ல நிலைக்குத் திரும்புகின்றனர். ஜீவனோபாயங்களைத் திரும்பப் பெறலிலான மற்றுமொரு தீர்மானமான காரணி ஜீவனோபாயத் தேவைகளை முன்வைப்பதற்கு எடுத்துக் கொண்ட காலமாகும். இடம்பெயர்ந்த குடும்பங்கள் தமது ஜீவனோபாயத்தை மீளக் கட்டிக்கொள்வதில் கவனம் செலுத்தும்போது விசேடமாக ஜீவனோபாயம் வீட்டு அடிப்படையிலான உற்பத்தியுடன் தொடர்பாக இருக்கும்போது திரும்பவும் பழைய நிலைக்கு மீள்வதற்கான காலம் நீண்டதாக இருக்கும்.

அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறையும் ஜீவனோபாயச் சொத்துக்களின் இழப்பிற்காக பாரியளவு ஈடுசெய்ய விளைகின்றது. எனவே தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டத்தினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்தோருள் வர்த்தக சொத்துக்களின் உரிமையாளர்கள் இருந்தபோதும் கூட குறுகிய கால இடைவெளியில் இவர்களும் ஓரளவு பலம் குன்றச் செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளனர். இவர்கள் தமது ஜீவனோபாயங்களை மீள்நிலைப்படுத்துவதற்காக தமது நட்டஈட்டினைப் பயன்படுத்தக் கூடியவர்களாக இருந்தனர். அவர்களது சொந்த சொத்துக்களின் பெறுமதி அதிகமாக இருப்பின் அவர்கள் கூடிய நட்டஈட்டைப் பெற்று தமது கடந்த கால ஜீவனோபாய மட்டங்களை அடைவதற்கு கூடிய வாய்ப்புக்களைக் கொண்டுள்ளனர். குணவர்த்தன மற்றும் விக்கிரமசிங்கவின் சுனாமியால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மீனவர்களின் மீள்குடியமர்த்தலிலான சமூக மற்றும் பொருளாதார தாக்கங்களிலான ஆய்வு (அத்தியாயம் 1 இல்) நீண்டகால நிலைபேற்றுத் தன்மையைக் கருத்தில் கொண்ட விதத்தில் ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தலின் முக்கியத்துவத்தை சுட்டிக் காட்டுகின்றது. பரந்தளவில் படகுகள், வலைகள் மற்றும் மீன்பிடி உபகரணங்கள் வழங்கப்படலானது அளவுக்கு மீறி மீன்பிடிப்பதால் மீன்தொகை இருப்பின் சாத்தியமான அழிவினைக் கொண்டு மீன்பிடிக்கைத்தொழிலினை அச்சுறுத்தியுள்ளது. வழங்கப்பட்ட படகுகளும் வலைகளும் விசேடமாக உள்ளூரில் தயாரிக்கப்படுகின்ற பாரம்பரிய, சமுதாயத்தின் அடிப்படையிலான மீன்பிடி முறையினைப்பயன்படுத்துகின்ற கரை வலை எனப்படும் மீன்பிடிக்கும் முறையின் (Beach Seine Fishing/மா தெல்) வீழ்ச்சிக்கு இட்டுச்சென்றுள்ளது. இது கூலி வேலையின் இழப்பினால் மீன்பிடி சமுதாயத்தின் ஜீவனோபாயங்களில் கருத்தக்களவு தாக்கத்தை ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ளது.

இவ்வாறு ஜீவனோபாயங்களை மீள்நிலைப்படுவதற்கு பின்வரும் விடயங்கள் இன்றியமையாதவையாகும்.

- முன்னெச்சரிக்கைத் தொகுதி இருப்பதுவும் இடம்பெயர்வுக்கு தயாராக இருப்பதும் (அபிவிருத்தியால் தூண்டப்பட்ட வெளியேற்றங்களிற்கும் அனர்த்தங்களினாலான பாதிப்புறுநிலையை இனங்கண்டு கொள்வதனுடாக ஓரளவு இவ்வகை இடம்பெயர்வுக்கும் சாத்தியமாகும்)
- பல்வேறுபட்ட ஜீவனோபாயங்களில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள குழுக்களின் மீது இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தலின் வித்தியாசமான தாக்கத்தை விளங்கிக் கொள்ளுதலும், ஜீவனோபாய சொத்துக்களின் இழப்பிற்கு போதுமானளவு ஈடுசெய்யக் கூடியதான பல்வேறுபட்ட நட்டஈட்டு ஒழுங்குகளுடன் வித்தியாசமான தாக்கங்களை முன்னெடுத்துச் செல்வதற்கான ஆற்றலும்.
- ஏனைய விடயங்களிற்கு (உதாரணமாக வீடுகளை மீள அமைத்துக்கொள்ளல்) முன்னுரிமை கொடுப்பதால் ஜீவனோபாயத் தேவைகளை எடுத்துரைப்பதற்கு எடுக்கப்படும் காலம்.
- சமூக மற்றும் பொருளாதார வலையமைப்புக்கள் மற்றும் சந்தைகளிலான பாதிப்பை குறைக்கக்கூடியதாக இடம்பெயர்க்கப்பட்ட இடங்களிலிருந்து மிகவும் அண்மிய பிரதேசங்களில் குடியேறுவதற்கான சாத்தியம்.
- மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தப்பட்ட ஜீவனோபாயங்களின் நீண்டகால நிலைப்பேற்றுத் தன்மையினை மதிப்பிடுவதற்கான தேவையும் குடும்பத்தின் ஜீவனோபாயத்தினை பல்வேறு காரணிகளில் தலையீடுகள் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தக்கூடும் என்பதை இனங்காணுதலும்.

4 பலவீனமான தன்மை

குறிப்பாக ஏலவே பலவீனமான நிலையிலுள்ள மக்களுக்கு (வறியோர், முதியோர் மற்றும் அங்கவீனமான மக்கள்) இவ்விடம்பெயர்வு செயன்முறை மிகவும் கடினமாக இருக்கும். மேலும் இது ஜீவனோபாயங்களின் இழப்பு காரணமாக புதிய பலவீனங்கள், மன மற்றும் உடல் ஆரோக்கியத்தில் இடம்பெயர்வு ஏற்படுத்தும் தீமை பயக்கும் தாக்கங்கள், புகலிடம் வழங்கிய சமுதாயங்களடனான உரசல்கள் மேலும் இதேபோல் வேறும் காரணிகளை உருவாக்கமுடியும்.

பலவீனமான தன்மையிலான கவனமானது வெளி உதவிகள் இலக்காகக் கொள்ளப்படவேண்டிய மக்களின் விடயங்களையும் வெளிச்சமிட்டுக் காட்டுகின்றது. மோதல், அபிவிருத்தி அல்லது இயற்கை அனர்த்தம் காரணமாக மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்பட்டுள்ள இடங்களிலான உள்நாட்டு சமுதாயங்களுள் பலவீனமான

நிலை காணப்படும் ஒரு அமைப்பினில், வெளி நிறுவனங்களால் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ளவாறு சுற்றிலும் உள்ள பிரதேசங்களில் ஏலவே வாழும் மக்களிற்கு விரிவாக்காது, இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களை மாத்திரம் நோக்கமாகக் கொள்ளும் பலவீனமான நிலை தொடர்பான எண்ணக்கரு காணப்படும் போது மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களிற்கும் அவர்களிற்கு புகலிடம் வழங்கிய உள்ளூர் சமுதாயங்களிற்குமிடையில் பல மன அழுத்தங்கள் உருவாகின்றன.

வழமையாக இது மோதல் காரணமாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் 'உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள்' எனவும் தென்மாகாண கடுகதி நெடுஞ்சாலை நிர்மாணம் காரணமான இடம்பெயர்வு போன்ற சந்தர்ப்பங்களில் 'பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்கள்' என அல்லது இடம்பெயர்வு இயற்கை அனர்த்தங்களால் ஏற்படும்போது 'சுனாமியால் அல்லது வரட்சியால் பாதிக்கப்பட்டோர்' என மக்கள் முத்திரை குத்தப்பட்டு பிரிக்கும் செயன்முறையுடன் கைகோர்த்துச் செல்கின்றது. இடம்பெயர்ந்தோரை வரைவிலக்கணப்படுத்துவதில் முத்திரை குத்தப்படுதல் உதவுகின்றது. புரூன் (அத்தியாயம் 2) இற்கேற்ப முத்திரை குத்தப்படலும் வகைப்படுத்தலும் வித்தியாசமான விளைவுகளைக் கொண்டிருக்கும். இது இடம்பெயர்வால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களிடையான பாரம்பரிய வித்தியாசங்களை இனங்காணத் தவறுவதுடன் இம்மக்களை ஒரு நிலைக்கு கொண்டு வரக்கூடியதாகவும் இதேவிதத்தில் முத்திரை குத்தப்படாத ஏனைய மக்கள் குழுக்களுடன் ஒப்பிடும் போது இது இவர்களுக்கு சிறப்புரிமை வழங்க முடியும். ஒரு குறித்த பிரதேசத்திலிருந்து வந்த மக்களென அவர்களது நிலையை கட்டியெழுப்ப, அவர்களை அப்பிரதேசத்திற்கு உரியவர்களாக்க இதற்கு முடியும். மேலும் இது மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயன்முறையின் அரசியல் மயமாக்கத்திற்கும் பங்களிப்புச் செய்ய முடியும். புரூன் இவ்வவதானங்களை அவரது தமிழீழ விடுதலைப் புலிகளால் வடக்கிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்பட்டு புத்தளத்தில் மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்பட்டுள்ள முஸ்லிம்களிலான ஆய்விலிருந்து செய்தாலும் இது ஏனைய இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களிற்கும் உண்மையாகும். அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் இயற்கை அனர்த்தங்களால் தூண்டப்பட்ட இடம்பெயர்வு சூழ்நிலைகளில் மக்களை 'பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்கள்' என குறிக்கும் பதமானது செயலற்ற தன்மையைக் குறிக்கின்றதுடன் குடியமர்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களின் உயிர்ப்பான பிரதிநிதித்துவத்தை அலட்சியம் செய்கின்றது.

நாம் இடம்பெயர்வினை அதனது எல்லா வடிவங்களிலும் வினாக்கள் தொடுத்து அறிந்து கொள்ள வேண்டுமெனின் புரூனின் அவதானத்தின்படி வகைப்படுத்தல் அவசியமாகும். ஆனால் இது மக்களை ஒரு குறித்த பாத்திரத்தில் நிலைநிறுத்துவதற்கு இட்டுச்செல்வதுடன் அவர்களது மன அழுத்தங்கள் விசேடமாக உள்ளூர் சமுதாயங்கள் மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தப்பட்டோரிடையேயான அழுத்தங்களிற்கும் பங்களிப்புச் செய்யலாம் என்பதையும் நாம் அறிந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும். உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களிற்கு முத்திரை குத்தப்படல் மற்றும் மேலும் இவ்விடம்பெயர்வின் நீண்டகாலத் தன்மை மற்றும் பலவீனமான தன்மையின் பாரம்பரியக் கருத்துக்களிற்கு எவ்வாறு சவால்

விடுகின்றன என தளையசிங்கத்தின் கட்டுரை (அத்தியாயம் 2) ஆராய்கின்றது. இது புத்தளம் மாவட்டத்தில் உள்ளூர் சமுதாயங்கள் மற்றும் உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களிடையேயான உறவினையும் குறித்த சில பலவீனமான தன்மைகள் மாத்திரம் இனங்காணப்பட்டு தேவைகளை நிறைவேற்றிக் கொடுக்க கவனத்தில் கொள்ளப்படும்போது உள்ளூர் மற்றும் உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் சமுதாயங்களிடையே தோன்றும் முரண்பாடுகளையும் ஆய்வு செய்கின்றது. தென்மாகாண கடுகதி நெடுஞ்சாலை நிர்மாணத்தின் காரணமான மீள்குடியமர்த்தலுடனான வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையத்தின் அனுபவமானது இவ்வாறான அழுத்தங்கள் இப்பிரதேசங்கள் சிலவற்றிலும் காணப்படுவதாகக் காட்டிகின்றது. இப்பகுதியிலான கரோனின் ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரை (அத்தியாயம் 3இல்) உள்ளூர் சமூகங்கள் இடம்பெயர்ந்து வந்த மக்களை தாழ்ந்த சமூக நிலையிலுள்ளவர்களாக கருதியதன் காரணத்தினால் தம்மத்தியில் சில குழுக்களின் மீள்குடியமர்த்தலை எவ்வாறு சவால் விட்டனர் என்பதற்கான உதாரணங்களை வழங்குகின்றது.

வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையத்தின் தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டத்தின் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயற்பாட்டினைக் கண்காணிக்கும் பணி பலவீனமான தன்மை எவ்வாறு கையாளப்பட்டது என்பதிலான சில ஆழ்ந்த படிப்பினைகளை வழங்குகின்றது. மீள்குடியமர்த்தலினைக் கையாள்வதற்கான நிறுவனத் திட்டவமைப்பு, விசேட கொடுப்பனவுகள் மற்றும் நிதி சம்பந்தப்படாத உதவிகள் வழங்குவதினூடு நிலம் சுவீகரிக்கப்பட முன்னர் நிலவியனவாக அடையாளம் கண்டுகொள்ளப்பட்ட பலவீனமான தன்மையினைப் பற்றி எடுத்துரைப்பதற்கான ஆற்றலை கொண்டுள்ளது. இது செயற்திட்டத்தினால் உருவாக்கப்பட்ட பலவீனமான தன்மைகளை எடுத்துரைப்பதற்கு குறைந்த இடத்தையே கொண்டுள்ளது. செயற்திட்டம் பௌதீக இடம்பெயர்வினை கவனத்தில் கொள்வதுடன் 'பாதிக்கப்பட்டோர்' என வகைப்படுத்தப்படுகின்ற பகுதியினர் தமது வீடுகள் அல்லது நிலங்களை இழந்தவராகவும் நிர்மாணம் தொடர்பான தாக்கங்களிற்கு உட்பட்டோராயுமுள்ளனர். 'பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களிலான' கவனத்தையும்விட பௌதீக ரீதியாக 'பாதிக்கப்படாத' ஆனால் தமது ஜீவனோபாயங்களை இழந்துள்ள அல்லது உதாரணமாக பொதுச் சொத்துக்களின் (அதாவது நீர் வளங்கள்) இழப்புக்களால் அல்லது சூழல் மாற்றங்களினால் (உதாரணமாக உள்ளூர் நீர்ப்பாசனப் பணிகளிலான தடைகள் காரணமான வெள்ளம்) பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களது பலவீனமான தன்மையினை சிறந்த முறையில் கையாள்வதற்கான நிறுவன ரீதியான பொறுப்பு மற்றும் ஆற்றல் என்பன மிகவும் பலவீனமாகும்.

தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டத்தில் வித்தியாசமான பலவீனத் தன்மைகள் (பெண்கள், வயது முதிர்ந்தோர் மற்றும் அங்கவீனமானோர்) அடையாளம் காணப்பட்டதுடன் ஒரு தனிக் கொடுப்பனவினை வழங்குவதனுடாக பலவீனமான தன்மைகளை ஒரே நிலைக்குக் கொண்டுவருவதற்கு விளைந்தமையும்

ஒவ்வொரு பிரிவினரிடமும் தனித்தனியாக செயற்படுவதனுடே தடுக்கப்பட்டது. மறுகையில் குறுகிய வகைப்படுத்தல்கள் (உதாரணமாக பால் தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகளிலான ஆய்வு பெண்கள் தலைமைத்துவத்திலான குடும்பங்களிற்கு மாத்திரம் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்படல்), பெண்கள் பங்கேற்கும் வீட்டு அடிப்படையிலான ஜீவனோபாயங்கள் போன்ற ஏனைய பலவீனமான குழுக்களுடன் செயலாற்றுவதைத் தவிர்த்துள்ளது. 'பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்கள்' தமது நட்டஈட்டினைப் பயன்படுத்தி, தமது நிதி மற்றும் நிலையான சொத்துக்களை அதிகரித்துக் கொள்வதற்கு, நல்ல முதலீடுகளை மேற்கொள்வதற்கு மற்றும் தமது வலையமைப்புக்களை பலப்படுத்திக் கொள்வதற்கு என பெற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஏனைய ஆதரவினைப் பயன்படுத்தி தமது பலவீனமான தன்மையினைக் குறைத்துக் கொள்ளக்கூடியவர்களாக இருந்துள்ளனர். மக்கள் தமது வருமான முதல்களை இழந்தபோது, தமது வலையமைப்புக்கள் உடைக்கப்பட்ட போது மேலும் மீள்சூடியமர்த்தலின் மன அதிர்ச்சிகளிற்கு மேலதிகமாக ஈடுகொடுக்க வேண்டி ஆளான நோய் பிரச்சினைகளால் பலவீனமான தன்மை அதிகரித்தது.

வித்தியாசமான நோக்குகளிலிருந்து பலவீனமான தன்மை கலந்துரையாடப்படலாம் என்பதுடன் மேற்குறிப்பிட்ட கலந்துரையாடல் பூரணமானதல்ல. இருந்தாலும் இது கீழே குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளது போன்ற சில முக்கியமான விடயங்களை வெளிச்சப்படுத்திக் காட்டுகின்றது.

- வகைப்படுத்தலின் பெறுமதியும் ஆபத்துக்களும், சர்வதேச விவாதங்களில் வகைப்படுத்தலை ஆய்வு செய்வதற்கான தேவை.
- இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களிற்கும் அவர்களுக்கு புகலிடம் வழங்கிய சமுதாயங்களிற்குமிடையிலான உறவுகளைக் கருத்தில் கொள்வதன் முக்கியத்துவம். உள்வாரியாக இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் அல்லது பாதிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்கள் வகைப்படுத்தப்படல் பொதுவாக உள்ளூர் சமுதாயங்களிலான பலவீனமான தன்மைகளுடன் செயலாற்றுவதைத் தவிர்க்கின்றது எனவும் இது அழுத்தங்களை விளைவிக்கும் எனவும் மனிதாபிமான மற்றும் அபிவிருத்தி நிறுவனங்கள் இனங்கண்டு கொள்ள வேண்டிய தேவையுள்ளது.
- அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டங்கள் அடிக்கடி பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்கள் மற்றும் உள்ளூர் வாசிகள் என்ற இரு விரிவுகளிற்கும் வெளியில் சென்று பலவீனமான மக்களின் குழுக்களை (பௌதீக சொத்துக்களை இழக்காத மக்கள், நிர்மாணப் பணிகளால் பாதிக்கப்பட்டோர் மற்றும் மீள்சூடியமர்த்தலின் பின்னர் பலவீனமான நிலைக்கு ஆளானோர்) உருவாக்குகின்றன. மக்களின் இக்குழுக்களுடனும் செயலாற்றுவதற்கு மீள்சூடியமர்த்தலுடன் செயலாற்றும் நிறுவனங்களின் பொறுப்பும் ஆற்றலும் விரிவாக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

- பலவீனமான தன்மையுடன் செயலாற்றுவதற்கான சிறந்த செயன்முறைகளுள் ஒன்று வெவ்வேறு பலவீனமான குழுக்களுடன் தனித்தனியாக ஈடுபடுவதாகும். நட்டஈடு மற்றும் வழங்கப்படுகின்ற உதவிகளை மக்கள் தமது சொத்துக்களை அதிகரித்துக் கொள்ளவும் தமது வலையமைப்புக்களை பலப்படுத்திக்கொள்ளவும் பயன்படுத்தக்கூடியவர்களாக இருப்பின் தமது மீள்குடியமர்த்தலின் பின்னான பலவீனமான தன்மையினைக் குறைத்துக் கொள்வதற்கு கூடிய வாய்ப்பினைக் கொண்டுள்ளனர்.

5 நியாயமானதும் பங்கேற்கக்கூடியதுமான செயன்முறைகள்

முன்னைய கலந்துரையாடல்களின் அடிப்படையில் வகைப்படுத்தலானது பிரச்சினைக்குரியதாக இருந்தாலும் அது அரச மற்றும் அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களிலிருந்து உதவி பெறுபவர், உதவி பெறாதவர் யார் என்பதினை அடையாளம் காண்பதில் முக்கியமாக உள்ளது. இவ்வகைப்படுத்தல்கள் எவ்வாறு வரையறுக்கப்படுகின்றன என்பது நியாயம் என்ற விடயம் தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகளைத் தோற்றுவிக்கலாம். சனாமியினால் இடம்பெயர்ந்த நகர்ப்புற வறிய குடும்பங்களுடன் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஆய்வினை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு கரோன் முன்வைத்த ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரை தற்போதுள்ள கொள்கைகளும் செயற்பாடுகளும் எவ்வாறு நியாயமின்மையைத் தூண்டுகின்றன என விளக்குகின்றது. சனாமி வீடமைப்புக் கொள்கை தொடர்பான எண்ணக்கரு அதன் நிர்வாக செயன்முறையின் அமுலாக்கல் போன்றன தனித்துவாழும் பெண்கள், விவாகம் செய்யாது ஒன்றாக வாழும் சோடிகள், சில இனக் குழுக்கள் மற்றும் சமூக குழுக்களிடையில் வித்தியாசம் காட்டுகின்றன. நன்மை பெறுபவர்களினை வகைப்படுத்துவதற்கான தீர்ப்பு உள்ளூர் அரச அதிகாரிகளிடம், வழமையாக கிராம சேவகரிடம் விடப்படுகின்றது. ஆக்கிரமிப்பானது கொள்கையின் கீழ் ஒழுங்குபடுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது. ஆனால் புதிய வீடுகள் ஒதுக்கப்படும் விடயத்தில், தமது சொந்த பெயரில் வீடுகளிற்கான பத்திரங்களைக் கொண்டுள்ள பெண்கள் புறக்கணிக்கப்படுகின்றனர். நகர்ப்புற வறியோருக்கான மற்றொரு சிரமம் சுய-மீள்குடியேற்ற செயன்முறையாகவுள்ளது. தமது சொந்த இடங்களிற்கு அண்மையிலேயே காணி கொள்வனவு செய்வதற்கு நட்டஈடு போதாமையானது சில குடும்பங்களை மாவட்டத்திற்கு வெளியே இடம்பெயர வைத்துள்ளது. சில இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள், எழுத்தறிவின்மை மற்றும் குறைந்த கல்வித்தரம் என்பன ஆவணங்கள் மற்றும் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள செயன்முறையினை நன்கு விளங்கிக்கொள்வதை விட்டும் தடுப்பதால் தமக்கு பாத்தியதையான மொத்தத்தையும் பெற்றுக் கொள்ளத் தவறுகின்றனர்.

இதற்கு மாறாக தென்மாகாண போக்குவரத்து அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டத்தினால் நிறுவப்பட்ட காணிச் சுவீகரிப்பு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயற்குழு (LARC)

செயன்முறையிலான குணதிலக மற்றும் டி சில்வாவின் ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரை (அத்தியாயம் 3 இன்) இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்களினது மொத்த உரிமைகளைக் கொடுக்கின்றதான ஒரு உடன்பாடான நிறுவன ஒழுங்கில் விவரணத்தை வழங்குகின்றது. LARC இன் திட்டவமைப்பு இரண்டு முக்கியமான கொள்கைகளின் அடிப்படையிலானது. அவையாவன, 'பிரதியிடல் பெறுமானத்தில்' நட்டஈடு வழங்கல் மற்றும் நட்டஈட்டுத் தீர்மானங்கள், அவர்களது நிலைமைகள் தொடர்பாக எடுக்கப்படும் தீர்மானங்களில் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தல் மற்றும் நட்டஈட்டுச் செயன்முறை, அளவுடன் தொடர்பான எந்த இன்னல்களையும் எடுத்துரைத்தல் என்பவற்றுக்கான அடிப்படையை உணர்ந்துகொள்ள பாதிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களிற்கு தளம் வழங்கல் என்பனவாகும். காணிச் சுவீகரிப்பு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயற்குமுவிற்றும் பிரச்சினைகளில்லாமலில்லை. ஆவணப்படுத்தல் கவலை தரக்கூடிய விதத்தில் போதாமலிருப்பதுடன் இதன் விளைவாக செயன்முறையின் வெளிப்படையான தன்மை மற்றும் நியாயத் தன்மையைப் பற்றிய சில சிரத்தைகளும் ஏற்பட்டுள்ளன. இருந்தாலும் இச்செயன்முறை காணிச் சுவீகரிக்கப்பட்டவர்களுக்கு தமது இழந்த காணி மற்றும் சொத்துக்களைப் பிரதியிடுவதற்கான ஆற்றலை அதிகரிக்கின்ற 'பிரதியீட்டுப் பெறுமானம்' அடிப்படையிலான நட்டஈட்டினை வழங்கியது. மக்கள் இதனை கூடிய நியாயமானதாக மற்றும் பங்கேற்கக்கூடிய செயன்முறையாகக் கருதியதுடன் இது நட்டஈடு தொடர்பான நீதிமன்ற வழக்குகள் மற்றும் செயற்திட்ட தாமதங்களை விளைவிக்கக்கூடிய சந்தர்ப்பங்களையும் குறைக்க உதவிவுள்ளது.

லுனாவை சூழல் அபிவிருத்தி மற்றும் சமூக அபிவிருத்தி செயற்திட்டம் (அத்தியாயம் 3) ஆரம்பத்திலிருந்தே ஒரு புதுமையான அணுகுமுறையை எடுத்ததுடன் செயற்திட்டத்தின் வடிவமைப்பினுள் பங்கேற்பினையும் உள்ளடக்கியது. இங்கு மீள்குடியேற்றமானது இலங்கையின் அரசு சட்டங்களின் கீழ் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது. ஆனால் நட்டஈட்டினைத் தீர்மானிக்கும் மீள்குடியேற்ற இடங்களைத் திட்டமிடல் மற்றும் இடம்மாறுவதை நிறைவேற்றுகின்ற மொத்த செயன்முறையும் ஆலோசனையுடனான மற்றும் பங்கேற்புடனான விதத்திலேயே மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றது. இச்செயன்முறையின் இறுதி விளைவு லுனாவை பள்ளத்தாக்கு வாழ் மக்களின் மீள்குடியமர்வானது 'விருப்பமற்றதாக' இல்லாமல் 'விருப்பத்துடன்' நிகழ்வதாகவும், அவர்கள் தாம் பலவந்தமாக வெளியேற்றப்பட்டவர்களான இனிமேலும் உணரவில்லை எனவும் ஹேவாவாசம் கருத்துரைக்கின்றார்.

நியாயம் மற்றும் பங்கேற்புடனான செயன்முறைகளிலான கலந்துரையாடல்களிலிருந்து தோன்றுகின்ற பல விடயங்கள் உள்ளன.

- நியாயம் என்பது இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் தொகையை ஒருநிலைப்படுத்தி 'எல்லோருக்கும் பொருந்தும் ஒரேயளவு' என ஒரு தீர்வினை வழங்குவதல்ல எனும் உண்மை. இதைவிட நியாயம் என்பது பல்வேறு

இடம்பெயர்ந்த சமூகக் குழுக்களிற்கிடையிலான வித்தியாசங்களைப் புரிந்துகொண்டு அவரவர்களின் குறிப்பான தேவை மற்றும் ஆற்றல்களிற்கேற்ப நிறைவேற்றிக் கொடுப்பதற்கான ஆற்றலைக் கொண்டிருப்பதைக் குறிக்கின்றது. இதுவே காணிச் சுவீகரிப்பு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயற்குழுவிற்கான அடிப்படையாகும்.

- அமுல்படுத்துவோர் பால் மற்றும் வறுமை தொடர்பான உணர்வுள்ளோராயும் அவர்கள் வறிய மக்கள் மற்றும் பெண்கள் விசேடமாக மனித வலு மற்றும் சமூக மூலதனத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ளோரினால் முகம் கொடுக்கப்படும் கஷ்டங்களை நன்கு உணர்ந்தோராயும் இருப்பது முக்கியமாகும்
- காணிச் சுவீகரிப்பு மற்றும் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் செயற்குழு (LARC) இன் செயன்முறை மற்றும் லுனாவை செயற்திட்டத்தினால் கையாளப்பட்ட செயன்முறை என்பன வளங்கள் மற்றும் சேவைகளை வழங்குவதற்கான அரசு பொறிமுறைகள் வளைந்து கொடுக்கக்கூடியவையாகவும் புதுமையான விதத்திலும் அமைய முடியும் எனவும் மேலும் இது இன்னும் கூடிய நியாயமான, பங்கேற்கக்கூடியதான செயன்முறையொன்றை அனுமதிக்கும் விதத்தில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட முடியும் என சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றன.

6 முடிவுரை

இப்பகுதியிலான ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரைகள் பல்வேறு வகையான மீள்குடியேற்றங்களிற்கிடையே நிலவுகின்ற பல்வகைமை, மீள்குடியேற்ற செயன்முறைகளினை குறித்த இடத்தில் வைப்பதற்காக கையாளப்படவேண்டிய சிக்கலான விடயங்களை எடுத்தாளுவதை குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது. வளங்கள், சேவைகளினை வழங்குவதிலான நியாயம், மக்களின் ஜீவனோபாயங்களை மீள்நிலைப்படுத்தல் மற்றும் அவர்கள் வாழும் சூழலினது பௌதீகக் கட்டமைப்பு தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகளிற்கு மீள்குடியேற்றம் பதிலளிக்க வேண்டுமெனின், அதனால் பின்பற்றப்பட வேண்டிய பொதுவான கொள்கைகளை ஒழுங்குபடுத்துவதில், பல்வேறு நோக்குகளையும் ஒரு தனி மேடைக்குக் கொண்டுவருதல் உதவுகின்றது. மீள்குடியேற்றத்தின் பல்வேறு வகைகளிற்கும் பிரயோகிக்கக்கூடிய வழிகாட்டற் கொள்கைகள் முழுவதையும் ஒன்று சேர்ப்பதற்கான சாத்தியத்தினை இக்கலந்துரையாடல் நோக்கமாகக் கொள்கின்றது.

நடைமுறையில், இத்தொகுப்பில் எடுத்தாளப்பட்டுள்ள பல்வேறு சந்தர்ப்பங்கள், ஒரு மீள்குடியேற்ற செயன்முறை அமுல்படுத்தப்படும் போது கருத்திற்கொள்ள வேண்டிய பல சிக்கல்தன்மைகளையும் சமூக பிரச்சினைகளையும் வெளிச்சமிட்டுக் காட்டுகின்றது.

இவற்றில் மீள்குடியேற்றத்திற்கு முன்னைய மற்றும் பின்னைய, குறுகிய கால மற்றும் நீண்ட கால விடயங்கள், ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட செயன்முறைகளிலிருந்து, உள்ளூர் சமுதாயங்களுடனான உறவுகளிலிருந்து மற்றும் பரந்த சமூக, பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் அமைப்புகளிலிருந்து தோன்றுகின்ற விடயங்கள் உள்ளடங்குகின்றன. இப்பிரசுரம் மீள்குடியமர்த்தல் கொள்கை மற்றும் செயன்முறையிலான வளர்ந்து வரும் அறிவினை மேலும் கூட்ட உதவுமெனவும், இக்கொள்கைகளும் செயன்முறைகளும் பல்வேறு இடம்பெயர்வு மற்றும் மீள்குடியேற்ற வகைகளுக்குள்ளும், வகைகளிடையிலும் வடிவமைக்கப்படல் மற்றும் அமுல்படுத்தலில் செல்வாக்குச் செலுத்தி பங்களிப்பு செய்யும் எனவும் எதிர்பார்க்கப்படுகின்றது.

Chapter 1:

Restoring Livelihoods

Southern Transport Development Project: Experiences and Lessons for Livelihood Restoration Assistance

Mansi Kumarasiri¹

Abstract

The acquisition of land for the Southern Transport Development Project (STDP) affected livelihoods both directly and indirectly with displacement of households and livelihood assets. Overall, the restoration of livelihoods is slow and lagging behind the restoration of housing and living conditions.

The livelihood restoration process of the STDP is linked to both the institutional elements, compensation payments and the income restoration programme implemented under the project, as well as the characteristics of the affected persons. This experience highlights the importance of understanding who needs livelihood related assistance in order to plan for the provision of relevant and timely assistance.

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1 Introduction

The Southern Transport Development Project (STDP) is the first controlled access expressway project to be built in Sri Lanka. It covers a distance of 128 kilometres from Kottawa to Matara and is designed initially as a four-lane dual carriageway, with provision for expansion into six lanes without any further land acquisition. The project is funded by the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL), the Japan Bank for International Co-operation (JBIC) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). The resettlement activities were guided by a Resettlement Implementation Plan (RIP) which was finalised in October 2002². The RIP is based on inventory of losses (IOL) surveys and sets out the policies, procedures, entitlements, implementation responsibilities and monitoring and evaluation arrangements relating to land acquisition and resettlement under the project.

According to the Position Report presented by the STDP to the Project Coordinating Committee (on January 16, 2007³), 10,271 lots were acquired for the expressway Right of Way (RoW). An estimated 1,338 families have been displaced due to land acquisition for the STDP. The land acquisition displaced households as well as livelihoods.

Three types of livelihood activities were affected under the STDP. Agricultural land utilised for paddy and cash crop cultivation such as cinnamon, tea, rubber and pepper amounted to 77% of the total losses. Small commercial activities such as shops and medium scale activities such as mills and quarries are included under commercial property losses. About 122 persons who have lost commercial establishments have been identified. Home based activities are largely informal. About one-third of displaced households were recognised as having a livelihood activity that would be disrupted due to the change in location of the household, and paid a loss of employment allowance. Such identified activities related to small-scale entrepreneurial activities (47%) and location specific wage labour or services (30%), as well as home gardening and livestock rearing (23%). In almost all cases these activities were a secondary source of income, with only 10% of cases in which the micro-enterprise or wage labour was the sole source of income⁴.

² http://www.adb.org/Documents/Resettlement_Plans/SRI/Southern_Transport/default.asp

³ Position Report on ADB and JBIC sections in STDP as at 31/12/2006, PCC meeting 16th January, 2007.

⁴ CEPA note on House and Property Livelihoods.

The paper seeks to understand the impact the STDP had on the livelihoods of the affected people (APs), and aims to aid in drawing up policy recommendations relevant to income restoration in similar instances of development induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR).

The paper covers three areas: 1) the STDP plans to assure livelihood restoration; 2) the impact of the STDP on livelihoods; and 3) key factors linked to the recovery of livelihoods. In the final section it condenses what was learned to recommend policies that will be useful in other development induced resettlement projects.

2 Methodology

The paper is based on the findings of CEPA's Independent External Monitoring (IEM) of the resettlement activities of the STDP. IEM was conducted in four phases. The data presented in the paper is mostly drawn from phase 3, the intense data collection period.

The monitoring was based on a 400 stratified random sample of the affected population. It was stratified according to the geographic location, to represent all Divisional Secretariats and types of loss.

The tools that were used in monitoring were primarily a combined questionnaire on quantitative and qualitative methods to capture both verification and impact objectives. Triangulation of data gathered at the household survey was done with respective STDP regional officers to ensure accuracy of information. Observations and photo documentation were also used to help visualise the change.

3 Conceptual Frame: DIDR and Impacts on Livelihoods

During the last twenty years more than 20 million people worldwide have been compelled to move from their homes to make room for massive development projects. As a result, many guidelines were developed and studies were done with the aim of improving the impact of DIDR on the affected people.

This resulted in new ways of looking at the impact of resettlement on the affected people. It sought to focus on 'restoring' both living standards and

livelihoods of the affected people beyond compensation. These guidelines and measures were built with the idea that at the end of the planned activity, the lives of the affected people will be better off, both in terms of economic and socio cultural, living standard terms.

It is in that context, that Cernea (1997)⁵ views that “the primary objective of any induced involuntary resettlement process should be to prevent impoverishment and to reconstruct and improve the livelihood of resettlers”. In his Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model, among the eight risks of resettlement, Cernea identifies “joblessness” as a risk of resettlement. It occurs both in rural and urban displacements, due to loss of land and services. Usually the period of unemployment does not end with physical relocation. In essence the IRR model emphasises the management of these risks before the project starts, during the project implementation and after the completion of the project to encourage faster recovery.

The risk of joblessness after resettlement arises from the fact that establishing employment and livelihoods take time and investment. Here, there is a greater need to view the resettlement process beyond the point of compensation and to make it a process that helps the actual recovery of the affected people. The IRR model provides input at two levels. At policy level, these risks can be mitigated when making resettlement policies, and at the strategy level, greater thought can be given to the resettlement plans of specific projects, to be developed in consultation with all stakeholders in the resettlement. Providing land for land loss, shelter for shelter loss and re-establishment of community networks and resources are ways in which risks of unemployment can be addressed.

The IRR model further specifically recommends that provisions on employment promotion/creation should be a part of the resettlement plan, so that it can increase the awareness of the risk and stimulate methods to increase employment options.

Along with this, the IRR model also proposes four activities that can increase livelihood restoration of affected people in instances of DIDR: a) Create employment opportunities for the affected people and people in the adjacent

⁵ Michael Cernea, “The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations,” World Development, Vol. 25(10), 1997.

villages within the project itself, b) Facilitate access to employment in areas targeted to be developed (growth centres) as a result of the development project, c) Provide an employment allowance that would encourage self employment and d) Offer structured training in new skills.

The international experience of resettlement planning focusing on livelihood restoration has influenced the RIP, which incorporates most of the above recommendations.

4 Livelihoods Restoration in RIP

Until the STDP, resettlement in Sri Lanka was guided by the Land Acquisition Act (LAA) which was amended in 1986. Many resettlement programmes in Sri Lanka, the Mahaweli Development Irrigation Program for one, were implemented under the LAA. There were gaps in the LAA that needed to be addressed and so the National Policy on Involuntary Resettlement was developed.

The Resettlement Implementation Plan (RIP) provides guidelines for the restoration of livelihoods of people affected by the STDP. The RIP, which was a donor requirement, was developed based on the approved policies of the government, similar to the National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP).

As such, along with guidelines for acquisition and compensation, the RIP has also developed guidelines for livelihood restoration. This is an important step forward in involuntary resettlement policy in the country. The RIP offers both monetary and non monetary assistance to restore livelihoods of the project affected. Monetary assistance compensates for the loss of livelihoods in two ways: value for assets and allowances for lost livelihoods.

The RIP introduces a replacement value over the government valuation as compensation for assets. The government valuation which was the standard procedure was topped with valuations from the LARC⁶ discussion. The top-up valuation is based on the size, geographical location and type of land. On top of the land value, those affected were also eligible to a transaction cost, which took into consideration all costs incurred in physical relocation.

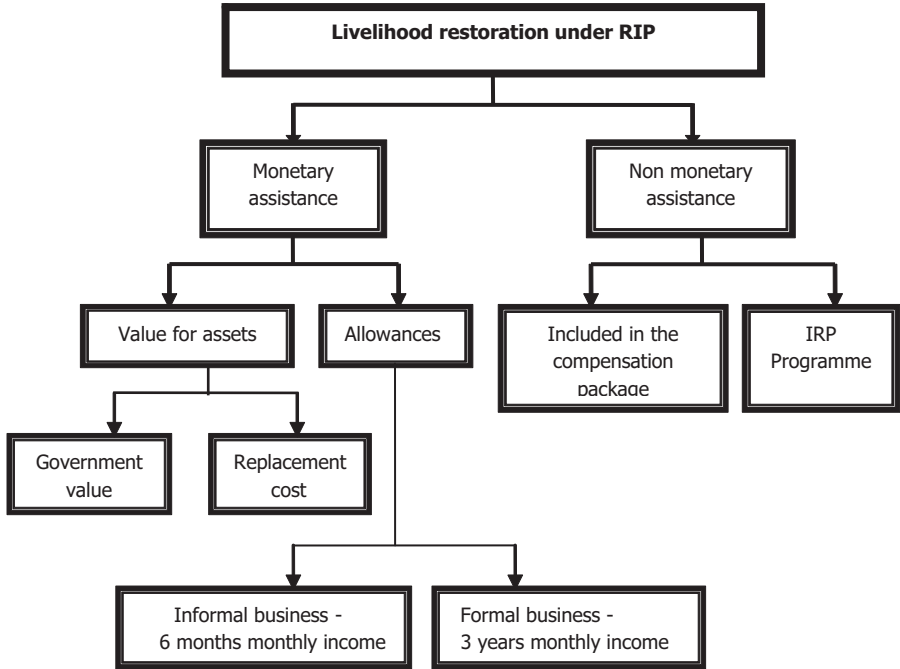
⁶ LARC = the Land Acquisition Reclamation Committee. This committee conducted at DS level is a meeting where the AP and the relevant acquisition officials gather to negotiate and discuss the compensation for assets. This was an innovation of the STDP resettlement process.

The RIP also sets out allowances for lost livelihoods during the period of transition. Two types of allowances were planned: the registered formal businesses were to be paid three years of monthly income while the informal businesses were to be paid six months of monthly income with a minimum payment of Rs.15,000. In a commercial enterprise, the employer was paid the loss of business while the employees were paid the loss of income. Compensation for the larger businesses depended on the nature and the type of the business.

Non monetary assistance was to be provided in two ways: as part of the compensation process and assistance through the Income Restoration Programme (IRP). As part of the compensation package, assistance was to be provided to help APs to find replacement land for their livelihood activities, introduce methods to increase productivity of their lands etc. However, this activity has not been uniformly practised.

The Resettlement Implementation Plan supports the notion that rehabilitation is quicker when affected people are empowered. Empowerment was identified as the provision of training, working capital, and institutional and social development. It would thus develop entrepreneurial skills and link people to existing institutions. The affected people were given priority when employment opportunities presented themselves at the construction stage.

Figure 1: Livelihood restoration as planned under RIP



The plan was to be implemented by the Resettlement Offices, with external resource people to be hired to provide assistance as needed.

5 Impact of STDP on Livelihoods

The impact of the STDP on Livelihoods was studied under each category of livelihood loss. The monitoring shows that compared to restoration of housing, livelihood restoration has been slow.

- **Agricultural lands**

Agricultural livelihoods were affected when cultivated land was acquired by the project. Agricultural land accounted for the largest proportion of acquired land. On average, the size of agricultural lands were larger than that of commercial lands. In replacement, there is a tendency to replace the productive land with non productive land, particularly with the aim of putting up houses and shops.

The replacement of agriculture land is very low. This is most prevalent with the paddy cultivators, where 90% have not replaced their paddy land. Land cultivated with cash crops show a slightly higher level of replacement. In a follow up after the first monitoring phase, cash crop households showed 65% of a recovery path. This reflects the importance of the agriculture income source to the household. Cash crops such as tea or cinnamon were a main income source and therefore replacement is vital for survival. On the contrary, paddy is mainly for consumption and only the excess was sold for a supplementary income. The loss is felt less as a loss of income and more as increased expenditure and therefore the replacement of paddy was not as vital as the replacement of cash crops.

Non replacement of agricultural land has occurred due to reasons related to household decision making. Many agricultural lands were of shared ownership and as such the compensation received was low.

I wanted to buy a paddy land and I have looked for a paddy land. But my compensation was not enough to buy as they asked 3 lakhs for the paddy land. Now, those paddy lands are very expensive.

- Paddy farmer, Homagama

- **Commercial lands**

From the affected people sampled in the study, 1.5% were those who had lost 'commercial property' or business premises. There were a diverse range of businesses: 48% were retail and wholesale, 28% agricultural and food processing, mining and services, and 15% were manufacturing. As most of the establishments were informal, these activities were either conducted at home or very close to it. As a result they were directly affected by the land acquisition.

Commercial enterprises are recovering at a slow pace. The phase 3 survey found that about 60% have decreased income, while the follow-up survey found that only 55% have restarted commercial activity. Often the replacement is on a smaller scale than it was previously. The larger enterprises showed a greater tendency of restarting. A supporting factor for this is larger compensation, on which they were able to subsist until recovery. In smaller enterprises, slower recovery is linked to the importance of that income source to the household. This was evident where the primary income source of a household is a non commercial activity such as government employment.

- **Home-based industries**

Home-based livelihood activities were those conducted within the residence such as catering, sewing, home gardening and livestock rearing. In numbers the loss of home-based industries is small, unlike commercial or agricultural property losses. These activities were informal and at a very micro level but produced a substantial additional income to the household. Micro activity such as wage labour has been the sole income in only about 10% of the population.

According to the monitoring findings, the replacement of these activities has been low. Given that it was a secondary income, the priority given to its replacement was lower than that of housing replacement, which was vital. These activities were very location specific, and relocation depended on land availability. The new land was often not favourable, due to reasons such as lack of space and breaking up of market networks.

This group was the primary target group assisted by the Income Restoration Programme. Assistance to households was limited to home gardening and enterprise development. However, the IRP concentrated more on households that lost homes and property as opposed to households that lost agriculture and commercial land, which also had a need for such assistance. The cash crop survey found that only 19% of the households that lost agricultural land received non-monetary assistance in the interim period.

6 Key Factors Linked to the Recovery of Livelihoods

Monitoring the impact of the STDP on these three livelihood areas (agricultural/commercial/home-based industries), showed that the following key factors were linked to the recovery of livelihoods:

- **Low intensity of loss**

Intensity of loss is a key aspect that determines the recovery of the livelihoods affected. It is seen in terms of a larger percentage of land lost, particularly in the case of small holdings. Those who lost a larger proportion of their land were identified as having a high intensity of loss.

The initial findings of monitoring indicate that those who have lost small percentages of land from larger holdings, were better able to recover than those who had small holdings and lost most of it. This is particularly true with cash crop cultivators, where some households who had large land holdings

like tea, rubber and cinnamon have difficulties in cultivating the remaining small areas of land.

That land was highly productive. It was cultivated with extension services and subsidies from the government. What is left now is just a strip of land. We cannot cultivate cinnamon on that any more. We abandoned it.

- Cinnamon cultivator, Homagama

Those that are on a recovery path are those with large holdings who, irrespective of the proportion lost, were able to absorb the loss either by increasing the productivity of the remaining land or replacing land with the compensation.

The AP lost 279 perches of cinnamon land and purchased approximately 120 perches as replacement land using the compensation money. The productivity of the new land is higher as the new land was a young cultivation as against the cultivation on the land that was acquired.

- Field enumerator notes, Welipitiya

APs with smaller holdings were more easily demotivated and cultivating small plots resulted in dis-economies of scale.

- **Large compensation payment**

Compensation was decided based on factors such as location of the land in proximity to a developed area, size of the lot, method of livelihood for which the land was used (crop type, level of commercial establishment), value of building/structures on the lot and ownership type.

Where relocation has happened, larger compensation has contributed to recovery. There is greater possibility of buying new land or assets. It also provides cushioning to subsist on during the recovery period.

In comparison to the compensation given for commercial properties, houses and agriculture cash crop properties, the compensation given to paddy lands has been less. Most of the paddy lands received low compensation and the compensation varied, with higher value given in urban areas like Homagama and Maharagama and lower rates in rural areas like Imaduwa and Welipitiya. Given the nature of inheritance of paddy lands, about 50% were jointly owned and the compensation had to be divided among the many owners.

It would have been good if I could have bought a land with the compensation. But there wasn't a land here to be bought for that amount of money. The price of land went up. And getting compensation in installments was also a problem. If I got it all at once I could have tried to make arrangements. First I got Rs. 90,000 and then another Rs. 34,000; six months later I got another Rs.15,000.

- Agricultural land owner, male, age 64

The process of compensation was sometimes delayed and it could be paid in several installments (Refer to phase 3 reports.) In such cases, there is less investment, with people using the money for day-to-day and family expenses such as funerals or weddings.

We wanted to buy land, but my wife fell sick and we spent it on that. When some money comes to hand, a way to spend it also comes.

- Agricultural land owner, male, age 66

- **Ability to maintain same market and production variables**

Access to production resources and labour, and access to markets are variables that play an important role in the development of a livelihood activity.

The replacement option is often dependant on the availability and price of land. In the vicinity of the development project there is a high demand for land, first as a result of demand from those who have to relocate, and second, due to the development of the area as a result of the STDP.

This has particularly impacted on the commercial properties. People have lost their networks and supplier bases and moving to smaller spaces has restricted their activities.

I ran the business and my husband also helped me. We sold groceries, bread, hoppers, string hoppers... We received a good income from it. It was close to the road, so we had customers. We did the business for a few days here but stopped. There is no space here or enough people to buy goods. We built our house with our total compensation. My husband's income is now the only income.

- Commercial property owner, female, age 44

Retention of market networks is also important for the recovery of the home based products which very much depend on long established community level networks. Activities like rearing livestock are abandoned due to it being difficult, or impossible, in smaller spaces.

We lost a lot because of acquisition. Earlier I could use my parents' land to put my animals. There I had cows and goats and that brought me an additional income. I sold coconut charcoal (polkatu anguru pichchuwa) and here I can't do it because if I start burning coconut shells here people will chase me away. It needs a lot of space. I had it in the earlier place, here we don't have that much space. We used to sell coconut shell spoons. Then people came to our house to buy them, now we have to go from one house to the other to sell them. We used to get a considerable income from our milk and coal businesses. There were people who came to our vegetable patch (kotuwa) to buy vegetables as well.

- Householder, male, age 47

- **Entrepreneur characteristics of the household**

It takes a long time for a livelihood activity to grow to a stable stage. The loss of such a livelihood activity and the need to restart may have an impact on both the physical and psychological readiness of entrepreneurs and their households.

Replacement also depends on the resources and capital available to restart. Households having access to other lands, having alternative incomes and having members who can support restarting are in a better situation than households who lost land and who have neither remaining capital nor members to support the process of restarting.

- **Minimum damage from road construction impacts**

Ongoing road construction can also have an impact on the recovery, slowing the recovery process.

Impacts arising from construction such as dust, disrupted waterways, flooding and silting particularly affect agricultural livelihoods with the quality of the tea leaves affected by deposits of dust and the silting of paddy lands affecting production. Construction activities also have disrupted access to the remaining agricultural lands beside the acquired road construction areas and therefore they are not well maintained.

We have a remaining 115 perches of paddy land but now we can't use it because the drainage system has been blocked as a result of the land acquisition of the STDP.

- Householder, male, age 46

7 Implications for Policy Planning

At a time when Sri Lanka is planning many development projects that may include resettlement, the experience of the STDP resettlement and attempts to restore livelihoods bring out important learning that can be applied to similar projects.

Compensation is an important aspect of replacement. Adequate, agreed upon compensation has increased the potential to restart livelihoods faster. The replacement value in particular, coupled with the standard compensation, increases the actual compensation given and thus increases the chances of replacement.

Replacement is also linked to the ability of the affected persons to find replacement land quickly. The facilitating of this reduces time spent in the transit locations and the uncertainty over relocation. There has to be a mechanism within the project to facilitate either the provision of land or the introduction of land into the market.

Given that the socio economic situation of all the affected people is not the same and they face different challenges in the restoration of livelihoods, it is important that non monetary assistance caters to their individual needs. In the project, the non monetary assistance given via the IRP has been useful although it was limited to a few.

Assistance should be diversified and link the APs with specialised agencies who are currently offering similar programmes. For example, assistance to tea cultivators can be linked to the local authorities that they are currently linked to, such as the Tea Smallholders' organisation. Assistance should be customised according to the interest, capacity and skills of the receiver. One should move beyond the generalised, one-size-fits-all policy of the IRP and set out different programmes to suit different interests and capacities.

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Displacement and Livelihoods: A Case Study from Sri Lanka

Rajith W.D. Lakshman¹ and Kopalapillai Amirthalingam²

Abstract

This paper investigates how the livelihoods of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Sampur, currently living in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka, were affected by the displacement. In August 2007 and April 2008, we conducted extensive fieldwork in numerous welfare centers in Batticaloa which had received persons displaced from the Matur divisional secretariat (DS) in the Trincomalee district. A sample of 76 households from the village of Sampur was selected for this purpose. Those who were displaced from Sampur are of Tamil origin. The results reveal that displacement has had a statistically significant negative impact on livelihoods. However, the impact varies among the four categories of IDPs: Type I Labour, Type II Labour, Government Servants and Asset Holders. Type I Labour – who have a ready demand in the host community – and Government Servants are able to make ends meet while Asset Holders are much worse off. Type II Labour has much less demand in the host communities and this has impoverished the Type II labourers in spite of their skills. Though Government Servants' livelihoods were economically intact, our results show that displacement has had other forms of negative impacts on their livelihoods.

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1 Introduction

Civil conflicts and development projects both uproot and forcibly displace people within their own countries³. Such people, widely known as internally displaced persons (IDPs), are known to face deep and chronic impoverishment and pauperization⁴. Cernea's (1997) Impoverishment Risk and Livelihood Reconstruction (IRLR) model identified eight processes which increase the risk of impoverishment among IDPs. The model, originally proposed for the analysis of development induced displacement (DID), was extended to conflict induced displacement (CID) by Muggah (2000). Some of the processes in the IRLR model emphasise how the loss of livelihoods can exacerbate the impoverishment of IDPs. For example, processes such as joblessness, homelessness, landlessness, and loss of access to common property are directly related to livelihoods whereas other processes have indirect links with livelihoods. This paper provides an economic analysis of how the livelihoods of the people of Sampur changed with their displacement. It is an extremely timely issue for Sri Lanka – at the time of writing the country is poised to face an unprecedented wave of IDPs, particularly in the Vanni, Northern Province. That, however, does not reduce the international significance of the issues covered here.

We have identified certain livelihoods and the function of certain assets in shoring-up coping strategies to survive the first year of displacement. This broadly fits the literature on losses incurred by displaced persons, which identifies a much broader cluster of losses than mere economic losses. For instance there are cultural and social losses relating to access to certain services, common property resources, social capital etc., that have been measured (Cernea 1999). Critical as these 'non-economic' losses are, the mere survival of IDPs is contingent upon whether they are able to negotiate the economic and financial losses that ensue immediately after displacement. This underscores the significance of the present study.

Livelihoods are defined by Chambers and Conway (1992) as constituting of the capabilities of people and tangible and intangible assets and activities required for a person to make a living. In the same research paper, the U.K. Department for International Development's (DFID) Professor Conway

³ Natural disasters are also an important cause of internal displacement. However, these have different ramifications to those displacements which are 'forced' by human activity.

⁴ See Deng (1999: 484) for a formal definition of IDPs, which is used in this study.

coined the term 'sustainable livelihoods', which is a key concept of the present day poverty debate. Though DFID's sustainable livelihoods framework is often applied to refugee and IDP livelihoods, Jacobsen (2002: 98) argues that it is useful mainly to analyse poverty reduction in stable situations. Displaced people and refugees, in contrast, seek livelihoods in situations which are far from stable. Therefore, this paper uses Jacobsen's (2002: 99) definition of a livelihood, which is more relevant for situations of CID:

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

The critical terms and phrases in this definition, according to our assessment, are 'vulnerability', 'conflict', 'survival', and 'return'. Together, they clearly delineate this definition from that of Chambers and Conway (1992: i), which, we agree, is more useful to analyse DID livelihoods. The thread of the argument, which attempts to highlight the subtle but important distinctions between CID livelihoods and DID livelihoods, will run throughout this paper. These distinctions are not easy to detect because both CID and DID occur under quite similar push factors: "a combination of violated human rights and anticipation of 'human security' in other regions" (Muggah 2000: 198).

The main constraint in doing microeconomic analysis in conflict affected regions is the lack of data (Närman and Vidanapathirana 2005: 14). For instance, Mutur DS division, which includes the village of Sampur, was not even included in the 2001 census because several villages within Mutur DS division were under LTTE control at that time (Bohle and Fünfgeld 2007: 672). Thus, to our knowledge, no secondary data is available for the region we explore in this study, and to perform any kind of economic analysis, one has to rely on primary data. In that regard Bohle and Fünfgeld highlight another problem: the "need for protecting the security of research participants." This is because the Batticaloa district where we did field work was at that time a highly volatile and dangerous location. In fact security concerns forced us to divide our data collection process into two periods.

By overcoming the data collection challenges our work has led to a significant and unique improvement in the quality of data used in the relevant literature⁵.

There are four other features which make this study unique within the literature on the conflict in Sri Lanka in particular, and within the discipline of refugee studies in general. Firstly, no previous study has been able to quantify the livelihood impacts of displacement on people forcefully displaced by conflict. This is due mainly to the lack of data. Secondly, only a few studies focus exclusively on the economic impact of CID (Amirthalingam and Lakshman forthcoming, is an exception). It is alleged that economists have contributed far less to displacement literature even though their contribution is highly sought after (Cernea 1995; Cernea 2007). Though Cernea's concern is primarily in relation to development induced displacement (DID), this lack of economic analysis and interpretation is also felt in relation to CID. Thirdly, the richness of our data enables us to segregate the overall livelihood impacts into various sub-components. These sub-components are clearly identified as capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets by Chambers and Conway (1992: 8). However, we believe that Korf's (2004: 277) categorization is more suitable for our purposes. He identifies six forms of livelihood endowments – natural, physical, human, social, political, and financial – available to an individual. Whenever it was possible to measure the impact of displacement on these livelihood endowments, we have done so. That has enabled us to compare across these various endowments, which exercise has revealed that the various endowments react to displacement differently. This is something that researchers have not been able to quantify until now.

Fourthly and finally, this work and the approach we use provide an elegant means of operationalising some of the ideas proposed in the Guiding Principles. Here, using our empirical evidence we have been able to augment Cernea's (1995) resettler's income curve to the case of CID.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 introduces a new tool to examine CID incomes. Section 3 outlines the Sri Lankan experience in internal

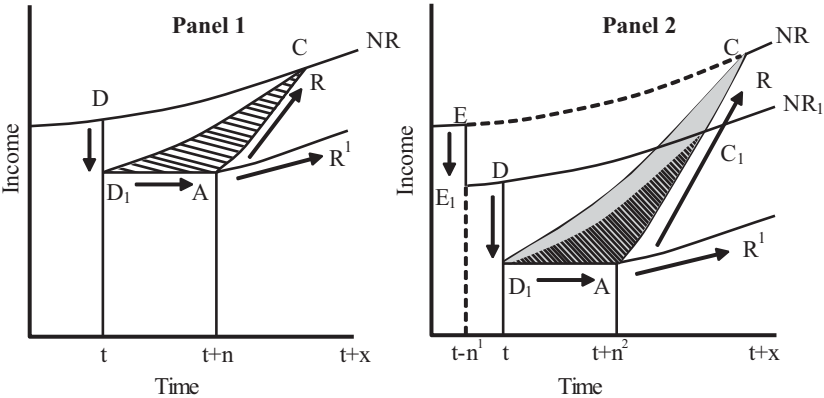
⁵ We believe that we got the proper balance of insider and outsider researchers with Tamil language skills, some exposure to firsthand displacement experience, and regional navigational knowledge (both Sampur and Batticaloa). This research team therefore had a natural capacity to predict likely ethical issues, and security risks faced by the research participants (see Goodhand 2000).

displacement and enumerates the critical events that mark the process of displacement of the people of Sampur. Section 4 is an explanation of the process of gathering data for our study. Section 5 proposes a categorisation of livelihoods that is more amenable to the CID setting. Section 6 presents four case studies of households from the main sample and identifies some salient features that underlie livelihood losses. Sections 7 and 8 extend this work with a cross sectional analysis of the complete sample. Section 9 contrasts livelihood restoration in CID and DID settings. Section 10 provides some concluding remarks.

2 Displacement and IDP Income

The general understanding is that development projects have an overall positive impact on the population of a country. To put it in economic terms, the development projects are welfare maximising. However, Cernea (1995: Figure 1), using resettler’s income curve, identifies that there are significant welfare losses for IDPs, even if all lost assets were replaced or compensated by the project. These losses are represented respectively by white and shaded areas (DD, AC) in Panel 1 of Figure 1, which reproduces Cernea’s income curve.

Figure 1: Cernea’s resettler’s income curve during displacement and relocation.



Panel 1 is the original income curve proposed by Cernea (1995: 255) relevant to the DID situation. In Panel 2 we extend and adapt Ceanea’s model to the CID situation.

The above resettler's income curve of Cernea's (1995), by design, can only examine DID incomes. In this paper we propose to extend that work so that the resettler's income curve analysis is also available to the examination of CID incomes. For ease of presentation we will hereafter call the latter the 'CID income curve' and Cernea's (1995) version the 'DID income curve'. The proposed CID income curve is presented in Panel 2 of Figure 1. There are three features which make the CID income curve different from the DID income curve. Firstly, there should be two normal income lines in the CID situation: one representing the normal activity in stable conditions and the other representing 'normal' activity in conflict conditions. These normal lines are represented by NR and NR1 in the figure⁶. The critical assumption here is that income levels in conflict economies are always below the potential level that can be reached in stable economic situations (Abeyratne 2004; Abeyratne and Lakshman 2005; Siluvaithasan and Stokke 2006; Amirthalingam and Lakshman 2009). According to our diagram the conflict starts on $t-n_1$, and from that point onwards the said separation of income paths take place.

Secondly, in the CID income curve, the drop of income at the time of displacement is more significant than that of the DID curve. This is captured by a sharper fall from D to D_1 in Panel 2 than in Panel 1 in Figure 1. This reflects that DIDs receive more time for evacuation than CIDs. The former get to remove and transport their assets in more peaceful conditions than the latter. In Sri Lankan DID situations we have observed that the displaced people in fact manage to remove assets which in a CID situation are clearly not moveable. These include livestock, vehicles, household equipment, food stocks and even building material from the house that they are leaving behind.

Thirdly, the compensation of income loss should be more in the CID case compared to the DID case. This is brought out by the shaded areas of Panel 2. Notice that there are two areas that are of interest: (1) the income compensation that should accompany asset replacement in order that the CIDs reach NR_1 income path (D_1AC_1), (2) the income compensation that should accompany asset replacement so that CIDs can reach NR income path (D_1AC). This implies that more income compensation will have to be utilised by relief agencies if they are to guide the CIDs onto NR . Another

⁶ Here we assumed away peace processes, ceasefires etc., that affect the shape of NR1.

implication is that relief efforts will have to persist for a longer period if the displaced persons were to be taken beyond NR_1 to NR , movement along the path R from C to C_1 taking additional time.

3 Displacement of People in Sampur, Sri Lanka

Since 1956 Sri Lanka has experienced several bouts of ethnic violence. The worst of these came in 1983, resulting in the deaths of nearly a thousand civilians of Tamil origin. Between 1983 and the date of writing, ethnic violence has escalated into a civil war waged between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The violence in 1983 made a large number of Tamils flee the country. The flow of refugees, bound mainly to India, Western Europe, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, though varying at times, continues unabated at the time of writing. The conflict in Sri Lanka has also produced IDPs, whose livelihoods are the focus of this paper. The expulsion of nearly 75,000 Muslims from the Northern Province, mainly from Jaffna and Mannar districts, by the LTTE in 1990, is generally considered the origin of the IDP problem in Sri Lanka. IDP numbers in Sri Lanka vary widely, depending on the source of information and the period for which the estimation is made. The number is also sensitive to the intensity of the conflict (van Brabant 1998).

With the recent intensification of the conflict in the Vanni, Northern Province, the issue of IDPs has come to the fore in a forceful manner. Ironically a process of resettlement and relocation of IDPs is also going on – sometimes in the same regions that are generating IDPs. For instance, UNHCR (2007) reports that 99,265 IDP families returned to their homes during the 2002-2004 period when the Norwegian brokered ceasefire agreement (CFA) between the government and the LTTE was being honoured by both signatories. During this period new displacements were minimal (UNHCR 2000). In 2006, the IDP situation was more complex: while some IDPs were returning, large numbers of fresh displacements were taking place elsewhere in the country (UNHCR 2007). Going beyond the issue of the numbers of IDPs, other issues such as whether returnees are doing so voluntarily, and when an IDP ceases to be one, are also important in the Sri Lankan context (Brun 2003). These issues, however, are beyond the scope of this paper.

The people of Sampur were displaced in five phases until they reached Batticaloa. Amirthalingam and Lakshman (forthcoming) provide a detailed discussion about the process and phases of displacement of

these IDPs. We do not see the need to repeat that material here. Some of the IDPs who originally came from GSs of Pallikudiyiruppu and Paddalipuram and who were living in Batticaloa as IDPs have since been resettled in their villages⁷. However, others, including all of the Sampur IDPs, are still in the welfare camps.

4 Data and Methodology

The data presented here was obtained by interviewing a group of households, randomly selected, originally from the village of Sampur, who at that time were housed in welfare centres in Batticaloa. A structured questionnaire was administered to collect specific qualitative data. Interviews with GS officers and NGO officials who work in this area were also important sources of information. Where relevant, we used such institutional information to triangulate the information furnished by the IDPs. Field visits and observation methods were also used over a two-week period in August 2007 as well as in April 2008⁸. Only one research team comprising three members was used and the team was headed by the second author who is able to work in the Tamil language.

People from 19 GS divisions in the Mutur DS division in the Trincomalee district were displaced in April 2006. Our study, however, covers only the two GS divisions that constitute the village of Sampur. 736 families lived in Sampur at that time – a total of 2934 people. In our sample there are 76 families incorporating a total of 311 individuals. The sample thus includes approximately 10% of the families and individuals.

There was an element of randomness in the way the households were directed to welfare centers by the government officials who received them in Batticaloa. This ensured that the sample we have used is essentially a random sample of IDPs from the village of Sampur. This randomness,

⁷ GSs are the lowest level (at the village level) of regional administration in Sri Lanka. Several GSs together bring up a DS division, which is the next highest level of regional administration, followed by the district which comprise several DS divisions. The GS divisions of which the people were displaced are: Pallikudiyiruppu (6), Nalloor (2), Paddalipuram (2), Sampur East (1), Sampur West (1), Kooniththeevu (2), Navaradnapuram (2), Kaddaiparichhan South (4), Chenaiyoor (1), Kaddaiparichchan North (2) and Kadatkarai-ichchenai (3). The number of villages in each GS division is given in parenthesis.

⁸ The welfare centers in alphabetical order are: Iyankei, Kalliyankadu, Kokkuvil, Kurrukalamadam, Mavadvempu, Navarkeni, Palameenmadu, Savukkadi, Sebastian, Sinhala Mahavidyalayam, Sinnaoorani, Valaichchenai, and Zahira.

we feel, was instrumental in the sample having properties similar to the population. We also included some IDP households currently living in and around Batticaloa town but either in rented houses or with relatives. We interviewed all except non-Sampur households in these locations. Note that the financial situation and livelihoods (as well as other facets) of the IDP life is in a state of constant change and that our results are correct as of April, 2008⁹.

5 Categories of Livelihoods in Sampur

In this study of livelihoods of IDPs, we first examine case studies of four families, from four categories of livelihoods that we have developed: Type I Labour, Type II Labour, Government Servants, and Asset Holders. Type I Labour consists of families whose main income is from masonry and carpentry. What is unique about these livelihoods is that they rely mainly on labour endowments and have a ready market in Batticaloa town. In other words this category of workers had a ready demand in their host communities. Though there are other skilled labour related livelihoods in Sampur, families relying on Type I Labour are special as their skills continue to provide the IDPs with substantial income.

Type II Labour consists also of livelihoods emanating from labour endowments. For example, families who, before displacement, relied on work related to agriculture, fisheries, stone breaking, brick making, etc., were included in this category. It must be highlighted that families whose livelihoods relate to ownership of agricultural land and fishing boats and wadis were not included in this category (See the description for Asset Holders). Type II Labour, in contrast to Type I, has experienced many challenges in getting established in the host community. For example, the distance between IDP camps in Batticaloa town and the nearest paddy fields or the sea restricts farmers and fishermen from engaging in their former livelihoods. The loss of networks, as well as concerns for personal security, restrict people of this category seeking jobs in distant locations. Type II people seem to have responded to this situation by engaging in low paying manual work in place of the kind of work they formerly did in Sampur. This has arguably reduced their economic and social status.

⁹ At the time of data collection, the subjects have been displaced for two years. Whenever the data corresponds to the two-year period we interpolated on a straight line basis to calculate the value for a one-year period. The data was analysed in SPSS.

The next category is the Government Servants. The majority of these are school teachers and included two librarians as well. The nature of government sector employment is that the employees can continue in these livelihoods even in displacement. Work of government teachers, though interrupted during the period they were in transit, recommenced once they came to Batticaloa. In spite of this interruption of work their salaries continued to be paid. This distinguishes this category from Labour Types I and II.

The final category of families derived livelihood from being Asset Holders. Their livelihoods were based mainly on returns on capital and entrepreneurship and not on labour endowments. With the loss of assets due to displacement these livelihoods ceased to exist. These IDPs, representing the top income decile of Sampur in terms of social and economic status, have struggled to cope with the livelihood impact of displacement. This makes them stand out from the other categories.

6 Impact of Displacement on Different Livelihoods: Case Studies

This section, using a panel of case studies, discusses the current financial situation of some of the families in our sample. This approach, motivated by Muggah (2000), lays the groundwork for the cross sectional analysis which follows. For instance, it enables us to identify some of the relationships we formalise later. The various hypotheses tested in this paper were mooted and developed using the case studies. The case studies are also important in emphasising the human tragedy behind the numbers (statistics) we have compiled. In what follows we select a stratified sample of four families out of the main sample of 76¹⁰. The strata were on the basis of: (1) the main livelihood of the household before displacement, as well as (2) how these livelihoods reacted to displacement. Both (1) and (2) are important for the categorisation.

When pre-displacement livelihood of a household consisted of income from multiple sources representing different categories we have put that household in the category which earned them the most income. For example,

¹⁰ Our sample had families engaged in the following livelihoods (numbers within parentheses) before displacement: Type I Labour (15), Type II Labour (32), Government Servants (5), and Asset Holders (23).

Household 3's pre-displacement income was Rs.659,800 p.a. This consisted of Rs.415,000 from the husband's agricultural activities on their own land and Rs.244,800 from the wife, a teacher in a government school. Applying the above criteria, Household 3 was thus categorised as an Asset Holder household. This makes the categorisation less straightforward than we would have wished. However, in the final analysis, it has yielded acceptable results. Table 1 (next page) summarises livelihood information pertaining to four households selected from these livelihood categories.

Table 1: Detailed description of annual income and livelihood before and after displacement.

HH No.	31	9	66	8
HH Members	4	4	4	4
Category	Labour-Type I	Labour-Type II	Government Servant	Asset Holder
HH details	Husband, wife, daughter and wife's mother	Husband, wife and two sons	Husband, wife and two daughters (one born after displacement)	Husband, wife and two daughters
Livelihoods before Displacement	Mainly masonry (husband). Other income include confectionary business and agricultural income.	Mainly agricultural labour. Other incomes include minor income from crops in the garden.	Mainly from teaching. Other income from paddy and dry land.	All income was asset based. These include income from paddy field, dry land, fishing and cattle raising. Wife used to sew as well.
Livelihoods after Displacement	Masonry (10 days per month at Rs. 1200/day)	Casual Labour (3 days a month at Rs. 500/day)	Teaching in government school in Batticaloa	None.
Place of Residence	Kalliyankkadu Camp	Kalliyankau Camp	Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya	Navatkeni
Previous Income (1)	374400	73200	193000	349500
Main livelihood	288000	42000	138000	349500
Ancillary livelihood	86400	31200	55000	0
Current Income (2)	161424	35424	202800	17424
Relief	17424	17424	0	17424
Labour (3)	144000	18000	202800	0
Saved Income (4)	7000	60000	160000	75000
Total Income as IDPs (2)+(4)=(5)	168424	95424	362800	92424
OPL (6)	99168	99168	99168	99168
(3)/(1)*100	38%	25%	105%	0%
(4)/(1)*100	2%	82%	83%	21%
(5)/(6)*100	170%	96%	366%	93%

Values in Sri Lankan Rupees (1USD=Rs.108)

Household 31 had several livelihoods before displacement. However, their main livelihood was masonry work undertaken by the husband. In addition he also cultivated paddy and banana on their own land. This, as well as the confectionary business run by his mother-in-law, added to Household 31's income. However, as per our methodology for categorisation, the main livelihood (masonry) yielded more than the ancillary livelihoods (Rs.288,000 vs. Rs.86,400). After displacement the household lost their agricultural income as well as the confectionary business. As IDPs they totally rely on any masonry work they can get, plus food and other relief given to them. This has reduced their earned income to just 38% of what they earned in Sampur. However, in conjunction with the relief and saved income, whatever they earn has kept the household above the official poverty line (OPL)¹¹.

Here we argue that Type I Labour is special for three reasons. First is the mobile nature of livelihood endowments. Mobility is a common feature among all forms of labour. However, Type I Labour stands out because of its uncanny ability to establish itself and reemerge as a livelihood generator even after displacement. We stress this because there are other labour resources that have failed to establish and generate livelihoods after displacement (see the discussion on Type II Labour case study). The main reasons for this are twofold: (1) capital required to establish Type I livelihoods are minimal. For example, the less mechanised form of masonry undertaken by small-time masons needs only rudimentary tools. Even if a mason loses these due to displacement, they can be replaced with little capital. Even if this is not possible after the impoverishing experience of displacement, relief organisations such as NGOs can easily provide these tools. The factors of demand are also critical in this equation. Type I Labour finds adequate demand in the township of Batticaloa. The prevalence of conditions conducive to Type I Labour in Batticaloa mean that displacement can have only a temporary effect on the income generating capacity of Type I Labour.

Household 9, our second case study, also had ancillary livelihoods in addition to the main livelihood. The main livelihood was agricultural labour, working in paddy fields and dry lands (chilli, onion, banana etc.) belonging to others. Before displacement, agricultural labour earned Household 9 Rs.42,000 p.a. while the ancillary income was Rs.31,200 p.a. After displacement the father

¹¹ See Amirthalingam and Lakshman (forthcoming) for a definition of and the impact of saved incomes on IDP finances.

of the household did find paid work (three days a month on average), but this was not agriculture related. This demarcates Type II Labour from Type I. The former, unlike the latter, is unable to generate livelihoods after displacement. The primary reason for this can be traced to demand – there is no demand for Type II Labour in the township of Batticaloa. There are no paddy fields in its vicinity and so no demand for agricultural labour. In addition, obtaining work in paddy fields involves networking, which is not available to the IDPs. Lack of income from their main livelihood in the IDP setting had meant that Household 9 is below the poverty line. It must be appreciated that this level of poverty has struck the household in spite of having a comparatively large amount of cash at the time of displacement (Rs.60,000). Were it not for that they would have been impoverished even more. This household, after displacement, earned only 25% of its pre-displacement income.

The third case study in Table 1 is on Household 66, whose main income was from the Government Servant father. He was, before displacement, a trained agriculture teacher attached to Sampur Maha Vidyalayam. He also owned five acres of paddy land, one acre of dry land, and a poultry farm. Income from these ancillary sources was lower than that from the main livelihood, teaching. Displacement made him lose his entire ancillary asset based income. However, he continues to be a government teacher even after being displaced. This has been possible because of a mechanism called 'attachment', which is described below.

After their establishment in 1987, Provincial Councils were given the power to appoint and transfer teachers within provincial schools. Under special personal circumstances, a teacher appointed to a provincial school can request attachment to a school in a different location, for a short period. If the request is granted, the teacher will report and work at the attached school. However, his/her salary will have to be collected from the original school. This mechanism has, by now, evolved as an effective strategy to cope with CID. For example, in the village of Sampur there were two schools, both of which have now ceased to function¹². The teachers and students of these schools are displaced and many of them are in Batticaloa¹³.

¹² In the twenty-six villages that were displaced there were nineteen schools.

¹³ Schools in Batticaloa have accommodated the displaced teachers and students from Sampur. When schools cannot accommodate the students because of lack of capacity they have opted to have evening school. Students, teachers, and even the principals of such evening schools are all IDPs.

Batticaloa and Sampur (in the Trincomalee district) both come under the Eastern Provincial Council and therefore the displaced teachers have been able to get attachment to Batticaloa schools. It must be noted that the procedure of getting attachment has been relatively easy and quicker than the regular transfer process.

Coming back to the case of Household 66, Table 1 reports that government teaching work has continued even after displacement. In fact, the additional allowances given to government staff island-wide, during this period, have meant that the earned income of Household 66 has increased after displacement. As a result the household has been able to be well above the OPL.

The final case, Household 8, was a wealthy Asset Holder in Sampur. The household completely relied on assets for income. As a result, when displacement deprived them of the assets, the income of the household dropped dramatically. To aggravate matters further, in spite of their wealth, the household did not have any cash at the time of displacement due to a wedding in the family. However, mortgage of gold jewellery and debt from relatives (obtained during displacement) totalling Rs.75,000, could be made use of during displacement. Even with these resources the household could not rise beyond the OPL. It is critically important that the household has not been able to earn any income after displacement. The household head has not been able to mentally adjust to the reduced social status of working as a casual worker, which is probably the only option open to him. In addition to the social pressure there is also the issue of him not being familiar with that kind of manual work – all his working life he has been an entrepreneur.

7 Livelihoods in Sampur before Displacement

As described in Section 3 the economy of Sri Lanka has been affected by the ongoing conflict over the last two-and-a-half decades. This effect was felt differently in different regions of the country. The economy of the Northern and Eastern part of the country was the most affected by this (Abeyratne 2004; Abeyratne and Lakshman 2005; Närman and Vidanapathirana 2005). Even within the region, the conflict has had varying degrees of economic impact. For instance, while all of Trincomalee district was severely affected by the conflict, localities of this district experienced the economic impact of the conflict differently. Since Sampur was under the LTTE control for a long period – punctuated by a couple of short periods of government control –

this village suffered a more adverse economic impact than its neighbouring, government controlled, village of Mutur.

The above scenario meant that all of the livelihoods of the Sampur people were functioning below the potential level even at the time of their displacement. Most important among these are paddy cultivation and fishing. Paddy cultivation uses urea as fertilizer and its restriction (due to potential use as a component in explosives) severely affected the average yield (Korf 2004: 283; Abeyratne and Lakshman 2005). Fishing, which was a major income earner in the North and East, was also severely affected by the conflict. Siluvaithasan and Stokke (2006) discuss in detail how deep-sea fishing bans, other restrictions, and life threat to fishermen (all due to the conflict) have curtailed the output of what used to be a vibrant industry. While the Jaffna District alone provided 20-25% of the total fish production in Sri Lanka before 1983, its contribution was reduced to 3-5% by the end of the Third Eelam War (Siluvaithasan and Stokke 2006: 240). This evidence suggests that Sampur livelihoods too would have been functioning below their potential level after the eruption of violent conflict in 1983. Though we cannot provide quantitative data in support of this assertion, the interviews with key informants strongly support it.

In addition to paddy cultivation and fishing there were many other livelihoods that were useful income providers in pre-displacement Sampur. Dry land agriculture was a significant income generator. Banana, chillie and onion were grown in the dry land plots. A limited number of farmers also engaged in chena cultivation. Cattle and buffalo owners earned significant income from selling milk as well as calves. Chicken and goats also generated income, although less than cattle and buffalo.

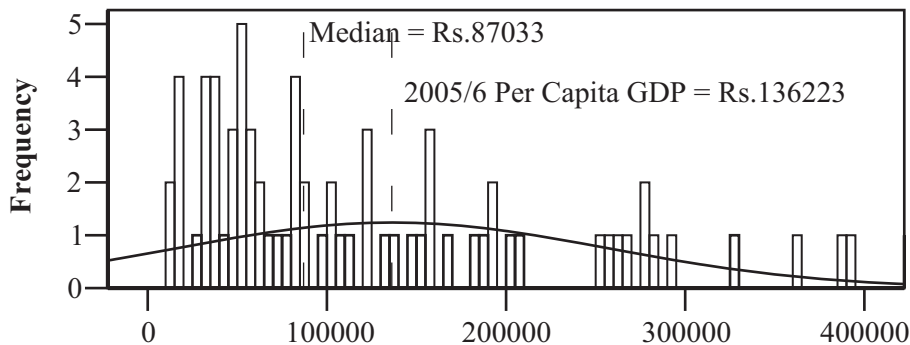
Ownerships of bullock carts was an important source of income. They were used for transporting paddy from the fields, coral stones to the lime-kiln, etc. The bagged paddy and lime and also firewood were transported to Mutur town in carts, which earned significant amounts for the owners. In addition, the bullock was used to plough both paddy and dry lands.

All of the above livelihoods were based on some form of asset, such as paddy or dry land and livestock. People also worked as casual labourers in paddy fields, dry lands, lime-kilns and in fishing activities. Higher forms of human capital such as masons and carpenters in Sampur earned even more than these casual labourers. Another important livelihood based on human capital was government service. In Sampur these constituted mainly of school

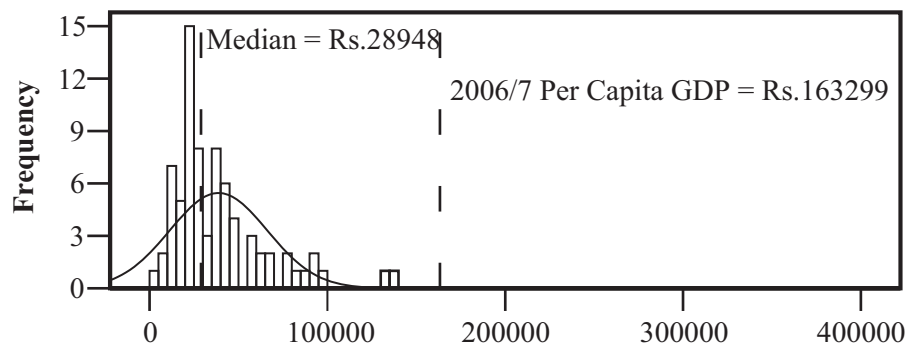
teachers employed by the two government schools. It must be highlighted that all these forms of livelihood, without exception, were functioning below their potential, even before displacement.

Though it is easy to describe the various livelihoods in Sampur, it was not so easy to categorise them along those lines. The reason for this, as noted by Chambers and Conway (1992: 8), is that “[r]ural livelihoods, themselves, comprise one, or more often several, activities.” However, as discussed in Section 5, we have, in this paper, applied a consistent mechanism to categorise the livelihoods of the people of Sampur. This was useful in generating new insights into the livelihoods of these people.

Figure 2: Frequency distributions of pre- and post-displacement (per capita total household incomes)



Panel 1: Pre-displacement total income (Rs.)



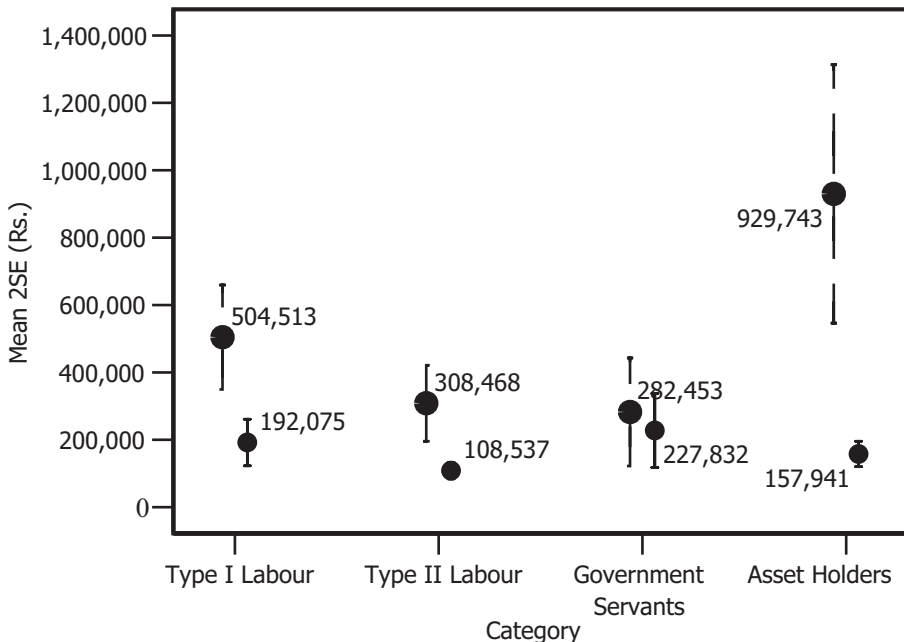
Panel 2: Post-displacement total income (Rs.)

Frequency distributions of pre and post-displacement(per capita total household incomes) are plotted in Panels 1 and 2 respectively. For the pre-displacement case the statistics which define the distribution include mean=136515, median=87033, SD=120578, skewness=1.418, SD of skewness=0.277. For the post-displacement case the statistics are mean=38774, median=28948, SD=27434, skewness=1.621, and SD of skewness = 0.277. Though income axes are common for both panels the frequency axes are allowed to be different for clarity.

Panel 1 of Figure 2 provides summary information such as frequency distribution, mean, median, standard deviation (SD) etc. regarding pre-displacement income. Instead of family income which we have been reporting and working with so far, in this diagram we report annual per capita income of the households, which was obtained by dividing annual household income by the number of household members. According to the diagram, the pre-displacement per capita income of Sampur ranged from Rs.10,000 to Rs.395,000. We include statistics which summarise this information. The mean, for example, is Rs.136,515, which is almost identical to the per capital GDP figure for all Sri Lanka, Rs.136,223. We use the latter to approximate the level of potential none-conflict income for the Sampur people¹⁴. Does this mean that the economy of Sampur was not affected by the conflict as postulated by the CID income curve in Section 2? The answer is an emphatic no. One can visually observe that the mean is not a good representative of the pre-displacement income, or for that matter any distribution of income. This is because the distribution is truncated at the level of 0. This has resulted in a positively skewed frequency distribution for income. Thus the median provides a better summary of income information than the mean. The median at a level of Rs.87,033 is much less than per capita GDP. In fact, the latter is 56% higher than the median. This we believe is adequate evidence that the economy of Sampur since the start of conflict was performing below the potential level. This supports a key proposition forwarded by us in Section 2 that for people displaced by conflict the loss of income sets in long before they are displaced.

¹⁴ Clearly, the Sri Lankan economy in its entirety is affected by conflict. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that its per capita GDP figure corresponds with the NR curve of Panel 2 of Figure 1. However, due to lack of an alternative we have sought to do that. The argument here is that Sri Lankan average would be more normal than that of Sampur, which is a village situated right in the middle of the conflict zone.

Figure 3: Mean income (of different categories of livelihoods)



Mean income (as well as 95% error bars) of different categories of livelihoods. The perforated lines indicate pre-displacement income levels and the solid lines indicate post-displacement income levels. The post-displacement incomes includes saved income (jewellery mortgage, cash at displacement, debt) and relief (Amirthalingam and Lakshman forthcoming). The mean values are stated in the diagram.

Figure 3 builds a profile of livelihoods. The pre-displacement profile shows that Asset Holder households, on average, had been earning a lot more than any other category. There is, however, a huge variation in income within this category. Government Servants earn the lowest average income from among the four categories in Sampur. This can, on the one hand, be attributed to the multiple livelihoods undertaken by Types I and II Labour, which increase their income above that of Government Servants, who earn only their salary. On the other hand, the criteria used here meant that the

Government Servants who engage in other, mostly asset based, livelihoods were categorised as Asset Holders. In other words the asset income of these households was higher than income from government service. The figure also indicates that in pre-displacement Sampur, Type I Labour earned more than Type II Labour. Clearly a premium was being paid for the higher value human capital endowments of the Type I Labour over the wages of Type II Labour.

8 Impact of Displacement on Livelihoods: A Cross Sectional Analysis

This section builds upon the case studies of Section 5 and analyses the complete sample of 76 households to identify the livelihood impacts of displacement. The assertions made in Section 5 on case studies can be corroborated or refuted using the complete sample. Cross sectional data analysis methods are employed for that purpose. The analysis revealed the pre- and post-displacement patterns of livelihood have been, in most cases, significantly affected by displacement. In addition it also shows that the impact varies across different categories of livelihoods.

Panel 2 of Figure 2 provides a frequency plot of per capita income after displacement for the whole sample. It paints a picture of devastating loss of income after displacement. The distribution of income has changed in two ways after displacement: (1) both mean and median have declined by massive proportions, and (2) the standard deviation of the distribution has also declined. Per capita GDP representing, what we argue to be the normal or the potential level of income, is more than 464% higher than the median of the Sampur incomes after displacement.

Figure 3, in addition to the pre-displacement livelihood profile discussed in Section 7, also provides a snapshot of the post displacement plight of these IDPs. Incomes of all categories, without exception, have declined after displacement. The most pronounced of these declines is witnessed in the Asset Holder category. It must be borne in mind that this categorisation is based on pre-displacement livelihood and that the households in this category by no means can be categorised as Asset Holders on the basis of their post-displacement endowment. As in the case of Household 8 there seem to be a catastrophic loss of physical assets which has caused income

to fall among the households of this category. However, the post-displacement information presented in Figure 3 includes previously saved income and relief as defined by Amirthalingam and Lakshman (forthcoming). Without these added inputs the Asset Holder plight would have been even graver.

IDPs who were Type I and Type II Labour before displacement, though witnessing a decline in their incomes, have not been affected as badly by displacement as the Asset Holders. We believe that this is because of the fact that the main livelihood endowment of these categories – human capital – is mobile. It was argued earlier that Type II Labour, to be able to generate maximum livelihood income, depended on other complementary assets or common property such as paddy fields and sea. Section 5, in elaborating the case of Household 9, discusses the difficulties faced by agricultural labourers in displacement. A similar situation prevails in the case of fisheries sector labourers too.

The sea is quite distant from most of the IDP camps in Batticaloa. In the prevailing security situation the Type II fisheries sector labourers are not prepared to travel far in search of work. Then there are two camps – Kurukkalmadam and Palameenmadu – located in close proximity to the sea. These camps have accommodated fisherfolk from Sampur. However, Kurukkalmadam is traditionally a village of the Vellalar caste, which does not normally engage in fishing. In view of this strong social restriction the IDPs in this village, even if they have the skill and human capital, cannot engage in fishing. In Palameenmadu the problem is entirely different. In that village the fishing technique is different to what the Sampur fishermen are familiar with. These are the practical reasons why Type II Labour is not generating livelihoods for the IDPs in Batticaloa.

On the basis of Figure 3, incomes of the Government Servants were the least affected. The reasons for this were explained in detail when we discussed the case of Household 66 in Section 5. Reasons such as attachment also explain why the income of Government Servants have been resilient in the face of displacement. However, this does not mean that they have been able to escape from impoverishment that set in after displacement. The figure does not say anything about the expenses incurred. Though incomes of the Government Servant IDPs have not declined as much as the others, there is anecdotal evidence that their expenses have soared¹⁵. For instance after

¹⁵ In this study due to data gathering difficulties we have not collected expenditure information.

displacement and arriving in Batticaloa, some of the teachers have sought to rent houses. We have also been able to observe that some of these families have started to buy furniture, electric appliances and other household items. This expenditure pattern, which is not common among other categories of IDPs or among non-IDP Government Servants, is putting an extra burden on those who were displaced. In addition, many of them need to pay back various loans that they had obtained before displacement. For example, many have taken 'distress loans' to build/renovate their houses or to invest in the livelihood activities of the spouse. Though the assets they had invested in have disappeared with displacement, these people still have to repay the loan with interest, which adds a considerable amount to their monthly expenditure¹⁶.

9 Contrasting Livelihood Restoration in CID and DID

Muggah (2000) and Amirthalingam and Lakshman (2009) contrast the cases of CID and DID. In this section we will highlight three such differences, particularly in the light of livelihood restoration and in relation to the evidence presented above. The first difference is the abruptness and hence the unpredictability of the displacement, which was seen to have a major impact on livelihoods and their restoration (Muggah 2000: 213). The evidence produced in this paper is strong proof of this. This was also highlighted by Amirthalingam and Lakshman (2009) who also argue that a CID evacuation will be more abrupt than a DID evacuation. The time available for evacuation can determine how much of movable livelihood assets are in fact removed by IDPs. Here we argue, with evidence, that IDPs who are able to remove livelihood assets when they evacuate are able to better restore their post-displacement livelihoods. It follows that livelihoods lost by DID will recuperate in less time than similar livelihoods lost by CID.

The second difference is the fear factor, which is more prevalent in CID. This paper has documented, particularly for the case of Type II Labour, how personal security issues can prevent IDPs from reestablishing their livelihoods by restricting their movements. In the DID case we believe that the fear of personal security will not hinder the free movement of IDPs and livelihoods can be more easily restored.

¹⁶ See Amirthalingam and Lakshman (forthcoming) for a discussion on what they called the asymmetric impact of displacement on assets and liabilities.

The third difference may be the availability of support for livelihood restoration. Such support can come from either the government or non-governmental sectors. Both these channels of support may not operate at the same capacity in the CID and DID cases. The government channel would surely be operational in the DID setting but political or economic issues may determine its effectiveness. In contrast, in the CID setting, governments can sometimes deliberately refrain from support activities. Further, for various reasons, the government sector is sometimes seen to block or hinder the work done by NGOs to restore the livelihoods of conflict affected IDPs. This too, may be determined by geopolitical aspirations. This point has a close bearing on the criticism of the IRLR model based on its 'state centric' nature (Muggah 2000: 213) (Amirthalingam and Lakshman 2009).

10 Conclusion

In interviews and responses to questionnaires, IDP communities in Batticaloa, eastern Sri Lanka, regularly highlighted the significance of livelihoods for shoring up coping strategies. In this study we have been able to uncover and more importantly, provide an economic quantification of the increased impoverishment risk that sets in with loss of livelihoods due to displacement. We have been able to study important processes identified in Cernea's IRLR, or the impoverishment model, within the livelihood-poverty framework.

The focus of the paper is on incomes and other economic repercussions of having or not having livelihoods after displacement. To do this we had to extend the resettler's income curve of Cernea to suit the CID situations. Empirical findings of the paper overwhelmingly support our extension, which we call the CID income curve. There is evidence that the median of per capita income of the conflict IDPs was a fraction of the median of their pre-displacement per capita income. In addition, the median income before displacement was below per capita GDP of the country as a whole. This was interpreted as evidence that the income of the people of Sampur was already below potential level, even before they were displaced. There is also evidence that the variance of income also dropped with displacement. This however cannot be incorporated into the CID income curve analysis.

Another important finding of the study was that different types of livelihoods respond differently to displacement. Using these varying responses as the basis we divided the livelihoods into four types: Type I Labour, Type II Labour, Government Servants and Asset Holders. The study provided

evidence that Asset Holders suffered the most significant loss of income due to displacement. To the extent that Type II Labour needed complementary assets to generate livelihoods, the drop in their incomes was larger than that of Type I Labour. The latter needed very small amounts of complementary capital, which made their income more resilient and that it did not fall too much in response to displacement.

The above information can be used in designing income restoration programmes for populations affected by CID. One important strategy that can be used is to train the jobless IDPs in work which is in high demand in host communities and which require minimal complementary capital. In Batticaloa, for example, carpentry and masonry, Type I Labour, have these properties. The displaced farmers, fishermen, etc. that constitute Type II can, arguably, be trained within a relatively short period to do Type I work. Our work has shown that salary incomes of the Government Servants did not suffer as a result of the displacement. While the displacement causes many other problems to Government Servants their salaries were intact, thanks to the attachment mechanism. Designing income restoration programmes for Asset Holders, in contrast, is not easy. Many of these are very experienced entrepreneurs, which makes them less pliable and difficult to retrain. They suffered the most precipitous decline in income, which experience most of them found to be daunting, psychologically speaking. Irrespective of the specific income generation plan for them, what is paramount is that they receive adequate psychological support and counselling on a priority basis. These are some of the ways that resettlement activities could support coping strategies and productive processes, so that the livelihoods of IDPs are restored as quickly as possible.

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Social and Economic Impacts of Resettlement on Tsunami Affected Coastal Fishery Households in Sri Lanka

Asha Gunawardena¹ & Kanchana Wickramasinghe²

Abstract

The economy of the fisheries sector was devastated by the 2004 tsunami in Sri Lanka, most particularly the coastal fisheries sector, the focus of this paper. It examines the impact of post-tsunami policies related to resettlement, such as land ownership and housing, and other resettlement decisions made by fisher households and the government. The paper also looks at current issues facing resettled households and how they have been affected in terms of livelihood restoration, housing conditions, access to infrastructure facilities and services, and access to social networks. The paper puts forward some policy options to minimize such issues.

The study uses data from the Tsunami Census of the Department of Census and Statistics to understand the pre-tsunami conditions of the fisher households. A follow-up survey was carried out in the six most tsunami affected districts in the Southern and Eastern provinces, in July 2008, to obtain data on the post-tsunami socio economic situation. In addition,

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qualitative data collected from focus group discussions and key informant interviews is used to get an in-depth understanding of the issues.

The findings of this paper reveal that post-tsunami interventions to provide housing, restore livelihoods and improve wellbeing have not fully achieved the intended objectives due to reasons such as poor planning and targeting. However, due to many reasons, the targeting of beneficiaries for housing interventions was better than the targeting for provision of livelihood assets.

The paper highlights the importance of having systematic and updated information on the fisheries sector which will enhance long term policy making and targeting for development interventions. The paper points out the need for a well planned integrated approach, consistent and specific policies, and changes to the existing systems in order to improve coordination among relevant stakeholders and make development interventions more efficient and effective.

1 Introduction

Although contributing only 3% of the Gross Domestic Product, the fisheries sector provides direct employment to about 150,000 people and indirect employment to about 100,000 persons in addition to supplying approximately 70% of the total animal protein requirement of the country (FBS, 2006). National fish production consists of two sectors, marine (88%) and inland fisheries (12%). Marine fisheries are further divided into two sub sectors, coastal and off-shore. Coastal fishing is the major sub sector, contributing 54% of production. This sector, mainly a small scale industry, the most vulnerable and marginalized section of the fishing community and the most affected by the tsunami, is the focus of this paper.

According to the census of tsunami affected households conducted by the Department of Census and Statistics, the total number of households affected by the tsunami was 85,748. Out of the 68,272 employed tsunami affected household heads, approximately 40% were from the fisheries sector. The number of registered fishing craft in Sri Lanka, pre-tsunami, was 30,700, although the actual number may have been higher due to unregistered craft. About 16,000 boats were lost and about 7000 damaged by the tsunami (Amarasinghe 2005). The total property damage to the fishery sector was estimated as US\$391million (ICSFW 2005). In addition, housing

damage for fisher households were significantly high (59% of fisher houses were fully damaged and 9.8% were partially damaged). Moreover, 44.8% of affected fishery households had been living within 100m of the sea at the time of the tsunami. This means that fisher households are vulnerable to any future natural disasters which cause a rise in sea level. Resettlement in a different location has been the best suggested option for most of the fisher households who lived close to the sea. This has been a challenge as most of the affected fishers are from the marginal section of the coastal community: those who did not have savings, other assets or insurance to cope with the post tsunami situation.

2 Objectives

This paper attempts to examine the impact of post-tsunami policies related land ownership, housing and other factors in resettlement decisions made by fisher households and the government. The paper examines current issues facing them and the impact of resettlement on their wellbeing in terms of housing conditions, livelihood restoration, access to infrastructure facilities and services, and access to social networks. The paper suggests some policy options to minimise such issues.

3 Methodology

Since the study attempts to evaluate the impact of resettlement, it needed to compare socio economic conditions before the tsunami with the situation after resettlement. The study used the following primary and secondary data for the analysis.

3.1 Baseline information (pre-tsunami data)

The Tsunami Census of the Department of Census and Statistics was used as the baseline data. This was conducted just after the disaster occurred and covered pre-tsunami socio economic status of the affected households as well.

3.2 Follow-up Survey

A follow-up survey was conducted in July 2008 for a sample of fisher households (390), selected from the baseline survey. This was done in order to understand the current socio economic conditions of the affected fisher households. The sampling plan and sample selection details are given below.

3.2.1 Sampling plan for the follow-up survey

A sample of fisher households was taken from the most affected six districts in the Eastern and Southern Provinces of Sri Lanka (Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Ampara, Trincomalee and Batticaloa). The Northern Province could not be included due to the ongoing conflict. The extent of impact on livelihood activities, the extent of damage to housing, the number of deaths and injured household members were taken as the measure in selecting districts. The number of DS (Divisional Secretary's divisions) from each district was selected based on the percentage of affected fisher households living in each district. DS divisions within each district where more than 10% of the households were affected were included. The number of DS divisions required for each district was selected randomly from the list. For each selected DS division, a list of GNDs (Grama Niladhari divisions) with more than 5% of affected households were selected. Three GNDs were randomly selected from each selected DS division (see table 3.1 and annex 3 for further details). Ten fisher households from each selected GND were also selected randomly.

Table 3.1: Sampling design of the follow up survey

District	No. of selected DSDs	Selected DS. Divisions	No. of GNDs	No. of fisher households
Galle	2	Hikkaduwa	3	30
		Balapitiya	3	30
Matara	1	Weligama	3	30
Hambantota	1	Hambantota	3	30
Batticaloa	4	Koralaipattu North	3	30
		Valachchenai	3	30
		Manmunnai north	3	30
		Manmunnai south	3	30
Ampara	2	Kalmunai	3	30
		Pothuvil	3	30
Trincomalee	3	Town & Gravets	3	30
		Kinniya	3	30
		Kuchchaveli	3	30
Total	13		39	390

In addition to the above survey, the study employed qualitative methods to collect in-depth information from other sources to triangulate and to get a better understanding of the resettlement process.

3.3 Key informant interviews

Interviews with key informants such as fisheries inspectors, GN officers (in-charge of village), representatives of fisheries cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources and other relevant organisations were conducted to get a better understanding of the issues related to resettlement.

3.4 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were conducted in selected communities. The participants represented the major age groups (young, middle-aged, old) and wide ranging socio-economic status. The purpose was to get a better understanding and perspective of the above mentioned issues, as well as of current issues facing the community.

4 Post-tsunami Government Policies on Resettlement/Relocation and Housing

Following the devastation of the tsunami, Sri Lanka was fairly efficient and effective in providing immediate relief to the affected people in the coastal belt of the country. However, the rehabilitation of affected households was more challenging due to reasons such as lack of reliable information, lack of coordination among government, international and local donors and poor local level capacities. Permanent housing was the main priority.

In March 2005, the government declared a no-build zone (buffer zone) of 100m in the Southern and Western provinces and 200m in the Northern and Eastern provinces. According to this policy, households who lived within the buffer zone limit were not allowed to rebuild their damaged or destroyed houses. In addition, the government introduced two approaches to provide housing assistance, an owner driven program for households outside the buffer zone and a donor driven program for those within the buffer zone.

The government had to identify lands close to the affected villages and resettle them irrespective of their pre-tsunami land ownership. The idea was to get donor assistance to build new houses on government identified lands. Guidelines were set by the government on the floor size (minimum 500 sq.ft.) and these new houses would be provided with facilities such as electricity, drinking water, sanitation, drainage and access to road systems. A feature of this policy was 'house for house', even large extended families who had previously lived together were entitled to receive only one new house, irrespective of how big their former house had been.

Resettlement was sometimes delayed due to unavailability of suitable lands close to affected villages. Households that had been within the buffer zone were in temporary shelters for years. This situation made the government revise policy in 2006 and the buffer zone was relaxed. According to the new policy, the buffer zone was less than 100m in certain areas and more households were allowed to rebuild their own houses rather than waiting in temporary shelter with the hope of being provided a new house.

However, the changes in housing policy variably affected potential beneficiaries. Those who had had small houses (less than 500 sq.ft.) and did not have land/house ownership before the tsunami have been affected adversely if they were not within the new buffer zone, by becoming ineligible for a new house, even though some of them had spent more than a year in temporary shelter. On the other hand, some households had already resettled in another location but were able to get donor assistance to also rebuild their former house. These households have benefited from the policy.

Focus group discussions with the fisher community revealed that their priority was housing, followed by livelihood restoration. However, the attention paid to livelihood restoration by the government was less than that paid to housing. There was no well planned, properly coordinated policy/strategy for livelihood restoration of the affected fishers.

5 Current Housing Situation

The findings of the followup survey reveal that 51% have rebuilt their damaged or destroyed houses and are currently living there, while 40% of households have resettled in a different location. The survey also revealed that some households have rebuilt as well as resettled in another location,

with some of them now living in both houses. These households are included in the following table under 'other' category. It is important to note that around 6% of the total households (24) have not yet been able to either rebuild or resettle even though three years have passed. Currently, these households are living in temporary shelter or with relatives. The focus group discussions revealed that some households in Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Ampara are still in temporary shelter. A few households from Hambantota are also yet to receive houses to resettle. In case of Ampara, some houses already built have still not been handed over due to non availability of water and electricity.

5.1 Current housing situation of resettled fishery households compared to pre-tsunami situation

The section below compares the current situation of resettled households with the pre-tsunami situation of the same households. Further, it discusses the resettled households in terms of housing conditions and facilities, access to infrastructure, livelihood activities and socio cultural and other related issues.

Table 5.1: Current Housing situation

	No. of houses	Percentage
Rebuilt (same location)	202	51
Resettled (relocated)	159	40
Neither rebuilt or resettled	24	6
Other	11	3
Total	396	100

5.1.1 Housing of resettled fishery households

The survey results show that out of 159 resettled fishery households, 78% currently live in completed new houses and the rest live in partially completed new houses. The percentage of households owning houses at the time of the survey is a little less than it was pre-tsunami. However, as shown in the Table 5.2, it seems that a small proportion of households have been resettled in temporary shelters and permanent houses have not yet been given to them.

Table 5.2: Housing situation of households: before tsunami and current status

Housing Situation	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Own house	147	92.5	137	86.2
Temporary shelter	2	1.3	12	7.6
Living with relatives	3	1.9	1	0.6
Extended family	4	2.5	1	0.6
Govt. owned house	1	0.6	6	3.8
Rented house/other	2	1.2	2	1.2
Total	159	100	159	100

Among all resettled fisher households in the sample, only 62% have received legal ownership of the new house. Most of the households resettled on government land have not been given title deeds. Some resettled fishers also retain the ownership of their previous land and a few of them have already sold their land for commercial purposes. Some households live in both locations, using their previous house as storage for their boats and nets.

The analysis finds that most of the resettlement land was offered by NGOs, either local or international, amounting to 43% of the total resettlements in the sample (see Table 5.3). Around 30% of households have received land from the government and around 17% have built their new houses on land owned by them.

Table 5.3: Source of resettlement lands

Source of land	Frequency	Percent
Government	47	30
NGO / INGO	68	43
Private Organisation	3	2
CBO	2	1
Own land	27	17
Other	12	8
Total	159	100

Only 19% had been resettled by 2005, one year after the tsunami. Resettlement of most of the households (42%) in the sample took place in 2006. Resettlement was still taking place at the time of the survey.

Table 5.4: Time taken to resettle

Year resettled	No. of houses	Percent
2005	31	19
2006	66	42
2007	40	25
2008	9	6
Not responded	13	8
Total	159	100

It is important to note that majority of resettled households were able to get houses away from the sea while only 15% are closer than 100m (see Table 5.5). Most of them living closer to the sea have resettled in temporary houses on reservation land.

Table 5.5: Distance from resettled land to sea

Distance to sea	No. of houses	Percent
Less than 100m	24	15
100m - 200m	13	8
200m - 500m	63	40
500m - 1000m	23	14
1000m and more	36	23
Total	159	100

5.1.2 Housing conditions

This section compares the housing conditions of pre-tsunami fisher households with their current housing, comparing housing quality, durability, size of house, availability of water, electricity and sanitation facilities. It discusses current issues related to housing conditions.

5.1.2.1 Quality and durability of the houses

Raw material used for houses can be broadly categorised into three types, materials for roofing, the walls and the floor. These materials can be permanent or temporary. For example, asbestos, tiles and concrete are permanent roofing materials but cadjan thatch is temporary. Walls of bricks or cement blocks are permanent but clay is temporary. In case of flooring, tiles or cement are permanent but clay is temporary.

Before the tsunami only 45% of the households in the sample possessed houses made out of permanent materials. However, the percentage has significantly increased to 84 % among the resettled households, showing a significant improvement in terms of quality and durability of houses.

Table 5.6 Quality of housing materials

	Pre- tsunami		Current	
	No. of houses	Percent	No. of houses	Percent
Permanent (roof, wall, floor materials)	71	45	133	84
Temporary (roof, wall, floor materials)	40	25	13	8
Combination of permanent and temporary	48	30	13	8
Total	159	100	159	100

Approximately half of the resettled households feel that their new houses are durable and of better quality, 16% feel no difference. However, one third of the resettled households complained that the new houses were not as durable as the previous ones. The most common problems related to housing quality are poorly constructed roofs, cracked walls, weak foundation and poor quality timber used for doors and windows. Focus group discussions revealed the same problems related to housing quality in both Southern and Eastern provinces. According to key informants the houses built by the households themselves are of better quality than the houses built by various donors. Only a few donors have delivered good quality durable houses. These donors had consulted the beneficiaries before building and taken their

opinions into account and some donors allowed householders to work in constructing the houses. The main reason for low quality houses was the poor service delivery of contactors. Householders complained that most of the contractors spent less than the amount allocated by donors and did not allow them to participate in the construction. Some donors have followed government guidelines when constructing and delivering houses and some have not. Moreover, as the government was not the main provider of land for resettlement, their control over housing quality standards was limited.

5.1.2.2 Size of the house

75% of the households had small houses of less than 500 sq.ft. before the tsunami. Currently, 61% of them live in houses of 500 - 700 sq.ft. The findings show that compared to pre-tsunami conditions, the majority have bigger houses. However, it is evident that resettlement has not always followed government guidelines as 27% of households still live in small houses with a floor area of less than 500 sq.ft.

Table 5.7: Floor area of the houses

Floor area (sq.ft.)	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Less than 400	99	62.3	28	17.6
400 - 500	21	13.2	15	9.4
500 - 700	16	10.1	97	61.0
700 - 1000	19	11.9	9	5.7
1000 and more	4	2.5	10	6.3
Total	159	100	28	17.6

16% of households had single room houses and 46% had had houses with two rooms before the tsunami. Currently, only 4.4% have houses with one room. This shows that more people have better houses than they had.

Table 5.8: Number of rooms per house

No. of rooms/ house	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	No. of houses	Percent	No. of houses	Percent
1	27	16.9	7	4.4
2	73	45.9	99	62.36
3	26	16.4	32	20.1
4	16	10.	15	9.4
5	11	6.9	2	1.3
More than 5	6	3.7		
Not responded			3	1.9
Total	159	100	159	100

5.1.2.3 Housing design

The majority of households, 63%, feel that they have better designed houses, while 10% feel there is not much difference. 26% feel that they are resettled in poorly designed houses when compared to their previous ones.

The major issue related to housing design was the inappropriate kitchen design. Households surveyed in all six districts mentioned the kitchen design was not appropriate for wood fires. In addition 43% of the households complained that the kitchen was too small. As shown in table 5.9, the majority of the households use biomass for cooking. The socio economic condition of the beneficiaries has not been taken into consideration in designing the kitchens. The use of biomass in a small kitchen with little ventilation and no chimneys results in indoor pollution, with a detrimental effect on the health of the household, especially women and children.

Table 5.9: Fuel use for cooking

Fuel type	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	No. of Houses	Percent	No. of Houses	Percent
Biomass (firewood, sawdust, paddy husk)	154	96.9	150	94.3
Kerosene	1	0.6	1	0.6
Gas	4	2.5	7	4.4
Electricity		0.0	1	0.6
Total	159	100	159	100

3.1.2.4 Housing facilities

The three essential facilities required for a house are water, electricity and sanitation. The problems in getting access to these facilities have delayed the resettlement process significantly. The survey shows that currently only 85% of the households have access to good quality drinking water as opposed to 94% pre-tsunami. The results clearly show there should be improvement in providing good quality drinking water to new housing sites. This is further confirmed by Table 5.10, which shows that 13.8% of households get drinking water from outside.

Table 5.10: Source of drinking water

Source of drinking water	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	No. of houses	Percent	No. of houses	Percent
Protected / tube well	56	35.2	51	32.1
Unprotected well	58	36.5	40	25.2
Piped water in a public place	15	9.4	22	13.8
Piped water within the house	21	13.2	22	13.8
Supplied from outside	7	4.4	22	13.8
Not responded	2	1.3	2	1.3
Total	159	100	159	100

Lack of electricity is another concern in most of the new resettlements, especially in the Eastern province. However the results show that access to

electricity has significantly increased among surveyed households compared to the pre-tsunami situation. Currently 79.2% of the resettled households have access to electricity.

Table 5.11: Lighting sources

Lighting source	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	No. of houses	Percent	No. of houses	Percent
Electricity	71	44.6	126	79.2
Kerosene	87	56.7	32	20.1
Not responded	1	.6	1	.6
Total	159	100	159	100

There is a significant improvement in sanitation facilities. Before the tsunami, 42.8% of the surveyed household did not have toilet facilities. This has been reduced to 6.9%. However, focus group discussions in some GN divisions in the Southern Province revealed that some toilets in new relocation sites are not functioning well.

Table 5.12: Toilet facilities

	Pre-tsunami		Current	
	No. of houses	Percent	No. of houses	Percent
No latrine	68	42.8	11	6.9
Private latrine within the house	17	10.7	35	22.0
Private latrine outside	73	45.9	110	69.2
Private latrine but does not function well	1	0.6	1	0.6
Public latrine			2	1.3
Total	68	42.8	11	6.9

Lack of drainage facilities is cited as one of the main problems in new resettlements, especially in the Southern Province. This is mainly due to poor planning.

6 Current Situation and Recent Developments in Livelihood Restoration

Most of the post tsunami livelihood programs were focused on providing cash for work, grants to start a small business or alternative livelihood training programmes and little attention was paid to the fisheries sector. Livelihood programmes focused on the fisheries sector were rare, with only some fisher households in Trincomalee (in Salli, Kuchchaveli and Annal Nagar areas) receiving training in boat repair. As the fishers had a great loss of physical assets such as boats, nets and fishery infrastructure, programmes were mainly confined to the provision of boats and fishing tools rather than implementation of a well planned, coordinated and holistic livelihood restoration. There were efforts by the government, local and international NGOs and other donors to rehabilitate the fisheries sector by providing livelihood assets to the affected community. Due to lack of appropriate data and poor coordination, differing interests and priorities of donors and the inefficiency of government institutions, the rehabilitation of the sector is currently facing serious problems. Poor targeting has resulted in conflict, as in many cases the beneficiaries were not genuine, with some of the genuine beneficiaries yet to receive livelihood assets. Unplanned supply of more fishing craft has aggravated the competition among coastal fishers, resulting in low catch per unit effort.

According to the Census of Boats conducted in 2006/2007 by the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources (MFAR), the fishing fleet has increased by 35% from 2004 to 2007 (MFAR, 2007). The MFAR thinks that the over supply of boats by tsunami rehabilitation programmes may result in the over-exploitation of coastal fisheries (MFAR, 2006). The follow-up survey results revealed that most fishers observed that the fish catch rate per craft has dropped. Over supply of fishing craft increases the total fishing effort, thereby threatening certain vulnerable fisheries with depletion of stocks. It could lead to a decrease in the income of individual small scale fishers, further marginalising poorer sections of the community. This situation is aggravated by increases in fuel prices and coastal fishery in Sri Lanka may have reached a point where implementation of strong and effective measures of management cannot be delayed any further.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, fishers in the Trincomalee district face other constraints due to the prevailing security situation, such as restriction on fishing time (night time fishing not allowed), restrictions on fishing area and the prohibition of motorised boats of above a certain engine power.

Although the total fishing fleet has increased by 35%, there is a reduction in the number of boats used for Beach Seine Fishing (*maa del*). This is a traditional artisanal community based fishing method which is done using a large, locally made net and a boat. There was significant damage to these boats and nets due to the tsunami. These nets are made by the fisherfolk themselves and replacing them is time consuming. Focus group discussions in the Southern Province reveal a threat to this method of fishing. It has a significant impact on the wellbeing of the fisher community in terms of loss of work and a shortage of fish for the daily consumption of the fisher families. However, the MFAR is taking steps to restore this traditional fishing method.

The Ministry of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources has included projects on post tsunami livelihood development in their new corporate plan (2007-2016). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) have been working in collaboration with the MFAR. The FAO provided assistance in the assessment of rehabilitation and reconstruction needs and the needs assessment of destroyed harbours and anchorages, fishing gear, post harvest facilities and coast conservation structures. Further, the FAO has plans to conduct a comprehensive resource survey of selected fishery resources within Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in 2008. IFAD has been working in the areas of housing for tsunami affected fishers, development of alternative employment opportunities for small scale fishers and provision of 25 multi-day boats with modern storage facilities.

According to our follow-up survey, 77% of the households surveyed were fishers and the rest (23%) were in fishery related jobs. They said that the main constraints they faced in recovering their livelihood were the loss of assets, followed by lack of working capital, physical and mental disabilities, loss of family members and fellow workers.

Table 6.1 shows how boat ownership has changed. The survey results reveal that only 59% of the pre-tsunami boat owners currently own a boat/boats. It is significant that 20% of fisher households who did not own boats before the tsunami now do so.

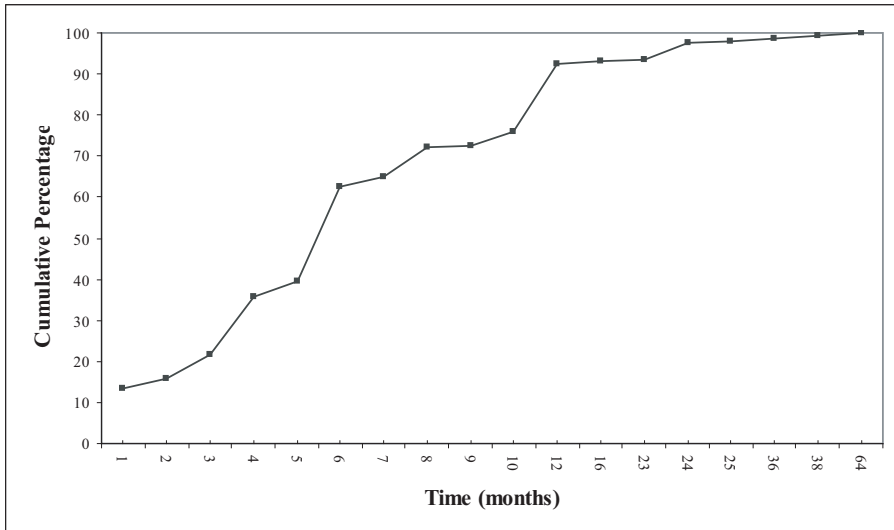
Table 6.1: Changes in boat ownership

		Current Boat Owner		
		Yes	No	Total
Pre-tsunami Boat Owner	Yes	109 59%	75 41%	184 100%
	No	42 20%	170 80.2%	212 (100%)
	Total	147 38%	243 62%	396 (100%)

International and local NGOs provided more than 64% of boats. It is interesting to note that more than 80% of households were of the opinion that boat distribution did not happen in a fair manner. Focus group discussions revealed that some beneficiaries of boats were not fisher households. Some of them do not have fishing skills and are not familiar with fishing activities. On the other hand, some crew members and labourers in the fishery industry who did not own boats before the tsunami have received boats.

More than half of the households in our follow up survey had taken more than six months to restart livelihood activities and cumulatively around 90% had commenced their livelihoods within a year (Figure 6.1). Loss of fishing assets was the main drawback. Some fishers were not able to start their livelihood activities even after receiving boats. For about 23%, non-availability of nets was a problem and lack of money for undertaking fishing operations was a concern for around 17%. Around 14% stated that not having a house to live in was an issue.

Figure 6.1: Cumulative percentages of households against time taken (in months) to restart livelihood activities after Tsunami



6.1 Current livelihood status of resettled fishery households compared to pre-tsunami status

6.1.1 Boat ownership

There was no separate policy or planned programme to restore the livelihoods of resettled fisher households. As mentioned above, provision of assets was the main post tsunami intervention in the fisheries sector. The table shows poor targeting in boat distribution in both resettled and rebuilt households. However, better targeting and distribution is observed among rebuilt fishery households than resettled.

In addition, some households who received boats complained that the quality of boats and nets received were not up to standard.

Table 6.2 Changes in boat ownership by resettled and rebuilt households

		Current boat ownership			
		Yes	No	Total	
Resettled households	Pre-tsunami boat ownership	Yes	43	38	81
			53%	47%	100%
		No	18	60	78
			23%	77%	100%
		Total	61	98	159
			38%	62%	100%
Rebuilt households		Yes	55	31	86
			64.%	36.%	100%
	No	20	96	116	
			17%	83%	100%
		Total	75	127	202
			37%	63%	100%

6.1.2 Distance to the sea

Distance to the sea was one of the major issues among resettled fishers, especially the poorer households who had lived very close to the sea before the tsunami. It is important to note that 77% of resettled households are more than 200m from the sea (see Table 5.1.1.4). Given this situation, around 32% of resettled fisher households have problems in accessing the sea and 14% have mentioned that they have to use bicycles, three wheelers or buses to get there and many fishers find traveling to the sea an additional cost. There is interest in building a common place to store boats, nets and other fishing gear safely but this has not yet happened. As a solution some fishers use their former house as storage for their boats and spend the night there in order to reach the sea easily while their families live in the resettled house. However, this is not an option for those whose houses within the buffer zone have not been rebuilt.

6.1.3 Changes in livelihood activities

17% of the resettled households have changed their livelihoods due to their fishing assets being destroyed or being resettled much further away from the sea. Masonry has become an alternative for the majority of those who changed livelihoods.

7 Access to Infrastructure

Damage to fishery infrastructure, roads, common buildings, schools and the lack of clean drinking water were significant issues following the tsunami. Most infrastructure facilities in urban areas have been restored. However, some fisher households from remote areas in Batticaloa and Ampara still suffer from lack of access to electricity, drinking water and poor access to transport facilities. Focus group discussions in different locations of the Eastern Province reveal that poor access to markets, lack of storage facilities, damaged roads and lack of boat repair facilities to be difficulties faced by fisher households.

7.1 Current access to infrastructure by resettled households compared to pre-tsunami status

Table 7.1 shows the percentages of resettled households who have access to basic infrastructure facilities. Findings show that the numbers of households with access to these facilities are now less than they were before the tsunami. There is a room for improvement in almost every aspect of infrastructure to improve the wellbeing of the resettled households.

Table 7.1 Access to the facilities in the village

	% of households	
	Pre-tsunami	Current
Pre- school	81	79
Primary School	91	75
Secondary School	90	71
Hospital/ Healthcare centre	59	58
Bus/Train station	42	37
Local fish market	74	70
Fuel station	25	20

8 Socio-cultural Issues

Focus group discussions reveal that local community relationships and cohesiveness were disrupted following the tsunami due to poor targeting of aid and voluntary or involuntary resettlement. Some households who had experienced death and disability of family members preferred to resettle in places far from the sea but the majority did not want to. Some resettlement

sites in the south have problems due to a mismatch of culture, such as between farmer communities and fisher communities. This has created conflict in a few areas.

9 Conclusions and Policy Implications

The findings of this paper reveal that post-tsunami interventions, to provide housing, restore livelihoods and improve the wellbeing of affected people, have not fully achieved the intended objectives due to reasons such as poor planning and targeting. The targeting of beneficiaries for housing interventions was better than the targeting for provision of livelihood assets.

The findings also reveal that 6% of households had not still rebuilt or resettled three years later. They are the poorest section of the community, continuing to live in temporary camps or with relatives. Lack of reliable information, lack of coordination among the government, donors and affected people, inconsistency of policies, scarcity of land and complex government procedures in allocating land have made the resettlement process slow. In some areas lack of electricity and water were factors. In addition, poor targeting and improper selection has, in some areas, resulted in genuine beneficiaries still living in temporary camps while others who were not affected enjoy the benefit of a new house.

The findings also reveal that, in general, resettled fisher households have benefited in terms of housing, especially the households who had had small houses made out of temporary materials and did not have toilets or electricity. They are better off now when compared to their pre-tsunami situation.

However, due to poor planning in developing resettlement areas, some households face problems such as poor quality houses, lack of clean drinking water, electricity and poor drainage facilities. Quality related issues were basically due to lack of monitoring and enforcement by relevant authorities. A lack of understanding of the lifestyle of beneficiaries resulted in inappropriate kitchen design. Consulting the beneficiaries before building and allowing them to participate in the construction would have ensured better quality houses.

Lack of, or difficult, access to infrastructure facilities was a major problem and needs more planning and coordination between government and donor agencies to improve livelihood, education, health and other aspects of wellbeing. Setting guidelines and monitoring and enforcing them are essential.

There is much to be done in the restoration of livelihoods and improving the wellbeing of affected people in a holistic manner. The follow up survey, field discussions and field observations reveal that there may be over-fishing in some areas due to the increased number of fishing vessels. Some with no interest in fishing had received boats and then sold them. On the other hand, a little less than half of genuine pre-tsunami boat owners were yet to receive boats. Some received boats but could not use them as they had no nets or engines. Some boats received were of poor quality. There are no proper records of how donor allocations were utilised.

These problems were due mainly to the lack of a well planned, coordinated and integrated approach. This paper highlights the importance of having systematic and updated information on the fishery sector, which will enhance long term policy making and targeting for development interventions. The paper points out the need of consistent and specific policies, and changes in the existing systems to enhance coordination among all relevant institutions and stakeholders to make development interventions achieve intended objectives.

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Annex 1: Tsunami affected households by industry

	Frequency	Percent
Agriculture/Livestock	4122	4.8
Fishing	18078	21.2
Fishing industry related jobs	4635	5.4
Coir industry	754	.9
Limestone industry	195	.2
Other production	4489	5.3
Trade	7577	8.9
Tourism	667	.8
Other services	6130	7.2
Other	15847	18.6
Government	5777	6.8
Total	68272	79.9
Unemployed/not economically active	17125	20.1
Total	85397	100.0

Annex 2: Extent of the housing damage

	Frequency	Percent
Fully damaged	13392	59.0
Partially damaged unusable	2217	9.8
Partially damaged usable	7101	31.3
Total	22713	100.0

Annex 3: Sampling plan for the follow-up survey

District	No. of selected DSDs	Selected DS. Divisions	GN Divisions	No. of GNDs
Galle	2	Hikkaduwa	Thelwatte	6
			Pereliya North	
			Peraliya South	
			Balapitiya	
			Brahmanawatte north	
			Brahmanawatte South	
Matara	1	Weligama	Mahaweediya	3
			Pelena South	
			Mirissa South 2	
Hambantota	1	Hambantota	Moraketi Ara East	3
			Mawanella South	
			Kudawella west	
Batticaloa	4	Koralaipattu North	Mankerni Centre	12
			Kayankerni	
			Panichchankerni	
			Valachchenai	
			Nasivanthivu	
			Kalkuda	
		Kalmadhu		
		Manmunnai north	Eravur 2B	
			Eravur 2C	
			Eravur 1B	
		Manmunnai south	Karunkoditivu 12	
			Koddaikallar North	
Koddaikallar West				

Ampara	2	Kalmunai	Kalmunaikudi 2	6
			Kalmunaikudi 4	
			Kalmunaikudi 9	
		Pothuvil	Sinna Ullai	
			Komari 2	
			Thalaldeen Square	
Trincomalee	3	Town & Gravets	Salli	9
			Uppuveli	
			Abayapura	
		Kinniya	Annal Nagar	
			Periyaththumunai	
			Faizal Nagar	
		Kuchchaveli	Pulmodddai Divison3	
			Veerancholai	
			Jayanagar	
Total	13			39

Chapter 2:

Exploring Vulnerability

Conflict, Vulnerability and Long-term Displacement: The Case of Puttalam

Prashan Thalayasingam¹

Abstract

The Making Peace - Keeping Peace study conducted by the Poverty and Conflict (PAC) team at CEPA seeks to understand the local conflict dynamics in Puttalam district. It has a special focus on local institutions, groups and actors and their efforts to resolve conflict and maintain peace over time.

One of the key issues that emerged from the study was the relationship between IDPs and members of the host community, and how this sometimes broke down and the resulting conflict affected others in the district. These conflicts seemed to be symptomatic of wider issues about the assistance and other benefits received by long term IDPs and the perception that other vulnerable groups in the district are discriminated against because of their non-IDP status. This perceived discrimination is the underlying basis of much of the social conflict in the district.

This paper focuses on the issue of long term IDPs and examines their impact on social relations in the district. It highlights their separateness in terms of assistance and access to services, and brings in perspectives about other vulnerabilities that also need to be addressed.

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1 Introduction

This paper is based on the Making Peace - Keeping Peace study (Thalayasingam et al., 2009) conducted by the Poverty and Conflict (PAC) programme of the Centre for Poverty Analysis. The study focussed on two aspects of community relations and conflict in the Puttalam district:

“Making Peace” – how incidents of conflict in the area have been dealt with in the past.

“Keeping Peace” – how communities and local organisations have been able to manage conflict and sustain these situations.

The study concept was suggested by a local partner, the Vinividha NGO coalition. They suggested that the conflict dynamics in the district and their means of resolution would provide insights for other actors working with other conflict affected communities. Following many rounds of qualitative data collection, the team chose six conflict incidents to follow as case studies. The conflicts were based on issues illustrative of the wider conflict dynamics in the district and were resolved by a range of actors that local communities used for this purpose. The choice of conflict lines also determined the geographical focus of the study. It focused on four divisional secretariat (DS) divisions – Mundal, Vanathavilluva, Puttalam and Kalpitiya – all with different levels of ethnic heterogeneity and different histories of hosting internally displaced persons (IDPs).

The study finds that the main cause of conflict in the district during the study period (2006-2008) was the deteriorating relationship between the host community and the IDPs. The study also identified further sources of conflict, including ethnic identity based competition, religious identity based competition and competition between political groups. This paper focuses on IDP - host relations and its role in conflict in the district.

The changing and contested vulnerability is the root cause of many of the conflicts. The host community perceives that many other vulnerable groups receive very little support and assistance, while IDPs, despite their long stay, and despite the fact that many of them have significantly improved their living conditions, asset bases and commercial links during their long displacement, continue to be specially supported. The IDPs and their representatives contend that they are still vulnerable and retain the

rhetoric of displacement and maintain the groups' wish to return to their original homelands as a justification for their continued vulnerability.

Over time attitudes among the host community towards the IDPs changed from one of welcome and support, immediately after their arrival, to direct competition for livelihood support, development benefits and services (highlighted by Brun in her chapter in this volume). This competition has led to incidents of conflict and a growing resentment between the IDPs and some groups in the host community. The prevailing atmosphere of competition and conflict has led many within the district to contest the continued recognition by the state and development institutions of the IDPs as a vulnerable population group. The debate about their status vis a vis other groups in the district continues.

The Making Peace – Keeping Peace study examines conflict and resolution in Puttalam, within the wider backdrop of these assertions, competitions and challenges. This paper draws from the study results specific aspects of IDP host relations and their role in creating and maintaining conflict.

1.1 Puttalam – History of In-migration

The Puttalam district has a long history of in-migration. Despite waves of in-migration during ancient times, migration due to trade during the colonial era, and post independence migration as a result of irrigation settlement schemes, it is the arrival of the IDPs in 1990 that continues to have the most impact on Puttalam.

In October 1990, the LTTE expelled almost 100,000 Muslims from Mannar, Jaffna and other districts in the North and East that were under their control. Many of those displaced in that time came to Puttalam. The IDPs were largely from Mannar (74%), and almost exclusively Muslim (99%) (UNHCR, 2006). They have remained in the district since their initial expulsion. Some returned for a short time during the ceasefire period between 2002 and 2006 but went back to Puttalam when fighting resumed.

It is their long term displacement that sets IDPs in Puttalam apart from other displaced persons in Sri Lanka. While they were welcomed initially by the host community, this relationship deteriorated over time into competition and conflict.

1.2 Protracted Displacement and Vulnerability

The categorisation of people as IDPs associates them with a certain type of vulnerability, and requires that the state and development institutions deal with them in a certain way, based on norms and practices developed chiefly by UN agencies (See Brun, in this volume for a more detailed description of the construction of the IDP categorisation and its associated vulnerability). This vulnerability is closely tied to their sense of impermanence in their places of exile. Their 'temporariness' shapes the responses of development and state actors and, as in the case in Puttalam, also colours the response of the host community.

Most IDPs in Puttalam have been there since their expulsion in 1990. Their long stay in the district, and their maintenance of the IDP label, challenge the traditional notions of vulnerability associated with this category. Their long period of settlement has brought a considerable amount of change among the IDP communities. Many of them exhibit signs of settling permanently in the Puttalam district: buying land and establishing permanent houses and businesses in the district.

According to the 2006 UNHCR survey, the majority of Puttalam IDPs have already de facto integrated into Puttalam. 74% of the IDPs surveyed claim to have acquired land in Puttalam; 58% reported that they also possess a house. Some groups allege that the respondents misreported this in order to make themselves eligible for housing grants that were being provided by a large multilateral donor funded project in the district. Despite these claims the indication that IDPs would rather settle in Puttalam remains.

During the period of ceasefire between 2002 and 2006, many IDPs sent members of their families back to their places of origin to explore the possibility of return. The desire to return faded with the collapse of the ceasefire. Aside from this brief window in which return was considered, many IDPs made strong social links and purchased fixed assets that seem to indicate a willingness to settle permanently in Puttalam.

Further evidence of the integration of the IDPs and hosts is a cross influence of cultural practices. Some cultural practices of IDPs, such as dowry and their manner of dress, have begun to influence the host community. The dowry system, for example, was not widely prevalent among Puttalam Muslims before the arrival of IDPs, but is becoming a more common practice.

The educational performance of IDP children was higher when compared to the locals. For the most part, the girls of the host community were not encouraged to follow secondary education before the arrival of the IDPs. IDP children, including the girls, completed tertiary education as well. This has changed the practices of the local host community to encourage girls to follow secondary and tertiary education.

Despite these indications of integration, the IDPs feel that the local host community treats them as a separate group of people. They feel a strong sense of marginalisation at the hands of the hosts. Examples offered included referring to the children of IDPs as 'ahathi' (refugee) in schools by their peers. The IDPs want to be treated as a distinct group, but not marginalised as a result of this identification.

IDPs settled in Puttalam often had pre-existing links with the district. Most of the displaced from Mannar arrived in Kalpitiya by sea as they felt that travelling by land was not safe. Further, Puttalam is close to the Mannar district and people had trade links between the districts prior to displacement. Puttalam was a market centre for agricultural produce from Mannar. People from Mannar could access Puttalam by both sea and land routes. Those with links to the district brought other families along. The existence of large geographically concentrated Muslim communities also made Puttalam an acceptable choice for these Muslim displacees.

1.3 Changes in IDP's Vulnerability Over Time

Most of the IDPs were poor on arrival since they were not allowed to bring their wealth with them. Some managed to bring or sell their assets later and became economically stable while others continue to be poor. Development institutions often assume that all the IDPs are equally vulnerable and in need of assistance. They do not acknowledge that IDPs adopted different strategies, or that some IDPs were able to access their wealth after displacement or even that over time some were successful in trade, creating a range of economic conditions within the group.

The IDP's housing conditions were extremely basic immediately after displacement but this also changed. Initially they lived in welfare camps with the expectation of return. Over time, with political support and development aid, these welfare centres were gradually transformed into more permanent

housing settlements. Some IDPs bought land in Puttalam and others were given land grants facilitated by politicians. Many of these welfare camps are now upgraded and contain improved housing units with sanitary facilities, electricity and water. This is not uniform and some IDPs continue to live in poor conditions. The IDPs who live in those camps with good facilities also appear to have significantly higher political support. Those with political support use it to obtain lands and get houses built. This political support has helped to draw the attention of government and NGOs in relation to assistance. IDPs with relatively higher levels of education and influential social networks are able to progress much faster than those without these advantages. IDPs from Mannar have more political support than the IDPs from the Jaffna district.

While the vulnerability and poverty of the IDPs cannot be denied or undermined, there also are people and communities in the host population that are similarly poor and vulnerable, sometimes even more so. Many development projects working in Puttalam focus solely on the needs and vulnerabilities of IDPs. This limited focus has created tension because groups in the local community that see themselves as also deserving of external assistance.

According to De Silva, "...rich IDPs have bought land and houses in the Puttalam DS division, particularly in the urban area, so that it helps them [in] augmenting their businesses. The children of these affluent families are sent to better schools in the urban area and they enjoy better infrastructure facilities that are available in the division. These rich Muslims are powerful – politically as well as economically. They have now gone into manipulating of political power in different ways in the urban sector." (De Silva, 1999)

1.4 The Changing Attitudes of the Host Community

The attitude of the host community towards the IDPs has changed significantly since their arrival. People in the host community provided immediate assistance when the IDPs first arrived. Some locals donated their land for use as IDP camps. The IDPs were treated as a special, vulnerable group (Brun, in her paper, provides more detail about the initial response of the host community). When it became clear that their presence was not temporary, and when the IDPs began to put down roots, members of the host community began to resent their presence.

Most locals did not expect the IDPs to settle in Puttalam. The fear of losing the resources available in the district by sharing them with a larger group of people was the primary source of resentment and hostility. This situation was fuelled by the competition for land, livelihoods, government jobs, wages and services such as health and education. Competition to qualify for university education is widely mentioned by many respondents. The district quota available for Puttalam district is now shared between the locals and IDPs. The host community perceives this as a disadvantage because there is greater competition for the same number of places.

This competition has often been the source of conflict and violence. Resentment remains in Puttalam and is made worse by political figures manipulating the grievances of different groups for their own gain. The situation is further worsened by development projects that continue to see the IDPs as the most vulnerable group in Puttalam and are not flexible or open-minded in their approach to project implementation in the district.

The perspective of IDPs about the issues of sharing resources is different from what the locals feel. Given this present protracted displacement condition, their perception centres around the 'right to live' anywhere in the country since there is no viable solution presented by the government with regard to the 'resettlement' or 'integration' of IDPs.

2 Impacts of IDPs in Puttalam

The Making Peace - Keeping Peace project found many instances of negative attitudes about each other among the hosts and IDPs. This was balanced in part by the acknowledgement that the IDP's impact was not always negative. People in the host community, for example, spoke of how the areas in which the IDPs settled had improved since they arrived, chiefly in the areas of infrastructure, service provision and enterprise development. The IDP's investments in the area contributed to a more diverse and vibrant economic environment, providing employment opportunities for both IDPs and locals. The increased competition this presented to local traders, however, caused some of them to view this as a negative development. A large extent of fallow land was purchased by IDPs who then began to invest and use it productively, increasing their economic resources.

2.1 IDPs – Structural Separations and Perception of the Host Communities

Another source of resentment between the IDPs and the host communities was the separation of the IDPs from the rest of the district in some aspects, and their integration in others. The instances of both separation and integration were perceived to unfairly favour IDPs. The hosts noted that the IDPs always lived away from the hosts and created small enclave settlements. They also resented their separate access to political representation, institutions, and local administration.

The Ministry of Resettlement handles issues linked with the IDPs. The IDPs are able to elect their own political representatives since they are registered to vote in their places of origin and not in the host district. A Special Commission for the North and East was set up under the Ministry of Resettlement to solely serve the IDPs in the area. This commission is engaged in providing dry rations, electricity, water, transport, and other infrastructure such as schools and hospitals for IDPs living in the Puttalam district. There are development institutions that originated in the North that are only working with and assisting IDPs.

There are divisions among the IDPs when it comes to political support. IDPs are treated differently by politicians, based on where they originated from. IDPs from Jaffna do not have a separate MP, but those from Mannar do. As a result Mannar IDPs are seen to be more politically powerful.

Separate political representation for IDPs skews the power structure in the district and at the national level, giving people in Puttalam the impression that the IDPs have more political influence. Many people in host communities question why IDPs who have been in the district for so many years, and are integrated economically, need separate representation and assistance, especially when these forms of assistance are not available to other vulnerable groups in the district.

3 Conflict in Puttalam – The Role of IDP-Host Dynamics

The conflict lines the study identified and explored in detail for the case studies present the breadth of social conflict in Puttalam. They highlight the issues that led to conflict, and the attempts made to address them by local actors. They are not the only conflicts taking place in the district. They were

selected because they represent the types of conflicts, their causes, the types of intervention made to resolve them, and various stages of resolution.

One of the incidents involved a clash between three communities over the cemetery in Sirimapura, seen as a conflict incident raising tension among the respective communities. In this incident, the Buddhists and Catholics had had the cemetery for themselves until the arrival of the Muslim IDPs. When the Muslims IDPs asked for a section, there was a disagreement, which created some social tension.

The conflict in Noraicholai was linked with the use of the mosque building for a clinic. The mosque committee felt that religious activities in the mosque, including prayers and madrasa – Quranic classes, were being disrupted by the increased number of people coming to the clinic following the arrival of the IDPs.

In Nagavillu, there was a dispute between two groups of three-wheeler drivers, Sinhala and Muslim, about a parking area for their vehicles. This dispute spilled over into violence and created a lot of tension in the surrounding area.

In Palavi, the conflict is linked with a piece of land bought by two local businessmen and then divided into lots and sold to IDPs. A Buddhist temple nearby claims the land as their own and challenges the legality of the original purchase by the businessmen and the subsequent resale to the IDPs. The case has been brought before the courts and each successive ruling is appealed by the defeated party. This conflict remains unresolved.

In the Udappu case, a dispute took place between Hindus and Catholics over a piece of land where a Hindu temple was built. Clashes between the youth from both communities took place, disturbing the peace and harmony of the area.

The conflict in Vanathavillu arose as a result of competition for fish, and landing space for boats, between fisher people from three communities, Gangaivadi, Serakkuliya and Eluwankulam.

Of the conflicts that became case studies for the project four were directly the result of IDPs and their interaction with the host community. The conflict relating to the cemetery is symbolic of the wider clash of cultures and

religions that took place with the arrival of the IDPs. The conflict between the groups of three-wheeler drivers is an example of attempts by IDPs to control their space and counter attempts by the host community to reclaim it. The conflict linked with the clinic concerns the wider issue of service availability in the district and the additional burden the host community perceives the IDPs created. The dispute with land in Palavi combines the host community's fear about the IDP's growing economic power, and their perception that IDPs were 'taking over' to the wider clash of cultures and demographic changes caused by the IDP influx.

The conflict in Noraicholai was resolved by the intervention of ISRC – a local NGO that approached USAID for assistance, The local NGO, with funding from USAID, built a clinic with increased capacity to handle the increased demand, outside the mosque premises.

In Sirimapura, the use of the cemetery by Muslim IDPs was negotiated by the Rural Development Foundation (RDF) – a local NGO.

The land dispute in Palavi remains unresolved despite successive court decisions.

The tension in Nagavillu continues to simmer. The escalation of this dispute into violence between the rival groups has been addressed in part by the construction of a police checkpoint near the disputed three-wheeler park. This has not dealt with the underlying contestation for this space.

3.1 Making Peace – Resolving Conflicts between IDPs and Hosts

The study identified several different groups of actors who played a role in escalating and de-escalating conflict.

Politicians

Politicians were seen as powerful individuals who would manipulate conflict for their own political gain, irrespective of how it was caused and who was involved. The wide ranging perception that these actors are biased, and that they would seek to provide a solution that was advantageous to their supporters, makes their role in conflict resolution contentious and

controversial. People with a certain ethnic or religious identity, or belonging to a certain political party, would approach the politician who they think might favour them or who they have elected to represent them at the local or national level. Many of the communities believed that politicians could play a more constructive role in resolving conflicts than they do at present. The study found some instances of successful intervention, which could easily be repeated in the district.

Legal Institutions

The land dispute in Palavi was the only conflict in the study sample to be addressed by the courts. The dispute between groups of three-wheeler drivers was addressed by the police who built a new checkpoint to deter potential hostilities. Of the conflicts in the study, only these two were resolved by recourse to a formal justice mechanism. The conflicting parties had a fairly negative perception of the effectiveness of these mechanisms. The resolution provided by the courts and the police were perceived as being biased and ineffective. Police intervention in the form of temporary road barriers and checkpoints were intended as an immediate response to conflicts that were escalating into widespread social disturbance. This kind of intervention was perceived by the public as being temporary and not addressing the root causes of the problem. Many respondents also perceived the police as being biased. The decisions of the court are perceived as partial towards certain identity groups and those who currently have more power. Successive legal challenges brought on by the different parties, and the long time taken to resolve them, erode the effectiveness of these institutions.

Development Institutions

Development institutions intervened in disputes by providing additional resources or common property, as in the case of the disputes over the clinic and the cemetery space. Their interventions were effective in addressing the root of the dispute. The local organisations (ISRC and RDF) that identified the problems and approached the donor used their knowledge of local dynamics to diffuse situations that could easily have escalated further. The study found that some projects were remarkably sensitive to the divisions that existed in the communities and targeted their interventions in order to distribute resources and benefits in a more equitable manner. Some projects intervened in the conflicts studied, providing solutions that were acceptable to

the different parties, and recognising all their needs in doing so. Many of the partners who contributed to the study from the district, and many others who were involved in the sharing of the study results, recognise the need to be sensitive to different group needs and to mitigate conflict by being seen not to discriminate. Despite this renewed recognition of the depth and the breadth of need in the district, other development institutions seek to support one group over the other, contributing to the tension in the district.

Peace Committees

Other informal structures were created by communities to intervene in the conflicts. Often these special peace committees were made up of local religious and community leaders. Their resolutions were accepted by the parties to the disputes and their recommendations were heeded by the wider community. Puttalam has a tradition of peace committees forming, 'resolving, then dissolving'. These structures were by far the most effective at dealing with local disputes. They grew out of the communities themselves to resolve their disputes. They understood the identities and their dynamics, and sought common ground between conflicting parties. The study strongly recommends this system as a practice and a template for other communities who seek to manage difficult situations. The study recommends further that new structures do not replace these bespoke committees but rather work through them for acceptable community solutions to their problems.

3.2 Keeping Peace – Maintaining Peace Over Time

The study found that disputes and violence do take place in Puttalam despite the external appearance of it being a peaceful district. The existence of conflict has also led to the creation of different local mechanisms for dealing with conflict and maintaining a relative peace. Despite the challenges outlined above, their relative success can be built on. The study also found significant commitment among local individuals, community representatives and community organisations to deal with conflict positively. In contrast, the study also found others who sought to inflame conflict in order to bolster their political support and maintain their powerbase. These individuals and groups prevent many of the conflicts examined from being permanently and comprehensively resolved.

4 Re-examining Vulnerability

The study, through its focus on conflict, and its causes and means of resolution, also encountered different concepts of, and different responses to, vulnerability. A significant finding was that the fragile peace in the area among the different communities was contingent on recognising the vulnerability of other groups, along with IDPs.

The process of sharing study findings and getting local feedback helped identify other groups that have special types of vulnerability requiring their own solutions. Female headed households, households with migrant parent/s and migratory fishermen were thought to be especially vulnerable. Host communities believe that these vulnerabilities have been ignored. Development actors continue to stick to narrow mandates, blind to their effect on conflict and social cohesion. Recognising other vulnerabilities is the key to Making Peace and Keeping Peace in Puttalam.

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IDPs and Hosts as Constitutive Categories in Protracted Displacement: Experiences from Puttalam

Cathrine Brun¹

Abstract

In October 1990, the entire population of Muslims living in the LTTE controlled areas of northern Sri Lanka were expelled from their homes. The majority of those who fled settled down as internally displaced people (IDPs) in the Puttalam District in the North Western Province of Sri Lanka. Through the history of the northern Muslims' settlement in Puttalam, the categories of 'IDPs' and 'hosts' have been constitutive for how society is organised and for the emergence of new social categories and boundaries between groups. This paper discusses the emergence and working of these categories in the context of continued conflict in the north of the country. The paper first explores how the two discourses of humanitarianism and Muslim hospitality have played a part in contributing to the formation of the categories of 'IDPs' and 'hosts', and how the meaning of the categories have changed over time. The second part of the paper analyses how the categories have impacted on the status and vulnerability of groups categorised as 'IDPs' and 'hosts' respectively. By way of conclusion some reflections on the relationship between the categories and solution to forced displacement is discussed in the context of protracted displacement.

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1 Introduction

In October 1990, the entire population of Muslims living in the LTTE-controlled areas of northern Sri Lanka were expelled from their homes. The majority of those who fled settled as internally displaced people (IDPs) in the Puttalam district in the North Western Province of Sri Lanka. Through the history of the northern Muslims' settlement in Puttalam, the categories of 'IDPs' and 'hosts' have been constitutive for how society is organised, and for the emergence of new social categories and boundaries between groups. This paper analyses the emergence and working of these categories in the context of the processes of labelling.

The starting point for the paper is that categories, such as 'refugees' and 'IDPs', are necessary to comprehend the terms and assist people in need, but that how we categorise has profound social and political implications. I will go beyond the stories that Thalayasingam (in this volume) has presented and discuss how 'IDPs' and 'hosts' have become social categories in Puttalam since the Muslims' arrival in Puttalam, in 1990. To enable an analysis of the processes that have taken place, in this paper I introduce approaches to internal displacement and move on to the discussion around processes of labelling as introduced by Roger Zetter (1991, 2007), and subsequently taken up by others in Forced Migration Studies. This analysis is not limited to the institutions that have the power to label, and I show how the formation of categories and their changing meaning take place in an interplay between institutions, forced migrants and their hosts in the context of varying discourses and political developments. The second part of the paper explores how the two discourses of Muslim hospitality and humanitarianism have played a part in contributing to the formation of the categories of 'IDPs' and 'hosts', and how the meaning of these categories have changed over time. The third part of the paper analyses how the categories impact on the status and vulnerability of groups categorised as 'IDPs' and 'hosts' respectively. By way of conclusion, the relationship between the categories and solutions to protracted forced displacement is discussed.

The northern Muslims have lived as IDPs in Puttalam for almost two decades. I am referring in this paper, in particular, to the consequences of categorisation when displacement is protracted. The paper is based on several years of following the situation in Puttalam, from the time I first went there in 1994. From 1998 to 2002 I did a research project (my PhD project) analysing the

local integration processes and the relationship between IDPs and hosts (see Brun 2003, 2008). My last visit to Puttalam was in December 2008. The presentation on which this paper is based was made in December 2008, almost six months before the President of Sri Lanka declared victory over the LTTE in the north of the country. The paper, consequently, does not deal directly with the most recent developments in the country that also affect people in Puttalam in various ways. However, the situation in Puttalam is not made less relevant by the end of the war. An understanding of the local integration processes in Puttalam is crucial to finding solutions to the many people displaced now for nearly two decades in this country.

2 IDPs and Hosts - the Meaning of Categories²

'Internally displaced persons' has become an accepted humanitarian category and few question the usefulness of this category although there are some critical voices (see debates in the 1990s in *Forced Migration Review* and between Hathaway, Cohen, de Wind and Adelman and McGrath in *Journal of Refugee Studies* in 2007). The differences refer to legal, political and institutional dimensions related to the crossing/not crossing of a nation state boundary. A key issue is whether one should at all consider talking about refugees and internally displaced people together as there are fundamental differences between the categories. Those advocating for inclusion of the IDP category with refugees maintain the similarities inherent in the experience of displacement for both refugees and IDPs. A similar language of solutions is available for both groups: local integration, return or resettlement (to a third country for refugees, to a safe place within their own country for IDPs). I return to reflections on solutions at the conclusion of this paper.

While the debate about the relationship between IDPs and refugees is not the main focus of this current paper, it is not irrelevant and works as an entry point for understanding the relationship between IDPs and other groups located within the nation state where they are registered as citizens. It is possible to identify two main views in this debate. On one side is the UN-Brookings-Bern project on internal displacement. Its members have successfully advocated for IDPs as a separate humanitarian category and

² This section is based on Brun (forthcoming)

this view continues to dominate much research and action on internal displacement. They argue a need for a separate category of 'internally displaced people' because their experiences are very special and different, with special needs for assistance and protection. The other approach I refer to as the 'ICRC-approach'. Based on humanitarian principles and the realities of the field, the ICRC is critical of working with internal displacement as a separate humanitarian category, and on the ground, ICRC does not separate between IDPs and other civilians affected by conflict – at least in principle:

In situations of armed conflict and internal disturbances the ICRC will in fact always try to give priority to those with the most urgent needs. Because of their precarious situation, displaced persons are frequently, although not exclusively, among the main beneficiaries of its work. Moreover, the host populations, which are sometimes minority groups or resident populations that have been unable to move away, often have to face a situation that is just as difficult, if not worse. Instead of developing programmes tailored to the needs of the displaced persons, it will then be necessary to adopt an overall approach and define the appropriate operational modes according to the context (Contat Hickel 2001:699).

Contat Hickel warns against the discriminatory nature of the IDP approach because of the specific mechanisms set up to respond to the need of one single category. ICRC's approach is rather, when working in situations of armed conflicts, to provide protection and assistance to the entire civilian population (Krill 2001).

The ICRC approach is supported by a collaborative³ evaluation on donor support to IDPs (Borton et al. 2005). The evaluation shows that there is a strong objection to the identification of IDPs as a separate category, separating them from other actual and potentially vulnerable groups because of practical difficulties in the field. A more fundamental source of objection reported in the evaluation was the belief that the separate identification of IDPs is at odds with the humanitarian principle that assistance should be determined by needs and needs alone.

This is an important starting point for this paper: one school of thought advocating the need for IDPs to be a separate category, the other taking the view that one needs to consider the needs of all vulnerable people in an area and that to single out a category based on one criteria – their forced movement – is problematic.

³ DANIDA, SIDA, Netherlands MFA, ECHO, USAID, DFID and Development Cooperation Ireland, UNHCR, OCHA and WFP

3 From Policy Categories to Labelling to Social Categories: an Analytical Framework⁴

[...] acknowledging the effectiveness of coping strategies provides us with a 'counter discourse' to the traditional humanitarian labels of 'vulnerable groups', beneficiaries and recipients' [...]. The displaced have personal and social histories, they constitute heterogeneous groups with competing interests, and they act with different goals and ambitions in mind. Generally speaking, the universal categories of humanitarian assistance ignore these distinctions and, because of that, displaced communities are treated as relatively homogenous groups, solely or mainly defined by their experience of war and displacement (Vincent 2001:6, with reference to Sørensen 1998).

'Internally Displaced Persons' can be understood as a label – a politically and socially constructed category established to deal with certain people in a specific context. The IDP label has developed in the policy context of restrictive asylum policies and indicates that labels are by no means neutral; they embody concrete relationships of power and influence the way we think and act (Escobar 1995). A problem with much of the discussion of internal displacement is the taking for granted of the IDP category. Its unintended consequences are not often addressed.

Andrew Shacknove (1985) claims that, ironically, for many people on the brink of disaster, refugee status is a privileged position. In contrast to other impoverished people, refugees – and increasingly also IDPs – are entitled to many forms of international assistance. This means that labels include some and exclude others. A common understanding of the IDP and refugee labels is that people belonging to these categories are 'out of place', that they belong somewhere else. Being labelled 'out of place' and only temporarily present, however, tends to exclude refugees and IDPs from other entitlements. I have shown elsewhere that IDPs in Sri Lanka are excluded from certain citizenship rights because they are not formally registered as local citizens of the place where they live (Brun 2003).

There are other forms of exclusion from this category. Many groups of forced migrants are excluded from the label, such as people displaced by huge irrigation projects or by environmental change, and labour migrants of whom

⁴ This section is based on and developed from Brun 2005.

many could be termed forced migrants (Cernea and McDowell 2000, Lund 2000, Sørensen 1996). Moreover, there are those people forced to stay behind, who are restricted from fleeing the violence of the war zone because of lack of resources, physical inability to travel, restrictions on internal movement, or the closure of borders.

A last dimension of the exclusion caused by labelling is the exclusion of the host populations. Host populations are closely affected by forced migration, and while they do not have to move, welcoming large groups of forced migrants may impose a considerable burden and create changes in their lives. Despite being highly involved in and affected by processes of forced migration, the IDP label contributes to separate the host population from these processes. Hosts are often therefore forgotten by humanitarian agencies.

The exclusion of some groups strengthens identities and consolidates differences between those who are included or excluded from a category. Identity formations may become the breeding ground for antagonism or even hostility. The separation of the internally displaced from their cohabitants and the effects of labelling displaced populations as 'out of place' are part of another set of consequences following from labelling: the making of stereotypes, the standardised image of those people identified with the label. These may be termed essentialising categories because one identity axis – IDP – overshadows other similar or even more important axes of identity, like gender, ethnicity, class or caste. Consequently, labels include and exclude, but they may also conceal other properties and power-relations.

The authors of labels determine the rules and access to particular resources and privileges. In order to secure these entitlements, people often have to adjust to such categorisations in order to be successful in their dealings with the institution concerned. People thus tend to conform to the humanitarian categories made (see, for example, Stepputat and Sørensen 2001). Bolton et al. (2005) summarise the unintended and undesirable consequences that result from the use of a concept to separate out a special category of 'people in need' or 'people of concern':

- The homogenising effect of the label – the sense that it reduces the diversity of individuals to a single characteristic that they themselves would not normally use to identify themselves
- The stigmatising effect of the label – the possibility that IDPs may, by virtue of their being defined in terms of their displacement, be regarded as people who do not belong and do not have a right to stay.
- The localising effect of the label – that it promotes and lends credence to the idea that people are naturally rooted to a single place of origin and that the lasting solution to their displacement is to return them to their place of origin, which is based on a simplistic understanding of the meaning of 'home' and 'locality' in human social life.
- The privileging effect of the label – the potential effect of diverting attention from others in comparable or even greater need.
- De-politicisation; meaning that the label defines people as de-linked from their context, from their former lives and the causes of displacement.

Zetter (2007) suggests a meaningful framework for understanding the dynamics of labels by analysing the formation, transformation and politicising of an identity. As a framework this helps us to understand how identities and categories like IDPs, for example, are established and changed, and how such categories influence individuals and communities. However, as mentioned above, while much of the literature on labelling is mainly concerned with the role of institutions in forming humanitarian labels, I take this debate one step further by looking at how these categories are not formed in a vacuum, but rather as an interplay between institutions, the people experiencing the forced migration processes in various ways, dominant discourses on the ground and the political context in which the labelling processes take place. These different dimensions create a number of unintended consequences that the authors of the labels may not have envisaged. To analyse this interplay of dimensions that can be identified in the labelling process I now turn to discussing how IDPs and hosts were established as social categories in Puttalam.

4 Becoming Internally Displaced and Hosts⁵

In October 1990, the majority of Muslims expelled by the LTTE from the northern areas under their control went to Puttalam district in the North Western Province. The local people (particularly the Muslims, but also the Sinhalese) welcomed the Muslims from the north into their homes, gardens and schools for shelter, and provided the displaced with clothes and food. In this process the locals became hosts. After some days and weeks, the NGO community and the government moved in to assist the IDPs more actively and the hosts to a large extent withdrew their assistance. Two decades on, the IDPs are still living as IDPs in Puttalam, some on small plots of their own, some still in camps, most still with the status of internally displaced people and identities of IDPs and hosts are still strongly maintained. Although there is much variation within them, it is interesting to understand how these categories were formed and how they are maintained. Two discourses in particular were instrumental in forming the categories; the discourse on Muslim ethics and ideals, and the humanitarian discourse on internal displacement (cf. UN-Brookings-Bern project).

The Discourse on Islamic Ethics and Ideals

The Prophet went into exile at Medina in AD 622, a key date because it constitutes year one of the Muslim calendar. The Meccans who migrated with him would be called the Muhajirun (literally 'migrants'), [...]. His new adherents, recruited from among the tribes of Medina, would be called the Ansar (auxiliaries, supporters). [...] The simplicity of their lodgings, their closeness to each other, and their closeness to the mosque gave a democratic dimension to the Islamic community that makes us all dream – dream about that lack of distance between the leader and 'his people.' Thanks to the ease of exchange among the Muhajirun and the presence of the mosque, the integration of the Ansar and all the other new converts proceeded with rapidity. To accelerate the amalgamation of Medinese and Meccans, Muhammad had recourse to some rituals that created fraternal links: each Ansari was to accept a Muhajir as 'brother,' for whom he was to be, as it were, responsible for 'helping him to conquer the feeling of uprootedness' (Mernissi 1991:30 and 111).

The Islamic ethic of welcoming strangers may be traced back to the Prophet Mohammad's time; the Prophet's flight from persecution in Mecca and his reception in Medina were often mentioned as an important parallel to the arrival and reception of the northern Muslims in Puttalam. People compared the displaced people with the 'Muhajiruns' who had to flee, and the locals who received them with the 'Ansaris'. The Islamic obligation to receive and

⁵ This section is based on Brun 2008 and Brun forthcoming

assist the displaced eased the phase of reception, and provided a good basis for rebuilding the lives of the northern Muslims and for the local integration processes⁶.

For the first month or so the host population was essential for the survival of the IDPs, and the role of the host community was often referred to by the northern Muslims with almost unlimited gratitude. This dominant story told by both IDPs and locals may have been accentuated over the years. According to a survey we did, not everyone helped when the northern Muslims arrived. Less than 50% of the people we interviewed had actually helped. It was predominantly the local Muslims living in the towns and villages where the northern Muslims first arrived who were involved in the assistance, and fewer Sinhalese and Tamils took part in welcoming and helping the northern Muslims.

In the Islamic ethic we find clear parallels to the ICRC approach mentioned above. It is about helping all strangers, not singling out some groups. However, I must provide one modification here because this unlimited responsibility to all strangers was not the main message among the people interviewed in Puttalam. People talked more about helping "our Muslim brothers and sisters" than a general obligation to assist. Still, the Islamic ethic prevailed in the act of receiving the displaced.

The Humanitarian Discourse

The second discourse to influence the formation of the 'IDP' and 'host' categories in Puttalam was the humanitarian discourse, what I termed the UN-Brookings-Bern approach above. In this context it is important to emphasise that 'Internally Displaced Persons' has become a well established term and category in Sri Lanka. Today, the acronym IDP is commonly used by politicians, newspapers and people in general. The term came into common usage through the myriad of institutions, committees, organisations – governmental, nongovernmental and multilateral – and researchers working with and writing about displacement. In fact, the term internal displacement was used in Sri Lanka before it became an internationally recognised term. UNHCR played a key role in this process, and the agency's involvement in

⁶ It has been shown by several authors that granting asylum and refuge constitutes a moral and legal obligation in Islam (Elmadmad 1991, Muzaffar 2001). Elmadmad shows how obligations of welcoming guests in Islam also encompass the obligation for all Muslims to grant asylum and protection to any person who asks for it, whatever the reason for his or her flight. Additionally, as Muzaffar shows, the role of almsgiving – 'zakath' – plays a key role in financing refugee relief, rehabilitation and development. The principle of zakath refers to compulsory almsgiving in deference to the rights of the poor and refugees. Principles of welcoming refugees and giving zakath are referred to in the Koran (see, for example, Koran 8:70–71 and 59:8).

the country in the late 1980s and 1990s contributed to shape the agency's policy in engaging with IDPs in other conflicts around the world.

According to Jens et al. (2002:4), UNHCR was present in Sri Lanka since 1987 to assist with the repatriation and reintegration of Tamil refugees returning from India. The repatriation programme continued intermittently (when conditions allowed) until 1995. At the same time, UNCHR became more involved with Sri Lanka's growing population of IDPs, many of whom were to be found in the same areas to which the refugees were returning. Jens et al. show how, in 1990, the Government of Sri Lanka formally asked UNHCR to provide assistance to IDPs on both sides of the conflict. An arrangement that was formalized in 1993 through a Memorandum of Understanding between UNHCR and the Sri Lankan government: The extension of UNHCR's mandate to cover assistance to IDPs in Sri Lanka was agreed by the UN Secretary-General in 1991 and reaffirmed in a March 1997 letter from the UN Secretary-General's office, stating that UNHCR "may continue to co-ordinate the UN efforts for humanitarian assistance for internally displaced persons in Sri Lanka." However, as William Clarence (2007) shows, UNHCR took on these responsibilities quite reluctantly. Clarence describes the discrepancies between the field officers in Sri Lanka and UNHCR's head office in Geneva in taking on responsibility for the IDPs in Sri Lanka. This took place amidst much internal controversy but has later proved to represent a major shift in the broadening of their responsibility as an agency for forced migrants – not only refugees.

Francis Deng's first country mission, following his confirmation in 1993 as representative of the secretary-general, was to Sri Lanka (Weiss and Korn 2006). The UN/Brookings group subsequently came in and worked actively and successfully to make the IDP category and the accompanying Guiding Principles⁷ known in Sri Lanka (see, for example, Jayatillake 2003). UNHCR also continued to disseminate knowledge about the category and the Guiding Principles to all levels of the government administration. These various initiatives paved the way for the established understanding of IDPs in Sri Lanka⁸.

⁷ The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement set out in one document the international human rights obligations that are binding through international treaties and how these obligations are applicable in situations of internal displacement. According to Susan Carr (2009), they remain soft law and, as such are non-binding.

⁸ A notable change has taken place with the government having won the so-called 'Final War'. New terms have come into common usage: old and new IDPs, with new IDPs being those people who were displaced after 2006. The IDPs discussed in this paper are 'old IDPs'.

In the case of the northern Muslims in Puttalam, most thought that their displacement would be temporary and that they would return to their homes shortly. After the first month in which the host community took the most active role in providing relief, the humanitarian community moved into Puttalam to assist with establishing welfare centres (camps), providing food, shelter and basic services. The IDPs became much more the responsibility of the humanitarian community than the hosts. In fact, as mentioned above, the hosts were not included in the humanitarian operations that took place in Puttalam. The hosts were made invisible by the IDP label because it was the IDPs that became the mandate of the humanitarian organisations. When relatively large population concentrations were moved into welfare centres established by the government and the humanitarian organisations, the host community living nearby were not consulted; and when other changes took place that also were of concern to the hosts, they were not included in the decision-making processes. Landless hosts who lived on so called 'crown land', land owned by the state, near the IDP welfare centres felt their homes were under threat.

For both the IDPs and the hosts, a major shift in policy took place in 1994/1995 with a new government under President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunge, who reasserted the government's responsibility for the IDPs in the area and established a settlement package under the Unified Assistance Scheme, for the IDPs to move out of the camps and build more permanent housing to improve their living conditions (Brun 2008). While the government would not support the purchase of land because it would mean changing control of land ownership and changing the ethnic composition of the area, once the northern Muslims had bought land, they could get assistance to build a house. From about 1995, northern Muslims started organising themselves and bought up land and established settlements. While a majority are still hoping to return to the north, they are becoming more and more settled in Puttalam, living in a permanent impermanence.

5 Changing Meanings of IDP and Host Categories

The IDP category in Puttalam has many different meanings and I would like to mention three particularly important meanings: First, the IDP category means entitlements and rights to assistance and protection. Second, being labelled an IDP indicates that one has a right to return and right to assistance upon return. Third, and related to the right to return, is the understanding of being 'out of place'. The category 'internally displaced person'

indicates that they do not belong to the place where they live ; they belong to where they fled from, and consequently, they are only temporarily at the place of refuge. These meanings are also important in understanding the way the host category has developed.

The hosts – or the established groups – living where forced migrants arrive are often mentioned as an essential group to include and to take into consideration when dealing with processes of forced migration. Robert Chambers pointed to the neglect of hosts, and in particular the poorer hosts, already in 1986. However, humanitarian agencies, governments or researchers seldom include this group in their work in a systematic way and attempts to understand the experience of being hosts are few and scattered. More knowledge is needed to understand and include the different groups of the host community into more actively finding short and long-term solutions to forced migration. In Puttalam, the established groups felt they had less and less influence over the processes taking place around them and this meant a changing perspective on their understanding of their roles as hosts. Here, it is crucial to emphasise that the IDP category and the host category constitute each other. Being host means that one has to have control and ownership to be able to welcome someone into your home. It requires the right to a particular place. Protracted displacement in Puttalam changed the meaning of host. 'Hosts' implied, at the beginning of the northern Muslims' stay in Puttalam, a welcoming attitude. But being 'hosts' also gives a temporary dimension to the situation, and the welcoming attitude diminished when the situation did not come to a rapid end. Another perception of being a host developed after some time: that the displaced became freeloaders and that the hosts involuntarily carried the burden of their presence. Many local people talked about their experience of being displaced because they no longer felt they had control over their homes and livelihoods. Those feelings were underscored by being excluded from influencing the settlement process and access to assistance. Local people were made invisible by the humanitarian discourse on internal displacement, and were not recognised as hosts.

6 The Consequences of Categories: Forming, Transforming and Politicising

The way the IDP and host categories were constructed in Puttalam – the way the labelling was a continuing process – was a combination of various discourses and practices. It was shaped by the embodied experience of

people becoming forced migrants; losing their homes, walking through the jungle or fleeing by boat in rough seas during the monsoon rain. People in Puttalam similarly experienced becoming hosts when welcoming their Muslim brothers and sisters. The Islamic discourse of hospitality played a crucial part in this. Later, the humanitarian discourse of internal displacement, as expressed by the UN/Brookings approach – and which the situation in Sri Lanka during the 1990s played a crucial part in developing – became the dominant discourse of internal displacement. These practices and discourses worked together to create what the IDP and host categories mean in Puttalam today. Contributing to these changes are the dynamics between the IDPs and hosts, and within the groups of IDPs and hosts, as well as the changing policies towards IDPs and hosts by the government and humanitarian agencies. For example, the northern Muslims were very quick in organising themselves and advocating for their interests based on their common identity as displaced. Even today this is important. As a group, the IDPs can appear as almost stronger than the hosts, who to a large extent have lost their importance in the humanitarian discourse and consequently have little influence with humanitarian agencies and government institutions set up to assist IDPs. This has created complex power relationships between the two groups.

I have briefly showed how the categories of 'IDPs' and 'hosts' were formed and has been transformed. Thayalasingam (this volume), in his paper, shows how these groups develop conflictual relationships. I would like to go one step further here, and come back to the processes of labelling to look into some of the reasons for these conflicts. I would like to focus on the so-called 1) homogenising effect; 2) the privileging effect; 3) the localising effect; and 4) politicisation and de-politicisation.

1) The homogenising effect: The homogenising effect is a major issue and challenge when we formulate categories. Labelling creates categories that tend to treat all individuals in that category in the same way. We do not see that some people gain and some lose from the forced migration processes. It becomes more challenging to identify vulnerability among the two groups of IDPs and hosts. When a situation becomes protracted, as in the case of Puttalam, the labels develop into social groups. IDPs and hosts have become social groups that contribute to the way society is organised.

2) The privileging effect: The homogenising effect is closely related to the privileging effect. Categories include some and exclude others. Labelling some people as 'IDPs' means that those who are supposed to

assist people in need risk being diverted from attending to others in comparable or even greater need than the IDPs. Such unintended consequences of labelling create jealousy and troubled feelings among those not entitled to assistance. It may lead to tension between the two groups. I have earlier described how such jealousies among local people contributed to violent conflict between IDPs and hosts in some areas of Puttalam (Brun 2008).

However, despite the privileging effect of the IDP category, this may not always lead to IDPs being the stronger group because they are 'out of place' as mentioned above and the hosts have the right to control the place. This is related to the third category of unintended consequences of the labelling processes:

3) The localising effect: As I have shown above, the IDP and host categories indicate particular rights to particular places. The IDP category implies that northern Muslims belong to the north – and their rights as local citizens of Puttalam have thus been restricted. Being an IDP has become the right to a particular place. Again, this may create particular vulnerabilities. For example, in December 2000, a cyclone damaged many cadjan houses in the welfare centres. Those whose houses were damaged by the cyclone could not get any support from the national Social Service Department responsible for relief following natural disasters because the IDPs were already on a compensation scheme, namely the food rations. People pleaded with the local authorities in Puttalam for support to rebuild their houses, but got no support because the IDPs were not local citizens (Brun 2003). Also in the current situation when the war is understood to be over, it is more commonly being suggested that the northern Muslims should return to the north. This pressure to return may, however, not suit everyone after having been in Puttalam for the past 20 years and made their lives and livelihoods there.

4) Politicisation and de-politicisation: The consequences of labelling must be understood in the political context in which the labels have been formed. The IDP category both politicises and depoliticises the northern Muslims. The locational right is at the centre of these processes. Politics of mobility and identity have been important elements of the conflict in the country. To be able to use internal displacement as a way of controlling where people should live and when people should move is quite useful and by labelling people IDPs one makes it less politically sensitive to pursue such control.

A key example is how a joint interest has developed among all parties in Puttalam to maintain the IDP category. For the northern Muslims, the IDP category is an important statement of their right to return, their right to compensation and a statement of the injustices they feel have taken place against them. For the local people and the local politicians, the maintenance of the IDP category means that the demographic and ethnic balance in Puttalam will not change.

7 Finding Solutions to Protracted Displacement

Labelling processes affect solutions to protracted displacement. As I have shown here, the IDP and host categories must be understood to create vulnerabilities and strengths at the same time – the categories become both assets and liabilities. How should we use this finding? I often hear today that the northern Muslims are integrated in Puttalam; they own land, they work, some have married from Puttalam etc. However, the plots of land are small and most of them work as casual workers and have an irregular income which does not enable them to develop their lives. As Thalayasingam shows in his paper, the level of conflict is still high among the hosts and the IDPs – the two categories have become social groups that to a large extent are organising principles in the Puttalam area.

Integration, in this context, generally means shared vulnerability between the IDPs and the poorer hosts. Here, a crucial point is to realise the durability of the categories formed in a protracted situation of displacement. Can we talk about a solution when society is so organised according to the categories of IDPs and hosts?

As mentioned above, there are often three solutions mentioned for forced migrants: local integration, return or resettlement. For the northern Muslims and their hosts in Puttalam, the most relevant solutions would be local integration or return. I have pointed out elsewhere (Brun 2003, 2008) that local integration would have been achieved in Puttalam when the northern Muslims have become full members of society there. I have also shown that the aim of many northern Muslims is to return to their homes in the north. However, during previous periods of peace, many people have realised that their connections with Puttalam are now so strong that a translocal solution, a solution where they maintain connections with both Puttalam and the north, is more likely. During the two decades of displacement in Puttalam, new generations have been born, sons and daughters have married and

developed connections with people from villages other than their own in the north as well as with people in Puttalam. The most likely solution is therefore that some parts of the families will stay in Puttalam and some parts will return to the north. One question is, what status and category will the northern Muslims continue to have in Puttalam – will they continue to be IDPs, out of place, and consequently second-class citizens, or will they find a place and will the IDP-host categories gradually lose their importance? A second question must also be asked; what happens with those northern Muslims who return to the north? Some people who tried to move back to their homes during the 2002 - 2005 ceasefire gave up and came back to Puttalam because they would have had to start from scratch in rebuilding their lives and it felt like being displaced yet again. Will the people who return automatically regain their place as full citizens in the north? It is important to reflect upon how the label 'returnee' may affect people's future in the north.

I return to the discourses that helped in forming the categories of IDPs and hosts in Puttalam: the Islamic discourse on the one hand and the humanitarian discourse on the other. Humanitarian practices and labels have an impact on the making of social categories, and become constitutive of how society is organised. In order to understand the implications of these categories, we need to acknowledge the role of local practices in receiving displaced people and coping with displacement. One of the key challenges for the humanitarian discourse is the exclusion of the hosts. In the Islamic discourse, the hosts play an active role. In the beginning of this paper, I also mentioned another approach to dealing with displacement, the so-called ICRC approach. Here, there is limited attempt to categorise beyond actual needs and rights, which do not exclude the hosts and would look at providing assistance according to vulnerabilities instead of according to whether one has moved or not. The ICRC approach may not solve all challenges with protracted displacement, but some of the tensions identified by Thalayasingam (this volume) could potentially have been dealt with differently if categories based on locational rights had not become so strong in Puttalam. I would suggest that perhaps the two approaches could 'talk more to each other' and work more with local practices of dealing with displacement in making a more productive approach to protracted internal displacement.

In this paper I have discussed some of the unintended consequences of the categorisations we make to deal with displacement. My conclusion is that categories contribute to both vulnerabilities and strengths among the people

labelled 'IDPs' or 'hosts'. I have also showed that these categories cause some particular dilemmas when displacement becomes protracted. Clearly, we need categories and definitions of internal displacement if we are to assist people. Categories are vital to avoid the normalisation and passive acceptance of forced migration, to distinguish between forced and voluntary migration and to highlight the injustice done towards the displaced people. However, at the same time, we need to be aware of the consequences of categories; how categories fix people in a role, contribute to tension and may also hinder finding solutions to displacement crises.

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Chapter 3:

Ensuring Equitable and Participatory Processes

Making Involuntary Resettlers Voluntary Partners and Beneficiaries of the Participatory Development Process

Thilak Hewawasam¹

ABSTRACT

The Lunawa Environment Improvement & Community Development Project (LEI&CDP), funded by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), was launched in 2002 to improve the environment and quality of life of people in the Lunawa basin in the Colombo metropolitan region. The main objective was to improve the storm water drainage system to alleviate flooding and to create a hygienic and pleasant environment. Technical assistance was provided by UN-HABITAT.

In the design phase the scope of the project was revised to incorporate the principles of the Government's National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP). This resulted in developing and implementing a pro-poor development induced Involuntary Resettlement Process for the Project Affected Persons (PAPs), with their active participation, to make involuntary resettlers voluntary partners and beneficiaries of the project.

The new scope of the project drastically changed the original resettlement component, making it a novel participatory process, creating an innovative forerunner that translated NIRP into practice for the first time in a complex peri-urban context.

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1 Introduction

Worldwide experience demonstrates that most development projects which displace people create severe economic, social and environmental problems. They aggravate poverty by dismantling production systems; relocating people to unfriendly environments where their productive skills may be less applicable and the competition for resources much greater; weakening community structures and social networks; and dispersing kin groups and diminishing cultural identity, traditional authority, and the potential for mutual help. Involuntary resettlements usually cause severe long-term hardship, impoverishment, and environmental damage unless carefully planned and executed. It is now widely accepted that people should be at the centre of any development activity, and such activity should aim to enhance the quality of their lives and address poverty. During the last four decades, thousands of families have been involuntarily resettled in Sri Lanka, mainly to facilitate irrigation, highway and urban development projects, and the majority of them have been low income families. Until recently, development-induced displacement of population was considered a 'sacrifice' - with a comparatively small group of people displaced for the benefit of a larger number of people. What these involuntary resettlers received as compensation, in general, was limited to statutory monetary compensation for land and houses acquired for the project, provided that legal ownership could be proved, generally resulting in making poor and landless people even poorer and more vulnerable.

The Project Affected Persons (PAPs) based, pro-poor development-induced and participatory Involuntary Resettlement Program, implemented by the Lunawa Environment Improvement & Community Development Project (LEI&CDP), sought to ensure the tenure rights of the poor living in slum and shanty settlements in the Lunawa catchments. The project was launched in 2002 with the objective of improving the environment and quality of life of people by improving the storm water drainage systems in the Lunawa basin. The National Resettlement Policy (NIRP) was adopted by the government in 2001, after the design phase of the LEI&CPD, and the scope of the project had to be revised, incorporating the NIRP principles, with UN-HABITAT technical inputs and with additional funding by the government.

This paper documents the key elements of an innovative implementation process of resettlement.

2 Lunawa Environment Improvement and Community Development Project (LEI&CDP)

Lunawa Catchment: The Lunawa lake basin is located between the Moratuwa and Dehiwala/Mount Lavinia Municipal Council areas, within the Colombo Metropolitan region of Sri Lanka. The lake and the surrounding area, about 7 sq. km, has been environmentally degraded due to a combination of human and natural factors over a long period of time. The catchment suffers from habitual flooding about four to six times per year. The lake, which in the past had supported a significant fishery industry and a large number of livelihoods, is now devoid of aquatic life and considered to be biologically dead.

The population within the basin, consisting of mixed communities, is estimated at 85,000 in 18,112 households. More than 50% are under-served, low income slum and shanty dwellers, and most have no tenure rights. A large number of industries (reportedly 367) and commercial establishments located around the basin discharge huge volumes of untreated industrial effluent and wastewater into the lake and, together with residential wastewater, cause extensive environmental pollution.

The Project: The LEI&CDP is a continuation of the Greater Colombo Flood Control and Environmental Improvement Project (GCFC & EIP), initiated by the government during the first quarter of the last decade, with financial assistance from Japan. This project has attempted to provide technical solutions (typically of an engineering nature), to the problems persisting in low-lying areas of Greater Colombo, with very little involvement of beneficiaries and affected persons. The experiences gained from these projects shows that the sustainability of interventions could have been enhanced, and the adverse impact on the PAPs, especially the urban poor, could have been minimised, if there was effective community participation and pro-poor resettlement programmes securing their tenure rights.

The lessons learned led to a new, innovative approach to upgrading low-income urban areas. This new approach and strategy is designed to merge participatory community development with technical solutions. The LEI&CDP was thus designed within this new framework of technical and community development in combination, and commenced implementation in 2002. UN-HABITAT assisted the project through provision of consultancy and advisory services to the Human Settlement and Community Development

component (HS&CD) of the project, based on its wide global and local experiences in adopting innovative, participatory approaches in the human settlement development sector.

The project intends to improve the environment and quality of life of people in the Lunawa area by alleviating floods through the improvement of storm water drainage. This includes rehabilitation of existing canals and streams, creating a hygienic and pleasant environment and upgrading the living conditions of the communities identified for resettlement and upgrading.

3 NIRP and LEI&CDP

The National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP): To ensure that people affected by development projects are treated in a fair and equitable manner and are not impoverished in the process, the Government of Sri Lanka adopted the NIRP in 2001. It was meant to avoid, minimise, and mitigate the negative impacts of involuntary resettlement by facilitating the re-establishment of the affected people on a productive and self-sustaining basis.

The NIRP ensures that people adversely affected by development projects are: (a) fully and promptly compensated, (b) successfully resettled, and (c) provided assistance to re-establish their livelihoods and to deal with the psychological, cultural and social stresses caused by resettlement. It also ensures that people are made aware of the easily accessible and immediately responsive processes for the redress of grievances.

The new policy is based on human and ethical considerations and requires the payment of resettlement value (replacement cost) and provides assistance and facilitation for smooth resettlement and, where necessary, even rehabilitation of the affected persons.

Change of Scope of LEI&CDP Incorporating NIRP Principles: The NIRP was adopted by the government after the design phase of the project and just before the commencement of implementation. The government and the JBIC then agreed to change the scope of the project, incorporating the NIRP principles, and to undertake a detailed assessment of additional resource requirements, including financial commitments, with the assistance of UN-HABITAT technical inputs. The resettlement component of the project

was revisited in the light of the NIRP and the budget revised with additional funding of Rs. 600 million (approximately US\$6 million) provided by the government.

The revised scope of the project included the payment of replacement cost to all involuntary resettlers, regardless of whether they had legal ownerships to the land and houses they were occupying. The intention of the NIRP is to ensure that people affected by development projects are treated in a fair and equitable manner and not further impoverished in the process.

Additional Tasks to Meet NIRP: It was agreed to develop a novel, participatory, pro-poor development-induced Involuntary Resettlement Programme to make all PAPs real beneficiaries and active partners. This encompassed a series of additional tasks such as (a) preparation of LEI&CDP Resettlement Policy Framework; (b) development of the LEI&CDP Resettlement Approach and Strategy on the basis of an agreed resettlement policy; (c) development of guidelines for the implementation of the LEI&CDP Resettlement Programme; (d) revision/update of existing resettlement plans; (e) development and implementation of a Social and Household Income Restoration Programme; (f) development and implementation of a Public Sensitization Programme and setting up of a Community Information Center (CIC), mainly focusing on 'to be resettled' communities; (g) revision of NGO and Community Engineers' scope of work and the Project Management and Staffing agreement; (h) development of PAP Entitlement Packages, offering alternatives in consultation with all stakeholders; (i) development of a participatory land acquisition programme; (j) development of guided resettlement programmes and social and environment safeguard measures tailor-made to various PAP categories and resettlement sites, backed up by the Grievance Redress Mechanism, Social Safeguards, Vulnerable Family Assistance and Gender Equity programmes.

4 Key Features of the Participatory Resettlement Process

Resettlement Policy Framework: The stakeholder consultations highlighted the need for a clear policy framework. It was agreed that the absence of such a policy may result in severe economic, social, and environmental problems due to resettlement. Involuntary resettlement could cause severe long-term hardship, impoverishment, and environmental damage unless appropriate actions are carefully planned and carried out.

The LEI&CDP Resettlement Policy Framework intends to ensure compliance with the NIRP adopted by the government through securing social safeguards for persons who would be affected in terms of loss of land, assets, shelter, and potentially adverse impacts on livelihoods or social life due to the resettlement. Eligibility criteria for compensation, mode of compensation, grievance redress procedures and features of people's participation are also outlined.

5 Guiding Principles of the Resettlement Framework

- Avoid or minimise re-settlements wherever feasible, exploring all viable alternative project designs.
- Where displacement is unavoidable, resettlement plans should compensate for losses at full replacement cost prior to actual displacements.
- PAPs are supported during the transition period, and assisted in their efforts to improve their former living standards and earning capacity or at least to restore them to former levels.
- Special attention is paid to vulnerable groups.
- Community participation in planning and implementing is encouraged.
- Appropriate community organisations should be established and existing social and cultural institutions of resettlers and their host communities should be supported and used.
- Resettlers should be integrated socially and economically into host communities so that adverse impacts on host communities are minimised.
- The absence of a legal title to land should not be a bar to compensation.

Resettlement Strategy: The Resettlement Strategy of the LEI&CDP is intended to translate NIRP principles into practical action, to mitigate losses and adverse impacts caused by the project. All PAPs are viewed as beneficiaries and active partners and provided assistance and support to enable them to improve or maintain their pre-project living standards.

- Planning is flexible, with continual refinement, incorporating lessons learned and actively involving and consulting all stakeholders, especially PAPs, with NGOs acting as intermediaries between the project and PAPs.

- The resettlement process is consultative, transparent and accountable, providing guidelines/procedures for project preparation, implementation, and monitoring.
- Effective communication linkages between PAPs and the project are in place; a Community Information Center (CIC) is set up in the field and social marketing programmes are implemented.
- Social and Environmental Safeguards, Vulnerable Family Assistance and Gender Equity programmes are introduced.

Legal Aspects and the Community Legal Assistance and Facilitation Programme:

The Resettlement Program is based on the existing legal framework of the country, mainly the Sri Lanka Constitution, Land Acquisition Act, National Environmental Act and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) regulations, National Housing Development Authority (NHDA) and Urban Development Authority (UDA) Acts. The legal regime relating to resettlement at the moment is in transition, as amendments to the Land Acquisition Act and National Environmental Act have been proposed with a view to incorporating principles of the NIRP. On the basis of the findings of this review, a Community Legal Assistance and Facilitation Programme was developed to provide legal assistance and facilitation to the PAPs as and when required

Defining PAPs & Eligibility for Compensation:

The term PAPs refers to persons whose houses, lands (residential, agricultural or commercial), other assets or businesses/livelihoods and socio-economic status are adversely affected, in part or in total, by project activities.

PAPs Entitlement Eligibility Criteria and Rehabilitation Measures:

All displaced households are provided with: (a) a plot of land and full replacement cost of the house or the construction cost of a basic house, whichever is higher, with facilities equivalent to their old houses and (b) financial assistance (such as moving allowances/temporary accommodation allowance) during relocation. No displacement would take place before providing the replacement land and/or paying the compensation package.

The following categories of persons are eligible to be considered as Project-Affected Persons (PAPs):

- (a) those who have formal legal rights to land/house;
- (b) those who do not have formal legal rights to land/house but have a claim to such land/house, provided that such claims are recognised under the laws of the country;
- (c) Those who have no recognisable legal right or claim to the land/house they are occupying.

Persons covered under (a) and (b) above are eligible for cash compensation for the value of land/house/assets they lose, and other assistance in accordance with the next section. They are also offered the replacement cost of housing in lieu of the value of the house and given a choice of getting the highest packages. Persons covered under (c) above are provided with replacement of basic shelter facilities and other resettlement assistance to achieve the objectives set out in this policy, given they occupy the project area prior to a cut-off date, i.e. January 2003 – the date of the socio-economic survey. Persons who encroach on the area after the cut-off date are not entitled to compensation or any other form of assistance. All persons included above are provided compensation for loss of assets other than land.

NGOs as Partner Organisations

Obtaining the services of experienced NGOs as partner organisations to assist affected communities and act as intermediary between the project and PAPs, providing facilitation, assistance and guidance to PAPs, especially to the poor, vulnerable groups and women.

Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Mechanism (PMEM)

The PMEM is responsible for carrying out participatory monitoring and assessment, jointly with all stakeholders of the project, and to incorporate lessons learned into the next phase of the project cycle.

Implementation Guidelines

Preparation of detailed Project Implementation Guidelines to assist the project resettlement team, including NGO staff and field coordinators and enumerators.

Community Information Center (CIC)

The CIC disseminates information among PAPs to avoid confusion due to an information gap and to establish transparent processes and procedures to enhance active PAP involvement in the resettlement

Staff Training

A comprehensive training package was prepared including a set of training manuals for the resettlement staff of the project, NGOs and Municipal Councils.

Integrated Partnership Development Programme

A series of discussions were held with other agencies involved in development activities in the area and an Integrated Partnership Programme was developed to ensure all agencies work in partnership.

6 Main Tasks of the Resettlement Process

The project has implemented the Participatory Resettlement Process, through the following four main phases, grouping key tasks under each phase:

Phase I – Start up and Orientation Phase: A detailed field survey was carried out to identify those who would be affected by the project and the community made aware and encouraged, as stakeholders, to participate in the planning. Criteria for eligibility to compensation and assistance were approved, as were the entitlement packages. Implementation guidelines were set out and action plans prepared.

Phase II – Social & Technical Preparation Phase: Social preparation involved the education of the community and the formation of core groups among them to build up their capabilities. Individual entitlements were assessed and agreed upon. Any grievances were directed towards the grievance redress mechanism that was already in place. Technical preparation involved making ready the resettlement sites and the basic infrastructure for them. House designs were varied, to better suit requirements, with feedback from the community itself. Skills of the community were assessed and they were provided with some training in house construction, enabling them to do some work on their new houses themselves.

Phase III – Participatory Resettlement Planning: Resettler households were consulted on improvements to housing and shelter design and site specific resettlement action plans were prepared. Off-catchment resettling was facilitated and technical assistance provided for house construction and refurbishment.

Phase IV – Consolidation, Community Integration and Income Restoration: Livelihood restoration programmes were put into action and Neighbourhood Forums were established. These encompassed a mixture of low, middle and higher income residential groups in a geographically defined area, sometimes extending beyond the boundaries of the directly affected settlements.

7 Key Achievements and Current Status

Key Achievements: Revising the project to include the NIRP guidelines and refining the organizational structure in keeping with these changes and obtaining Rs. 600 million from the government to fund the revised budget. A staff training and capacity building programme was developed and implemented. The services of a leading NGO were obtained to assist and facilitate PAPs in the resettlement process and act as an intermediary. Acquisition of land, preparation of resettlement sites, lay out plans and house designs were all developed with the full participation of PAPs, who were given the choice of on-site or off-site resettlement. Tailor made income restoration programmes were developed and the project established links between banks, private sector partnership programmes and the PAPs.

As a result of this innovative resettlement programme, 100% of households living on unauthorised land and on government permits have now agreed to resettle voluntarily accepting the entitlement package offered, and 90% of households with legal ownership of the land and houses, most of them of middle and higher income levels, have agreed to resettle voluntarily. Only 15 out of 1882 PAPs, less than 1% of the total, have taken legal action against the project. These cases are now being negotiated.

Current Status: The total number of households directly affected due to the frequent flooding in the Lunawa catchment is about 18,000. The problem is compounded by the contamination of water by untreated toxic waste discharged into waterways by industries in the area. People in the catchment are both physically and hygienically affected due to flooding. The enumeration survey undertaken in mid 2002 estimated that 567 households had to be resettled for drainage system improvement. However, the subsequent assessment carried out on the basis of the revised scope of the project found that the total number of households affected was 855.

Total number of households affected	- 855
Number of lands affected (without houses)	- 1,027
Total	- 1,882

469 households had to be fully resettled or their houses refurbished. The remaining 386 have been affected with some structural damage. The target and progress of total households affected are given in Table 1, while table 2 shows the progress with the provision of physical infrastructure and other support services.

Table 1: Resettlement Programme Targets and Progress (of Total HHs as of Sep. 2008)

Location	Target (No. of Project Affected HHs)				Progress (No. of Project Affected HHs)				Value of Entitlement Payment issued (Rs.Mill.)
	Onsite		Off-Site		Onsite		Off-Site		
	House	O/S	Region	Site	House	O/S	Region	Site	
North Basin	106	196	134	56	105	191	134	56	195.69
South Basin	63	178	28	14	59	170	18	14	105.47
Lagoon Boundary	1	8	26	12	1	8	18	12	17.60
Josalin Antigie Watta			18	3			18	3	12.43
Upgrading Site			2				2		1.24
Resettlement Sites			3	3			3	3	2.91
Total	170	382	211	88	165	369	193	88	335.34
		855					815		

O/S= Other Structures

Table 2: Progress of the provision of resettlement support services

Total number of households provided with resettlement assistance and reset	815
Number of households currently being processed	35
Percentage having obtained resettlement assistance	99.4%
Number of households that have objected, as at present*	05
Percentage of objecting households	0.3%

* Appeal Court Case by 10 households for the "Stay Order" was dismissed on 10/09/08 and the Magistrate Court Moratuwa has subsequently dismissed the 4 cases on 29/09/08.

All basic infrastructure such as access roads, water, electricity and sewerage facilities have been provided at resettlement sites. Out of the originally identified 11 resettlement sites, 9 have now been acquired and developed, with the other two abandoned as unsuitable. The following four sites have been now selected by the PAPs, renamed (See Table 2 below), and construction of houses is underway.

Table 3: Resettlement Sites

Site No.	Old name of land acquired for resettlement	New name of the resettlement Site	No. of housing plots
1	Hikgahawatta	Hyke Terrace	42
2	Bahinathotawatta	Lake View Garden	63
3	Peerugahawatta, Munagahawatta & Nugewatta	River Side Garden	90
4	Pairugahawatta & Part of Dombagahawatta	Green View Garden	18
Total		4	213

Table 4: Providing infrastructure services to resettlement sites

Settlement	Type of Services									
	Sewer System, Septic Tank & Filters	Water Supply	Electricity	Storm Water Drains	Waste Water Disposal System	Security Wall and Chain link fence	Internal Roads	Community Centers	Landscaping	
Lake View Garden	Complete	Complete	Complete	In progress	Complete	-	Complete	Design in progress	Design in progress	
Hyke Terrace	Complete	Complete	Complete	Designs complete	Design in progress	Complete				
River Side Garden	Phase 1 complete	Complete	Complete	Phase I complete	Phase I complete	In Progress	Phase I complete	Complete	Phase I complete	
Green View Garden	Complete	Complete	Complete	In progress (70%)	Complete		In progress (75%)		Design in progress	

What was lost and what was gained: A comparative profile

Box 1 below presents three cases comparing the three main PAP categories, (i.e. unauthorised temporary house; temporary house on legally-owned land; and well structured permanent house on legally-owned land) under three parameters, i.e. what was lost; what was gained and what other assistance, support and facilitation was provided by the project.

BOX 1: A comparative profile: losses and gains of the re-settled

Type	Temporary house, no legal ownership	Temporary house on legally owned land	Permanent house on legally owned land
Resettlers	Mrs. R.S.K. Sittamma	Mr. Norbert Silva	Mr. M.S.M.Fernando
Losses	(a) Temporary house and encroached land (No legal tenure)	(a) Temporary house and land with legal ownership	(a) Permanent house and land with legal ownership at prime residential area, (b) temporary loss of income of renting out the annex .
Gains	Replacement land with legal ownership - 2 perch land free of cost in 'River Side Garden'	Replacement land with legal ownership - 4 perches (2P free and 2P on value) in 'Hyke Terrace'*	
	Replacement cost of the house – Rs.400,000.00*		Replacement cost of the house – Rs.6,300,822.00
	--	Value of land – Market value of the acquired land	Market value of the acquired land
	Resettlement allowances Rs.15,000.00		Resettlement Allowance - Rs.25,000.00
	Initial livelihood restoration grant – Rs.9,000.00		
	-		Rental allowance for six month period – Rs.120,000.00
-		Payment for the income losses – Rs.30,000.00	
Other, Support provided	Housing Information & Advisory Services (Technical assistance for designing & construction of the new house)		
	Host community integration support/guidance		
	Facilitation of low cost material procurement & services and skill development		(Not requested)
	Counseling and facilitation of life re-establishment & social reorientation		
	Income & social restoration assistance and Banking facilities		

* Minimum amount equivalent to cost of the basic house as the replacement cost of existing house is lower than the cost of basic house as estimated in 2003

8 Issues and conclusions

Issues

About a half of PAPs, who lived in slum and shanty settlements without proper legal rights, have been, and are being successfully resettled, in sites on or off the catchment area, according to their choice. However, the project is faced with the following procedural delays in dealing with the entitlements to legal land owners, mainly due to the delay in amending the existing Land Acquisitions Act of 1960 incorporating the NIRP principles:

- 1 Long bureaucratic and conventional process of land acquisition** – Started five years ago, but still not fully completed.
- 2 Undue delays in land surveying** - Land surveying for acquisitions can be done only through the Survey Department and this has contributed to the delay in the land acquisition process.
- 3 Undue delay in the valuation process and issues relating to valuation methodology** - PAPs were given a choice of obtaining their entitlement, either the replacement cost of the land and house or the market value, whichever is higher. Almost all households with no tenure rights accepted the entitlement package offered by the project, based on the replacement cost, aware of not having legal ownership of the land. However, the middle and higher income groups, who have legal ownership of land, are waiting for their valuation reports (done by the Valuation Department) to compare it with the replacement cost package offered by the project. The bureaucratic delays of the valuation have created unrest and uncertainty among PAPs.
- 4 Issues relating to land title:** It has been revealed that deeds for most of the lands acquired are not clear, and title disputes cause undue delays in the valuation of lands.

9 Conclusions

The project has revised the scope of the resettlement component; incorporating the NIRP principles and developed and adopted a guided consultative and participatory development induced resettlement process. The new scope of the project has drastically changed the original resettlement component and made the PAPs real beneficiaries and active partners of the entire development process, setting an example for participatory guided consultative resettlement programs and creating a win-win situation for all stakeholders. The innovative pro-poor approach to involuntary resettlement has ensured the tenure rights of the poor living in slum and shanty settlements enhancing the physical and social quality of life of the poor.

However, despite the fact that there has been an effective Social Marketing Programme, undue delays caused by conventional and bureaucratic land acquisition procedures, land surveying and valuation processes has adversely affected the smooth implementation of the resettlement process of the project creating unrest among PAPs.

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Ensuring an Equitable and Participatory Process for Involuntary Resettlement: Land Acquisition and Resettlement Committees under the Southern Transport Development Project

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Abstract

The introduction of Land Acquisition and Resettlement Committees (LARC) is an important change to the existing system of determining compensation for land acquired for public purpose. Its primary role is to operationalise the principle of determining compensation at replacement value and providing a consultation space for affected parties.

Study of the resettlement activities of the STDP shows very clearly that LARC had served its intended role and had a beneficial impact on Affected Persons (APs). Looking to the potential for LARC to be adopted as policy in Sri Lanka there needs to be acceptance of the broad principles underlying it as well as a critical evaluation of the implications of the detailed policy and its implementation.

This paper draws on evidence and knowledge generated by CEPA in the capacity of Independent External Monitors to the Resettlement Activities of the STDP, 2006 – 2008. It also draws on an assignment to review the

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1 Introduction³

The Southern Transport Development Project (STDP) is the very first limited-access expressway in Sri Lanka, and involves the construction of a 128 km road between the capital city, Colombo, and Matara in the south, including a 6 km link to the southern port city of Galle. As the expressway does not follow an existing roadway, all land needed for the construction had to be acquired by the state for this purpose. Approximately 10,271 land lots have been acquired for the project, which is estimated to have affected about 3,000 families. Of these, about 1,400 households were physically displaced⁴. Resettlement activities (including payment of compensation and other entitlements, relocation of affected persons to specially designated resettlement sites, the income restoration programme, assistance for re-establishment of social networks and social capital; and monitoring and evaluation of the resettlement process) were carried out in terms of a Resettlement Implementation Plan (RIP), jointly agreed on between the government and the financiers, and implemented by the Road Development Authority (RDA), under the Ministry of Highways.

The RIP is a radical departure from current Sri Lankan laws on land acquisition, compensation and resettlement. As such, the impacts of resettlement due to the STDP have many implications for future policy, particularly because many such expressways are expected to follow⁵.

This paper focuses on the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Committee (LARC) which was introduced via the RIP of the STDP. The primary role of LARC was to decide on the replacement value for land and assets acquired, while acting as a forum for consultation and negotiation between the affected persons and the officials of the government. It explores the role of LARC in facilitating a more equitable and participatory process in the involuntary resettlement. The design of LARC within the RIP, its actual implementation as well as issues to consider in balancing the needs of the affected persons with that of infrastructure development are explored in this paper.

³ This paper draws on evidence and knowledge generated by CEPA in the capacity of Independent External Monitors to the Resettlement Activities of the STDP, 2006 – 2008. It also draws on an assignment to review the grievance redress mechanism of STDP carried out on behalf of the Asian Development Bank in 2009.

⁴ Position Report on ADB and JBIC sections in STDP as at 31/12/2006, Jan 2007

⁵ <http://www.rda.gov.lk/source/expressways.htm>

2 LARC: Its Design and Implementation

When the state has to resort to acquiring private land for a public purpose, the statute under which the acquisition is effected is the Land Acquisition Act No. 9 of 1950, and subsequent amendments (LAA). The act provides for the payment of compensation as well as the process of acquisition. While the LAA provides for compensation at 'market value', this value is determined solely at the discretion of the Valuation Department. In addition, while the LAA provides a mechanism for a dissatisfied person to seek redress through the Board of Review⁶, there is no mechanism for them to participate in the compensation determination itself, or understand the reasons for a particular compensation. There is often substantial dissatisfaction with the compensation determination under Section 17 of the LAA, leading to court cases and delays. In addition, the LAA is limited to compensating for the acquired asset and does not deal with the broader issues of replacement of living standards or livelihoods of the affected persons.

LARC was first introduced in Sri Lanka in the Resettlement Implementation Plan for the Southern Highway project, with the specific aim of filling important gaps in the land acquisition procedure prevailing in Sri Lanka. The design of LARC has two important principles embedded within it: (i) provide compensation at 'replacement value'; and (ii) provide space for affected persons to participate and be consulted during the compensation process. This was with the intention of enabling the affected persons to understand the basis for the compensation decisions, to influence the decisions made in relation to their case and present any grievances relating to the compensation process or amount.

Replacement value was provided for through a 'top up' of the statutory payment (under Section 17 of the LAA) for land and structures, which is determined by LARC, as well as a series of fixed-amount allowances which was intended to compensate for costs of replacement such as renting of temporary residence, preparation of documents, shifting and replacing utilities.

⁶ The Land Acquisition Board of Review constituted under the provisions of Land Acquisition Act No: 09 of 1950, hears appeals made by the parties who are not satisfied with the compensation received for compulsory acquisitions. The Board of Review consists of sixteen members out of whom eight are lawyers and eight are valuers, appointed by the President for a period of three years. The Board is assisted by the legal division of the Valuation Department.

The participation and consultation principle was included in the design of LARC which required every affected person to be called for a LARC sitting, set out the representation of committee members, and situated it within the divisional secretariats.

The RIP sets out the composition of LARC to enable representation of specialised technical knowledge (officials representing the Chief Valuer and Survey General), project knowledge (the Project Resettlement Officer), knowledge about the affected people and their interests (Grama Niladhari and the AP representative) as well as state administration under the leadership of the Divisional Secretary. However, the composition was changed in the Cabinet Memorandum establishing LARC and the Grama Niladhari and representatives of affected persons were not included in the final composition. The affected persons (APs) and an accompanying relative/friend were expected to negotiate on their behalf.

3 Participatory and Consultation Elements of LARC

The RIP required all affected persons to be called for a meeting with LARC. These mandatory meetings were held for all acquired lots eligible for compensation. The fact that meetings were held with everyone, not only those who requested it or were dissatisfied with their compensation determination, is one of the strengths of LARC, which has helped to provide a more equitable outcome in STDP compensation. In addition, the AP could request for additional LARC meetings should there be any outstanding issues. In the case of a deadlock in negotiations, the case moved to a higher level committee headed by the Secretary to the Ministry of Highways, termed 'Super LARC', or in more extreme cases, to the court of law.

As shown through surveys, the usage and awareness of LARC among affected households is very high, and even households that did not know the institution by name had, in fact, attended the meeting at which their LARC entitlements had been decided and paid. Substantial effort was made to publicise the availability of LARC. In addition to individual notifications of LARC meetings issued by the STDP, LARC dates were displayed on the notice boards of the divisional secretariats and the STDP Regional Office. There was almost 100% attendance by affected persons in the LARC process with only a few exceptions, such as where the acquired lot size (and therefore expected compensation) was very small.

The location of the LARC meeting at the divisional secretariats facilitated public access, as this is the most localised level of public administration accepted as a place of state authority, while being a non-threatening environment which is open to and frequented by the public.

While LARC was set up primarily to consider (monetary) compensation related to loss of assets, in reality it was a forum to present any type of grievance related to resettlement and replacement. These meetings provided the affected households with the space to present issues not just relating to their physical assets but also regarding their family situation, particular hardships or issues such as disability or poverty or other losses which are difficult to capture in an asset valuation. In extreme cases it also enabled vulnerable members of the household to make a case to protect themselves from not being able to access the benefits of compensation.

It was a divided land (bedunu idamak). And there were conflicts among the owners. Even for little things like a jackfruit tree there were quarrels. At least [the project] gave me a land to live. Now we have land of our own. There are no demarcation problems. (dan hawl prashna nehe)...

- Householder, female, age 52

There is no substantive evidence to suggest that gender, age or income levels were excessively constraining factors in accessing LARC or negotiating. Negotiations have, in general, favoured two contrasting groups. One was households that were seen by the Committee to be particularly vulnerable and 'asarana'⁷, i.e. in difficult circumstances. Examination of LARC meeting records shows that there are cases where the committee has provided maximum support within the entitlement framework to such households. The other was households with good information and strong personalities who succeeded in negotiating in their favour.

I searched for information and got to know that others have been paid well. Then I asked them why I have been paid less. The first estimate was only Rs.1,300 per perch. I continuously wrote to all those officers and authorities related to STDP. Then they estimated Rs. 2,000 per perch. I didn't give up the attempt and continued to appeal to all possible authorities. Finally they agreed to pay Rs.7, 000 per perch. I only accepted it when they sent me a letter informing that my compensation was going to be cancelled.

- Householder, female, age 55

⁷ 'Asarana' carries an extended meaning of being helpless/vulnerable and innocent.

In a majority of cases APs have been able to make their grievances heard but in some cases the AP felt intimidated and was constrained in negotiating.

It is a very good concept. If it had not been there we would have had no place to talk, antha asaranai. Here we could negotiate to increase it. It was really good when we compare to what happened in the Mahawali [project]. There are some problems with some officers but not everyone.

- Householder, male, age 27

There were some people from the RDA and DS [in the LARC]. I couldn't take time to think and answer because I am alone in front of 5 or 6 people. mama thani miniha – It's like a court of law.

- Commercial property owner, male, age 75

LARC decisions were accepted by the APs, with only about 4% rejecting the decision and moving on to other mechanism such as litigation. Those who rejected the LARC decisions were those who felt strongly that a particular injustice had occurred in the entitlement and valuation decisions, and were willing and able to incur the additional cost, effort, time and risk of reduction of compensation involved in appeal and litigation. Similarly, some of those who accepted did not always feel it was a sufficient or just compensation, but were not willing or able to incur the additional cost of prolonging the process.

One of the main weaknesses of LARC, which has serious consequences to the quality of the outcome of participation and consultation, is in relation to documentation and sharing of information with APs following the decisions taken. All negotiations were carried out within the entitlement and value framework set out in the RIP, about which the affected individual had limited knowledge. No document was provided to the AP at the end of the meeting regarding agreements reached and decisions taken. Any AP who requested this had to be satisfied with a handwritten note with no authorisation. While both the STDP regional office and the Divisional Secretariats had a documentation system as well subject clerks dedicated to documenting decisions and tracking the progress of payments, very little information was shared with the affected person. On average, the official document providing the final LARC decision was received by the affected household six months to one year after the final LARC meeting and the compensation payments had already been made. This has led to dissatisfaction and suspicion even among

those who had agreed to the LARC decision at the meeting, and eroded the positive feelings of having participated in a consultative process.

4 Issues of Equity in Compensation

The inability of statutory compensation (under section 17) to provide a 'fair' value for land and assets acquired by the state under the LAA has given rise to widespread dissatisfaction, leading at times to court cases. Where acquisition is for development that has no direct or immediate benefit to those losing land and assets, the issue of equity is particularly significant. The primary objective of LARC has been to remedy this situation by increasing the compensation to better reflect the market value and enable replacement.

On average, LARC doubled the statutory compensation entitlement in all categories of loss such as house and land (agricultural, commercial or other types). The level of replacement, particularly in housing, indicates that the compensation paid was at, or close to, the replacement value and a fair compensation for involuntary resettlement.

While there is widespread acknowledgment, among APs as well as officials, that the LARC compensation was fairer than the LAA estimates, there are certain weak elements in the design as well as the implementation, especially in terms of achieving equity between APs and types of loss.

There is a discrepancy in the treatment of different types of loss. It is more focused on facilitating replacement of home plots and housing than on agricultural land. The bulk of the allowances, e.g. resettlement allowance, utility replacement, shifting allowance, temporary rent allowance, are geared towards replacement of home plots and housing. In contrast, replacement of agricultural land is facilitated only via allowances for livelihood loss and preparing necessary documents such as title deeds. No allowances are provided for costs incurred in looking for new agricultural land, replacing the cultivation to previous levels, etc. This could have contributed to the very low level of replacement of agricultural land – particularly paddy – as against home plots and housing. Less than 10% of agricultural land has been replaced in contrast to 90% of housing as of 2006.

During the implementation of LARC, the decision making process lacked clarity, and the valuation criteria was not explained to the APs, resulting in the widespread belief that similar problems were provided with different solutions. This was particularly the case in the additions to the land and structure component which, unlike the allowances, had no transparent criteria, and depended to a large extent on the professional capacity and opinions of the Valuation Department member in the committee. Variations also existed in the payment of allowances. However, as the eligibility for these allowances were much clearer, APs were able to either negotiate their case at the initial LARC meeting or request follow up meetings.

The design of LARC called for separate committees to be established in each DS division headed by the Divisional Secretary with individual members representing each DS division. This design increased local knowledge and enabled greater accuracy in deciding on allowances and providing solutions. However, it also created room for variations in problem solving and therefore different solutions being provided for similar problems across administrative boundaries.

Mid-process the STDP acknowledged the level of subjective judgment that comes into LARC negotiations, especially in the case of 'top up' compensation and, as each DS division had a different set of officials as members of LARC, a control threshold was introduced to LARC via the higher level Ministerial Committee. To achieve a level of standardisation among LARC decisions and reduce the likelihood of decisions being changed before they were enforced, the Secretary, Ministry of Highways issued a requirement that if the compensation negotiated for land (structures excluded) at LARC exceeds 25% of the statutory compensation under Section 17 of the LAA, then ministry approval is required to effect payment.

A particularly interesting impact of LARC on equity is in the treatment of landless persons. Non titleholders, APs without documented title to their lands and the landless, including squatters, have been recognised as eligible for compensation as specified in the RIP. Such APs were eligible to all allowances as well as 10 perches of land in resettlement sites. These LARC entitlements have clearly had a beneficial impact on this group who would otherwise have been very vulnerable to severe poverty and disruption. The standard of living and the asset ownership of this category improved significantly.

A question does, however, arise regarding the impact on other families with limited resources who were previously land owners. These APs had to purchase land and were not entitled to free land in the resettlement sites. There has been a level of disruption of asset ownership and standard of living, especially in cases where previous land and location influenced their livelihoods

The Rural Middle Class, normally not considered vulnerable have been made vulnerable through displacement and resettlement as compared to the Poor and Village Elite.

- Case study on Vulnerability by Consultant to CEPA.

5 Implications for Broad-basing LARC

LARC is the most important institution introduced by the STDP RIP to the land acquisition and resettlement process in Sri Lanka. It introduced the idea of 'replacement cost' to the Sri Lankan resettlement lexicon as well as opened up a space for negotiation and consultation for those affected by land acquisition. The need, and feasibility, of absorbing the learning from the design, implementation and impacts of LARC into the resettlement policy of Sri Lanka is considered at the conclusion to this paper.

LARC clearly met the aim of providing higher compensation and increased the probability of APs replacing their losses, especially in the case of housing. It has proven largely successful in providing a more equitable and participatory process and outcome to affected persons. Importantly, it has succeeded in avoiding large scale grievances regarding compensation which could have resulted in court cases leading to a great deal of time and resources being spent – both by the project and the APs, in finding resolution. The very small number of cases appealed can be seen as an indication of the low number of APs who were [very] dissatisfied with the ruling of the LARC.

Satisfaction with the amount of compensation, however, has come at a very high monetary cost to the state. When compared to the LAA, the inclusion of LARC has increased the costs of land acquisition exponentially, for the STDP and the government. The budget allocations for compensation payments, cost of additional officers as well as existing officers working continuously on non-working days and the significant lengthening of the

decision making process has increased the cost. The fact that the loan financing of the STDP did not cover any part of the compensation payments has put severe strain on the state budget. Subsequent road development which attempted to include LARC entitlements in the compensation structure were stalled due to the large budgetary requirements. This has given rise to a school of thought that the continuation of LARC will seriously inhibit large scale infrastructure development.

Clearly, there is a need to balance the public need for infrastructure with the private loss of individual households who are subjected to land acquisition and involuntary resettlement. A 'fair' compensation would be one which allows affected persons to replace their lost land and assets at a level that is in line with their previous standard of living and livelihoods. The cost of compensation needs to be included in the cost-benefit calculations of a development project. This is particularly critical where those losing their assets and those directly benefiting from the development do not overlap. Where the monetary cost of compensation payments is prohibitive, non-monetary assistance would need to be planned and implemented.

The composition of LARC, which mixes authority with technical and local knowledge and its location in the DS office with its universal access were key features that contributed to the final outcome. The committees, in most instances, have succeeded in providing an acceptable level of consultation which is reflected in the APs attitude that LARC provided the best solutions to a bad situation. There is however, a need to look more closely at achieving a balance between flexibility that allows the committees to address the specific issues faced by different households and regions, and the standardisation needed to ensure equity between persons and across administrative regions. The experience of the LARC process in the STDP case points to the structure of allowances being more transparent, and thereby less controversial, than the 'top-up' of the statutory payment for land and structures. However, providing similar solutions to similar problems is critical for equity, as well as to retain the goodwill created by providing a space for consultation.

A second aspect is the concern that LARC creates a privileged group of persons among those affected by state land acquisitions. Within the same regions land acquired for other state needs only entitled the owners to the statutory compensation. The significantly higher compensation, paid by the

same acquiring officer, the Divisional Secretary, on behalf of the state, to those losing land to the STDP has been highlighted as an equity issue by state officials. A standardisation of the policy which retains the learning from LARC needs to be considered.

Other learnings from the experience of LARC include the importance of transparency of entitlements and the decision making process, timely and accurate sharing of information and documentation of decisions taken, the need to give equal priority in compensating those who have lost land but not been displaced and the need for greater emphasis in implementing non-monetary assistance as part of the compensation package. LARC was undoubtedly a critical element of the resettlement process of the STDP and has contributed to maximizing replacement and minimizing grievances relating to compensation. Attempts were made to overcome weaknesses in the design and implementation of LARC. There are critical tradeoffs that need to be addressed in applying these principles to other resettlement situations. The underlying learning, however, is that despite its challenges, the role and principles of LARC need to be absorbed into the land acquisition and resettlement policies of Sri Lanka.

Left Behind: Post-tsunami Resettlement Experiences for Women and the Urban Poor in Colombo

Cynthia M. Caron¹, Ph.D

Abstract

Following the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, over 59,500 individual transitional shelters were constructed in Sri Lanka to provide temporary shelter to displaced families. By the end of 2007, many families had moved out of transitional shelter and into new, permanent housing, as high as 85% in some districts. However, at that same time in the country's capital district of Colombo, 1,323 families remained in transitional shelter, more than in any other district in the country. In this chapter, I examine the social and political institutional arrangements for compensation and resettlement in the Colombo District, show how marginalisation among the tsunami-displaced urban poor including female-headed households took place, and end with recommendations to improve the design of resettlement packages for the urban poor, female-headed households, and other groups considered to be vulnerable.

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1 Introduction

The 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, caused by an earthquake off the western coast of Sumatra, brought death, destruction and numerous hardships to populations across South and Southeast Asia and even as far away as Africa. Sri Lanka was hard hit by the December 26th or Boxing Day Tsunami. The human, economic and social costs include:

- The deaths of 35,322 individuals.
- The displacement of 516,150 persons who sought shelter with friends, relatives, or in public spaces.
- The destruction of about US\$900 million worth of assets with 150,000 persons losing their means of livelihood.
- 97 health facilities, 182 schools, 4 universities and 15 vocational training centers damaged (GoSL, 2005).

In the first few weeks, over 350 planeloads of food, clothing, water, and tents, including approximately 15,000 tons of relief items and 2000 tons of medicine from around the world arrived in the country (Ranaviraja, 2005). The Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) initiated a four-point assistance programme that included: US\$150 for funeral expenses, an allowance of US\$25 to purchase cooking utensils, food rations of US\$3.75 per person per week, and four \$50 monthly installments to provide families with a source of income until comprehensive and systematic livelihood programmes got off the ground. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), both international and local, constructed over 59,500 transitional shelters to house families until resettlement sites, with permanent houses, water and sanitation infrastructure, were ready. The total cost of the required relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction effort has been estimated at approximately US\$2.2 billion. It is expected that it will take 3-5 years to rebuild and get people back to work and into a permanent home (GoSL, 2005).

The government estimates that at least 40,000 vulnerable persons were affected by the tsunami, with vulnerability referring either to losing a spouse in the tsunami, children losing parents and becoming orphaned, or already disabled, widowed or elderly persons who were directly affected (GoSL, 2005: 2). Many men and women who lost a spouse in the tsunami found themselves responsible for fulfilling new tasks for the family's social reproduction.

To complicate their lives even more, they needed to do this most likely in a situation where they had lost all their belonging including their homes, were living in a crowded, unfamiliar place without privacy (transitional shelter site or camp), grieving for lost loved ones, and trying to make sense of the destruction around them.

Two studies conducted within the first year following the tsunami found that in the majority of cases, relief assistance was not channelled to widows/widowers, but to their children, regardless of the children's ages (Jayaweera 2005; Goonesekere 2006). This increased dependence of these single parents on their children as well as their vulnerability over the long term, having to constantly rely on their children for their well-being and protection. In fact, Jayaweera (2005) found that 50% of the widows she interviewed had no income of their own and were completely dependent on their children. Widows who were not dependent on children relied on government support or other forms of private tsunami relief. When single heads, divorcees or widows are dependent on others within the family (either children or in-laws), they can be subject not only to ill treatment (Thiruchandran, 1999) and resented as an economic burden (Ruwanpura, 2006), but also can be dispossessed of their belongings by government officials or family members through trickery (Young 2006: 202). Single heads should be able to obtain relief and other forms of government compensation as individuals in their own right.

In this section, I explore some ground realities of post-tsunami reconstruction, specifically the moving out of transitional shelter and into permanent homes for groups considered 'vulnerable'. This section is part of a larger project on processes and practices of social exclusion in Sri Lanka. Examining how single-headed households, female-headed households, and the poor negotiate their way through the process of post-tsunami compensation provides an opportunity to investigate how compensation and resettlement programmes can either reproduce structures and processes of social exclusion or provide opportunities for social change. Theoretically I rely on Timothy Mitchell (1991) and Philip Abrams (1988) to investigate the actualities of social exclusion and how social exclusion is embedded within political processes. The laws governing post-tsunami compensation can be seen as a set of practices that act as "institutionalized mechanisms through which a social and political order is maintained" (Mitchell, 1991: 74) and as such are the processes that result in social subordination or exclusion (Abrams, 1988).

In thinking about processes of social exclusion, I consider the concept of vulnerability. Many of the Colombo families who still remained behind in transitional shelter in 2007 either had been excluded from the government's compensation programme for reasons they did not understand or found the process impossible to complete on their own. These families were primarily female heads, poor members of the fishing community and daily wage labourers in the informal sector, people who were squatting in public spaces at the time of the tsunami, the disabled, elderly or any combination of the above. What they all share in common is that they can be considered as the 'urban poor'. That said, 'urban poor' is not a category but a social position, which is essential to understanding how vulnerability is framed in this study. Vulnerability is not a fixed, static category. Vulnerability emerges out of social relationships, identity, subjectivities and social positioning and can change over time and according to context. For that reason, while I do explore gender as a social position, gender may not be what makes one vulnerable vis-à-vis someone in another subject position such as a Grama Niladhari (GN) or a 'host community'. Gender matters, but to privilege gender as the sole cause of or reason for vulnerability with respect to obtaining tsunami compensations ignores the social realities that individuals inhabit in their own right and as members of families (Jackson 2003).

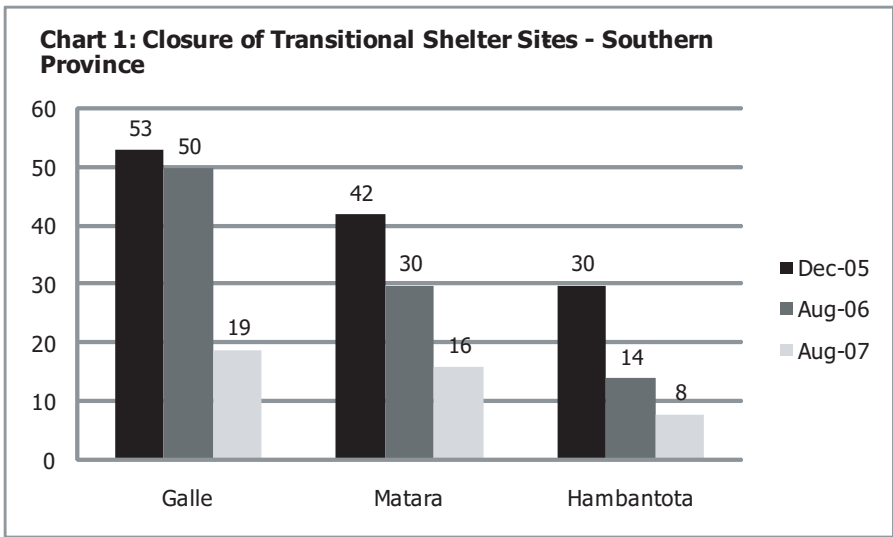
Finally, social exclusion is not only confined to exclusion from state compensation programmes but also to how other groups in Sri Lankan society treat resettling families. By examining the circumstances of families who had yet to make the transition out of shelter sites, I show multiple forms of discrimination in the compensation and resettlement process, how the systems and structures of political patronage are reproduced, and how social and cultural perceptions and social networks within Sri Lankan society enable or disable tsunami-affected families to resettle in a place of their choosing.

By mid-2005, the number of individual temporary shelters housing tsunami-displaced families exceeded 59,500 in more than 400 camps across 11 districts. The transitional shelter site tracking (TSST)² assessment team

² The TSST project was funded in 2005 by OCHA/HIC and funded by UNICEF in 2006 and 2007. IOM and the American Red Cross funded a separate assessment in the Western Province in 2007. The United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) implemented all of the assessments over 3 years. The project ended in December 2007, not because the transitional sites were all closed, but because of lack of funding.

visited camps once every eight or nine months on behalf of care and maintenance agencies to make sure that the sites were meeting standards that 'allowed people to live in dignity'. The team inspected toilets to make sure they were clean, unclogged, and well lit at night, investigated whether sufficient drinking water was delivered in a timely fashion, that the site was well-drained and was free of garbage, and so on. Where these infrastructure standards were not met, the team filed a report for immediate follow-up. The assessment team collected gender-disaggregated information including the number of female-headed households without an income and whether or not women residing at a site were consulted by donor agencies about new housing designs. However, only the most basic information about resettlement was collected, which included:

- the number of families who were notified that a donor agency was building them a house,
- the number of families who received a grant to purchase a piece of land for self-settlement, and
- the number of families who have received neither type of assistance



In some districts the transition out of transitional shelter was quicker than in others³. A brief review of TSST macro-level data elucidates the trends in the Southern and the Eastern Provinces. The bar graph (Chart 1) shows that between December 2005 and August 2007, the total number of sites in the Galle district decreased by 64% (from 53 to 19) and the shelter site population decreased by 96% (from 1,718 to 90 families). In the Matara district the number of sites reduced by 62% (from 42 to 16) and the site population decreased by 91% (from 1,582 to 156 families). Finally, in the Hambantota district, the total number of sites reduced by 74% (from 30 to 8) and the population decreased by 96% (from 917 to 38 families). Therefore in the Southern Province, by late 2007, only a few families remained on each site⁴.

Tsunami reconstruction differed in the East. Reconstruction was hampered by socio-political reasons (see also Uyangoda, 2005)⁵. In the Trincomalee district reconstruction was suspended temporarily in tsunami-affected DS Divisions after military operations re-commenced in July 2006. The conflict not only stopped reconstruction in many areas in Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts, but also destroyed or otherwise damaged many newly-constructed homes. Despite their commitments, a few organisations refused to return to these districts after their 'liberation' in 2007. In August 2008, nearly 150 tsunami-then-conflict-displaced families remained in tsunami transitional shelter (Personal communication, Vaharai DS, 9 July 2008).

In the densely-populated coastal areas of Ampara district, identification of suitable sites impedes permanent resettlement. Chart 2 below depicts the closure of sites in the Eastern Province between 2005 and 2008⁶. In the Ampara district, the total number of transitional shelter sites reduced by 76%

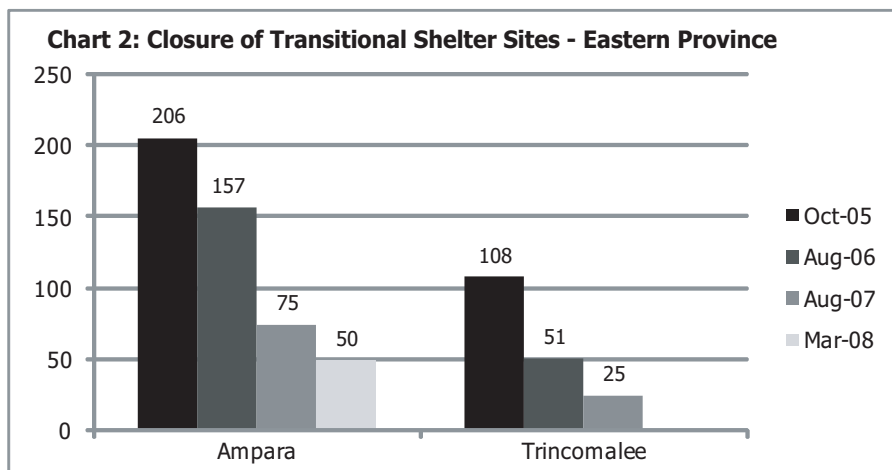
³ Inspection of shelter sites in Ampara, Trincomalee, Hambantota, Matara and Galle took place routinely in 2005, 2006 and 2007. The first assessment of shelter sites in the Western Province (Colombo and Kalutara districts) did not take place until May 2007.

⁴ While some families at the time had not received notification of receiving a permanent house from a donor in a resettlement area, some families had received new homes but had refused to move into them. In the New Mosque Camp in Hambantota DS Division, for example, all of the six families living in transitional shelter in July 2007 had received a house. However they refused to move into it as the houses are too far away from the sea and their fishing livelihood. On the other hand, in the Urban Council (UC) Camp, also in the Hambantota DS Division, not one of the 10 families had a solution to their housing problems (Field notes, 18 July 2007). Local government officials asked them to leave and then cut off their electricity supply to force them to do so. Cutting off water and electricity supply is a tactic used by local government authorities to signal shelter site residents that it is time to move out.

⁵ Due to a lack of cooperation among agencies in 2005 the TSST assessment was never undertaken in the Batticaloa district.

⁶ An additional assessment exercise was conducted in Ampara in March 2008. Accessed on 24 August http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/srilanka_hpsi/Files/Thematic%20Maps/TSST/LKM0033_AMP_Tsunami%20Transitional-Mar%202007-2008.jpg

(from 206 to 50 sites) and the shelter site population by 73% (from 2,997 to 806 families). In the Trincomalee district, the total number of sites reduced by 77% (from 108 to 25 sites) and the population by 64% (from 1,205 to 430 families).



All tsunami reconstruction stopped in the Northern Province in 2006 and has not restarted. As there was no continuous, systematic monitoring programme in the Western Province similar analysis on closures cannot be completed⁷. According to the final TSST assessment conducted by UNOPS in 2007, the largest number of families still living in transitional shelter was in the Colombo district (Table 1)⁸.

Table 1: Families remaining in transitional shelter sites (as of Aug. 2007)

	Colombo	Kalutara	Galle	Matara	H'tota	Ampara	Trinco	Total
# of sites	19	9	19	16	8	75	25	171
# of families	1,323	128	90	156	39	1,028	430	3,194

⁷ Some donor agency officials mentioned that as the country's capital Colombo falls within the Western Province they were not allowed fund assessments here (Personal communication, 25 April 2007).

⁸ The tsunami-displaced population is highly mobile. These figures consider only tsunami-displaced families living in shelter sites, not displaced families living with friends/relatives or in rented accommodation. The overall figure of how many families were displaced and how many of them were considered entitled to housing are highly controversial.

The Western Province assessment found that slightly over 50% of the 1,323 families living in transitional shelter sites in the Colombo district had not received any permanent housing assistance (Table 2 below), which prompted an additional study to better understand the circumstances of these families.

Table 2: Resettlement options for families in shelter sites in Colombo – May 2007

		#	%
A	Families who were notified of receiving a permanent house (donor driven)	160	12
B	Families who received a land grant for Rs. 250,000 (self-settlement)	447	34
C	Families who received the grant and bought the land (as a % of B)	418	93.5
D	Families who received neither (no resettlement assistance)	716	54

Tsunami reconstruction followed a 'house-to-house' rule meaning that if one could prove owning a house at the time of the tsunami, then that house would be replaced. Table 2 shows the post-tsunami housing replacement modalities. The first modality is donor-driven housing (A). Under this scheme, the government handed over a block of land to a donor that usually hired a contractor to build rows of identical houses that were 'handed over' to beneficiaries. The donor is responsible for constructing internal roads, providing water, sanitation and electricity and often a community centre or a playground. The second modality is known as 'owner-driven' housing and has two sub-divisions. The first type of owner driven housing is the receipt of a cash grant from the government of Rs. 250,000 to rebuild one's house where the house was standing at the time of the tsunami (no relocation involved – not shown in Table 2). The second type of owner-driven housing was the receipt of a cash grant of Rs. 250,000 to buy a piece of land for relocation and then a second cash grant of Rs. 250,000 to build a house on that newly-purchased piece of land (B, which I refer to as 'self-settlement'). The high number of families (54%) in Colombo shelter sites that claimed that they had yet to receive any housing resettlement assistance (D) prompted the follow-up study that is the subject of this section⁹.

⁹ The study, funded by UNICEF, was undertaken by UNOPS on behalf of the Center on Housing Rights and Eviction (COHRE). The interview format included 97 questions that corresponded with the various property rights regimes and land tenure arrangements that would have been possible at the time of the tsunami as well as questions about the family's current location in the compensation/resettlement process.

In October and November 2007, the same TSST assessment team conducted in-depth interviews with 254 families, approximately 20% of the families living in transitional shelter in Colombo at that time.

2 Results and Discussion

Female-headship

The results found a large number of these families, higher than the national district average of 22% (Goonesekere, 2006:47), were female-headed (Table 3). Some of these women were widows, but others had husbands who were in jail for drug use, husbands who had abandoned them, or had assumed de facto headship in other ways¹⁰.

Table 3: Female headship in the Colombo District (by DS Division)

	Colombo	Dehiwala	Ratmalana	Moratuwa
% of female headship in transitional shelter sites (Nov 2007)	59	35	39	24

As this was the first assessment of its type conducted in Colombo, there is no comparable baseline to ascertain changes in female headship in transitional shelter across time. The Jayaweera (2005) study in Colombo found that 17% of the households were female headed (N=75), but considering that the number of displaced families in Colombo at the end of 2007 was over 1,300 in camps alone, 75 families is a very small number to consider an appropriate baseline. Another multi-district study conducted by CENWOR¹¹, which did not cover the Colombo District, found that the percentage of female-headed households affected by the tsunami ranged from 13% in Jaffna to 39% in Batticaloa (Goonesekere 2006:10). These are among the only studies that examine women’s issues in such detail in the early post-tsunami period. Both of these studies were completed by September 2005 (nine months after the tsunami), whereas the data in Table 3 was collected three years after it. Considering that female heads with unmet housing

¹⁰ Both de jure and de facto female headship were considered, with de jure referring to widowhood or legal divorce and de facto meaning that a woman was either co-habiting or legally married to but separated from her husband or her husband is in jail, physically disabled, mentally unfit to work, is an alcoholic, or has a major illness and does not work. In the case of de facto headship, the woman is financially and otherwise responsible for the wellbeing of the household (Ruwanpura, 2006).

¹¹ In this study, 1,206 households were interviewed in six districts (Goonesekere, 2006: 9).

needs were in double digit percentages in Colombo at the end of 2007, there could be an underlying trend of female heads not being as successful as the rest of the population in obtaining compensation. However, without any reliable baseline data, discrimination cannot be proven definitively. Therefore in the following sections, I discuss how female heads, the elderly and others among the urban poor have tried to obtain compensation, and the responses to their attempts to claim this entitlement. That analysis below is divided into the two themes that emerged: access to compensation and challenges to self-settlement. Variables used in the analysis include gender, age, household headship and pre-tsunami land tenure.

Access to Compensation: Getting on the List and Thereafter

The inclusion of one's name on a list written up by the Grama Niladhari (GN) is the ticket out of transitional shelter. Commonly known as the beneficiary list, this was the official list of the tsunami-affected that relief and donor agencies were supposed to work from. If a name does not appear on the list, the person/family is not officially tsunami-affected and not entitled to receive any compensation¹². Many poor families in Colombo claimed that their respective GNs would not put their names on the list for the Rs.250,000 cash grant, under the assumption that husbands/men in the family would spend the money on drugs and alcohol. Many women who were separated from their husbands at the time of the tsunami were not put on a list, even when the house destroyed was registered in her name. The GN put the husband's name on the list for a new house instead. Many government officials recognised neither the rights of women who were separated nor women who were cohabitating with a partner. Kanthi explains her situation:

I divorced my husband 27 years ago, but that was not legally recognised. The house destroyed by the tsunami was in my name. Now I sometimes live with another man (cohabitating), but I am not legally married to him. So the GN says, 'can't give a permanent house to you.

(Field notes, Kalubowila camp, 16 October 2007)

The patriarchal nature of Sri Lankan society (Ruwanpura 2006; Kottegoda 2004) and its legal framework are embedded within the Tsunami Housing Policy as well. The policy only refers to 'married couples' (COHRE, 2006). The basic unit of Sri Lankan society under the Sri Lankan constitution is the

¹² As bribing one's way onto a list and other forms of corruption were exposed in connection with their construction, many donor agencies stopped using them.

nuclear family established through a monogamous marriage (Goonesekera 1990: 157). A non-marital cohabitating couple is not a legal family and is not recognised “by the Sri Lanka law on family relations” (ibid: 159), even if cohabitation itself is socially recognised and generally accepted (179). A GN would know about long standing co-habiting arrangements in his/her area, could take this into consideration and award compensation to a non-marital cohabitating couple if s/he wished. However, the GN is not legally obliged to do so. Unless the GN or the Divisional Secretary (DS) acknowledged such unions, many families living in a cohabitation arrangement at the time of the tsunami were left behind. In referring to married couples only, the policy sets a context where a single woman, even a woman who was once married, can be ignored. Such is the case of Sita, a widow:

I went to the GN and the DS office so many times. First they said to me, “You are alone you don’t need a house.” Another time they said, “go back to where you were born and get a deed for a piece of land that you can buy from there.

(Field notes, 26 October 2007)

Sita is a Tamil of Indian origin who was born in the Ratnapura District. She is alone; her children have grown up and moved away. She was living in Dehiwala at the time of the tsunami. Her ability to obtain compensation and the respect of local government authorities appears to be inflected by her social position as a single woman, living alone without sons or other male relatives to help her, compounded by her ethnic minority status that classifies her as a Colombo ‘outsider’ (“go buy land in the place that you are from”).

Receiving a permanent house is not automatically guaranteed to a married woman either, especially if the new house is titled solely in the husband’s name. This is Mrs. Swarnadurai’s situation. When a new house in a donor-driven scheme was given to her family, the house was written only in her husband’s name. He abandoned the family, claimed the title, and now lives in the new house with another woman. Even though their home was replaced under the house-to-house rule, which does not entitle her family to anything else, she managed¹³ to obtain Rs. 500,000 and bought a piece of

¹³ According to the Section 2.3.4 of the Housing Policy, District Secretaries were requested to prioritise single women and the elderly. Under Section 6, District Secretaries were given discretionary powers for ‘special cases’ (COHRE 2006: 6). Therefore even though her house had been replaced, once her husband left her and took the house, Mrs. Swarnadurai suddenly found herself in a new social/subject position that quite possibly made her eligible for ‘another’ house.

land with a small house. The house has neither electricity nor water. She is waiting for another grant to pay for this infrastructure. Mrs. Swarnadurai's situation is of consequence as it highlights the importance of jointly-registering new houses. Datta (2006) in her study of joint titling in urban informal/ squatter settlements in India found that when housing units were regularised and joint titles given to both spouses, women felt that they had more control over household-level decision making (2006: 278-279); were given exposure to new arenas such as banking, the financial bureaucracy and local politicians (281); that their husbands would be less likely to abandon them as they maintained some control over the house (283); that they got more respect from their husbands or at least felt more equal to them (287); and finally, they felt that they could take legal action against a husband if he tried to sell the house unilaterally (289). While the experience of women in squatter settlement in urban India is not exactly the same as in Colombo, there are the parallels – a lack of control over assets, no access to collateral, indebtedness, and abandonment. While Datta admits that intra-household equality might have not been completely achieved with this initiative and that husbands might harass or otherwise coerce their wives to sign a deed in order to sell a house, her study provides some evidence that women in poor urban communities can benefit from joint property ownership.

Women in Sri Lanka have the right to hold and dispose of property. A recent publication points out, "each family unit has its own unique way of distributing family responsibilities and this should be taken into account" (COHRE 2006: 3), which is why houses are sometimes written only in the wife's name. Other Sri Lankan scholars have shown that women play such an important role in household reproduction strategies that the idea that a man/husband is the 'sole authority' in a household is a misnomer (Ruwanpura 2006; Kottegoda 2004; Goonesekera 1990). Yet, it is standard administrative practice to consider the man as the authority figure and subsequently deem him the 'head of household' through which legal and financial goods and services are channelled. Thus, his name is placed on the list or the title is written only in his name. In order to secure more rights for women in general and for goods and services in particular, 'head of household' as a concept needs to be rejected. Yet, due to policy biases and the attitude of government officials this rejection alone might not be enough.

Sri Lanka's house-to-house tsunami policy is complicated by the nature of what constitutes a legal family. The house-to-house policy is not a house per family policy which is why some persons living in joint family situations

struggle. The joint family, which is created by several nuclear families living under one roof as one unit, is not considered a legal family unit (Goonesekera 1990: 158). So even if the head of household concept is rejected, female heads and other sub-families living in a joint family will continue to have legal problems because they reside in a family setting that is not legally recognised (See Table 4 below).

Access to Compensation: Land Tenure

Under the house-to-house rule, previous ownership of land is irrelevant to getting one's name on a list and obtaining housing compensation. The policy is a house for a house regardless of land tenure. Therefore, while a family renting accommodation is not entitled to compensation; the landlord is¹⁴. The house-to-house policy essentially regularised encroachments, qualifying squatters for a new house to replace one destroyed by the tsunami. Table 4 below shows the land tenure arrangements of 252 families and whether or not they received compensation.

Table 4: Land tenure at the time of the tsunami

Land tenure arrangement at the time of the tsunami	FHH (Total N)	Did not receive compensation (N)	Not receiving compensation as a % of total	Non-FHH (Total N)**	Did not receive compensation	Not receiving compensation as a % of total
Held land permit or land grant	4	2	50%	3	3	100%
Living in a joint family situation	6	3	50%	19	15	79%
Ownership of land	6	3	50%	9	3	33%
Renting	18	6	33%	21	14	66%
Squatting	56	34	60%	110	66	60%

* Female Headed Households

** At the time of the interview two of the respondents had very complicated tenure arrangements that did not fit into any of these categories

¹⁴ The protection given to renters under the Tsunami Act was that their tenancy agreement with the landlord could not be cancelled. However in most cases, once a landlord rebuilt a home, s/he would not rent again to the same tenants.

The data above does not show strong correlations between headship, land tenure and compensation. Female heads holding a permit/grant seemed to have had better 'luck' getting compensation compared to households with a husband/male head present. On the other, hand, under private landownership, households with a man present seemed to have had better 'luck' than their single, female-headed counterparts.

The complication with respect to joint families arises from the fact that while every family unit in that one house that was destroyed is in reality a 'family', legally they are not. After one nuclear family has received a house, it is as though the remaining sub-families do not exist. The data in Table 4 show that more female-headed sub-families households in this category obtained compensation than households with a man present. In the case of renters and joint family (again with the caveat of the small sample size and no baseline data), it is unclear why female-heads seem to have had more 'success', than families with an adult male present. Perhaps GNs took pity on them or perceived them as vulnerable and deserving of help. However, compensation is about one's legal entitlement and not about pity.

Receiving compensation that is due should neither be a matter of 'luck' nor left to the whims of a local government official. What the data in Table 4 does show is the misapplication of the Tsunami (Special Provisions) Act No. 16 of 2005. Families renting at the time of the tsunami are not entitled to a new house, but a high percentage of renting families managed to obtain one, with female-headed households having more success than their counterparts¹⁵. On the other hand, while squatters were regularised under the Act (COHRE: 2006:5), the data above show regardless of headship, 60% of the families had not received compensation. Later in this section I discuss what actions some of these families are taking to obtain what is due to them under the law¹⁶. The reasons why many of the families in Table 4 remain in

¹⁵ In these cases the homeowner is entitled to assistance for the destroyed/damaged house. Tenants are not entitled to any housing compensation. Tenants and lessees are covered under Section 31- Tenant or lessees' rights not to be terminated.

¹⁶ In one instance, three fishing families from the Kalubowila site in Dehiwala were squatting at the time of the tsunami. However, 12 years earlier they had been 'relocated' from this same location to Baduwita, where the government gave them a piece of land and a small house. As Baduwita is far from the sea and fishing is the only occupation they know, they sold that land and returned to Dehiwala. The DS and the GN told them that they are not entitled to anything as they had previously received a house from the government.

camp, although having received compensation, are connected to problems that they have had in fulfilling the requirements to make their relocation under the self-settlement modality a reality, which is also discussed below.

Access to Compensation: Documentation

The apparent success of some female-heads in Table 4 must be read against the evidence of bias against women documented in this section. Only 6% (N=15; 6+9 in Table 4) of the families interviewed in Colombo shelter sites had full land ownership (with legal deeds) to the land that they were occupying at the time of the tsunami. Of the 15 families who had full land ownership, 93% (N=14) had their original paperwork (deeds) to prove it.

Among these 14 families with deeds, six are female-headed families. Again this is an extremely small sample size, but among these six women, three had a deed registered in their own names. Not one of these three women received any housing compensation. However, the three female heads who had deeds registered in either their son's or their dead husband's or father's names received housing compensation. The case is less clear cut for the other eight non-female headed families in Colombo shelter sites. Among these eight families, three deeds were registered in a woman's name and out of these three, two families received a land grant of Rs.250,000. It is not clear if the presence of a husband in the house helped in obtaining compensation when the deed was solely in the wife's name. Of the remaining five non-female headed families that had deeds registered to a male, three of the five families received compensation. Overall, while land ownership is not required for housing, land ownership and registration in a male name seemed to increase the likelihood of obtaining compensation. Documenting this is important. Feminist scholars such as Bina Agrawal (1994) have argued that property rights for women bring about empowerment of and improvements in women's welfare. Such broad, universalist claims are dangerous (Jackson, 2003). As mentioned earlier when vulnerability is considered relationally then empowerment must be considered relationally too. Datta (2006) noted that in respect to intra-household gains, what is perceived as a gain for a wife (joint titling) might be perceived as a loss for a husband (although Datta's research for the most part proves otherwise). Women hold multiple identities (wife, mother, sister, daughter), such that property rights gained might be more 'substantial' when coming from the husband to his widow rather than from a mother to a daughter (Jackson 2003: 465-467). Finally, empowerment and improvement of welfare for women will only hold true if their rights are

recognised, upheld and considered legitimate by the state as well as other groups in society (475). With respect to this study, officials appear to have given preference to families with original property deeds in a male household member's name even when a woman had the same paperwork in her own name.

Access to Compensation: Legal Action Against the State

In their struggles for recognition and compensation, many families filed legal action against the state. The Human Rights Commission established a legal aid commission specifically to assist affected persons to use the judicial system to address outstanding claims. Unfortunately, most cases were dismissed even before the petitioner was allowed to submit written testimony (Personal communication, 10 January 2008). The few cases that made it to the Supreme Court were not well received.

In line with the house-for-house policy, if multiple siblings and their families were living in three separate houses on the same piece of land (even if registered in only one person's name), all three families are entitled to compensation. However, these claims were regularly denied. In one case brought by families living in a Moratuwa shelter site, the Supreme Court refused to grant leave to proceed on the basis that some of the petitioners (the adult children) failed to prove that they lived in houses separate from the parents. The petitioners were four Sinhalese fishing families (parents and the separate families of their three married children) living in unauthorised constructions along the sea shore. The government's electoral register listed each family as living in a separate house with its own unique identification number. However, the Supreme Court stated that the electoral register is not sufficient proof that these petitioners lived in separate houses, but the response did not end there. The individual presiding over the case stated that the petitioners were trying to *'get as much as possible from the situation they are in'*, emphasising that these petitioners were living in the camp in order to get free food and were waiting there until another tsunami hit, so they could get even more. Their counsel argued on their behalf, elucidating the challenges of living in transitional sites, for example, not having electricity or garbage removal. In fact the electricity was recently disconnected and garbage collection stopped to force people to leave the camp. To this statement the individual retorted, *"What nonsense! Do you think that they had garbage removal at their former homes in Moratuwa? What do they want by coming to court? Do they want to go in air-conditioned cars?! Do they expect to be given houses which we will hand over with a golden key?"* (Personal communication from a lawyer present at the court, October 2007).

Even though these families were living in unauthorised constructions, they were entitled to a house to replace the one destroyed by the tsunami. Three years and hundreds of millions of dollars later, housing needs have not been met. As poor fishermen continue to make their voices heard, not giving up in the face of indifferent government officials, persons with power become irate that the displaced have not learned to stay where they belong (in poor shanties). As they continue to fight, the perception that they could receive a larger, perhaps better constructed house than the one the tsunami destroyed is much more than some persons in the court can bear. The perception that some tsunami-affected families are getting or could get more than they deserve is a belief held by many.

The Challenges of Self-settlement

The previous sections discussed challenges and obstacles to obtaining compensation. This section addresses the challenges that many families encounter after they have been told that they are eligible for compensation or after they received compensation and tried to resettle/relocate their families outside of the shelter site.

Finding a Piece of Land

Upon notification that they have qualified for the self-settlement modality (Rs. 250,000 for a piece of land and a subsequent Rs. 250,000 to construct a house), the potential recipient must find a piece of land to buy before they are given the compensation money to purchase it. Many families have been unable to find a piece of land that meets the government's specifications¹⁷, which can be purchased for Rs. 250,000, and is in a place where they want to live. It is very difficult to find a plot of land for this amount in the areas of Colombo where they lived before the tsunami. Some families have bought land more than five hours outside of Colombo (field notes, 15 November 2007), while other families have found land within 45 minutes.

¹⁷ I was unable to locate any document that listed these specifications in writing. The following explanation is pieced together from narrative accounts of what families have been told by the GN: a clear deed of the land, a 10-foot entrance road to the land and minimum area of five perches (although some families said they were told 10 perches).

In the search for land, men and women encounter different challenges. Female heads with small children find it very difficult to travel alone on the bus to places they have never been to before and negotiate a land deal with an unknown person. Furthermore, the negotiation process to buy a piece of land is not in her favour, as a poor, single, woman she needs to normally negotiate with a man who by virtue of being a landowner with a spare piece of land to sell occupies a higher social standing than her (this power relationship is discussed in detail below).

One woman said, *“Even if we wanted to go, most of us cannot afford the bus fare and lunch to go and search for a piece of land in an outside area”* (field notes 23 November 2007). The same is true for the elderly. Mrs. Fernando is paralysed and her husband suffers from arthritis. During their interview, they showed the research team a newspaper article published about them in the Daily Mirror (30-07-2006). The article asked the public for help, but resulted in nothing. They received Rs.250,000 from the President’s Fund and another Rs.250,000 from the DS, but this money will not be released until they find a piece of land. They cannot find land because they are too old and ill to go look for it (Field notes, 18 October 2007). Another couple, Mr. and Mrs. Wickramatunge received their land grant (Rs.250,000) and bought a plot of land in Kalutara district, but have yet to receive the money for the house (Rs.250,000) and now are afraid to follow up as documented below:

The GN told us to go to a geriatrics home. He is angry with us because we keep asking when we will get the next installment for the house. We have no solution for this.

- Mrs. Wickramatunge
(Field notes, 25 October 2007)

In addition to travel costs, after purchasing a piece of land, families learned about extra ‘hidden’ costs. Sunil from Ratmalana explained his situation:

I bought land in Gohanapola. The GN then told me I need to have a (survey) plan for the new house and then he will give me the money to build the house, but I don’t have any money to get the plan made.

Sunil earns a living collecting and re-selling old bottles and paper. He earns less than Rs. 500 (US\$ 5.00) per day. During the interview he mentioned that he somewhat regrets purchasing this piece of land, as there is no water, no electricity and the school is also very far (he has two children under the age of five). But he felt pressure to buy something, *'The DS told us to buy the land quickly because otherwise he could not give us money to build a house'*. Occasionally Sunil wishes he had rejected the compensation. His perception is that families who are receiving ready-built houses from the Red Cross are having an easier time. However, it is unclear how one's name ended up on a list for self-settlement or on a list for a donor-driven scheme.

Negotiating a Deal

It is not easy to find a piece of land given double digit inflation in the post-tsunami economy as well as land speculation in a sellers' market. While many families cannot find a piece of land, in other cases landowners take advantage of these families that are desperate to move out of shelter sites. The potential buyer must have a copy of the deed to the land that they are going to buy, for official purposes, which sellers are reluctant to hand over. As Amenthi said, *"People won't give a copy of the deed. They are scared to give it to us, so we gave up searching for land"* (Field notes, 24 October 2007).

Many sellers provide a copy of the deed only if a deposit is made. If the deal does not go through, many landowners refuse to return the deposit. The vulnerability of dealing with landowners is highlighted by Pushpa's case. Pushpa, a young mother with a disabled husband, is trying to get a deposit back from a landowner:

I received Rs.250,000 for land and gave that as a deposit. To get full ownership, I need to give another Rs.98,000. I cannot. I asked the landlord to give me back the money so I can buy another piece of land. But he only wants to give some, not all... I cannot get the money. My husband is sick and he can't work. I work as a maid in a house {earns Rs.150 per day} because I need to pick up the children from school (I cannot work a full day) (Field notes, 25 October 2007).

In a seller's market with prices going up, landowners do not wish to wait for payment and will not give prospective buyers copies or deeds or survey plans without a deposit as was in Pushpa's case above. When Pushpa decided that she could not afford this piece of land, she had no bargaining

power, negotiation skills or a place to turn for assistance to recover the deposit. Rani finds herself in a different situation:

The GN told us that if we find some land he would try to get us some money. But when we found land, the owner asked for an advance before handing over a copy of deed. The GN told us to give our money to the owner and after that he would try to get us a land grant. When we said do not have the money, the GN said we should pawn our jewellery to pay a deposit. (Field notes, 24 October 2007).

With government delays in cash grant transfers, the lack of capital and collateral among the urban poor, and a land market favouring sellers, many earnest attempts by the tsunami-affected have been thwarted. As Sujith recounted:

We found a piece of land in Diggala and handed over the photocopy of the deed and other documents to the DS office over one year ago. When I went to the DRO office to get the money, he said, 'I can't give you money because you didn't hand over the photocopy of the plan.' I then asked the landowner for that document and he said he doesn't have that document. Not only that but he had sold the land to another person. Now I hope a NGO gives us a house. (Field notes, 24 October 2007).

Finally, there were several cases where a tsunami-affected person has paid a deposit, received a copy of the deed and survey plan, and received the Rs. 250,000. Yet upon returning to the owner to claim the property found that it had been sold to someone else; again with the landowner refusing to return the deposit. In most of these cases, such persons did not take legal action against the landowner, as they cannot prove that they had paid an advance. Without a receipt, holding a copy of the deed and the survey plan are not taken as proof. In March 2008 (more than three years after the tsunami), the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) held a number of clinics at Colombo shelter sites instructing persons about the safety measures they need to take, such as getting an 'agreement to sell' from the landowner as well as registering a 'priority notice' at the DS office on that piece of land so that if the landowner tries to sell it to another person after a deposit has been given, local government authorities will notify the person who paid the deposit. This information is critical to avoid being taken advantage of. As one attendee at a Moratuwa clinic noted, "if we had known this before, it would have been better" (Field notes, 3 March 2008).

Property negotiations are tedious and complicated, even in the best-case scenario. In a distorted post-tsunami economy, the land grant programme created opportunities for speculators to take advantage of persons involved in self-settlement; with many of the prospective buyers buying land for the first time. The families left behind in shelter sites clearly need extra help negotiating the process and its paperwork. The challenges that the urban poor encountered with respect to negotiating land deals, filling out and filing legal documents should have been taken into consideration when the self-settlement package was designed. Many persons left behind in shelter sites and engaged in self-settlement are illiterate or barely literate (less than a Grade 5 education).

If one takes the slogan 'durable solutions' to displacement seriously then the self-settlement package offered to the families in Colombo is not a durable solution for those left behind. The compensation offered Rs.500,000 (approximately US\$5,000) is not enough to purchase a piece of land in the same general location where the family lived at the time of the tsunami and build a permanent house on it. Most families found that they needed to move well outside the Colombo District, which is hardly a durable solution for a displaced family who have all their social ties as well as familial and livelihood networks in Colombo. In fact a small number of families have rejected the government's Rs.500,000 compensation package after seeing how their neighbours in the shelter site struggled with self-settlement. In these few cases, families demand a house through a donor-driven scheme.

Opposition to Self-settlement: Not in Our Backyard

Tsunami-affected families were not only subject to discrimination by the court and taken advantage of by sellers, but also suffered discrimination from the communities that they tried to move into. In one case, six families that received the government compensation package, pooled together the first installment (Rs.250,000), and purchased a plot of land where they all could live together in the village of Saliyawewa. This is a Sinhalese village more than 20 kilometres south of Moratuwa, inland, and much more 'rural'. The residents have enormous jak, mango and coconut trees in their gardens.

In August 2007, the local government authority (Chairman of the Pradeshiya Sabha, PS) confirmed in writing that the land that they purchased met the requirements which authorised their relocation to Saliyawewa. Yet they have been unable to do so. Their future neighbours in Saliyawewa filed a petition

against them immediately after construction of a temporary shelter started on the land. Thereafter the residents brought the petition to higher level government officials in the Kalutara District.

Banda, a resident on the adjacent plot of land and one of the 200 signatories to the petition, posed this question to me, *"How can you live with these people? In some of these families there are 15 members in one family how can you live with that?"* Other persons present said that the families from Moratuwa *'will ruin the culture of this village'*. The residents recounted how when these people came to see the land they climbed the trees and plucked king coconut. They spoke loudly and used filthy language. Banda's wife said to me,

What about our girl children (genu lamai)? We must protect them, and our clothes and our belongings. And there is a Montessori over there. What will be the result if these people come here? What will our children hear?

This is a battle over culture. Moratuwa, as an urban poor area, is perceived as a place of uncouth people of a lower class, lower social status, and poor manners; people who therefore cannot share the cultural values of Saliyawewa. Culture has physical dimension as well. The purchased plot is right in the middle of the village. One woman explained to me, *"We already have a kasippu (illegal liquor) problem in this area, why make it worse? On both margins of this village there are 'rowdy' people already. These people should go there, not to the middle of the village."* As our discussion continued, the families present said that they would not object if these six families relocated to the edges of the village where this 'rowdy' population already live. Resettlement in the middle of the village would result in its fragmentation. These families are intent on defending their village from elements that they perceive as a threat to their culture. In light of the fact that they already feel that they are under threat from elements encroaching on the edges, the middle is all they have left and "people like that" (*me wage minissu*) are not welcome.

The six Moratuwa families filed their own case (Kumari, 2008). They had paid the money for the land, had legal documents proving ownership, and had written permission to construct houses signed by the PS. As the case was active at the time of the research, no one among the claimants was willing to discuss it with outsiders (Field notes, March 2008), but their future, like so many others in post-tsunami Sri Lanka, is pending. While this case is unique, local residents protesting the relocation of tsunami-affected families is not rare. In another case, 16 Tamil families in a shelter site in Dehiwala

still remained in transitional shelter at the end of 2007 because of local host opposition to their resettlement. A church bought a piece of land for a donor-driven scheme and built houses for them in Dankotuwa, north of Colombo. Once it was discovered that Tamil families were moving into the area, local residents protested. The houses were reallocated to local Sinhalese families. At the time of research, these Tamil families were waiting for another piece of land to be purchased and construction to begin anew.

3 Conclusion and Recommendations

Tsunami resettlement is embedded in complex social and political relations. This section shows how and why some families have been left behind in transitional shelter even three years after the tsunami. These reasons include male bias/discrimination, the inability to find a suitable piece of land, poor negotiation skills, opposition from local 'host' communities to resettlement, or delays in fund disbursements to build houses. In some cases, frustrations with the self-settlement have become so high that families have rejected the package altogether.

As women and the urban poor tell their stories of repeatedly filling out forms, being told to come back later, or being cheated by landowners, we see how their social exclusion takes place (Abrams, 1988), how structures of local power, authority and control (in this case between citizens, the GN and DS) are maintained (Nugent, 2001), and how these sets of practices (denial, delay and eviction threats via cutting off services) produce the state effect (Mitchell, 1999). Overall, the relationship between the Sri Lankan state and Colombo's tsunami displaced-families left behind is passive aggressive. Local government authorities seem unable or uninterested in providing coherent explanations to families about why compensation is late or not forthcoming¹⁸. Local officials exert power in threats of eviction and in the ways that they refuse to take any responsibility for their inability to serve citizens in moving out, instead transferring the 'blame' onto the families, charging them with expecting more than they deserve. Women and others among the urban poor face exclusion and discrimination not only from these representatives of the state, but also from other groups in Sri Lankan society.

¹⁸ All of my requests to speak to Grama Niladharis in Colombo about post-tsunami programming were denied. Discussions with GNs took place in the Batticaloa District and have been written about elsewhere.

Exclusion and discrimination from other groups in society show how rural-urban fissures in the country emerge and articulate along the lines of class and location. Moratuwa on the margins of the modern capital is connected to crime, uncouth loud speech, and the use of slang and other filthy language that residents of Saliyawewa perceive as not present in, and thus a threat to, their community. The Moratuwa residents or 'people like that' would bring with them a culture that does not fit in Saliyawewa. These practices of constructing the 'other' are not new, but have profound implications for displaced persons (see recommendations below).

The practice and policy of tsunami compensation discussed above reproduce the structures and systems that keep the poor in positions of vulnerability and underscore the flawed logic that equates property rights with empowerment. Only when rights are recognised are potential claimants empowered. A woman with property in the name of a dead man seems better able to secure an entitlement than if it is in her own. Poor persons who work in the informal sector cannot afford to travel to distant places to find a new place to live or are unable to understand how to navigate the sea of paperwork and legal formalities to purchase a new piece of land while simultaneously meeting compensation requirements. Rejecting the government's compensation package exposes the frustration of families who cannot live where they once lived and want to continue to live, but need to rebuild tens or hundreds of kilometres away.

Examining tsunami compensation highlights the disjuncture between law, policy and social reality. While cohabitation situations and joint families might be socially recognised and acceptable by administrative officers such as GNs or DSs, the legal framework does not support these realities. The subjective nature and the personal negotiation involved in securing recognition from a representative of the state show how opportunities are created for an official to exploit his/her power and provides both an example of how access to tsunami compensation is an analytical ground for studying contemporary socio-political relations in Sri Lanka, and a lens to view how social exclusion is a political process inflected by gender, age, wealth or ethnicity.

Considering vulnerability as a social relationship and not as a category forces an examination of how vulnerability is created and reproduced. Examining the social realities of individuals left behind in transitional shelter sites provides a point for reflection on how goods and services have been delivered in the post-tsunami reconstruction process, and presents an opportunity

for government and NGOs alike to be better prepared to serve the needs of the urban poor not only in terms of policy, but also from a humanist perspective.

Lastly, there is an entire body of resettlement literature to reference. In his examination of resettlement packages offered to families that were displaced by the Ilisu Hydropower Project in southern Turkey, Morvaridi (2004) found that families who chose the government-assisted resettlement package (which included land, a house and livelihood assistance – and therefore is similar to the donor-driven schemes above) fared much better than families that chose cash compensation and self-settlement (728; 732), who were plagued by many of the same problems noted above (i.e., late government payments, inflation in the marketplace). When offering cash, the government can simply wash its hands off after payment, whereas in an assisted scheme the government essentially has to work 'harder' to ensure that the 'transition' to the new site is complete. In post-tsunami Sri Lanka, affected persons did not have the right to choose their own method of resettling/relocating.

Below I offer some recommendations with respect to the design of resettlement packages and how self-settlement schemes could be better designed to meet the needs of women and the urban poor.

- One size does not fit all: From an administrative position, a blanket policy might seem easiest, but people are unique and have different sets of circumstances. If this is recognised and taken seriously from the beginning, then serving the entire population will be more likely to happen rather than leaving people behind who 'do not fit' in. Finding good 'fits' for different resettlement options may include conducting background assessments of the affected population in order to match their skills, experience and special needs (i.e., literacy levels) to the demands of potential resettlement packages.
- Attitudes towards affected persons need to change: Government and NGO officials need to re-orient their attitudes to consider affected persons as clients that they are responsible for, not as beneficiaries who should be grateful and take whatever they are offered without complaint.

- Single heads should be able to obtain relief and government compensation as individuals in their own right: Single heads (men or women) should be recognised as independent persons with decision-making skills. Relief should not be channelled to children in lieu of the elder adults in the family, thus ignoring many of their needs and making them more dependent and reliant on others. Ignoring single/elder adults merely reproduces the structures and systems that make them vulnerable or increase pre-existing vulnerability.
- Attitudes towards single/unaccompanied women need to change: A single woman living alone is as equally entitled to compensation as a woman of the same age who is married with/without children. Compensation and resettlement packages should neither discriminate against women who have never been married nor against women who have lost or are no longer living with their spouse. Similarly, there needs to be more lobbying for the recognition of the rights of women who live in situations of cohabitation with a male partner.
- Recognising property rights for women: This study shows that even when holding a title in her own name, a woman was not automatically entitled to the compensation due. Also, in resettlement schemes joint-titling of land and houses should be considered as an option. However, some investigation should be done to see how culturally-appropriate such a regulation would be for a number of reasons: 1) Sri Lanka is not India and 2) to understand what the cultural and legal implications would be for women in matrilineal communities such as those in the Eastern Province.
- Communication with affected communities: The resettlement process should be fully explained and families given the right to choose the resettlement scheme that will work best for them. When there are a variety of compensation packages to choose from, there must be transparent and clear guidelines on the pros and cons of each resettlement package so that individuals/families have a better understanding of what the processes and requirements are. The cons must involve the financial costs that the family must bear, those not covered by the government or a humanitarian agency (i.e., in order to avoid the 'hidden costs' that poor families involved in self-settlement were unable to afford).

With respect to the transparency of communication and access to information, tsunami-affected families found it unclear how their names were placed on either a list for a donor-driven house or a list for self-settlement.

Finally, there must be full disclosure to individuals/families that are excluded or rejected from compensation in general, or specific schemes in particular, so that they fully understand why they have been denied. Families who are denied assistance should be treated with respect rather than threatened or coerced to leave shelter sites by cutting off essential services (e.g., water and electricity).

- Accountability: While private and non-profit humanitarian agencies might provide financial and other types of assistance for resettlement, it is ultimately the responsibility of the local government administration to see that all families complete the resettlement process. The government must be held accountable for resettling all of its citizens affected by disaster.
- Longitudinal Research: In the context of large-scale, natural or man-made disaster, donor agencies should fund longitudinal research through well-established research institutions. The general practice has been for donors¹⁹ to fund small, one-off studies through NGOs. Normally these NGOs do not have social scientific expertise, and undertake the 'study' as one of the many activities in their portfolio. As these studies are not coordinated and employ different sampling frames, questionnaire results are not comparable. Also, as these studies are 'one-off' there is no comprehensive database to track changes and enable analysis that will systematically document trends across time and provide additional knowledge. Longitudinal research should be both quantitative and qualitative in nature so that statistics are contextualised and exceptions/unique cases can be explained.

¹⁹ One exception to this was the Needs Assessment for Income Recovery (NASIR) studies that were commissioned by the International Labour Organization's Income Recovery Technical Assistance Program (ILO-IRTAP). ILO-IRTAP commissioned three studies over a three-year period always using the same local firm and international consultant. This approach allowed for continuity between the reports as well as institutional memory about survey conceptualization and design.

- Attention to host communities: Displacement and resettlement dynamics have been subjects of scholarly research for over two decades. For the past 10 years, Sri Lankan scholars and activists have repeatedly documented the adverse relations that develop between displaced and host communities. This local knowledge and experience was not acted upon by donors/government agencies involved in tsunami resettlement. Consultations with local communities should be a routine step in the resettlement/relocation process so that local communities do not feel ambushed by new settlements entering their area. Attention to the potential feelings of local communities and possible conflicts that could emerge from resettlement schemes is one way to put the principle of 'do no harm' into practice.

Improving self-settlement schemes:

- Training: Comprehensive training to explain the nuances of every step in the process and the paperwork accompanying each step in the process should be undertaken, once a family has chosen the resettlement package that is correct for them.
- Mentoring/Partnering individuals/families with a mentor: Families in transitional shelter who have exceptional circumstances or, as time unfolds (as was the case here), are struggling noticeably with the process should be assigned mentors to guide them through the process. This is not the kind of assignment that needs to be given to the traditional NGO 'protection' officer. In the case of Colombo's self-settlement, final year law students would have benefited tremendously as well as gained a considerable level of knowledge about the country's property law had they been paired with a family that was struggling to negotiate the compensation process and properly file the correct document for self-settlement.

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ANNEX

9th Annual Symposium on Poverty Research in Sri Lanka

Forced to Move Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement: Policy and Practice

December 2, 2008

Proceedings and Contributors

Welcome and Introduction to the Symposium
by Priyanthi Fernando, Executive Director, Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA)

Welcome and Comments
by Joachim Schluetter, Resident Representative, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)

Session 1: Restoring Livelihoods.

Chair: Sunil Bastian, CEPA Chairman and Senior Research Fellow, International
Centre for Ethnic Studies

- 1) Lessons for Implementation of the Income Restoration Programme: Learning from
STDP Livelihood Monitoring
by Mansi Kumarasiri, Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA)
- 2) Displacement and Livelihoods – A Case Study from Sri Lanka
by K. Amirthalingam and Rajith W.D. Lakshman, University of Colombo.
- 3) Social and Economic Impacts of Resettlement on Tsunami Affected Coastal Fishers
in Sri Lanka
by Asha Gunewardene and Kanchana Wickramasinghe, Institute of Policy Studies
(IPS)

Session 2: Exploring Vulnerability

Chair: Farzana Haniffa, Senior Lecturer, University of Colombo

- 4) Displacement Vulnerability and Conflict – the Case from Puttalam
by Prashan Thalayasingam, Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA)

- 5) IDPs and Hosts as Constitutive Categories in Protracted Displacement - Experiences from Puttalam
by Cathrine Brun, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Session 3: Ensuring equitable and participatory processes

Chair: Markus Meyer, CEPA Board Member and Country Director, International Alert

- 6) Making Involuntary Resettlers Voluntary Partners and Beneficiaries of the Development Process Addressing Poverty: A Case of 'Sweet' Displacement
by Thilak Hewawasam, UN Habitat
- 7) Land Acquisition and Resettlement Committees (LARC) Under the Southern Transport Development Project (STDP)
by Neranjana Gunatilleke, Centre for Poverty Analysis, CEPA
- 8) A Most Difficult Transition: Negotiating Post-tsunami Compensation and Resettlement from Positions of Vulnerability
by Cynthia Caron, Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund

Open Discussion

Session 4: Revisiting the objectives, principles for better policy and practice

Chair: Priyanthi Fernando, Executive Director, Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA)

Screening of 'Evicted' – video documentary of three IDP stories and lessons learned, PANOS South Asia

EVICTED

This 25-minute documentary produced by PANOS brings the voices of three very different resettled communities into the public arena. Its aim is to inform a wider debate about displacement and to sensitize the media, academia and policymakers who may influence the futures of these groups.

The film features Muslim refugees who arrived in Puttalam, on the west coast of Sri Lanka, 18 years ago, a Tamil community of women, left homeless by the 2004 tsunami in Kinniya; and some of the families affected by the construction of the Colombo to Matara highway.

It examines the impact on individual families, who tell their stories and seek to dispel the image of Internally Displaced Persons as, simply, victims. The film focuses on the struggles of these families and the efforts they have made – and are continuing to make – to take control of their own futures.

The use of film and video is an effective means of stimulating discussion – and bringing the community into the heart of the debate. Panos Institute, Sri Lanka, belongs to Panos South Asia (PSA) and is part of the worldwide family of Panos Institutes, which encourage and facilitate public debate on a wide range of development issues.

Panos works through the media to bring neglected subjects to the fore so that those who are often not heard can find a forum. Through its work it seeks to promote informed discussion about often poorly understood development issues, and to help in influencing public and policy decisions.

For further information, please contact:

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In Sri Lanka people have been forced to move from their homes and familiar surroundings due to a number of reasons. Development projects such as the Mahaweli Project and more recently the Colombo-Matara highway have necessitated the physical and economic displacement of large numbers of people. The decades-long ethnic conflict caused daily movement of people as they fled battle areas. Disasters – both recurring events such as floods and landslides as well as catastrophic events such as the tsunami – have led to people moving to safer areas. Accommodating the diverse needs and lifestyles of the affected people is a highly complex undertaking. Invariably, the resettlement process is emotionally charged and rife with dissatisfaction.

The responsibility of the resettlement process is allocated on the basis of what triggers the displacement. The process is handled by various departments and units not bound by the same policies and practices, and this can lead to valuable lessons and knowledge being lost once a project ends. This publication brings together lessons and analysis from the different types of displacement and resettlement issues to improve the policy and practice of this delicate process, for all who may be affected, both now and in the future.

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