

# Community-Based Monitoring for Transitional Justice

A Decade In, Post-war Narratives from the Ground

*In partnership with the Center for Human Rights and Development (CHRD)  
and the Eastern Social Development Foundation (ESDF)  
and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)*

**Draft**

**Pending final review at Verité Research  
Not for circulation**

**Findings Report, Tracking Workshop 01  
15th March 2019**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>LIST OF GRAPHS AND TABLES.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>3. FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>7</b>
3.1. QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS: QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS .....	7
3.2. QUALITATIVE FINDINGS: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS .....	10
3.2.1. <i>Safety and Security</i> .....	11
Surveillance .....	12
Substance Abuse, Domestic Violence and Suicide .....	13
3.2.2. <i>Justice, Truth, and Reparations</i> .....	13
Office on Missing Persons .....	17
Mobility of ex-combatants and ex-political detainees .....	17
Language parity.....	17
Challenges in accessing transitional justice due to economic constraints .....	18
3.2.3. <i>Dignity, Agency and Empowerment</i> .....	18
Challenges faced by Ex-combatants in Accessing Essential Services.....	20
Inadequate provisions for persons who are differently abled .....	20
Poor physical/psychological conditions of those released from government custody .....	20
Microfinance and over-indebtedness .....	21
3.2.1. <i>Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Guarantee of Non-recurrence</i> .....	21
Perception of a conflict between two individuals as being an ethnic conflict .....	22
<b>4. PILOT: METHODOLOGY DEPLOYMENT AND LESSONS LEARNED .....</b>	<b>24</b>
4.1. CHALLENGES .....	24
4.1.1. <i>Time constraints</i> .....	24
4.1.2. <i>Differing participant capacities</i> .....	24
4.1.3. <i>Managing outcome expectations</i> .....	24
4.1.4. <i>Capturing all voices:</i> .....	24
<b>5. SUMMARY AND NEXT STEPS.....</b>	<b>25</b>
5.1. PRIMARY REQUESTS OF PARTICIPANTS: .....	26
5.2. COMMUNITY BASED MONITORING, NEXT STEPS.....	26
<b>6. ANNEXES.....</b>	<b>27</b>
ANNEX 1: BREAKDOWN OF DOMAINS .....	27
ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE- TAMIL .....	29
ANNEX 3: HEAT MAPS (FULL) .....	45
ANNEX 4: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE .....	49

## GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

**CHRD:** Center for Human Rights and Development

**CID:** Criminal Investigation Department

**CTA:** Counter Terrorism Act

**ESDF:** Eastern Social Development Foundation

**EC:** Ex-combatants

**FGD:** Focus Group Discussion

**OHCHR:** Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

**OMP:** Office of Missing Persons

**PTA:** Prevention of Terrorism Act

**TID:** Terrorist Investigation Division

**TJ:** Transitional Justice

**VR:** Verité Research

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Program

### Domain-Specific Definitions:

**Safety:** feeling and being protected

**Security:** feeling and being free from danger

**Justice:** fair and proper administration of the law, which ensures every person is able to enjoy and exercise their rights

**Truth:** disclosing and/or establishing facts or verifiable accounts of events, and their cause and impact

**Reparations:** the obligation of a state, and/or individual(s), and/or group(s) to repair the consequences of violence and violations to victims and victims' families.

**Dignity:** the enjoyment of respectful and ethical treatment, as a person of value

**Agency:** the capacity to act independently and make choices free of the influence of structural and/or social and/or political and/or economic limitations

**Empowerment:** autonomy allowing people to act on their own authority in representing and working towards their interests in a responsible and self-determined way

**Peaceful Coexistence:** a society in which diversity is embraced, social inclusion and integration are pursued, and the need for interdependence among different ethnic and religious communities is recognised

**Redress of Grievances:** addressing or rectifying structural, legal, political, social, and economic factors that disproportionately and/or discriminatorily have an adverse impact on certain groups or individuals, based on ethnic or religious affiliations

**Non-recurrence:** lasting and inclusive peace and reconciliation, and the reestablishment of relations among communities

### Definitions of Measures

**Prevalence:** This measure checks the existence of the issues/incidents in three different scales: (1) personally experienced or encountered, (2) not personally experienced or encountered but observed in the community, and (3) not personally experienced or encountered and not observed in the community

**Frequency:** This measure checks how frequently issues/incidents occur and measured in 6 different scales: (1) I do not wish to answer/ I do not have knowledge, (2) never happened, (3) once a week, (4) once a month, (5) once in every 6 months, (6) once a year

**Impact:** This measure the weight of the negative impact these issues/incidents had on the individual and his society as a whole and measured in 4 different scales: (1) severe impact, (2) significant impact, (3) moderate impact, (4) minimal impact

**Feasibility of change:** This measures the level of confidence in eventual restoration of the issues/incidents into a desired form

**Desirability of change:** a ranking of issues per the relative importance of their resolution for the delivery of transitional justice

**Vulnerability:** Vulnerability is the composite measure of the sum product of weighted scores of prevalence, frequency, impact and feasibility of change.

### **LIST OF GRAPHS AND TABLES**

Table 1: Overall Vulnerability Heat-Map, Northern Province

Table 2: Overall Vulnerability Heat-Map, Eastern Province

Table 3: Parameter-wise scores for prevalence of issues/incidence

Table 4: Parameter-wise scores for frequency of issues/incidence

Table 5: Parameter-wise scores for impact of issues/incidence

Table 6: Parameter-wise scores for feasibility of change of issues/incidence

Table 7: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Safety and Security, Northern Province

Table 8: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Safety and Security, Eastern Province

Table 9: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Truth, Justice and Reparations, Northern Province

Table 10: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Truth, Justice and Reparations, Eastern Province

Table 11: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Dignity, Agency and Empowerment, Northern Province

Table 12: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Dignity, Agency and Empowerment, Eastern Province

Table 13: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Guarantee of Non-recurrence, Northern Province

Table 14: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Guarantee of Non-recurrence, Eastern Province

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Nearly a decade after the conclusion of a protracted civil war, the notion of peace in Sri Lanka remains contentious. The varying experiences of the post-war landscape among and even within different demographic groups is a pertinent indication of the shortcomings still to be addressed by the ongoing peace-building and transitional justice process. As the country looks towards a lasting peace, the establishment of meaningful and effective transitional justice mechanisms best suited to the specificities of the Sri Lankan context assumes special significance in realising a truly reconciled society.

While it is difficult to definitively measure the success or progress of a transitional justice process, understanding the prevailing perceptions that exist among different stakeholder groups is a useful barometer for gauging its impact. The civil war in Sri Lanka disproportionately affected communities in the North and the East, which in sum comprise mostly minority Tamil and Muslim ethnic groups. In addition to Tamil and Muslim populations, the East also has a Sinhala population of equal part.

Against this backdrop, this pilot project aims to monitor perceptions of the transitional justice process prevalent amongst conflict-affected communities in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, while also inviting these communities to offer perspectives and recommendations on the way forward. At the very heart of this community-based monitoring for transitional justice is the recognition that the beneficiary communities themselves already have an understanding of what is needed and what works in the post-conflict setting. In the context of transitional justice, this means not only asking whether and how the victims of gross human rights abuses respond to, access, and engage with the state-led mechanisms of transitional justice, but also asking broader questions about their experience of safety, security, agency and empowerment. Community-based monitoring also offers a means of building capacity within the members of the community, thereby helping to sustain the initiatives that are put into place beyond the lifetime of a particular project. The participation of grassroots communities in the transitional justice process envisioned through this project would serve to promote ownership of the process among victim groups, enhance local capacities, and ultimately strengthen the sustainability of the process through community-led initiatives.

### Scope and objectives

The objectives of this community-based monitoring pilot are to elicit qualitative perspectives of the victims of human rights abuses on the progress and performance of the Government of Sri Lanka in the implementation of effective transitional justice measures; to communicate these views to key stakeholders including the Government; and to provide feedback to the victims themselves on the responses and planned actions to address the community's feedback.

### Key Findings

The quantitative findings of this report are derived from the questionnaires administered in the North and East, while the qualitative component encompasses the findings of the focus group discussions (FGDs).

The quantitative findings reveal a disparity in the experience of issues between participants in the North and East—lists of the top 10 issues that came up during the FGDs are presented on pages 8 and 9 below.

The qualitative findings from the FGDs highlight these issues in terms of participant experiences of the ongoing transitional justice process. At the outset, there was a clear difference between the two participant groups in terms of their post war experience. For participants in the **North**, the war was still very present in their framing of issues and they were most concerned with issues that involved dealing with the past. For example, **missing persons, the physical and psychological effects of war-related traumas, and challenges facing former LTTE cadres and political detainees** dominated much of the discussion. By contrast, in the **East**, while participants did discuss the continuing impact of the war on their day-to-day lives, they nevertheless seemed more inclined to look to the future and discuss **structural inequalities, issues relating to socio-economic agency and empowerment, and engaging with political processes**.

In terms of the **Office on Missing Persons (OMP)**, Northern participants were unanimous in voicing their discontent, expressing that its failure to deliver results should compel a boycott. However, in the

East, participants were more optimistic of the potential of the OMP to deliver answers to questions surrounding missing persons.

**Over-indebtedness** was also a dominant theme in both provinces, with participants linking incidents of suicide, domestic violence, and drug and alcohol dependency – issues that also emerged in the quantitative findings – to emotional stress caused by the burden of indebtedness.

The prevailing **lack of language parity** also came up significantly in both the North and the East. Participants noted that official correspondence was often only available in Sinhala, which caused a financial strain in terms of translations, and added anxiety in some cases depending on the subject matter. Participants also noted that accessing health services in state hospitals was challenging, particularly in the North, due to a lack of Tamil-speaking doctors in the North and East. However, there was a general consensus that police stations, at least in the major towns, have one or two officers fluent in Tamil, although there remained a reluctance among participants to request a Tamil-speaking police officer when met by a Sinhalese officer in the first instance.

**Access to state services** was another key area of discussion, in terms of the experience of former LTTE cadres and persons living with disabilities. Particularly in the North, ex-cadres reported a sense of being treated as perpetrators of violence against the state, and facing challenges in reintegration, including in terms of accessing basic essential services. Similarly, persons living with disabilities detailed difficulties in accessing public transport and public institutions/buildings due to the lack of disability access.

The **ongoing surveillance of former LTTE cadres, political detainees, and civil society/human rights activists** was also among the most highly discussed topics at the FGDs in both the North and the East. Participants directly affected by surveillance or those with close family members/friends being surveilled reported a feeling of being constantly watched, followed, or monitored. Although participants did not directly relate this to an infringement of their fundamental rights, they did discuss it in the context of a lack of trust, weakening the citizen-government contract.

Another issue that came up significantly in the East was the **decline in the physical well-being of former LTTE cadres and of political detainees who had been through the rehabilitation process**. Participants who were former cadres described being given an injection while in the rehabilitation camps and alluded to this, along with torture suffered while in detention, being one of the causes for the physical weakness they experienced upon being released from the camps.

An issue that came up **solely in the East** was the **potential for interpersonal disagreements or misunderstandings to escalate to conflict between ethnic groups**. One reason for this being a significant issue in the East as opposed to in the North is the ethnic plurality in the composition of the Eastern population. In the East, there are almost equal proportions of Muslim, Tamil, and Sinhalese communities, as opposed to the North, where the population is predominantly Tamil. Although the Eastern province is ethnically diverse, it remains fragmented and rife with communal tensions, hence resulting in the potential for conflicts between individuals to take on an ethnic dimension.

Another issue that came up heavily in the East was the **challenges faced in accessing political processes**. Despite recent efforts by the state to make political engagement more accessible for women, participants reported that political patronage was still a primary determinant in engaging in political processes. There was a sense among participants, particularly in the East, that engagement in political processes was not necessarily for “ordinary people” but rather for those with power and/or influential connections.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

The project is being implemented by four organisations: the Centre for Human Rights and Development (CHRD), which facilitates proceedings with participants in the North; the Eastern Social Development Foundation (ESDF), which facilitates proceedings with participants in the East; Verité Research, which provides quantitative and qualitative analytical support; and the United Nations Development Programme, which has commissioned this study.

The “community” comprises 20 participants each from the Northern and Eastern provinces, selected by CHR and ESRD respectively, at a 3:1 female to male ratio. The participants selected are representative in terms of reflecting the spectrum of age, ethnicity, nature of grievance, income level, and place of residence of conflict-affected groups in the respective areas.

In October 2018, orientation sessions were held to introduce participants to the project. Soon after, two pre-tracking workshops, both of which followed the same core approach, were held in the North and the East. At the pre-tracking workshops, participants were invited to engage with the concept of transitional justice and provide their own perspectives of the post-war landscape and realities on the ground. Information gathered from these workshops was compiled to define particular domains and indicators, which serve as the foundational basis for this pilot project. The five domains identified through the pre-tracking workshops are as follows:

1. Safety and security
2. Justice, truth, and reparations
3. Dignity, agency, and empowerment
4. Peaceful coexistence
5. Redress of grievances and non-recurrence

Based on participant experiences, the project also compiled a list of primary and secondary indicators for each of the five domains listed above.

In addition to the domains and indicators, the pre-tracking workshops identified 12 cross-cutting themes relevant across domains. These themes are as follows:

- A. Surveillance
- B. Militarisation
- C. Disappearances
- D. Land
- E. Arrests and detention
- F. Impunity
- G. Memorialisation
- H. Livelihood and economic constraints
- I. Structural and social challenges
- J. Political solution
- K. Special needs of persons living with physical and/or psychosocial disabilities and trauma
- L. Gender-based violence

In preparation for the first of the three scheduled monitoring workshops, each scheduled at three-month intervals, the project adopted a two-pronged methodological approach: (1) a questionnaire, and (2) focus group discussions (FGDs). The questionnaire encompassed 33 questions derived from the list of primary indicators gathered during the pre-tracking workshop. The questions focused on evaluating community perceptions on matters germane to each of the domains in the areas of prevalence, frequency, impact, feasibility of change, and desirability of change (please see Annex 2 for the questionnaire, which was administered in Tamil). Following the collection of quantitative data through the questionnaires, a discussion guide was compiled to gather in-depth qualitative data on the main issues and themes that arose out of the questionnaire (please see Annex 4 for the discussion guides).

A pilot project of this nature is likely to encounter limitations. Although significant effort was made to ensure the questionnaire component was undertaken with appropriate awareness and understanding, it is difficult to preclude the possibility of participant error. Given the sensitivity of the subject matter and the emotional weight of the topics discussed, directing the FGDs was challenging in terms of ensuring each of the topics discussed were consistent in both depth and vigour.

### **3. FINDINGS**

#### **3.1. Quantitative Findings: Questionnaire Results**

The surveyed group included 17 participants from the North and 16 participants from the East. Responses were recorded, per issue, along four parameters: prevalence, frequency, impact and the feasibility of change. Responses were assigned appropriate weighted scores, and the overall scoring and



ranking of vulnerability to issues, presented in the tables below, are a composite measure of the four response parameters, ranked from the issues carrying the most vulnerability to the least.

*Table 1: Top 10, Vulnerability Heat-Map<sup>1</sup>, Northern Province*

Question	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons	1
Instances during the past 12 months where war-affected victims became addicted to drugs or alcohol due to depression from being affected by war	2
Instances during the past 12 months where people released from rehabilitation camps perceived a significant decline in health and wellbeing.	3
Instances during the past 12 months where the freedom of movement of ex-cadres/released detainees were obstructed or instances where they found it difficult to seek employment	4
Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons with disabilities.	5
Instances during the past 12 months where people were affected by the military's involvement in livelihood activities such as agriculture, businesses or enterprises.	6
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced difficulties accessing government services due to language disparity	7
Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence	8
Instances during the past 12 months where those affected by war attempted or succeeded in taking their own lives as a result of depression	9
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons	10

In the Northern province, the following concerns are the highest ranked vulnerabilities: OMP, substance abuse, persons with disabilities, military involvement in livelihood activities, domestic violence, suicide, accessing government services and issues pertaining to ex-combatants' mobility, health and wellbeing and continuous surveillance (refer Table 1). By contrast, in the East, the following concerns ranked within the highest 10 vulnerabilities: micro finance, accessing government services, persons with disabilities, OMP, domestic violence, economic constraints in seeking justice, conflicts between different ethnic communities and surveillance (refer Table 2).

*Table 2: Top 10, Vulnerability Heat-Map, Eastern Province*

Question	Rank
Instances in the past 12 months where people were trapped in micro-finance schemes and were struggling to escape the debt trap	1
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced difficulties accessing government services due to language disparity	2
Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons with disabilities.	3
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons	4
Instances during the last 12 months where ex-cadres faced delays/difficulties in accessing government/other services	5
Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons	6

<sup>1</sup> A heat map is used to better visualise the volume of the incidents/issues. Green shows low vulnerability (<25%), yellow shows intermediate vulnerability (<75% & >25%), and red shows high vulnerability (>75%).





Instances in the past 12 months where a conflict between two individuals from different ethnic backgrounds was perceived as a conflict between the two ethnic communities	7
Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence	8
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced challenges in seeking justice for losses incurred during war due to economic constraints	9
Instances in the past 12 months where ordinary citizens faced challenges engaging in politics	10

The parameter-wise scores are presented in the tables below and provide an overview on the spread of parameter-wise responses per domain. These numbers present a very clear difference between perceptions in the North and East. In sum, while the overall rates of prevalence, frequency and impact for feasibility of change<sup>2</sup> are high in both areas, the **level of confidence in eventual resolution of key issues/incidents is far higher in the East (68%) than in the North (7%)**.

Table 3: Parameter-wise scores for prevalence of issues/incidence

Prevalence	Overall		Safety and Security		Justice, Truth and Reparations		Dignity, Agency & Empowerment		Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence	
	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East
Personally experienced	25%	23%	23%	20%	30%	26%	25%	27%	18%	17%
Observed in the community	64%	43%	63%	36%	60%	46%	70%	41%	65%	48%
Not experienced or not observed	11%	34%	15%	44%	10%	27%	5%	32%	17%	35%

Table 4: Parameter-wise scores for frequency of issues/incidence

Frequency	Overall		Safety and Security		Justice, Truth and Reparations		Dignity, Agency & Empowerment		Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence	
	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East
I do not know/ I do not wish to answer	7%	24%	12%	34%	3%	26%	4%	16%	12%	13%
Once a week	36%	12%	32%	8%	38%	13%	51%	15%	17%	16%
Once a month	13%	10%	12%	8%	17%	10%	11%	13%	12%	9%
Once every 6 months	16%	10%	15%	9%	15%	13%	14%	7%	23%	11%
Once a year	24%	24%	23%	21%	24%	24%	21%	21%	33%	35%
Never happened	4%	19%	8%	19%	3%	15%	0%	29%	4%	16%

<sup>2</sup> Feasibility of change - a measure of the level of confidence in eventual restoration of the issues/incidents into a desired form

Table 5: Parameter-wise scores for impact of issues/incidence

Impact	Overall		Safety and Security		Justice, Truth and Reparations		Dignity, Agency & Empowerment		Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence	
	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East
Severe	51%	38%	42%	45%	53%	33%	58%	41%	49%	31%
Significant	28%	30%	32%	23%	27%	36%	26%	25%	22%	36%
Moderate	13%	16%	13%	12%	14%	17%	13%	20%	13%	18%
Minimal	8%	16%	13%	20%	6%	15%	3%	15%	16%	15%

Table 6: Parameter-wise scores for feasibility of change of issues/incidence

Feasibility of Change	Overall		Safety and Security		Justice, Truth and Reparations		Dignity, Agency & Empowerment		Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence	
	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East	North	East
Strongly disagree	58%	3%	51%	3%	62%	4%	58%	2%	60%	1%
Disagree	20%	12%	24%	10%	17%	12%	22%	11%	20%	18%
Neutral	15%	16%	18%	15%	14%	17%	15%	13%	9%	18%
Agree	6%	31%	5%	29%	7%	29%	5%	40%	7%	30%
Strongly agree	1%	37%	1%	42%	0%	37%	1%	34%	4%	33%

### 3.2. Qualitative Findings: Focus Group Discussions

The information presented below is solely based on perceptions and opinions presented by the participants of the FGDs, held in Jaffna for the Northern Province on the 29th of January and 13th of February, and in Batticaloa for the Eastern Province on 27th of January and 27th of February 2019. Issue-specific perspectives were presented primarily via anecdotal narrations of incidence.

#### Composition:

- North – 17 participants from the North, of who 13 identified themselves as either ex-combatants or relatives of missing persons
- East – 16 participants from the East, of who 13 identified themselves as either ex-combatants or relatives of missing persons.

Given that most missing persons have links to either politics or combat, most of the analysis presented here will be seen through the lens of persons dealing with issues relating to the state and the community's treatment of those actively involved in the conflict. Conclusions drawn in this analysis regarding the effects on transitional justice are predicated on specific questions presented to participants for their input. Where conclusions beyond participant perspectives are presented, we have referenced the contributing theoretical foundations. The team has attempted to keep findings as close as possible to communities' perspectives. Given the nature of the discussions, it was not possible, nor was it a priority, to validate the exact accuracies of narratives. Rather, the purpose of this document is to synthesise an in-depth inquiry into participants' perspectives on the provision of transitional justice, as framed by their own priorities and norms.

Discussion topics were extracted from questionnaire results and cover the 10 highest scoring issues per province (see Tables 1 and 2 above). Topics were bundled under the 5 core domain banners (safety and

security; justice, truth, and reparations; dignity, agency, and empowerment; peaceful coexistence; redress of grievances and non-recurrence), merging the last 2 for efficiency. The key findings are as below:

### 3.2.1. Safety and Security

It is noteworthy that during October's pre-tracking workshops, surveillance featured as a primary concern for safety and security in the Northern Province and was barely mentioned in the East. In the January deployment of the questionnaire, however, had the East ranking surveillance as the most pressing issue. The subsequent FGD showed that while surveillance of ex-combatants and human rights activists had been ongoing since the end of the war, over time (a) the severity of surveillance had been decreasing, and (b) ex-combatants had sufficient space to normalise the practice of routine surveillance phone calls or visits. On 30<sup>th</sup> November – prior to the survey – a shooting incident in which two policemen died occurred in Vavunathivu in the Batticaloa district. It was suspected that an ex-combatant was involved in the shooting.<sup>3</sup> The incident was allegedly linked to a sharp increase in the degree of surveillance of ex-combatants, and feeds into a **perception that ex-combatants remain vulnerable to blame in relation to any form of criminal activity** in the region. It was also seen to reinforce, as above, an overarching sense that **ex-combatants continue to be treated as perpetrators and suspicious persons**, despite their efforts to reintegrate and normalise their post-conflict statuses. In both the North and East, participants expressed the sentiment that, beyond gathering intelligence, the objective of surveillance was to serve as a constant reminder to ex-combatants that their every move was being watched—in essence, a state-sponsored mechanism for intimidation and the curtailing of freedoms.

**Vulnerabilities - core:** surveillance

**Vulnerabilities - composite/symptomatic:** substance abuse; domestic violence; suicide

Table 7: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Safety and Security, Northern Province

Safety and Security	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months where the war affected victims got addicted to drugs or alcohol due to depression from being affected by war	High	Medium	High	High	High	1
Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence	High	Medium	Medium	Medium	High	2
Instances during the past 12 months where those affected by war attempted to kill by suicide/killed by suicide as a result of depression	Medium	Medium	High	Medium	High	3
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons	Medium	High	High	Low	High	4
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres/relatives of missing persons were arrested or threatened to be arrested on false charges	Medium	High	High	Medium	High	5
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort were followed continuously by military/police/unidentified persons	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium	6
Instances during the past 12 months where women were sexually harassed by members of the military or police	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	7
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort met by retribution to person and/or property	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	8
Instances during the past 12 months where under aged youths were hastily married to avoid being harassed by police or military	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	9

<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel, C. (2018). "Ex-LTTE member arrested over Batticaloa cop killings." *Daily News*. Available at: <http://www.dailynews.lk/2018/12/04/local/170263/ex-ltte-member-arrested-over-batticaloa-cop-killings> Accessed on 15 March 2019



Table 8: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Safety and Security, Eastern Province

Safety and Security	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons	High	High	High	Low	High	1
Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence	Medium	High	Medium	Medium	High	2
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort were followed continuously by military/police/unidentified persons	Medium	High	Medium	Medium	High	3
Instances during the past 12 months where the war affected victims got addicted to drugs or alcohol due to depression from being affected by war	High	Medium	High	Medium	High	4
Instances during the past 12 months where those affected by war attempted to kill by suicide/killed by suicide as a result of depression	Medium	Medium	High	Medium	High	5
Instances during the past 12 months where under aged youths were hastily married to avoid being harassed by police or military	Medium	Medium	Medium	High	Medium	6
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres/relatives of missing persons were arrested or threatened to be arrested on false charges	Medium	Medium	Medium	High	Medium	7
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort met by retribution to person and/or property	Medium	High	Medium	High	Medium	8
Instances during the past 12 months where women were sexually harassed by members of the military or police	High	High	Medium	High	High	9

**Surveillance**

**Question:** Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 10/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 4/33

Human rights/civil society activists and ex-combatants reported being most affected by ongoing surveillance practices, and expressed feelings of constantly being watched, followed, or otherwise monitored. This seemed to engender an enduring sense of un-safety and being susceptible to arrest or abduction, although they were unable to link surveillance to occurrences of arrest or abduction in the last 12 months. Reported surveillance practices included phone calls, monitoring of sim-card activity, and sporadic visits by persons whose military affiliations could not always be easily identified — presumed to be of the regular military, Criminal Investigation Department (CID) or Terrorism Investigation Division (TID). Phone callers purportedly inquired about the person’s exact location, engendering fear, particularly when traveling alone or working in the fields. Female ex-combatants reported feeling unsafe from the time they left home until returning, and feeling apprehensive about visitations in their absence, particularly if they were leaving their children at home. In the Northern Province, participants reported having unidentified people enter their homes unannounced, who would interrogate them regarding their affiliations, behaviour or movements. Participants noted that they did not know who among them were affiliated to the state’s surveillance apparatus. Participants referred to the presence of incognito military personnel who spoke fluent Tamil and moved with and among the populations — in effect, they described a perception of themselves living among spies. While this data could not be fully substantiated within the context of an FGD, it is notable that more than a few participants believed in the existence of deeply intrusive practices of surveillance.

Furthermore, participants expressed a lack of understanding about the continuation of the present level of surveillance, making particular reference to the fact that there was no longer an LTTE presence, and noting a sense of bewilderment and injustice regarding the current political climate. There was a sense that the practice of surveillance was being continued partly so that the military could justify maintaining a presence in the area. This perception was linked to the overarching finding that participants felt that the government treated them like perpetrators instead of victims, and as second-tier citizens without the full rights of free persons. Related to this perception, one participant noted that surveillance appeared to be a mechanism through which the military was “carrying out the government’s intention” of maintaining control over the people of the North. When broached about avenues for recourse, participants felt there was no space for recourse without further consequences.

In fact, some female participants in the FGD appeared resigned to the current condition of surveillance, in addition to the perception that there was no adequate mechanism or option for recourse. Others, however, who reported more intimidating or pervasive environments of surveillance, expressed deep frustrations and appeared visibly distressed. Constant surveillance was noted as resulting in a sense of shame among neighbours, a lack of desirability vis-à-vis potential employers, and general social isolation within the larger community. Narration of related psychosocial impacts also extended to family members, and included reference to the prevalence of suicide and premature death among a large proportion of ex-combatants.

### **Substance Abuse, Domestic Violence and Suicide**

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where war-affected victims became addicted to drugs or alcohol due to depression from being affected by war*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 2/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 19/33

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 8/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 8/33

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where those affected by war attempted or succeeded in taking their own lives as a result of depression*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 9/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 22/33

While not directly within the confines of the government's transitional justice commitments, war-related conditions of self-harm or interpersonal violence were seen as symptomatic of wider gaps in the transition process. These included but were not limited to:

- Extreme indebtedness due to a lack of viable livelihood opportunities and related vulnerabilities;
- poor psychosocial conditions and a lack of support or services to address them;
- protracted feelings of fear, insecurity and unfreedom;
- social stigma and social isolation (felt by ex-combatants).

Suicide was common in both provinces, with the Eastern Province showing a spike in occurrences over the two-month period immediately preceding the workshop, linked primarily to over-indebtedness and economic distress, and to the intimidating treatment of ex-combatants.

*[For further findings see the sections "Microfinance and Over-indebtedness" on page 21]*

### **3.2.2. Justice, Truth, and Reparations**

An effective transitional justice process encompasses a full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempts to come to terms with large scale human rights violations committed during war or conflict. It would aim to serve justice for victims, ensure accountability for perpetrators, and achieve reconciliation. For countries emerging from a legacy of conflict-related human rights abuses, a transitional justice process would offer mechanisms to address systematic denials of rights and rights violations so serious and numerous that a normal justice system would not be able to adequately or appropriately respond to.

Justice, truth and reparations are key components of traditional transitional justice processes, which have remained consistent throughout the evolution of the concept. In the context of transitional justice, the United Nations defines 'justice' as "an ideal of accountability and fairness in the protection and vindication of rights and the prevention and punishment of wrongs. Justice implies regard for the rights of the accused, for the interests of victims and for the wellbeing of society at large."<sup>4</sup> In terms of 'truth', it is well-recognised within transitional justice that victims of atrocities have an inalienable right to know

<sup>4</sup> "The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies". (2004). *United Nations Security Council*. Available at: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/395/29/PDF/N0439529.pdf?OpenElement>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.

the truth about the abuses they suffered, including who is responsible.<sup>5</sup> Reparations vis-à-vis transitional justice “serves to acknowledge the legal obligation of the state, or individual(s) or group, to repair the consequences of violations — either because it directly committed them or it failed to prevent them.”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, reparations also serve as a *bona fide* expression of the state and other stakeholders’ commitments to address the root causes of the conflict, compensate for conflict-related abuses, and prioritise non recurrence.

At the pre-tracking workshop conducted in October 2018, the concepts of justice, truth and reparations were discussed at length and in depth by participants, in detailing their real-world experience of the ongoing transitional justice process. The 12 issues that came up most are listed in the heat map below. Of these 12 issues, responses to the questionnaire revealed four major issues within this domain, contributing to the top 10 issues identified across all four domains. These four issues are as follows: **1) dissatisfaction with the OMP, 2) impediments to the socio-economic mobility of former LTTE cadres and political detainees, 3) a lack of language parity, and 4) challenges to accessing justice due to economic constraints.** In fact, dissatisfaction with the OMP was the most significant topic across all four domains from the quantitative findings.

**1) Dissatisfaction with the OMP.** As previously noted, “confronting the impact of disappearances on a society clearly defines the principles of truth and accountability that drive the practice of transitional justice”.<sup>7</sup> In Sri Lanka, the issue of enforced disappearances/missing persons has always been a highly contested and emotive topic. The March 2011 Report of the UN Secretary General’s Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka refers to enforced disappearances numerous times in the report but does not provide a statistic. However, the Report does note that “over 80 percent” of victims who provided testimony to the Commission of personal harm suffered during the war “raised issues of disappeared or missing relatives [or those in detention facilities]”.<sup>8</sup> At the early stages of the establishment of the OMP, OMP Chief Saliya Peiris reported that the OMP had received “over 13,000” case files from the former Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation.<sup>9</sup> During the discussions in the tracking workshops in the North and East, this issue dominated significant parts of the discussion, particularly in the North where the issue is most acutely felt.

**2) The socio-economic mobility of former LTTE cadres and political detainees.** While it is natural for transitional justice processes to lead to a victim-perpetrator dichotomy,<sup>10</sup> it is also immensely challenging to separate perpetrators from victim groups. In Sri Lanka, the forced conscription of LTTE cadres from the civilian population in the North and East during the war presents this challenge. Given this backdrop, it is crucial that post-war processes adopt a holistic approach to reintegrating former cadres and political detainees into society, so they are able to rebuild social bonds and exercise their rights. Yet in post-war Sri Lanka, former cadres face innumerable challenges in negotiating social spaces, as revealed in the findings of the FGDs presented in the following section.

Structural reform, which includes **redress of grievance** and “restructuring institutions to promote integrity and legitimacy, by providing accountability, building independence, ensuring representation, and increasing responsiveness” is a key component of transitional justice.<sup>11</sup> One major area in which Sri Lanka requires reform is **language parity**, which remains a pressing issue particularly in the North and

<sup>5</sup> ICTJ. (2012). “Right to the Truth”. *ICTJ*. Available at: <https://www.ictj.org/gallery-items/right-truth>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.

<sup>6</sup> “Reparations”. *ICTJ*. Available at: <https://www.ictj.org/our-work/transitional-justice-issues/reparations>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.

<sup>7</sup> ICTJ. (2012). “Justice for the Disappeared is at the Heart of Transitional Justice”. *ICTJ*. Available at: <https://www.ictj.org/news/justice-disappeared-heart-transitional-justice>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.

<sup>8</sup> “Report of the Secretary General’s Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka”. (2011),. *United Nations*. Available at: [http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri\\_Lanka/POE\\_Report\\_Full.pdf](http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/Sri_Lanka/POE_Report_Full.pdf). Accessed on 12 March 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Gunasekera, S. (2018). “OMP receives 13,000+ missing person case files from former Ministry”. *Daily FT*. Available at: <http://www.ft.lk/news/OMP-receives-13-000--missing-person-case-files-from-former-Ministry/56-658752>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.

<sup>10</sup> Hourmat, M. (2016). “Victim-Perpetrator Dichotomy in Transitional Justice: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda.” *Narrative and Conflict: Explorations of Theory and Practice*. Available at: <https://journals.gmu.edu/index.php/NandC/article/view/1334/1255>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.

<sup>11</sup> “Institutional Reform”. *ICTJ*. Available at: <https://www.ictj.org/our-work/transitional-justice-issues/institutional-reform>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.



East. The adoption of the Sinhala Only Act in 1956, which made Sinhala the only official language in the country, is often cited as a root cause of minority grievance due to the importance of language recognition and accessibility in all spheres of life. Subsequently, efforts were made to rectify this injustice: the present Constitution of Sri Lanka recognises both Sinhala and Tamil as the official and national languages of the country. However, in practice, Sri Lanka has failed to achieve language parity in Tamil, as discussed in the FGD findings presented in the following section.

The lack of economic stability was an overarching issue across participants in the North and East. While this issue is also perhaps unsurprising among local victim communities, it was particularly noteworthy to hear participants complain that **economic vulnerabilities often preclude or at least hinder access to justice**. For a transitional justice process to be effective, facilitating access to justice for victim groups is crucial in the aftermath of human rights violations.<sup>12</sup> However, in the North and East, participants expressed the challenges they face in seeking justice and engaging in advocacy efforts; this is discussed in detail in the FGD findings presented in the following section.

Discussion on this domain also revealed the prevailing sense of **weakness in the citizen-government contract**. Particularly in the North, there was a sense that the government had failed in its management of key transitional justice processes, including adequate and transparent action regarding missing persons; the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-combatants; the provision of fair and accessible justice processes; and creating provisions for economic growth and well-being. This has engendered a complete **lack of faith in the ability of local mechanisms** to address current gaps and grievances. Participants spoke of exhausting all possible avenues of recourse and having attempted to work with all available government offices, both in person and via formal correspondence and processes. At the micro and local governance level, participants spoke of impunity for those holding economic or political power, and of the corrupt and discriminatory practices of the police and government officials wherein criminal activity could be paid off by the wealthy. At the macro level, there is a **deep sense of disillusionment with the government**, where promises have been repeatedly made and reneged on. Participants spoke of a sense of hope immediately following the end of the war. However, 10 years since, with progress on justice, economics and freedoms stagnating, there is little faith in the process being delivered by the government. While the participants state clearly that the responsibility for the transition process still lies with the government, they note that calls for an international mechanism as a form of recourse is grounded on a failure of the government to show sufficient action or commitment to addressing grievances. At both the micro and macro levels, participants felt that the necessary laws exist, but are not actionable, and that they had no power to influence enforcement. Participants noted a sentiment that their vote did not count, and that there was a lack of strong and honest political leadership that was committed and accountable to the people.

**Vulnerabilities- core:** Office on Missing Persons; mobility of ex-combatants and ex-political detainees  
**Vulnerabilities- composite/symptomatic:** language parity, challenges in accessing transitional justice due to economic constraints

---

<sup>12</sup> "What is Transitional Justice". ICTJ. Available at: <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>. Accessed on 12 March 2019.





Table 9: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Justice, Truth and Reparations, Northern Province

Justice, Truth and Reparation	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons	4	1	4	2	32	1
Instances during the past 12 months where freedom of movement of ex-cadres/released detainees were obstructed or instances where they found it difficult to seek employment	4	1	4	2	3739268	2
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in accessing government services due to language disparity	4	1	4	2		3
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with challenges in seeking justice for losses incurred during war due to economic constraints	4	1	4	2		4
Instances during the past 12 months where those detained as political prisoners were tortured	4	1	4	2		5
Instances during the past 12 months where medical certificates pertaining to true physical and mental health status of those who have experienced torture and excesses were denied by government officials	36	35	66	27		6
Instances during the past 12 months where lands that traditionally owned by the public were acquired/occupied on the basis of sites with archeological importance or areas within protected sanctuaries	36	35	66	27		7
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties to in accessing to reparations	36	35	66	27	2134080	8
Instances during the past 12 months where political prisoners/ex-cadres/ persons who lost their assets during the war/ families of missing persons approached for legal assistance and failed to receive such assistance	36	35	66	27	1935816	9
Instances during the past 12 months where people affected by militarisation extending to civil spaces such as education, health etc.	36	35	66	27		10
Instances during the past 12 months where approached a government officer to for a government welfare service and the service was denied particularly for being a member of an ethnic community	36	35	66	27		11
Instances during the past 12 months where justice did not do its duty to punish offenders when they were identified as public servants/ military personnel	36	35	66	27		12

Table 10: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Justice, Truth and Reparations, Eastern Province

Justice, Truth and Reparation	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in accessing government services due to language disparity	4	1	4	2	32	1
Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons	4	1	4	2	32	2
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with challenges in seeking justice for losses incurred during war due to economic constraints	4	1	4	2	56	3
Instances during the past 12 months where political prisoners/ex-cadres/ persons who lost their assets during the war/ families of missing persons approached for legal assistance and failed to receive such assistance	31	30	60	30	55800	4
Instances during the past 12 months where freedom of movement of ex-cadres/released detainees were obstructed or instances where they found it difficult to seek employment	16	15	30	15		5
Instances during the past 12 months where lands that traditionally owned by the public were acquired/occupied on the basis of sites with archeological importance or areas within protected sanctuaries	16	15	30	15		6
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties to in accessing to reparations	16	15	30	15		7
Instances during the past 12 months where approached a government officer to for a government welfare service and the service was denied particularly for being a member of an ethnic community	16	15	30	15		8
Instances during the past 12 months where medical certificates pertaining to true physical and mental health status of those who have experienced torture and excesses were denied by government officials	16	15	30	15		9
Instances during the past 12 months where those detained as political prisoners were tortured	16	15	30	15	93600	10
Instances during the past 12 months where justice did not do its duty to punish offenders when they were identified as public servants/ military personnel	26	25	50	25	978120	11
Instances during the past 12 months where people affected by militarisation extending to civil spaces such as education, health etc.	26	25	50	25		12

### Office on Missing Persons

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 1/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 6/33

The most predominant view on the OMP in the North is that no one should be engaging with the OMP and it should be boycotted. Participants in the North also insist that a precondition to engaging with the OMP is the release of the names and whereabouts of persons who surrendered to the military with white flags during the final stage of the war in 2009. Participants' main criticisms of the OMP centred around complaints of no tangible outcomes despite relatives of missing persons having given testimonials in front of numerous commissions, and allegations that the OMP is only an attempt by the government to appease the international community. Other criticisms levelled against the OMP are the appointment of a retired major general to the commission and the location of OMP offices.

In the East, some participants expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of progress of the OMP, while others (mostly Muslims) held the view that the OMP has brought legitimacy to questions of (i) persons missing since earlier stages of the war, and (ii) reparations due to their families. In contrast to the Northern Province, participants in the East were more optimistic about the OMP achieving its mandate even beyond changes in government.

It is perhaps notable that a significantly higher number of participants in the North than in the East identified as relatives of missing persons, and hence this issue is more pertinent to them. In the North, participants looked at the OMP as a 'farce' put into place to obfuscate facts and processes. In the East, participants pointed to heavy political motivations surrounding the mandate of the office that mitigated its effectuality, and claimed that officials could not act outside the laws and expectation of the office. However, participants from both the North and the East stressed the importance of an inquiry. Views from the North were resolute that only an international/external body could exact results, whereas views expressed in the East demonstrated some faith also in the Truth Commission due to be established.

### Mobility of ex-combatants and ex-political detainees

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where freedom of movement of ex-cadres/released detainees were obstructed or instances where they found it difficult to seek employment*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 4/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 13/33

[For findings, see section on surveillance on page 12]

### Language parity

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where people faced difficulties accessing government services due to language disparity*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 7/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** /33

Participants noted that they often received official letters in Sinhala, resulting in the need to locate and pay for translation, and thus some anxiety due to the delays in learning the content of the correspondence. They noted that English-only documents were also a problem, both in public circulars, and in information issued by private institutions (e.g. micro finance agreements are mostly provided in English). They noted apprehension in traveling outside the region, where signage in nearby towns (e.g. Ampara and Anuradhapura) and central cities (e.g. Colombo) were mostly in English, creating difficulties in tracking travel routes or procuring basic public services. Participants noted that most police stations now have at least one officer who speaks Tamil, but official statements were nonetheless often taken in Sinhala. Participants stated feeling some apprehension to ask for a Tamil-speaking officer, lest they suffer reprisals or annoyance. They noted spillover effects in surveillance processes, where an officer either could not, or refused to speak in Tamil, which resulted in added distress. Participants noted that most traffic police officers do not speak Tamil, and the participants therefore could not challenge fines and had to agree to whatever fines were placed in Sinhala on the charge sheet. At hospitals, participants described

their difficulties in explaining symptoms in a different language; participants in the East did note that most Public Health Inspectors in Batticaloa district knew all three languages.

There was a more optimistic perspective overall in the East, where participants were hopeful for more positive change in language compliance. They noted the importance of speaking all three languages, particularly for themselves; some claimed that had they known Sinhala during the time of the war, many lives could have been saved. They spoke of the value of agency in addressing language parity issues via the channels provided — e.g. the dedicated grievance telephone line to the Human Rights Commission. They also recommended incentive or pay-augmentation schemes for public servants who spoke all three languages, noting the importance of this for all communities.

#### Challenges in accessing transitional justice due to economic constraints

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with challenges in seeking justice for losses incurred during war due to economic constraints*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 17/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 9/33

It is important to note that workshop participants were drawn from a pool of war-affected persons that our partners were already working with and were therefore either Ex-combatants; family members of missing persons; previously politically incarcerated persons; and/or victims of abuse, violence or other trauma. Their psychosocial conditions were therefore already challenging and, coupled with physical losses and/or the demise of partners, this has meant that their household human-capital and economic capacities were also markedly more challenged than that of the average household. Moreover, transport linkages in the regions can be both time and cost expensive relative to household income, with high opportunity cost in wages lost and childcare needs. For many conflict-affected persons, transitional justice processes required traveling to central offices, either in town centres or in Colombo. Moreover, participants spoke of processes that are lengthy, opaque, and/or requiring many visits to government offices. All of this has meant that affected persons found the returns from existing transitional justice process insufficient to cover costs, or that they did not have sufficient capital to pursue processes for closure. Several participants felt that, had they had the money to pay bribes or hire a private investigator – as is apparently the practice in some areas – they would have had a much better chance of locating missing persons. Economic hardships were exacerbated for war-widows and wives of incarcerated persons. Alongside the significant psychological trauma of loss, these female heads of household were also the primary wage-earners, the caregivers and educators of their children, and the guardians of the home. Managing processes to address reparations and rights (in the case of being widowed), or visitations, release processes and army surveillance of the home (in the case of having a partner incarcerated), lays yet another cost burden. The nature of extended travel and the cultural norms surrounding women traveling alone has also meant that solo female travelers had often to pay for the time and passage of a chaperone, and participants noted that this was sometimes sufficiently restrictive as to forego the transitional justice process as a whole.

### **3.2.3. Dignity, Agency and Empowerment**

The term transitional justice describes range of mechanisms and institutions, including tribunals, truth commissions, memorial projects, reparations and the like to redress past wrongs, vindicate the dignity of victims and provide justice in times of transition.<sup>13</sup> Several scholars have noted that the “recognition of dignity and basic moral worth afforded by processes of justice may be vital to victims’ healing and therefore a key determinant of their future willingness to engage in reconciliation with the Other”.<sup>14</sup> The concept of agency and empowerment have garnered increasing attention in policies aimed at poverty reduction, transitional justice and peacebuilding. Agency is an individual’s or group’s ability to make purposeful choices. They consider agency to be strongly determined by people’s individual assets (such as land, housing, livestock, savings) and capabilities of all types: human (such as good health and education), social (such as social belonging, a sense of identity, leadership relations) and psychological (self-esteem, self-

<sup>13</sup> Susanne Buckley-Ziste et al. “Transitional Justice Theories”, <http://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r32526.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

confidence, the ability to imagine and aspire to a better future), and by people’s collective assets and capabilities, such as voice, organization, representation and identity.<sup>15</sup>

The concept of empowerment is related to terms such as agency, autonomy, self direction, self-determination, liberation, participation, mobilization and self-confidence<sup>16</sup>. Alsop and others describe empowerment as having two components. The first component might be thought of as an expansion of agency – the ability to act on behalf of what you value and have reason to value. The second component of the empowerment focuses on the institutional environment, which offers people the opportunity to exert agency fruitfully.<sup>17</sup>

**Vulnerabilities- core:** challenges for Ex-combatants in accessing essential services; inadequate provisions for persons with special needs; poor physical/psychological conditions of those released from government custody

**Vulnerabilities- composite/symptomatic:** microfinance and over-indebtedness

Table 11: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Dignity, Agency and Empowerment, Northern Province Insert

Dignity, Agency & Empowerment	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances during the past 12 month where people released from the rehabilitation camps perceiving a significant decline in health and well-being.	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Red	1
Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons with disabilities.	Red	Green	Orange	Yellow	Orange	2
Instances during the past 12 months where people were affected by the military’s involvement in livelihood activities such as agriculture, businesses or enterprises.	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	Orange	3
Instances in the past 12 months where people were trapped in micro-finance schemes and were struggling to escape the debt trap	Orange	Yellow	Yellow	Green	Yellow	4
Instances during the last 12 months where ex-cadres faced delays/difficulties in accessing government/other services	Yellow	Orange	Orange	Green	Yellow	5
Instances during the past 12 months where women involved in advocacy or justice efforts were socially isolated or marginalized.	Green	Green	Green	Red	Yellow	6
Instances during the past 12 months where people were isolated/marginalized from the society due to continuous surveillance by the military or police.	Green	Yellow	Green	Green	Green	7

Table 12: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Dignity, Agency and Empowerment, Eastern Province

Dignity, Agency & Empowerment	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances in the past 12 months where people were trapped in micro-finance schemes and were struggling to escape the debt trap	Red	Yellow	Orange	Yellow	Red	1
Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons with disabilities.	Orange	Orange	Red	Yellow	Orange	2
Instances during the last 12 months where ex-cadres faced delays/difficulties in accessing government/other services	Yellow	Orange	Orange	Orange	Orange	3
Instances during the past 12 months where people were isolated/marginalized from the society due to continuous surveillance by the military or police.	Green	Yellow	Green	Red	Yellow	4
Instances during the past 12 month where people released from the rehabilitation camps perceiving a significant decline in health and well-being.	Orange	Green	Yellow	Green	Yellow	5
Instances during the past 12 months where women involved in advocacy or justice efforts were socially isolated or marginalized.	Green	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Green	6
Instances during the past 12 months where people were affected by the military’s involvement in livelihood activities such as agriculture, businesses or enterprises.	Green	Green	Green	Red	Green	7

<sup>15</sup> “Agency and Empowerment: A review of concepts, indicators and empirical evidence”, <http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/OPHI-RP-10a.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> Narayan, D. (2005) Measuring Empowerment: Cross Disciplinary Perspective (Washington, World Bank)

<sup>17</sup> Alsop, R., Bertelsen, M. and Holland, J. (2006) Empowerment in Practice From Analysis to Implementation (Washington, D.C., World Bank)

### **Challenges faced by Ex-combatants in Accessing Essential Services**

*Question: Instances during the last 12 months where ex-cadres faced delays difficulties in obtaining government and other services.*

*Ranking, Northern Province: 12/33*

*Ranking, Eastern Province: 5/33*

Participants noted that surveillance had resulted in a constant state of feeling under threat restricting their ability to move about freely and contributing to a sense that something negative could happen to them at any time. This perception has restricted their ability to lead full and normal lives and the constraint on movement has reduced access out-of-vicinity jobs, government services, and TJ mechanisms.

FGD implied that ex-combatants were still viewed as traitors and perpetrators of violence against the state and have not been fully reintegrated into society. These perceptions highlight these communities have not transitioned to be fully inclusive of ex-combatants. Ex-combatants spoke of their difficulty in getting equal (if any) treatment at government offices and hospitals, and a sense that the state did not want to provide services to them because they had once opposed the state.

### **Inadequate provisions for persons who are differently abled**

*Question: Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons who are differently abled*

*Ranking, Northern Province: 5/33*

*Ranking, Eastern Province: 3/33*

A large number of men and women were affected with physical disabilities due to the conflict, including in many instances, those that resulted from amputations. There is a lack of adequate services for persons who are differently abled, and access to such services is markedly more difficult for ex-combatants who are differently abled. Challenges faced include a lack of systems to provide for their well-being, difficulty accessing government offices, hospitals and other public services and a lack of dedicated and relevant services for persons with disabilities. Participants made note that special-needs related services need to extend past step-access, and given the magnitude of war-related casualties, include programs for livelihoods and access to basic securities and services. The sentiment that persons who are differently abled are “left behind” by the system was prevalent. During the pre-tracking workshop, the need for a focus on issues faced by persons who are differently abled in the transitional justice mechanism was highlighted. Though certain mechanisms to address the issues faced by persons who are differently abled are in place, these mechanisms do not apply equally for all persons who are differently abled. Persons who are differently abled due to their involvement in LTTE are treated differently to persons who are differently abled by birth or through an accident. Differently abled participants also felt they were treated differently from able-bodied individuals by society, including health officials and transport service providers. A considerable number of ex-combatants in the Eastern Province had never participated in a government rehabilitation program. Due to their lack of participation in such a program, they are ineligible to receive any assistance that the government provides for differently abled ex-cadres. Presently, many such individuals are fearful of the negative consequences of identifying themselves as ex-combatants.

### **Poor physical/psychological conditions of those released from government custody**

*Question: Instances during the past 12 months where people released from the rehabilitation camps perceiving a significant decline in health and well-being*

*Ranking, Northern Province: 3/33*

*Ranking, Eastern Province: 23/33*

It was noted repeatedly that ex-combatants returned from rehabilitation camps in extremely weak physical conditions, and the death toll among such rehabilitated persons was very high. FGDs made reference to the possibility that ex-combatants were either injected with or fed debilitating substances. No significant steps have been taken to address these concerns; doctors consulted seem to not have identified any explainable causes for such physical deterioration, but because hospitals are state-run, participants expressed a lack of faith in the diagnoses. It is evident that participants view state medical services as another arm of a state apparatus that withholds or obfuscates facts. In general, the perception persists that ex-combatants are treated as traitors and perpetrators and are hence provided only partial medical services if any, and even then, grudgingly.



### Microfinance and over-indebtedness

*Question: Instances in the past 12 months where people were trapped in micro-finance schemes and were struggling to escape the debt trap*

*Ranking, Northern Province: 11/33*

*Ranking, Eastern Province: 1/33*

Participants voices their perceptions that economically vulnerable persons (war widows, ex-combatants and wives of ex-combatants), were more heavily preyed on by micro-loan lenders, and incidents of related suicide were high particularly in the Eastern Province. When asked, participants did not seem to have access to knowledge of products in financial management or planning, and there was no awareness of such services being provided despite the endemic conditions of debt in the Northern and Eastern provinces. While livelihood opportunities were limited, so were opportunities to increase human capital accumulation and employability. Participants spoke of ex-combatants having low levels of formal education due to early-age conscription and having no means to increase skill levels. If training schemes or technical education programs for ex-combatants had been made available, the participants did not seem to be aware of them or to did not feel that were within reach. Indebtedness reinforced a cycle of negative effects, with affected households suffering social exclusion and lack of economic and psychological freedom to invest in human capital improvements. As such they were also vulnerable to offers of emergency loans carrying precarious lending conditions.

Participants raised the issue of government encroachment on economic activity via two modes – the capture of lands for conservation purposes and/or archaeological sites, and the provision of arable land to military personnel. Within the former, it was perceived that the government’s priorities were misplaced where, despite highly depressed economic conditions, the government was prioritising heavy investments in archaeological projects over livelihood development. The latter, the presence of non-native military personnel on traditional farming grounds, raised far more concern. That government-salaried (and thereby economically de-risked) workers are therefore able to bring produce to market at cheaper rates was perceived as leading to the crowding out of vulnerable local farmers and viewed in terms of continuing ethnic bias. If true, the latter phenomenon could be equated to government subsidising of military persons. The issue was linked to the claim that Tamil citizenry were systematically disenfranchised, unprotected, and/or given less priority.

#### **3.2.1. Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Guarantee of Non-recurrence**

In the Northern province more than in the Eastern province, conversations about **the provision of transitional justice were laced with perceptions of ethnic bias**. The concluding discussion of the focus group discussion in Jaffna revealed an overarching and deep-rooted sentiment that the Tamil people (of the North) have no power and no voice and are not being taken seriously by the government. The perception of an ethnic bias is exacerbated by unequal practices in the treatment of post-war conditions; for example, fallen army soldiers are celebrated as war heroes while the memorialisation of fallen LTTE fighters is discouraged; houses and lands and sanitation facilities are built for army personnel but not as rigorously for local the victims of war; state land capture grants dividends to traditionally non-resident and non-Tamil and non-Muslim populations; freedoms and leeway extended to persons elsewhere in the country do not apply to the people of the North; the ear of the law and the warrant of government offices favour, primarily, the majority and not minorities. **There was a repeated call that the same laws should apply to all persons.**

In comparison, the closing conversation of the focus group discussion in the Eastern province had a far more optimistic orientation, with participants believing that the truths about the war and its aftermath would be peacefully revealed and reconciled, with or without government intervention, and that a climate for confessions and blanket forgiveness was indeed possible. A participant in the Eastern province referenced a recent voluntary confession by an ex-soldier regarding indiscriminate and wrongful killings, leading to a consensus that time will bring the truth and that real peace and reconciliation was inevitable. While there was repeated mention of ethnic and economic discrimination in the treatment by government offices, there was a sentiment that positive changes had in fact taken place, and that eventual coexistence was possible, despite current challenges.



**Vulnerabilities- core:** Perception of a conflict between two individuals as being an ethnic conflict;  
**Vulnerabilities- composite/symptomatic:** Challenges of civil society in participating in political processes

*Table 13: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Guarantee of Non-recurrence, Northern Province*

Peaceful Co-existence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in memorializing their loved one	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	1
Instances during the past 12 months where government sponsored resettlements programs were carried out in lands that are traditionally owned by Tamils or Muslims in order to change the existing ethnic demography.	Red	Yellow	Orange	Yellow	Red	2
Instances in the past 12 months where a conflict between two individuals from different ethnic backgrounds was perceived as a conflict between the two ethnic communities	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Green	Yellow	3
Instances in the past 12 months where ordinary citizens faced challenges engaging in politics	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Red	Yellow	4
Instances during the past 12 months where war victory monuments were built in the area you live.	Green	Green	Green	Orange	Green	5

*Table 14: Vulnerability Heat-Map, Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Guarantee of Non-recurrence, Eastern Province*

Peaceful Co-existence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence	Prevalance (P)	Frequency (F)	Impact (I)	Feasibility of change (F)	Vulnerability (P*F*I*F)	Rank
Instances in the past 12 months where a conflict between two individuals from different ethnic backgrounds was perceived as a conflict between the two ethnic communities	Yellow	Red	Red	Green	Red	1
Instances in the past 12 months where ordinary citizens faced challenges engaging in politics	Orange	Orange	Yellow	Green	Orange	2
Instances during the past 12 months where government sponsored resettlements programs were carried out in lands that are traditionally owned by Tamils or Muslims in order to change the existing ethnic demography.	Yellow	Yellow	Orange	Orange	Yellow	3
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in memorializing their loved one	Red	Green	Yellow	Red	Yellow	4
Instances during the past 12 months where war victory monuments were built in the area you live.	Green	Green	Green	Yellow	Green	5

**Perception of a conflict between two individuals as being an ethnic conflict**

**Question:** Instances in the past 12 months where a conflict between two individuals from different ethnic backgrounds was perceived as a conflict between the two ethnic communities

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 27/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 7/33

Conflicts between two different communities due to personal issues between two individuals ranked much higher as an issue in the Eastern province than the Northern province. This could be explained as follows: (a) According Census of Population and Housing Sri Lanka – 2012, Tamils make up 39.2 percent of the population in the Eastern province while Muslims and Sinhalese makeup 36.9 and 23.2 percentages respectively. In contrast, in the Northern province Tamils make up 93.8 percent of the population. This suggests that the potential for conflict and competition between two different communities is much higher in the Eastern province. Further, there were no participants representing either Muslim or Sinhalese ethnic communities in the Northern province. The cohort in the Eastern province had only 4 participants representing the Muslim community and none representing the Sinhala community. Thus, this workshop has not captured the views of two concerned ethnic communities in the North and one concerned ethnic community in the East. (b) Although the Eastern province is diverse in terms of ethnic representation, people with different ethnic background do not necessarily mix. Pockets within the region are completely dominated by singular ethnic communities, enabling politicians to run ethnicity-specific campaigns that result in contests for resource distribution between communities. One such important resource is land, the scarcity of which has provided a backdrop for communal tensions in many parts of the Eastern province.



Vis-à-vis the survey question, above, driving this conversation, participants spoke most of land disputes between two individuals turning into disputes between two communities. A common narrative on the land issue seemed to be that “Muslim persons give loans to Tamil persons by holding their land deed certificates as a collateral, and later take possession”. Moreover, participants accused Muslim persons living outside the area of trying to sell unnecessary household goods to Tamil persons on the basis of installments and threatening them if they failed to meet payments. Further, participants accused politicians of fueling personal disputes into communal disputes for their personal gain. Participants voiced their concerns that the spread of “fake news” via mobile phones and websites were playing a pivotal role in increasing tensions between the two communities. The negative impact of an increase in communal tensions on the future of their children was a source of concern for many participants, with some fearing that it could lead to another crisis. Further, participants make note of the short-term economic impacts due to such incidents such as ‘hartals’ following a dispute which affect daily incomes and the transport services. When questioned about conflict resolution, participants stated that structures outside the law enforcement apparatus, such as religious federations or community groups, have been utilized as effective means to solutions.

### **Memorialisation**

**Question:** *Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in memorializing a person lost in the conflict*

**Ranking, Northern Province:** 13/33

**Ranking, Eastern Province:** 17/33

Memorialisation was ranked a much higher issue in the Northern province than the Eastern province and could be perceived as a fundamental gap towards a true transition from war to co-existence. Participants spoke of the need for the restoration of cemeteries; allowing memorial days and memorial events; openness to displaying photos of family members lost in combat; and more open and constructive engagement on this issue by the military and the government. During the pre-tracking workshop, it was noted that there are difficulties in memorialisation specially memorialisation of people who have served in the LTTE and lost their lives. Questionnaire responses revealed that under the domain Peaceful Co-existent, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence, issues of memorialization ranked the highest in the Northern province while it ranked as second lowest concerns in the Eastern province. This difference can be understood as follows: (a) The Eastern province was liberated from the LTTE by following the split within the LTTE leadership which was followed by LTTE’s withdrawal from the region and thus had a lower number of fatalities due to the war. But in the Northern province, the state’s response to eradicate the LTTE was brutal and cost several lives during the final stage of the war. Therefore, memorialisation is a concern for many of the families of North given that many LTTE members were killed during the final stage of the war. (b) Memorialisation activities in the Northern province are severely scrutinized by government entities compared to the Eastern province. It can be argued this is due to government’s fear that if the LTTE is to re-emerge, it would do so from the Northern province and hence perceive the need to cease any memorialisation of lost LTTE members.

Participants spoke most about the implicit restrictions on displaying photographs of children and spouses lost in conflict in their homes. Often, the only photographs they possessed were those of combatants in uniform, issued when they were serving. Participants spoke of being questioned by surveillance personnel if such photos were displayed in their homes, and that it was not uncommon for undercover and/or non-uniformed military persons to walk into their homes and interrogate families about this practice and ask questions from their neighbours which compound intimidation with social stigma. When asked, participants confirmed that they were not explicitly asked to take the photographs down, but they felt that the threatening nature of inspections and questions, particularly in a climate perceived to be marked by militarisation, surveillance, and intimidation, meant that displaying such photographs was impossible. Participants spoke of keeping photographs hidden and paying tribute to their children only in secret. In general, memorial days or practices of memorialisation had to be clandestine to avoid military reprimand or reprisal. The stance of the military regarding the memorialisation of fallen LTTE combatants was seen in juxtaposition to the military’s building of monuments celebrating their victories and their own fallen soldiers. Participants spoke of inequity, where they had to bear the celebration of one group of soldiers while hiding their own losses. They also spoke of the inability to dignify the story of their children, whom they see as also have fought for the country, in line with a view that fallen LTTE cadres should be given the same respect and benefits as fallen military personnel.

## 4. PILOT: METHODOLOGY DEPLOYMENT AND LESSONS LEARNED

The focus group discussions had approximately 20 participants who were divided into groups of four or five. Each group was assigned a theoretical domain to explore and provided some guiding questions. Findings were thereafter presented to the room, after which the facilitator engaged all participants in further discussion and commentary. The following challenges/successes/lessons relate to this process.

### 4.1. Challenges

#### 4.1.1. Time constraints

Participants had to travel significant distances to the discussion and relied on public transport for travel. Factoring in their travel time and the availability of public transport services, only 3 to 4 productive hours were available for the discussion. It was challenging to get as much input as may be possible from 20 participants under optimal conditions within the limited 3 to 4 hours.

Recommendation: transform the 1-day workshop into a longer residential sessions, perhaps of 2-3 days

#### 4.1.2. Differing participant capacities

A considerable number of the participants were aged above 50 and found difficulty in engaging with the format/language of the questionnaire. It was observed that certain participants had difficulties in reading, and some had difficulties in grasping the questions. An alternative methodology was required to comprehensively integrate participants with such challenges into the discussion.

Remedy: the team dedicated several hours of the first round of workshops to re-filling documents together with question-by-question guidance by the workshop facilitator this approach may be necessary for future iterations as well.

Recommendation: Embedding capacity building sessions within the tracking workshop, covering key topics on transitional justice is recommended. During the workshop in the Eastern province, it was observed that the facilitator provided introductions to fundamental theories in some thematic areas which created more targeted and in-depth discussions about TJ gaps and the related recommendations.

#### 4.1.3. Managing outcome expectations

Participants expressed some exhaustion from being repeatedly subject to similar exercises of documenting their grievances. Given that the United Nations is a core partner in this process, it would be useful to understand what direct outcomes are expected as a result of the process undertaken. There were instances during the discussion where it seemed that participants' expectations of the direct and short-term purpose and impact of the CBM project may be different from its objectives.

Remedy: The team and facilitators worked to outline the objectives and intended outputs of the workshop.

Recommendation: The team should disseminate this report to the participants, providing 1. a frame of the content, angle, and audience of the information provided; and 2. a space for discussion on the content of the report, along with possible and preferred outcomes/ consequences/next steps.

#### 4.1.4. Capturing all voices:

As most participants are direct victims of the war, many of the key topics elicited emotive and deeply personal responses. For specific questions, participants responded to key words and carried the discussion in tangential or non-relevant directions, driven by the simple desire to give voice to their experience. Facilitators were faced with the difficult challenge of balancing time constraints with the need to provide participants a platform to tell their full stories and voice grievances, and with the space to provide all participants room to voice their opinions.

Recommendation: a possible option could be that, instead of bringing participants from different districts to one place, smaller focus group discussions be conducted per district. This would allow the number of participants per focus group discussion to be reduced to approximately five persons, which is preferred for

of focus group discussions of this nature and has the added benefit of reducing travel-related time constraints faced by participants Trust-building and the deepening of discussion content:

While the first iteration of the workshop resulted primarily on the narration of TJ related incidents, the second iteration allowed the conversation to move beyond incidence to broader, deeper, and more solutions-oriented discussions about transitional justice and peace. The team was able to hear from the participants their perspectives on overarching issues and the larger climate of justice and peace, or the lack thereof. This was a trust-building exercise with participants, and credit is given to the facilitators of the workshop for their efforts and ability to enhance the focus and richness in the gathering of participant perspectives.

## 5. SUMMARY AND NEXT STEPS

The current climate in both the Northern and Eastern provinces seem to be marked by disappointment and disillusionment in the government's ability to deliver its transitional justice mandates, and resulting in a fraught and tenuous exercise of the citizen-government contract. Particularly in the Northern province, the perception that prevails is that the government has failed in its management of key transitional justice processes, including adequate and transparent action regarding missing persons; the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-combatants; the provision of fair and accessible justice processes; and creation of conditions for economic growth and well-being. This has engendered a complete **lack of faith in the ability of local mechanisms** to address current gaps and grievances. Participants spoke of exhausting all possible avenues of recourse and having attempted to work with all available government offices, both in person and via formal correspondence and processes. At the micro- and local governance level, participants spoke of impunity for those with economic or political power, and corrupt and discriminatory practices of the police and government officials wherein criminal activity could be paid off by the wealthy. At the macro level, there is a **deep sense of disillusionment with the government**, where promises have been made repeatedly and reneged on. Participants speak of having been hopeful at the end of the war but having waited for ten years for progress and having found that the conditions on justice, economics and freedoms are stagnant. As such they now have no faith that real progress will be delivered by the government. While the participants clearly stated that the responsibility for the transition process still lies with the government, they note that calls for an international mechanism as a form of recourse are grounded in a failure of the government to show sufficient action or commitment to addressing grievances. At both the micro and macro levels, participants felt that the necessary laws exist, but are not actionable, and that they had no power to persuade enforcement. Participants voiced sentiments that their vote did not count, and that there was a lack of strong and honest political leadership that was committed and accountable to the people.

There was also a marked difference between the Northern and Eastern provinces regarding state-run mechanisms for the delivery of transitional justice. Participants in the Northern province expressed their lack of faith in state mechanisms, and they are of the view that only an international mechanism will address their concerns. Participants in the Eastern province, while favouring an international mechanism, exhibited readiness to engage with the state and were able to suggest recommendations to improve outcomes. This difference between the Northern and Eastern could be explained as follows. (a) The Eastern province is equally represented by all three major ethnic communities (Sinhalese – 23.2%, Tamils – 39.2%, Muslims – 36.9%)<sup>18</sup> and there is competition between the communities to maximise resources absorption to their respective communities, including government jobs, development funds, and other economic benefits. This is further supported by ethnically aligned electoral politics and the existing patronage political system. In contrast to the Eastern province, in the Northern province, 93.8% of the population is Tamil<sup>19</sup> and a single political party, traditionally in the opposition, dominates electoral politics in the region. This has engendered very little of the type of patronage politics seen in the Eastern province. Further, military involvement in civil administration and livelihood activities are high in the Northern province. These factors, compounded by the government's failure to fulfil any of the commitments given to the people or the international community, has led the Northern population to canvass solely for a fully international intervention. (b) Despite strong demand for an international mechanism, it was observed that there is a lack of clarity as to what role the international community could play and the limitations faced by

---

<sup>18</sup> Sri Lanka Census of population and Housing, 2012, <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/index.php?fileName=SriLanka&gp=Activities&tpl=3>

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

international bodies in mediating domestic matters.<sup>20</sup> A vague and an overoptimistic understanding of these parameters has facilitated an overdependence on the idea that the international community has the capacity of incentives to deliver complete solutions to ongoing transitional justice issues, and simultaneously, a complete disregard of existing local structures.

### **5.1. Primary Requests of Participants:**

- That they be given equal and fair rights as citizens of the country, and be treated equally before the law
- That the OMP release the list of names of those surrendered
- That the development of livelihood opportunities is prioritised
- That they be allowed to memorialise those lost in war
- That the government of Sri Lanka show true commitment to the people of the Northern and Eastern province.

### **5.2. Community Based Monitoring, Next Steps**

- Present participants with a catalogue of available mechanisms and offices with a view to understand whether their mandates and processes are: 1. clearly communicated; 2. relevant; 3. accessible; and 4. effective.
- Disseminate findings to participants and discuss congruence with their overall perceptions, what they would want recorded/presented and their perspective of the big picture. Also present to each province the findings of the other province.
- Discuss with partners on how best to use the TWs to enhance other objectives of the project and find congruence with TJ training content and the overall goals. Also map if the CBM is capturing the full extent of other project prongs.

---

<sup>20</sup> In the East we observed that the partner organization had organized number of capacity building workshop for participants on varying subjects on transitional justice including how UNHRC ICC etc. functions.

## 6. ANNEXES

## Annex 1: Breakdown of Domains

No.	Identified domains	Working definitions	Illustrations
1	Safety and security	<i>Safety</i> – feeling and being protected	The military enforced the marriage of an ex-cadre to a young woman with whom the ex-cadre was in a relationship, in order for easier surveillance. The woman was awaiting university entrance; but, as a result of the marriage, was unable to continue her studies. The couple are facing financial difficulty and are heavily in debt. The woman is now being subject to domestic violence by her husband.
		<i>Security</i> – feeling and being free from danger	
2	Justice, truth, and reparations	<i>Justice</i> – fair and proper administration of the law, which ensures every person is able to enjoy and exercise their rights	A case filed against officials in the Navy has been delayed for two years, with the Navy claiming the accused are sick or cannot be produced in court
		<i>Truth</i> – disclosing and/or establishing facts or verifiable accounts of events, and their cause and impact	Following release from the rehabilitation camps, persons who were healthy and strong – able to carry heavy weights – were left weak and physically impaired, in some cases resulting in premature death. The cause for the change in their physical ability is unknown/ unacknowledged.
		<i>Reparations</i> – the obligation of a state, and/or individual(s), and/or group(s) to repair the consequences of violence and violations to victims and victims' families.	Reparations should include restoring civil and political rights; erasing unfair criminal convictions; physical and psychosocial rehabilitation; and granting access to land, health care, education, and other (essential) services.
3	Dignity, agency, and empowerment	<i>Dignity</i> – the enjoyment of respectful and ethical treatment, as a person of value	There is a lack of social and structural support for vulnerable groups and persons living with disabilities – e.g. transport facilities for physically impaired persons.
		<i>Agency</i> – the capacity to act independently and make choices free of the influence of structural and/or social and/or political and/or economic limitations	Ex-cadres face difficulty in accessing livelihood opportunities, bank loans, and other (essential) services

		<i>Empowerment</i> – autonomy allowing people to act on their own authority in representing and working towards their interests in a responsible and self-determined way	Severe financial difficulty has led to families being unable to send their children to school, and the children are forced to resort to child labour
4	Peaceful coexistence	<i>Coexistence</i> – a society in which diversity is embraced, social inclusion and integration are pursued, and the need for interdependence among different ethnic and religious communities is recognised	Buddhist temples and places of worship have been erected in traditionally Tamil areas in the North and East
5	Redress of grievances and guarantee of non-recurrence	<i>Redress of grievances</i> – addressing or rectifying structural, legal, political, social, and economic factors that disproportionately and/or discriminatorily have an adverse impact on certain groups or individuals, based on ethnic or religious affiliations	Public services and other (essential) services in the North lack Tamil speaking staff and are hence not equipped to communicate / offer services in Tamil
		<i>Non-recurrence</i> – lasting and inclusive peace and reconciliation, and the reestablishment of relations among communities	Sri Lanka's history, which is based on unfounded portrayals of the Tamil people as enemies of the Sinhalese, should be revised, and the school history curriculum should be rewritten

## Annex 2: Questionnaire- Tamil

அறிமுகம்

பெயர் (தெரிவுக்குறியது, விருப்பமெனில் மாத்திரம் குறிப்பிடவும்)	.....					
A1. பால்நிலை (பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் ✓ இடவும் )	[1] ஆண்	[2] பெண்	[3] வேறு .....			
A2. இனம் (பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் ✓ இடவும் )	[1] தமிழ்	[2] முஸ்லிம்	[3] சிங்களம்	[4] வேறு .....		
A3. மதம் (பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் ✓ இடவும் )	[1] இந்து	[2] இஸ்லாம்	[3] கிறிஸ்தவம் - கத்தோலிக்கம்	[4] கிறிஸ்தவம் - வேறு	[5] பௌத்தம்	[6] வேறு .....
A4. வயது (பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் ✓ இடவும் )	[1] 15-19	[2] 20-24	[3] 25-29	[4] 30-34	[5] 35-39	[6] 40-44
	[7] 45-49	[8] 50-54	[9] 55-59	[10] 60-64	[11] 65-69	[12] 70+
A5. பிறந்த மாவட்டம்				A6. தற்போது வசிக்கும் மாவட்டம்	.....	
A7. விவாக அந்தஸ்த்து	[1] விவாகமாகாதவர்	[2] விவாகமானவர்	[3] கணவனை இழந்தவர்	[4] வேறு .....		
A8. தொழில்	.....					
A9. உங்களை எவ்வாறு அடையாளப்படுத்துவீர் (பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் ✓ இடவும் )	[1] முன்னாள் போராளி		[2] வலிந்து காணாமலாக்கப்பட்டவரினது குடும்ப உறவினர்		[3] யுத்தத்திகால் குடும்ப அங்கத்தவர்/கள் இழந்தவர்	
	[4] யுத்தத்தால் விசேட தேவைக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்டவர்கள்		[5] மனித உரிமைப் பாதுகாவலர்		[6] வேறு (குறிப்பிடவும்) .....	





1. கீழுள்ள கூற்றுக்களை கவனமாக வாசிக்கவும். **கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில்** நீங்கள், உங்களது நெருங்கிய குடும்பத்தவர் அல்லது உங்களது நெருங்கிய நண்பர்கள் இப்பிரச்சினைகளுக்கு நேரடியாக முகம்கொடுத்திருப்பின் இல்லாவிடின் இவர்கள் தவிர்ந்த உங்கள் பிரதேசத்தில் வசிப்பவர்கள் இப்பிரச்சினைகளுக்கு முகம்கொடுப்பதை அவதானித்திருப்பின் பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் (✓) புள்ளடி இடவும்.

		இப்பிரச்சினைக்கு நான் முகம்கொடுத்துள்ளேன் அல்லது எனது நெருங்கிய உறவினர்கள் அல்லது நண்பர்கள் இப்பிரச்சினைக்கு முகம்கொடுத்துள்ளனர்	இப்பிரச்சினைக்கு நேரடியாக முகம் கொடுக்கவில்லை இருந்தபோதும் எனது பிரதேசத்தில் வாழும் மக்கள் இப்பிரச்சினைக்கு முகம் கொடுப்பதை அவதானித்துள்ளேன்	இப்பிரச்சினைக்கு நேரடியாக முகம் கொடுக்கவில்லை மற்றும் எமது பிரதேசத்தில் வாழ்பவர்கள் முகம்கொடுத்ததை அவதானித்ததும் இல்லை
1	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களினால் முன்னாள் போராளிகள் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
2	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்கள் இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களால் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
3	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலிஸாரினால் பெண்கள் பாலியல் ரீதியாக தொந்தரவுக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
4	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் பொய்யான காரணங்களைக் காட்டி முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டவர்களது உறவினர்கள் கைதுசெய்யப்படல் அல்லது கைதுசெய்வதாக அச்சுறுத்தல் செய்யப்படல்			
5	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்களது உடல் / உடைமைகளிற்கு சேதம் விளைவிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
6	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் பொலிஸ் மற்றும் இராணுவத்தினரின் கெடுபிடிகளில் இருந்து பாதுகாப்பு பெறும் நோக்கத்துடன் இளம் வயதில் இளைஞர்/யுவதிகள் திருமணம் முடித்துக் கொடுக்கப்படல்			
7	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி போதைப்பொருள் பாவனை மற்றும் மதுபாவனைக்கு அடிமையாகிய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			



8	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி தற்கொலை செய்ய முயற்சி செய்தல் / தற்கொலை செய்து கொள்ளல்			
9	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் வீட்டு வன்முறையால் பெண்கள் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகிய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
10	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் முன்னாள் போராளிகள்/ தடுப்பில் இருந்து வெளியானவர்கள் சுதந்திரமாக நடமாட்டம் தடைப்படல் மற்றும் தொழில் வாய்ப்பைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் சிரமங்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
11	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் கல்வி, மருத்துவம் மற்றும் இதர சிவில் நடவடிக்கைகளில் இராணுவம் ஈடுபட்டுவதால் அசௌகரியங்களிற்கு உள்ளான சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
12	காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோர் அலுவலகத்தின் மீது உள்ள அதிருப்தி காரணமாக கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் மக்கள் அதனை புறக்கணித்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
13	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் தொல்பொருள் முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த இடம் மற்றும் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட சரணாலயத்திற்குட்பட்ட பிரதேசம் என்னும் பெயர்களில் மக்களால் பாரம்பரியமாக உரிமை கொண்டாடப்பட்ட காணிகள் அபகரிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
14	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசியல் கைதிகளாக தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளவர்கள் சித்திரவதைகளுக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம்			
15	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் குற்றமிழைத்தவர்கள் அரசு உத்தியோகத்தர்கள்/இராணுவ வீரர்களாக இருக்கும் பட்சத்தில் சட்டம் தன் கடமையை செய்யாது விட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
16	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசு தரப்பினரால் சித்திரவதை மற்றும் அத்துமீறல்களுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்களின் உடல்நிலை, மனநிலை சம்பந்தமான உண்மைகள் மறுக்கப்பட்ட மற்றும் அதற்கான சான்றிதழ்கள் வழங்க மறுப்பு தெரிவிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
17	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசியல் கைதிகள்/ முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / யுத்தத்தின் போது சொத்துக்களை இழந்தோர் சட்ட நிபுணர்களின் உதவியை நாடி அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாதுபோன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
18	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் பொருளாதார நிலைமை காரணமாக யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளிற்கு நீதியைப் வேண்டிச் செல்வதில் தடையேற்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			



19	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசு உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள உத்தியோகத்தர்களை நாடியவேளை குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர் என்றவகையில் பாரபட்சம் காட்டப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம்			
20	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசாங்க உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதில் மொழி சார்ந்த பிரச்சினையால் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளான சந்தர்ப்பம்			
21	இழப்பீடுகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு அனுகியபோது ஏதேனும் சிக்கல்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
22	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலீஸாரினால் தொடர்ச்சியாக பின்தொடரப்படுவதனால் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் அல்லது தனிமைப்படுத்தப்படல்			
23	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் இராணுவத்தினர் விவசாயம், வியாபாரம் மற்றும் இதர தொழில்முயற்சியாண்மைகளில் ஈடுபடுவதால் வாழ்வாதாரம் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
24	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் புனர்வாழ்வுளிப்பு முகாம்களில் இருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களின் உடல்நிலை மற்றும் மனநிலை கடுமையாக பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகி காணப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
25	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் நுண்கடன் திட்டங்களினால் கடன்சுமைக்கு ஆளாகி அதில் இருந்து வெளிவரமுடியாமல் போன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
26	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் முன்னாள் போராளிகள் அரசு உதவிகள் மற்றும் அத்தியாவசிய சேவைகளை நாடி அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் தாமதம்/ சிரமங்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
27	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட மற்றும் மனித உரிமைகளுக்காக உழைக்கும் பெண்கள் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தனிமைக்குள்ளாக்கப்படல்			
28	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் மாற்றுத்திறனாளிகள் மற்றும் விஷேட தேவையுடையோருக்கு பொதுப் போக்குவரத்து சேவை மறுக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் மற்றும் அரசு சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாமற்போன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
29	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் இரண்டு இனங்களைச் சேர்ந்த தனிநபர்களிற்கிடையிலான முரண்பாடுகள் இரு இனங்களிற்கிடையிலான முரண்பாடுகளாக உருவெடுத்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்.			
30	தமிழர்களால் அல்லது முஸ்லிம்களால் பாரம்பரியமாக உரிமை கொண்டாடப்பட்ட நிலங்களில் கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசு அனுசரனையுடன் அப்பிரதேசத்தின் இனப்பரம்பலை மாற்றியமைக்கும் விதமாக குடியேற்றங்கள் அமைக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			



31	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் போரில் இழந்த உறவுகளின் ஞாபகார்த்தமாக நினைவுகூறல்களை நடாத்துவதில் தடைகள் ஏற்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
32	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் நீங்கள் வாழும் பிரதேசத்தில் புதிதாக யுத்த வெற்றிச்சின்னங்கள் நிரமாணிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			
33	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசியல் தொடர்புகள் இல்லாத சாதாரண மக்கள் அரசியலில் ஈடுபட முனைந்து அதில் தோல்வியடைந்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்			

2. இந்தப்பகுதி நீங்கள் மேலே குறிப்பிட்ட பிரச்சினைகள் இடம்பெறும் காலஇடைவெளியை புரிந்துகொள்ள முனைகிறது. கீழே நிரற்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள பிரச்சினைகள் கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் உங்கள் பிரதேசத்தில் நிகழ்ந்த சந்தர்ப்பங்களை நினைவுகூறுங்கள். உங்கள் அபிப்பிராயத்தின் படி அவை இடம்பெறும் கால இடைவெளியை பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் (✓) புள்ளியிடவும்

		[1] எனக்குத் தெரிந்து நடைபெறவில்லை	[2] வாரத்திற்கு ஒரு முறை	[3] மாதத்திற்கு ஒரு முறை	[4] 6 மாதத்திற்கு ஒரு முறை	[5] வருடத்திற்கு ஒரு முறை	[6] பதில் கூற விருப்பமில்லை/ இது பற்றி எனக்கு தெரியாது
1	இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களினால் முன்னாள் போராளிகள் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படல்						
2	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்கள் இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களால் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படல்						
3	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலிஸாரினால் பெண்கள் பாலியல் ரீதியாக தொந்தரவுக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
4	பொய்யான காரணங்களைக் காட்டி முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டவர்களது உறவினர்கள் கைதுசெய்யப்படல் அல்லது கைதுசெய்வதாக அச்சுருத்தல் செய்யப்படல்						
5	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்களது உடல் / உடைமைகளிற்கு சேதம் விளைவிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						



6	பொலிஸ் மற்றும் இராணுவத்தினரின் கெடுபிடிகளில் இருந்து பாதுகாப்பு பெறும் நோக்கத்துடன் இளம் வயதில் இளைஞர்/யுவதிகள் திருமணம் முடித்துக் கொடுக்கப்படல்						
7	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி போதைப்பொருள் பாவனை மற்றும் மதுபாவனைக்கு அடிமையாகிய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
8	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி தற்கொலை செய்ய முயற்சி செய்தல் / தற்கொலை செய்து கொள்ளல்						
9	வீட்டு வன்முறையால் பெண்கள் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகிய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
10	முன்னாள் போராளிகள்/ தடுப்பில் இருந்து வெளியானவர்கள் சுதந்திரமாக நடமாட்டம் தடைப்படல் மற்றும் தொழில் வாய்ப்பைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் சிரமங்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
11	கல்வி, மருத்துவம் மற்றும் இதர சிவில் நடவடிக்கைகளில் இராணுவம் ஈடுபடுவதால் அசௌகரியங்களிற்கு உள்ளான சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
12	காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோர் அலுவலகத்தின் மீது உள்ள அதிருப்தி காரணமாக மக்கள் அதனை புறக்கணித்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
13	தொல்பொருள் முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த இடம் மற்றும் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட சரணாலயத்திற்குட்பட்ட பிரதேசம் என்னும் பெயர்களில் மக்களால் பாரம்பரியமாக உரிமை கொண்டாடப்பட்ட காணிகள் அபகரிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
14	அரசியல் கைதிகளாக தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளவர்கள் சித்திரவதைகளுக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம்						
15	குற்றமிழைத்தவர்கள் அரசு உத்தியோகத்தர்கள்/இராணுவ வீரர்களாக இருக்கும் பட்சத்தில் சட்டம் தன் கடமையை செய்யாது விட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
16	அரசு தரப்பினரால் சித்திரவதை மற்றும் அத்துமீறல்களுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்களின் உடல்நிலை, மனநிலை சம்பந்தமான உண்மைகள் மறுக்கப்பட்ட மற்றும் அதற்கான சான்றிதழ்கள் வழங்க மறுப்பு தெரிவிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
17	அரசியல் கைதிகள்/ முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / யுத்தத்தின் போது சொத்துக்களை இழந்தோர் சட்ட நிபுணர்களின்						



	உதவியை நாடி அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாதுபோன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
18	பொருளாதார நிலைமை காரணமாக யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளிற்கு நீதியைப் வேண்டிச்செல்வதில் தடையேற்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
19	அரசு உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள உத்தியோகத்தர்களை நாடியவேளை குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர் என்றவகையில் பாரபட்சம் காட்டப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம்						
20	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசாங்க உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதில் மொழி சார்ந்த பிரச்சினையால் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளான சந்தர்ப்பம்						
21	பரிகாரங்களை (நஷ்டஈடுகளை) பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு அனுகூலப்போது பரிகாரசெயல்முறைகளில் ஏதேனும் சிக்கல்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
22	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலீஸாரினால் தொடர்ச்சியாக பின்தொடரப்படுவதனால் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் அல்லது தனிமைப்படுத்தப்படல்						
23	இராணுவத்தினர் விவசாயம், வியாபாரம் மற்றும் இதர தொழில்முயற்சியாண்மைகளில் ஈடுபடுவதால் வாழ்வாதாரம் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
24	புனர்வாழ்வளிப்பு முகாம்களில் இருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களின் உடல்நிலை மற்றும் மனநிலை கடுமையாக பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகி காணப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
25	நுண்கடன் திட்டங்களினால் கடன்கமைக்கு ஆளாகி அதில் இருந்து வெளிவரமுடியாமல் போன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
26	முன்னாள் போராளிகள் அரசு உதவிகள் மற்றும் அத்தியாவசிய சேவைகளை நாடி அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் தாமதம்/ சிரமங்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
27	நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட மற்றும் மனித உரிமைகளுக்காக உழைக்கும் பெண்கள் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தனிமைக்குள்ளாக்கப்படல்						
28	மாற்றுத்திறனாளிகள் மற்றும் விஷேட தேவையுடையோருக்கு பொதுப் போக்குவரத்து சேவை மறுக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் மற்றும் அரசு சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாமற்போன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
29	இரண்டு இனங்களைச் சேர்ந்த தனிநபர்களிற்கிடையிலான முரண்பாடுகள் இரு இனங்களிற்கிடையிலான முரண்பாடுகளாக உருவெடுத்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்.						





30	தமிழர்களால் அல்லது முஸ்லிம்களால் பாரம்பரியமாக உரிமை கொண்டாடப்பட்ட நிலங்களில் அரச அனுசரணையுடன் அப்பிரதேசத்தின் இனப்பரம்பலை மாற்றியமைக்கும் விதமாக குடியேற்றங்கள் அமைக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
31	போரில் இழந்த உறவுகளின் ஞாபகார்த்தமாக நினைவுகூறல்களை நடாத்துவதில் தடைகள் ஏற்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
32	நீங்கள் வாழும் பிரதேசத்தில் புதிதாக யுத்த வெற்றிச்சின்னங்கள் நிர்மாணிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						
33	அரசியல் தொடர்புகள் இல்லாத சாதாரண மக்கள் அரசியலில் ஈடுபட முனைந்து அதில் தோல்வியடைந்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்						

3. கீழ்வரும் கூற்றுக்களை மிகக்கவனமாக வாசிக்கவும். கீழே குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ள பிரச்சினைகள் உங்களில் அல்லது உங்கள் சமூகத்தில் ஏற்படுத்திய தாக்கத்தை புரிந்துகொள்ள இந்தப் பகுதி முனைகிறது. இவற்றிற்கு பதிலளிக்கும் போது இப்பிரச்சினைகள் உங்களதும் உங்கள் சமூகத்தினதும் நாளாந்த வாழ்க்கையை சுமுகமாகக் கொண்டுவரவில் எவ்வளவு எதிர்மறையாக தாக்கம் செலுத்தியது என்பதைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டு பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் (✓) புள்ளியிடவும்.

		[1] கடுமையான தாக்கம்	[2] குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவு தாக்கம்	[3] மிதமான தாக்கம்	[4] மிகக் குறைந்தளவு தாக்கம்
1	இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களினால் முன்னாள் போராளிகள் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படல்				
2	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்கள் இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களால் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படல்				
3	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலிஸாரினால் பெண்கள் பாலியல் ரீதியாக தொந்தரவுக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
4	பொய்யான காரணங்களைக் காட்டி முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டவர்களது உறவினர்கள் கைதுசெய்யப்படல் அல்லது கைதுசெய்வதாக அச்சுருத்தல் செய்யப்படல்				
5	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்களது உடல் / உடைமைகளிற்கு சேதம் விளைவிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				



6	பொலிஸ் மற்றும் இராணுவத்தினரின் கெடுபிடிகளில் இருந்து பாதுகாப்பு பெறும் நோக்கத்துடன் இளம் வயதில் இளைஞர்/யுவதிகள் திருமணம் முடித்துக் கொடுக்கப்படல்				
7	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி போதைப்பொருள் பாவனை மற்றும் மதுபாவனைக்கு அடிமையாகிய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
8	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி தற்கொலை செய்ய முயற்சி செய்தல் / தற்கொலை செய்து கொள்ளல்				
9	வீட்டு வன்முறையால் பெண்கள் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகிய சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
10	முன்னாள் போராளிகள்/ தடுப்பில் இருந்து வெளியானவர்கள் சுதந்திரமாக நடமாட்டம் தடைப்படல் மற்றும் தொழில் வாய்ப்பைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் சிரமங்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
11	கல்வி, மருத்துவம் மற்றும் இதர சிவில் நடவடிக்கைகளில் இராணுவம் ஈடுபட்டுவதால் அசௌகரியங்களிற்கு உள்ளான சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
12	காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோர் அலுவலகத்தின் மீது உள்ள அதிருப்தி காரணமாக மக்கள் அதனை புறக்கணித்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
13	தொல்பொருள் முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த இடம் மற்றும் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட சரணாலயத்திற்குட்பட்ட பிரதேசம் என்னும் பெயர்களில் மக்களால் பாரம்பரியமாக உரிமை கொண்டாடப்பட்ட காணிகள் அபகரிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
14	அரசியல் கைதிகளாக தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளவர்கள் சித்திரவதைகளுக்குள்ளாக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம்				
15	குற்றமிழைத்தவர்கள் அரசு உத்தியோகத்தர்கள்/இராணுவ வீரர்களாக இருக்கும் பட்சத்தில் சட்டம் தன் கடமையை செய்யாது விட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
16	அரசு தரப்பினரால் சித்திரவதை மற்றும் அத்துமீறல்களுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்களின் உடல்நிலை, மனநிலை சம்பந்தமான உண்மைகள் மறுக்கப்பட்ட மற்றும் அதற்கான சான்றிதழ்கள் வழங்க மறுப்பு தெரிவிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
17	அரசியல் கைதிகள்/ முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / யுத்தத்தின் போது சொத்துக்களை இழந்தோர் சட்ட நிபுணர்களின் உதவியை நாடி அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாதுபோன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
18	பொருளாதார நிலைமை காரணமாக யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளிற்கு நீதியைப் வேண்டிச் செல்வதில் தடையேற்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
19	அரசு உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள உத்தியோகத்தர்களை நாடியவேளை குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர் என்றவகையில் பாரபட்சம் காட்டப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பம்				



20	கடந்த 12 மாதங்களில் அரசாங்க உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதில் மொழி சார்ந்த பிரச்சினையால் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளான சந்தர்ப்பம்				
21	பரிகாரங்களை (நஷ்டஈடுகளை) பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு அனுகியபோது பரிகாரசெயல்முறைகளில் ஏதேனும் சிக்கல்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
22	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலீஸாரினால் தொடர்ச்சியாக பின்தொடரப்படுவதனால் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் அல்லது தனிமைப்படுத்தப்படல்				
23	இராணுவத்தினர் விவசாயம், வியாபாரம் மற்றும் இதர தொழில்முயற்சியாண்மைகளில் ஈடுபடுவதால் வாழ்வாதாரம் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
24	புனர்வாழ்வளிப்பு முகாம்களில் இருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களின் உடல்நிலை மற்றும் மனநிலை கடுமையாக பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகி காணப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
25	நுண்கடன் திட்டங்களினால் கடன்சுமைக்கு ஆளாகி அதில் இருந்து வெளிவரமுடியாமல் போன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
26	முன்னாள் போராளிகள் அரச உதவிகள் மற்றும் அத்தியாவசிய சேவைகளை நாடி அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் தாமதம்/ சிரமங்களை எதிர்கொண்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
27	நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட மற்றும் மனித உரிமைகளுக்காக உழைக்கும் பெண்கள் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தனிமைக்குள்ளாக்கப்படல்				
28	மாற்றுத்திறனாளிகள் மற்றும் விஷேட தேவையுடையோருக்கு பொதுப் போக்குவரத்து சேவை மறுக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் மற்றும் அரச சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள முடியாமற்போன சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
29	இரண்டு இனங்களைச் சேர்ந்த தனிநபர்களிற்கிடையிலான முரண்பாடுகள் இரு இனங்களிற்கிடையிலான முரண்பாடுகளாக உருவெடுத்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்.				
30	தமிழர்களால் அல்லது முஸ்லிம்களால் பாரம்பரியமாக உரிமை கொண்டாடப்பட்ட நிலங்களில் அரச அனுசரனையுடன் அப்பிரதேசத்தின் இனப்பரம்பலை மாற்றியமைக்கும் விதமாக குடியேற்றங்கள் அமைக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
31	போரில் இழந்த உறவுகளின் ஞாபகார்த்தமாக நினைவுகூறல்களை நடாத்துவதில் தடைகள் ஏற்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
32	நீங்கள் வாழும் பிரதேசத்தில் புதிதாக யுத்த வெற்றிச்சின்னங்கள் நிர்மாணிக்கப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				
33	அரசியல் தொடர்புகள் இல்லாத சாதாரண மக்கள் அரசியலில் ஈடுபட முனைந்து அதில் தோல்வியடைந்த சந்தர்ப்பங்கள்				



4. பின்வரும் பிரச்சினைகளை கிட்டிய எதிர்காலத்தில் தீர்க்கப்படுவதற்கான சாத்தியப்பாடுகள் பற்றி என்ன கருதுகிறீர்கள்? பொருத்தமான கூட்டினுள் (✓) புள்ளடியிடவும்

Feasibility of change						
		முற்றிலும் இணங்கவில்லை	இணங்கவில்லை	நடுநிலை	இணங்குகிறேன்	முழுமையாக இணங்குகிறேன்
1	இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களினால் முன்னாள் போராளிகள் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்					
2	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்கள் இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களால் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்					
3	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலிசாரினால் பெண்கள் பாலியல் ரீதியாக தொந்தரவுக்குள்ளாக்கப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்					
4	பொய்யான காரணங்களைக் காட்டி முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டவர்களது உறவினர்கள் கைதுசெய்யப்படல் அல்லது கைதுசெய்வதாக அச்சுருத்தல் செய்யப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்					
5	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்களது உடல் / உடைமைகளிற்கு எவ்வகையான சேதங்களும் ஏற்படாது உத்தரவாதம் வழங்கப்படல்					
6	பொலிஸ் மற்றும் இராணுவத்தினரின் கெடுபிடிகளில் இருந்து பாதுகாப்பு பெறும் நோக்கத்துடன் இளம் வயதில் இளைஞர்/யுவதிகள் திருமணம் முடித்துக் கொடுக்கப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்					
7	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி போதைப்பொருள் பாவனை மற்றும் மதுபாவனைக்கு அடிமையாகும் சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் இதன் பிறகு ஏற்படாது முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்					
8	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி தற்கொலை செய்ய முயற்சி					



	செய்தல் / தற்கொலை செய்து கொள்ளும் நிகழ்வுகள் இதன் பிறகு ஏற்படாதவாறு முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
9	வீட்டு வன்முறையால் பெண்கள் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகும் சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
10	முன்னாள் போராளிகளது அல்லது தடுப்பில் இருந்து வெளியானவர்களது சுதந்திரமான நடமாட்டத்தில் உள்ள தடைகள் நீக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தொழில் வாய்ப்பைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள சிரமங்கள் அகற்றப்படல்				
11	கல்வி, மருத்துவம் மற்றும் இதர சிவில் நடவடிக்கைகளில் இராணுவத்தின் ஈடுபாடுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
12	காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோர் அலுவலகம் வலிந்து காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோரது பிரச்சினைக்கு ஒரு தீர்வை வழங்குதல்				
13	தொல்பொருள் முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த இடம் மற்றும் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட சரணாலயத்திற்குட்பட்ட பிரதேசம் என்னும் பெயர்களில் இடம்பெறும் காணி அபகரிப்புகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல் மற்றும் அபகரிக்கப்பட்ட காணிகள் விடுவிக்கப்படல்				
14	அரசியல் கைதிகளாக தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளவர்கள் சித்திரவதைகளுக்குள்ளாக்கப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
15	குற்றமிழைத்தவர்கள் அரசு உத்தியோகத்தர்கள்/இராணுவ வீரர்கள் என யாராக இருப்பினும் சட்டம் தன் கடமையை திரும்படசெய்தல்				
16	அரசு தரப்பினரால் சித்திரவதை மற்றும் அத்தமீறல்களுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்களின் உடல்நிலை/மனநிலை சம்பந்தமான உண்மைத் தரவுகள் வெளிப்படுத்தப்படல் மற்றும் அதற்கான சான்றிதழ்கள்களைப் பெறுவதில் உள்ள தடைகள் நீக்கப்படல்				
17	அரசியல் கைதிகள்/ முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / யுத்தத்தின் போது சொத்துக்களை இழந்தோரிற்கு சட்ட நிபுணர்களின் உதவிகள் தேவையேற்படும்போது அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள தடைகள் நீங்குதல்				
18	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளிற்கு நீதியைப் வேண்டிச்செல்வதில் காணப்படும் பொருளாதாரம் சார்ந்த தடைகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				



19	அரசாங்கம் அதன் சேவைகளை வழங்கும்போது காட்டப்படும் இனரீதியான பாகுபாடுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
20	அரசாங்க சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதில் காணப்படும் மொழி சார்ந்த பிரச்சினைகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
21	பரிகாரங்களை (நஷ்டஈடுகளை) பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு தகுதியானவர்கள் அதனைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள சிக்கல்கள் அனைத்தும் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
22	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலீஸாரினால் தொடர்ச்சியாக பின்தொடரப்படுவதனால் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் அல்லது தனிமைப்படுத்தப்படல் நிகழ்வுகள் இதன்பிறகு ஏற்படாதவாறு முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
23	விவசாயம், வியாபாரம் மற்றும் இதர தொழில்முயற்சியாண்மைகளில் காணப்படும் இராணுவத்தின் ஈடுபாடு முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
24	உடல்நிலை மற்றும் மனநிலை கடுமையாக பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகிய விதமாக புனர்வாழ்வளிப்பு முகாம்களில் இருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களிற்கு போதிய சிகிச்சை வழங்கப்படல் மற்றும் அதற்கான காரணங்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்படல்				
25	நுண்கடன் திட்டங்களினால் கடன்சுமைக்கு ஆளாகியவர்கள் அதில் இருந்து வெளிவருதல்				
26	அரசு உதவிகள் மற்றும் அத்தியாவசிய சேவைகளை முன்னாள் போராளிகள் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் காணப்படும் தாமதம்/ சிரமங்கள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
27	நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட மற்றும் மனித உரிமைகளுக்காக உழைக்கும் பெண்கள் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தனிமைக்குள்ளாக்கப்படல் போன்ற நிகழ்வுகள் இல்லாமலாக்கப்படல்				
28	மாற்றுத்திறனாளிகள் மற்றும் விஷேட தேவையுடையோருக்கு பொதுப் போக்குவரத்து சேவை மற்றும் அரசு சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள விஷேட ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்யப்படல்				
29	தனிநபர்களிற்கிடையிலான பிரச்சினைகள் இரு இனங்களிற்கிடையிலான பிரச்சினைகளாக உருமாறும் சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் நிகழாது இருத்தல்				
30	அரசு அனுசரனையுடன் அப்பிரதேசத்தின் இனப்பரம்பலை மாற்றியமைக்கும் விதமாக குடியேற்றங்கள் அமைக்கும் நிகழ்வுகள் இடம்பெறாது முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				





31	போரில் இழந்த உறவுகளின் ஞாபகார்த்தமாக நினைவுகூறல்களை நடாத்துவதில் காணப்படும் தடைகள் முற்றாக நீக்கப்படல்				
32	யுத்த வெற்றிக் கொண்டாட்டம் மற்றும் யுத்த வெற்றியைக் கொண்டாடும் நினைவுச்சின்னங்கள் நிர்மாணித்தல் என்பன முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்				
33	அரசியல் தொடர்புகள் இல்லாத சாதாரண மக்கள் அரசியலில் ஈடுபடுவதில் உள்ள தடைகள் முற்றாக நீக்கப்படல்				

5. இப்பகுதி யுத்தத்தால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களது வாழ்க்கையை இயல்புநிலைக்கு கொண்டுவருவதற்கு நிலைமாற்றுகால நீதிக்கட்டமைப்பு எவ்வகையான பிரச்சினைகளைத் தீர்க்க முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கவேண்டும் என்பதைப் புரிந்துகொள்ள முனைகிறது.

அதிகூடிய முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்று 1 எனவும் குறைந்தளவு முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்று 9 எனவும் 1,2,3,.....,9 என தரவரிசைப்படுத்தவும்.

		1 தொடக்கம் 9 வரை
1	இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களினால் முன்னாள் போராளிகள் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
2	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்கள் இராணுவத்தினால் / பொலிஸாரினால் / அடையாளம் தெரியாத நபர்களால் தொடர்ந்து பின்தொடரப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
3	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலிஸாரினால் பெண்கள் பாலியல் ரீதியாக தொந்தரவுக்குள்ளாக்கப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
4	பொய்யான காரணங்களைக் காட்டி முன்னாள் போராளிகள் / காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டவர்களது உறவினர்கள் கைதுசெய்யப்படல் அல்லது கைதுசெய்வதாக அச்சுருத்தல் செய்யப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
5	சமூகத்தில் நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட அல்லது மனித உரிமைக்காக போராடுபவர்களது உடல் / உடைமைகளிற்கு எவ்வகையான சேதங்களும் ஏற்படாது உத்தரவாதம் வழங்கப்படல்	
6	பொலிஸ் மற்றும் இராணுவத்தினரின் கெடுபிடிகளில் இருந்து பாதுகாப்பு பெறும் நோக்கத்துடன் இளம் வயதில் இளைஞர்/யுவதிகள் திருமணம் முடித்துக் கொடுக்கப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
7	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி போதைப்பொருள் பாவனை மற்றும் மதுபாவனைக்கு அடிமையாகும் சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் இதன் பிறகு ஏற்படாது முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
8	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளின் காரணமாக மனஉளைச்சலிற்குள்ளாகி தற்கொலை செய்ய முயற்சி செய்தல் / தற்கொலை செய்து கொள்ளும் நிகழ்வுகள் இதன் பிறகு ஏற்படாதவாறு முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
9	வீட்டு வன்முறையால் பெண்கள் பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகும் சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	



அதிகூடிய முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்கு 1 எனவும் குறைந்தளவு முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்கு 12 எனவும் 1,2,3,.....,12 என தரவரிசைப்படுத்தவும்.

1	முன்னாள் போராளிகளது அல்லது தடுப்பில் இருந்து வெளியானவர்களது சுதந்திரமான நடமாட்டத்தில் உள்ள தடைகள் நீக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தொழில் வாய்ப்பைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள சிரமங்கள் அகற்றப்படல்	
2	கல்வி, மருத்துவம் மற்றும் இதர சிவில் நடவடிக்கைகளில் இராணுவத்தின் ஈடுபாடுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
3	காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோர் அலுவலகம் காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்டோரது பிரச்சினைக்கு ஒரு தீர்வை வழங்குதல்	
4	தொல்பொருள் முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த இடம் மற்றும் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட சரணாலயத்திற்குட்பட்ட பிரதேசம் என்னும் பெயர்களில் இடம்பெறும் காணி அபகரிப்புகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல் மற்றும் அபகரிக்கப்பட்ட காணிகள் விடுவிக்கப்படல்	
5	அரசியல் கைதிகளாக தடுத்து வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளவர்கள் சித்திரவதைகளுக்குள்ளாக்கப்படும் நிகழ்வுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
6	குற்றமிழைத்தவர்கள் அரசு உத்தியோகத்தர்கள்/இராணுவ வீரர்கள் என யாராக இருப்பினும் சட்டம் தன் கடமையை திரும்படசெய்தல்	
7	அரசு தரப்பினரால் சித்திரவதை மற்றும் அத்துமீறல்களுக்கு உட்பட்டவர்களின் உடல்நிலை/மனநிலை சம்பந்தமான உண்மைத் தரவுகள் வெளிப்படுத்தப்படல் மற்றும் அதற்கான சான்றிதழ்கள்களைப் பெறுவதில் உள்ள தடைகள் நீக்கப்படல்	
8	அரசியல் கைதிகள்/ முன்னாள் போராளிகள்/ யுத்தத்தின் போது சொத்துக்களை இழந்தோரிற்கு சட்ட நிபுணர்களின் உதவிகள் தேவையேற்படும்போது அதைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள தடைகள் நீங்குதல்	
9	யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளிற்கு நீதியைப் வேண்டிச்செல்வதில் காணப்படும் பொருளாதாரம் சார்ந்த தடைகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
10	அரசாங்கம் அதன் சேவைகளை வழங்கும்போது காட்டப்படும் இனரீதியான பாகுபாடுகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
11	அரசாங்க சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக் கொள்வதில் காணப்படும் மொழி சார்ந்த பிரச்சினைகள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
12	பரிகாரங்களை (நஷ்டஈடுகளை) பெற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு தகுதியானவர்கள் அதனைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள சிக்கல்கள் அனைத்தும் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	

அதிகூடிய முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்கு 1 எனவும் குறைந்தளவு முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்கு 7 எனவும் 1,2,3,.....,7 என தரவரிசைப்படுத்தவும்.

1	இராணுவம் மற்றும் பொலீஸாரினால் தொடர்ச்சியாக பின்தொடரப்படுவதனால் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் அல்லது தனிமைப்படுத்தப்படல் நிகழ்வுகள் இதன்பிற்கு ஏற்படாதவாறு முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
2	விவசாயம், வியாபாரம் மற்றும் இதர தொழில்முயற்சியாண்மைகளில் காணப்படும் இராணுவத்தின் ஈடுபாடு முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	



3	உடல்நிலை மற்றும் மனநிலை கடுமையாக பாதிப்புக்குள்ளாகிய விதமாக புனர்வாழ்வளிப்பு முகாம்களில் இருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களிற்கு போதிய சிகிச்சை வழங்கப்படல் மற்றும் அதற்கான காரணங்கள் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்படல்	
4	நுண்கடன் திட்டங்களினால் கடன்சுமைக்கு ஆளாகியவர்கள் அதில் இருந்து வெளிவருதல்	
5	அரசு உதவிகள் மற்றும் அத்தியாவசிய சேவைகளை முன்னாள் போராளிகள் பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் காணப்படும் தாமதம்/ சிரமங்கள் முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
6	நீதியை நிலைநாட்ட மற்றும் மனித உரிமைகளுக்காக உழைக்கும் பெண்கள் சமூகத்தில் இருந்து ஒதுக்கப்படல் மற்றும் தனிமைக்குள்ளாக்கப்படல் போன்ற நிகழ்வுகள் இல்லாமலாக்கப்படல்	
7	மாற்றுத்திறனாளிகள் மற்றும் விவேக தேவையுடையோருக்கு பொதுப் போக்குவரத்து சேவை மற்றும் அரசு சேவைகளைப் பெற்றுக்கொள்ள விவேக ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்யப்படல்	

அதிகூடிய முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்கு 1 எனவும் குறைந்தளவு முன்னுரிமை கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சினையிற்கு 5 எனவும் 1,2,3,....,5 என தரவரிசைப்படுத்தவும்.

1	தனிநபர்களிற்கிடையிலான பிரச்சினைகள் இரு இனங்களிற்கிடையிலான பிரச்சினைகளாக உருமாறும் சந்தர்ப்பங்கள் நிகழாது இருத்தல்	
2	அரசு அனுசரனையுடன் அப்பிரதேசத்தின் இனப்பரம்பலை மாற்றியமைக்கும் விதமாக குடியேற்றங்கள் அமைக்கும் நிகழ்வுகள் இடம்பெறாது முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
3	போரில் இழந்த உறவுகளின் ஞாபகார்த்தமாக நினைவுகூறல்களை நடாத்துவதில் காணப்படும் தடைகள் முற்றாக நீக்கப்படல்	
4	யுத்த வெற்றிக் கொண்டாட்டம் மற்றும் யுத்த வெற்றியைக் கொண்டாடும் நினைவுச்சின்னங்கள் நிர்மாணித்தல் என்பன முடிவுக்கு கொண்டுவரப்படல்	
5	அரசியல் தொடர்புகள் இல்லாத சாதாரண மக்கள் அரசியலில் ஈடுபடுவதில் உள்ள தடைகள் முற்றாக நீக்கப்படல்	

### Annex 3: Heat Maps (Full)

#### Overall Vulnerability Heat-Map, Northern Province

	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons	1
Instances during the past 12 months where the war affected victims got addicted to drugs or alcohol due to depression from being affected by war	2
Instances during the past 12 month where people released from the rehabilitation camps perceiving a significant decline in health and well-being.	3
Instances during the past 12 months where freedom of movement of ex-cadres/released detainees were obstructed or instances where they found it difficult to seek employment	4
Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons with disabilities.	5
Instances during the past 12 months where people were affected by the military's involvement in livelihood activities such as agriculture, businesses or enterprises.	6
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in accessing government services due to language disparity	7
Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence	8
Instances during the past 12 months where those affected by war attempted to kill by suicide/killed by suicide as a result of depression	9
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons	10
Instances during the past 12 months where people trapped into micro finance schemes and struggling to come out of the debt trap.	11
Instances during the last 12 months where ex-cadres faced delays / difficulties in obtaining government and other services.	12
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in memorializing their loved one	13
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres/relatives of missing persons were arrested or threatened to be arrested on false charges	14
Instances during the past 12 months where women involved in advocacy or justice efforts were socially isolated or marginalized.	15
Instances during the past 12 months where government sponsored resettlements programs were carried out in lands that are traditionally owned by Tamils or Muslims in order to change the existing ethnic demography.	16
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with challenges in seeking justice for the losses they incurred during war due to the economic burden	17
Instances during the past 12 months where those detained as political prisoners were tortured	18
Instances during the past 12 months where medical certificates pertaining to true physical and mental health status of those who have experienced torture and excesses were denied by government officials	19
Instances during the past 12 months where lands that traditionally owned by the public were acquired/occupied on the basis of sites with archeological importance or areas within protected sanctuaries	20

Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties to in accessing to reparations	21
Instances during the past 12 months where people were isolated/marginalized from the society due to continuous surveillance by the military or police.	22
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort were followed continuously by military/police/unidentified persons	23
Instances during the past 12 months where political prisoners/ex-cadres/ persons who lost their assets during the war/ families of missing persons approached for legal assistance and failed to receive such assistance	24
Instances during the past 12 months where people affected by militarisation extending to civil spaces such as education, health etc.	25
Instances during the past 12 months where approached a government officer to for a government welfare service and the service was denied particularly for being a member of an ethnic community	26
Instances during the past 12 months where conflict between two individuals from different ethnic community turned into conflicts between two different ethnic community	27
Instances during the past 12 months where justice did not do its duty to punish offenders when they were identified as public servants/ military personnel	28
Instances during the past 12 months where ordinary people faced with challenges/difficulties in engaging in politics.	29
Instances during the past 12 months where women were sexually harassed by members of the military or police	30
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort met by retribution to person and/or property	31
Instances during the past 12 months where under aged youths were hastily married to avoid being harassed by police or military	32
Instances during the past 12 months where war victory monuments were built in the area you live.	33

**Overall Vulnerability Heat-Map, Eastern Province**

Question	Rank
Instances during the past 12 months where people trapped into micro finance schemes and struggling to come out of the debt trap.	1
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in accessing government services due to language disparity	2
Instances during the past 12 months where public transport services or other essential government services were denied for persons with disabilities.	3
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres were continuously followed by military/police/unidentified persons	4
Instances during the last 12 months where ex-cadres faced delays / difficulties in obtaining government and other services.	5
Instances during the past 12 months when the public expressed dissatisfaction and boycotted the Office on Missing Persons	6
Instances during the past 12 months where conflict between two individuals from different ethnic community turned into conflicts between two different ethnic community	7
Instances during the past 12 months where women were affected by domestic violence	8
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with challenges in seeking justice for the losses they incurred during war due to the economic burden	9
Instances during the past 12 months where ordinary people faced with challenges/difficulties in engaging in politics.	10
Instances during the past 12 months where political prisoners/ex-cadres/ persons who lost their assets during the war/ families of missing persons approached for legal assistance and failed to receive such assistance	11
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort were followed continuously by military/police/unidentified persons	12
Instances during the past 12 months where freedom of movement of ex-cadres/released detainees were obstructed or instances where they found it difficult to seek employment	13
Instances during the past 12 months where government sponsored resettlements programs were carried out in lands that are traditionally owned by Tamils or Muslims in order to change the existing ethnic demography.	14
Instances during the past 12 months where lands that traditionally owned by the public were acquired/occupied on the basis of sites with archeological importance or areas within protected sanctuaries	15
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties to in accessing to reparations	16
Instances during the past 12 months where people faced with difficulties in memorializing their loved one	17
Instances during the past 12 months where approached a government officer to for a government welfare service and the service was denied particularly for being a member of an ethnic community	18
Instances during the past 12 months where the war affected victims got addicted to drugs or alcohol due to depression from being affected by war	19
Instances during the past 12 months where people were isolated/marginalized from the society due to continuous surveillance by the military or police.	20
Instances during the past 12 months where medical certificates pertaining to true physical and mental health status of those who have experienced torture and excesses were denied by government officials	21



Instances during the past 12 months where those affected by war attempted to kill by suicide/killed by suicide as a result of depression	22
Instances during the past 12 month where people released from the rehabilitation camps perceiving a significant decline in health and well-being.	23
Instances during the past 12 months where under aged youths were hastily married to avoid being harassed by police or military	24
Instances during the past 12 months where war victory monuments were built in the area you live.	25
Instances during the past 12 months where those detained as political prisoners were tortured	26
Instances during the past 12 months where ex-cadres/relatives of missing persons were arrested or threatened to be arrested on false charges	27
Instances during the past 12 months where justice did not do its duty to punish offenders when they were identified as public servants/ military personnel	28
Instances during the past 12 months where women involved in advocacy or justice efforts were socially isolated or marginalized.	29
Instances during the past 12 months where people were affected by the military's involvement in livelihood activities such as agriculture, businesses or enterprises.	30
Instances during the past 12 months where persons involved with advocacy/justice effort met by retribution to person and/or property	31
Instances during the past 12 months where people affected by militarisation extending to civil spaces such as education, health etc.	32
Instances during the past 12 months where women were sexually harassed by members of the military or police	33

## Annex 4: Focus Group Discussion Guide

### Pilot Project: Community Based Monitoring for Transitional Justice

#### Tracking Workshop 01: Northern Province- Facilitated Discussion by CHR *Draft Discussion Guide* 13<sup>th</sup> February 2019

#### CONTEXT

The objective of this community based monitoring pilot is to elicit the qualitative perspectives of the victims of human rights abuses on the progress and performance of the Government of Sri Lanka in the implementation of effective transitional justice measures; to communicate these views to key stakeholders including the Government and to feedback to the victims themselves the responses and planned actions to address the community's feedback.

The Focus Group Discussions will attempt to gauge and record how the victims of past violations and abuses are perceiving and responding to the ways in which their rights' violations, loss, pain, grievances as well as the root causes of conflict are now being addressed.

#### PRIMARY FOCUS AREAS

##### 1. Safety and Security

- a. Surveillance\*
- b. Substance abuse
- c. Domestic Violence
- d. Suicide
- e. Wrongful arrests
- f. Harassment of women by military or police
- g. Damage to persons/property due to advocacy/human rights related efforts
- h. Coerced Underage marriage

##### 2. Justice, Truth and Reparation

- a. Mobility of ex-cadres and former political detainees
- b. Dissatisfaction with the Office of Missing Persons
- c. Language Parity in accessing government services
- d. Inhumane treatment of political prisoners
- e. Challenges in accessing transitional justice due to economic constraints
- f. Challenges in accessing information and documentation regarding the physical and psychological wellbeing of persons taken into custody/rehabilitation
- g. Lack of success in attempts by ex-cadres, political prisoners and/or those incurring losses during the war to access legal aid
- h. Challenges accessing reparations
- i. Ethnicity-based biases when accessing government services
- j. Recent occupations of land by the government/military
- k. Deliberate impunity for government/military officials
- l. Discomfort due to military involvement in civilian services (hospital, schools, etc)

##### 3. Dignity, Agency and Empowerment

- a. Poor physical and psychological conditions of those released from government custody

- b. **Inadequate provisions for persons with special needs to access to public services**
  - c. *Economic impacts due to military participation in commercial activities*
  - d. *Microfinance and over-indebtedness*
  - e. *Delays/challenges for ex-cadres in accessing essential/government successes*
  - f. *Social exclusion or isolation of women working for justice and/or human rights*
  - g. *Social exclusion or isolation due to continued surveillance by the military or police*
4. **Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence**
- a. **Memorialisation**
  - b. *Demographic change via government sponsored settlement and/or construction in traditionally Tamil or Muslim geographies*
  - c. *Perception of a conflict between two individuals as being an ethnic conflict*
  - d. *Challenges of civil society in participating in political processes*
  - e. *Recent constructions of military victory monuments*

### PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. Occurrence: How important is the occurrence of this issue within the larger perception of transition justice? How closely do quantitative rankings of perceived prevalence match with narratives of occurrence?  
*Sample questions: What is the nature of the said condition as it relates to you? As it relates to your immediate community? As it relates to your extended community? Has this evolved in the last 12 months, and if so why?*
2. Impact: What is the weight of this issue on the perception of transitional justice and why?  
*Sample questions: How does this affect your: daily activities and behaviour; social interactions, including social standing, acceptance, integration with community, etc; economic prospects including short- and long-term security, space for growth, ability and willingness to invest in one's future, etc; psychological well-being. How and why does this issue have greater (or lesser) impacts than others? What are indirect and indirect effects?*
3. Feasibility of change: What is the level of confidence in an eventual restoration of the desired justice?  
*Sample questions: What is a suitable solution, how likely is its prospect, and why? How much confidence do you have in an eventual provision of adequate solutions and why? What mechanisms currently exist for recourse/redress, and how frequent and successful have been your attempts to access them? Who currently holds power in solutions in this regard?*
4. Desirability of change: What recourse most signifies the provision of justice? What issues are considered paramount in delivering justice and a transition to peace?  
*Sample questions: Which issues should be prioritised in the transitional justice process (and how/why does that differ from the weight given in the Impact and Feasibility of Change sections)? Why does a change in this parameter matter more than changes in others? What are the underlying foundational issues that drive these prioritisations? (Optional: explore individual examples of congruence or incongruence with aggregate rankings).*
5. Recommendations: What solutions do participants regard as preferable progress toward the provision of transitional justice?

Sample questions: *What strategies would you deem most effective in realising desirable change and why? What recommendations would you have for short- and long-term solutions? What foundations of these recommendations differ from existing institutions, mechanisms and/or approaches, and why? Why do you feel these do not yet exist? What changes in the current environment would make existing mechanisms more effective? Why do you feel these are not currently utilised? Which specific parties do you feel should be responsible for the particular recommendations you propose?*

## **ADDENDUM 01: Sample questions, issue-specific**

### **1. Safety and Security**

#### **a. Prevalence + Frequency**

- i. Surveillance, nature: What forms of surveillance have been observed?
- ii. Surveillance, structural differences: Is the surveillance predictably different for different demographics, based on age or gender or vocation or other?
- iii. Surveillance, extended network: Where occurrence is observed for those outside the participants' immediate network, is the information anecdotal or first hand?
- iv. Surveillance and forced marriage: could we provide examples on the circumstances surrounding these marriages, and how they were brought about.
- v. Substance abuse and suicide: what war-related factors have led to the occurrence of these, and what gaps in the post-war recovery and rebuilding process have contributed to these.
- vi. Domestic violence, causes: what are main drivers of domestic violence (if these are transparent)?

#### **b. Impact:**

- vii. Degrees of impact: Are particular forms of surveillance more acceptable or manageable than others?
- viii. What is the impact of underage marriage on individuals/society?
- ix. What is the impact of alcohol + drug use on individuals/society?
- x. How do these issues affect the climate of safety and security in their communities?

#### **c. Feasibility of Change**

- xi. What are the reasons that make you feel that surveillance may not reduce or be resolved in the near future?
- xii. What recent developments make you confident that change is likely in the near future for other scenarios?
- xiii. Recourse- availability: What recourse is there, if any, in those situations where the degree/impact of occurrence is inappropriate or too far reaching?
- xiv. Recourse- experience: What strategies, have any, have those affected (or their kin) deployed thus far, if any? What have been the outcomes?
- xv. Responsibility: On whom do participants feel the onus falls on to reform or address each specific issue/gap (local government, local informal leadership, justice system, military/police hierarchy itself, CSOs, etc). What have been efforts so far, and what have been their outcomes?

#### **d. Recommendations:**

What solutions would you want for the long term? How do you envision realising this? What mechanisms and/or policies are needed? Discuss per issue in depth.

## 2. Justice, Truth and Reparation

### a. Prevalence + Frequency

- i. In what types of scenarios (explore specific examples) did ex-cadres and/or political prisoners or other victims find it difficult to access legal aid/support? What were the reasons behind this?
- ii. What were the instances where participants were unable to seek justice/recourse due to economic constraints?
- iii. In what scenarios is the lack of language options observed? Are certain processes or offices more lacking (health, legal services, municipal services, education, business registration, employment, police)?
- iv. Impunity of government officials and miscarriages of justice: what are some examples? Is this more prevalent in certain demographic/sub-groups?
- v. What are the primary issues faced when accessing reparations?

### b. Impact

- i. Do issues with justice and impunity have an impact on your perception of law and order? Do they also affect your willingness or interest to access formal structures of rule of law?
- ii. What impact has inadequate reparations had on your life?

### c. Feasibility of Change

- i. What recent development make you confident that events will change in the near future?
- ii. What formal or informal mechanism exist for addresses issues of justice (rule of law, impunity, etc), and how successful have they been for you?
- iii. What is the difference in access/effectiveness of international vs. local mechanisms for recourse? What factors affect access and their effectiveness?
- iv. Recourse- availability: What recourse is there, if any, in those situations where the degree/impact of occurrence is inappropriate or too far reaching?
- v. Recourse- experience: What strategies, have any, have those affected (or their kin) deployed thus far, if any? What have been the outcomes?
- vi. Responsibility: On whom do participants feel the onus falls on to reform or address each specific issue/gap (local government, local informal leadership, justice system, military/police hierarchy itself, CSOs, etc). What have been efforts so far, and what have been their outcomes?

### d. Recommendations:

What solutions would you want for the long term? How do you envision realising this? What mechanisms and/or policies are needed? Discuss per issue in depth.

## 3. Dignity, Agency and Empowerment

### a. Prevalence + Frequency

- i. What are some examples of instances where declining health and wellbeing in persons recently relieved from rehabilitation camps?
- ii. What are the main drivers of indebtedness? E.g. livelihoods? Investments? Issues of financial literacy, etc.

- iii. What are some examples of delays faced by ex-combatants when accessing govt services?
- iv. What are the primary areas where the military's activities have a direct impact on your livelihood activities?
- v. What are your primary reasons for boycotting the OMP? Discuss specific drivers vis-à-vis the desire to have accountable and just processes?
- vi. What are the instances of land acquisition on the basis of their being archaeological sites or conservation areas in the last 12 months? What was the process of this acquisitions and were participants directly displaced or effected? If yes for the latter, how so? (IMPACT)

b. Impact

- i. What is the impact on indebtedness on you short- and long-term future?
- ii. What is the impact on people with disabilities? What are some good success stories?
- iii. In what ways does military involvement in livelihood activities impact your economic prospects, and the decisions you and your family make regarding your economic development and well-being (including incentives)
- iv. What have been the impacts of boycotting the OMP? Have there been alternative mechanisms or discourse that brings the victim closer to justice?

c. Feasibility of Change

- i. What recent development make you confident that events will change in the near future?
- ii. What programs or training or other is available to address the issue of indebtedness, and have these proven effective?
- iii. Is there psychosocial support for ex-combatants or political/social activists who feel marginalised or excluded?
- iv. Is there more acceptance for women's involvement in advocacy or justice events?
- v. What space is there to access economic spheres that currently have military presence? What resources/capacity/actions would be required to provide an individual the capacity to achieve this?
- vi. Recourse- availability: What recourse is there, if any, in those situations where the degree/impact of occurrence is inappropriate or too far reaching?
- vii. Recourse- experience: What strategies, have any, have those affected (or their kin) deployed thus far, if any? What have been the outcomes?
- viii. Responsibility: On whom do participants feel the onus falls on to reform or address each specific issue/gap (local government, local informal leadership, justice system, military/police hierarchy itself, CSOs, etc). What have been efforts so far, and what have been their outcomes?

d. Recommendations:

What solutions would you want for the long term? How do you envision realising this? What mechanisms and/or policies are needed? Discuss per issue in depth.

4. **Peaceful Coexistence, Redress of Grievances and Non-recurrence**

a. Prevalence + Frequency

- i. What constitutes an increase in tensions? What are the reasons?
- ii. What are examples for changing demographics?



- iii. What are the obstacles faced in participating in political processes?
  - iv. In what situations did inter-personal issues escalate into inter-ethnicity issues, and what were the catalysts?
  - v. What are specific instances where memorialisation practices were curtailed or discouraged? What were the specific influences, and why were they difficult to overcome?
- b. Impact
- i. What is the short- and long-term impact of these increasing ethnic tensions?
  - ii. What impact does non-memorialisation have on the effected parties (you)?
  - iii. Recent political scenario: what has been impact on transitional justice?
- c. Feasibility of Change
- i. What are suitable avenues to voice concern re. issues that create racial tensions? What have been the outcomes of using these?
  - ii. Recent political scenario: did this positively or negatively change confidence in the feasibility of change?
  - iii. Recourse- availability: What recourse is there, if any, in those situations where the degree/impact of occurrence is inappropriate or too far reaching?
  - iv. Recourse- experience: What strategies, have any, have those affected (or their kin) deployed thus far, if any? What have been the outcomes?
  - v. Responsibility: On whom do participants feel the onus falls on to reform or address each specific issue/gap (local government, local informal leadership, justice system, military/police hierarchy itself, CSOs, etc). What have been efforts so far, and what have been their outcomes?
- d. Recommendations:  
What solutions would you want for the long term? How do you envision realising this? What mechanisms and/or policies are needed? Discuss per issue in depth.