

GEOGRAPHIES OF CONFLICT:

Towards liberation, self-determination and spatial justice in
Sri Lanka's North-East

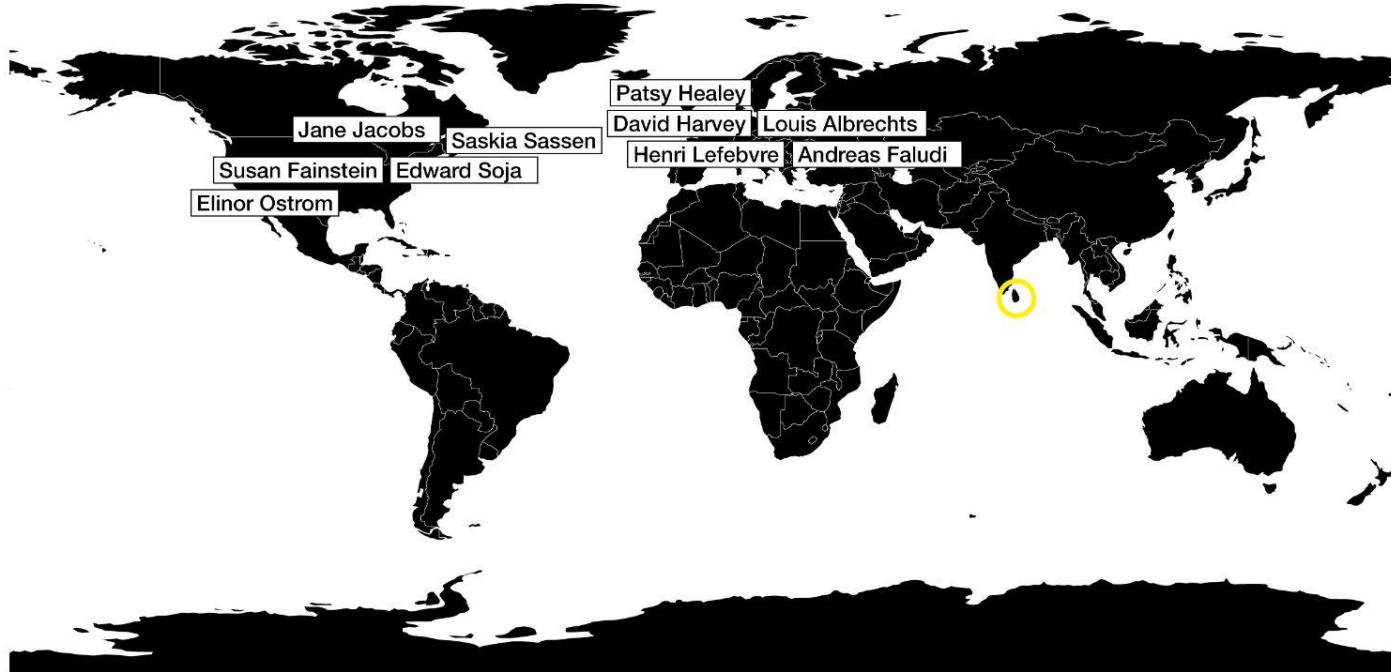
P5 Presentation
Graduation Project

Johnathan Subendran
5031923

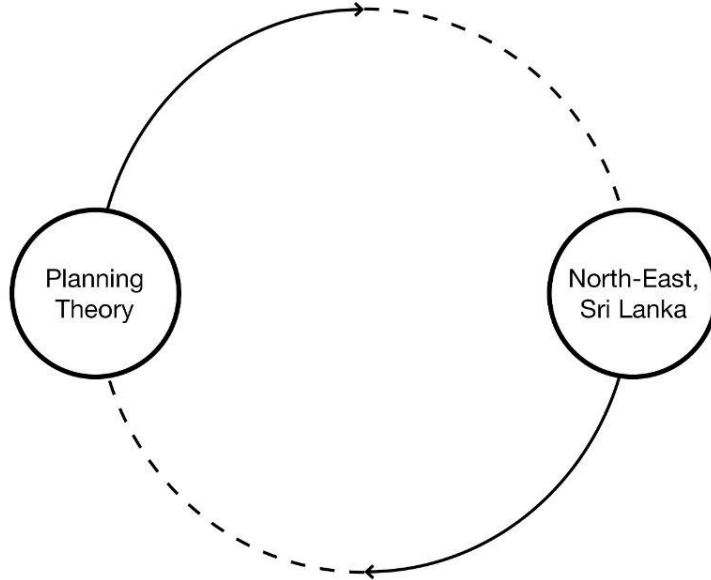
1st Mentor: Caroline Newton
2nd Mentor: Diego Sepulveda Carmona

1. Introduction
2. Outcomes
3. Conclusions

How do we engage in conditions of conflict?



Universalization Western spatial justice and planning theory in geographies of conflict



Spatial and systemic repression of the economic, social, political, cultural and territorial prosperity of Tamil people in the North-East of Sri Lanka

How can spatial planning unlock conditions to promote a spatially-just, contextualized and sustainable transition toward self-determination of Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka?

**ON
NORTH**

SRI



**LANKA'S
-EAST**

Fig. 10 Author: Locating Sri Lanka

World Map

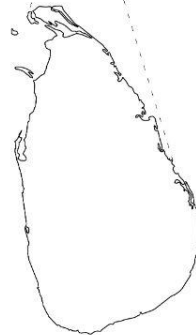


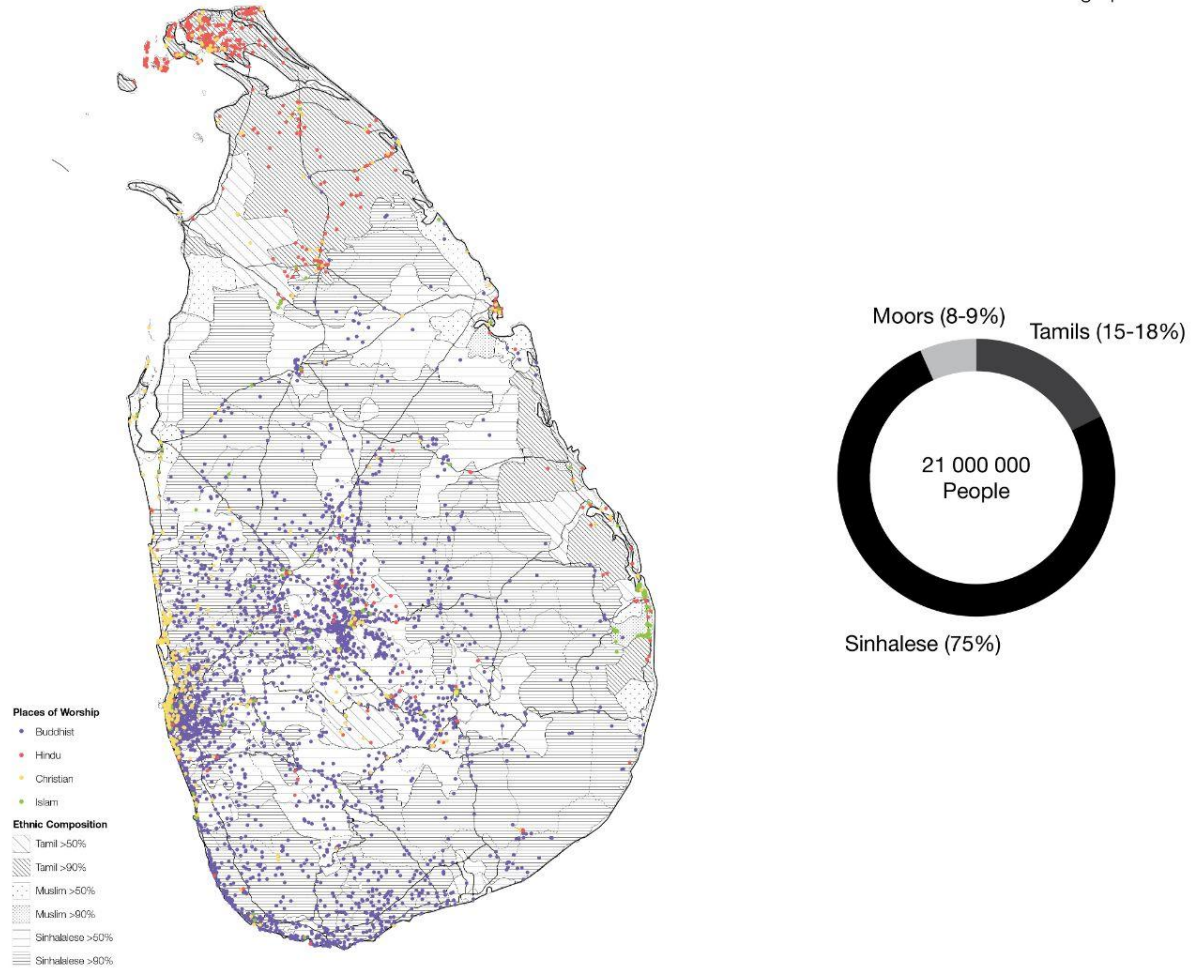
South Asia

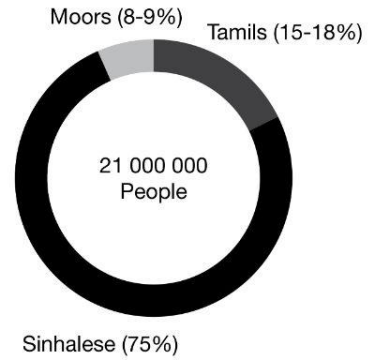
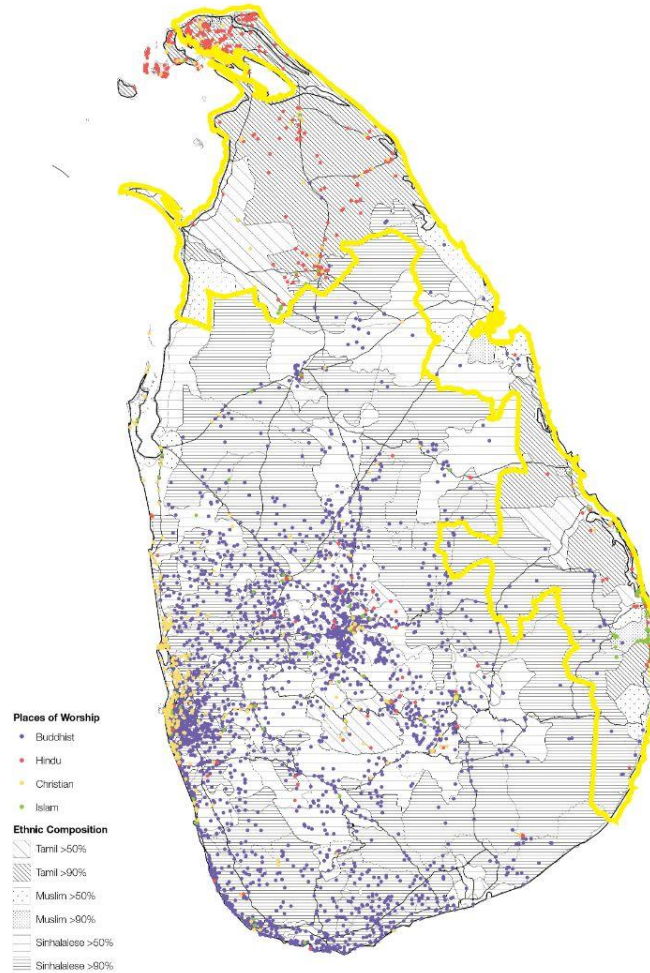


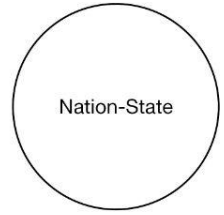
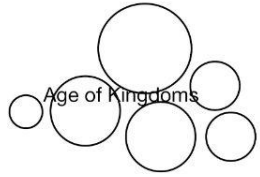
Sri Lanka

Population: 21.67 Mln
Area: 65, 610 km²
Density: 327/km²
Capital: Colombo
Independence: 1948









Precolonial Rule of Territory



1505 Portuguese Colonial Rule



1658 Dutch Colonial Rule



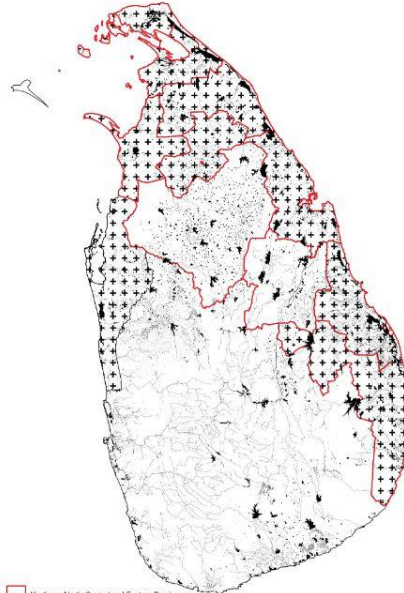
1815 British Colonial Rule



Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

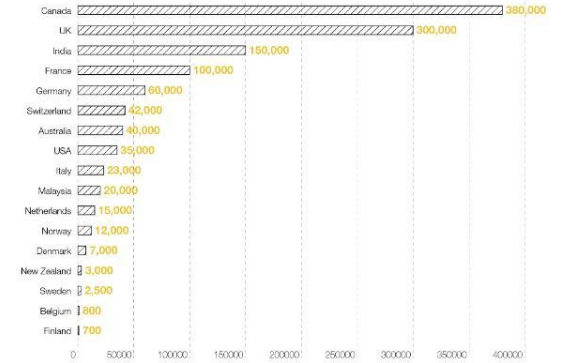


Sri Lankan State and Military

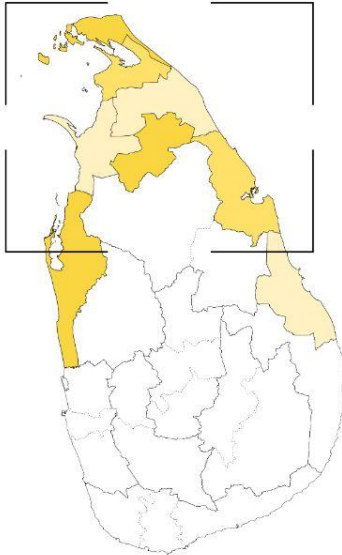


Northern, North-Central and Eastern Provinces
 Independent State of Tamil Eelam

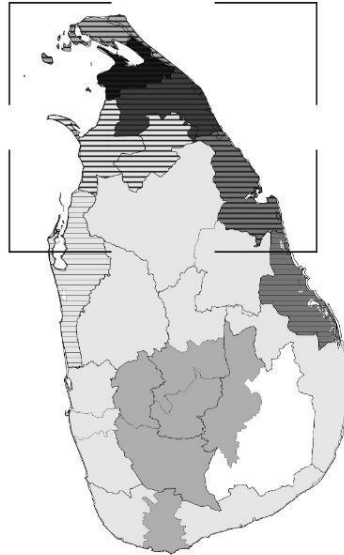
External Displacement of Sri Lankan Tamils during Armed-Conflict



Internally Displaced Peoples as of 2015



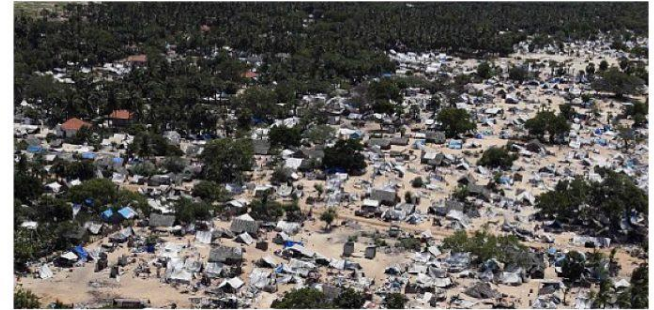
Contested War Affected Regions of Sri Lanka (Hatch) and Spatial Distribution of Poverty (Grey)



Tamil Guardian: Villagers seeking release of their land after 28 years of occupation by State military.



Ruined land as thousands displaced after war



Over 300 000 displaced persons mainly in war-torn North-East





" The **Tamil homeland** is one of the **most heavily-militarized regions in the world**. Sri Lanka has one of the largest militaries in the world relative to population, with the **vast majority concentrated in the North-East of the island**" - PEARL

Militarization by the Numbers

1 : 3

Ratio of Soldiers to Civilians in Vavuniya

16/19

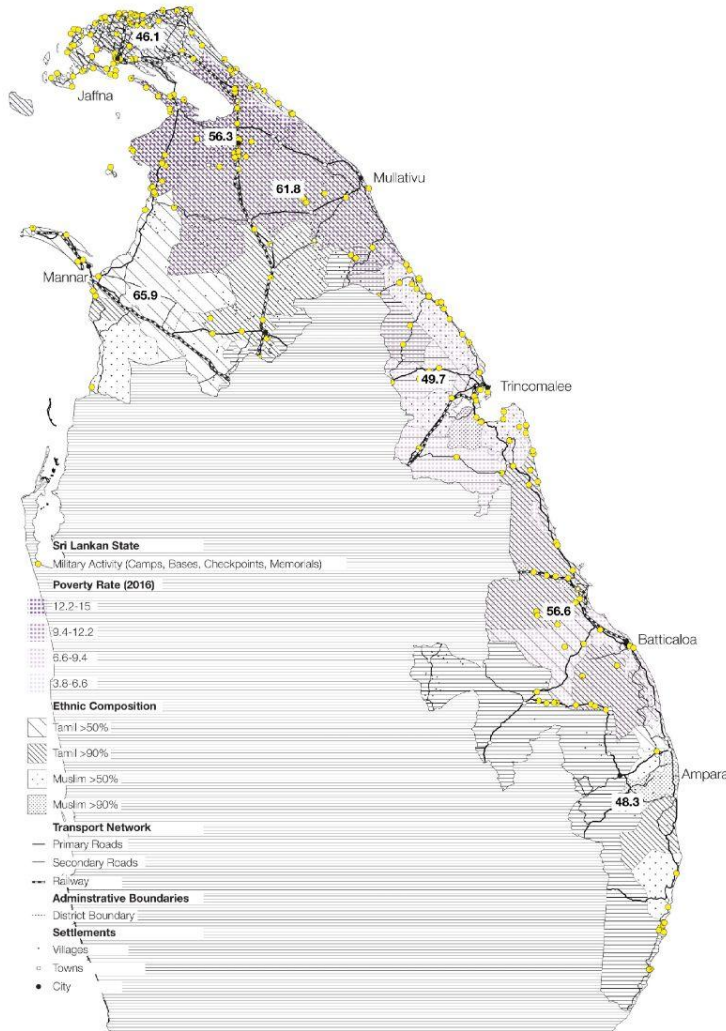
Division of the Sri Lankan Army are station in the Northern Province

2009 **200,000**

2012 **300,000**

2015 **400,000**

Numbers within the Sri Lankan military after the end of the armed conflict in 2009



"There is no justice ... there is no trust in the judiciary system because people don't feel served" - Journalist from Mullaitivu

Tamil Guardian: December 2020 - The IDMC had announced around 70,000 people have been affected by the Cyclone Burevi, Jaffna District

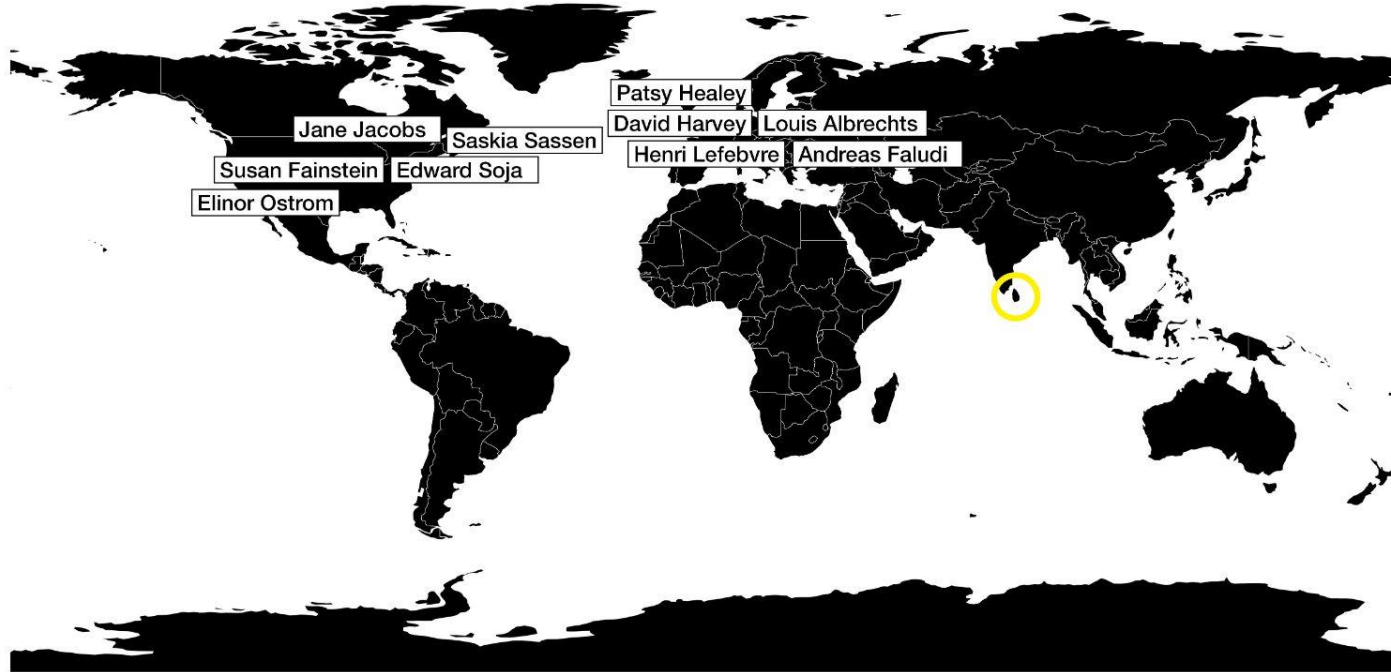


Washington Post: Woman sits in her vacant home belonging to her family that was recent released by the Sri Lankan military









ONE

Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship

James Holston

Cities are plugged into the globe of history like capacitors: they condense and conduct the currents of social time. Their layered surfaces, their painted stucco, their wraps of concrete register the force of these times both as wear and as narrative. That is, city surfaces tell time stories. Cities are full of stories in time, some sedimented and catalogued, others spoollike, vestigial, and dispersed. Their narratives are epic and vernacular; they tell of migration and production, law and laughter, reason and art. Yet, although obvious, their registry is never wholly legible because each foray into the palimpsest of city surfaces reveals only traces of these relations. Once lived as irreducible to one another, they are refracted as part of the multiplicity and simultaneity of processes that turn time into an infinite geometry of superimpositions. Their identities, meanings, forms, categories, and types recombine in the gray matter of streets. Their narratives are, as a result, both evident and enigmatic. Knowing the laws is experimental.



4 Can the Subaltern Speak?

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

[...]

Some of the most radical criticism coming out of the West today is the result of a frustrated desire to conserve the subject of the West, or the West as Subject. A theory of pluralized 'subject-effects' gives an illusion of undermining subjectivity precisely while often providing a cover for this subject of knowledge. Although the history of Europe as Subject is narrativized by the law, political economy, and ideology of the West, this concealed Subject pretends it has 'no geo-political determinations'. The much-publicized critique of the sovereign subject thus accretes a Subject. I will argue for this conclusion by considering a text by a great practitioner of the critique: 'Intellectuals and power: a conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze'.¹

I have chosen this friendly exchange between two activist philosophers of history because it undoes the opposition between authoritative theoretical production and the unguarded practice of conversation, enabling one to glimpse the track of ideology. The participants in this conversation emphasize the most important

Issue 2 (1): 315 – 332 (May 2010) Souza, Which right to which city?

Which right to which city? In defence of political-strategic clarity

Marcelo Lopes de Souza

Abstract

Conceived at the end of the 1960s by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, the expression "(the) right to the city" has become fashionable these days. The use of this has often been the trivialisation and corruption of Lefebvre's concept. In many cases it seems to mean just the right to a more "human" life in the context of the capitalist city and on the basis of a ("reformed") representative "democracy". In contrast to this, David Harvey, an eminent Marxist urban researcher who has paid attention to Lefebvre's ideas since the beginning of the 1970s, retains a non-reformist understanding of the "right to the city". What is more, he reaches beyond the usual academic level of critical analysis in order to make political-strategic evaluations and recommendations. However, from a libertarian point of view, his words sound very much like a attempt to see (partially) new phenomena (such as many contemporary, autonomy-oriented and radical-democratically based social movements as well as the conditions under which they act) through old lenses: namely, through the lenses of status, centralism, and hierarchy. The result of this is then a misrepresentation of today's social actors, their agency, potentialities and strategies. The aim of this paper is to show the limits of such an interpretation, as well as to discuss what a "right to the city" (and the strategy to achieve this goal) could be from a libertarian point of view – not as a purely speculative enterprise, but under inspiration of the experiences of frequent, concrete social movements from Latin America to Europe to Africa.

J. Suberádran

RE-ENGAGING PLANNING THEORY? TOWARDS 'SOUTH-EASTERN' PERSPECTIVES

Oren Yiftachel

Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Abstract

Yes, this is what they did to Tallinn ... in a city where about 50 percent of the population is Russian, they simply removed all Russian signs, billboards, street names and Russian sounding businesses. ... Russian is not an official language so we cannot use it in planning discussions and city government ... we are wiped out of our own city, where most of us were born ... (We are) now the invisible half of this place which still remains our homeland. (Vadim Põschnik, Russian human rights activist, Tallinn, Estonia, personal interview, May 2005)

Tallinn, Estonia's capital city is seen by ethnic Estonians as the 'jewel in their' ethno-national homeland. During the 1990s, following five decades of Soviet rule, they began a process of 'Estonization', which systematically disenfranchised and marginalized the large local Russian community. How does this link to planning theory? It does so very directly, as Estonization is a planning policy par excellence, being concerned with the heart of urban regional planning – the shaping of urban space.

Yet, the example does not 'sit' well with current planning theories, which rarely address such a process of ethnically guided spatial change. Where is liberatory or collaborative planning? Where was communicative rationality

Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues

Vanessa Watson

(Paper first received, December 2007; in final form, August 2008)

Abstract

Urban planning in many parts of the world reflects an increasing gap between current approaches and growing problems of poverty, inequality, informal urbanization and spatial fragmentation, particularly (but not only) in cities of the global South. Given past dominance of the global North in shaping planned and practice, this article argues that a perspective from the global South can be an unsettling taken-for-granted assumptions about how planning addresses the world. The article takes a first step in this direction by proposing a 'clash of fit' between technocratic and marketised systems of government, administrative provision and planning (in those parts of the world where these fit increasingly marginalised urban populations surviving largely under cover of informality). It draws together theoretical resources beyond the bounds of conventional planning theory to understand the nature of this conflict, and the 'interface' between those involved, where unpredictable encounters and contestation also open the possibility for exploring alternative approaches to planning.

Introduction

The joint meeting of the World Planners Congress and the UN Habitat World Urban Forum in Vancouver in June 2006, signified an important insight was that the

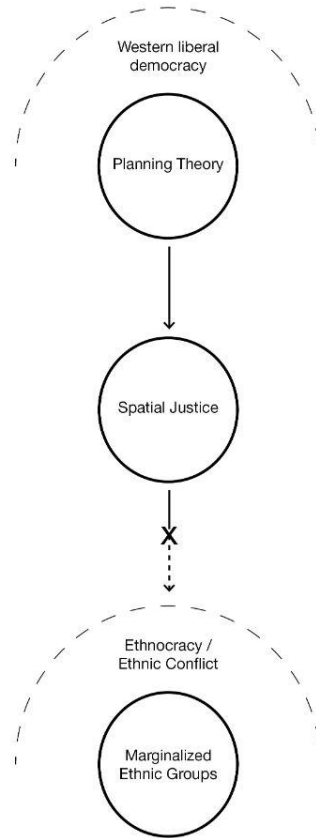
live in cities and, in future years new global population growth cities in the 'developing world' important insight was that the

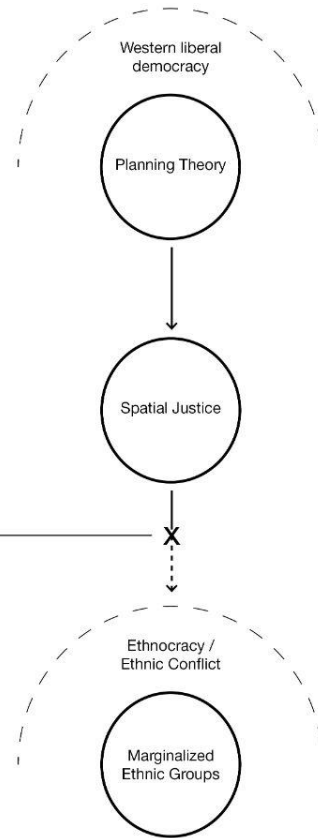
22 INSURGENT PRACTICES AND DECOLONIZATION OF FUTURE(S)

Faranak Miraflak

Abstract

This chapter further elaborates the concept of insurgent planning (IP) and why it needs to be seriously in planning education, scholarship, and practice. Without strong conceptualization, ideas can be easily dismissed as fanciful or become buzzwords that fail to engage with transformative practices and actions. I therefore build this chapter on three case studies: first section describes the crises and social contradictions of the late 20th and early 21st centuries and the implications of the resulting political and ideological shifts for planning. The second part presents IP, which has exposed the liberal-democratic promises of include IP places extreme insurgent practices high on the political and intellectual agenda. The political philosophies that drive liberal democratic and insurgent citizenship planning argue that IP ontologically departs from liberal traditions of so-called inclusive planning to hold the inclusion of disarticulated groups as an objective of professional intervention. The second section takes a closer look at the range of citizens' direct actions and conceptualizations through the analytic devices I offer as involved and inverted spaces of citizenship. I discuss the potential flexibility of these forms of action and depict a binary misconception of inclusion as 'invited spaces for citizens' direct action; instead, I focus on the theoretical construction as practices that are transgressive, counter-hegemonic, and imaginative. In the third section, inspired by anticolonial scholars and activists of liberation, I discuss the urgency in developing the literature as a realm of political contestation and imagination. I conclude the chapter by using the opportunities ahead as the crisis of capitalism leads to aggressive shadowed moderate spaces and citizens innovative practices and practices to invent new spaces of

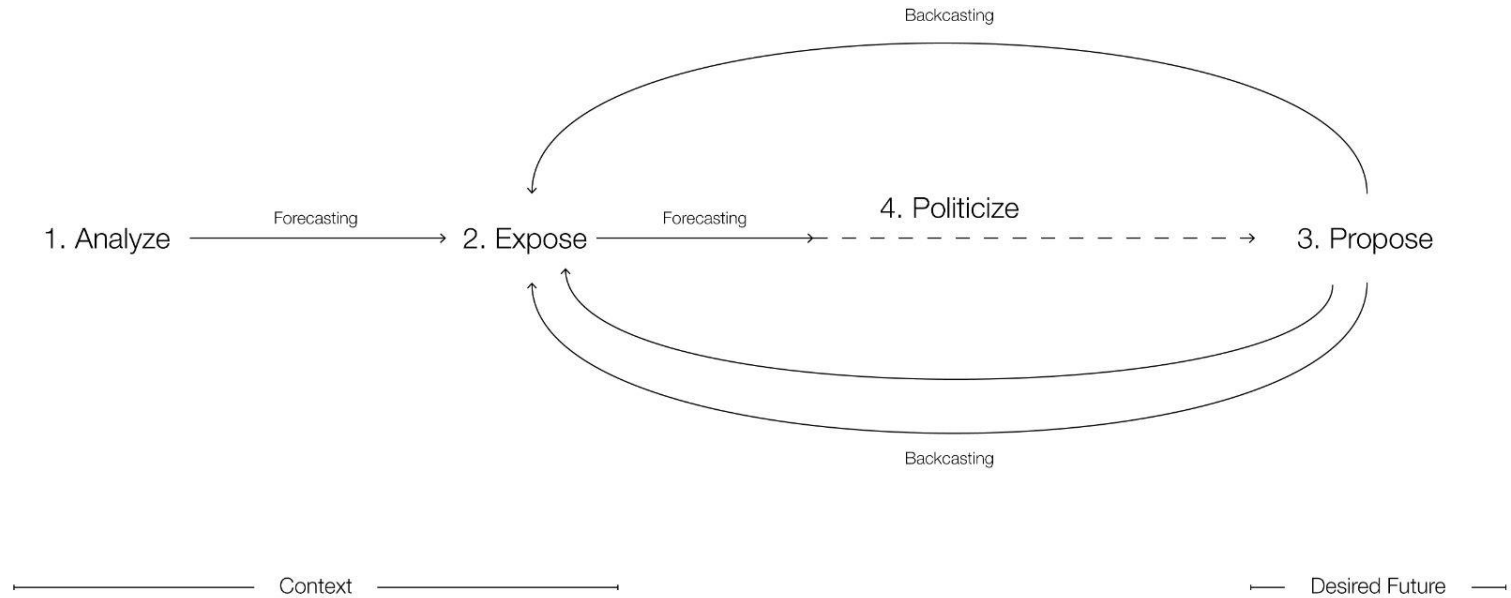




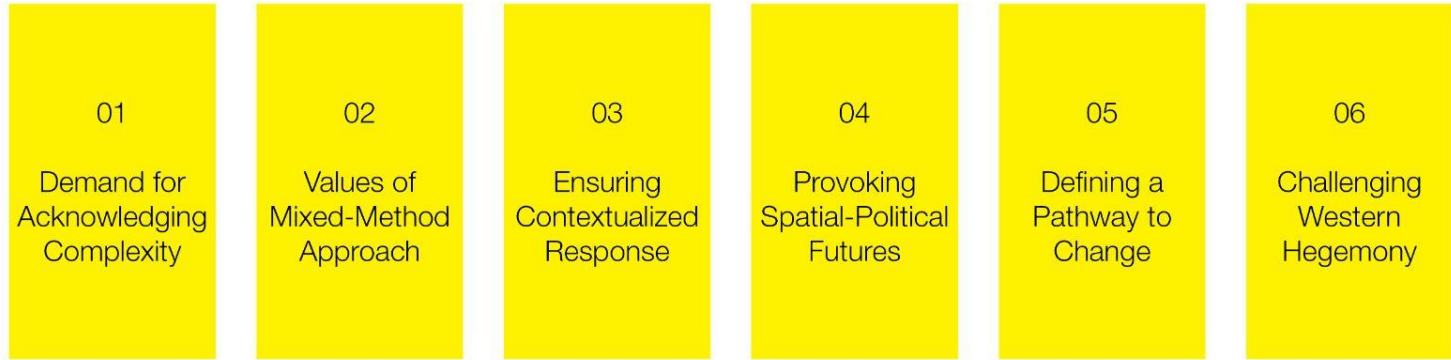
How can spatial planning unlock conditions to promote a spatially-just, contextualized and sustainable transition toward self-determination of Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka?

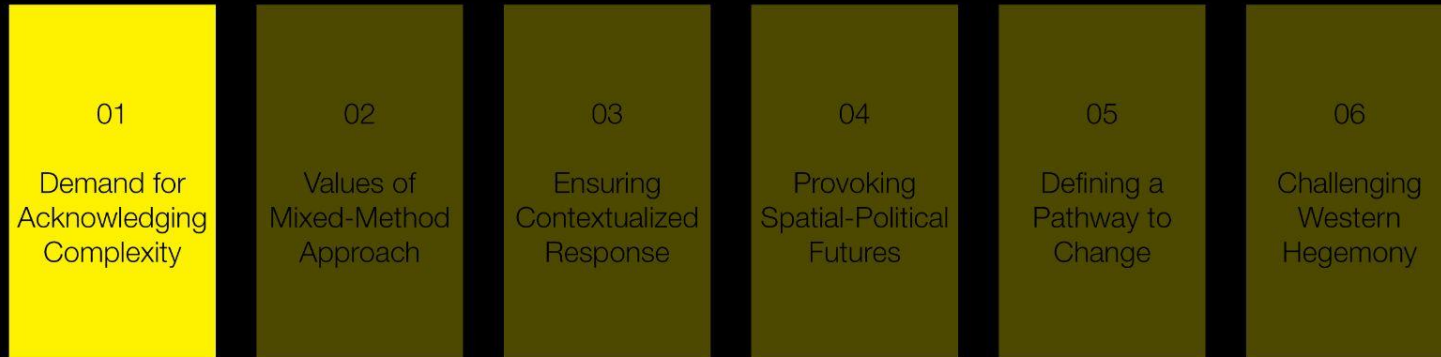
An Alternative Approach

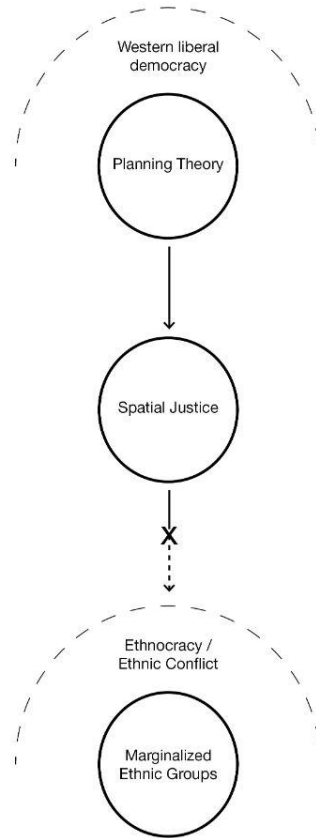
Shifting **discourse**
Shifting **approach**
Shifting **outcomes**



O U T C O M M E S







our Land
our Life

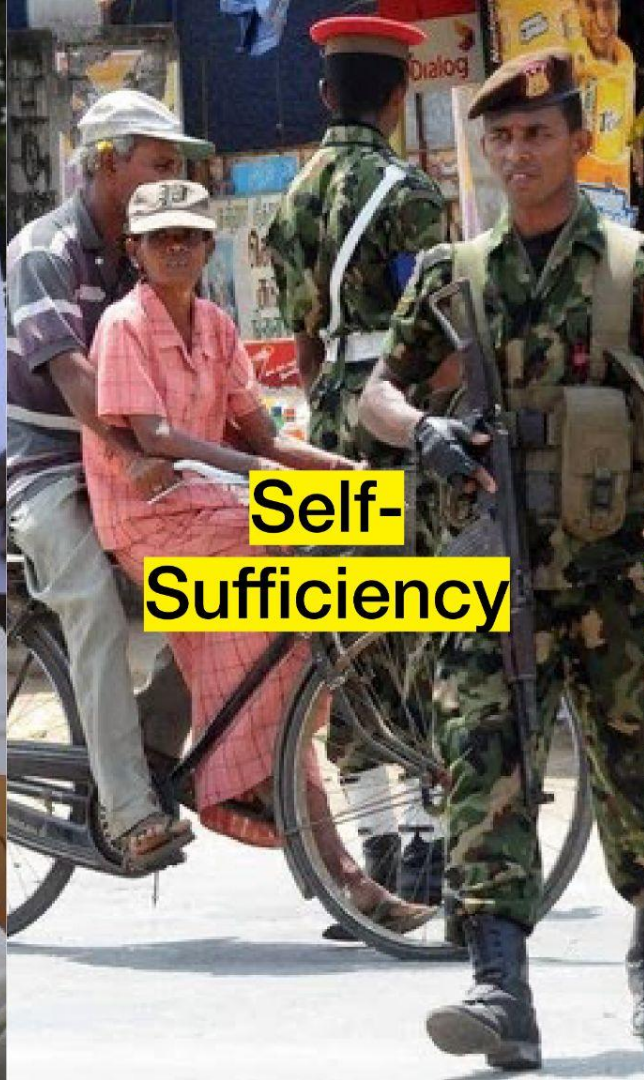


J.Subendran





Self-Determination

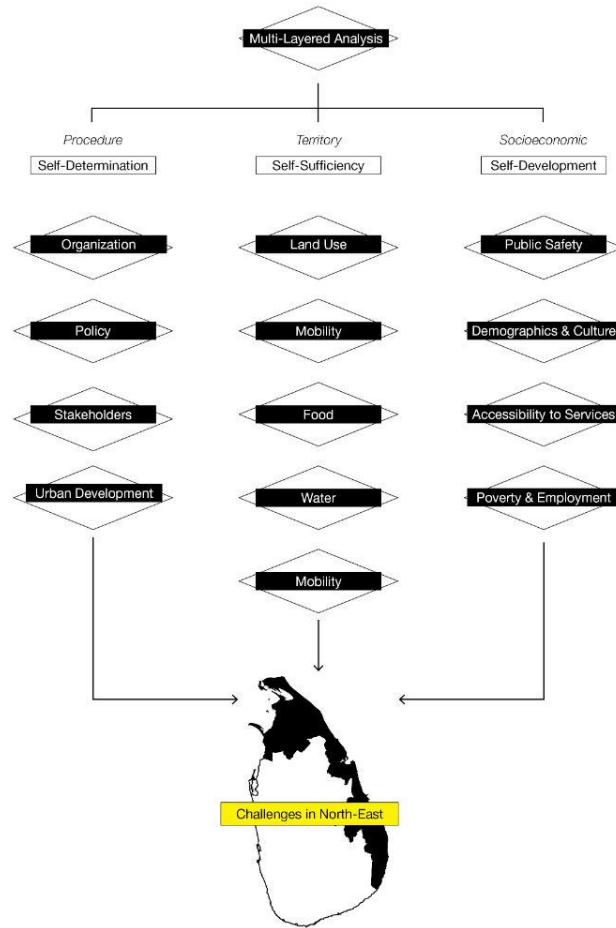


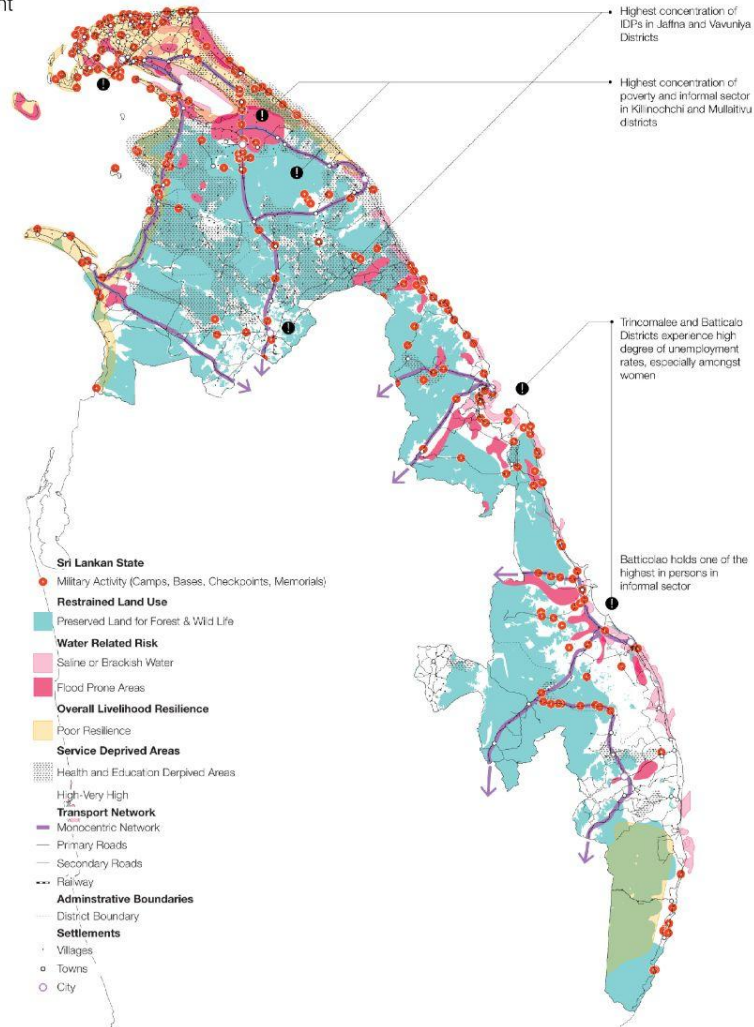
Self-Sufficiency



Self-Development



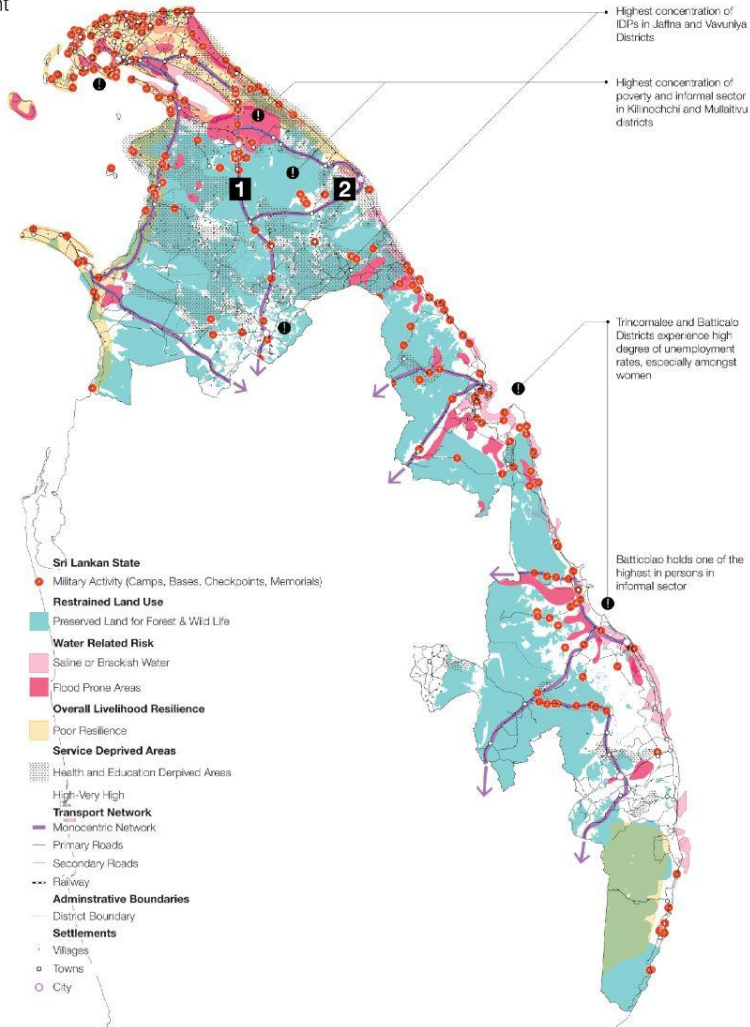




1. Monocentric



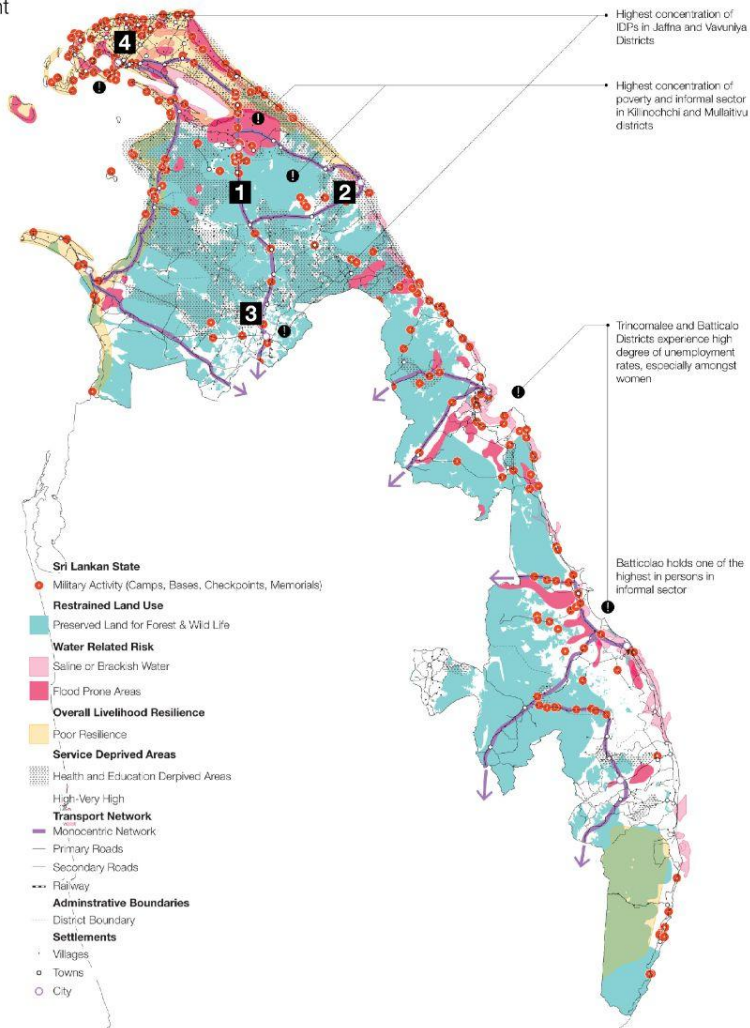
2. Fragile



1. Monocentric



2. Fragile



3. Preservative



4. Repressive

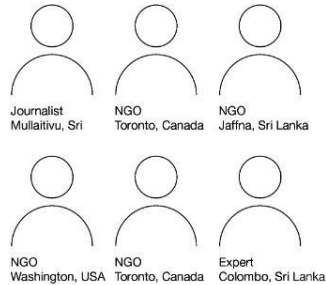


- Monocentric
- Fragile
- Preservative
- Repressive
- 5. Top-Down
- 6. Discriminatory
- 7. Exclusionary
- 8. Concentrated
- 9. Non-Recognitional
- 10. Universalized

Research Reports



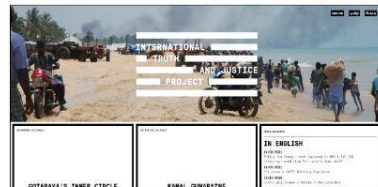
Discussions and Interviews



UNHRC Recommendations



International Truth and Justice Project Sri Lanka



Journalist for Democracy Sri Lanka



EverydayEelam



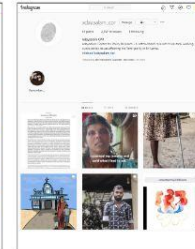
People for Equality and Relief in Sri Lanka



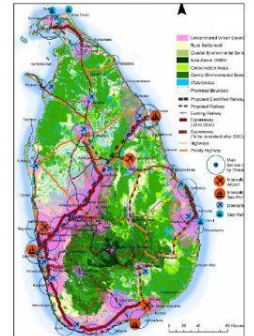
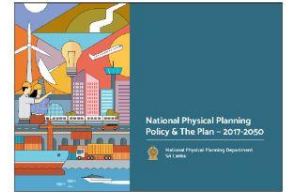
SeedsOfTheRevolution



Adayaalam Center for Policy Research



Policy Analysis



Al Jazeera

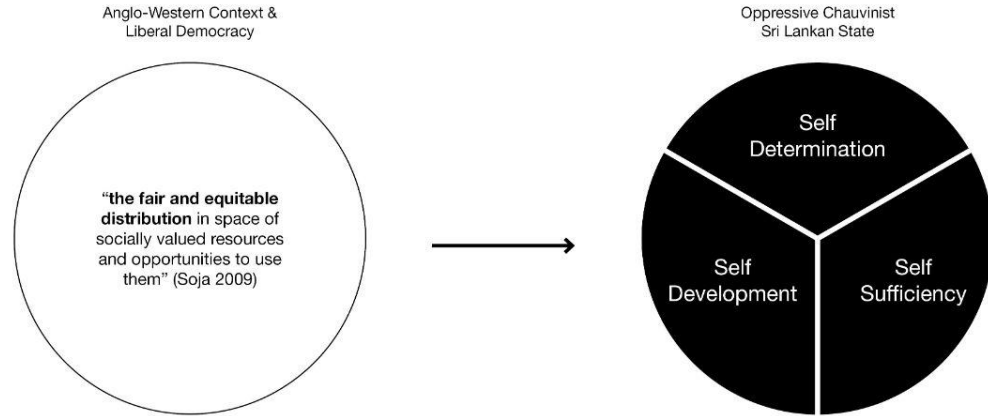


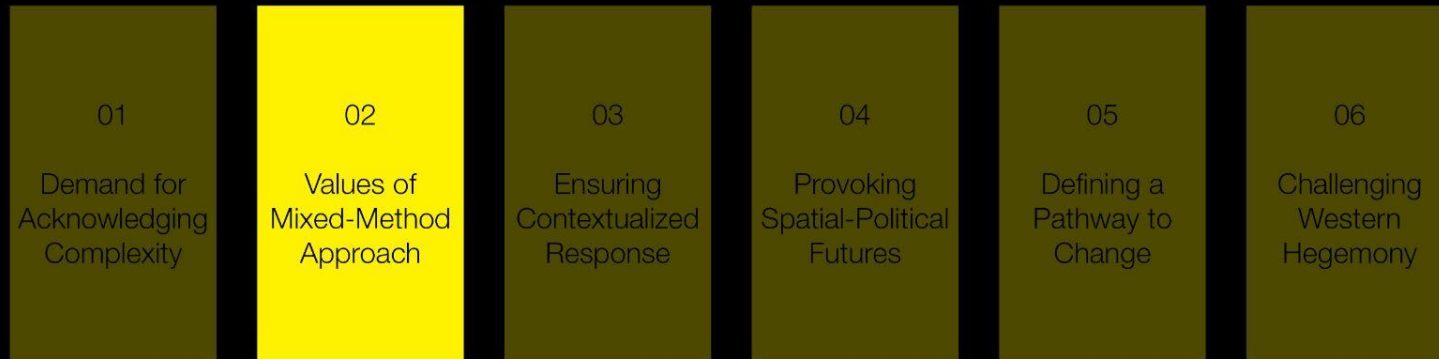
BBC World News



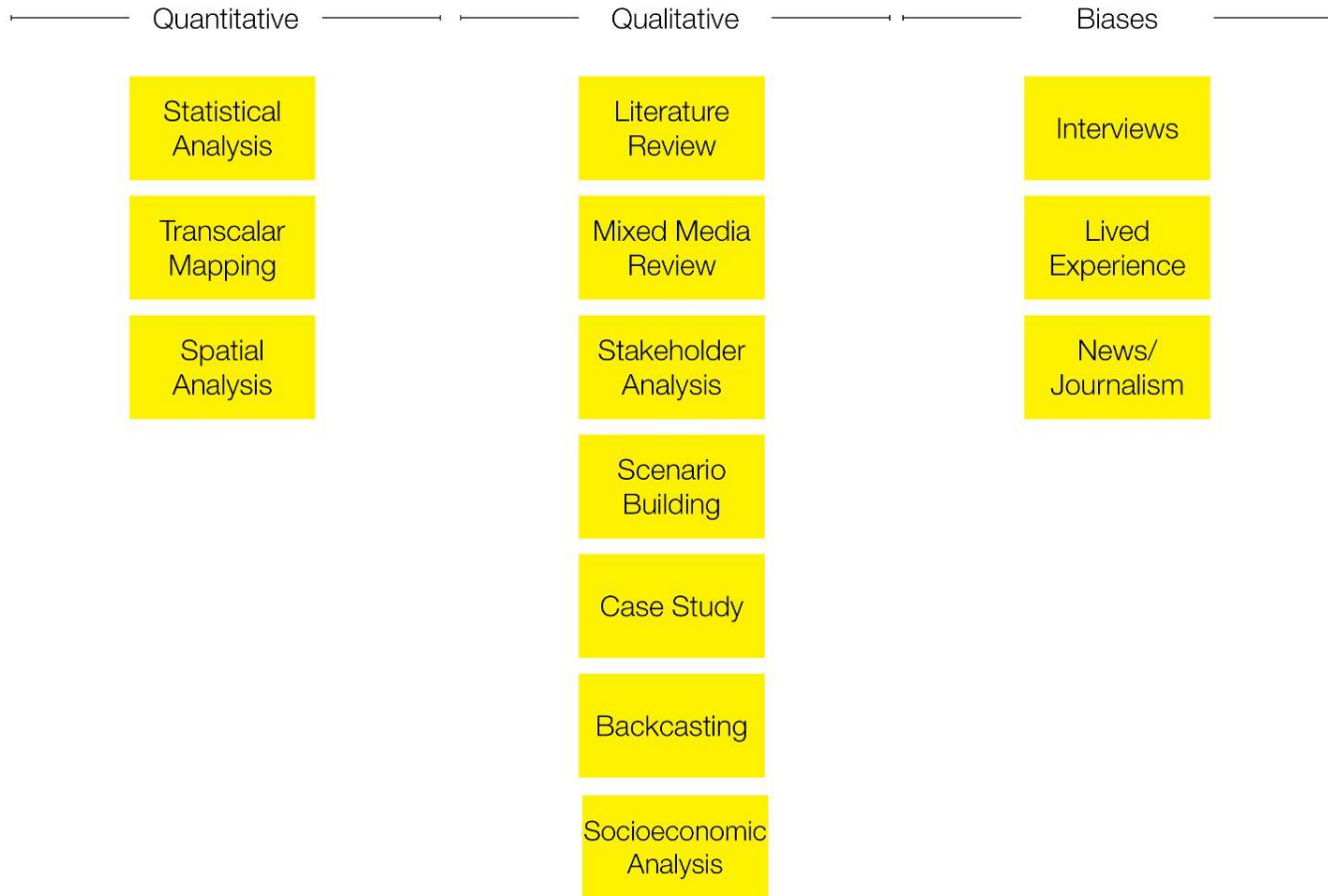
TamilNation







Combining Quantitative and Qualitative
Methods & Varying Biases



- Spatial Analysis
- Socioeconomic Analysis
- Statistical Analysis

Spatial Potential



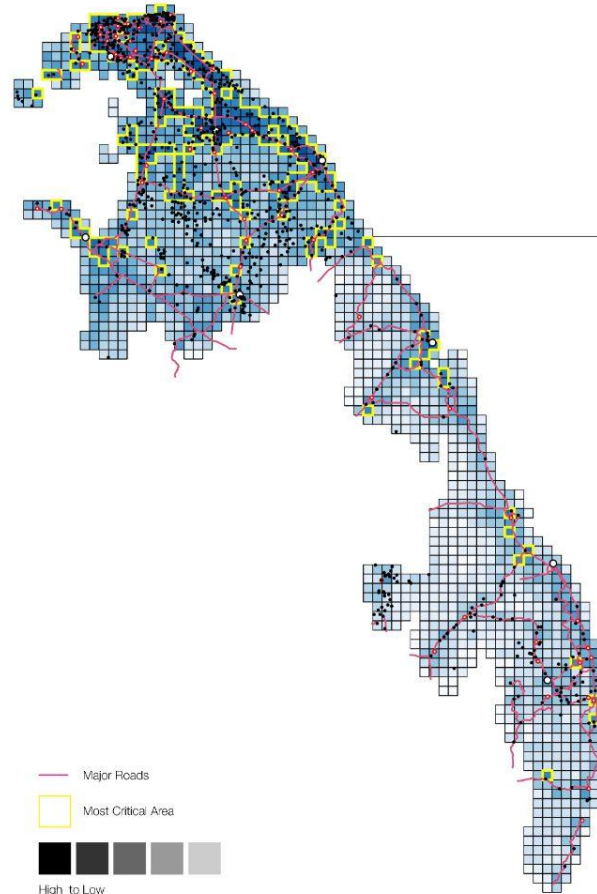
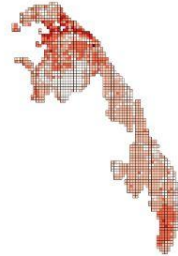
Spatial Vulnerability



Socioeconomic Potential



Socioeconomic Vulnerability



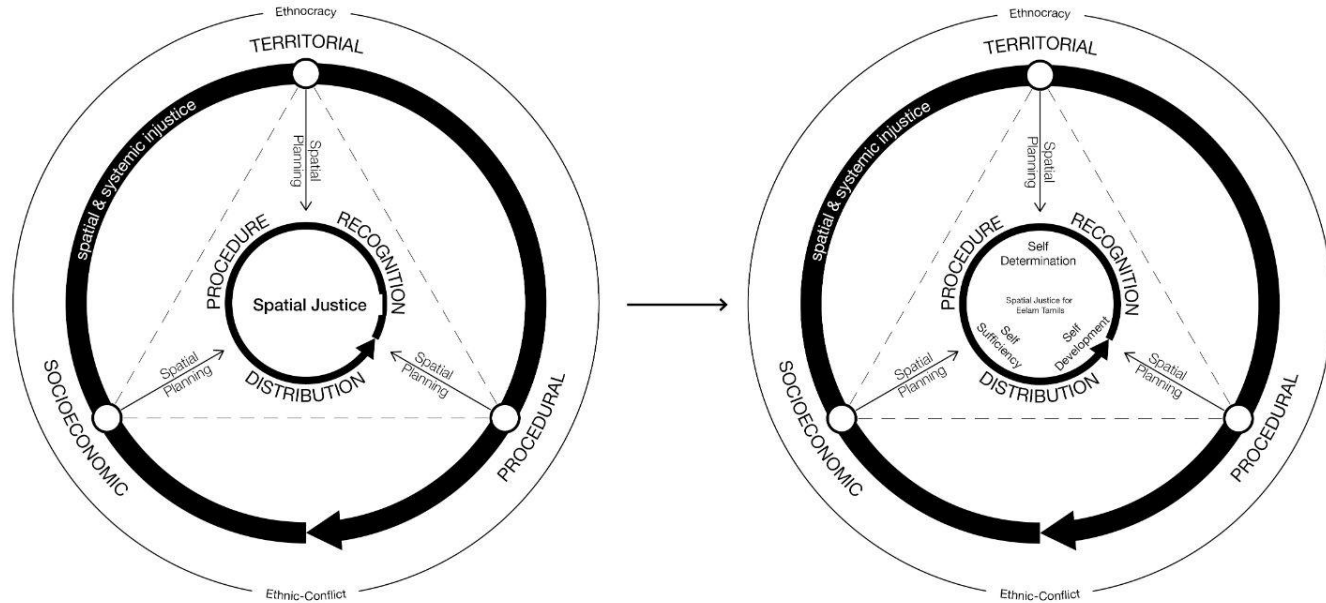
Critical Area

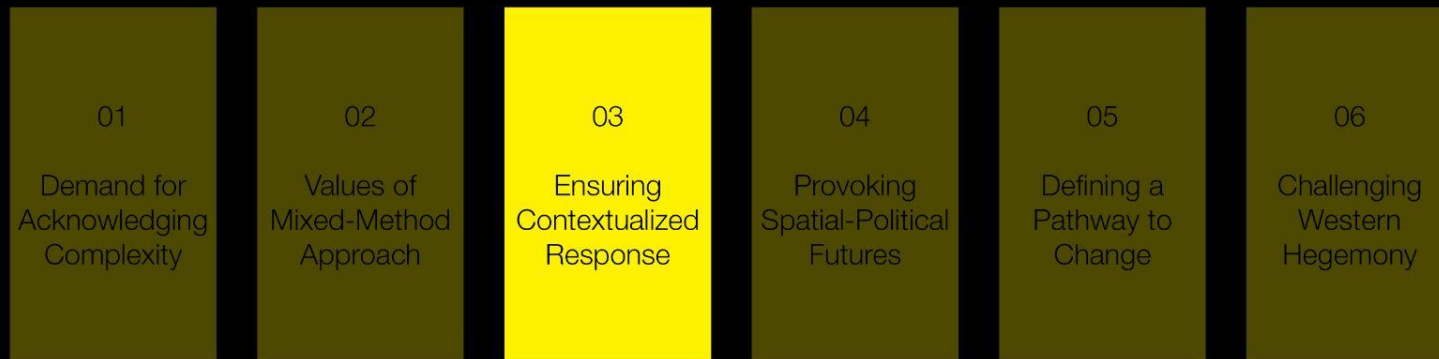
10-13

Highest Potential
Highest Vulnerability

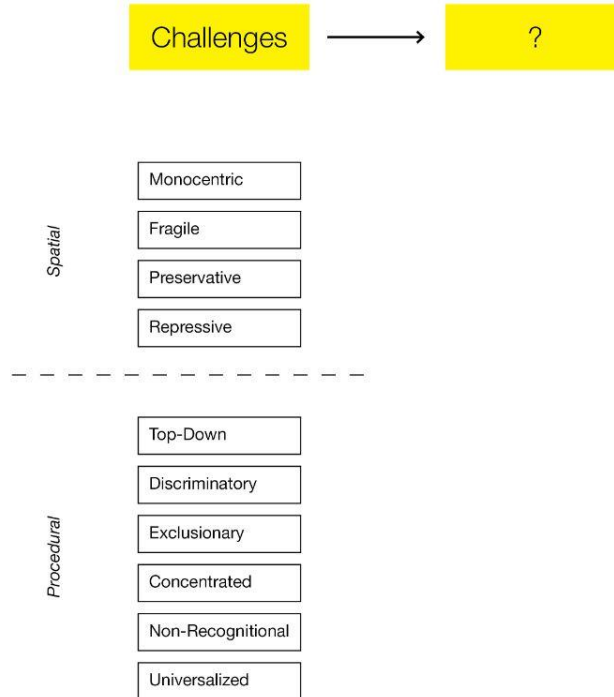


- Socioeconomic Analysis
- Literature Review
- Mixed Media Review
- Spatial Analysis
- Interviews
- Lived Experience

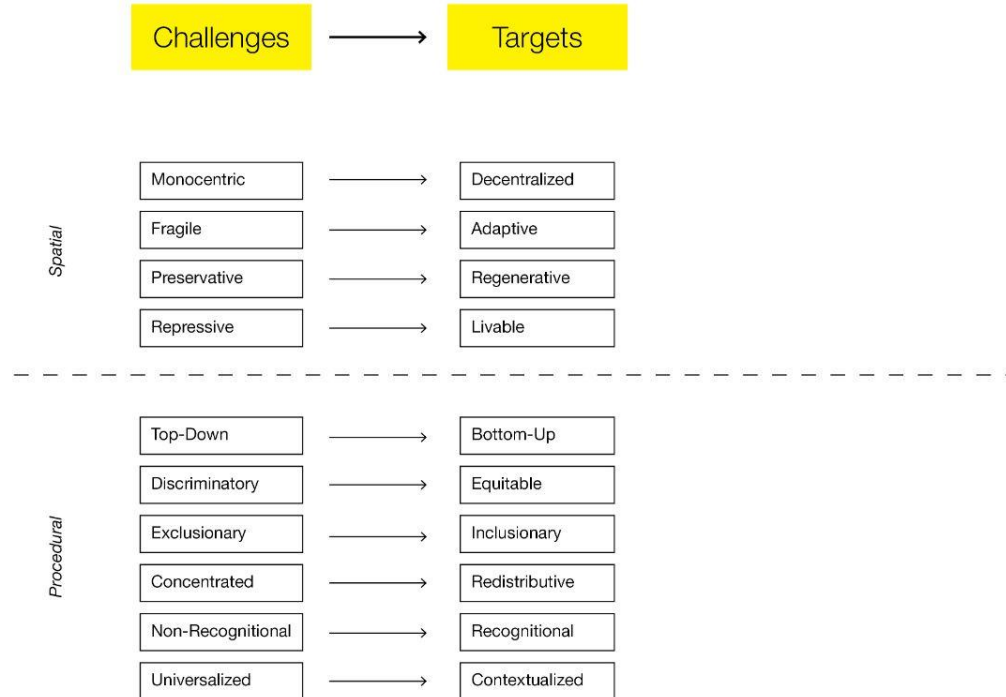




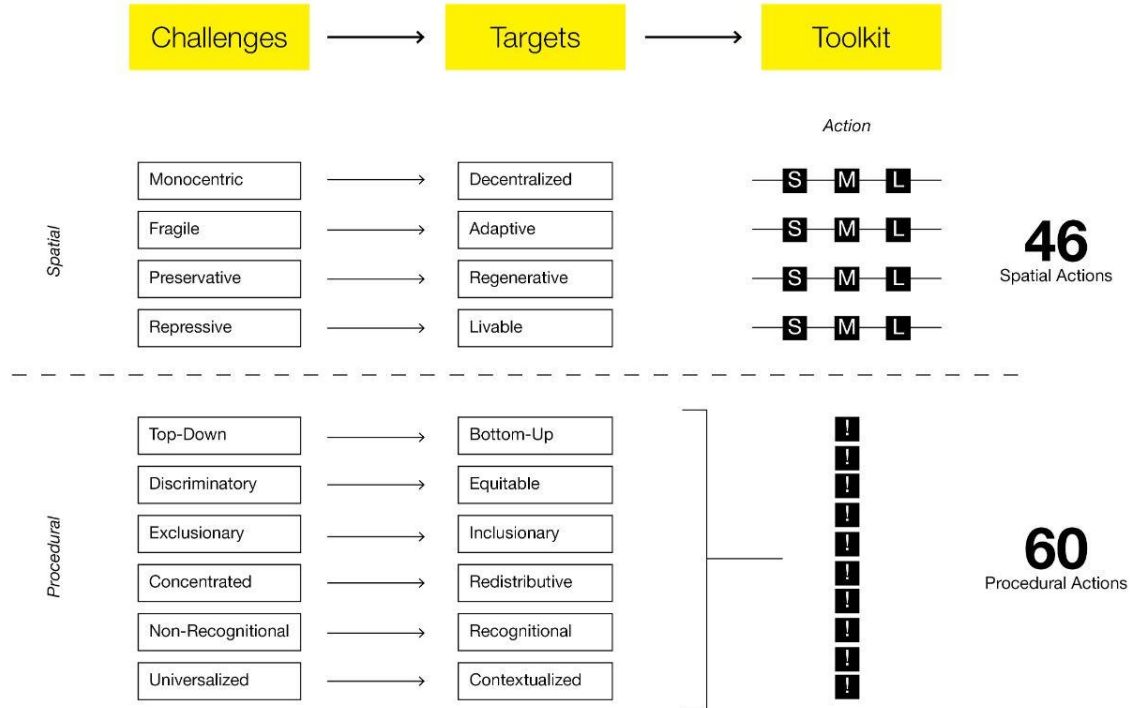
How to generate contextualized change toward the future?

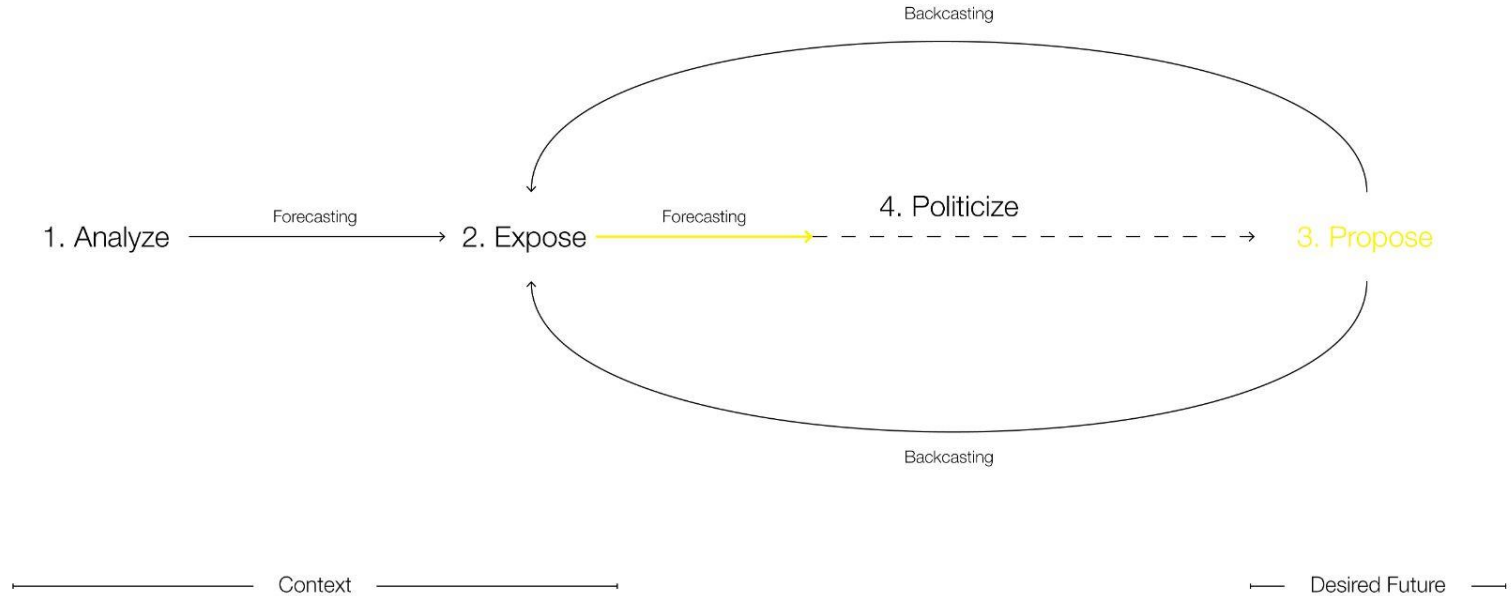


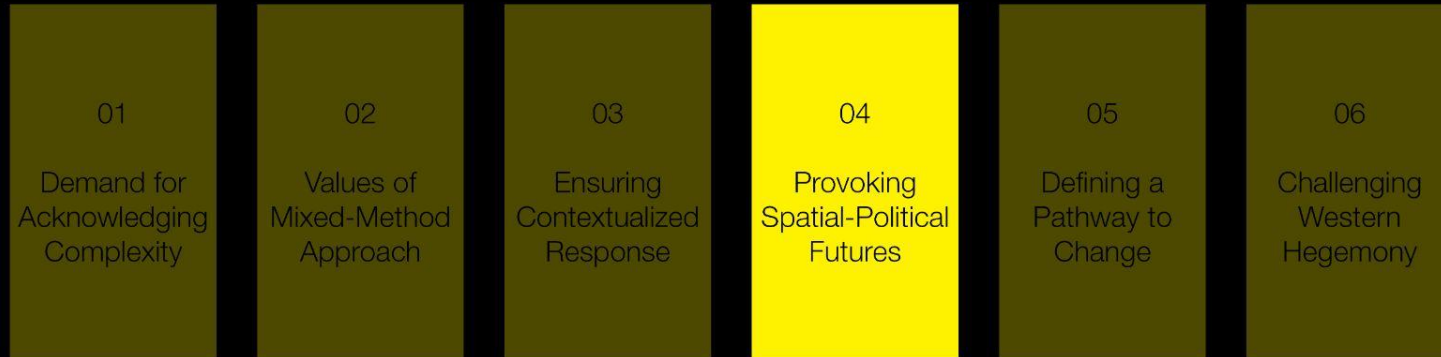
How to generate contextualized change toward the future?

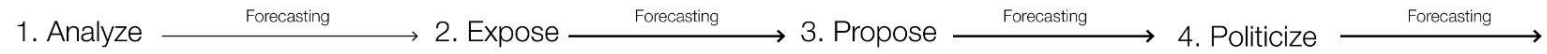


How to generate contextualized change toward the future?

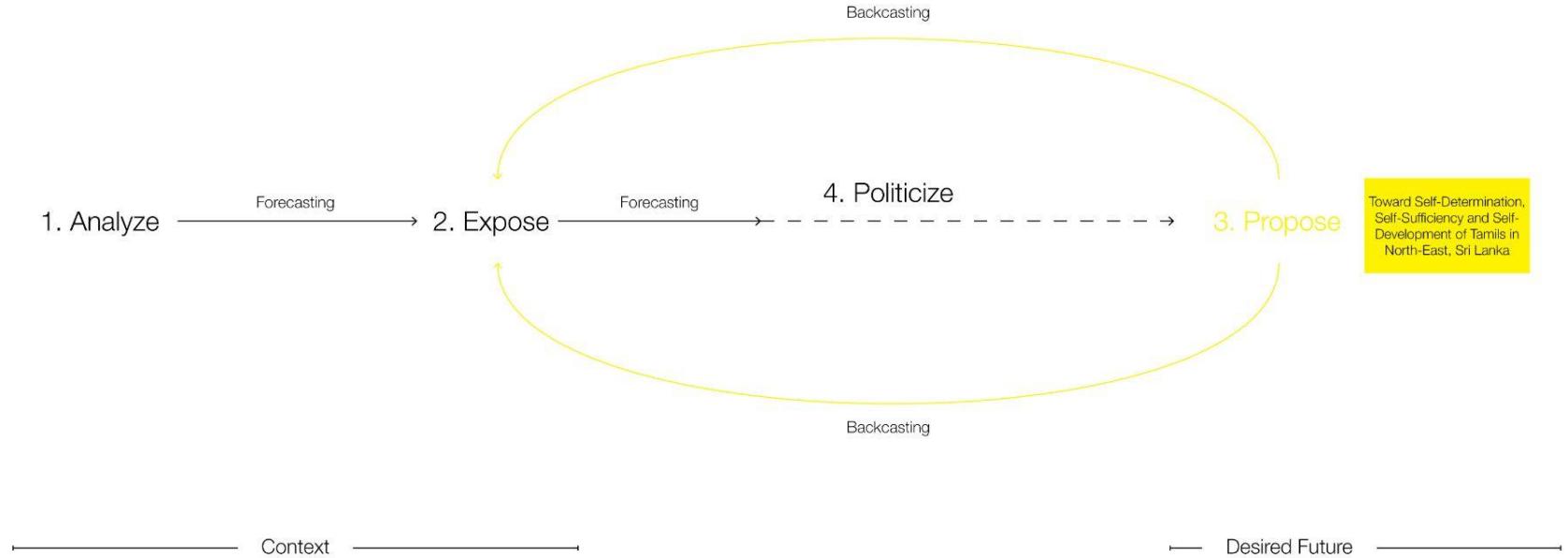




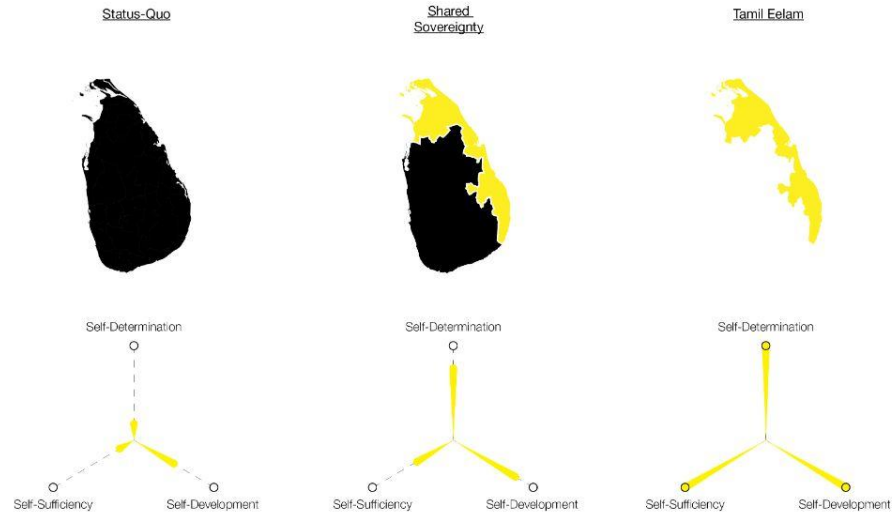




How can spatial planning **unlock conditions** to promote a spatially-just, contextualized and sustainable transition toward **self-determination of Tamils in the North-East** of Sri Lanka?







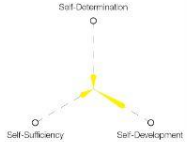






Scenario Framework

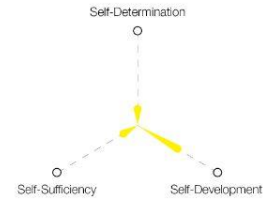
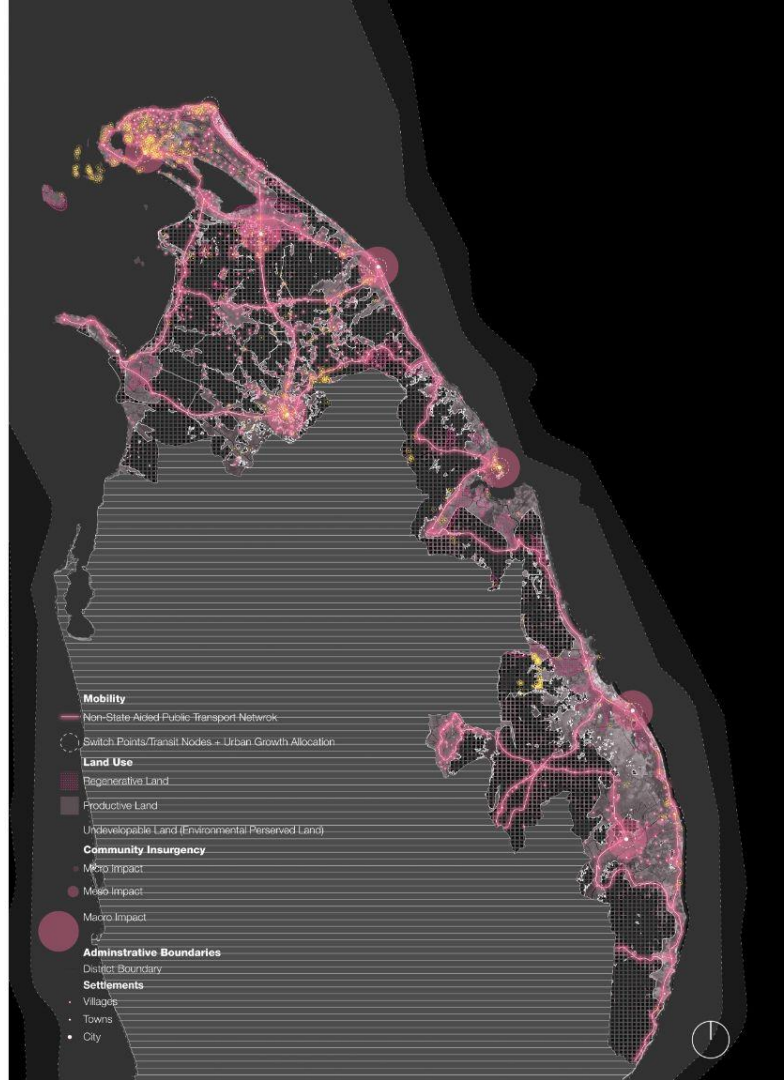




How to envision change toward a desired future through different spatial-political realities?

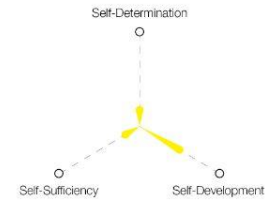
Scenario Framework



Scenario	Status-Quo	Shared Sovereignty	Tamil Eelam
Spatial Future			
Operation	Business as Usual $\frac{A > B}{C}$	One Nation, Two Systems $\frac{A}{D} \& \frac{B}{D}$ C	Autarky, Separate State $\frac{A}{D} \& \frac{B}{D}$
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East of Sri Lanka		
Action	 Rising up the Community, Insurgent & Counter-Practices, Community-Leo Action	 Systems and Economies of Sharing + Independent Conditions and Peoples	 Complete Separation, Political, Spatial, Procedural and Cultural Self-Determination,
	Incremental & Slow	Moderate	Intense & Fast
Limitation			

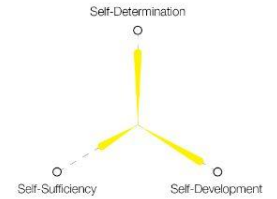
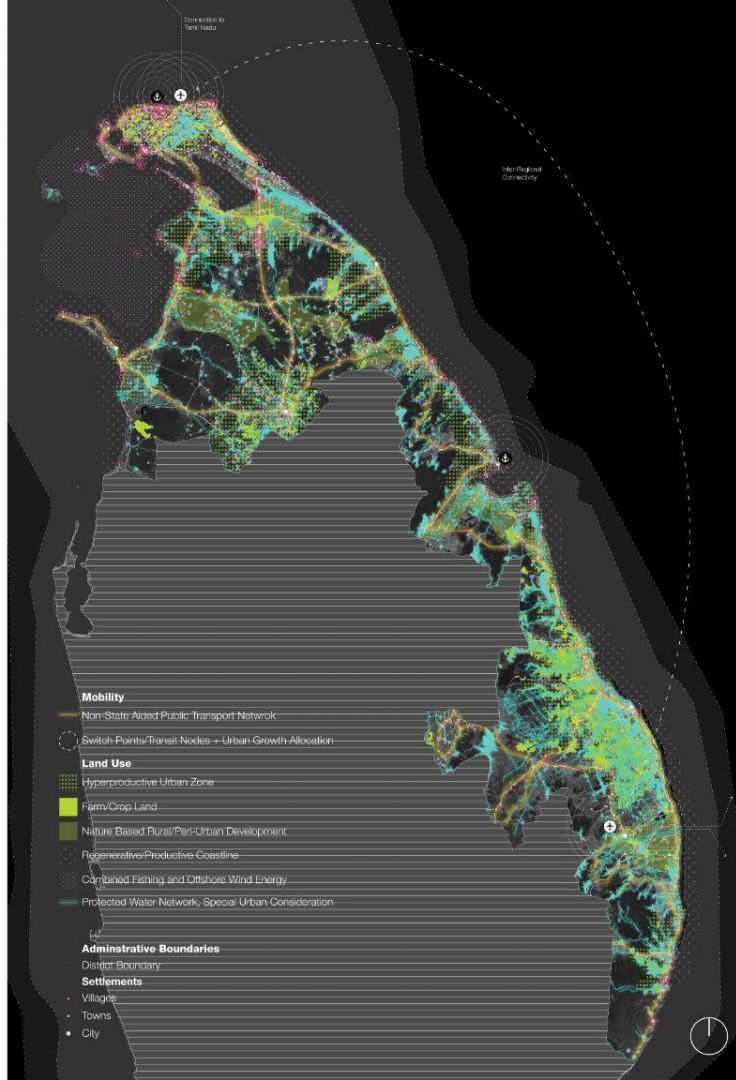
Scenario	<u>Status-Quo</u>
Spatial Future	
Operation	Business as Usual $\frac{A > B}{C}$
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East of Sri Lanka
Action	 Rising up the Community, Insurgent & Counter-Practices, Community-Led Action
	Incremental & Slow





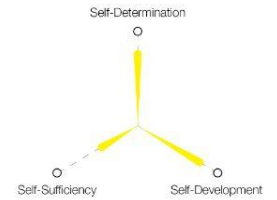
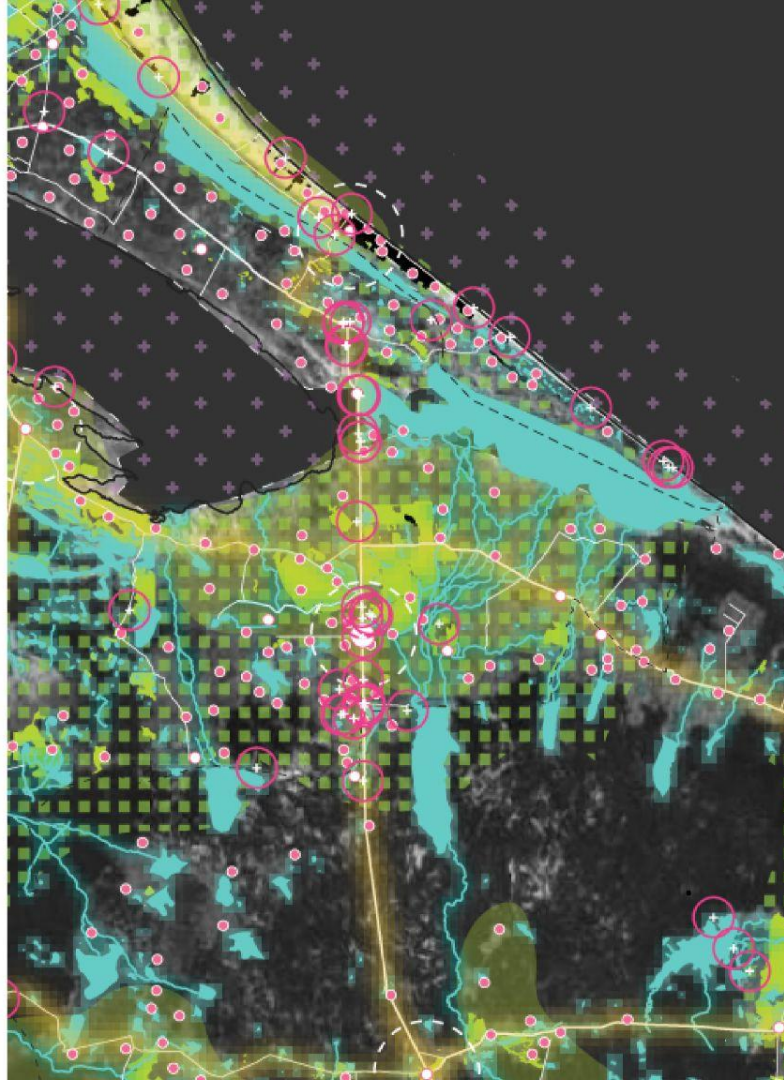
Scenario	<u>Status-Quo</u>
Spatial Future	
Operation	Business as Usual $\frac{A > B}{C}$
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East Sri Lanka
Action	 Rising up the Community, Insurgent & Counter-Practices, Community-Led Action
	Incremental & Slow



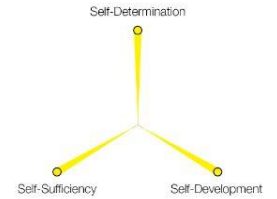
Scenario	Shared Sovereignty
Spatial Future	
Operation	One Nation, Two Systems $\frac{A}{D}$ & $\frac{B}{D}$ C
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East of Sri Lanka
Action	 Systems and Economies of Sharing + Independent Conditions and Peoples
Progress	Moderate





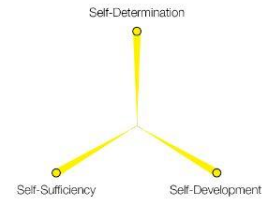
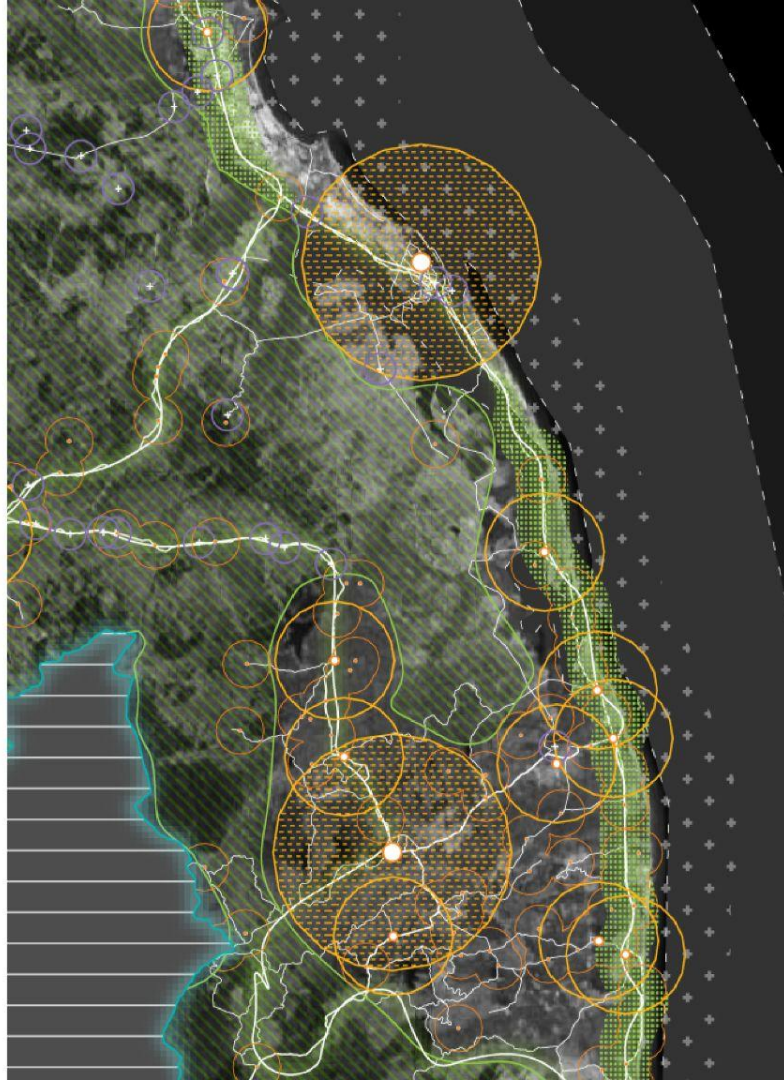
Scenario	Co-Existing
Spatial Future	
Operation	One Nation, Two Systems $\frac{A}{D}$ & $\frac{B}{D}$ C
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East of Sri Lanka
Action	 Systems and Economies of Sharing + Independent Conditions and Peoples
Progress	Moderate

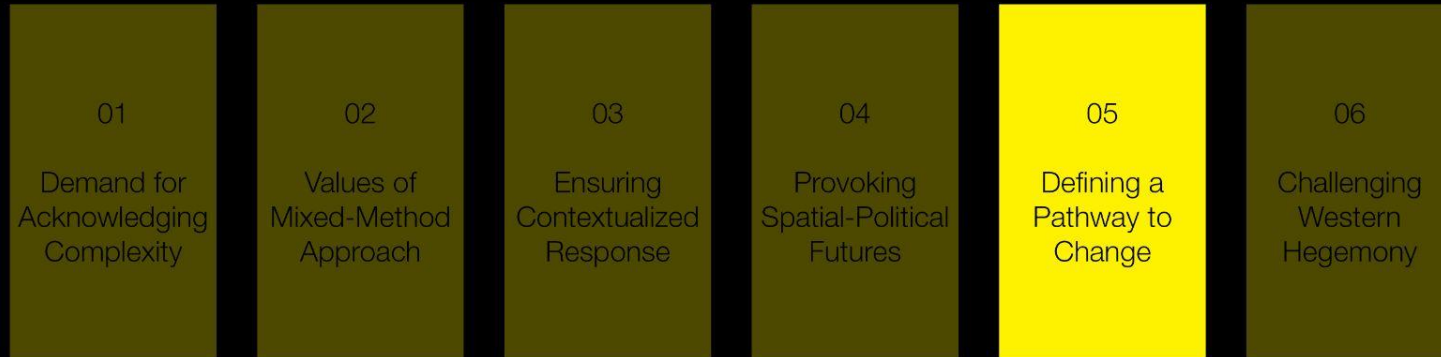


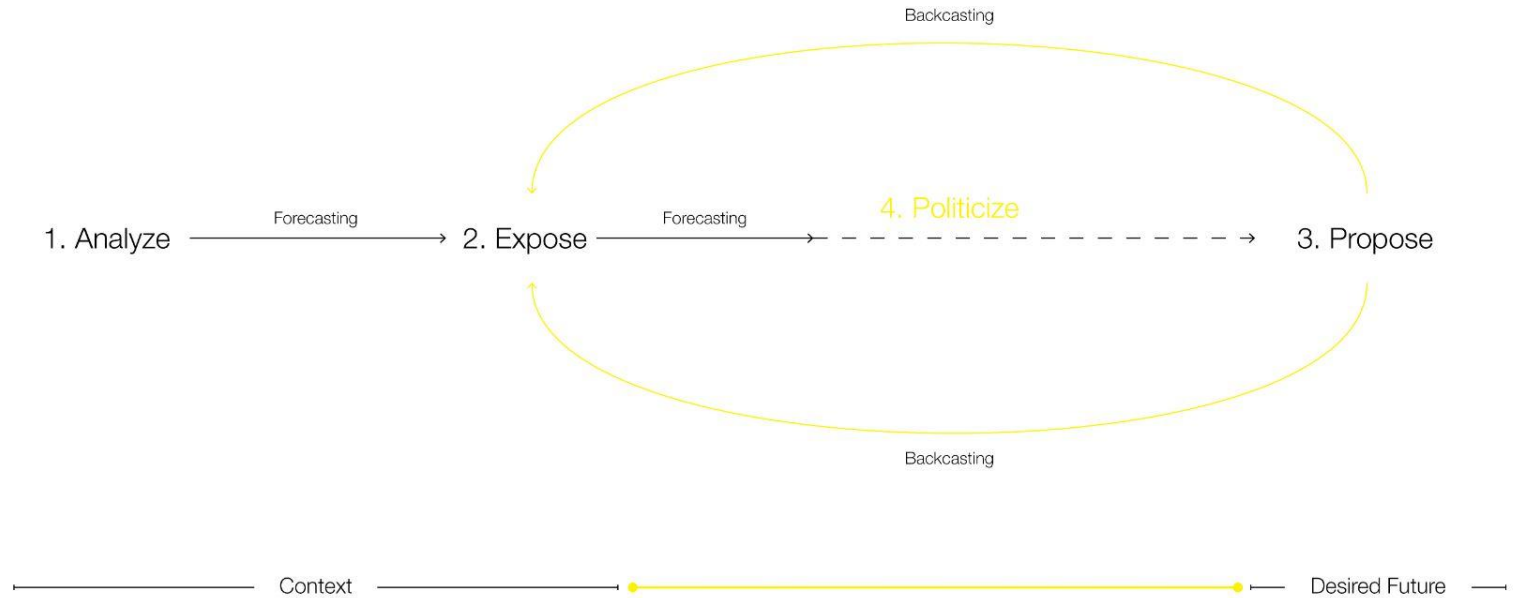
Scenario	Tamil Eelam
Spatial Future	
Operation	Autarky, Separate State $\frac{A}{D}$ & $\frac{B}{D}$
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East of Sri Lanka
Action	 Complete Separation, Political, Spatial, Procedural and Cultural Self-Determination,
Progress	Intense & Fast



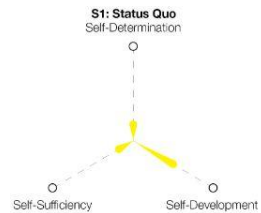
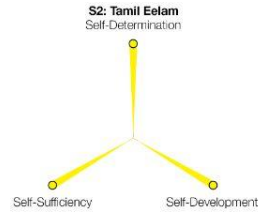
Scenario	Tamil Eelam
Spatial Future	
Operation	Autarky, Separate State $\frac{A}{D}$ & $\frac{B}{D}$
Desired Future	Self-Determination, Self-Development and Self-Sufficiency of Eelam Tamils in North-East of Sri Lanka
Action	 Complete Separation, Political, Spatial, Procedural and Cultural Self-Determination,
Progress	Intense & Fast



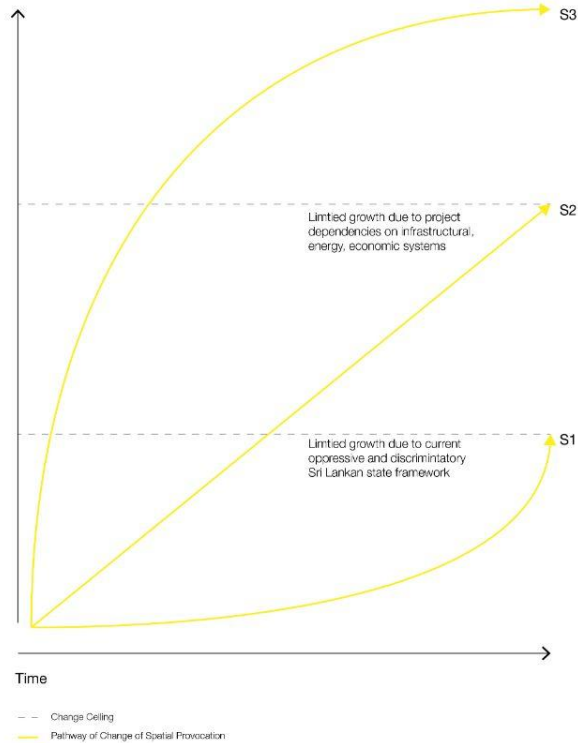


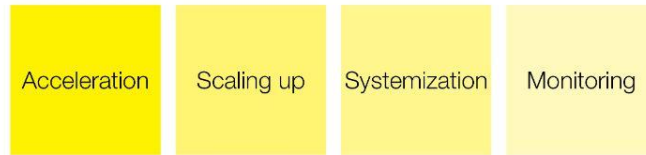


How to **operationalize a pathway of change and accelerate the transition** toward self-determination of the North-East and Eelam Tamils?

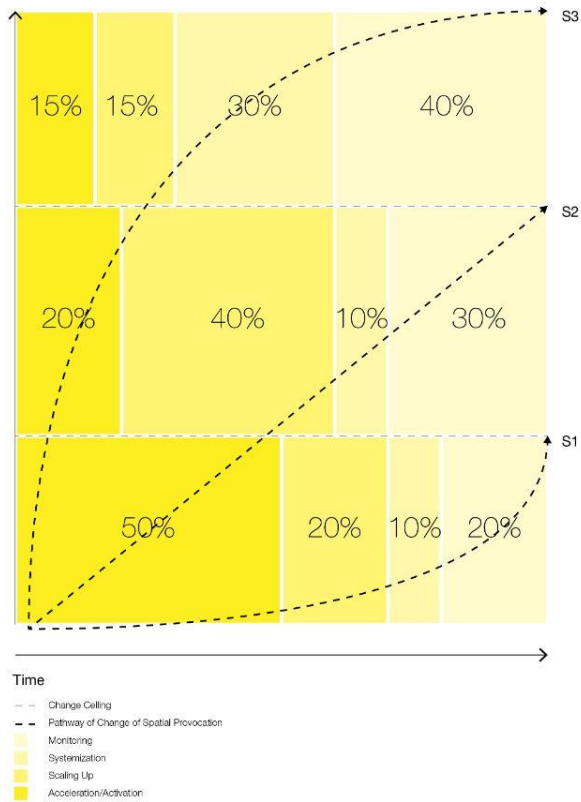


Towards Liberation,
Self-determination and Spatial
Justice in Sri Lanka's North-East

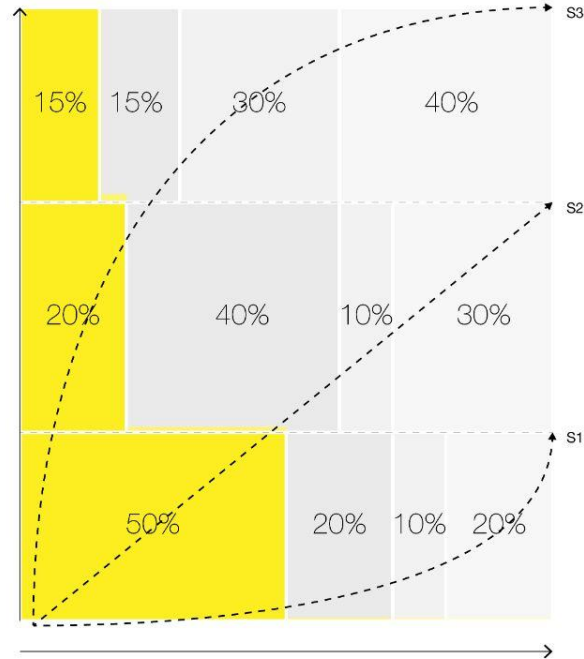




Defining Steps toward Change



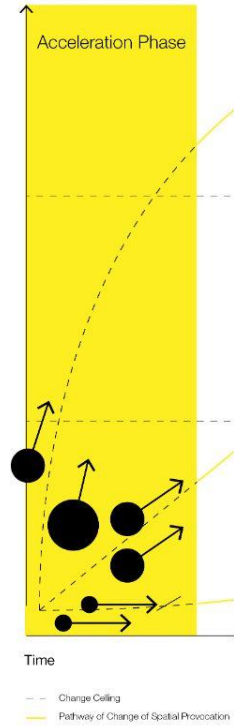
How to **accelerate** pathways toward each
projected spatial provocation?

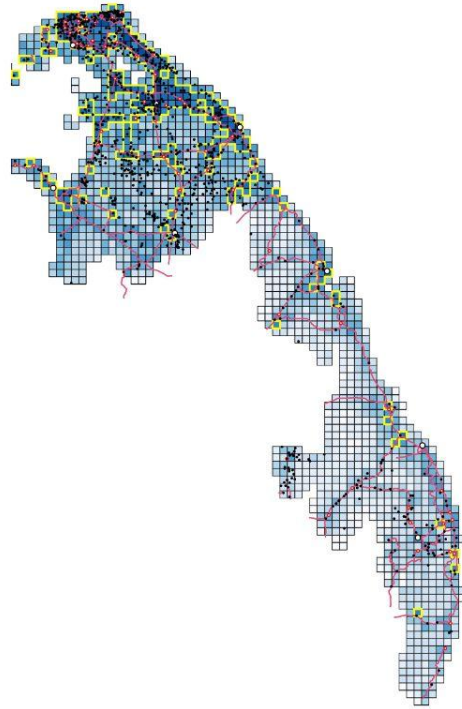


Time

- - Change Ceiling
- - Pathway of Change of Spatial Provocation
- Monitoring
- Systemization
- Scaling Up
- Acceleration/Activation

Generators of Change





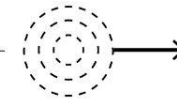
Selection of 3
Critical Areas (Cells)

- ! Critical Area 1A
- ! Critical Area 2A
- ! Critical Area 3A

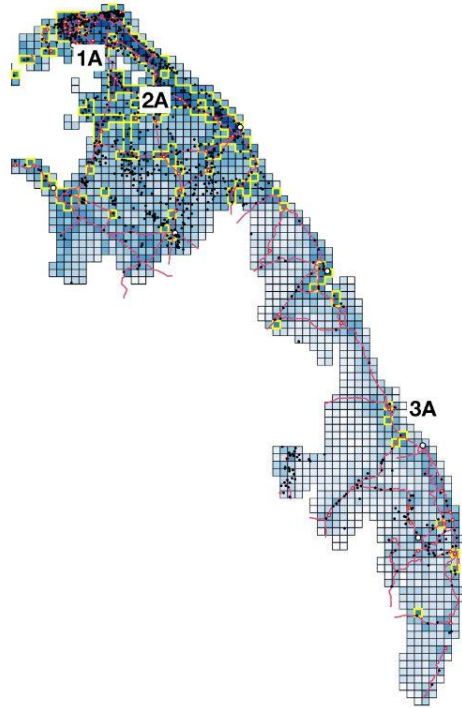
Initiation of 3
Activation Areas

- ★ Activation 1A
- ★ Activation 2A
- ★ Activation 3A

Development of 3
Activator Projects



Activator Projects
operate at varying
intensities



Generators of Change



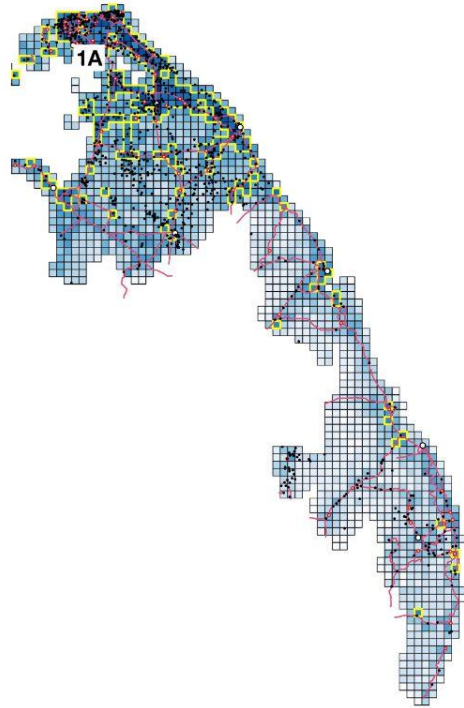
Provocation 1: Status-Quo
1A: Nallur Temple, Jaffna



Provocation 2: Shared Sovereignty
2A: Killinochchi, Killinochchi



Provocation 3: Tamil Eelam
3A: Valaichchenai, Batticaloa



Generators of Change



Provocation 1: Status-Quo
1A: Nallur Temple, Jaffna



Provocation 2: Shared Sovereignty
2A: Killinochchi, Killinochchi



Provocation 3: Tamil Eelam
3A: Valaichchenai, Batticaloa

NETWORKS OF CARE 1-1

Vital Local & Micro Economies



Vast Surrounding Open & Residual Space



Activating Nodes



Activating the Network



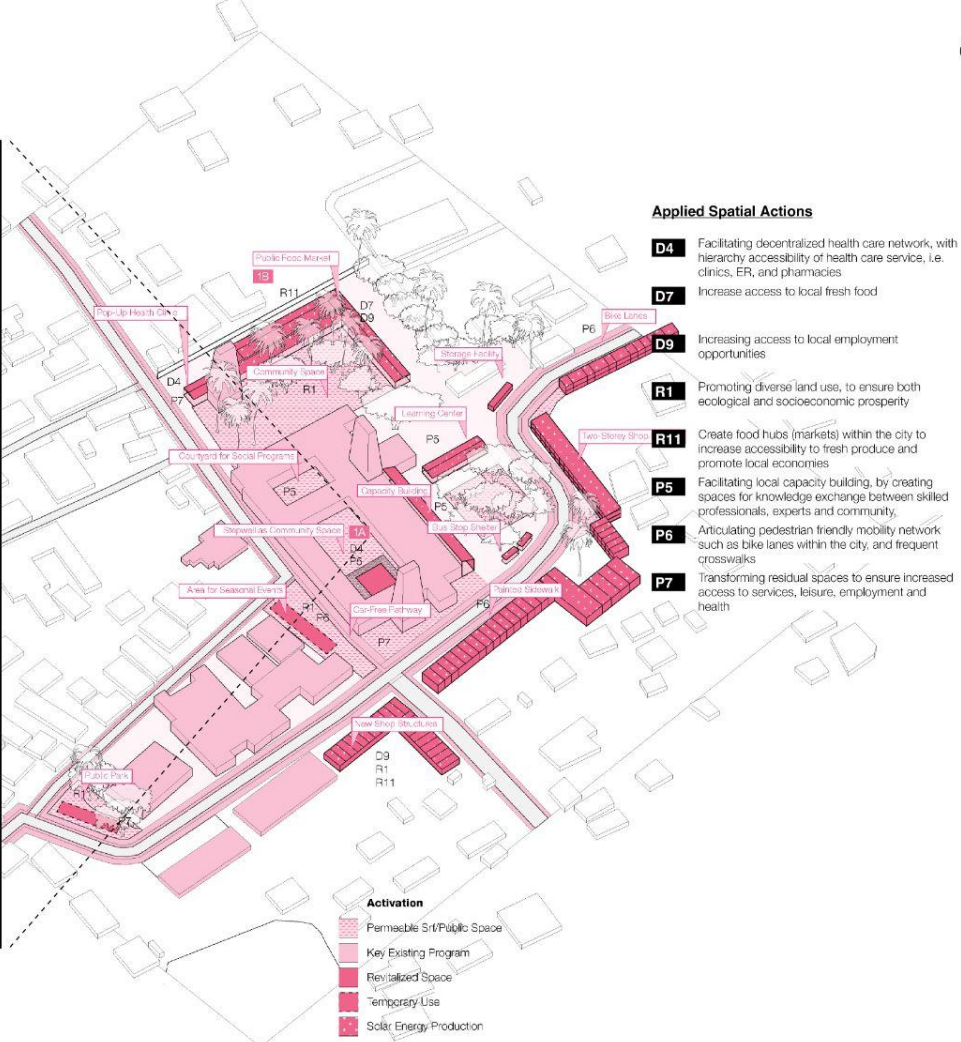


1A Care Initiative

What: This project involves initiating social programs for women led households such as daycare services and vocational training to enable access to better livelihood opportunities. This initiative is for and run by these women, which aims to operate through an exchange program that consists of co-operative type operation where each individual is responsible for maintenance and operation of the initiative. This allows a continuous cycle of women being able to seek livelihood and training opportunities while their family members can be cared for such as children elderly and disabled family.

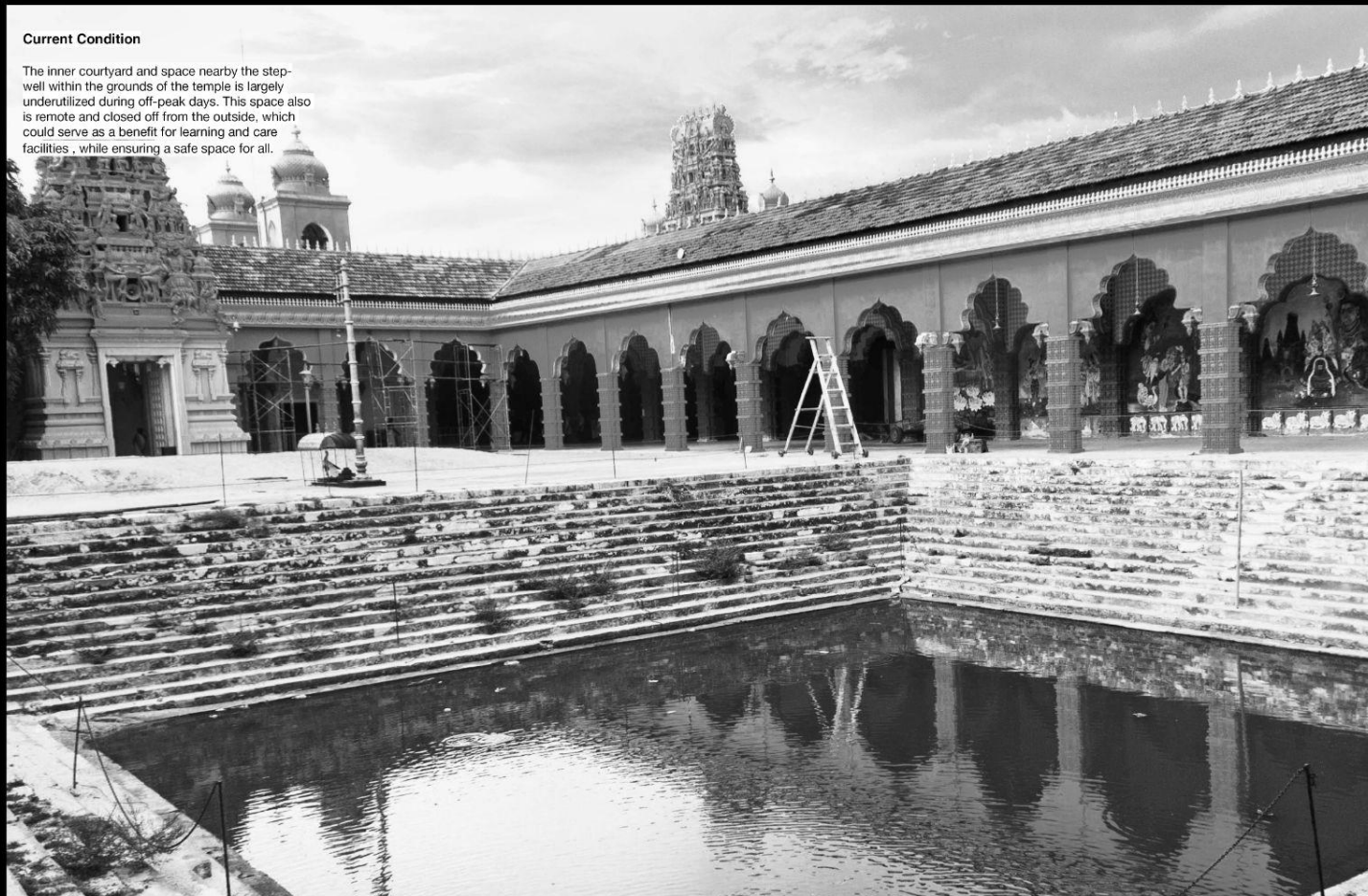
Who + How:

- Women in the labour force, Local Businesses, Members of Initiative
- Health Care Professionals, College of Nursing Jaffna Students
- Women-Led Households & Marginalized Women
- Support: Rs +
- Nallur Kovil Temple Society, Local Businesses, Private Transportation Company, Diaspora
- Women in the labour force, Health Care Professionals, College of Nursing Jaffna



Current Condition

The inner courtyard and space nearby the stepwell within the grounds of the temple is largely underutilized during off-peak days. This space also is remote and closed off from the outside, which could serve as a benefit for learning and care facilities, while ensuring a safe space for all.

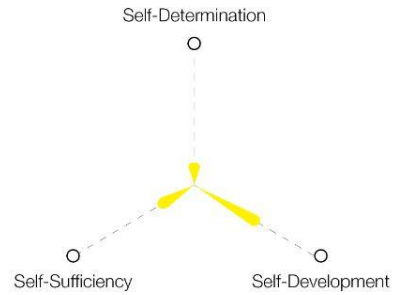


Proposed Activation

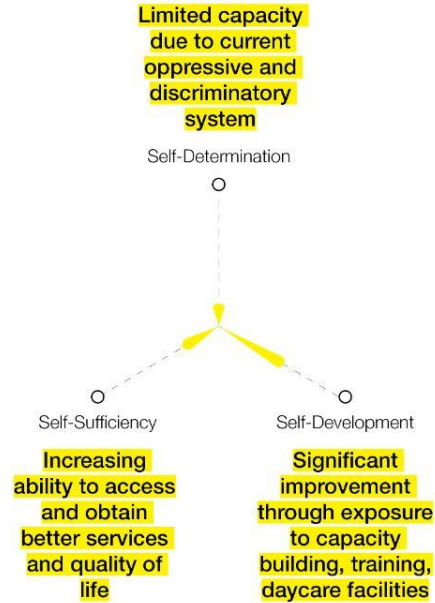
The openness and unobstructed ground plane of the courtyard could be maximize to facilitate a large variety of programs. This image illustrates activation of the courtyard and water-well through the erection of temporary structures and articulation of different spaces through the use of vibrant colors and simple geometries. The structures can host programs ranging from capacity building workshops, community gatherings, and daycare activities for children.



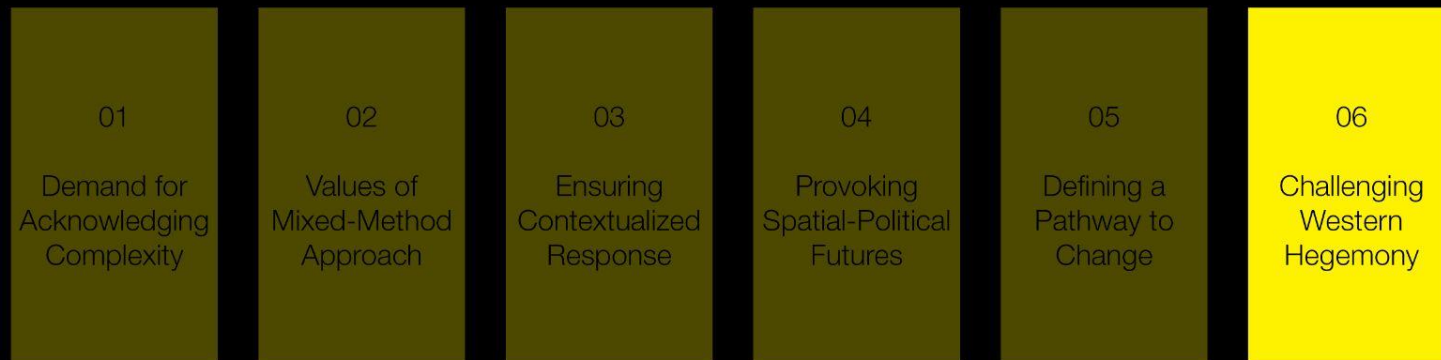
S1: Status Quo

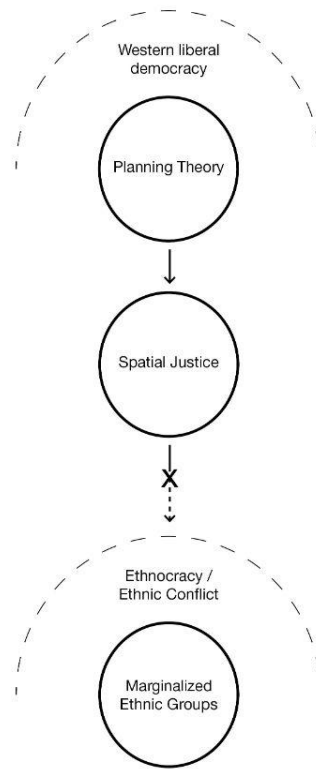


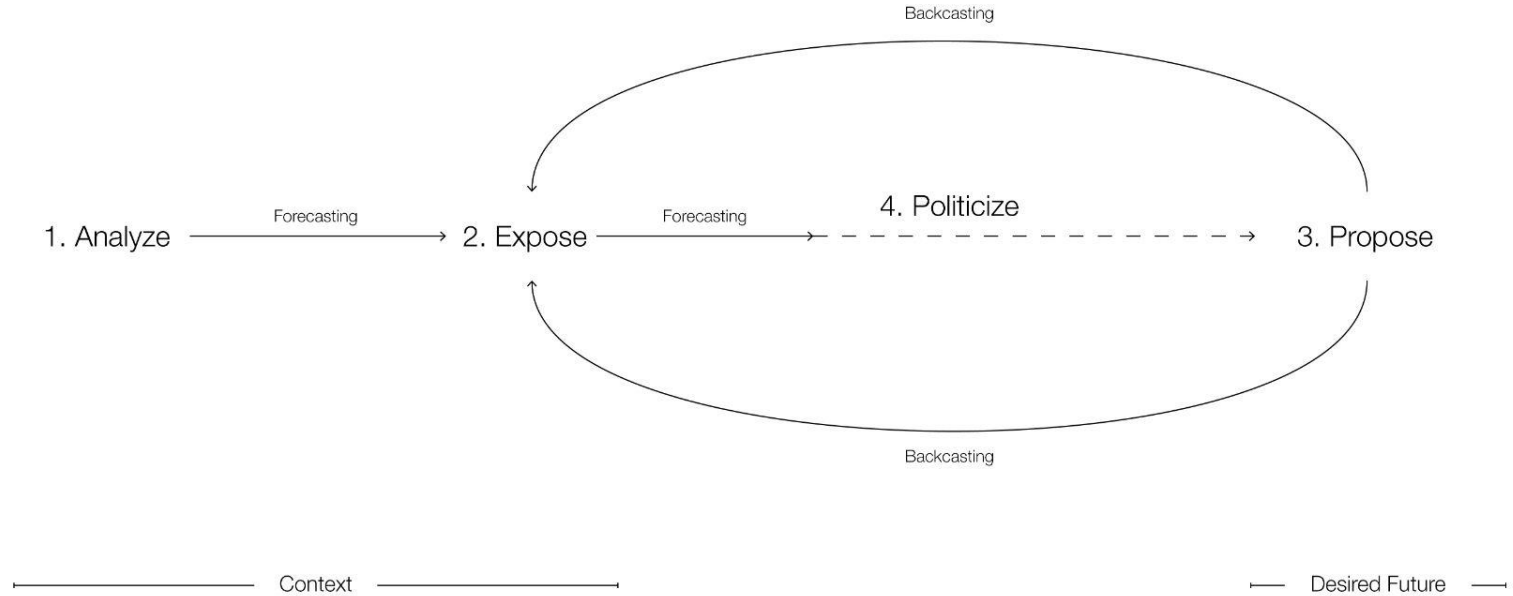
S1: Status Quo

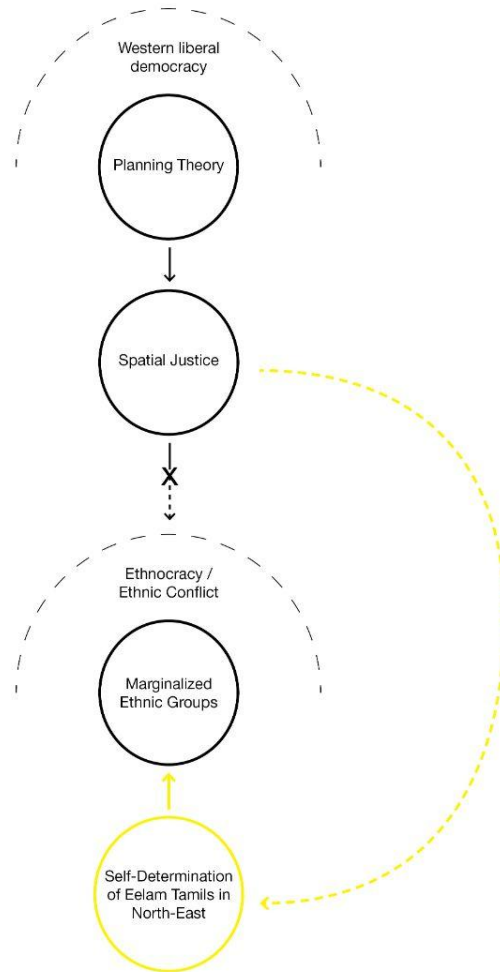






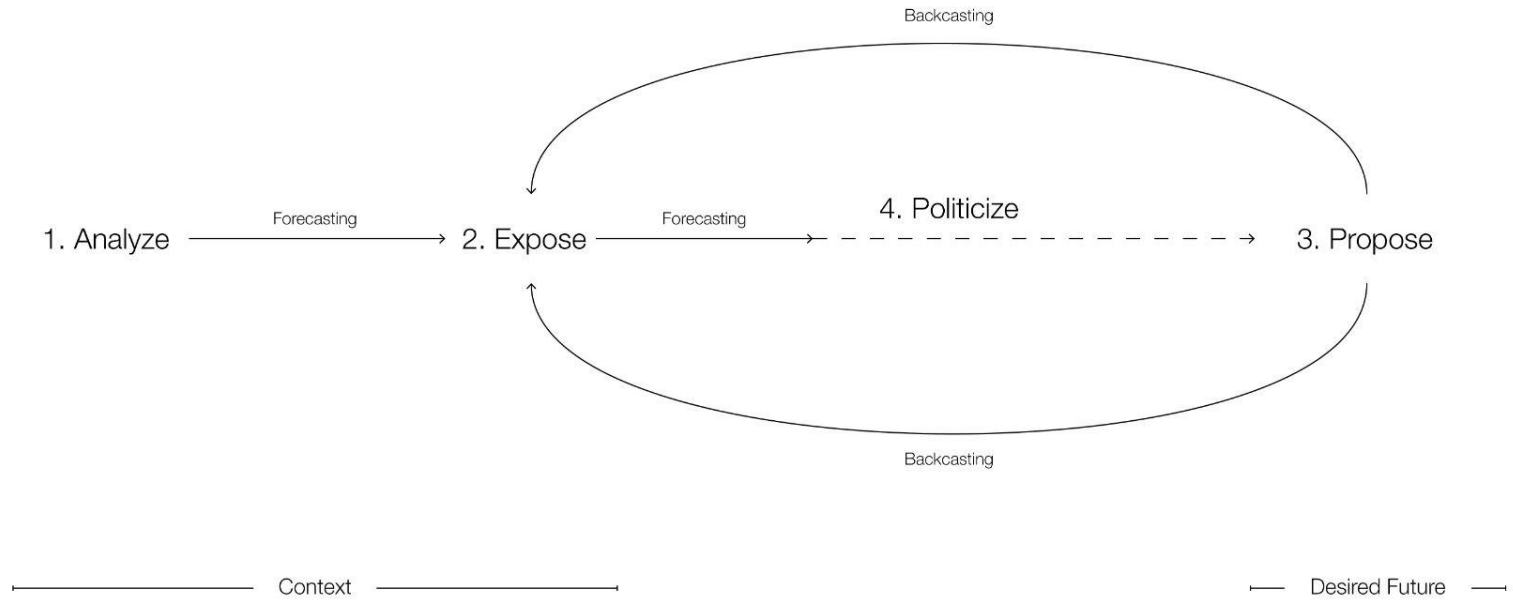


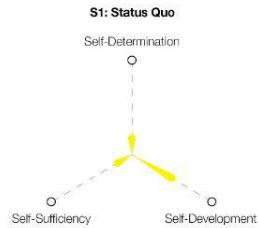




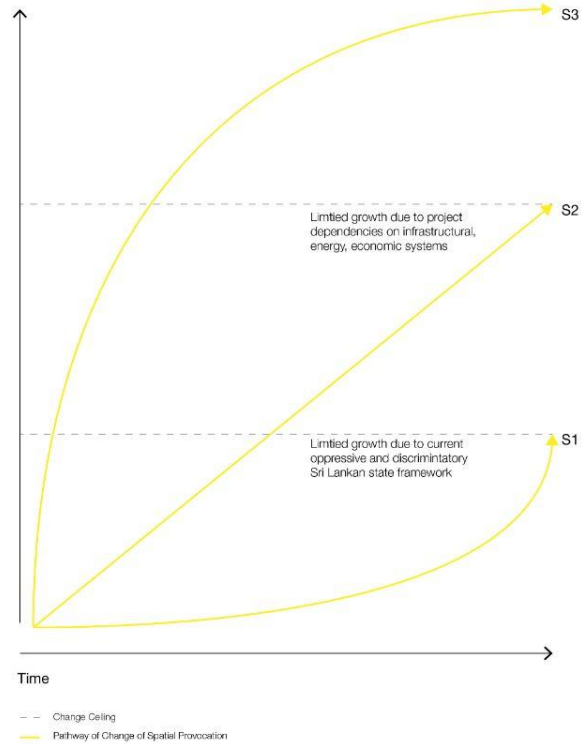
C O N C L U S I O N S

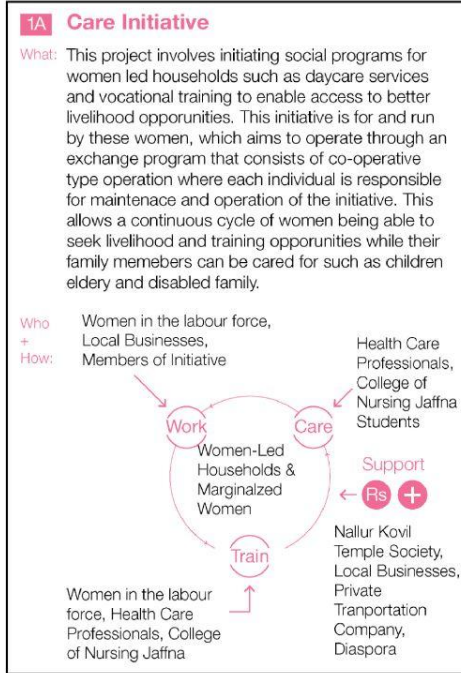
How can spatial planning unlock conditions to promote a spatially-just, contextualized and sustainable transition toward self-determination of Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka?

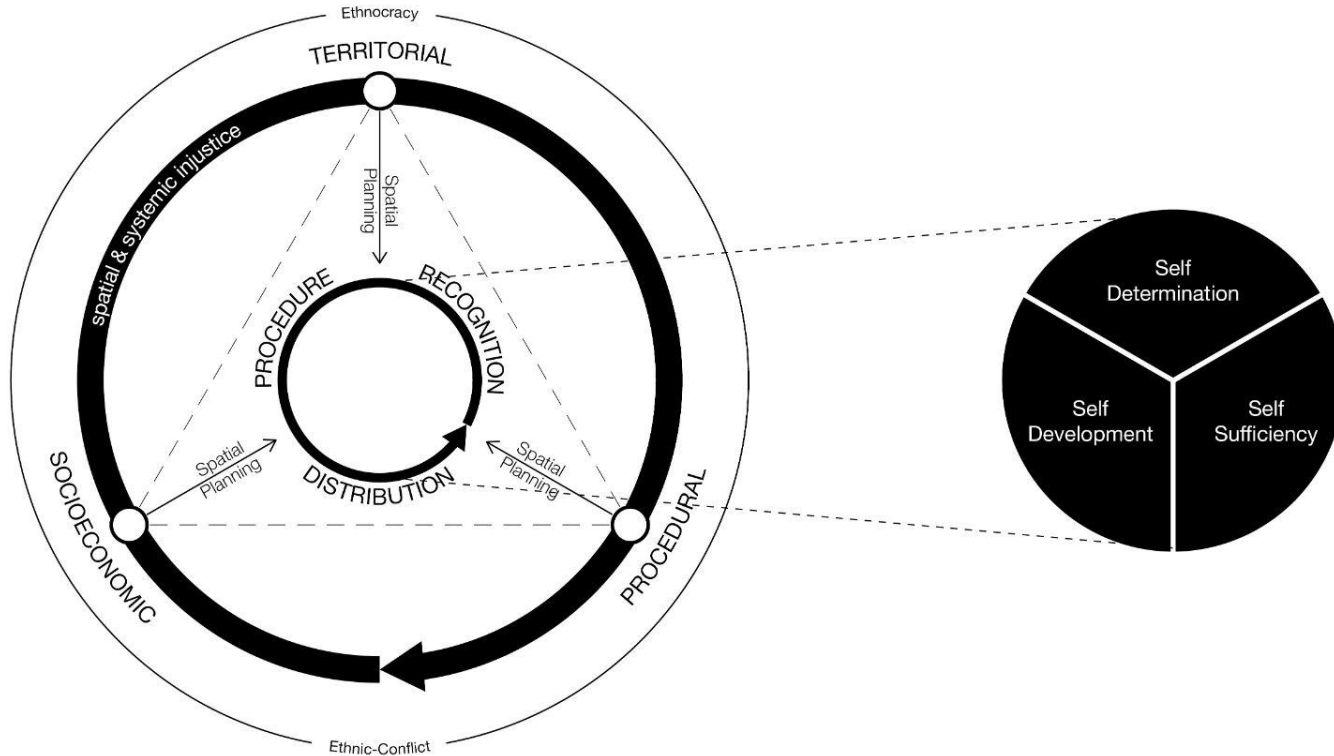




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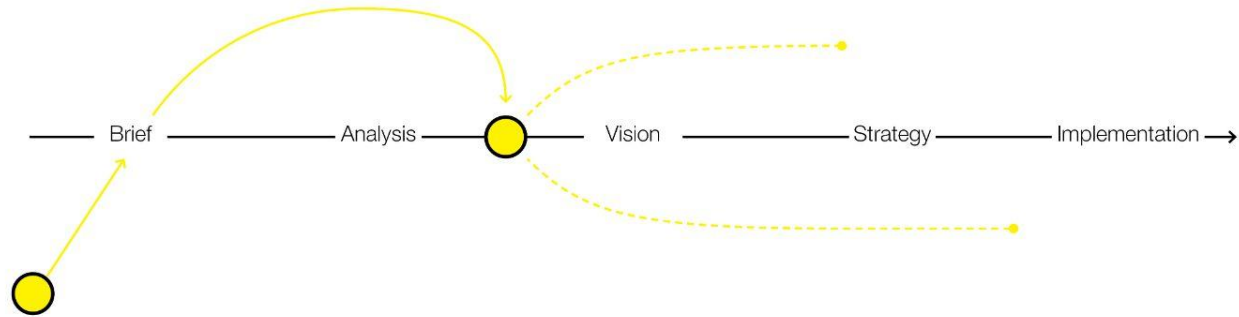




Further Research?

Contributing to current planning
practice and discourse.





GEOGRAPHIES OF CONFLICT:

Towards liberation, self-determination and spatial justice in
Sri Lanka's North-East

P5 Presentation
Graduation Project

Johnathan Subendran
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2nd Mentor: Diego Sepulveda Carmona