

G E O G R A P H I E S O F C O N F L I C T : T O W A R D S L I B E R A T I O N , S E L F - D E T E R M I N A T I O N A N D S P A T I A L J U S T I C E I N S R I L A N K A ' S N O R T H - E A S T

P5 Report

TO ALL THOSE WITHOUT VOICE
TO ALL THOSE WITHOUT JUSTICE
TO ALL THOSE WITHOUT HOMELAND

Fig. 0 Eranga Jayawardena: A Sri Lankan Tamil man holds a placard during a protest in Colombo on August 21, 2018, demanding the release of lands still occupied by the military



GEOGRAPHIES OF CONFLICT:
Towards Liberation, Self-determination and Spatial justice in Sri Lanka's North-East

Masters Thesis P5 Report
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ABSTRACT

This research project aims to understand the spatial and procedural implications of planning and spatial justice in conditions of oppressive power and conflict. Ambitions towards spatial justice amongst marginalized ethnic minority populations are at further risk if liberal notions of government and planning continue to operate under the ethnocratic state regime. This demands an alternative approach and perspectives that are context-specific to which can engage with the realities of marginalized populations towards the quest for justice. The research framework is steered by an exploratory research approach that suggests an organic process to contextualize the preconditions of spatial justice as the research begins to unveil the marginalized areas of North-Eastern, Sri Lanka. The project aims to understand how spatial planning (planning and design) can unlock conditions to support the quest for spatial justice, self-determination, and liberation of Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka's North-East.

Fig. 1 Tamil Guardian: *Remembering Mullivaikkal*



GLOSSARY

Eelam Tamils

The ethnic-group of Tamils in Sri Lanka, which is natively referred to as Eelam.

Spatial Justice

The graduation project aims to combine a theoretical and context-specific definition of Spatial Justice

1) The fair and equitable distribution of social resources and public goods over space, and spatial or geographical aspects of injustice and justice (Soja 2009)

2) Self-determination and liberation of Tamils in Sri Lanka

Ethnocracy

A regime under which a dominant ethnic group appropriates the state apparatus and shapes most public policies (Yiftachel 2004)

Spatial Planning

Spatial planning refer to the methods and approaches used by the public and private sector to influence the distribution of people and activities in spaces of various scales. (Acheampong 2018)

Geographies of Conflict

A territory that experiences conflict

Self-Determination

The ability of a group or individual to shape its collective identity and determine its preferred form of government.

ACPR: Adalayam Center for Policy Research

DS: District Secretariat

GoSL: Government of Sri Lanka

LTTE: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

PEARL: People for Equality and Relief in Lanka

SL: Sri Lanka

TULF: Tamil United Liberation Front

UDA: Urban Development Authority

UNHRC: United Nations Human Rights Council

UN: United Nations

WFP: World Food Programme

Fig. 1 Tamil Guardian: A scene of devastation in Mullivaikkal, Mullaitivu pictured days after the Sri Lankan military had overrun the area.



INTRODUCTION

Urban
Economic
Socio-Political
Ethnic
Socio-Spatial
Hegemonic

1. Sampson, R. J., Wilson, W. J., Hagan, J., & Peterson, R. D. (1995). Toward a theory of race, crime, and urban inequality. 1995, 37-54.Economic inequality (Neoliberalism)
2. Watson, V. (2009). Seeing from the South: Refocusing urban planning on the globe's central urban issues. Urban Studies, 46(11), 2259–2275. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009342598>
3. Diamond, L., & Diamond, L. (2020). Democratic regression in comparative perspective : scope , methods , and causes methods , and causes. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1807517>Socio-political polarization (Neoliberalism)

Inequality¹
Inequality²
Polarization³
Conflict⁴
Segregation⁵
Planning⁵

4. Yiftachel, O. (2008). Spaces of Ethnic Conflict. International Encyclopedia of Human Geography.
5. Jabareen, Y. (2017). Hegemonic Planning and Marginalizing People. The Routledge Handbook of Planning Theory, 289–301.

Globalization, climate change, neoliberalism and the rise of populism have become magnifiers of pre-existing inequalities which exacerbates vulnerabilities of disadvantaged and marginalized populations. This demands increased attention to the most vulnerable populations to go beyond improving and redistributing justice, but to dismantle systemic structures that are designed to oppress and discriminate (Marcuse, 2009).

In Sri Lanka, the hegemonic forces of the nation state have unapologetically used its power to perpetuate decades of hatred and discrimination against the Eelam Tamil people, in which their capacity to represent the best interests of all must be questioned.

The urge to contextualize any form of spatial planning and development is crucial to communicate effective results that align with local demands, dynamics, conditions, and realities. This is increasingly important where systemic injustice occurs by the state itself who hold responsibility to represent the best interests of the entire population. This poses a challenge to existing spatial planning and design disciplines to broaden the understanding of their knowledge of the relative context prior to promote integral and increase awareness to unforeseen circumstances. Moreover, the complex nature of the issues demands a multi-dimensional approach that can tackle political, socio-economic, environmental, infrastructure, and spatial dimensions effectively.

It is clear this demands a new perspective or approach that both combines complex theories and contextual realities. Thus alternative perspectives on spatial planning, justice and governance could operate as counter-hegemonic, oppositional, or merely 'hack' the existing system. In doing so, ideas of insurgent planning, transitional justice, self-determination, could be coupled with spatial planning and spatial justice to operationalize and recognize the context-specific challenges and conditions. This insurgent act of planning entails strengthening actors and collective action from the bottom of the pyramid of power. The case of the Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) in South Africa shows that these structures can both stabilize state-citizen relations and destabilize them towards greater chances of success (Miraftab, 2016).

The question would be to understand the spatial implication and the role of spatial planners and designers to help facilitate alternative processes toward spatial justice, and empower and support the agency of vulnerable groups. This could either be a form of resistance against the status-quo but also a chance to explore radical and innovative ways of governance and spatial organization. Ultimately, an alternative approach on spatial planning and spatial justice could directly respond to ground realities and contribute toward a self-determination for marginalized Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka's North-East.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

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Research Structure
Lines of Inquiry
Methods
Conceptual & Analytical Framework
Intended Outcomes
Conclusions

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The research approach involves the combination of an exploratory and critical planning approach. The combined approach attempts to critically explore and under-researched intersections of spatial justice and contexts of ethnocracy, toward reconceptualizing Western dominant notions of justice and space to better engage with realities of oppressive power and ethnic conflict.

The critical planning approach draws inspiration from the New Paradigm of Planning called Critical Planning suggested by Peter Marcuse. This approach aims to respond to the direction of progressive planning, that engages with issues of social justice such as race, discrimination, and segregation, to name a few (Marcuse, 2010). Moreover, it suggests pushing deeper into the roots of the problem of the pertinent social issues of our time. The approach suggests four key steps; analyze, expose, propose, and politicize.

The essence of an exploratory research approach aims to explore understudied domains (Stebbins 2001) and to understand a phenomenon by application of well-defined theories on an applied case. The scope of this research aims to further expand notions of spatial justice and spatial planning within the context of ethnocracy, particularly in regards to marginalized ethnic-minority groups. In doing so, a combined inductive and deductive reasoning loop will be used to guide the framework from theory to context, and toward the adaptation of the original theory that is contextualized.

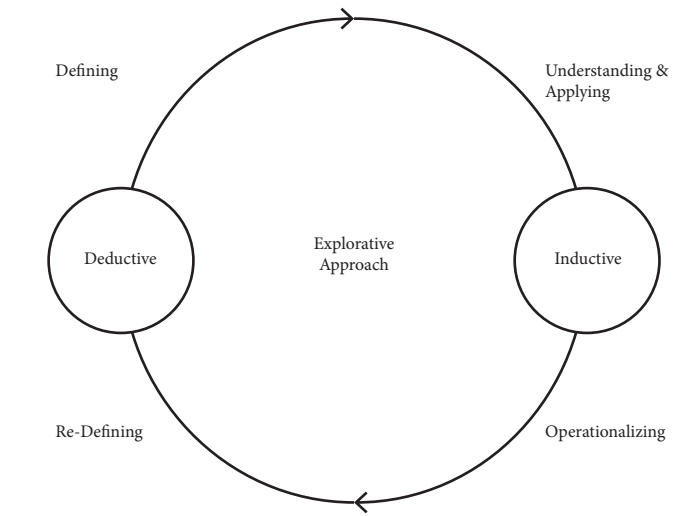
This begins with understanding the global context and discussions surrounding the knowledge gap and current state-of-art. Then, a comparative case analysis is done to understand how marginalized communities of varying geographical, political, and cultural contexts have engaged with contesting the ethnocratic state, to further extract knowledge of success and failure factors. From here, one of the previously examined cases would be further explored; a case on Sri Lanka and its most vulnerable region to ethnocracy and injustice will be further explored. The driving research question initially is open-ended to not impose but will be further defined through understanding the specific pre-conditions for spatial justice within marginalized communities. This feedback loop is an opportunity to further define the direction of the research outcomes is vital to ensure outcomes and findings are contextualized.

This combined approach was chosen due to its versatility. Firstly, the ability to engage with structural issues

about socio-spatial injustice which a significant body of planning theory lacks to challenge. Secondly, the organic nature of the approach, allows reframing and feedback loops to circumvent top-down imposition that would most likely further exacerbate risk. Thirdly, the multiscalar dimension allows engaging with the issues at various scales to ensure both global and local relevance concerning space and society.

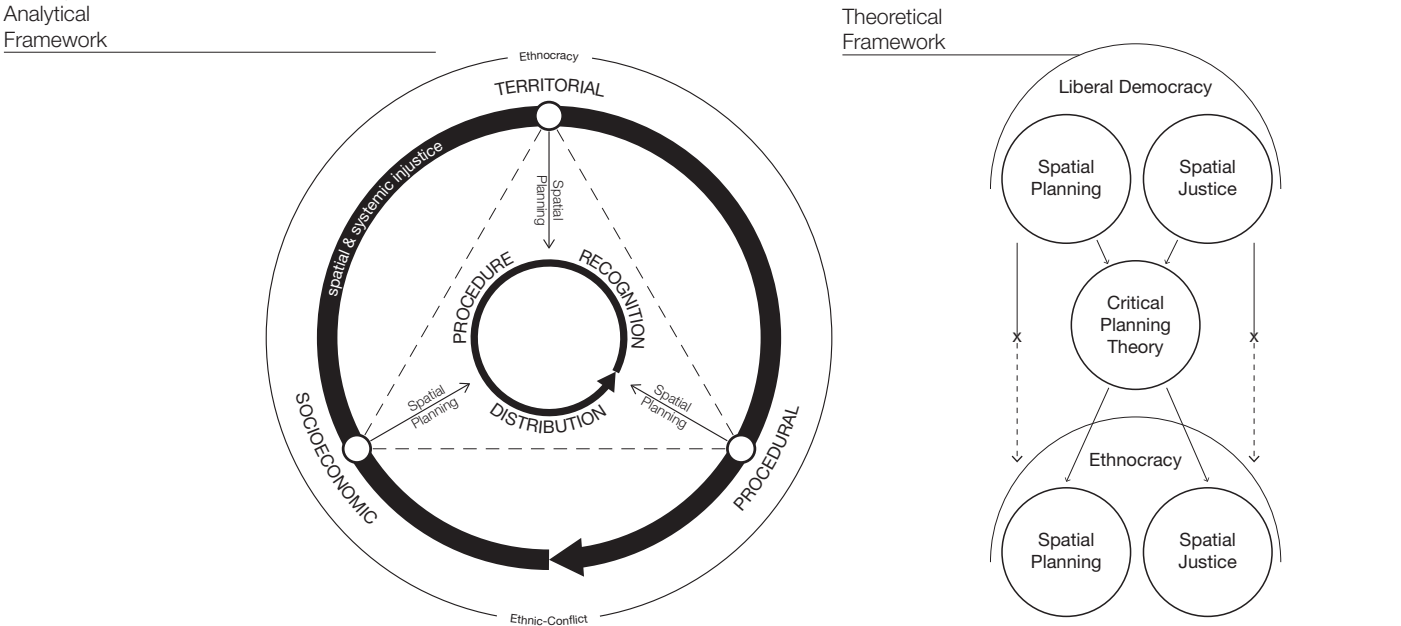
To conclude, this approach is ideologically aligned with core problem factors and research aims because it suggests a way of understanding questions concerning dominant values and ideals of planning theory, which lack the recognition of difference. And, in the attempt to strive toward context-specific perspectives in conditions of oppressive power and conflict, this approach offers feedback loops to further define the hypothesis to operationalize challenges to opportunities in an ethical manner.

Fig. 3 Author: Illustrated Research Approach



Problem Field	Marginalized Groups	Ethnocratic Regime	Spatial & Systemic Injustice	Western Hegemonic Planning Theory
Key Words	Ethnocracy , Ethnic Conflict, Spatial Planning, Sri Lanka, Spatial Justice, Marginalized			
Location	North-East Region of Sri Lanka			
Problem Statement	The ethnocratic state of Sri Lanka continues to deny and oppress Eelam Tamil self-determination. This has led to spatial and systemic repression of economic, social, political, and cultural prosperity of Eelam Tamil people, who seek access to basic human rights and conditions for a proper livelihood. The decontextualization and Western dominant Spatial Justice theory have undermined the vulnerabilities of minority ethnic groups within conditions of oppressive power and ethnic-conflict. This demands an alternative approach and reconceptualized perspectives that are context-specific, to better address the realities of marginalized populations towards justice and self-determination.			
Research Aim	To understand how spatial justice planning theory and practice can contextualize under conditions of oppressive power and conflict			
Research Question	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?			
Research Approach	Exploratory Research (Inductive and Deductive)			

Lines of Inquiry	1.Analyze How can spatial justice be contextualized in contexts of ethnocracy and more specifically for Tamils in Sri Lanka? How has ethnic conflict evolved over time and shaped the social, spatial, political and cultural dynamics in Sri Lanka's North-East? What are the systemic and spatial injustices faced by Tamils in Sri Lanka's North East?	2.Expose Where are most geographically marginalized areas and socio-economically vulnerable populations in Sri Lanka's North East? What are the socioeconomic, procedural and territorial capacities in Sri Lanka's North-East that could support self-determination, and spatial justice of Eelam Tamils?	3.Propose What spatial and procedural actions can unlock conditions toward spatial justice in the North-East? How can spatial-political scenarios pave alternative pathways toward self-determination of Eelam Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka?	4.Politicize How to operationalize a pathway of change and accelerate the transition toward self-determination of the North-East and Eelam Tamils? How can civil society, institutions, professional, public, and private actors all be active agents of change in the quest for spatial justice and sustainable development?
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Methods	Literature Review	Media Review	Statistical Analysis	Transcalar Mapping
	Case Study	Scenario Building	Sociospatial Analysis	Stakeholder Analysis
	Interviews			
Outcomes	Regional Scale	Sub-Regional Scale	Local Scale	
	Alternative Conceptual Framework on Spatial Justice for Oppressed and Marginalized Ethnic Populations within Ethnocratic Regimes			
	An Exposé on the Sri Lankan State / Spatial Justice Project via Instagram			
	Spatial Justice Toolkit (Spatial and Procedural Actions)			
	Spatial Provocations on Alternative Futures & Strategic Actions		Activator Projects	
Conclusion	New Direction in Spatial Justice Theory	Reflection	New Approach on Spatial Justice in Areas of Conflict	

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The ethnocratic state of Sri Lanka continues to deny and oppress Eelam Tamil self-determination. This has led to spatial and systemic repression of economic, social, political, and cultural prosperity of Eelam Tamil people, who seek access to basic human rights and conditions for a proper livelihood. In conjunction, the decontextualization and Western dominant Spatial Justice theory have undermined the vulnerabilities of minority ethnic groups within conditions of oppressive power and ethnic-conflict. This demands an alternative approach and reconceptualized perspectives that are context-specific, to better address the realities of marginalized populations towards justice and self-determination.

RESEARCH AIM

Expose structural mechanisms and actors that are responsible for perpetuating systemic and spatial injustices towards marginalized populations.

Understanding how spatial justice planning theory and practice can contextualize under conditions of oppressive power and conflict.

To dismantle the hegemonic planning perspectives that dominate our practice and institutions, toward finding new centers of knowledge and processes to better engage with geographies of conflict.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Explore alternative planning processes that are counter-hegemonic and imaginative while aligning to agendas of sustainable development and justice.

Develop procedural tools and spatial strategies to help facilitate the contextualized socio-spatial and politically transformative process towards spatial justice, self-determination, and liberation in geographies of conflict.

Understand how various actors amongst public, private, and civil society can co-create and collaborate within ethnocratic regimes to mobilize socio-spatial transition towards spatial justice.

RESEARCH QUESTION(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?

Analyze

How can spatial justice be contextualized in contexts of ethnocracy and more specifically for Tamils in Sri Lanka?

How has ethnic conflict evolved over time and shaped the social, spatial, political and cultural dynamics in Sri Lanka’s North-East?

What are the systemic and spatial injustices faced by Tamils in Sri Lanka’s North East?

Expose

Where are most geographically marginalized areas and socio-economically vulnerable populations in Sri Lanka’s North East?

What are the socioeconomic, procedural and territorial capacities in Sri Lanka’s North-East that could support self-determination, and spatial justice of Eelam Tamils?

Propose

What spatial and procedural actions can unlock conditions toward spatial justice in the North-East?

How can spatial-political scenarios pave alternative pathways toward self-determination of Eelam Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka?

Politicize

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

How can civil society, institutions, professional, public, and private actors all be active agents of change in the quest for spatial justice and sustainable development?

The methodology largely operates through the lines of inquiry. The structure of the inquiry draws from the Critical Planning approach of Peter Marcuse. This critical approach aims to engage with structural issues and mechanisms that traditional communicative and justice planning concepts fall short to address. The following suggests Analyze (analyzing the roots of the problem); Expose (converting findings into a weapon to achieve goals); Propose (developing a vision while pushing the limits of practice); Politicize (forming strategies for achieving change and addressing issues of power). In doing so, four series of sub-research questions act as a line of questioning along with the four steps of Critical Planning as a back bone.

This critical planning approach was selected due to its ability to unravel deeper dimensions in potential issues such as systemic and structural issues, such as power, space and time. Furthermore, the critical lines of inquiry are combined with an exploratory research approach which includes a combined cycle of deductive and inductive reasoning. The explorative nature of the research is then combined with critical lines of inquiry to support the understudied and complex context and conditions.

To operationalize this combined approach, a series of qualitative and quantitative research methods are used to support the explorative nature of the research. The methods used vary from literature and media review to support both the theoretical and contextual understandings, analytical tools such as socio-spatial analysis and statistical analysis, and documentative and explorative tools such as scenario building and transcalar mapping. Finally, the use of the case study will support the theoretical grounding of the explored ideas and concepts to ultimately contextualize planning perspectives and possible explore alternatives.

This research approach aims to support a critical exploration that is both organic and rigorous to understand the implications of grounding theories in context and develop alternative perspectives through provocation.

Critical Lines of Inquiry

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?

Critical Planning Approach

ANALYZE

- How can spatial justice be contextualized in contexts of ethnocracy and more specifically for Tamils in Sri Lanka?
- How has ethnic conflict evolved over time and shaped the social, spatial, political and cultural dynamics in Sri Lanka’s North-East?
- What are the systemic and spatial injustices faced by Tamils in Sri Lanka’s North East?

EXPOSE

- Where are most geographically marginalized areas and socio-economically vulnerable populations in Sri Lanka’s North East?
- What are the socioeconomic, procedural and territorial capacities in Sri Lanka’s North-East that could support self-determination, and spatial justice of Eelam Tamils?

PROPOSE

- What spatial and procedural actions can unlock conditions toward spatial justice in the North-East?
- How can spatial-political scenarios pave alternative pathways toward self-determination of Eelam Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka?

POLITICIZE

- How to operationalize a pathway of change and accelerate the transition toward self-determination of the North-East and Eelam Tamils?
- How can civil society, institutions, professional, public, and private actors all be active agents of change in the quest for spatial justice and sustainable development?

Project Phases

Exploratory X Critical Planning Approach (Deductive/Inductive)

ANALYZE

1. Theoretical & Research Framework
2. Context & Problem Framing
3. Problem Analysis

EXPOSE

4. Identifying Criticalities & Socio-Spatial Challenges
5. Capacity Study

PROPOSE

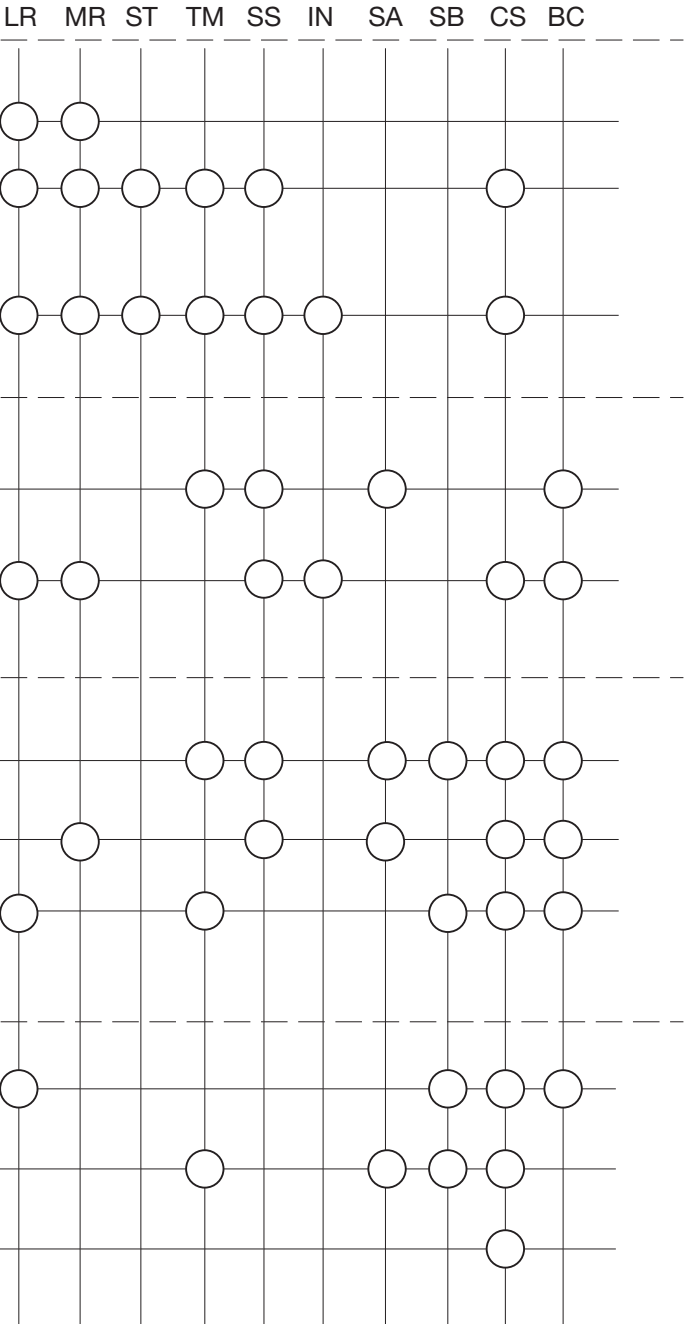
6. Spatial and Procedural Actions
7. Institutional Frameworks
8. Spatial Provocations

POLITICIZE

9. Pathways of Change
10. Generators of Change (Projects)
11. Reflection + Conclusion

Methods

- LR: Literature Review
 MR: Mixed Media Review
 ST: Statistical Analysis
 TM: Transcalar Mapping
 SS: Sociospatial Analysis
 IN: Interviews
 SA: Stakeholder Analysis
 SB: Scenario Building
 CS: Case Study
 BC: Backcasting



LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review comprises a critical survey of scholarly articles, books, and other sources to unveil key aspects of the research in both theory and context. To which a critical evaluation, summary, and description will be composed in relation to the theoretical foundations and context-specificity of the selected case.

This method aims to support the explorative approach of the research, to draw interrelations of ideas that are rather under-explored. This comprises two key steps, first is to understand the relevant bodies of literature toward finding the knowledge gap within spatial justice and planning theory. And secondly, to diversify the centers of knowledge used, by referring authors and theories positioned from largely the global south and suggest alternative notions on challenging the dominant pedagogies of planning theory and spatial justice. This second step will also include the scanning of policy documents, news articles, and non-academic sources to gain a broader understanding of the context and the applicability of the theoretical framework.

- (1A) Theoretical Research Framework
- (1B) Conceptual Framework
- (2) Problem Framing and
- (3) Problem Analysis

MIXED MEDIA REVIEW

This method includes the review of mixed media sources such as documentaries, short stories, and other alternative media sources that demonstrate the challenges and dimensions of the selected case.

The main aim of the media review is to gain a deeper understanding of the case-specific conditions due to lack of formal data availability and the practice of documentation. In doing so, it could unveil a wide range of perspectives of the selected case that would expand the traditional centers of knowledge and also empower voices that would be represented through formal mediums.

- (1A) Theoretical Research Framework
- (2) Problem Framing
- (3) Problem Analysis
- (5) Capacity Study
- (7) Institutional Frameworks

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Within the scope of this project, Statistical Analysis involves a critical investigation of collected statistical data from a wide range of sources such as government institutions, non-governmental organizations, financial institutions (ie Worldbank), and stand-alone reports from journalists and news organizations.

To draw quantifiable measurements of non-spatial data that unveil insights on the societal, economic, cultural, and political dimensions within Sri Lanka and the North-Eastern regions. The collected and analyzed data will be used as inputs for spatial and stakeholder analysis. Moreover, it will be used to help frame the challenges and tangible dimensions for further exploration.

- (2) Context & Problem Framing
- (3) Problem Analysis

TRANSCALAR MAPPING

This mapping method involves understanding the transversal relationship of context across multiple scales.

This aims to demonstrate defining characteristics at both spatial and systemic levels at each scale and unveil their interdependence and relation to each other. This will, in turn, decompose the complex systems to understand their relative structures and processes.

- (2) Context & Problem Framing
- (3) Problem Analysis
- (4) Identifying Criticalities & Challenges
- (6) Spatial and Procedural Actions
- (8) Spatial Provocations
- (10) Generators of Change (Projects)

SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS

This combined analytical approach involves the interacting relationship between the built environment and society. This method will also involve principles of ethnography, to further understand the relationship of people and their cultures, customs, habits, and differences over space.

This method will aim to understand the inner workings of spatial injustice and the responsible forces perpetuating oppression and discrimination of marginalized groups. This method is a core tool across the research as it

formulates a way to communicate the problematic dimensions through a unique spatial perspective.

- (2) Context & Problem Framing
- (3) Problem Analysis
- (4) Identifying Criticalities & Challenges
- (5) Capacity Study
- (6) Spatial and Procedural Actions
- (7) Institutional Frameworks

INTERVIEWS

Due to the restrictions on travel amidst the pandemic. A range of interviews is to be conducted with experts, NGOs, members of the diaspora who are currently engaged with challenges of Eelam Tamils within their own practice and disciplines as well as life experience.

To gain a better understanding of the challenges of ethnic minority Eelam Tamils and the role of key actors in countering oppressive forces, advocacy, and promoting change from the scale of the neighborhood, to the city and region, as well international community.

- (3) Problem Analysis
- (5) Capacity Study

STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

This involves the identification of key stakeholders operating at various scales and investigating their roles, interests, relative power, and desire to participate in the selected case areas. And, to understand the cooperation and conflict between various actor groups and other scales (IA State, 2019).

To understand the key players and forces in the continued oppression of injustice and key actors at various scales who have the capacity to advocate and promote reform. This stakeholder analysis will also be combined with spatial dimensions to understand the capacity of the selected case area and how it can promote opportunities and alternative futures.

- (4) Identifying Criticalities & Challenges
- (6) Spatial and Procedural Actions
- (7) Institutional Frameworks
- (9) Pathways of Change
- (10) Generators of Change (Projects)

SCENARIO BUILDING

The process of creating various pathways or courses of action to forecast the implications of potential opportunities, explorations, and futures situations.

The development of scenarios to help to identify the possible pathways to achieve targets toward a vision of the future. This scenario building process aims to understand the spatial, procedural, and socioeconomic implications on the potential impact and level of change or adaptation toward the desired outcome. This will also project speculative conditions that will show how things could possibly evolve and would provide valuable insights by testing the various pathways

- (6) Spatial and Procedural Actions
- (8) Spatial Provocations
- (9) Pathways of Change
- (10) Generators of Change (Projects)

EXPLANATORY CASE STUDY

The selected case intends to provide a basis to explore the implications of a phenomenon and explorative research approach to which attempts to advance theoretical notions that can better engage across broader context specificities. This will also be used as an example that could potentially help understand phenomenons in similar contexts

To explore the implications of spatial justice in conditions of conflict that are rather under-explored. In doing so, it could contribute valuable insights to the discourse on spatial justice, bridging the knowledge gap between planning theory and practice and help disseminate theoretical frameworks through a tangible case, based on realistic parameters.

BACKCASTING

This method was used to extend the horizon of possibilities to tackle the pressing challenges of the research. The backcasting technique is used to explore spatial and procedural actions, as well as project a desired future. Wherein, the use of various scenarios, in this case provocative spatial futures were used to explore three distinct trajectories that would connect the current with future conditions.

- (4-9)

The illustrated framework aims to dually operate as a conceptual and analytical framework. The reading of the diagram suggests how spatial justice can be operationalized within the context of an ethnocracy and ethnic conflict. The framework can be decomposed into five key parts.

The first phase can be described as 'setting the stage' or the context of the framework. The conceptual framing positions itself within the context of ethnocracy and ethnic conflict. This phase is crucial in the process of contextualizing notions of spatial justice and planning.

The second and third phase defines three dimensions within ethnocracy, which draws inspiration from Oren Yiftachel's concept of 'planning control'. As he states, planning in ethnocratic regimes can be understood through three planning control mechanisms; territorial, procedural, and socioeconomic. And, how they are used to exert domination and oppression against groups. Each of the dimensions then aims to unveil its causality of problematic factors; Territory affecting containment, surveillance, and segregation; Procedure, perpetuating exclusion and marginalization; Socioeconomic, affecting deprivation and dependence. In which, planning can therefore facilitate domination and control of key societal resources such as space, power, and wealth.

The extension of the second phase involves critically understanding spatial and systemic injustice through the three key dimensions. This interrelation will highlight the main spatial-systemic challenges and their relation to the territory, procedure, and society. This process ensures the contextualization of the challenges which can then be operationalized towards future opportunities and pathways.

By an in-depth reading of the challenges pertaining to spatial and systemic injustices, the fourth phase can be realized. The fourth phase involves projecting spatial justice that stems from the values and ideas of justice in the context of the ethnic minority group within the selected. These defining principles of spatial justice combine challenges of the context and theoretical foundations. The theoretical underpinnings draw inspiration from literature on 'social equity in urban resilience planning', where conceptualization of social equity and justice includes distributional, recognitional, and procedural equity dimensions (Meerow 2019). In which, all three types shape the (in)justice on communities and their resilience (Ibid).

The inclusion of recognition challenges the traditional dialectic aspects of distribution and procedure, which is prevalent in normative spatial justice theory. This attempts to bring awareness of intersectionality when it comes to justice-seeking for different vulnerable groups. Ultimately, the projection of spatial justice aims to define the preconditions of justice through space toward alternative futures that could align with global agendas on sustainable development and resilience.

Lastly, once the challenges and preconditions of spatial justice are understood within the context of ethnocracy, the fifth phase suggests how spatial planning can be contextualized and promote alternative spatial planning practices and processes that can operationalize the challenges to formulate strategies and insights towards spatial justice.

Key Concepts:

Ethnocracy: (Yiftachel 2004, 2008)
Three Dimensions of Planning Control: (Yiftachel 1994)
Spatial Justice: Soja 2010, 2015; Fainstein 2009
Social Equity: Meerow 2019; Miraftab 2017; Young 1990
Spatial Planning: Faludi 2000; Albrechts 2004;
Alternative Planning: Miraftab 2006, 2017; Holston 1996; Yiftachel 2006; Watson 2009

Fig. 4 Author: *Decomposed Conceptual Framework*

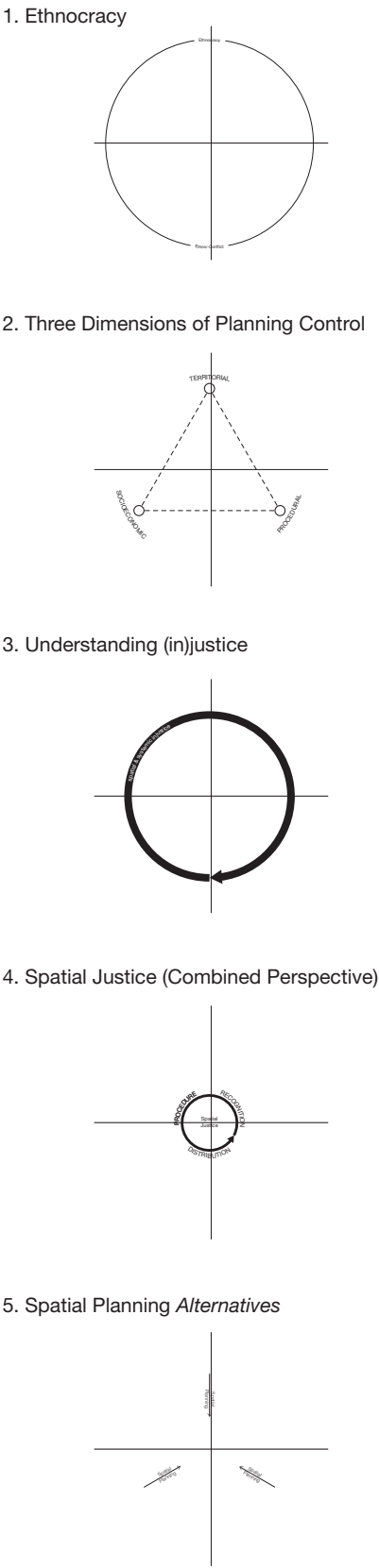
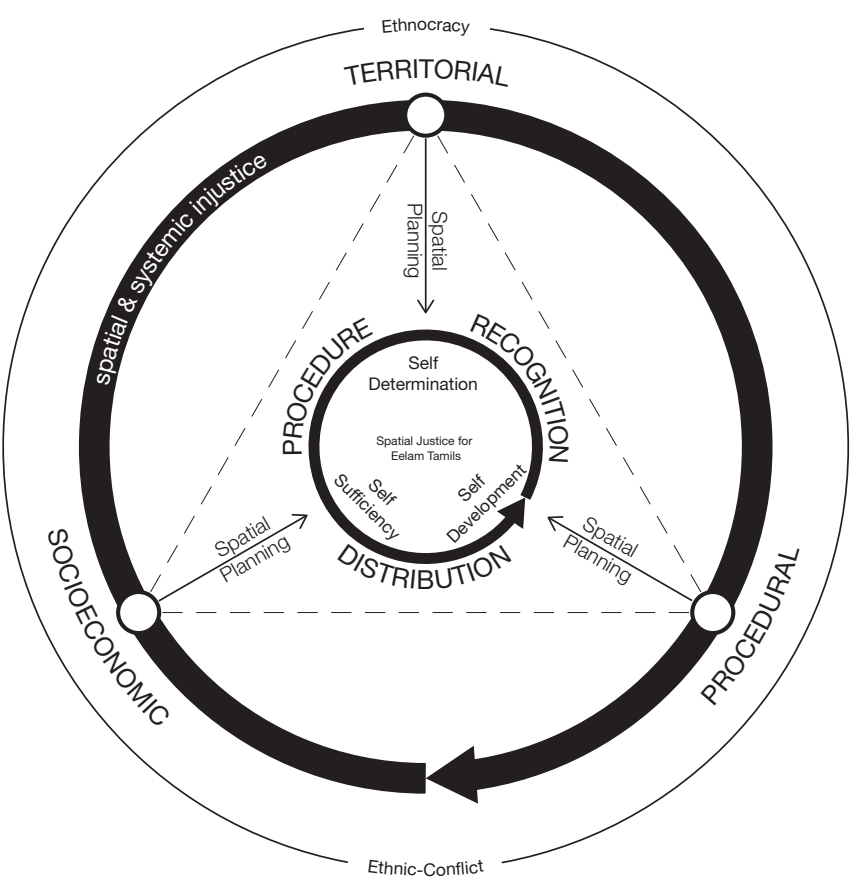


Fig. 5 Author: *Conceptual Framework Illustration*



Reengaging or reconceptualizing planning theory topics such as Spatial Justice requires an explorative that investigates a productive duality between theory and context. This will allow to find synergies that could cross pollinate well-defined Western theory to the realities of a Non-Western context, where notions of power, democracy and space are understood and practice differently. This challenge of contextualizing is at core of this research approach.

Given the limited precedence for this type of research within the intersection of ethnic conflict, spatial justice and planning. It is essential this approach enables instances of flexibility and reflection. This also demands for methods and critical lines of inquiry that will challenge structures of power and challenge the normatives of data and information gathering in the academic setting. Amidst a global health pandemic, it is essential to seek innovative methods to harness knowledge and experiences from a wide range of sources.

The activist tone of this research also aims to challenge existing power structures toward holding those who are perpetuating injustice, accountable. Despite the activist tone, it is important to be cautious of the safety of those involved in this research. Especially, the individuals and groups who might be penalized for vocalizing opposing perspectives and deemed to be against their respective authoritative power structures.

Broadening knowledge dissemination is also a core objective in this research. In which, an increased effort will be invested into using a variety of communicative tools such as social media, multi-media outputs and simplifying the findings to reach beyond traditional academic, to a wider diverse audience.

The following will dive deeper into the planning, limitations faced, scientific and societal relevance and future steps of the research project.

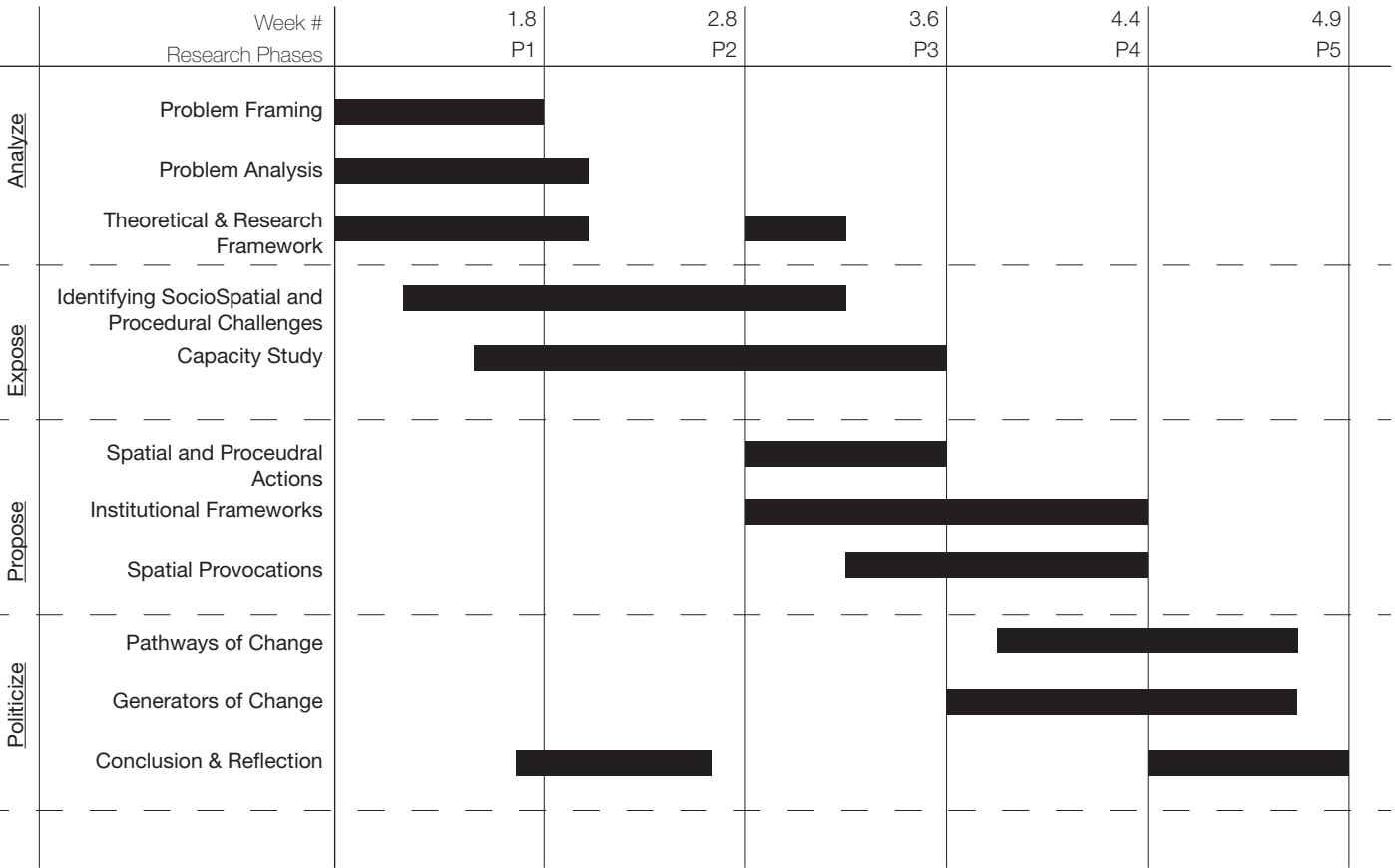
FURTHER RESEARCH

The following steps for research will aim to dive deeper into the problem focus and case of North-East of Sri Lanka to compose a multidimensional analysis. This will be guided by the key dimensions stated in the conceptual framework. Moreover, the next step is to begin to answer and formulate content surrounding the first and second lines of inquiry aiming to understand and expose the roots of the problem.

In regard to research methods, more in-depth literature will be carried out alongside the transcalar mapping, mixed media review, stakeholder, and socio-spatial analysis. Despite the limitations of fieldwork, interviews will be carried to connect and expand the network of engagement. This will firstly entail engaging with experts, members of the diaspora, non-profit organizations, and other relevant actors. The initial networking and knowledge gathering will intend to use pre-existing networks of key actors that have an extensive reach of communities and conditions in the context.

The explorative nature of the research approach intends to build on further defining the preconditions of spatial justice and investigate how alternative planning perspectives through space can contribute towards contextualized processes toward spatial justice. The act of understanding the potential of alternative perspectives will be done through case studies to see how other communities have responded to conditions of oppressive power and ethnic-conflict. This will productively formulate a set of lessons learned from successes and failures.

Fig. 6 Author: Graduation Project Timeline



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A N A L Y Z E

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94	Toward Spatial Justice in the North-East

Over the last half-century, social scientists, political-geographers, urban planners, and architects have theorized how we must proceed in the quest for justice and more recently spatial justice. Contemporary and post-industrial theorization has led to a communicative turn (Yiftachel 2006) in planning theorization in the realm of justice; collaborative, inclusive and justice planning, as well as spatial justice theories, have attempted to assist practitioners, decision-makers, and academics to operationalize and promote inclusivity, redistribution and procedural reform through planning processes (Soja, 2010)

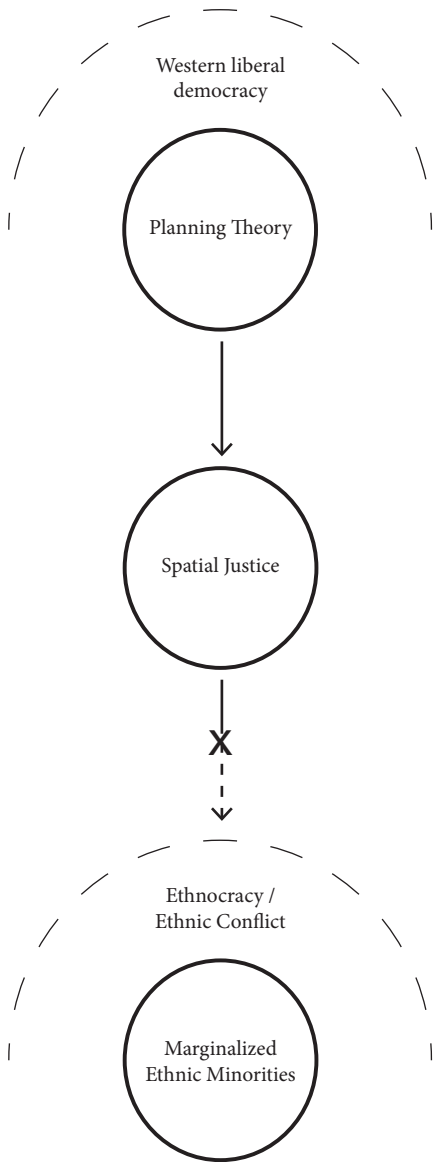
However, much of this planning theorization that stems from liberal ideals is unable to address complex layers of conflict, oppressive power, and imposition (Miraftab, 2017). Indeed, many scholars have been critical that the umbrella of inclusive planning through citizen participation has been an ally to serve ‘elitist, private-sector-driven decisions, or as cheap compensation for state withdrawal from public and social services’ (Angotti 2008, Miraftab 2003,2017). This tension between planning theory and context specificity is a growing concern in the non-western parts of the world (Souza 2007; Malathy 2012; Watson 2009,2012; Miraftab 2017,2009: Yiftachel 2006) where spatial conflicts on basis of race, gender, ethnicity become the core of how injustices are perpetuated, in which dominating justice planning (Purcell 2009) theory falls short to address. In other words, current universalized planning perspectives that drive spatial justice conceptualization cannot engage with grounded realities of contexts that are outside of liberal democratic frameworks (Yiftachel 2006; Miraftab 2017; Watson 2012).

Today, the political world we live in is significantly shaped by ethnic identities and conflicts over space (Yiftachel 2008). This battle for space dates back to the ancient periods of empires conquering land to expand and claim the power of the earth. Ethnic conflict and socio-spatial segregation are increasingly troubling, under regimes of ethnocracy (Yiftachel 2006). An ethnocratic regime is where a dominant ethnic group appropriates the state apparatus and shapes most public policies (Ibid).

This poses a continuous risk for minority populations who are marginalized and discriminated against based on their ethnic differences. Moreover, within these nations, notions of power, citizenship, ownership, and development are fluid and require a contextualized perspective on socioeconomic and environmental

conditions within the territorial and procedural aspects.

Fig. 7 Author: *Illustrated Knowledge Gap*



Therefore, the current universalized planning perspective that drives spatial justice conceptualization falls short to contextualize with conditions of oppressive power and conflict within the ethnocratic state regime. This tension further exacerbates the vulnerabilities of ethnic minority populations who struggle with access to resources, equality of opportunity, self-determination, self-development, and basic rights to their land. The quest towards spatial justice challenges existing western hegemonic planning perspectives to be better equipped within conditions of ethnocracy, oppressive power, and conflict, to ultimately promote just and contextualized processes in supporting the agency of marginalized populations. In doing so, alternative and reconceptualized perspectives can materialize that operate outside of the dominating western doctrines of planning and justice. This, in turn, could address the structural issues at the intersection of space, power, and society within ethnocratic state hegemonies.

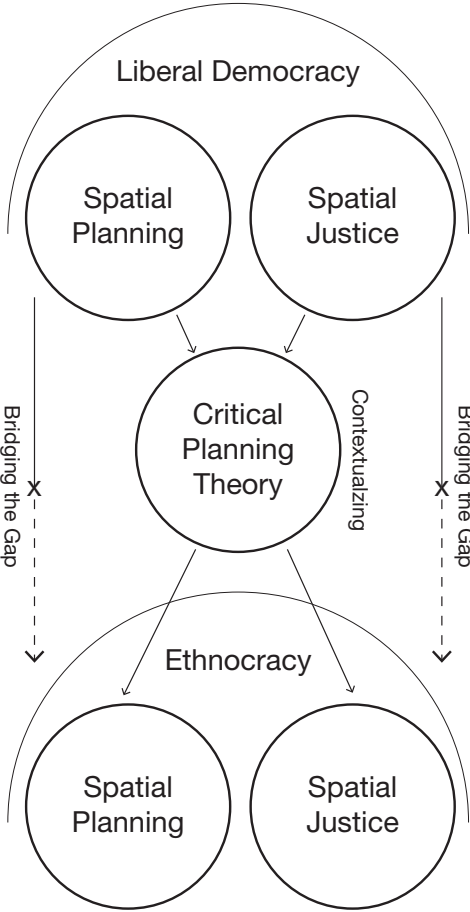
FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework illustrates the interrelation of theories used to define the theoretical foundation of the research framework and project. The framework departs from the top to illustrate the connection of current spatial planning and spatial justice discourse to western liberal notions of democracy. This aims to explicitly show how these theories are derived from ideas from the western context. Despite a strong correlation between the dominant literature between planning, spatial justice, and western liberal notions of democracy, the framework moves on to a body of literature that formulated critical perspectives of these dominant discourses. This body of literature largely suggests that planning and justice theorization is not equipped to engage with realities of the non-western, and in this sense, conditions of oppressive power and ethnic-conflict.

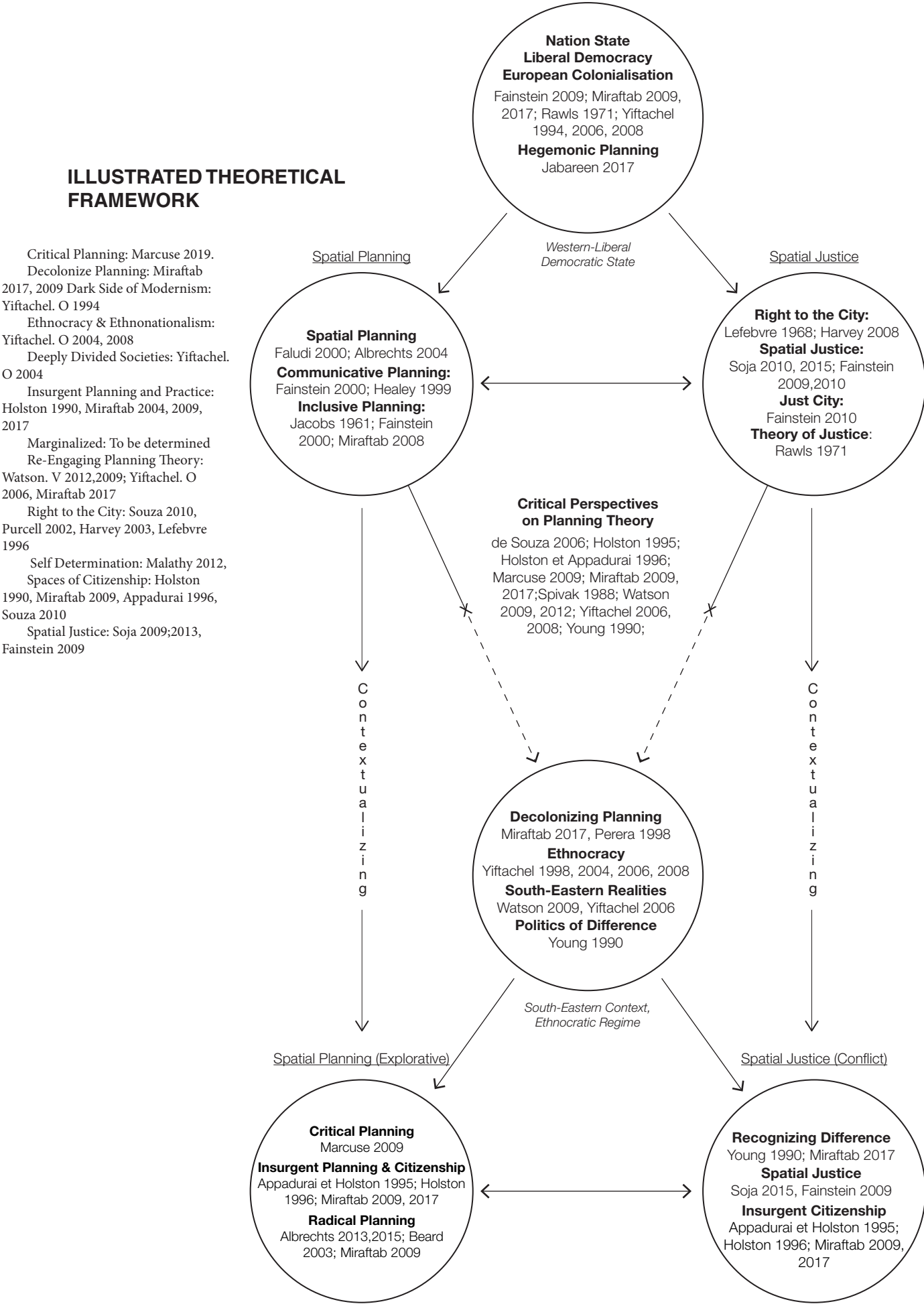
As seen in the illustration, the framework aims to both contextualize spatial planning and spatial justice while continuing to preserve their value to the discussion. In doing so, a new relationship is created that is driven by the critical perspectives that urge to re-engage these domains of planning and justice with a grounded and alternative perspective that is better equipped to address the conditions of oppressive power and ethnic-conflict, particularly in the non-western context. Thus, perspectives arise that suggest counter-hegemonic, imaginative, and transgressive principles towards more contextualized notions of how citizenship, self-determination, and spatial justice operate under conflict.

The illustrated theoretical framework also suggests where a deeper understanding will be explored through a paper. This paper aims to reinforce the relevancy of the research project and addresses a larger, more critical discussion of the discipline of planning.

Fig. 8 Author: *Illustrated Abstract Theoretical Framework*



ILLUSTRATED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK



This section aims to theoretically underpin the research framework through key phenomenons, notably speaking, spatial justice, spatial planning, ethnocracy, and critical perspectives on planning ethnocracy. In doing, so this review departs from Western dominant notions on spatial justice and spatial planning theory toward reconceptualizing through the lens of ethnocracy and by contributing to momentum created by critical perspectives, stating the urge to contextualized and reconceptualize planning theory to acknowledge difference and better engage with political and societal constructs beyond Western liberal ideals on democracy.

In turn, this theoretically underpinning provides valuable insights to define alternative direction on spatial justice and planning theory within conditions of oppressive power and ethnic conflict.

ON SPATIAL JUSTICE

Since the early works of Lefebvre (1968) and the Right to the City, and more recently of David Harvey and Edward Soja, the notion of space is intrinsically related to the socio-temporal dynamics of human beings (Soja, 2009). Therefore the socio-spatial dialectic is related to the geographies we live in, may either have positive or negative consequences (Soja, 2009). This idea is further explored by Edward Soja to ‘expose the spatial causality of justice and injustice’ and extends itself to the multiscalar geographies in which humans operate; from the body to household, to city, region, nation, and global scale (Ibid). According to Soja, spatial justice or injustice involves the ‘fair and equitable’ distribution of public and social resources over the dimension of space. In this vein, the spatial dimensions can express the unjust and just distribution of resources. Spatial injustice can mainly be attributed to ‘locational discrimination’, where biases of race, gender, class to name a few, on a population’s geographical location produces spatial disadvantages and inferiority (Ibid).

To understand the origins of the spatial aspects of justice, it is important to consider the ideals and realities they stem from. Firstly, it is important to recognize the ideals and assumptions rooted in the term ‘justice’. What does justice mean? Generally, there are two epistemological pathways in regards to justice. The Rawlsian liberal notion of justice concerns seeking justice based on individual rights and fair treatment (Rawls 1971). These ideas have been largely criticized due to liberal foundations lacking to address sources and structural issues of inequality (Soja

2015, Miraftab 2017).

Writers such as Susan Fainstein in her recent writing on spatial justice and planning, also attribute Rawlsian ideas of inclusion and fair treatment to normative justice planning theory and acknowledge the limitations of this perspective and its influence on the concept of spatial justice (Fainstein 2009). On the contrary, the work of Iris Marion Young argues for the need to “contextualize justice in more concrete, historical, and institutional terms” (Soja, 2015). Youngnian notions of justice involve recognition of difference and politics such as understanding the systemic policies that perpetuate issues such as racial inequality (Young 1990). She promotes a politics of difference and challenges the idea of integration because “[it] tends wrongly to focus on patterns of group clustering while ignoring more central issues of privilege and disadvantage” (Ibid). She goes further to urge the preservation of differentiated solidarity amongst diverse groups.

More recent works of Faranak Miraftab, suggests that such an understanding of justice could shift the debate from inclusion and representation to self-determination (Miraftab, 2017). Moreover, contextualizing notions of justice to the specific conditions of inequality such as race, ethnic, gender-based discrimination, policies, and the demand of oppressed communities, could unveil a range of dimensions that could lead to structural and spatial reform.

In the Western world, the relation between justice and space can date back to the Greek polis, where many Western writers describe where democracy was largely practiced (Soja 2015). However, scholars have credited even earlier practices of democratic societies in Southwest Asia (Ibid). Practices regarding communal living and collectivity can also be seen in the ancient Islamic civilizations and religious texts such as in the city of Medina, where the Prophet Muhammad drafted a constitution to regulate democratic participation and organization between various tribes to deal with tribal issues such as economy, crime, and leadership (Lecker 2013).

Despite diverse practices of democracy, emerging Western, due to European Imperialism and colonization, has developed universal frameworks of justice. The diverse spatial linkages to justice and justice itself have historically been disregarded in the development of Western theories such as the Nation-State which now fuel

hegemonic discourses on planning and built environment (Soja 2015). In turn, this universalization generated universal notions of democracy, citizenship, rights, and overall state-citizen relations (Soja 2015, Miraftab 2017). The dominating notion of spatial justice is mainly concerned with distributional and procedural aspects of justice in space (Soja 2015, Fainstein 2009). However, as Young and more recent works of Soja, Fainstein, and Miraftab describe, the recognitional component is vital to understand the various structural layers of inequality.

This is notably relevant within postcolonial geographies of oppressive power and conflict, where imperialist democratic structures were transformed and put in the hands of ethnic dominant groups who are actively succeeding in exerting their ethnic dominance within the legislature, resource distribution, and development

ON SPATIAL PLANNING

This section aims to develop an understanding of spatial planning through key readings from Andreas Faludi and Albrechts Louis, two notable scholars on Spatial Planning in the Western context. This will then be extended to understanding spatial planning perspectives from South-East Asia and the particular context of Sri Lanka. The aim then is to combine these two sub-theory perspectives to formulate a combined approach and understanding of the implications and opportunities of spatial planning in the context of oppressive power and ethnic conflict. The understanding of spatial planning is crucial for this research because by grasping the core ideals and principles, it can then be manipulated to better engage with conditions outside of Western liberal notions.

ON ETHNOCRACY AND ETHNOCRATIC REGIMES

Over decades, Oren Yiftachel has explored and theorized the term ethnocracy to define a regime that aims to preserve and gain full ethnic control over a contested territory composed of multiple ethnicities (Yiftachel 1998). Ethnocratic regimes are driven by forces of ethnonationalism which Yiftachel states, “...one of the most powerful forces to have shaped the world’s political geography in general...” (Ibid). Examples of this dominant control and oppressive power structures can be seen amongst conflicts in Israel/Palestine, South Africa, and Sri Lanka. Although these regimes may appear as dominant, they are also unstable due struggles of ethnic minorities who also make claims for the homeland. Often,

these struggles materialize into political campaigns for autonomy and self-determination such as the quest for Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka carried out by Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and in South Africa with the Anti-Eviction Campaign, another counter-hegemonic insurgent movement. Thus, ethnocratic regimes are prone to destabilization and counter-action. To name a few, these regimes can be characterized by several principles, the allocation of rights and privileges are based on ethnicity (and usually that of the dominant group), the state structure is under the control of the dominant ethnic group, and distribution of civil and political rights are partial for minority ethnicities (Yiftachel 1998).

Despite the authoritative and oppressive power structures, the ethnocratic regimes attempt to operate under the facade of democracy and project this position to ensure participation on the global stage, especially in a growing global economy. Yiftachel further explains that the claim of a democratic institution often excludes indigenous or rival minorities, for example in Sri Lanka where such groups were left outside of the decision-making networks. Moreover, these regimes often pivot around cultural and ideological beliefs that further legitimizes uneven realities (Yiftachel 1998).

The ethnocratic state poses a major threat to ethnic minorities who are marginalized in their claim of a homeland, in which their rights and identity are classified as secondary to the superior ethnic group. Ultimately the dominance, oppressive power, and discrimination exercised by this regime type threaten the socioeconomic, cultural, and political autonomy and identity of minority ethnic groups, in which the perpetuation of violence and segregation continues to be legitimized.

The contemporary discourse on spatial justice and justice-related planning have largely been driven by liberal notions of democracy such as the nation-state. This phenomenon can be described as the communicative turn (Healey 1996, Yiftachel 2006). This includes the shift towards justice, and how planning can democratize processes and outcomes of distribution and procedures to promote justice. Namely, contemporary thinkers such as Patsy Healy, Elinor Ostrom, David Harvey, Jane Jacobs, Edward Soja, and Susan Fainstein to name a few. They promote ideas of democracy through their respective works such as Elinor Ostrom’s tragedy of the commons, regarding the implication of resource use on the commons (Ostrom 2007). And, Patsy Healy’s work on communicative or inclusionary planning, which urges the active participation of all citizens in planning, and especially the empowerment of silent and disabled actors within communities (Healey 1996).

Given these assumptions of justice, the notion of Spatial Justice can be considered to be stemmed from liberal democracy and Rawlsian ideas of justice (Miraftab, 2017). Liberal democracy entails the separation of government and power, through the nation-state framework. Rawlsian ideas give importance to individual rights and fair treatment and are frankly built off of the liberal ideal of government and power (Miraftab 2017).

However, emerging criticism describes this planning theorization as largely stemming from liberal ideals is unable to address complex layers of conflict, oppressive power, and imposition (Miraftab, 2017).

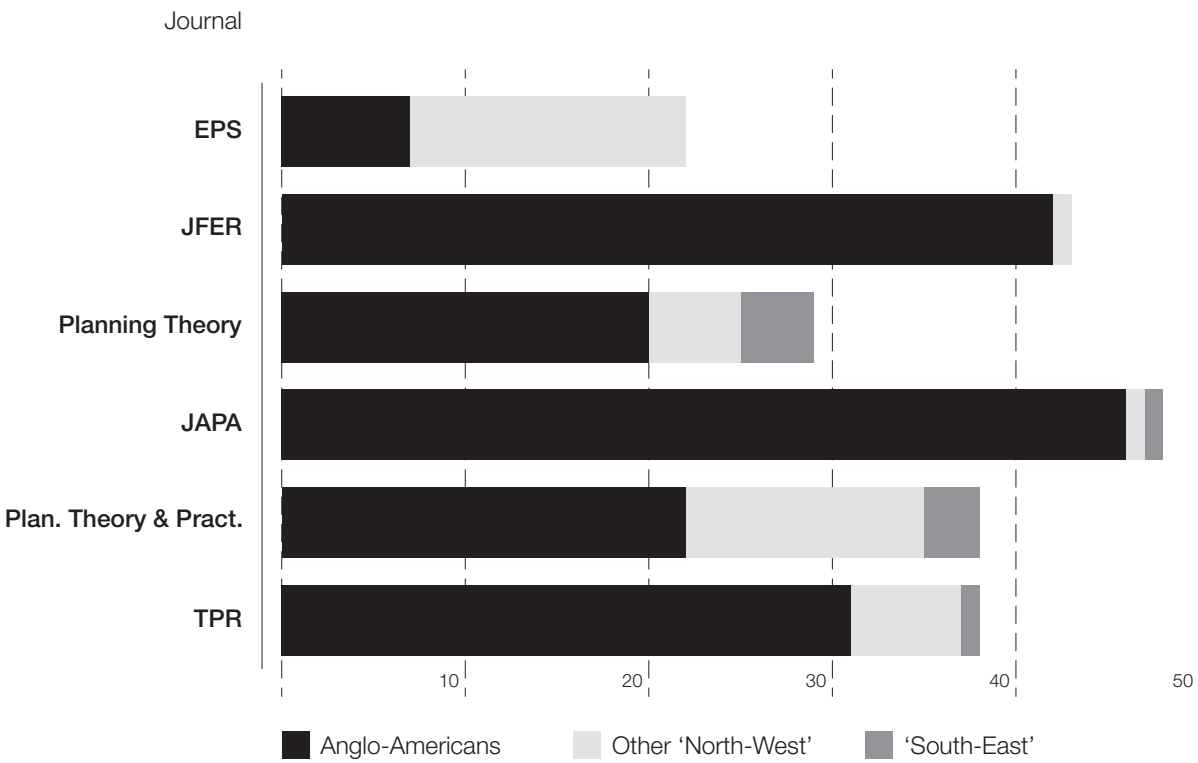
In the work of Faranak Miraftab, an Iranian scholar, she urges the epistemological shift from Rawlsian justice ideals towards a more Youngian approach that addresses the structural issues and causes of inequality. “Planning theorization needs to make an ontological and epistemological break with the ideas, and political philosophies that guided it through much of the 20th century.” (Miraftab 2017). She extends this thought by describing that decades of professional planning has largely advocated and continues to focus on inclusion through participation with liberal democratic ideals. And, that although these processes may loosely recognize the difference and call for participation it lacks the capacity to challenge structural issues of power.

This tension between planning and context is further explained through the work of Vanessa Watson, a South African scholar in planning theory. She describes an

increased gap between urban planning and the growing issues of poverty, informality, and rapid urbanization in the Global South. Watson explains the modernist twentieth-century planning has had adverse effects on vulnerable populations, that were used to prevent the cohabitation of less desired residents such as low income and ethnic minorities, middle and upper-class communities. As Peter Hall explains, the objective of planning was used to protect the property of the wealthy and exclude the poor (Hall, 1998). She also urges to expand the notions of planning to address issues of the Global South which implies extending our literature references, beyond the ones of the Global North. Watson’s perspective can be explained through two key points of the planning theory shift. First, planning approaches largely stemming from the Global North are based on decontextualized assumptions which are rarely applicable in other contexts (Watson 2009). Second, the recognition of increasingly ‘conflicting rationalities’ of planning between marginalized populations and neoliberal government schemes, in which planning is often in the hands of the market-oriented ideas, which drives negligence and puts marginalized needs in the peripheries. And, that it could provide valuable insights to pave new normative within planning theory (Ibid).

Oren Yiftachel, an Israeli professor of political geography, urban studies, and urban planning, goes on to extend criticism on current planning theories, to say the intrinsic relation between urban and regional planning and “ethnically guided spatial change” is rarely addressed. He says the challenges emerging from ethnic conflicts are undermined in the current discourses of planning theories, and “illustrates a conspicuous mismatch between main concerns of planning theory and the actual material consequences of planning” (Yiftachel 2006). Like the previous critics, he argues despite the rich and valuable insights of the “communicative turn” of planning theorists, it has become a sole reflection of the political settings of the North-West (where most mainstream theories emerge). It urges to draw conceptualizations from those realities of the South-East and perhaps create a sub-level of theorization that could “genuinely engage” with specific realities of starkly different non-Western contexts, to ultimately avert the downfalls of “domineering universalism.., [and] offer meaningful generalizations to guide and inspire students, scholars, and practitioners” (Ibid). In his writing, he reinforces this planning hegemony through a table illustrating the “gatekeepers of planning knowledge”.

Fig. 9 Author, Adopted from Re-Engaging Planning Theory? Towards South-Eastern Perspectives (Yiftachel 2006): Mapping the gatekeepers of planning knowledge: Editorial Board members of international planning journals



The pigeon hold of planning knowledge by largely western, mainly Anglo-Americans is clear in this table and demonstrates the silence of the alternative perspectives, in this case from the South-East. It is evident there is a significant misalignment of current planning notions and frameworks that are misrepresenting the realities of contexts where space is an0 ‘ethnically guided challenge’(Ibid). And, efforts to re-engage planning is urgent if the future entails a contextualized planning process that is emblematic of the realities on the ground.

Given the various critical perspectives on justice planning theories, it is clear several problematic assumptions and ideas open the doubt if these dominant universalize planning knowledge centers and frameworks are relevant to contexts outside their originating (mainly Western) contexts. First, the liberal notion of democracy in which most of these ideas pivot around must be challenged. And, therefore alternative perspectives that acknowledge varying cultural and social frameworks that also may lend itself to democratizing planning processes and futures towards justice. For example, the leading assumption that inclusionary and communicative planning urges participation of citizens and communities can only exist if the political setting permits equitable rights to all citizens regardless of religion, culture, ethnicity, gender, and physical and mental capability. On this note, the second key takeaway is, drawing from Iris Marion Young’s works, the recognition of difference is crucial to constitute

a democratic process towards justice. This recognition of difference could avoid the pitfalls of universalization and rather promote disaggregation of diverse peoples into a variety of clusterings. In turn, as Miraftab points, this could address structural issues that perpetuate injustice and challenge the normative planning processes, to ultimately support the agency of individuals and collective self-determination (Miraftab 2017). The aspect of recognition extends to the third point of combining and finding new centers of knowledge from non-Western perspectives and addressing conditions such as ethnic-conflict, intersectional forms of oppression, socio-cultural dynamics, and political settings beyond liberal normatives.

This becomes increasingly urgent, as contemporary planning practice and theorization evolves, contemporary justice planning concepts such as spatial justice should learn from and avoid the pitfalls of universalization but extend into the many arms of society. It could be manifested by referencing a broader scope of knowledge and experiences to increase the capability of how we operationalize spatial justice and planning. And more importantly, acknowledging the mishaps and shortfalls toward recognizing and celebrating differences. How can we extend the concept of spatial justice to respond to conditions of oppressive power and conflict?

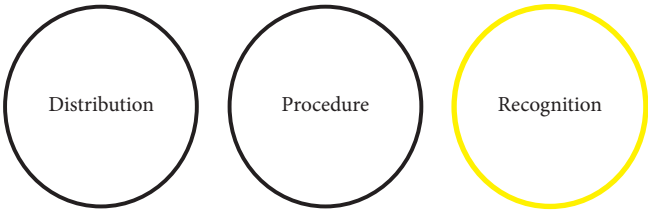
By combining the principles of the critical survey, realities of ethnocratic regimes, and key ideas of spatial justice, namely from Edward Soja, the concept could evolve. Rather than solely focusing on the existing distributive and procedural aspects of spatial (in)justice, advancement could be made to include the principle of recognizing differences as described in Young’s works and further challenge existing dialectics of power and space.

In the context of the ethnocracy and Sri Lanka, this alternative perspective can unveil various opportunities in the path toward spatial justice. First, by expanding the lens to recognize the difference, a deeper understanding of underlying structural issues that distribution and procedural reform could not address. Second, from the extension of different centers, new directions and sub-theories could be formulated on operationalizing the specific challenges of the context. Third, a wider range of stakeholders and alternative metrics can be used to contribute toward spatial justice such as thinking beyond the role of government and planners but focus on empowering the role of formal and informal institutions, civil society, and the private market.

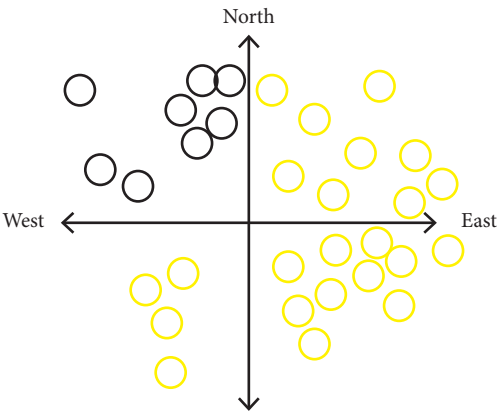
Ultimately by reconceptualizing spatial justice and operationalizing the increasing critique on western dominant planning thought, especially in the context of ethnocratic regimes, spatial justice could be better equipped to conditions of oppressive power and conflict and inspire practitioners, academics, and decision-makers advocating for spatial justice.

Fig. 10 Author: Conceptual Recommendations to Reconceptualize Spatial Justice Theory

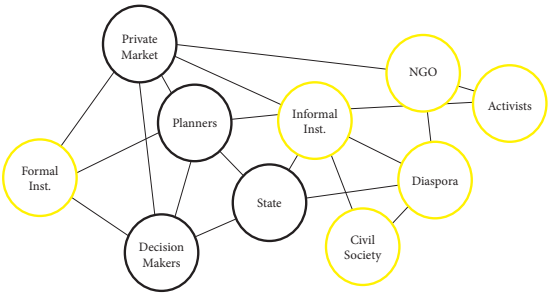
01: Recognition as third pillar in Spatial Justice theory



02: Diversifying centers of knowledge



03: Strengthening collaboration and empowering silenced voices



ON SRI LANKA

1

Analytical Framework

2.

Basic Characterization

3.

On Procedure

4.

On Territory

5.

On Socioeconomic

6.

Sociospatial and Procedural Challenges

The Republic of Sri Lanka is located on the south-eastern tip of the sub-continent India. Formally Ceylon, the post-colonial state had gained Independence from British rule in the 1948, after five centuries of colonial rule. According to 2012, census, the population today is upwards of 21 million. The population is composed mainly of a majority Sinhalese population and minority Tamil population.

It is said the island is under one-state but houses two-nations. Historically, the Sinhalese and Tamil population on the island have co-existed with their respective kingdoms. However, upon European colonization and post-independence, the peaceful co-existence of these two nations have been under threat, where complex layers and differences of cultural, ethnic and religious dynamics were neglected. The two nations believe that parts of Sri Lanka was their ancient homeland which they demanded right to independence and self-determination. This made the island of Sri Lanka a contested space, where Eelam Tamils claimed the north-east as theirs and Sinhalese claimed ethnic purity and total control of the island. This further led to an ethnic-conflict that evolved into a fatal 26-year long ethnic war between the state and rebel groups, which ended in 2009.

Since, the conclusion of the war, there has been little effort toward peace, reconciliation, rehabilitation of those affected. The aftermath of the armed conflict has put the lives of those living in the North-East, where the conflict largely occurred. This area also largely home to the ethnic-minority Tamils. Communities are denied access to basic services, their lands, and recognition of their rightful homeland, Tamil Eelam. The Tamil population living in the North East experiences multi-dimensional conflict that demands increased attention from state and global actors.

Members of the global community such as United Nations has urged the state of Sri Lanka to launch an investigations on war crimes and human right violations. Additionally, recently elected executive powers have been allegedly responsible for war crimes and forced disappearances of innocent Tamil people. They have also criminalized the aspirations toward self-determination and justice, and denied full citizenship rights to their land which further exacerbates their vulnerabilities to various risks such poverty, unemployment, climate risk, land occupation, and strains on livelihoods,

Although the state of sri lanka promotes unitary state control, their exists deeply rooted ethnic conflict and systemic injustices on minority populations that must not

be ignored. The following sections aims to unveil these systemic injustices through various dimensions to seek alternatives pathways and opportunities toward spatial justice.

Fig. 11 Author: Locating Sri Lanka

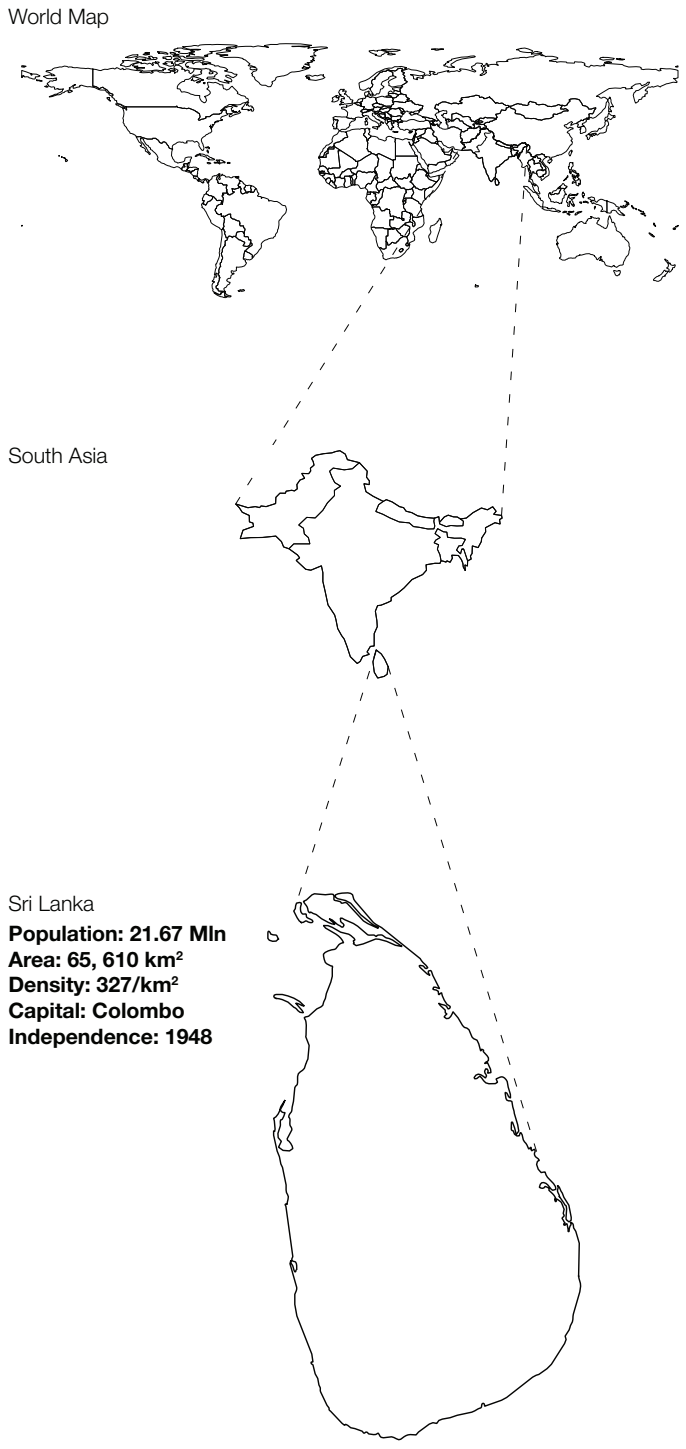
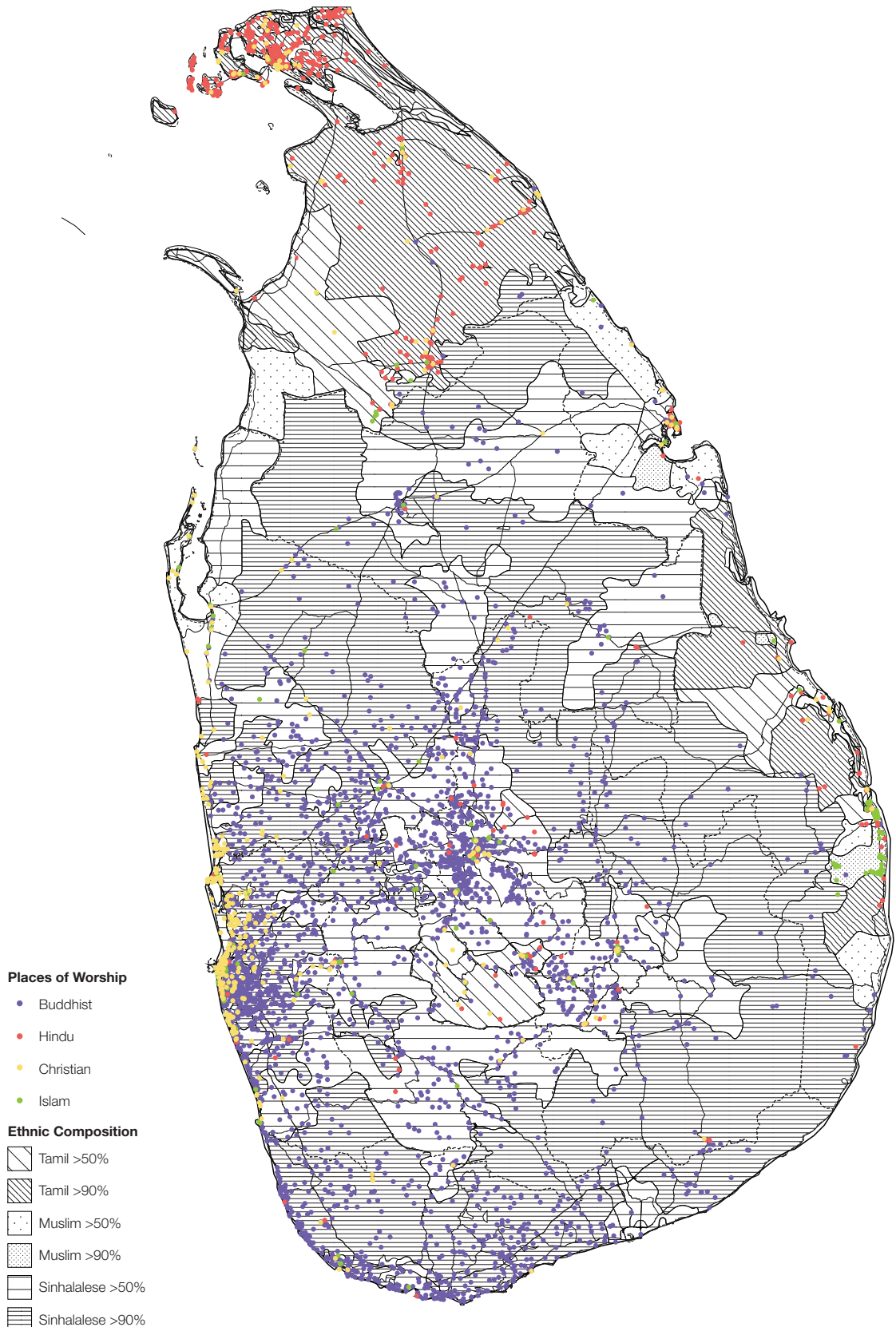


Fig. 12 Author: Mapping Ethnic-Composition & Religious Practice



Currently, the administrative divisions of Sri Lanka operate through four main tiers, 9 Provinces, 25 Districts, 331 DS (District Secretariat) Divisions and 14,022 Grama Niladhari Divisions. (Ministry of Home Affairs 2020) The provinces were first established during British colonial rule, and was merely a ceremonial cause. It was not until 1987 where there was an increasing demand for devolution of power and decentralization which led to transfered of control to provincial councils. However, earlier in 1955, the district became the main administrative units which increased the number of districts to the twenty-five today.

Today, the provincial governments of Sri Lanka have legislative power concerning agriculture, education, health, housing, local government, planning, road transport and social services (Ibid). It is also in their power to handle matters over place and land however recently elected governments have denied these powers to provinces.

The 25 Districts are distributed amongst the 9 provinces, in which each district is administrated by a District Secretariat. The districts are responsible for matters regarding coordinating communications and activities of the central government. They are also responsible for monitoring and implementing development projects, and providing aid with the activities of subsequent divisions (Ministry of Home Affairs 2020).

The following two administrative divisions operate at the local government level. Initially, post-independence "planning and execution of the 'Plans' were entrusted to local authorities assisted by the Department of Town and Country Planning [now National Physical Planning Department]" (Mendis 2003). However the original power vested in local authorities have been increasingly limited by the Central Government. Literature suggests that as of recent, local authorities are in a "weak position to conduct any kind of planning", which is mainly due to lack of resources and capacity as well as the activities of other agencies which usually encroach upon the mandates of local authorities (Kruse 2007).

Additionally, there are many national sector agencies that operate at the local level such as Local Governments: Urban Councils, Municipal Councils, and Pradeshiya Sabha, and the Divisions Secretariats. However, this multiplicity of asymmetric powers result in inconsistent and dysfunctionality at the planning level. Especially due to the fact there is strong influence by the Central

Government on local planning and development. The Central Government exerts its dominance through the selection of staff in all administrative levels, planning through central agencies in districts and financial control on development (Ibid). In which the lack of unified procedural and organization planning structure across the all the administrative levels further exacerbates the challenges of planning and decision making at the local level

Literature on Sri Lanka's State structure suggests that if there is any effort to strengthen role of spatial and physical planning in local planning systems then it is imperative there is more cohesions and communication between the various agents at the local level.

Fig. 13 Kruse, C: Levels of State in Sri Lanka

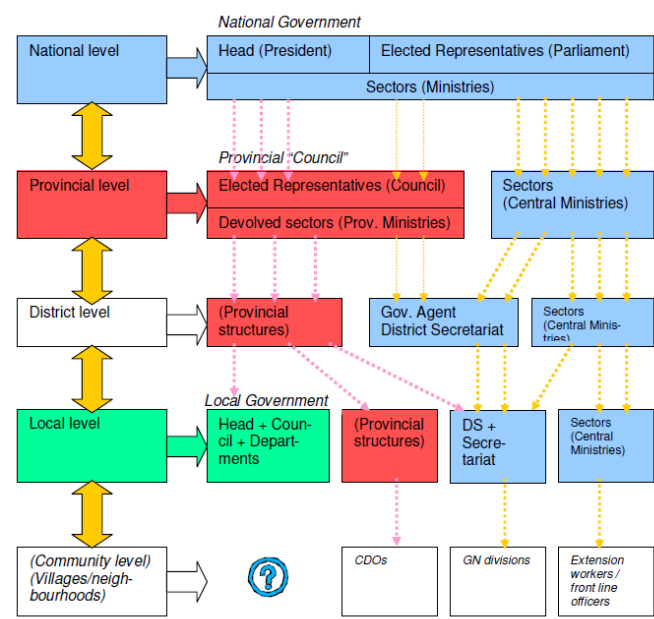
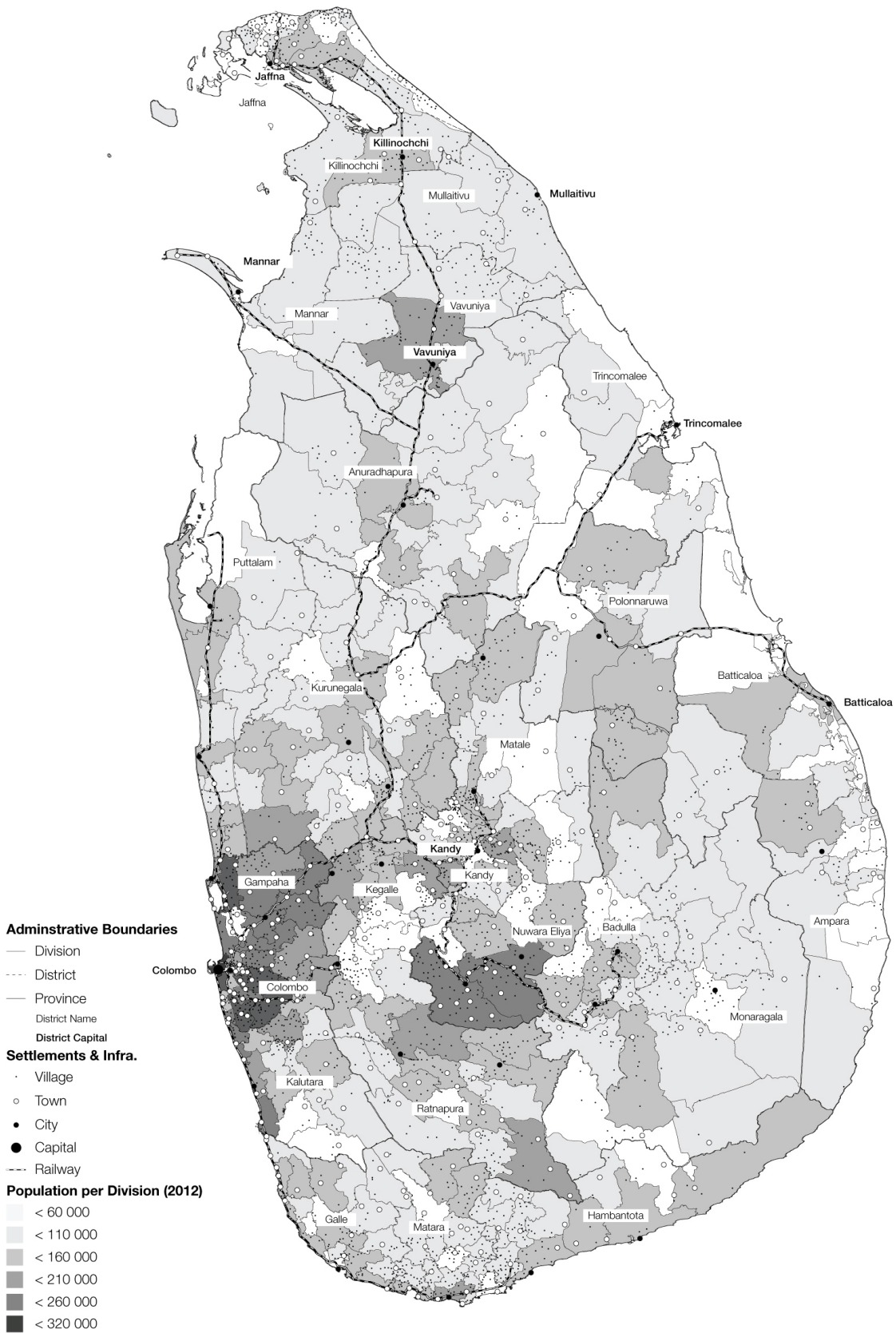


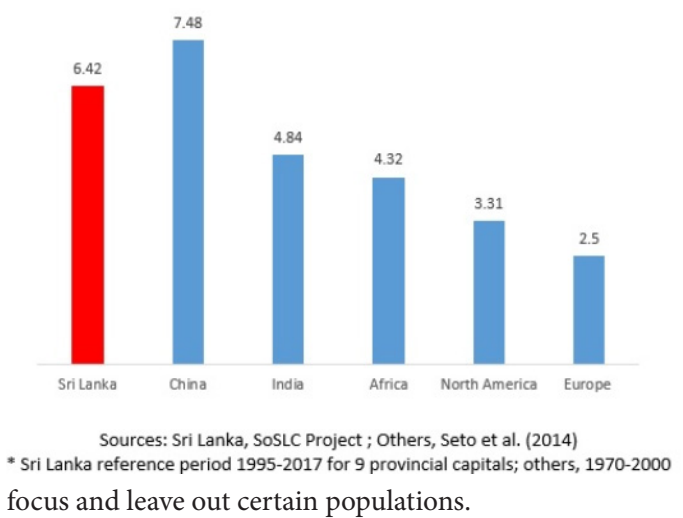
Fig. 14 Author: Levels of Administration; Province, District, Division, Population Distribution, and Cities



The population distribution of Sri Lanka can be characterized as mainly mono-centric with peripheral nodes through the rest of the island. The local authority is divided into local governments (or urban development authority) which is comprised of Municipal and Urban Councils and Pradeshiya Saba, and the DS Divisions. As the map illustrates there is significant amount of land area that is not regulated by any local urban development government. The lack of development authority increases the complexity of organization and planning as the power structure appears chaotic and dysfunctional, and heavily influenced by the Central Government as previously mentioned.

According the census conducted in 2012, the urban population makes up only 18 percent of the total population of 21 million, in which the rural population makes up for more than a third. However, it is important to consider that urban population is rather rapidly growing and urban-rural categorization was heavily influenced by the abolishment of town councils in 1987, where the urban population dropped from 22 to 15 percent (UN Habitat Sri Lanka, 2018)

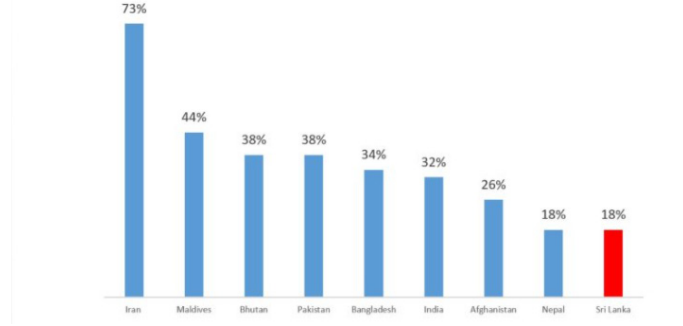
There is increasing criticism on the misconception that these numbers may imply, to say that the new boundaries may have been economically and politically charged to



"The current administrative definition in Sri Lanka has a serious limitation due to its static nature, which does not capture the dynamism of urbanization Sri Lanka"

Considering the low urban populations, Sri Lanka ranks fifth least urbanized out of 233 counties according the UN 2014 World Urbanization Prospects, which is rare considering the rapid growth of South-East Asia. The key

indicator that drives the urban-rural classification is, as previously mentioned, the abolishment of town councils, which led to the conditions of exclusion and where rapidly urbanizing peri-urban areas were not counted. The UN Habitat of Sri Lanka states that "not accounting

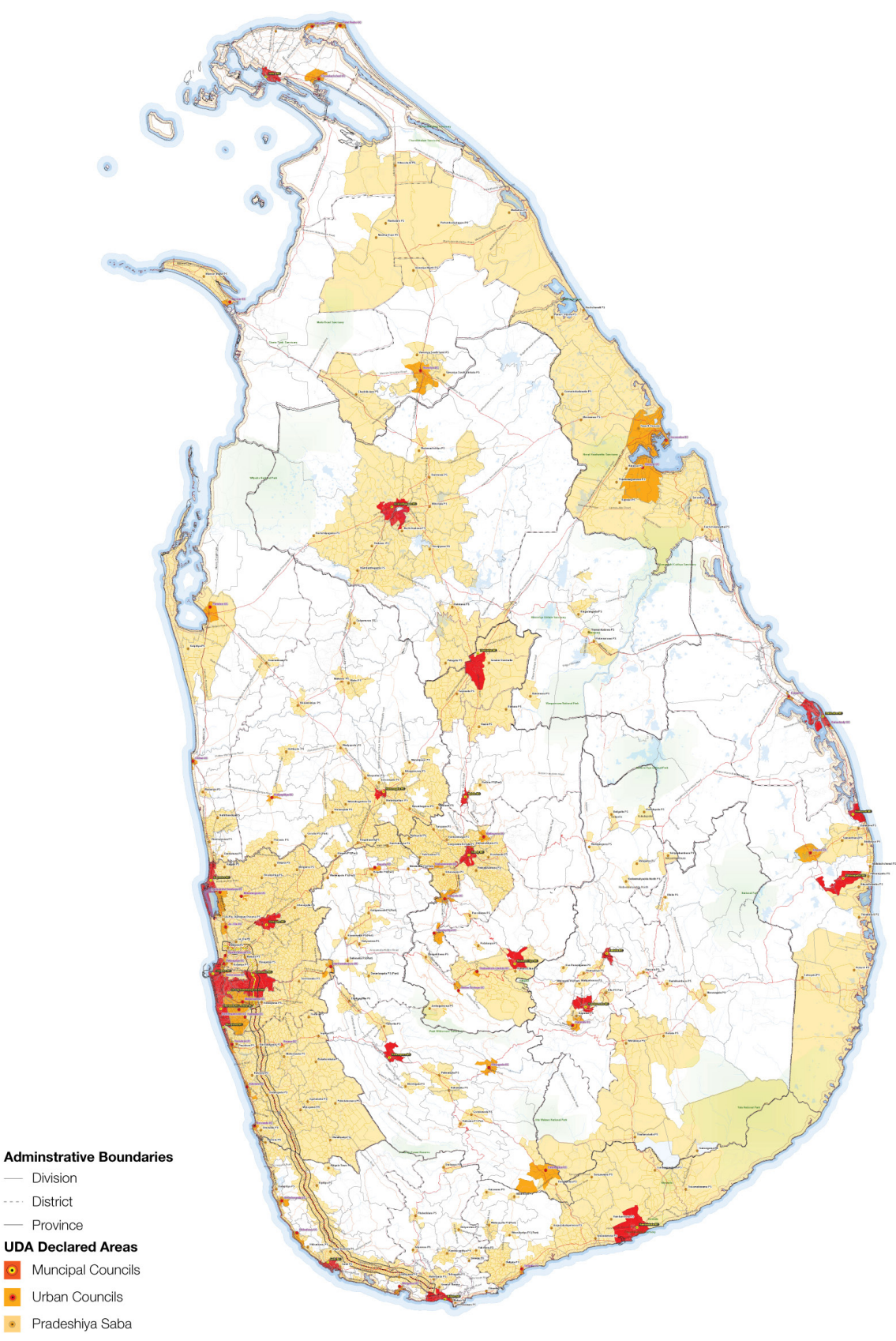


for these rapidly urbanizing areas, where infrastructure deficits and flood risks are often distributed, could have severe implications for the sustainability of cities" (Ibid). In fact, they peri-urban areas are experiencing an influx of environmental and socioeconomic impact due to the unregulated and unaccounted for development (Ibid).

Alternative definitions or reclassification of rural-urban could help understand the varying conditions in these urbanizing areas and give a more accurate perspective in envisioning sustainable and livable cities in the future.

This map shows that most of classified urban population is located largely in the South, West, Central and partially Eastern parts of the island. Due to the high economic prospect of the Trincomalee port along the Eastern coast, there seems to be a growing East-West connection from Trincomalee and Colombo. Moreover, the Northern and Eastern parts of the country appear to be less urbanized as the UDA declared areas seem sparse and most rural. This spatial contrast between the North-East and the rest of the island may stem from ethnic composition and conflict on the island. It also suggests that development is largely centralized around the South-Western coast. Although the population in North-East seems relatively moderate, it appears there is limited urban and infrastructural development which may increase the vulnerability of the existing segregated and impoverished communities.

Fig. 15 Urban & Rural Distribution

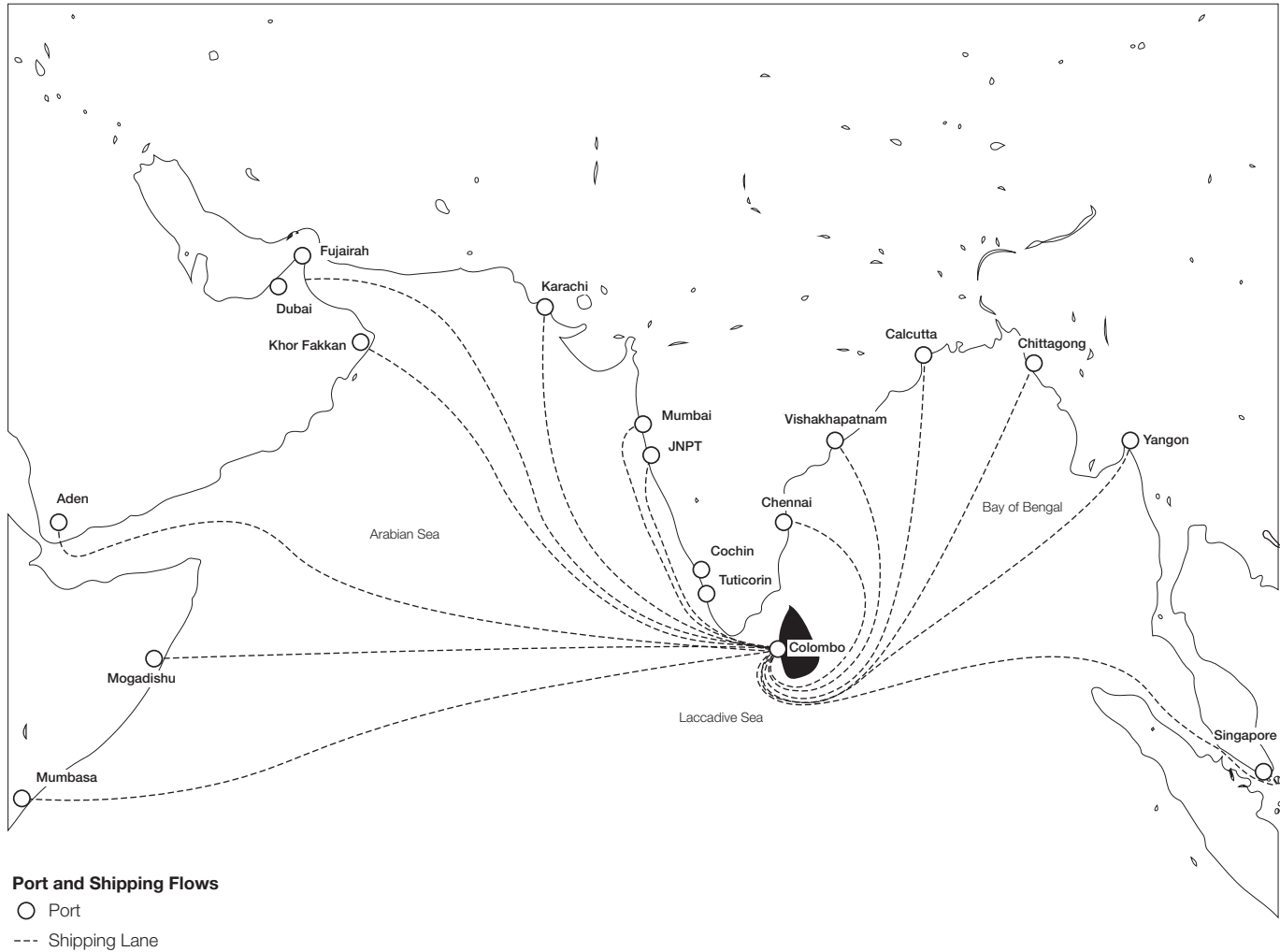


Since the proliferation of transnational trade across Asia to the West, Sri Lanka has been a strategic economic post for the flow of goods mainly through water. The island is centrally located between East and West Asia, and acts a mediation point between global trade and logistical flows. The strategical location of Sri Lanka has sparked interest from major nations such as China, United States and India. This makes Sri Lanka geopolitically sensitive as it faces developmental pressures from major global forces while it builds its own economy.

Today, the geopolitically intense island can be coupled with the spatial distribution of mobility infrastructure, which is largely concentrated in the south-west where the nations capital is situated. The flow of people and goods is supported by air, land and water-based mobility infrastructure.

There is one international airport followed by four main domestic airports, located in the North, West, East and

Fig. 16 Author: Strategic Position in South-East

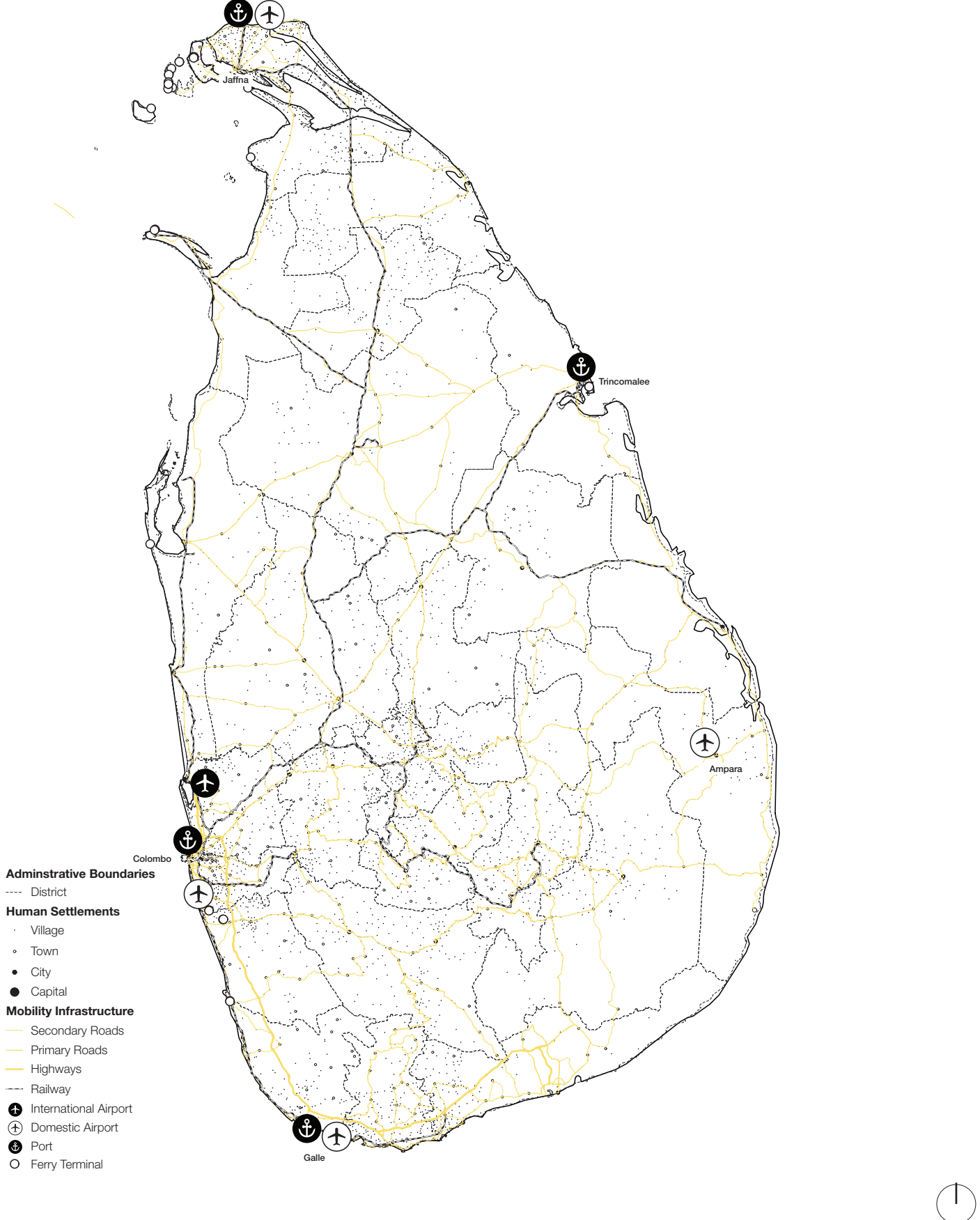


South. However, the airport in Jaffna seized its operations during the armed-conflict and has recently reopened (2019) with international flights to India.

Land mobility is mainly supported by highways that run throughout the island. The map illustrates the spatial concentration of roads in the South and limited connections to and from the Northern regions.

Sea and water infrastructure mainly operates in the South and East, where there heavy international trade and developmental interest. China has strengthen its presence in and around these ports through financial loans and private investment that is supported by the state. The state believes that China's involvement will help contribute toward the countries economic prosperity, however it also gained incredible debt by not being able to afford large infrastructural projects, thus increasing China's hand in economic and spatial development.

Fig. 17 Author: Major Mobility Infrastructure



Urban development and tourism has played a major role in shaping of Sri Lanka's economic global position. Geopolitical interests from major global forces such as China has steered major infrastructural and development projects in around the country. This is mainly through the development of Sea Ports and large city development projects along the South and Western coast. The exponential increase of development has also created adverse affects on the local communities who lack access to basic resources and services, instead they are forced to relocate to more affordable areas due to the increasing high-end development.

Military-affiliated tourism has also spatially infiltrated the war-torn regions of the north-east that are profiting on land that is privately owned by Tamils. Local industries and economies compete and often times do not succeed as they reclaim their land and access to livelihood.

Fig. 18 New York Times: An Expressway extension to Hambantota Port



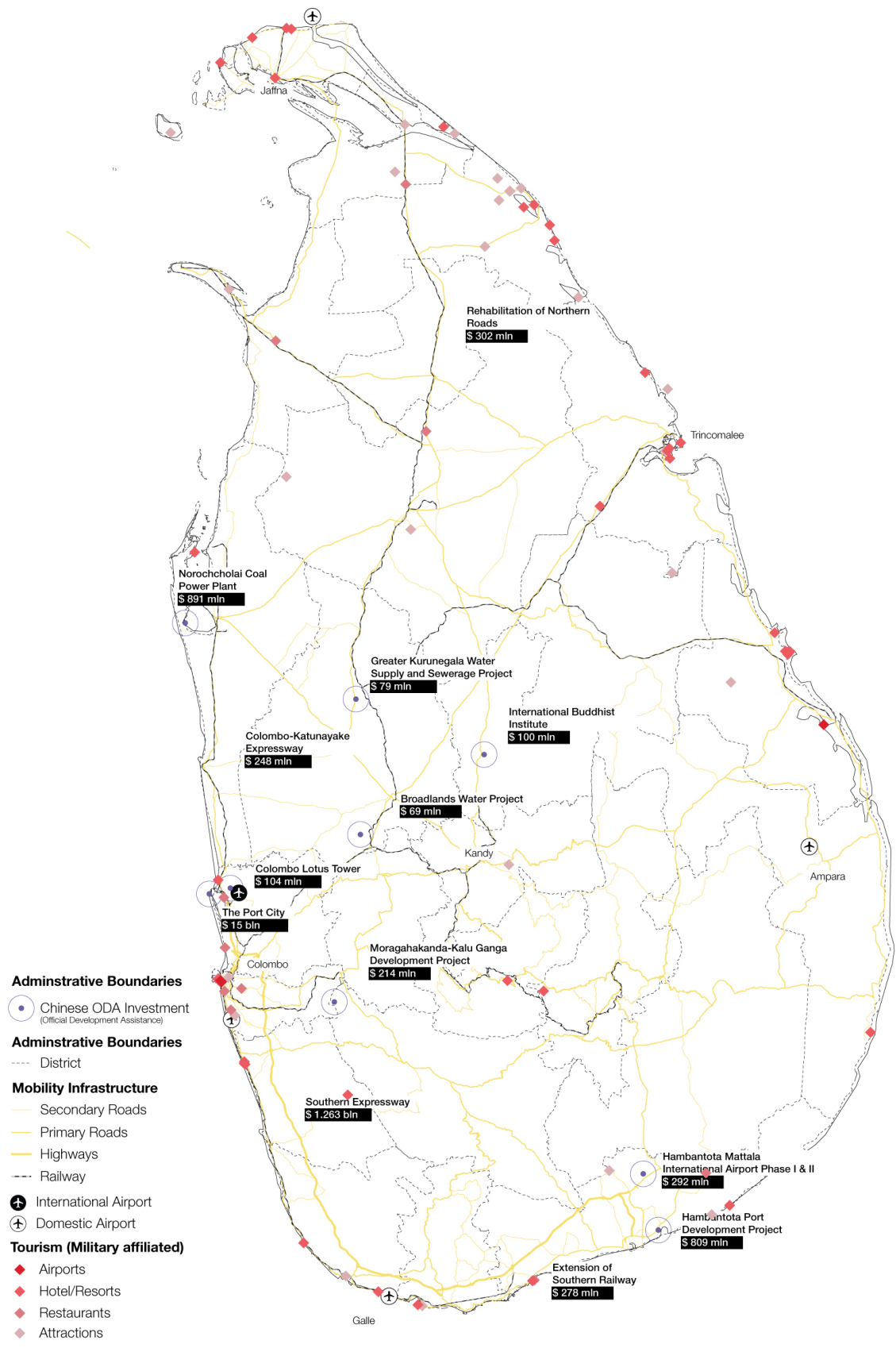
Fig. 19 New York Times: Hambantota Port Development



Fig. 20 The Guardian: The Port City development on Sri Lanka's southern-coast, largely funded by Chinese government



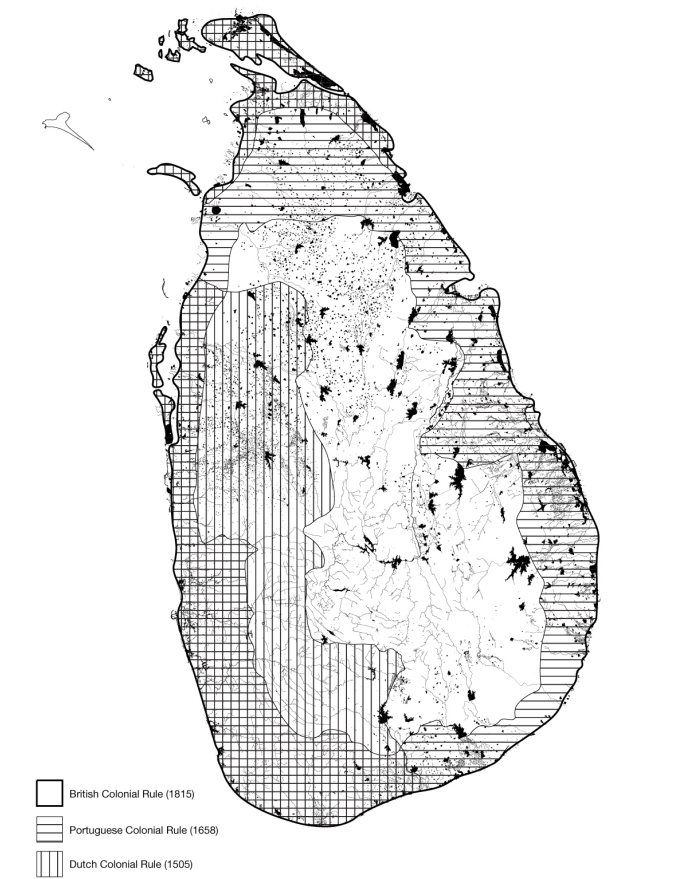
Fig. 21 Author: Major Urban Development Projects and Tourism



ETHNIC CONFLICT

- 1. Brief History
- 2. Historical Analysis
- 3. Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism and Colonization
- 4. Fifty Years of Violence Against Tamils
- 5. Self-Determination and Liberation for Tamil Eelam
- 6. Fear, Conflict and Peace
- 7. Post-Armed Conflict

Fig. 22 Author: *Ruling colonial powers on the island*



The following historical account of Sri Lanka is largely based around N.Malathy’s, A Feeling Moment In My Country and A Chronology of Key Events on Sri Lanka’s profile formed by BBC which is an up-to-date account of key events in Sri Lanka.

Formally known as Ceylon, The island state of Sri Lanka is an island located off the south-eastern tip of the subcontinent India. The former British colony gained independence in 1948 and has continued to aim in the shaping of its own identity from then onwards. The land is diverse both in regard to its natural environment and cultural landscape. Sri Lanka has an estimated population of twenty-one million and is home to many ethnic groups. The ethnic groups are composed of two main groups, the majority Sinhalese (approx 75%) who are mainly Buddhist, and minority Tamils (approx 18%; Eelam Tamils approx 12%) who are mainly Hindu.

The post-colonial state gained its independence from Britain in 1948 (Yiftachel 2004). After independence, ethnic conflict between Eelam Tamil and Sinhala which dates back many millennia began to intensify. The

history of the Eelam Tamils is controversial because it is embedded in Buddhist myths of the Sinhala people (Malathy 2012). In which, the conflict also extends to a political and academic one as well.

For more than four centuries, the island had been under the control of three colonial powers. The first to arrive found numerous kingdoms and communities that ruled various parts of the island. The Portuguese first arrived in the 16th century, followed by the Dutch, who only managed to obtain control of coastal regions. It was not until 1815, the British took control and infiltrated inland as well with protestant Christianity (Malathy 2012). Once independence was gained in 1948, the ethnic politics and conflict began to intensify, and the neglect of these tensions led to a constitution drafted for a centralized government (Ibid). Malathy writes from ‘A Feeling Movement in My Country’ that this move may have been the primary reason for the conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese.

After the handover of power, the British colonial government was composed mainly of Tamils who held higher positions in administration and labor force. This inspired anti-Tamil sentiments amongst the Sinhala community and officials who formed the Sinhala Only Language Act in 1956. This made Tamils illiterate overnight, which then was met with resistance by those who were impacted by this major legislation reform (mainly Tamils) which led to the first large-scale pogroms in 1956. From this point on, efforts towards ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the new Sinhala dominated government and anti-Tamil sentiment triggered a series of events driven by hate such as the discriminatory university admission system that disadvantaged Tamil youth in 1971, the burning down of the Jaffna Public Library by the government hired Sinhala mobs who also led the major 1983 pogroms. Moreover, in 1972, when Sri Lanka received its new name, the new constitution recognized Buddhism as a State religion which also ignored Tamil political aspiration towards an ‘all-powerful presidency’. Seeing the government as failed to address Tamils, frustrated Tamils formed the Vaddukoddai resolution which demanded the independence state of Tamil Eelam which was also denied. This fueled the frustration especially in the Tamil youth push agenda s of an armed struggle and joined various armed groups in large masses. The gained momentum led to Thimphu 'peace' talks in Bhutan which brought together various Tamil political parties to create a list of Tamil political demands which included:

Fig. 23 Sahajeevana Centre: *Thimphu peaces talks between Tamil delegation (left) and Sri Lankan delegation (right)*



1. Recognition of the Tamils of Ceylon as a nation
2. Recognition of the existence of an identified homeland for the Tamils in Ceylon
3. Recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation
4. Recognition of the right to citizenship and the fundamental rights of all Tamils in Ceylon

Once again, after strong stances from both sides, the government failed to meet these demands. This led to a distrust of the government from Tamils and further fueled the armed struggle. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam became the leaders of the armed struggle and sought to fight for an independent state and self-determination of the Eelam Tamils.

After years of conflict and the Tamil struggle gaining some controlling power, the de-facto state project began with Kilinochchi at its center. Concerns grew within the Sinhala government and aimed to control this movement through international intervention to manage peace talks. However, this led to the stagnated peace process in which years of inaction brought anguish amongst the Sinhala nationalists leading to the election of a war president in 2005. This led to amplification of an existing civil war and was concluded in May 2009, which ended with numerous human rights violations, the election of war criminals, thousands displaced without land and lost family members, thousands seeking refuge around the world, and cultural-societal genocide of mainly innocent Tamils

Since the defeat of the Tamil Tigers in 2009, the government had pushed for peace, reconciliation, and rehabilitation. However, in 2010, the democratic operation of the government was at risk due to the newly elected President, Mahinda Rajapaksa. This

new parliament approved constitutional changes that permitted Rajapaksa to seek unlimited terms (BBC). In 2012, the UN Human Rights Council urged Sri Lanka to adopt a resolution that aims to look into the war crimes and human violations allegedly committed during the final phase of the long-standing conflict. This pledge towards peace, reconciliation, and accountability resurfaces with newly elected officials from 2015, in which the government for the time recognizes the 65 000 missing persons since the beginning of the 30-year war. Despite the processes of recognition and peace, the recently elected government has been led by alleged war criminals and proponents of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism. Although international and national actors claim the country is in a state of post-conflict, the current government aims to revive the anti-Tamil narratives and intensify the ethnic conflict on the island through numerous acts suggesting a turn from democracy to ethnocracy. This ensures the continuation of heavy militarization, criminalization of political prisoners, loss of land to military control and development, and systemic oppression of the North-East of Sri Lanka where the majority of Tamils reside. The socio-spatial segregation on the island is concentrated in the north-east and the nation-state continues to validate the spatial and systemic injustices on the marginalized Tamil populations. It is important to understand how these communities are marginalized to further explore how and if alternative socio-political and spatial processes that either operate within and/or outside the ethnocratic nation-state framework towards justice.

BBC. (2019, April 25). Sri Lanka profile - Timeline. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12004081>
Malathy, N. (2012). A Fleeing Moment In My Country.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

KEY PERIOD / PARADIGM

Mechanism/Tool of Injustice

Key Event
(YEAR)

Fatal Event
(YEAR)

1930

1940

1950

1960

1970

1980

1990

2000

2010

2020

EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

IMPERIALISM

POWER

Right-to-vote and power sharing, Sinhalese-run cabinet (1931)

Ceylon gains full Independence (1948)

State-Aided Sinhala Re-Settltment Program in Tamil Homeland (1946-1981)

Two-Thirds Sinhala Parliment Majority (1948)

Opposition UNP wins election and attempts to reverse socialism (1965)

SINHALA BUDDHIST CHAUVINSM

World's first woman Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike (1960)

World's first woman Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike (1960)

JVP forms, mobilizing frustrated Sinhalese educated youth (1967)

Second Republican Const.: Executive Presidency (1978)

Prevention of Terrorism Act (1979)

State repression and violence against Tamils intensify (1985-87)

Indo-Sri Lankan Peace accord (1987)

FLEEING THE HOMELAND

Anti-Tamil Pogroms: More than 3000 Tamils killed + 150 000 become refugees (1983)

Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, allegedley by LTTE (1983)

Operation Liberation: Sri Lankan Army Forces recapture Jaffna (1987)

ETHNIC WAR

Anti-Tamil Riots in Sinhalese majority areas, killing hundreds of Tamils (1977)

Deployment of Indian Peace Keeping Force (1987)

Major offensives carried out by GoSL and LTTE (1996-2001)

Thimpu Talks in Bhutan: Five Thimpu Principles (1985)

Forced eviction of Tamils in North-East (1985)

Temporary ceasefire talks between LTTE ans GSL (1994)

Declaration of Cessation of Hostilities: To seize all offensive operatoins (1996)

TULF wins elections in North and East, seeking for sovereign Tamil Eelam (1977)

Vaddukoddai Resolution (1976)

District Development Councils (1981)

LTTE demands for Federalization are denied by Sri Lankan Government (1993)

New Republic Constitution: Bhuddism State Religion (1972)

Standarization Act (1969)

Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact: Provisions on the use of Tamil in Tamil areas (1956)

Federalism rejected by Sinhalese majority (1966)

Dudley Senanayke and SJV Chelvanayagam sign pact which then is abandoned under the pretense that it would 'incite the Sinhalese extremists' (1965)

Formation of Tamil United Liberation Front (TUD): Tamil New Tigers (TNT), Ceylon Wokers Congress (CEC), Tamil Congress (TC) (1972)

Sinhala Only Act (1956)

ETHNIC CLEANSING

Pact opposition leads to anti-Tamil Riots 200 dead and thousands of Tamils displaced (1958)

Assassination of Prime Minister Bandaranaike by Buddhist Monks (1959)

Armed insurrectoin of JVP lead to thousands dead (1971)

ETHNIC CLEANSING

SINHALA COLONIZATION

ETHNIC CLEANSING

THE NATION STATE LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Ceylon Citizenship Qualification Act (1948)

GoSL - Government of Sri Lanka
LTTE - Liberatoin Tigers of Tamil Eelam
IPKF - Indian Peace Keeping Force
UNHRC - United Nations Human Rights Council
UNP - United National Party
JVP - Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

AUTHORITARIANISM

Re-election of Mahinda Rajapaske in first post-war elections (2010)

Constitutional change: Allowing Rajapaske to seek unlimited terms (2010)

GoSL claims victory after gaining control of LTTE headquarters in Killonochci (2009)

Human Rights Violations committed by LTTE and GoSL (2009)

GoSL fires heavy artillery into 'No Fire Zone' (2009)

Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami (2004)

DE FACTO STATE OF TAMIL EELAM

Offensives from LTTE and GoSL intensifies (2007)

GoSL acknowledges 65 000 people missing from 26-year long war (2016)

G.Rajapaske explains missing people are dead (2020)

MOUNTING VIOLENCE

GoSL withdraws from ceasefire (2008)

PEACE MOVES

M. Sirisena defeats M. Rajapaksa: pledging accountability over alleged atrocities (2015)

GoSL withdrawal from UNHRC Resolution commitments (2020)

UNHRC Resolution: Investigation on War Crimes and Human Rights Violations (2012)

UNHRC Resolution: Urging GoSL to investigate war crimes committed by both parties during final phase (2012)

Ceasefire between GoSL and LTTE: Brokered by Norway (2002)
Peace Talks, Geneva (2006)

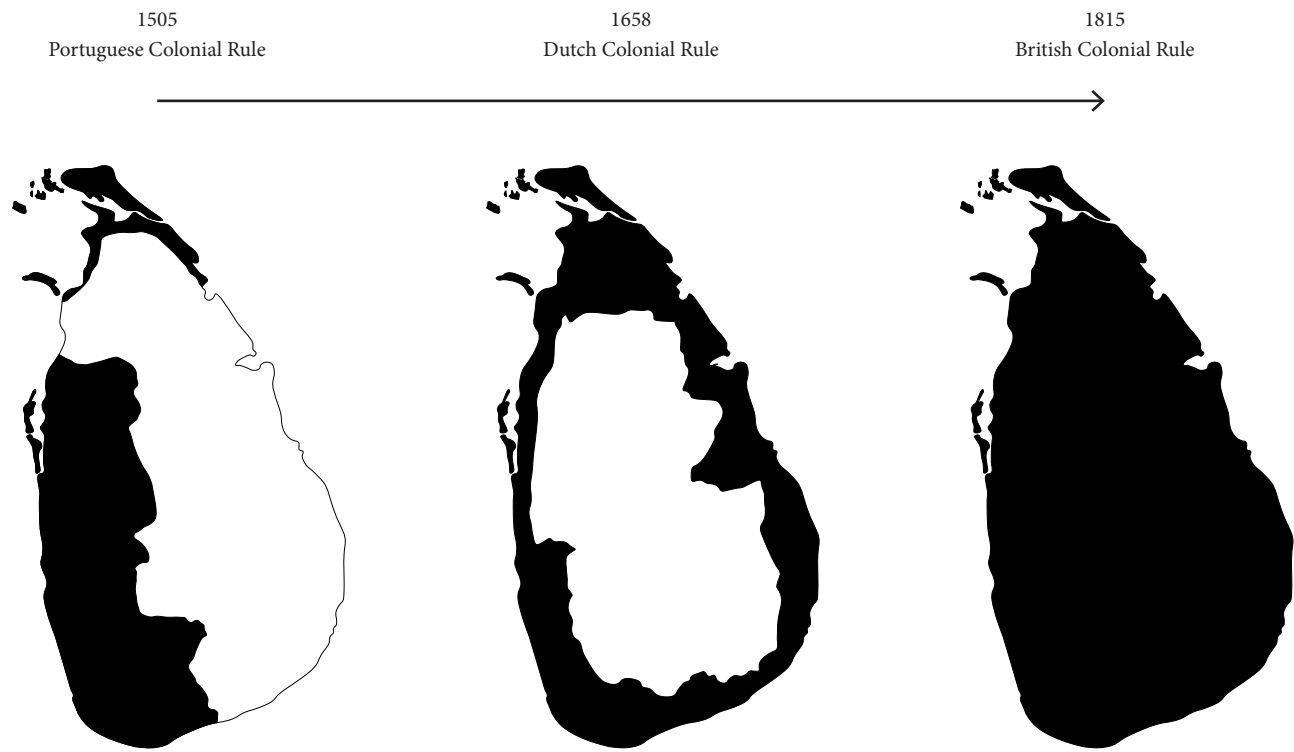
Gotabaya Rajapaske wins presidential election (2019)

Mahinda Rajapaske wins parliamentary elections (2019)

EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

For more than four centuries, the island had been under the control of three colonial powers. The first to arrive found numerous kingdoms and communities that ruled various parts of the island. The Portuguese first arrived in the 16th century, followed by the Dutch, who only managed to obtain control of coastal regions. It was not until 1815, the British took control and infiltrated inland as well with protestant Christianity (Malathy 2012). Once independence was gained in 1948, the ethnic politics and conflict began to intensify, and the neglect of these tensions led to a constitution drafted for a centralized government (Ibid). Malathy writes from ‘A Feeling Movement in My Country’ that this move may have been the primary reason for the conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese.

Fig. 24 Author: Evolution of Colonial Rule in Sri Lanka



NATION STATE FRAMEWORK

Despite the size of the island, there existed a wide multitude of kingdoms. The kingdoms can be characterized as different from one another, each carrying their own cultural and social practices. Each kingdom were ruled by Chieftains, who pledged their allegiance to their respective territories and offered military protection. This map depicts the kingdoms during the Kandyan period, dating from the late 16th to early 19th century.

The age of kingdoms was abolished with the gradual imposition of European colonial powers. The abolishment of diversity led to unification of power, in other words the Nation-State framework. The Nation-State was the procedural system was largely developed by European nations and imposed on their colonial lands. This ideology promoted an centralized cultural identity, where the homogenization of identity also aligns with political boundaries.

Like many post-colonial states, such as India and Sri Lanka. The nation state ideology neglected the diversity of cultures, ethnicities and societal values, which has led nationwide struggles for self-determination and increasing detachment from dominant ideals.

In Sri Lanka, administrative power was transferred to the ethnically dominant group, the Sinhalese after gaining independence in 1948 after four centuries of colonial control. This led to the imbalance of power, and intensified historical ethnic tension largely between Eelam Tamils and Sinhalese on the island. The unitary and constitutional government power structure was exploited and used to systematically oppress challenging struggles of self-determination. It also provided a framework to instill ethnonationalist ideologies within state legislature, judicial and executive parliamentary arms of the government,.

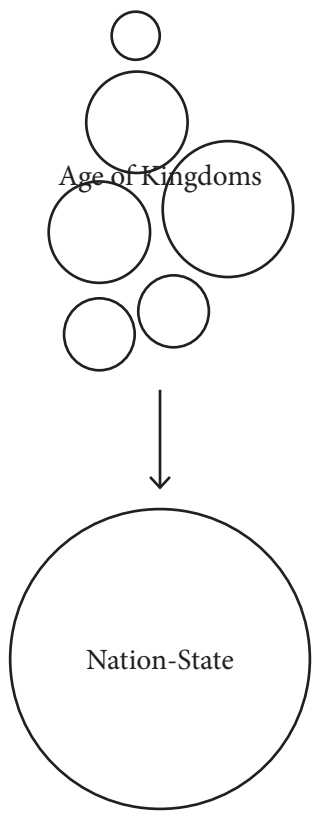
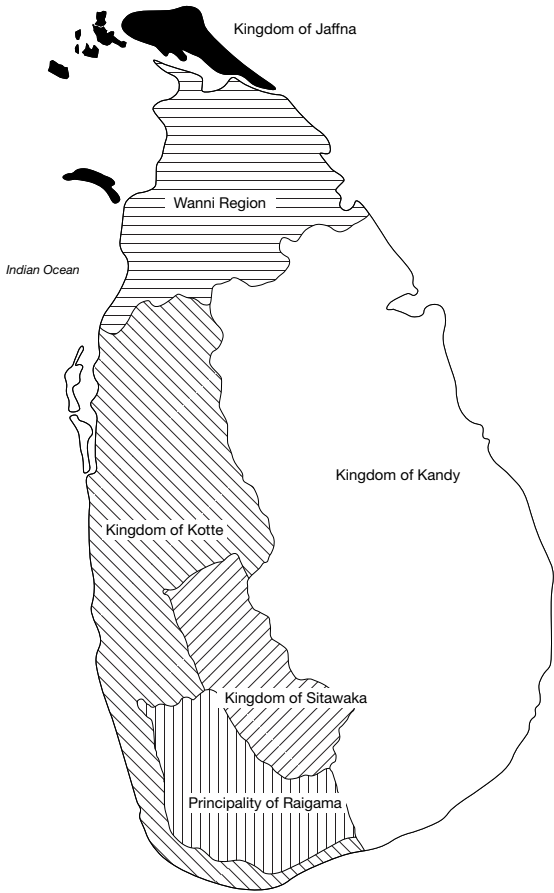


Fig. 25 Author: Precolonial, Kingdom Rule over Territory



The decades following independence and power largely transferred to the hands of the ethnic majority while the state has slowly turned towards Sinhalization of the island. Post-independence Sinhala nationalist narratives gradually infiltrated almost all levels of governance and began to fuel ethnic tension, mainly Tamil resistance, resulting in the process of “ethnic polarization” (Yiftachel 2004). The nationalist Sinhalese movement used their ethnic dominance to advance Sinhala biased legislature, judiciary, and executive roles in government (Ibid). A quote from Sri Lanka development minister in 1983 (Nissan 1996):

“ Sri Lanka is inherently and rightfully a Sinhalese state... This must be accepted as a fact and not a matter of opinion to be debated. By attempting to challenge this premise, Tamils have brought the wrath of the Sinhalese on their own heads; they have themselves to blame.”

And began to rationalize the Sinhalization of the island. Others, mainly Tamils, saw this as a threat to their self-determination and homeland of Tamil Eelam in the North-Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. This strategy manifested in many post-independence policies that actively oppressed the rights of both Eelam Tamils and Indian Tamils such as the Sinhala Only Act in 1956, which made Sinhalese the official language, making

Tamils illiterate overnight. And, citizenship policies that denied citizenship to those whose fathers or grandfathers were not born in Sri Lanka, leading to over a million disenfranchised Tamil laborers, mainly plantation works from India (Malathy 2012). This was only in the form of policies but also contested various ethnic claims on the territory. The Tamils and Sinhalese respectively believed a portion of the island belonged to them and should be preserved to avoid statelessness. Unfortunately, with the upper hand of the Sinhalese and growing nationalism, the spatial distribution of the island leaned towards the ethnic majority and threatened Eelam Tamil’s claim for the homeland, Tamil Eelam.

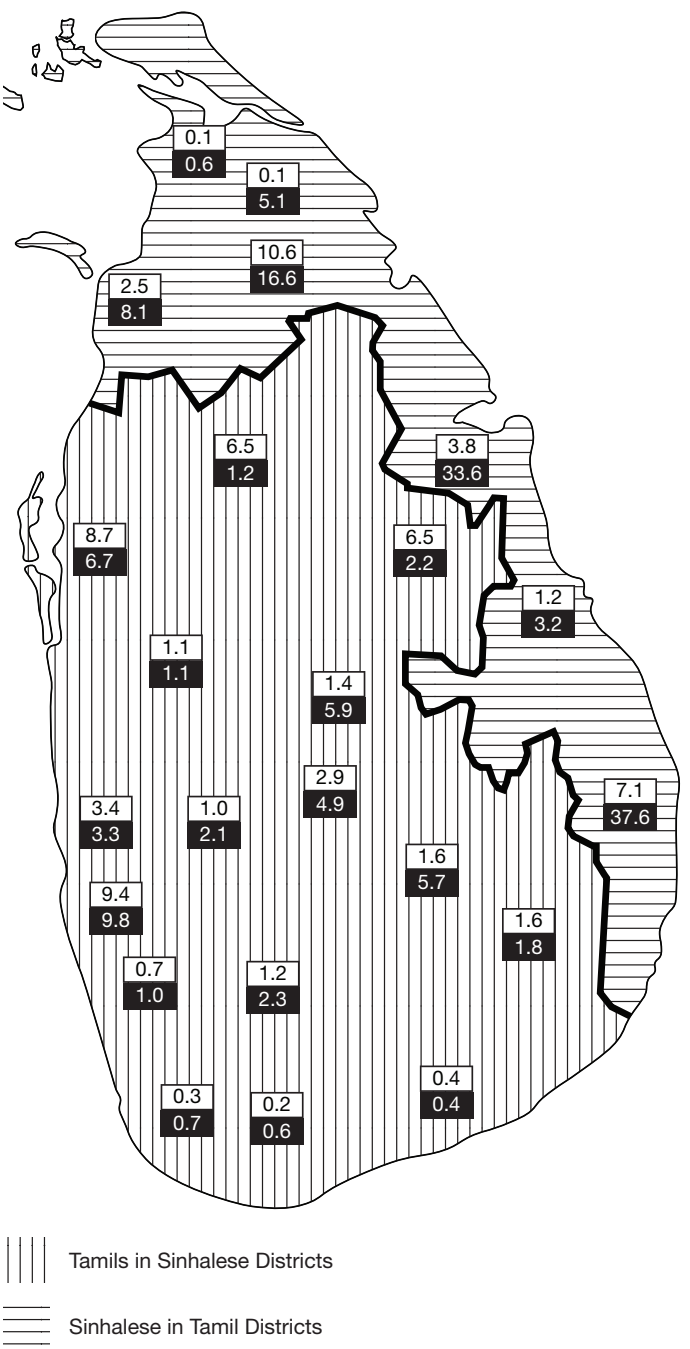
Given the authoritative position and heavily Sinhala leaning state policy and organization, Oren Yiftachel described Sri Lanka as an ethnocratic state. As previously described, a regime which aims to preserve and gain full ethnic control over a contested territory composed of multiple ethnicities (Yiftachel 1998). This regime type can be characterized by exerting conditions of oppressive power and marginalization of ethnic minority groups. In which, the socio-spatial identity of minorities, in this case, Eelam Tamils, face various layers of discrimination spatial, procedural, and socioeconomic dimensions.

ETHNIC CLEANSING

The ethnic dominance of the Sinhalese and majority Sinhalese government became an opportunity to oppress the aspirations of homeland of minority groups, such as the Eelam Tamils. Since independence, the marginalization and discrimination of Tamils, who made up close to 30% of the population at the time, rapidly increased. The state was led by Sinhala nationalists who sought to exert their dominance after power was transferred from British. This led to use of systemic injustices, resettlement schemes, and direct violence on Eelam Tamils and other minority groups.

The state-aided Sinhala resettlement schemes were used break the geographical continuity of the Tamil homeland. This national ethnic colonization led to vast dilutions of Tamil dominated areas in the North and Eastern regions. Since the 1930's, Tamil dominated districts such as Trincomalee, saw a dramatic shift in ethnic composition. Literature suggests, this colonization "process camouflaged as land developed schemes consumed 30% of the traditional Tamil homeland" (British Tamil Forum 2008)

Fig. 26 Author: Ethnic Composition(%) 1911 (White) and 1981 (Black)



- 1. Inginiyakala massacre - 05.06.1956
- 2. 1958 pogrom
- 3. Tamil research conference massacre - 10.01.1974
- 4. 1977 communal pogrom
- 5. 1981 communal pogrom
- 6. Burning of the Jaffna library - 01.06.1981
- 7. 1983 communal pogrom
- 8. Thirunelveli massacre - 24, 25.07.1983
- 9. Sampalthoddam massacre - 1984
- 10. Chunnakam Police station massacre - 08.01.1984
- 11. Chunnakam market massacre - 28.03.1984
- 12. Mathawachchi – Rampawa - September 1984
- 13. Point Pedro – Thikkam massacre - 16.09.1984
- 14. Othiyamalai massacre - 01.12.1984
- 15. Kumulamunai massacre - 02.12.1984
- 16. Cheddikulam massacre - 02.12.1984
- 17. Manalaru massacre - 03.12.1984
- 18. Blood soaked Mannar - 04.12.1984
- 19. Kokkilai -Kokkuthoduvai massacre - 15.12.1984
- 20. Vankalai church massacre - 06.01.1986
- 21. Mulliyavalai massacre - 16.01.1985
- 22. Vaddakandal massacre - 30.01.1985
- 23. Puthukkidiyiruppu Iyankovilady massacre - 21.04.1985
- 24. Trincomalee massacres in 1985
- 25. Valvai - 85 massacre 10.05.1985
- 26. Kumuthini Boat massacre 15.05.1985
- 27. Kiliveddi massacre in 1985
- 28. Thiriyai massacre - 08.06.1985
- 29. Sampaltivu - 04 to 09.08.1985
- 30. Veeramunai massacre - 20.06.1990
- 31. Nilaveli massacre 16.09.1985
- 32. Piramanthanaru massacre - 02.10.1985
- 33. Kanthalai -85 massacre - 09.11.1985
- 34. Muthur Kadatkaraichenai - 08, 09, 10.11.1985
- 35. Periyapullumalai massacre in 1986
- 36. Kilinochchi Railway Station massacre - 25.01.1986
- 37. Udumbankulam massacre - 19.02.1985
- 38. Vayaloor massacre - 24.08.1985
- 39. Eeddimurincham massacre - 19, 20.03.1986
- 40. Anandapuram shelling - 04.06.1986

- 41. Kanthalai - 86 massacre - 04, 05.06. 1986
- 42. Mandaithivu sea massacre - 10.06.1986
- 43. Seruvila massacre - 12.06.1986
- 44. Thambalakamam massacres - 1985, 1986
- 45. Paranthan farmers massacre - 28.06.1986
- 46. Peruveli refugee camp massacre - 15.07.1986
- 47. Thanduvan bus massacre - 17.07.1986
- 48. Mutur Manalchenai massacre - 18.07. 1986
- 49. Adampan massacre - 12.10.1986
- 50. Periyapandivrichchan massacre - 15.10.1986
- 51. Kokkadichcholai - 87 massacre - 28.01.1987
- 52. Paddithidal massacre - 26.04.1987
- 53. Thonithiddamadu massacre - 27.05.1987
- 54. Alvai temple shelling - 29.05.1987
- 55. Eastern University massacre - 23.05.1990
- 56. Sammanthurai massacre - 10.06.1990
- 57. Xavierpuram massacre - 07.08.1990
- 58. Siththandy massacre - 20, 27.07.1990
- 59. Paranthan junction massacre - 24.07.1990
- 60. Poththuvil massacre - 30.07.1990
- 61. Tiraikerny massacre - 06.08.1990
- 62. Kalmunai massacre - 11.08.1990
- 63. Thuramilavani massacre - 12.08.1990
- 64. Eravur hospital massacre - 12.08.1990
- 65. Koraveli massacre 14.08.1990
- 66. Nellyyadi market bombing - 29.08.1990
- 67. Eravur massacre - 10.10.1990
- 68. Saththurukkondan massacre - 09.09.1990
- 69. Natpiddymunai massacre - 10.09.1990
- 70. Vantharamullai - 90 massacre - 05, 23,09,1990
- 71. Mandaithivu disappearances - 23.08.1990, 25.09.1990
- 72. Oddisuddan bombing - 27.11.1990
- 73. Puthukkudiyiruppu junction bombing
- 74. Vankalai massacre - 17.02.1991
- 75. Vaddakkachchi bombing - 28.02.1991
- 76. Vantharumoolai - 09.06.1991
- 77. Kokkadichcholai - 91 massacre - 12.06.1991
- 78. Pullumalai massacre - 1983 -1990
- 79. Kinniyadi massacre - 12.07.1991
- 80. Akkarayan hospital massacre - 15.07.1997

- 81. Uruthrapuram bombing - 04.02.1991
- 82. Karapolla - Muthgalla massacre - 29.04.1992
- 83. Vattrapalai shelling - 18.05.1992
- 84. Thellipalai temple bombing - 30.05.1992
- 85. Mailanthai massacre - 09.08.1992
- 86. Kilali massacre - 1992, 1993
- 87. Maaththalan bombing - 18.09.1993
- 88. Chavakachcheri - Sangaththanai bombing - 28.09.1993
- 89. Kokuvil temple massacre & bombing - 29.09.1993
- 90. Kurunagar church bombing - 13.11.1993
- 91. Chundikulam - 94 massacre - 18.02.1994
- 92. Navali church massacre - 09.07.1995
- 93. Nagarkovil bombing - 22.05.1995
- 94. Chemmani mass graves in 1996
- 95. Kilinochchi town massacre - 1996 -1998
- 96. Kumarapuram massacre - 11.02.1996
- 97. Nachchikuda strafi ng - 16.03.1996
- 98. Thambirai market bombing - 17.05.1996
- 99. Mallavi bombing - 24.07.1996
- 100. Pannankandy massacre - 05.07.1997
- 101. Kaithady Krishanthi massacre - 07.09.1996
- 102. Vavunikulam massacre - 26.09.1996, 15.08.1997
- 103. Konavil bombing - 27.09.1996
- 104. Mullivaikal bombing - 13.05.1997
- 105. Mankulam shelling - 08.06.1997
- 106. Thampalakamam - 98 massacre - 01.02.1998
- 107. Old Vaddakachchi bombing - 26.03.1998
- 108. Suthanthirapuram massacre - 10.06.1998
- 109. Visuvamadhu shelling - 25.11.1998
- 110. Chundikulam - 98 bombing 02.12.1998
- 111. Manthuvil bombing - 15.09.1999
- 112. Palinagar bombing and shelling - 03.09.1999
- 113. Madhu church massacre - 20.11.1999
- 114. Bindunuwewa massacre
- 115. Mirusuvil massacre - 19.12.2000

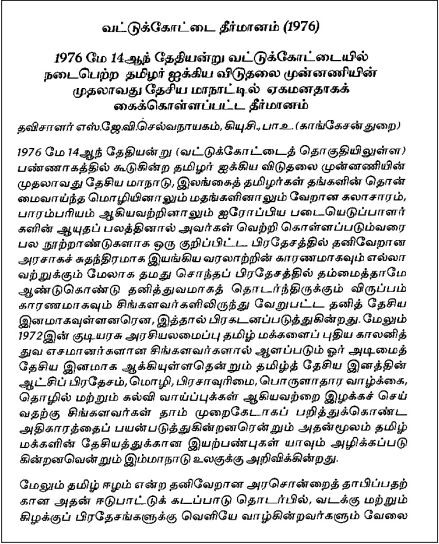
It was not until the Portuguese arrived in 1619, Tamil Kingdoms and Tamil independence were conquered and overruled. Since European Colonization, the recognition of Tamil independence has been ignored and undermined. And, for the purpose of administrative ease, all rights to self-determination slowly dissolved when the British transferred significant power to the Sinhalese population which was only on the basis of the numerical majority. This power imbalance created a rift between the various ethnic groups on the island, where historical differences slowly turned into hate and resentment for the ‘other’. This hate materialized through the dominant power structures and perpetuated discrimination, violence, and oppression of ethnic minorities such as Tamils on the island. Amidst long-standing discrimination of ethnic-minority Tamil population by the newly independent Sri Lankan state, the quest for Eelam Tamil liberation and self-determination grows immensely.

Seeing the government as failed to address Tamils, frustration and anguish grew within the Tamil community, which led to a political resolution urged by the Tamil United Liberation Front, demanding for a Tamil independent state and rights to self-determination. This resolution was referred to as the Vaddukoddai resolution. It clearly defines the aggressive nationalism of the Sinhala dominated government and people, used through their political power to discriminate and oppress the Tamil people:

- Depriving one-half of Tamil people of their citizenship, leading to the reduction of Tamil representation in parliament
- State-aided Sinhalese colonization and encroachment of Tamil homeland
- Perpetuating inferiority by making Sinhala the only official language
- Declaring Buddhism a state religion
- Denying access to equal opportunities; economic, land, industry development, and education
- Enabling and allowing hatred and violence on Tamils
- Terrorizing, torturing, and imprisoning Tamil youth without trial and due process

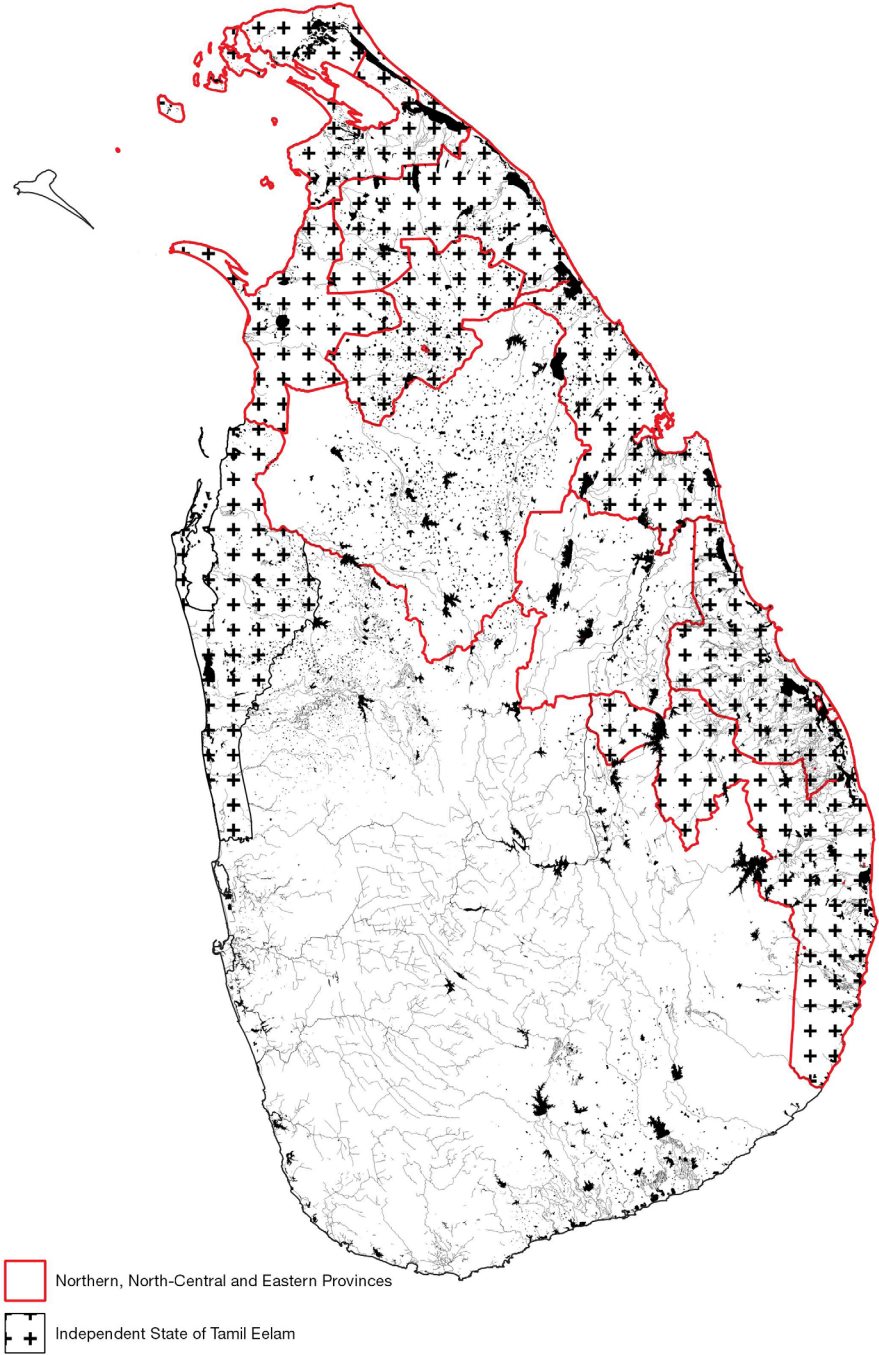
More importantly, this resolution outlines a six-point declaration toward the Free, Sovereign, Secular Socialist State of Tamil Eelam based on the right of self-determination. This includes:

Fig. 27 Tamil Nation: Excerpt from Vaddukoddai Resolution 1976



1. that the State of TAMIL EELAM shall consist of the people of the Northern and Eastern provinces and shall also ensure full and equal rights of citizenship of the State of TAMIL EELAM to all Tamil speaking people living in any part of Ceylon and to Tamils of EELAM origin living in any part of the world who may opt for citizenship of TAMIL EELAM.
2. that the constitution of TAMIL EELAM shall be based on the principle of democratic decentralization so as to ensure the non-domination of any religious or territorial community of TAMIL EELAM by any other section.
3. that in the state of Tamil Eelam caste shall be abolished and the observance of the pernicious practice of untouchability or inequality of any type based on birth shall be totally eradicated and its observance in any form punished by law.
4. that TAMIL EELAM shall be a secular state giving equal protection and assistance to all religions to which the people of the state may belong.
5. that Tamil shall be the language of the State, but the rights of Sinhalese speaking minorities in Tamil Eelam to education and transaction of business in their language shall be protected on a reciprocal basis with the Tamil speaking minorities in the Sinhala State.
6. that Tamil Eelam shall be a Socialist State wherein the exploitation of man by man shall be forbidden, the dignity of labor shall be recognized, the means of production and distribution shall be subject to public ownership and control while permitting private enterprise in these branches within limit prescribed

Fig. 28 Author: Contested Space of Tamil Eelam in the North-East



by law, economic development shall be on the basis of socialist planning and there shall be a ceiling on the total wealth that any individual of family may acquire

This is a translation of the Resolution Unanimously Adopted at the 1st National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front

For the Tamils on the island, this was a way to institutionalize and formally recognize their diminishing culture, heritage, religion, language, social practices, economic and educational opportunities and thereby destroying all attributes of Tamil people’s nationhood. In the turn, the constant discrimination and ignorance of

the Sinhala state made the aspiration of the separate state increasingly promising and viable toward Tamil liberation and independence.

Despite the call for Tamil independence, after strong stances from both sides, the government failed to meet these demands. This led to a distrust of the government from Tamils and further fueled the armed struggle.

Despite the clear demands for justice, the government failed to address core fundamental ideas and values of the Tamil struggle on the island. This caused frustration amongst the Tamil community and led to the formation of Tamil United Liberation Front, which composed of many sub-groups such as Tamil Congress (TC), Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) and a small youth group named Tamil New Tigers (TNT). And, after overwhelming support in North and East, on seeking a mandate for a sovereign Tamil Eelam, there began ant-Tamil sentiment across the Sinhalese community. This led numerous instances of violence, pogroms and discriminatory policies such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act (1979) which banned any Tamil militant organization.

This fueled the frustration especially in the Tamil youth push agendas of an armed struggle and joined various armed groups in large masses. The gained momentum led to Thimphu 'peace' talks in Bhutan which brought together various Tamil political parties to create a list of Tamil political demands which included:

1. Recognition of the Tamils of Ceylon as a nation
2. Recognition of the existence of an identified homeland for the Tamils in Ceylon
3. Recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation
4. Recognition of the right to citizenship and the fundamental rights of all Tamils in Ceylon

Once again, after strong stances from both sides, the government failed to meet these demands. This led to a distrust of the government from Tamils and further fueled the armed struggle. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam became the leaders of the armed struggle and sought to fight for an independent state and self-determination of the Eelam Tamils.

The armed struggle manifested itself through the geographical conflict of the claimed independent state of Tamil Eelam and the existing State of Sri Lanka. The LTTE fought for Eelam Tamil liberation which meant total control over the territory of Tamil Eelam. Tamil Eelam includes the ancient homeland of Tamils in Sri Lanka and is geographically aligned to where ethnic-Tamils inhabited historically, specifically in the North and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. It also spatially marks two nations and rather not perpetuate a majority-minority difference. The two distinct nations differ in language, religion, culture, customs and traditions.

The Sinhalese and Tamils are two distinct nations, who have long standing histories through separate sovereign kingdoms in North and East for Tamils, and in the South, Central and West for Sinhalese. The ethnic dispute and recognition was also stated during the colonial era where the first Colonial Secretary of Ceylon wrote famously:

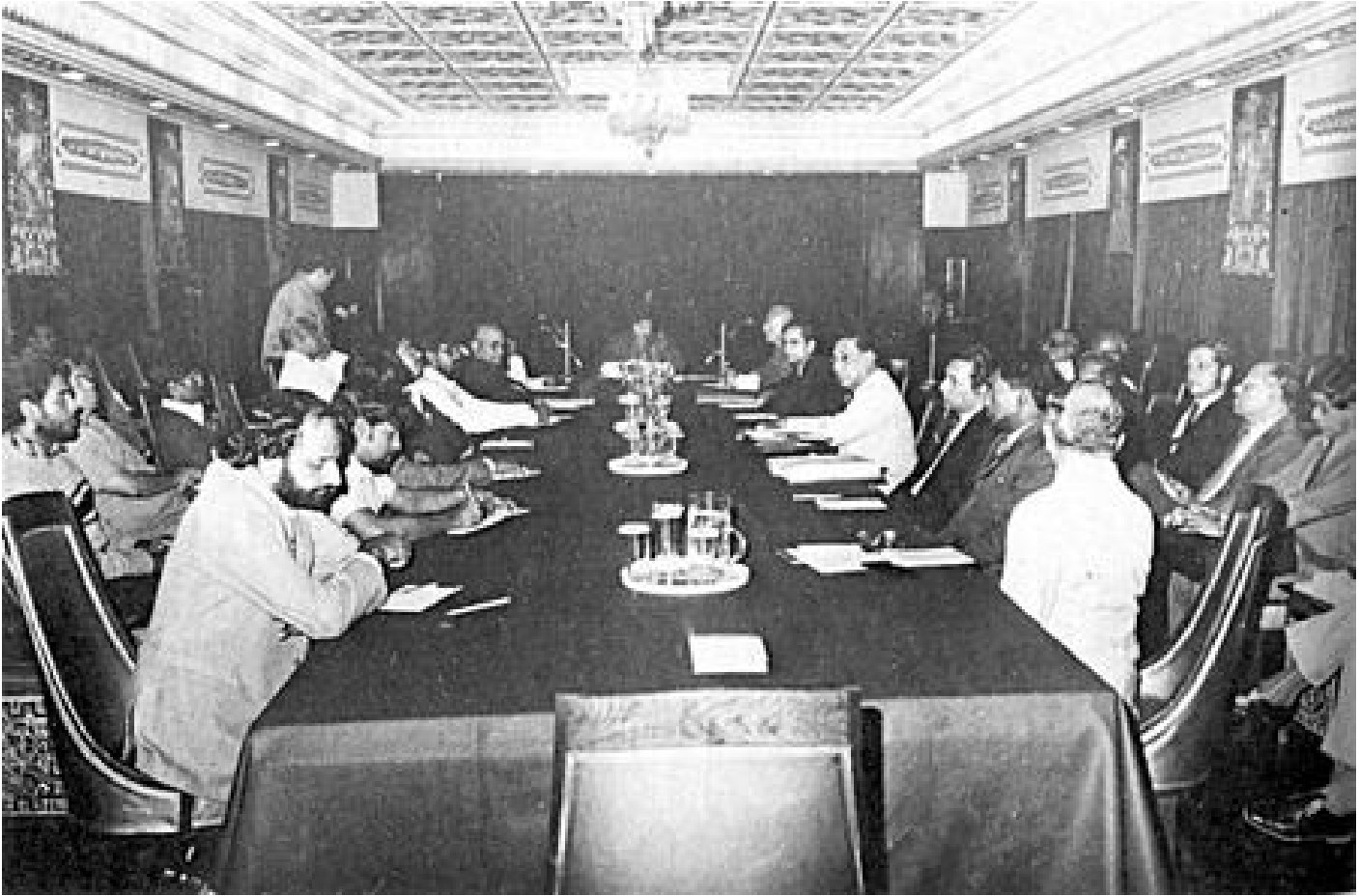
“ Two different nations, from very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the island: the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior in its Southern and Western parts from the river Wallouve to that of Chillow, and the Malabars [another name for Tamils] who possess the Northern and Eastern Districts. These two nations differ entirely in their religions, language and manners. ”

It is clear the rationale to recognize differences provides the framework that supports the prosperity and values of each group respectively. The armed struggle represented frustration of unjust processes that led to failed negotiations, compliance in oppressive nationalism and an excluded Tamil Nation. The armed struggle and Tamil people became intrinsically related as the Tamil struggle and aspirations for an independent Tamil Eelam were commonly yearned.

Fig. 29 TamilNet: Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam



Fig. 30 Sahajeevana Centre: Thimphu peaces talks between Tamil delegation (left) and Sri Lankan delegation (right)



Upon the conclusion of the twenty-six year long ethnic war, ethnic conflict on the island continues to perpetuate the territorial, socioeconomic and procedural segregation of the North-East and ethnic Tamil communities, especially in those living in war-affected zones.

The government has prolonged occupation in LTTE and war affected regions with the reasons to ensure security and prevent any further rebellion within the communities. Moreover, the Tamil people of the North-East continue to seek justice in regards to their loved ones who have been forcibly disappeared, political prisoners who continue to be criminalized and the revival of their land so they can seek opportunities and means to livelihood.

Although the conclusion of the war may have suggested peace, reconciliation and rehabilitation, the ethnic conflict between Tamils and the majority Sinhalese government deems Tamils unworthy of receiving basic human rights and land that is rightfully theirs. The increase militarized surveillance of people and military occupation of land restricts any efforts to reconcile or mitigate any negative impacts caused by the war. Furthermore, the increasing state-aided Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinistic development regimes and projects further threatens the cultural and identity of and stagnates Tamils ability to self-determine within their ancestral homeland across the North-East. The following section aims to illustrate the driving problematic trends that are perpetuating socio-spatial segregation and injustices faced largely by ethnic-minority Tamils in the North and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka.

Fig. 31 JDS: Sri Lanka Army harassing civilians



Fig. 32 Tamil Guardian: Villagers seeking release of their land after 28 years of occupation by State military.



PROBLEM FOCUS: NORTH-EAST



Despite numerous calls by international bodies and Tamil communities, the Sri Lankan state has yet to take measures to demilitarize areas in the North-East (Adayaalam Center for Policy Research 2017). The ethnic-conflict between minority Eelam Tamils and majority Sinhalese state did not cease to exist upon the end of the brutal ethnic-war in 2009. Due to the North-East being the highly contested territory, it became a war-torn region. Since independence in 1948, the Eelam Tamil people have been discriminated, segregated and displaced. Today, the war torn regions and people have received little to no justice and assistance in rehabilitation. With the increased military occupation, Sinhala-Buddhist colonization, violence against women, and growing poverty and unemployment throughout the Northern and Eastern Provinces, the Eelam Tamil lack the resources, recognition, justice to be able to self-determine their futures and have a land they can call home.

This map briefly touches upon the spatial injustice and restraint that is experienced by largely Tamils in the North-East. The high concentration of poverty can be directly correlated with the heavy military presence in North-Eastern areas. Evidently, the community

development of Tamils continues to be restrained and oppressed in the North-East, which becomes the focal point of this research.

The focal area suggests increased focus on the Northern regions, where there is high concentration of impoverished peoples in relation to the available information on the geographic location of military activity which is mainly documented in districts across the North and partially East (Jaffna, Killinochchi, Mullaitivu, Vavuniya, Mannar and partly Trincomalee).

Fig. 33 Author: Contested War Affected Regions of Sri Lanka (Hatch) and Spatial Distribution of Poverty (Grey)

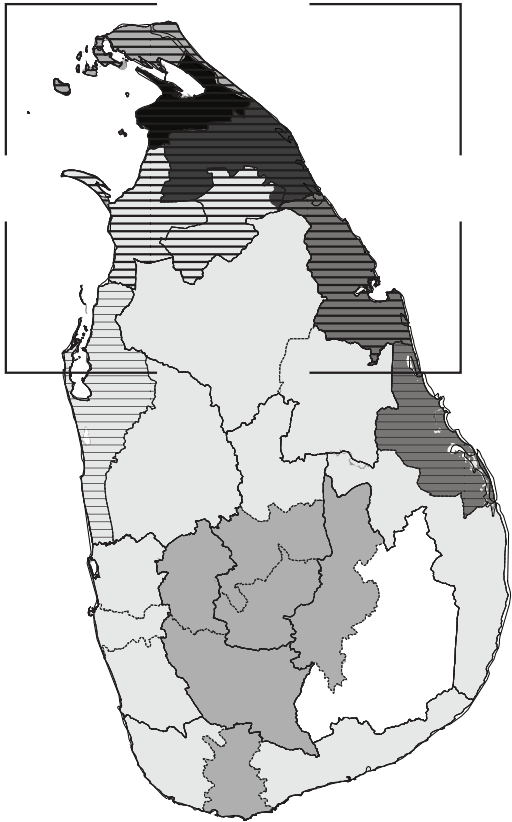
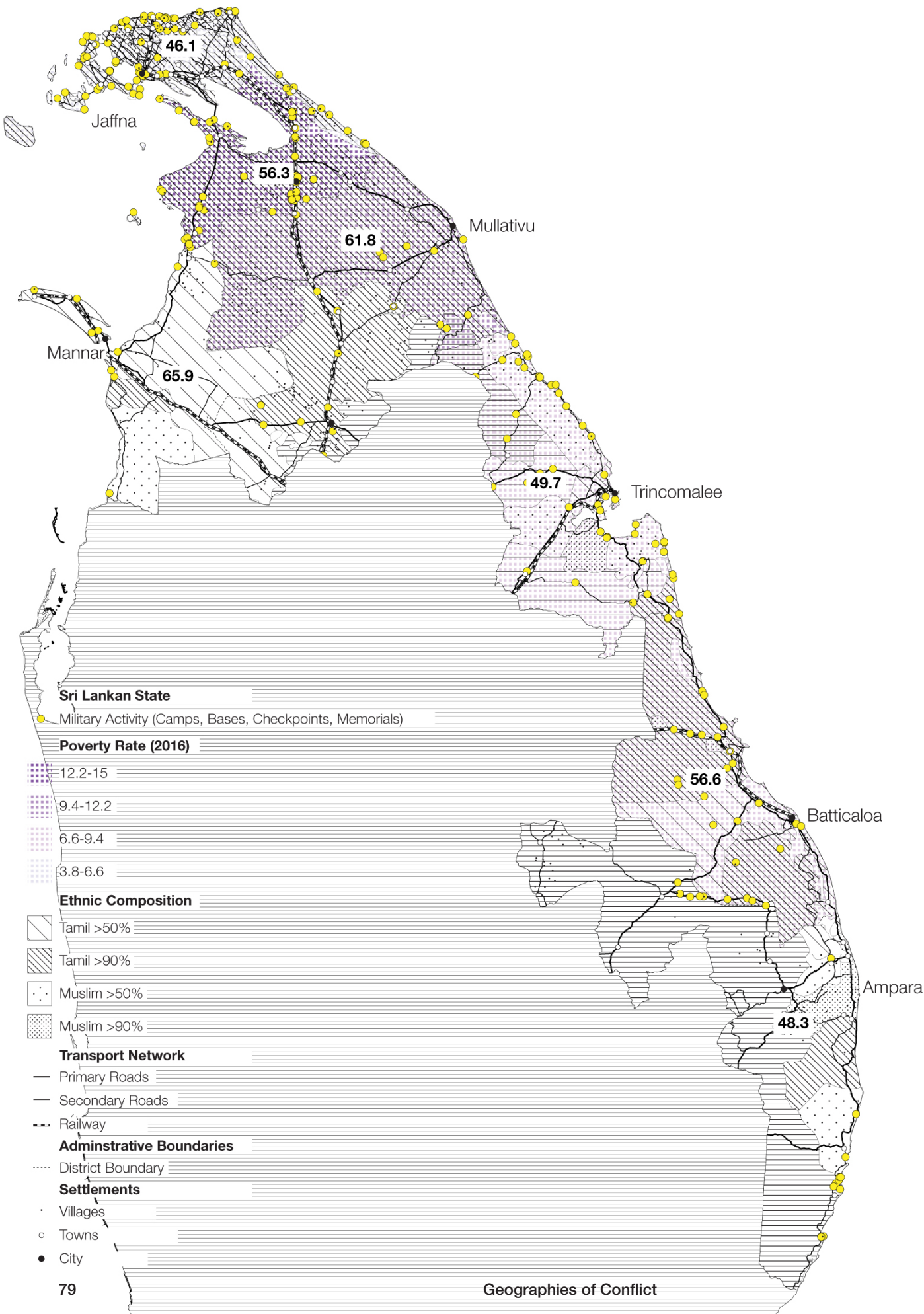


Fig. 34 Author: Problem Focus Map of North-East



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

"The former warzones in the north and east are heavily militarised and controlled from Colombo, while disappearances, killings, torture, gender-based violence and other abuses continue with impunity throughout the island. Sri Lankans who speak out about the situation risk reprisal." - International Crisis Group

KEY DIMENSIONS OF SPATIAL INJUSTICE IN THE NE

PROBLEM FOCUS

The following unveils the main dimensions of spatial injustice in the North-East that will be further explored. This analytical framework outlines key territorial, procedural and socioeconomic conditions in Sri Lanka to understand the multidimensional spatial injustices occurring in the North-East. The visualization functions as an overview for the following analysis.

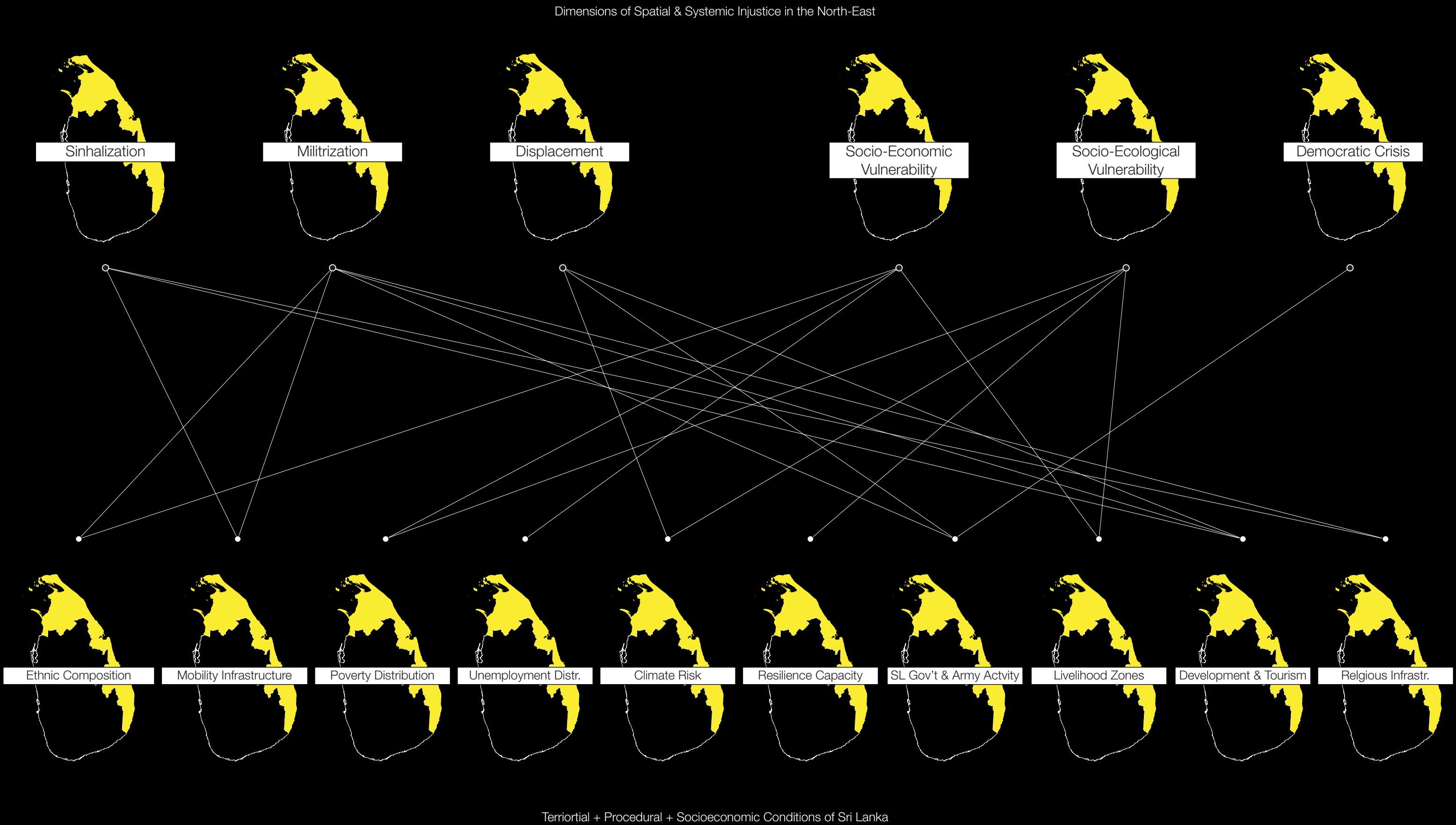


Fig. 36 Author: Mapping Sinhalization in North-East

Since independence on the island and the main transfer of power was to the Sinhalese majority, there has been an exponential increase in anti-Tamil and Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism ideology. This led to acts of violence against ethnic-minorities and direct efforts to destabilize the Tamil population heavily populated in the North-East. From the 1950s, state-aided Sinhala settlement projects were planned to start offsetting the concentrated Tamil population. And, today and after 2009, there has been a exponential influx of Buddhist temple development in efforts to dilute the largely Hindu and partly Muslim population. This religious infrastructure development can be couple with the increased military presence and occupation of the privately owned Tamil land, which legitimized the Sinhala Buddhist state beliefs to purify the island, complying to Buddhism as a state religion.

The map also illustrates the close proximity between Buddhist temples and Sri Lankan military activity. It also shows how the military has strengthened their presence through tourism and economic activities within heavily militarized areas to further perpetuate domination and instill fear in the Tamil community.

Fig. 35 Author: Ethnic Composition and Sinhala State Military Tourism Development

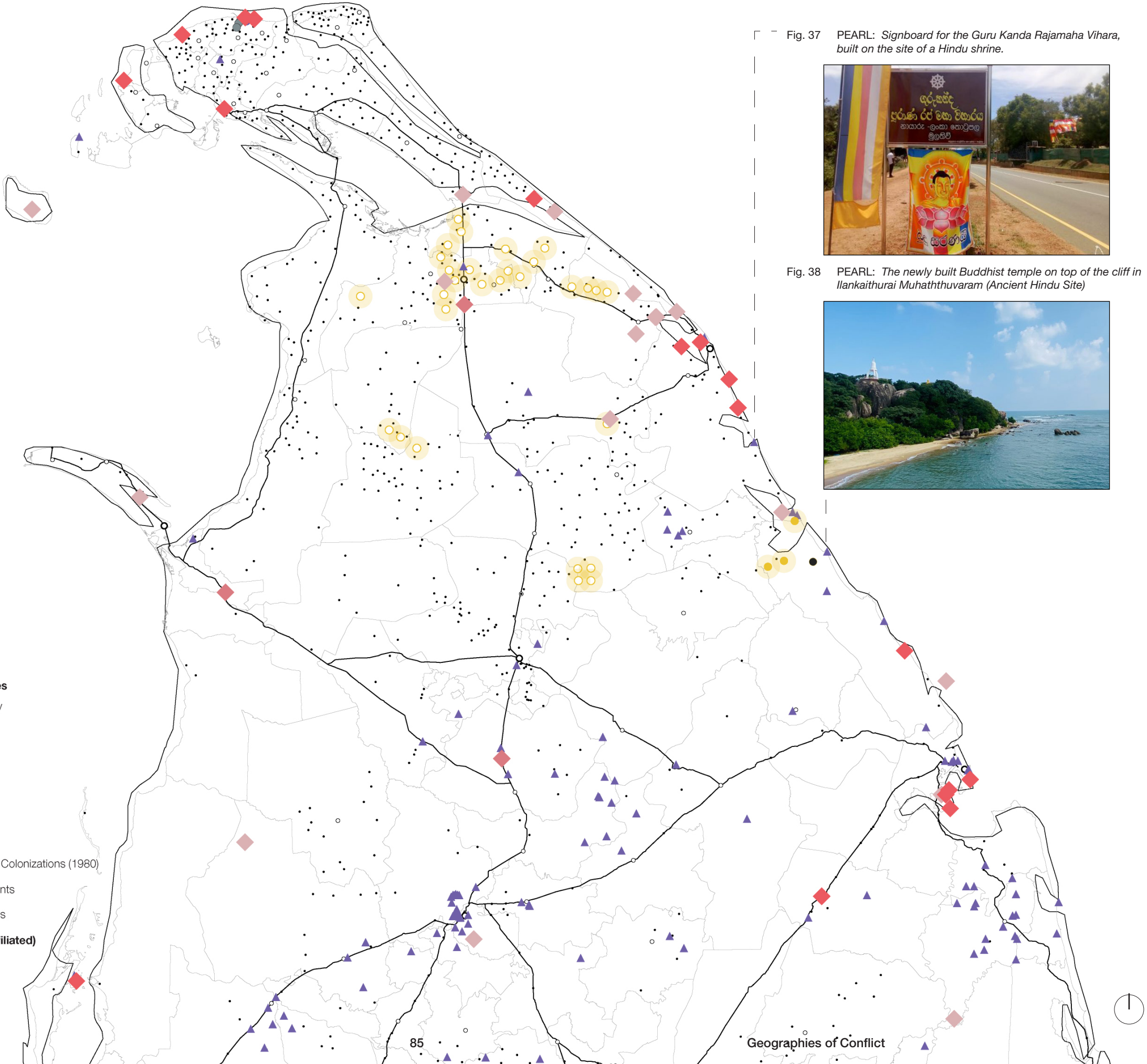
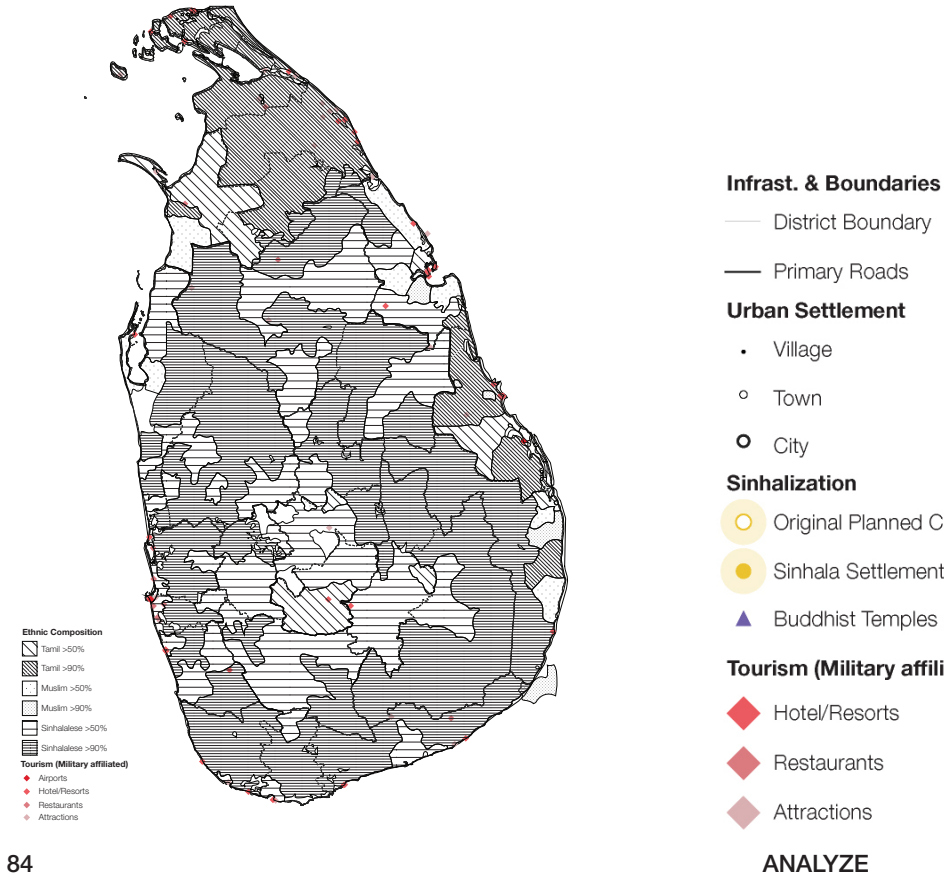
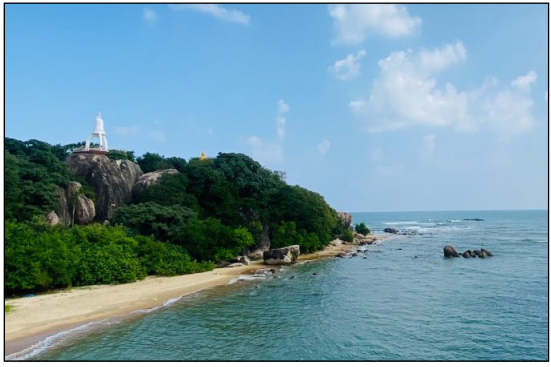


Fig. 37 PEARL: Signboard for the Guru Kanda Rajamaha Vihara, built on the site of a Hindu shrine.



Fig. 38 PEARL: The newly built Buddhist temple on top of the cliff in Ilankaithurai Muhaththuvaram (Ancient Hindu Site)



The North-Eastern regions of Sri Lanka were the most highly contested spaces during the twenty-six year long war. Despite the conclusion of the armed-conflict, the Sri Lankan military continues to have an overwhelming presence in the North-East. This has led to adverse impact on the local Tamil community's livelihoods and economic growth in the region. The Sri Lankan Army operates across seven regional commands, where five are based in the Northern and Eastern provinces. According to reports done by local policy research organizations (ACPR), the war-torn epicenter Mullaitivu is heavily militarized, in fact for every civilian there is two military personnel (Adayaalam Center for Policy Research 2017). Moreover, twenty-five percent of the Sri Lankan military operates within 0.6% of the population, where Mullaitivu is located. The military presence perpetuates land grabs and displacement of privately owned Tamil land, and further profits from this occupation. They also extend their presence through the management of pre-schools, farms, hotels and other programs which instills fear and surveillance across Tamil community life (Ibid). It is clear, there is spatial restraint on the Tamil people in North-Eastern regions that represses their access to livelihoods and diminishes a sense freedom and self-determination.

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

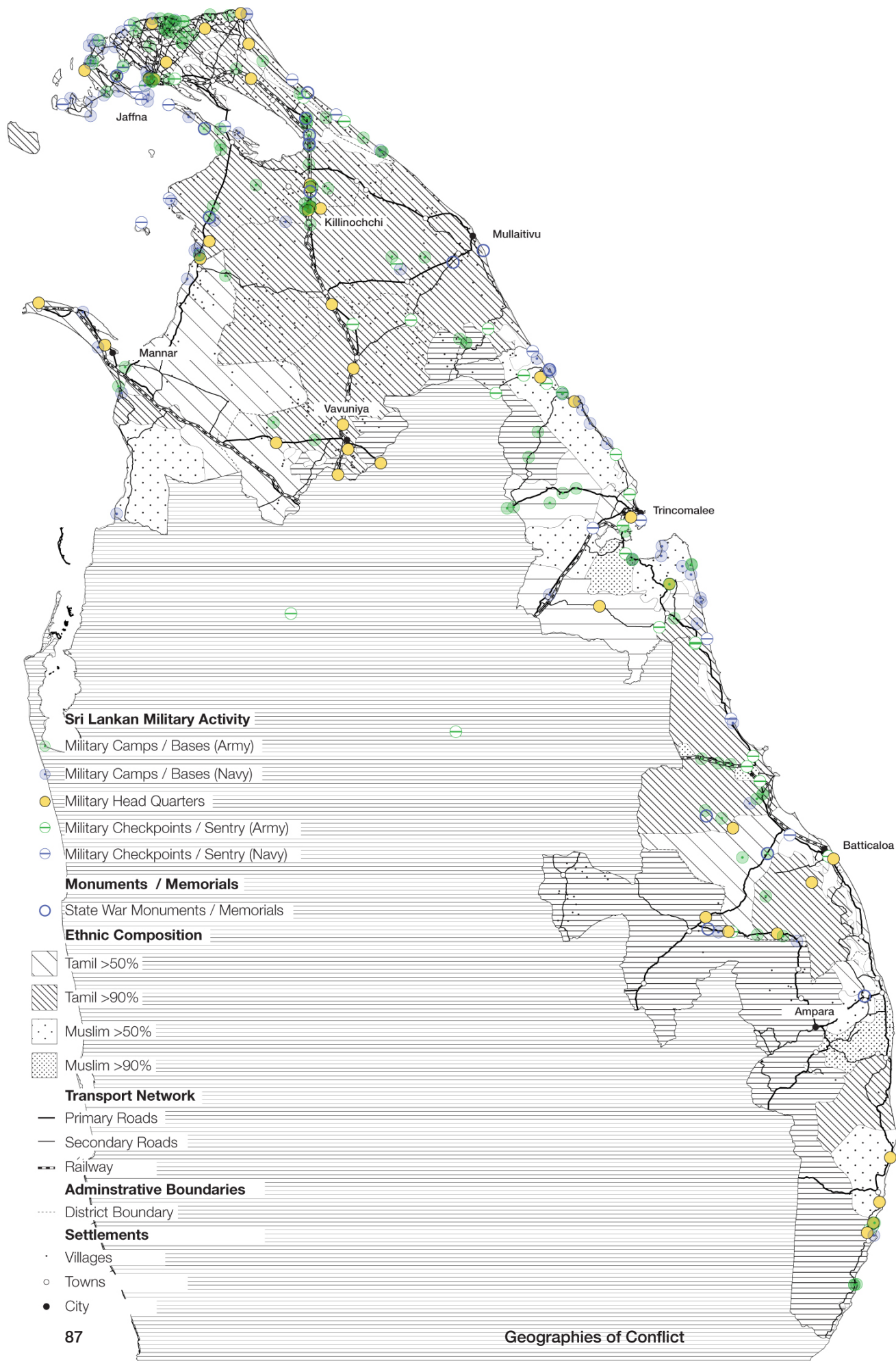
2009 200,000

2012 300,000

2015 400,000

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

Fig. 39 Author: Mapping Military Activity in 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

Fig. 41 Author: Mapping Military Activity in North-East

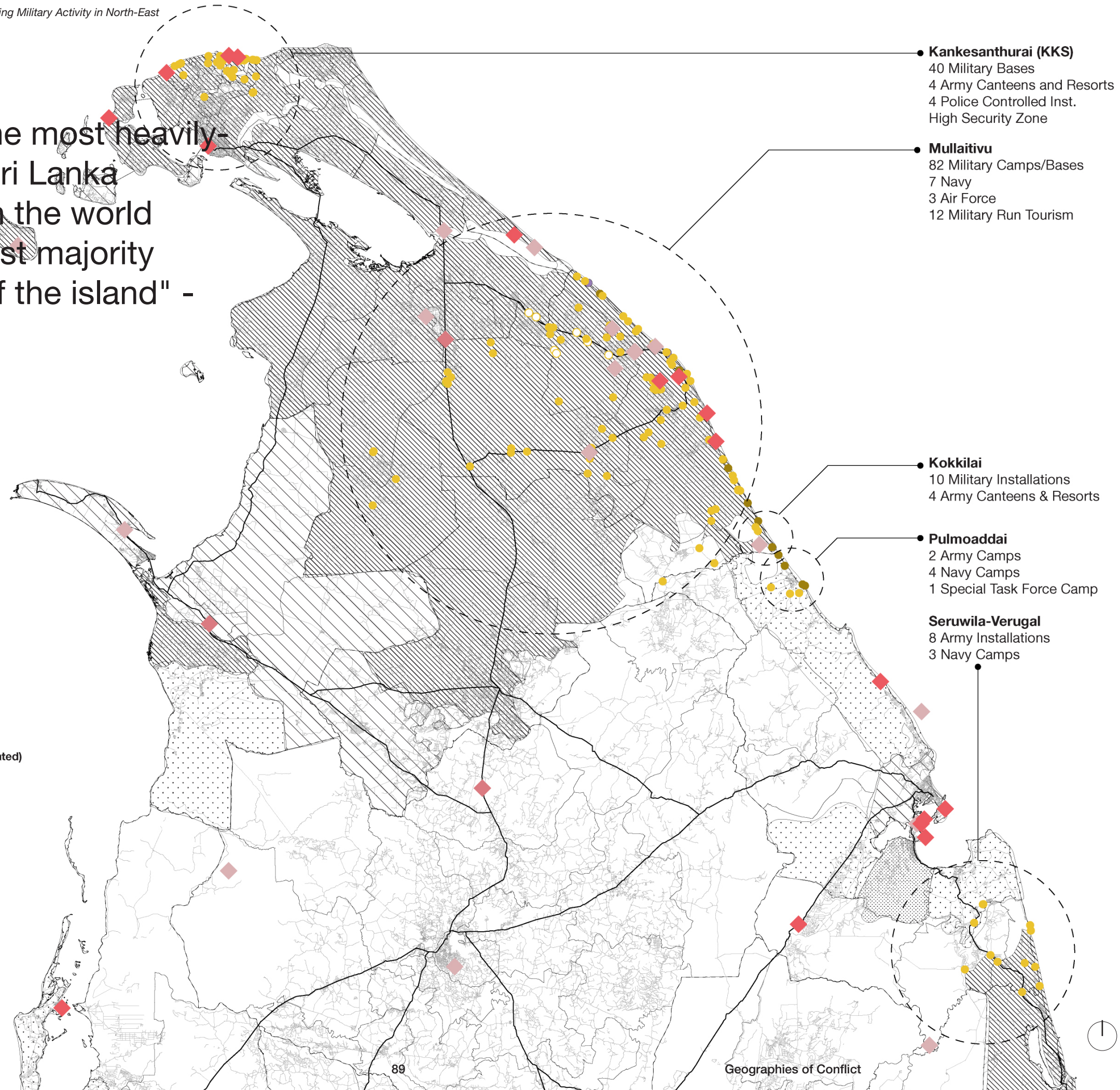


Fig. 40 Author: GoSL Military Activity and Ethnic Composition

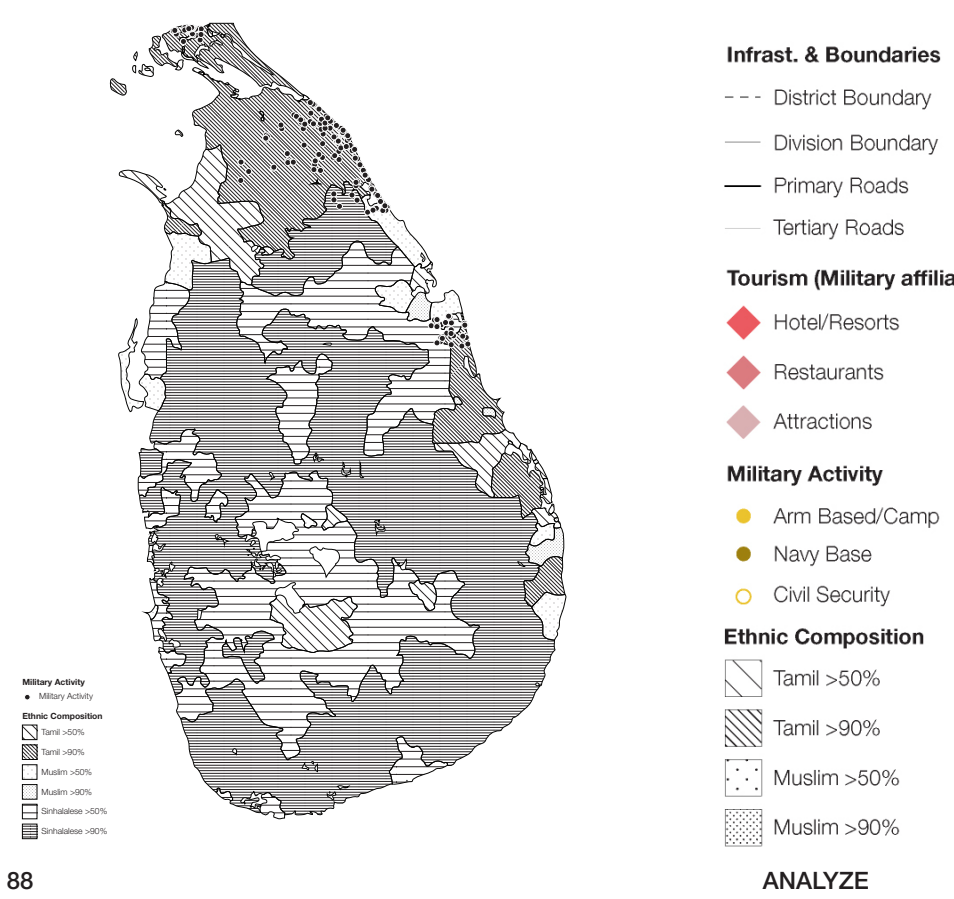


Fig. 42 Tamil Guardian: Special Task Force and military surveillance during temple event in Mullaitivu



Fig. 43 Sri Lankan Brief: Military presence in Norther Province



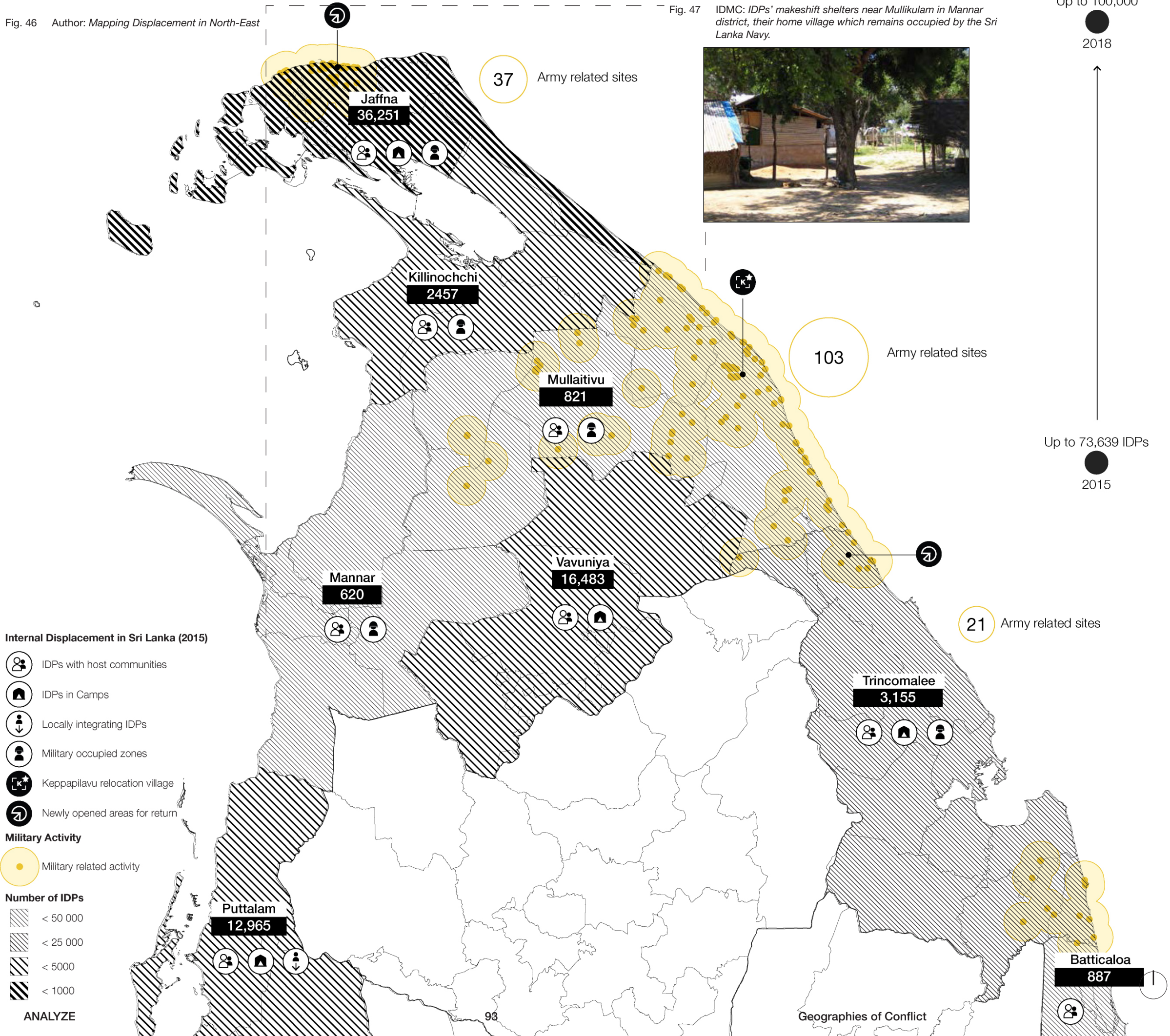
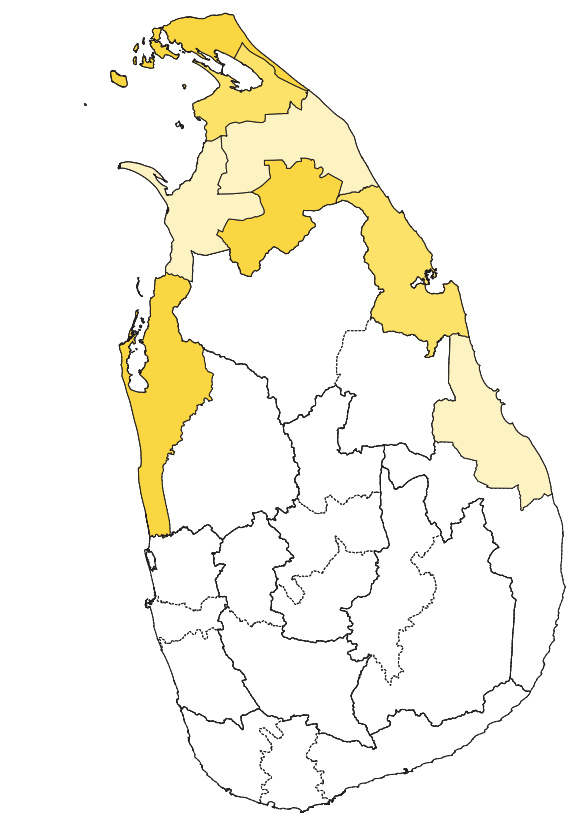
Fig. 44 Shehan Gunasekara: Vulnerable ethnic and religious groups are acutely affected by the militarisation of the public health response



Since the height of the ethnic-conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese on the island, force disappearances and displacement has increased, the fear instilled into the community significantly created uncertainty in one's safety and ability to live a life without violence and crime.

As of 2015, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center estimates upwards of 70,000 people internally displaced. The individuals and families range from still seeking appropriate living conditions to being relocated in temporary installations. In 2018, there are estimates of over 100,000 that are displaced. In fact, the map illustrates part of the displaced populations are nearby heavily militarized zones such as Jaffna, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee. It is likely that these communities have yet to receive their land back and suffers from this uncertainty indefinitely as real solutions seem limited. Other areas such as Puttalam, Vavuniya and Killinochchi have IDPs relocated within host communities or living in camps. The IDPs in the North-East continues to seek adequate living conditions and their rightful even eleven years after the war with little efforts to rehabilitate and reconcile.

Fig. 45 Author: Internally Displaced Peoples as of 2015



Prior and through the height of the ethnic-conflict on the island, mass migration of Eelam Tamils from their homeland sought safer, more opportunistic conditions around the world. Although this fragmented the ethnic concentration of Tamils on the island, it broadened Tamil ties to various parts of the globe and created a sense of solidarity. The displacement can be seen through the degrowth of Jaffna District from 1981 to 2012. Jaffna District was and still is one of the most concentrated Tamil populations within Sri Lanka, which in turn experienced the most external displacement and decline of population.

During the armed-conflict, more than one million Tamils in Sri Lanka sought either refugee or immigrant status where it was possible, to start a new life distant from oppression and violence. Canada, United Kingdom, India and France were amongst the highest. This global network also made it possible to financially support the armed struggle back in the island, and created a precedent for transnational solidarity in the struggle for Eelam Tamil independence. When considering the struggle for self-determination and liberation Eelam Tamils today, the diaspora has an important role as they are spatially distant and privileged in conditions where they can freely organize, place pressure on international bodies to act and spearhead development in the ancient homeland toward reclaiming land and initiating processes of self-determination.

Fig. 48 DBS Jeyaraj: *Tamils in Canada Protesting during Civil-War in Sri Lanka*



Fig. 49 Author: *Population Growth per District (1981,2001,2012)*

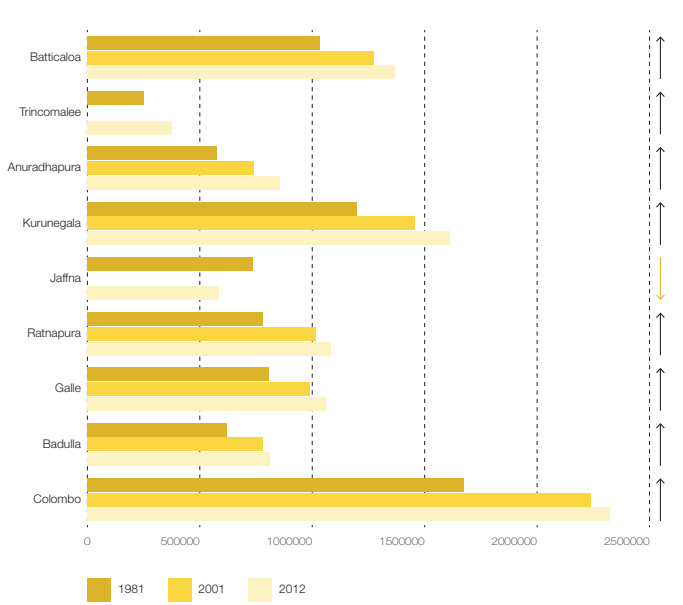


Fig. 50 Ben Stansall: *Tamils in the United Kingdom Protesting during Civil-War in Sri Lanka*



Fig. 51 Author: *External Displacement of Sri Lankan Tamils during Armed-Conflict*

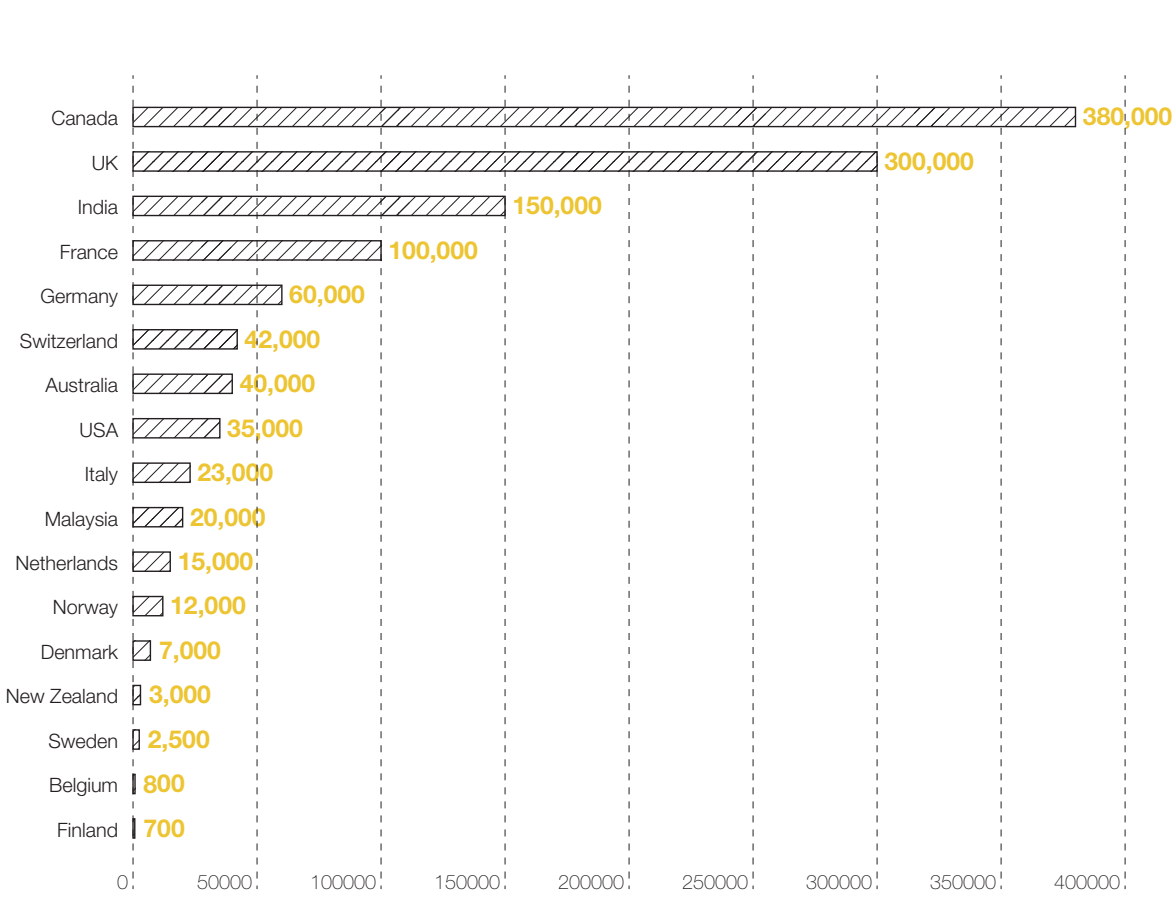
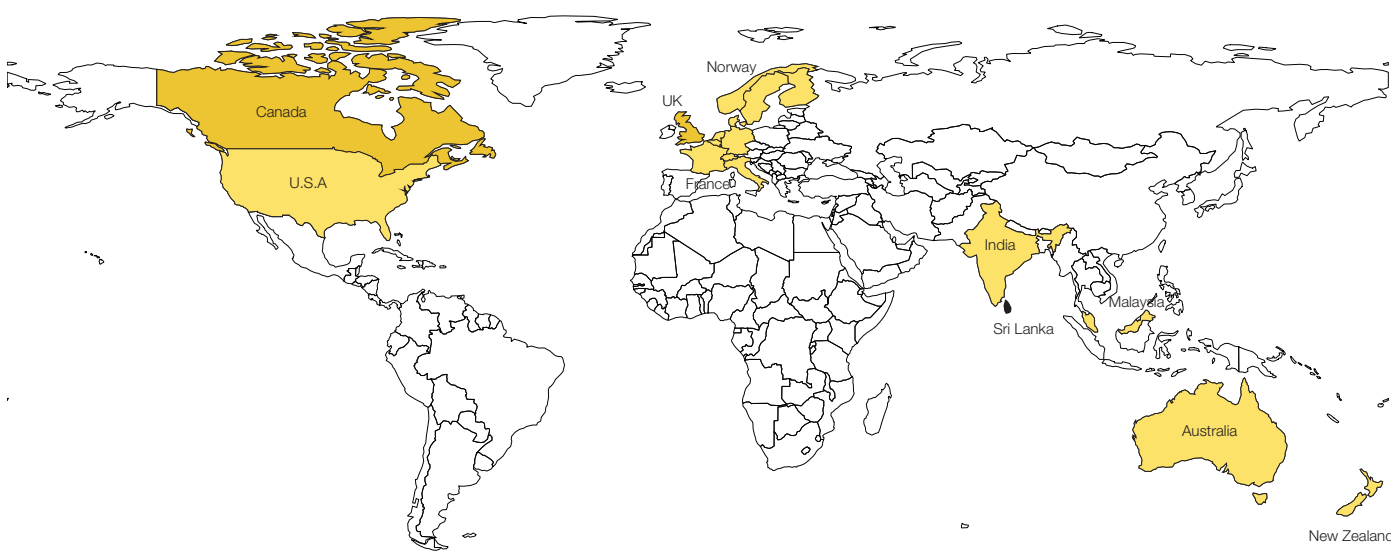


Fig. 52 Author: *Geographically Located External Displacement of Sri Lankan Tamils during Armed-Conflict*



SOCIO-ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY

The socio-economic vulnerability of the North-East is significantly high when combining the aspects of poverty, food insecurity and unemployment. The spatial distribution of poverty from the 2012 census shows the North-East highly impoverished with just over tenth of the population on average being under the poverty line. Killinochchi and Mullaitivu districts are amongst the highest, which can be closely related to the fact that these districts were the primary war-zones during the armed conflict.

In 2012, the World Food Program conducted a study on analyzing the livelihood and resilience in Sri Lanka. The report identifies the levels of resilience through conditions of food insecurity, climate risk vulnerability and a zoning of livelihoods. Figure 49, illustrates that Northern and South-Eastern regions suffer the highest relative food insecurity.

In addition, male and female unemployment rates rank the highest amongst the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The combined spatial implication of these vulnerabilities largely intersect in the North-East, and specially where

the Tamil population lives. Thus, the socio-economic risk and vulnerability to suffers with further complications is significantly problematic in the North-East where communities continue to suffer the impact of the war. This also demonstrates that increased attention must be made towards these communities in regard to increasing opportunities to employment, and livelihood to alleviate impoverished conditions and poverty.

Fig. 53 Author: Spatial Distribution of Poverty 2012

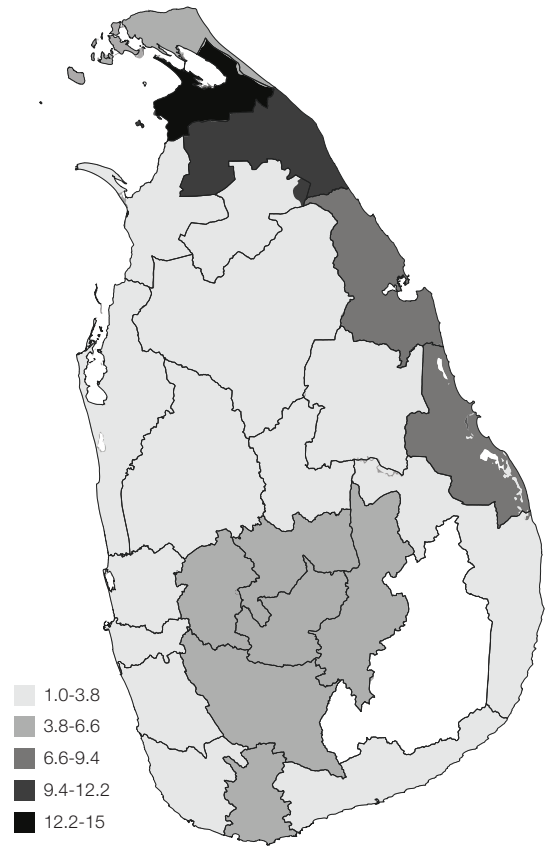


Fig. 54 World Food Program: Relative Food Insecurity

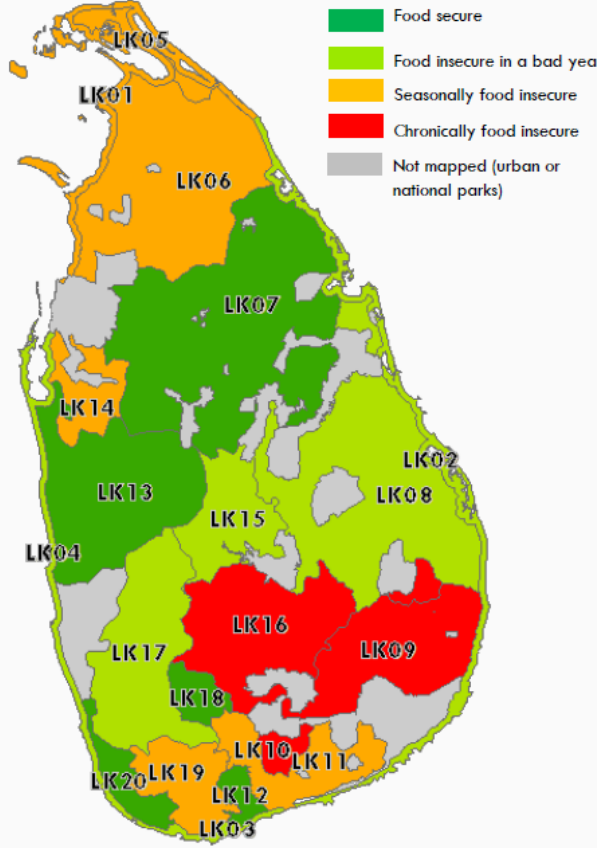


Fig. 55 Author: Male (Black) and Female (White) Unemployment Rate per Province

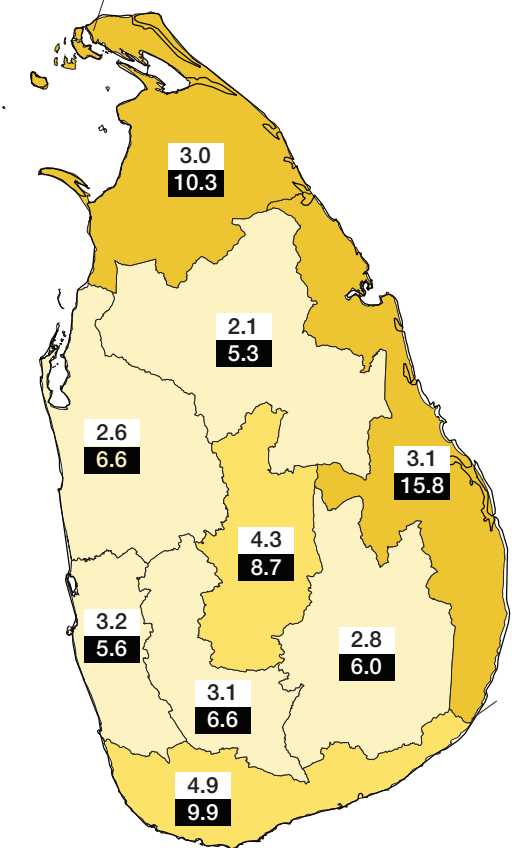
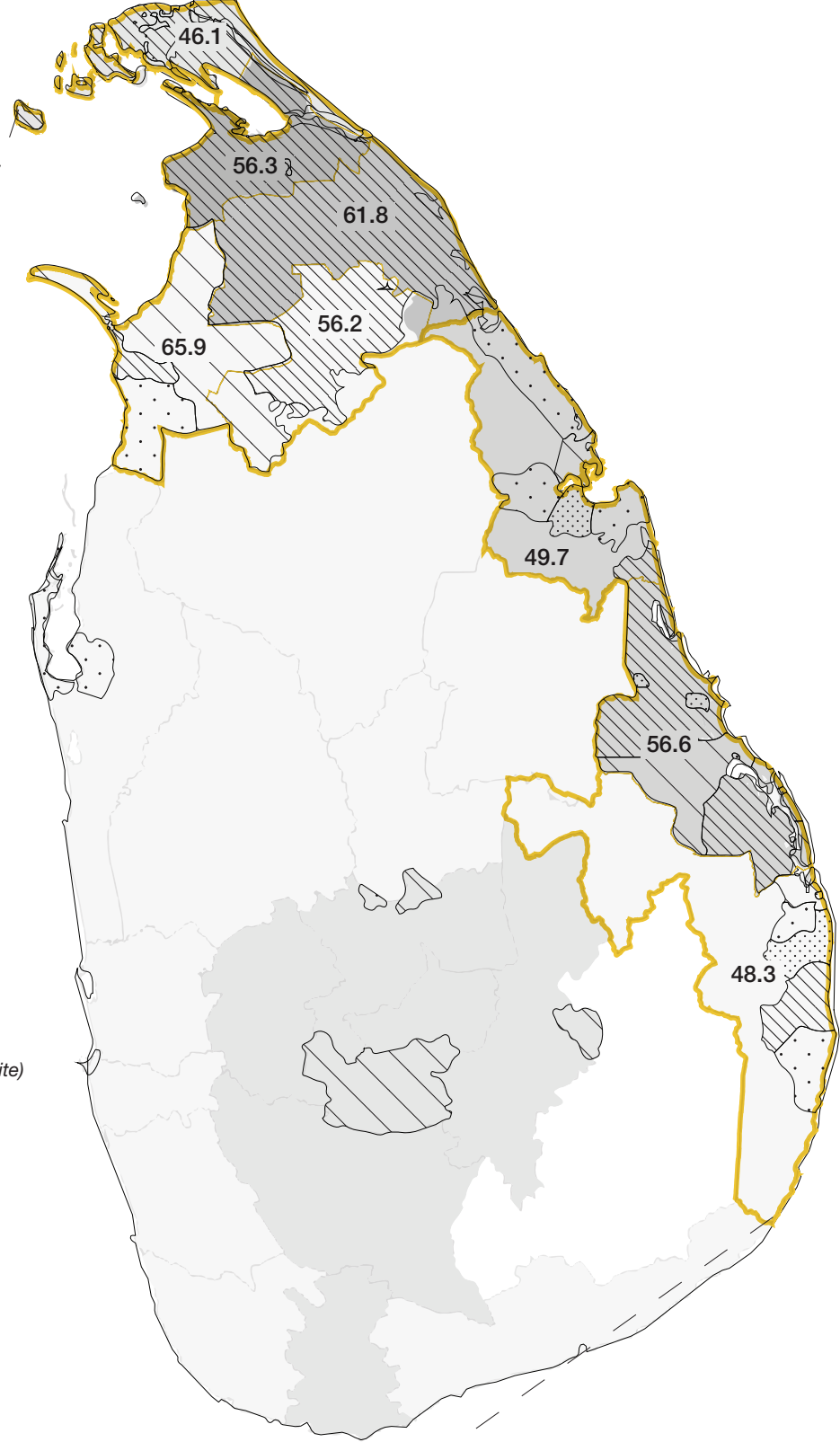


Fig. 56 Author: Unemployment Rate (2012) per District in Northern and Eastern Province



In 2018, Global Climate Risk Index by German Watch ranks Sri Lanka sixth in most affect countries by climate risk. From 2016, the Disaster Management Center states an exponential increase of persons affected by flood, drought and high wind, landslide related natural disasters.

Together with WFP, and academic literature on climate risk in Sri Lanka, identifies the North and Eastern regions prone to high climate risk and low overall resilience. The metric for this climate change vulnerability includes three components, exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity which marks the spatial implication of varying sensitivities across the country. The map suggests that The Northern province experiences high degree of vulnerability due to high exposure and sensitivity to livelihoods and limited socioeconomic development (Marambe, B 2015).

The Northern region largely relies on the rains from the northeastern monsoon for Palmyra plantation and mixed agriculture which is becoming increasingly unpredictable. This exacerbate the vulnerability of the poor and limit their resilience capacity (World Food Programme 2012). The Northern shore fishing industries are also prone climate risk during the monsoon season, where fishing becomes unavailable and people often resort to unskilled labor which is also highly unpredictable.

Moreover, the stagnate rehabilitation of infrastructure in the north-east after the conflict, continues to negatively impact the livelihoods of Eelam Tamils, making them also vulnerable to food insecurity (Ibid).

It is evident that increasing climate risk and variability poses a threat to livelihoods of majority ethnic Tamil areas. In order move toward any sustainable development in these areas, it is important to recognize the multidimensional vulnerability and disadvantages pertaining to ethnic conflict, low socioeconomic and infrastructure development and ecological sensitivity.

Fig. 57 Tamil Guardian: December 2020 - The DMC had announced around 70,000 people have been affected by the Cyclone Burevi, Jaffna District



Fig. 58 Author: Climate Risk and Ethnic Composition

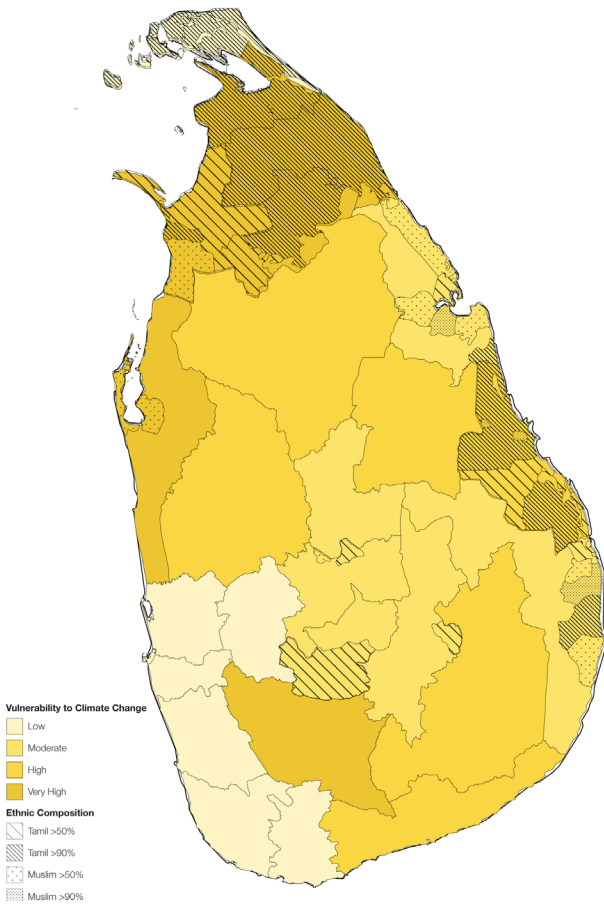
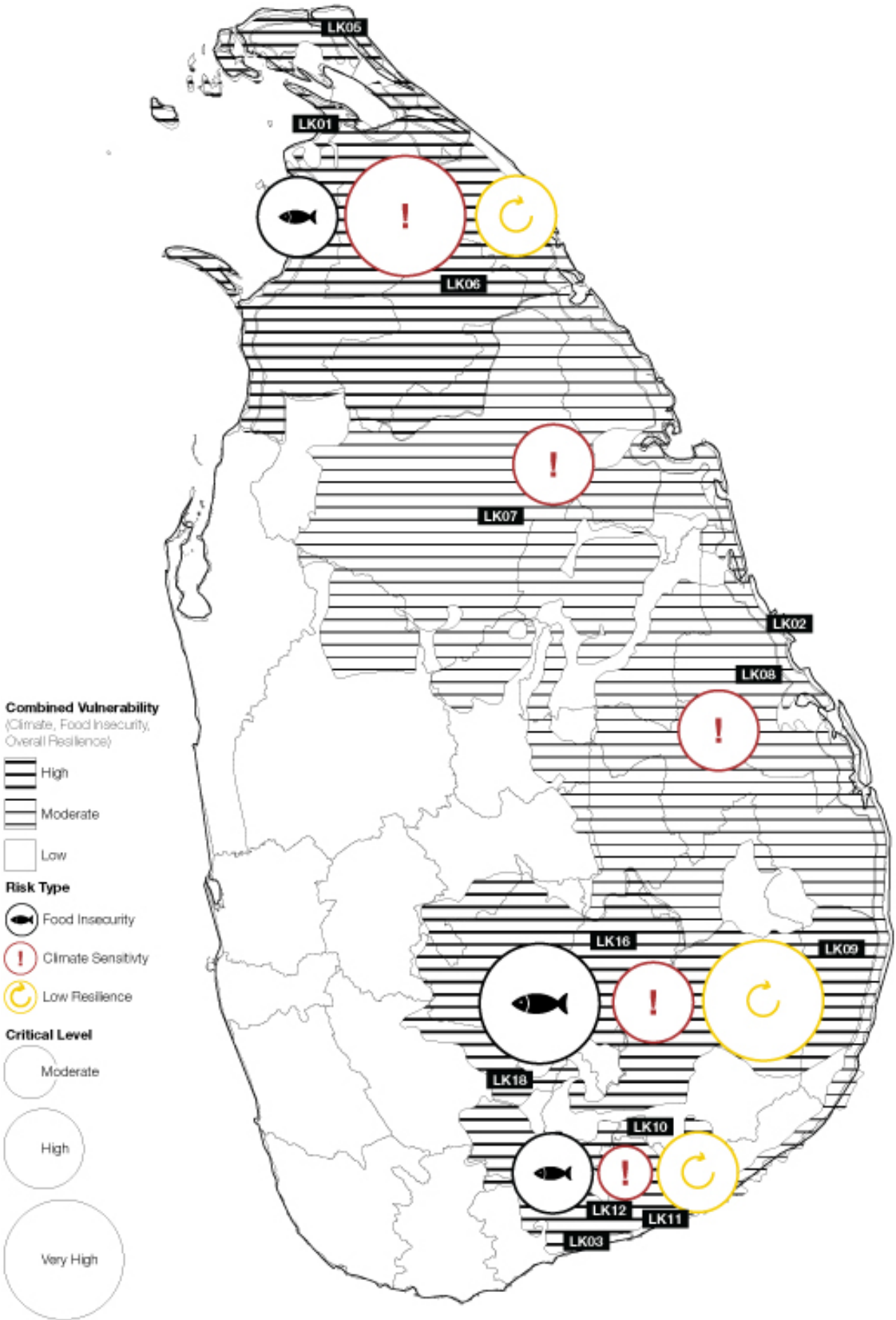


Fig. 59 Author: Combing Food Security, Livelihood, Climate Sensitivity and Resilience



Over the course of the Tamil resistance, space was used as a tool or platform for resistance. As we understand the interrelationships between space and justice, various actors within the Tamil struggle have deployed a diverse range of spatial strategies to resist. Through the development of the struggle, space became increasingly contested, both from the perspective of Tamils on the island and the state. As political and non-violent methods failed, an increasingly militant movement became the core to Tamil resistance, in which the claim for an independent space, Tamil Eelam, became the ultimate form of justice for Tamil independence on the island. The following sections dive deep into the evolution of resistance through time and space.

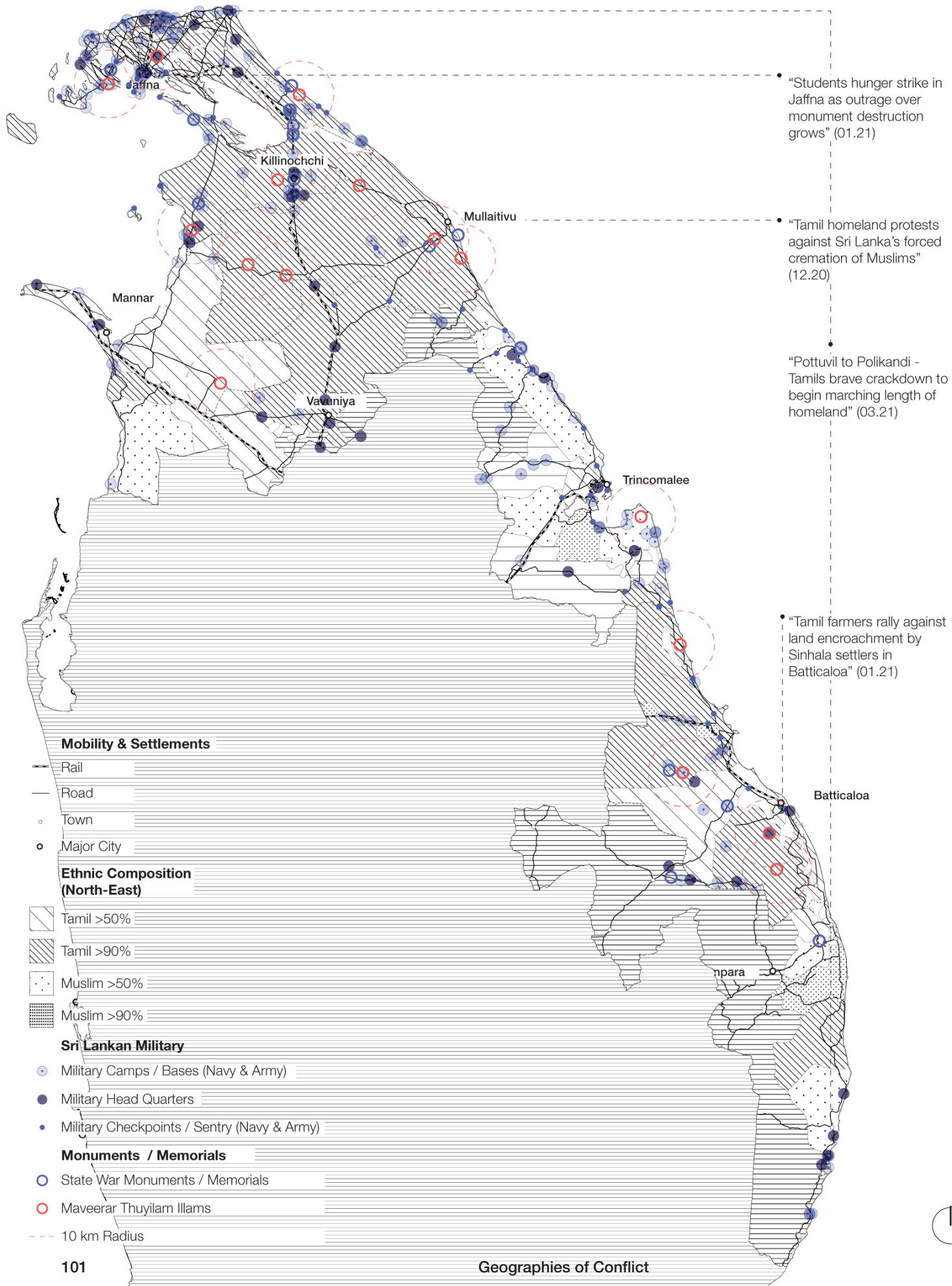
Fig. 60 Tamil Guardian: Sri Lankan Army Vandalises Mullivaikkal Monument May 2021



Fig. 61 Tamil Guardian: Destruction of Mullivaikkal monument at Jaffna University by Sri Lankan Army - Jan 2021



Fig. 62 Author: Mapping Repression on Tamil Remembrance



2015 was marked as a sign of hope as the Government of Sri Lanka co-sponsored a UN Human Rights Council resolution 30/1. This resolution suggested the commitment of the government to promote reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka. The renewal of this commitment carried on from 2017 and 2019. The government also was urged to create a special investigation on human rights violations and war crimes committed by state and non-state actors during the armed conflict. Despite the numerous renewals, the UNHRC has made continual recommendations to find justice for those that have disappeared, demilitarize the north-east and promote active processes of rehabilitation and reconciliation of Tamil people across the war-torn North-East.

However, the Sri Lankan government continues to fail to meet these commitments to the oppressed and fulfill any meaningful just process on war crimes and human rights violations.

"...the Sri Lankan government has yet to undertake a comprehensive process to demilitarise areas in the North-East. As a result, the North-East remains under a military occupation that represses fundamental freedoms and contributes to on-going ethnic conflict."

The newly elected government in 2019 announced that they would be withdrawing from the co-sponsorship of the UN resolution to be able to achieve sustainable peace through domestically designed reconciliation and accountability measures. However, the newly elected executive positions have also been allegedly responsible for war-crimes and human right abuses and violations during the armed-conflict, especially during the brutal ending in 2009, where thousands of civilians were innocently killed. Many international justice agencies have suggested the rise of nepotism within the recent government structure of Sri Lanka, where numerous positions are close family ties. In which, the democratic operation must be questioned.

Fig. 63

UNHRC: *Comprehensive report of UNHRC on Human Rights in Sri Lanka*

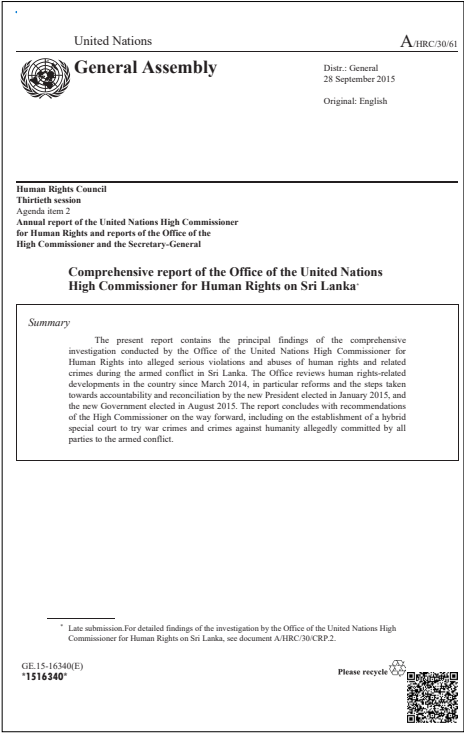


Fig. 64

Amnesty International: *News piece on Sri Lanka's withdrawal from UN resolution*

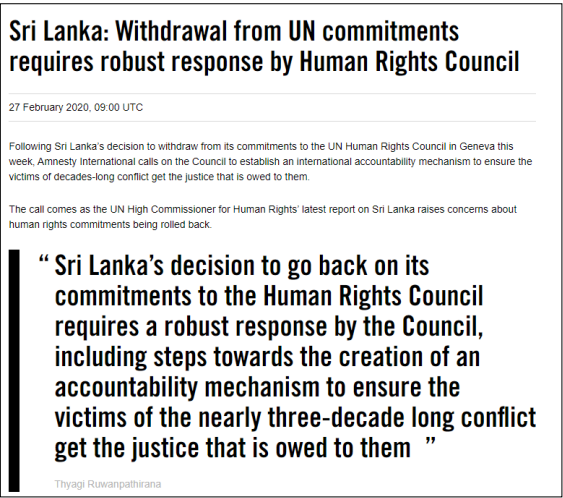


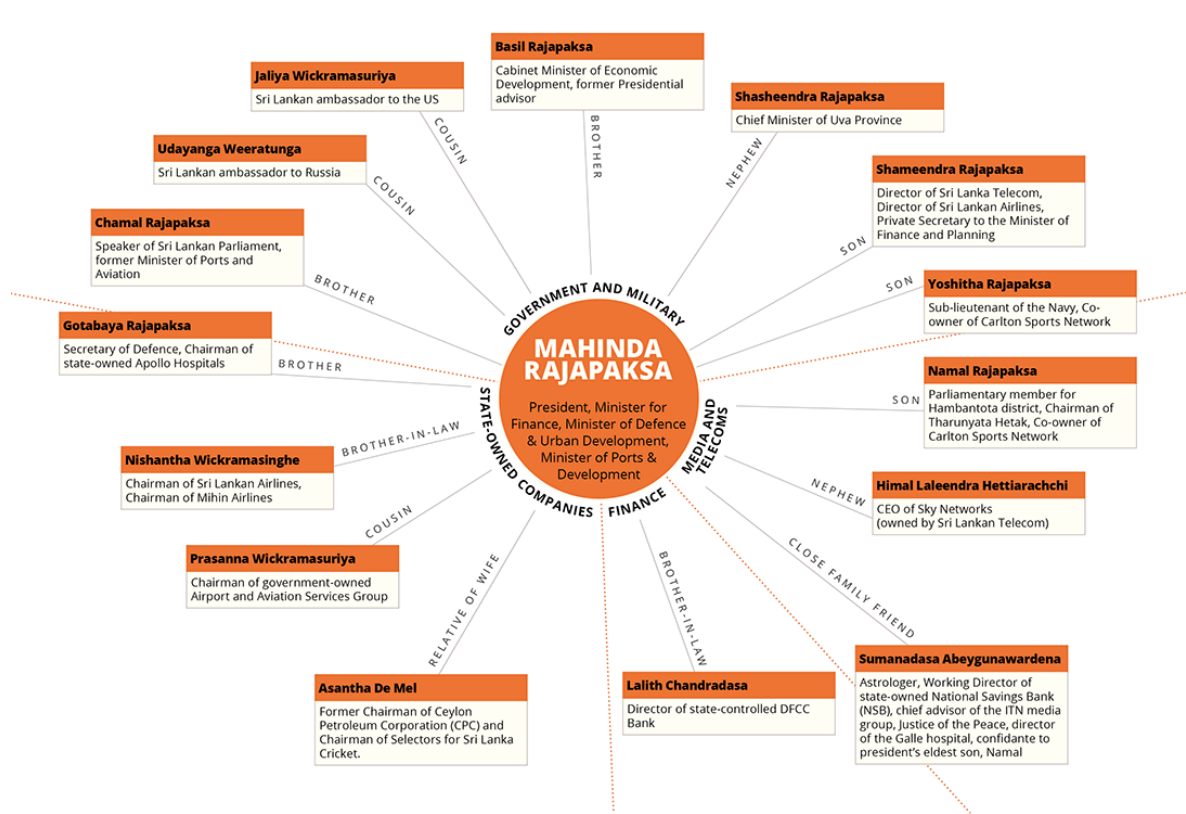
Fig. 65

UCA News: *Relatives of the disappeared launched a demonstration to expedite the process of setting up an Office on Missing Persons in Colombo*



Fig. 66

Iniuru: *Nepotism within Mahinda Rajapaksa's government*



The ethnocratic state regime of Sri Lanka continues to exacerbate the vulnerabilities of ethnic minorities in the North and Eastern regions of the island.

The historical ethnic tensions on the island and the increasing denial of Eelam Tamil's aspirations of a legitimate homeland, self-determination, and basic human rights in the North-East by the Sinhala dominant state, resulted in a fatal armed conflict between State military and LTTE. The criminalization and delegitimization of the aspiration and advocacy related to the Eelam Tamil peoples' struggle for self-determination and liberation materialized into oppressive systemic and spatial injustices perpetuated by the Sinhala Chauvinist state regime.

Today, the concentration of Eelam Tamil people is gradually dissipating due to internal and external displacement, Sinhala resettlement schemes, and thousands of innocent dead. Despite the mounting violence that concluded the armed ethnic conflict, tensions continue to exist between the Eelam Tamil people in the North-Eastern regions and the Sri Lankan state.

This is also led to heavy surveillance and land occupation of the Sri Lanka military in war-torn areas, encroaching Buddhist development on ancient Hindu sites, thousands who are continue to be displaced from their lands. This poses a threat on the overall livelihood of the Eelam Tamil people as they are also under socioeconomic and ecological risk due

to low resilient capacity and increasing climate risk. And, the unwillingness to recognize difference and accountability on war crimes and human rights violations continues to be unanswered.

The continued denial and oppression of Eelam Tamil self-determination has led to spatial and systemic repression of their economic, social, political, and cultural prosperity who seek access to basic human rights and conditions for a proper livelihood.

It is clear, that spatial justice is a multifaceted issue that firstly demands that both, Eelam Tamils are able to self-determine themselves and have access to basic resources and their land. In order, to promote processes of spatial justice within the North-East of Sri Lanka, it is important to recognize this disadvantage and alternatively materialized these challenges into spatial opportunities that could suggest pathways toward self-determination.

The decontextualization and Western dominant Spatial Justice theory have undermined the vulnerabilities of minority ethnic groups within conditions of oppressive power and ethnic-conflict. This demands an alternative approach and reconceptualized perspectives that are context-specific, to better address the realities of marginalized populations towards justice and self-determination.

EXPONSE

108

136

142

Analysis on the North-East

Socio-Spatial & Procedural Challenges

Spatial Assessment

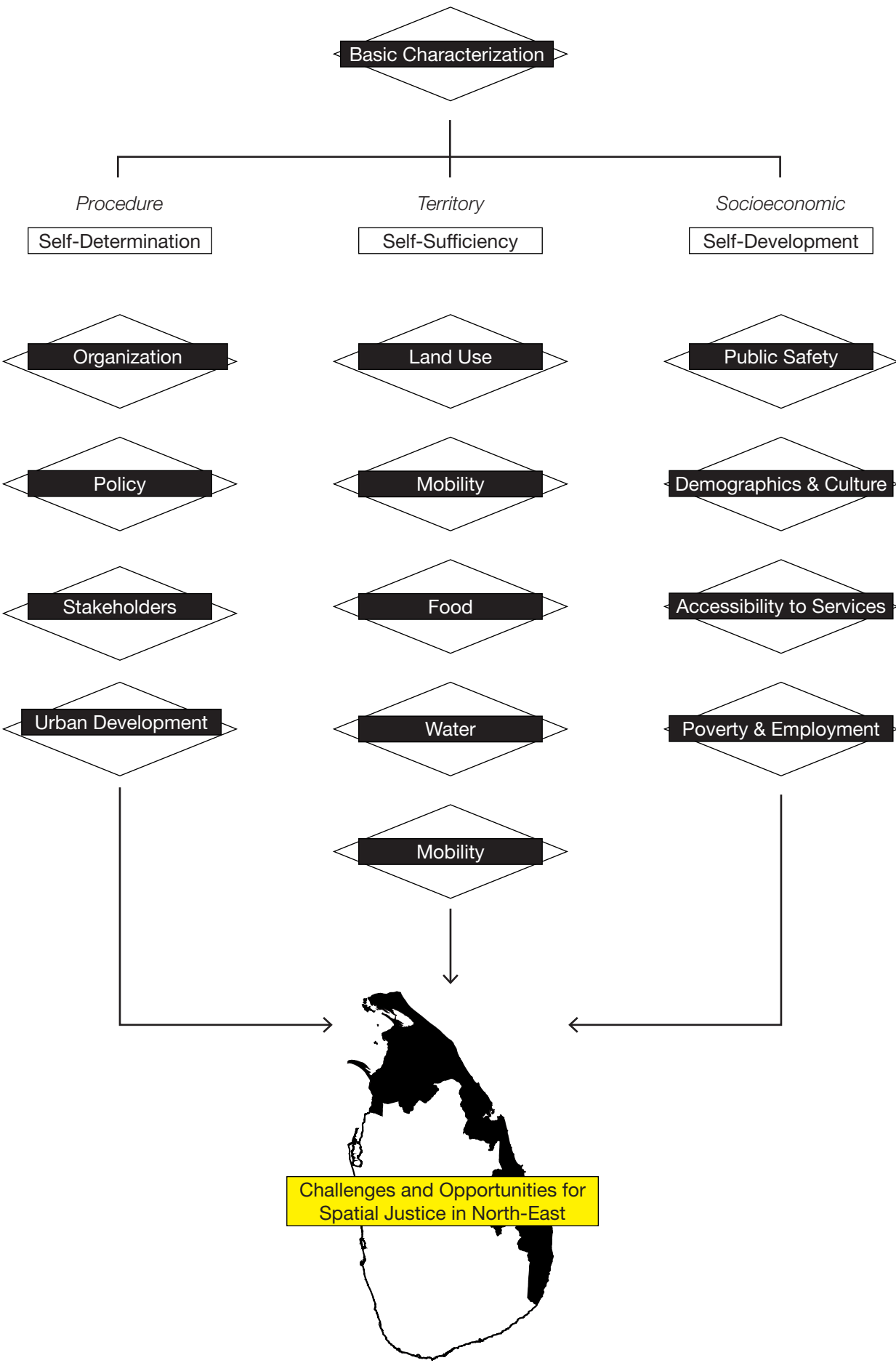
ANALYSIS ON THE NORTH-EAST

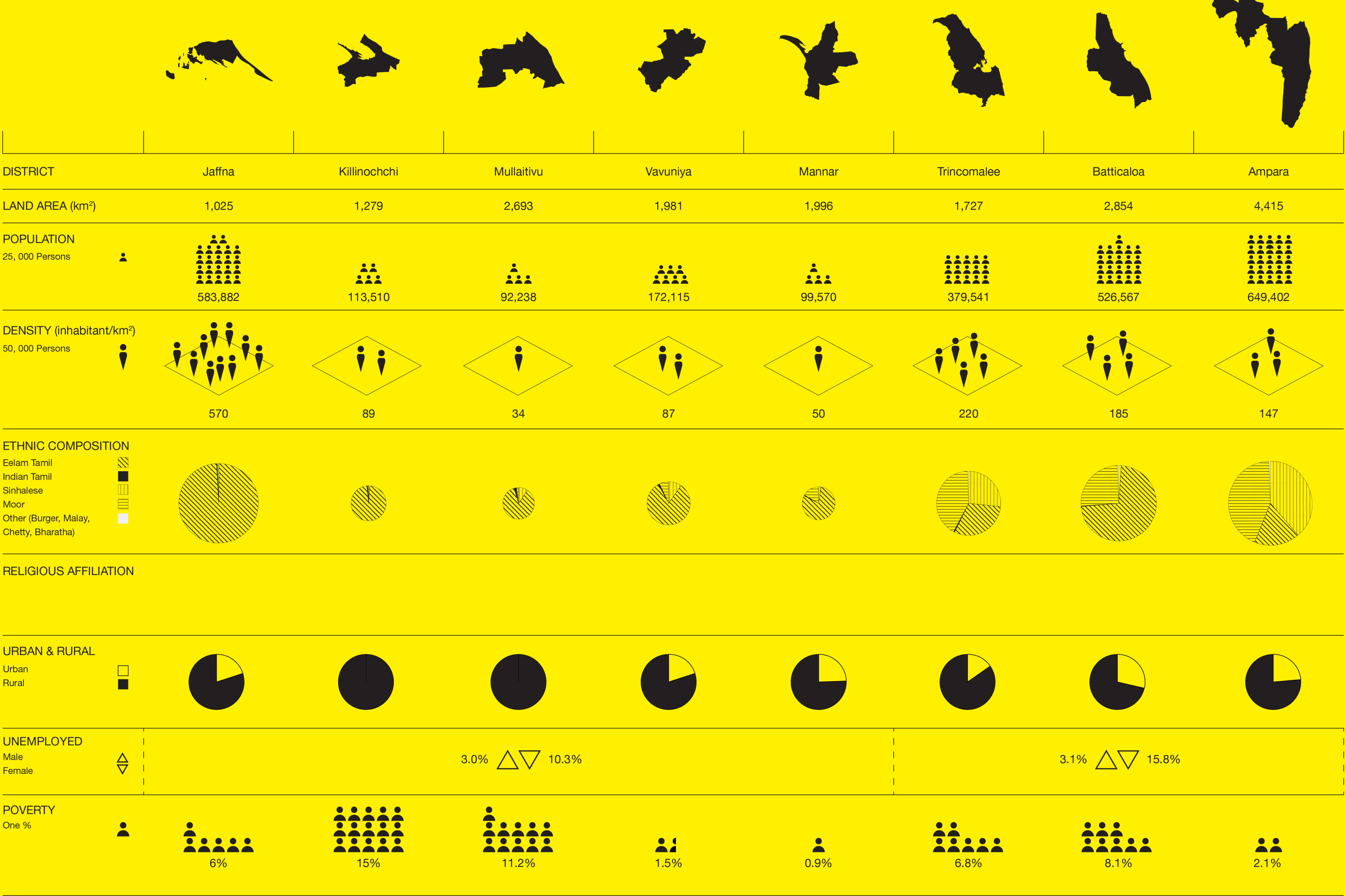
1	Analytical Framework
2.	Basic Characterization
3.	On Procedure
4.	On Territory
5.	On Socioeconomic
6.	Sociospatial and Procedural Challenges

THREE-PRONGED ANALYSIS

The notion of spatial justice is defined due to the increased understanding of the pressing challenges in the North-East. Due to the continuous oppression of right to Tamil nation hood and increasing discrimination of Eelam Tamil people on the basis of rights to determine on their land, rights to develop themselves and right to the fruits of their ancestral territory. The notion of spatial justice and conceptual language must now address three key notions; Self-Determination, Self-Sufficiency and Self-Development.

The analytical framework pivots on the core three ideas outline in the conceptual framework. In doing so, the analytical framework operates through the three pillars toward understanding the necessary conditions, challenges and opportunities toward a three-pronged spatially-just future in the North-East of Sri Lanka.





ON PROCEDURE

Procedure

Self-Determination

Organization

Policy

Stakeholders

Urban Development



Challenges and Opportunities
toward Self-Determination



ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE IN NORTH-EAST

Fig. 67 Author: Northern and Eastern Provinces

The formal decision making and organization structure of the North-East can be understood through the structures of the Northern and Eastern Provincial Councils. This overview will provide an indication to how power and responsibilities are devolved, and which actors require to be considered when project future development in the region.

The two councils structures are similar however also slightly differ. It appears that the eastern provincial council has more bureaucratic steps in the decision making which could increase the time and effort in any decision making process. This could be due to the increasing development ongoing in and around the Trincomalee Port, as it is labeled a strategic area both within the vision plan and on the global trade network.



Northern Provincial Council Structure

Northern Province	Hon. Governor & Chief Minister Council	Chief Secretary	Chief Secretary Offices	Provincial Audit
				Provincial Public Administration
				Provincial Treasury
				Provincial Planning Secretariat
				Department Motor Traffic
				Legal Unit
			Secretary - Ministry of Agriculture	Department of Land Administration
				Department of Irrigation
				Department of Animal Production & Health
				Department of Agriculture
			Secretary Ministry of Education, Cultural & Sports	Provincial Education Department
				Department of Sports & Cultural affairs
			Secretary Ministry of Local Govt. & Rehabilitation	Department of Social Services
				Department of Probation & Child Care
				Department of Cooperative Development
				Department of Industries
				Department Rural Development
			Secretary Ministry of Health & Indigenous Medicine	Department of Health Services
				Department of Indigenous Medicine
			Secretary Ministry of Infrastructure	Department of Road Development
				Department of Buildings
			Secretary Independent Commission	Provincial Public Service Commission
				Co-operative Employees Commission
				Regional Commissioner Office

Eastern Provincial Council Structure

Eastern Province	Hon. Governor		Hon. Governor	Governor's Secretariat	Secretary, Provincial Public Service Commission Secretary to the Hon. Governor		
		Provincial Council	Chief Secretary's Secretariat + Chief Minister & Board of Ministers	Chief Secretary	Chief Secretary	Comptroller & Chief Auditor Provincial Audit	
						Legal Office Legal Unit	
					Deputy Chief Secretary, Provincial Treasury Finance	Dept. of Revenue	
						Provincial Commissioner Dept. of Motor Traffic	
					Deputy Chief Secretary, Planning		
					Deputy Chief Secretary, Administration		
					Deputy Chief Secretary, Personnel and Training	Provincial Director MDTU	
					Deputy Chief Secretary, Engineering Services		
				Ministry of Local Government & Rural Development	Secretary, M/ Local Government		General Manager
							General Manager Housing Authority
							Director General Transport Authority
							Provincial Director Dept. of Building
							Provincial Director Dept. of Rural Industries
							Provincial Director Dept. of Rural Development
							Commissioner of Local Government
				Ministry of Health & Social Services	Secretary, M/ Health & Social Services		Provincial Commissioner Dept. of Probation & Child Care
							Provincial Director Dept. of Social Services
							Provincial Commissioner Dept of Indigenous Medicine
				Ministry of Agriculture & Irrigation	Secretary, M/ Agriculture & Irrigation		Provincial Director Dept. of Health Services
							Provincial Director Dept of Agriculture
			Provincial Director Dept. of Animal Production				
			Provincial Director Dept. of Irrigation				
			Provincial Commissioner Dept. of Cooperative Development				
			Director Dept. of Fisheries				
		Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs	Secretary, M/ Education & Cultural Affairs		Secretary Co-Operative Employee's Commission		
	Provincial Director Dept. of Education						
	Provincial Director Dept. of Cultural Affairs						
Ministry of Road Development & Land Administration	Secretary, M/ Road Development & Land Administration		Provincial Director Dept. of Sports				
			Chairman Pre-School Education Bureau				
			Provincial Director, Dept of Road Development				
		Provincial Director, Dept of Land Administration					
	Chairman	Provincial Council Secretariat	Secretary, Assembly Secretariat				

NATIONAL PHYSICAL PLANNING POLICY

The national physical planning policy acts mainly a strategic document that outlines a vision for Sri Lanka to 2030. The role of this document is to guide and regulate the integrated planning of social, environmental, economic dimensions of land use in Sri Lanka. As well as coordinate dialogue between public officials, experts and community members.

The national physical planning policy is developed by the NPPD (National Physical Planning Department), who oversees and centralizes the development of this policy. The idea for this top down structure, is to guide the regional and local scales in implementing and manifesting the ambitions and objectives of the planning policy.

Fig. 68 National Physical Planning Department Sri Lanka: *National Physical Planning Policy & The Plan - 2-17 - 2050*

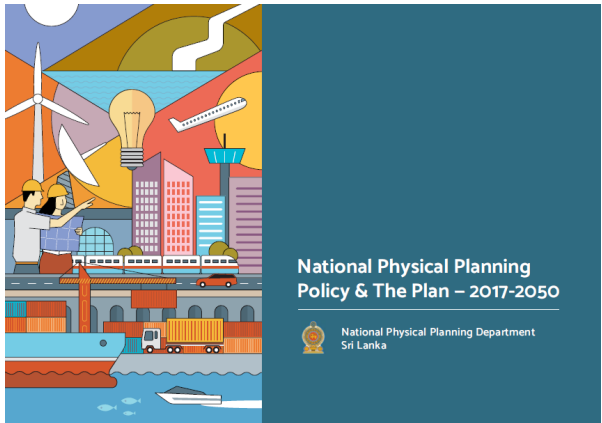
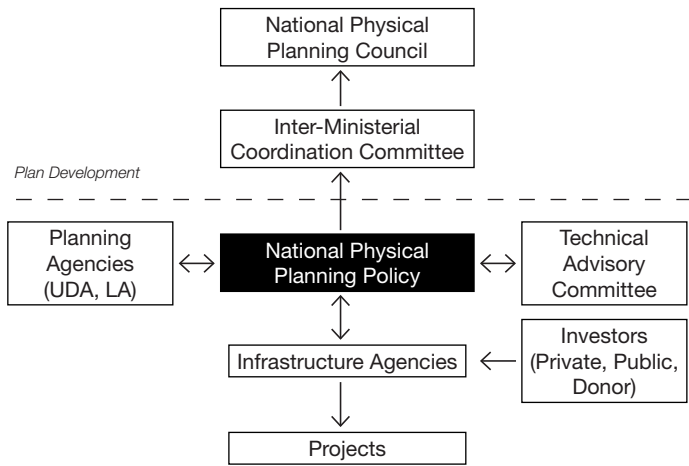


Fig. 69 Adapted by Author: *National Physical Plan Approval Process*



THE PROBLEMATIC VISION FOR 2050

The proposed vision for 2050 brings into the concern of inclusion, recognition, and neo-liberalist expansionist development. This vision pivots on six key ideas that is Manner, Geared and Smart Nation in a Planned, Sustained and Adored Land. It also clear leans toward a economic development and strengthening the nations competitive edge in the global market. Thus, the spatial vision of the nation focus on centralizing development in the south-west and formalized the connection between major port areas. Although there is an awareness of environmental prosperity and preservation of land, there seems to be contradictions with the cross-cutting corridor that breaks the environmental corridor planned to run coincidentally along the north-east where the highest poverty rates also situate.

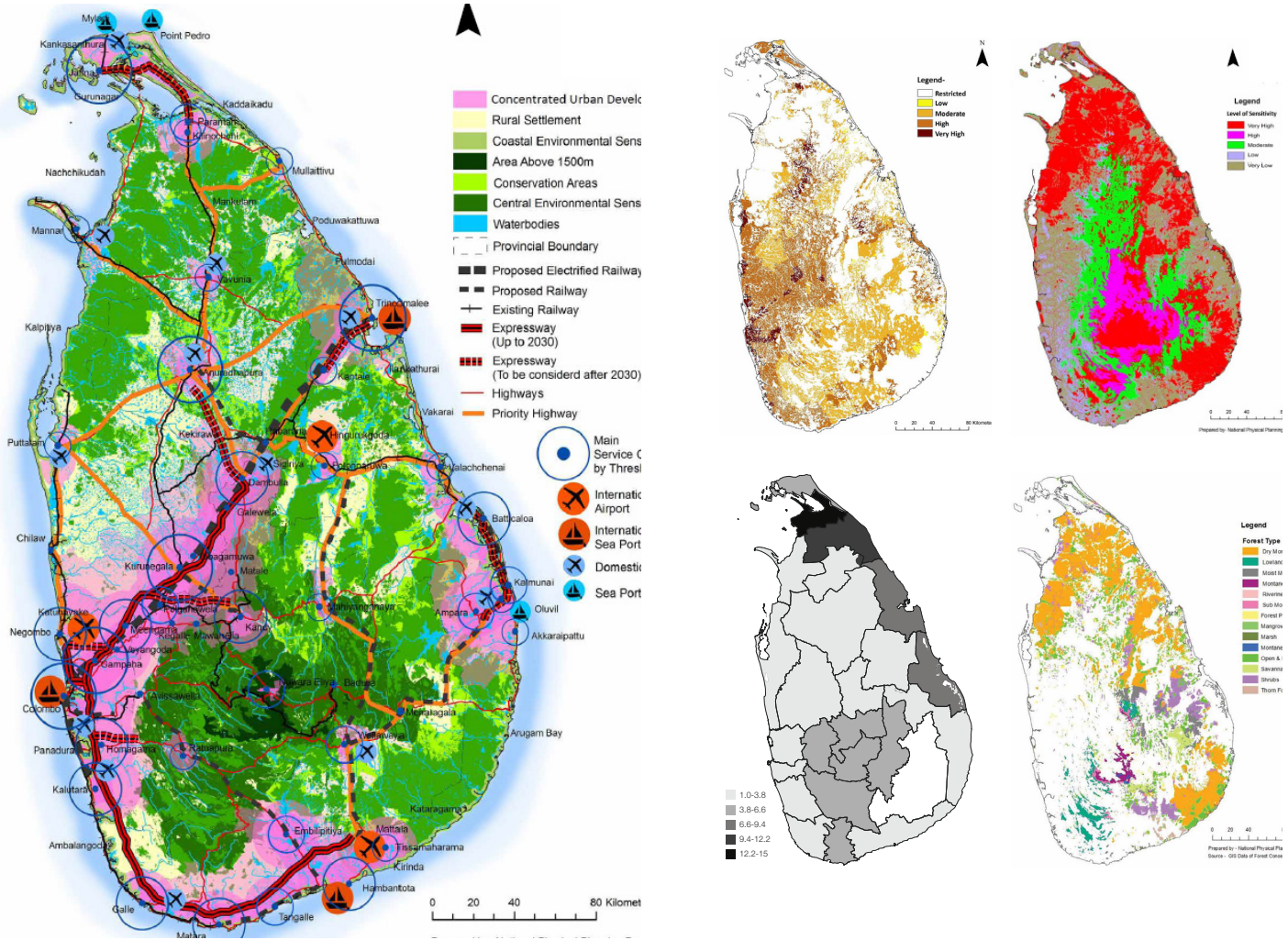
The goals of the vision are limited to economic development and claims action toward environmental resilience however, due to the negligence of northern and eastern parts of the country, there is clear limitation on the consideration of socio-economic vulnerability.

The preservation of land for the purpose of revitalizing biodiversity plays a significant role in the spatial vision for 2050. However, the same areas aimed to protect natural systems leads to the limitation on spatial development and regional prosperity which further exacerbates the socioeconomic progress of vulnerable and marginalized populations in the North-East.

This has led to increasing tension between land owner in rural areas such as farmers and villagers with state's Forest and Archaeological department. Due to the inhabitable conditions during the ethnic war from 1980s to 2009, land owners fled their land to find safer conditions. It is upon arrival to their lands, they find illegal occupation and grabbing of land by the forest and archaeological department stating the compliance to environmental and cultural preservation. This is problematic because many of these villagers and farmers depend on land to maintain their livelihoods. Not to mention, the increasing baseline land claims by the archaeological department which has contributed to the Sinhalization across the North-East (Source)

Further in depth analysis of the criteria for this vast allocated area for environmental preservation is required to understand reasoning for such decisions.

Fig. 70 NPPD: *National Physical Planning Policy for 2050*



KEY CHALLENGES

Although the National Physical Planning Policy for 2050 proposes vision that promotes economic vitality and environmental prosperity. It is important to be aware of the shortcomings and contradictions of the vision plan.

Firstly, the vision plan promotes a strong bias on development in urban cores of the south-west and only extend toward the economic-infrastructureal hubs such as the ports in Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Galle. This basis leads to the limited exploration and development of the North-East which in return limits the potential of this region, especially given its socioeconomic disparities in relation to the rest of the island.

Secondly, in conjunction with the first point, the restriction of land development driven by environmental preservation lacks strategic thinking due to the contradictions posed by the intensive development that cuts across this 'critical zone'.

The combination of these contradictions and gaps leads to the negligence of an increasingly marginalized and impoverished population inhabiting the north-east. The restriction on development posed by environmental preservation and exclusion posed by the centralized development scheme would further exacerbate the growing inequalities and challenges the populations across the North-East experience.

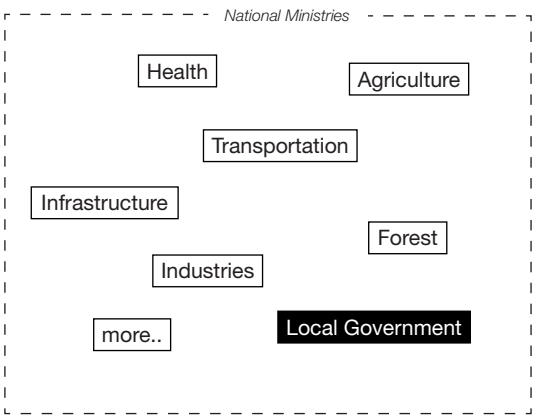
There this spatial vision and policy at large lacks to recognize growing socioeconomic challenges in the North-East by the sheer ignorance is expressed in the spatial vision and supporting analysis. It is not recommended that is policy is further development and legitimized due its exclusionary, non-recognitional and top-down nature.

DEVOLUTION OF POWER

Before 1987, Sri Lanka has stood by the devolution of power and has a long history of local government and local authority. However, with the introduction of the 13th Amendment to the constitution in 1987, local governments power was devolved to the Provincial Councils. Since then, the centralization of power as increased and today, the provincial and central government exhaust authority and supervision of many activities at the local scale. (SOURCE)

This has led to the limitation of local government and authority capacity which then decreases their ability to implement and create transformative impact within their jurisdiction. Today the local government's responsibility is limited to public health, utility services and rural roads, in which many development, infrastructural and social service related sectors are either imposed by the provincial and central government or delegate to local authorities with large oversight. (SOURCE)

Fig. 71 Adapted by Author: Local Government viewed as a Sector Subject at National Scale



CHALLENGES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEM

Given the limitations of local government and current top-down sectoral government structure, a wide range of challenges are faced by local governments concerning the ability to manage, develop and service their respective populations. Upon the review of analysis conducted on the planning system and performance of local governments in Sri Lanka, six challenges can be defined and should be considered in future development:

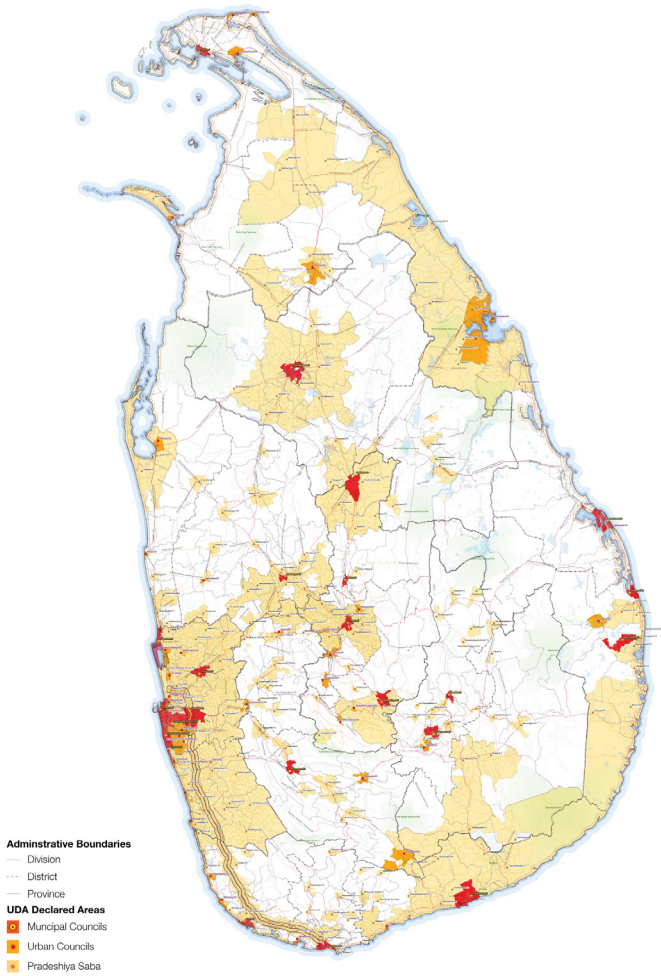
- 1. Local authorities have low knowledge capacity and low resources management
- 2. Dual local governance structures limited devolution of power
- 3. Convoluted administrative and planning system
- 4. Sectoral and isolated approach of decision making rather than integrated
- 5. Inadequate transparency and accountability in planning processes, limited presentation of people
- 6. Poor coordination and communication due to asymmetrical power relationships

URBAN DEVELOPMENT LIMITATIONS

The map illustrates the geographical extent of the Urban Development Authority's responsibility. It is clear the North-East has limited oversight on development in general where remote rural areas and dense rural communities receive little to no consideration in the strategical development of the North-East.

This also implies that there could be space for alternative agents within planning and spatial development. The fact that there is a largely dispersed rural and village population in the North-East implies the potential need to coordinate efforts from the bottom up. This would require an understanding of these populations are managed, whether they manage themselves or if there are formal governmental agencies that operate at this scale.

Fig. 72 Urban Development Authority: Map of UDA Areas

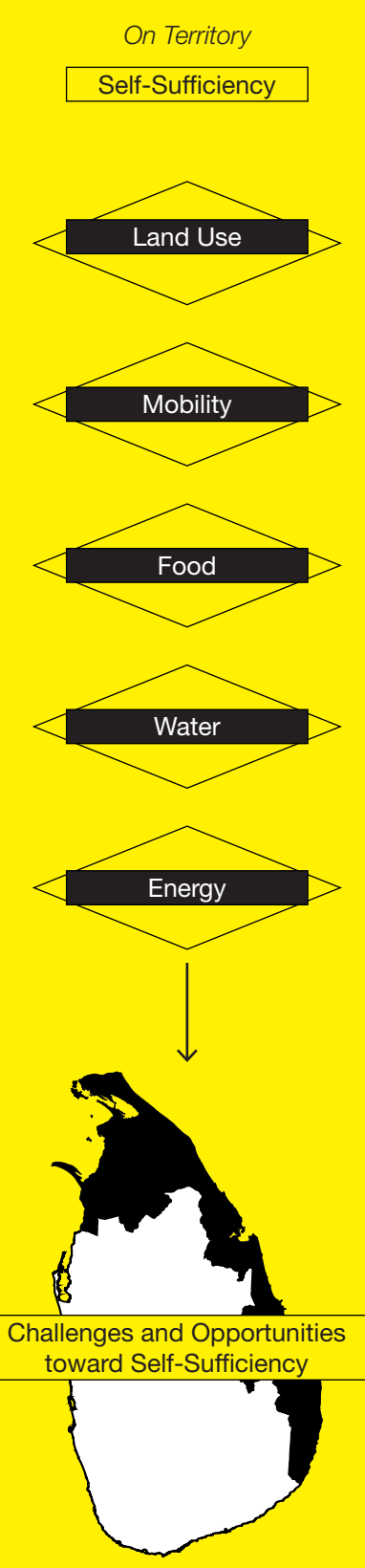


POTENTIAL STAKEHOLDERS TO CONSIDER

There are several potential stakeholders that could have significant impact due their power, affiliation with public sector and/or engagement with their local population. By understanding the way these underrepresented communities are managed and developed and operated could open possibilities to create new coalitions of change. The nine actors below could be the first step toward the decentralization of power and enable more contextualized governance processes across urban and rural contexts.

Women / Rural Development Societies (W/ RDS)	Grama Sevaka (GS)	Rural Development Officers (RDOs)
Economic Development Officers	District Secretariats (DS)	Community Based Organizations (CBOs)
Municipal Council	Urban Council	Predeshiya Saba

ON TERRITORY



The assessment of the territorial systems is concerned with understanding the major systems that would largely contribute to self-sufficiency.

This spatial analysis identifies five key territorial systems; (1) Land Use Distribution, (2) Mobility, (3) Food, (4) Water, and (5) Energy. By understanding these systems both individually and in tandem will enable a holistic understanding of the possible territorial challenges and opportunities toward self-sufficiency of the North-East.

The insights gained through the projection of self-sufficiency will act as inputs to explore how spatial justice (in this context) can be realized and operationalized in conjunction with the procedural and socioeconomic trajectories toward spatial justice.

Fig. 73 Author: Mapping Land Use Distribution and Vulnerable Areas

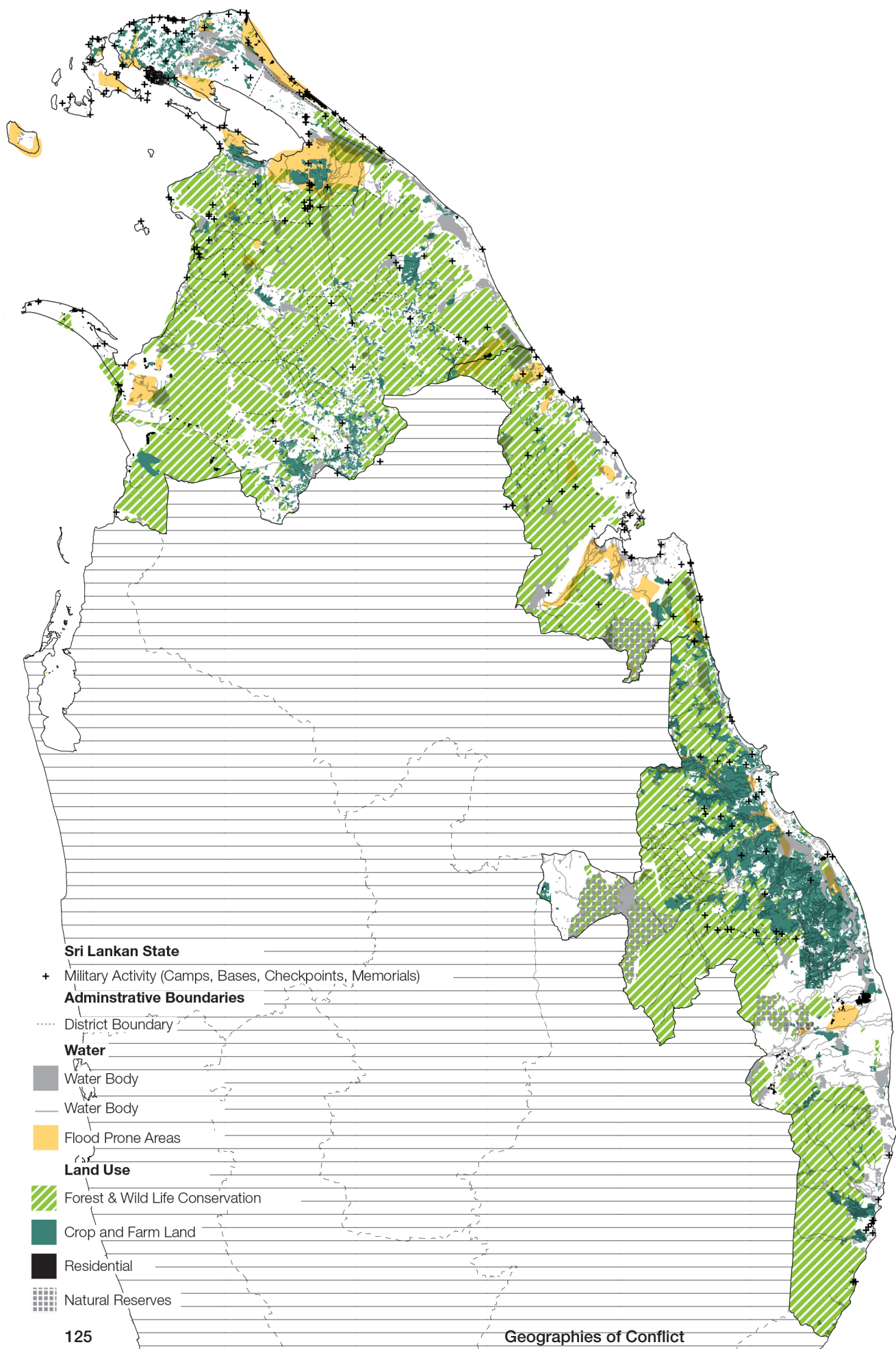


Fig. 74 Author: Mapping Major Mobility Infrastructure & Nodes

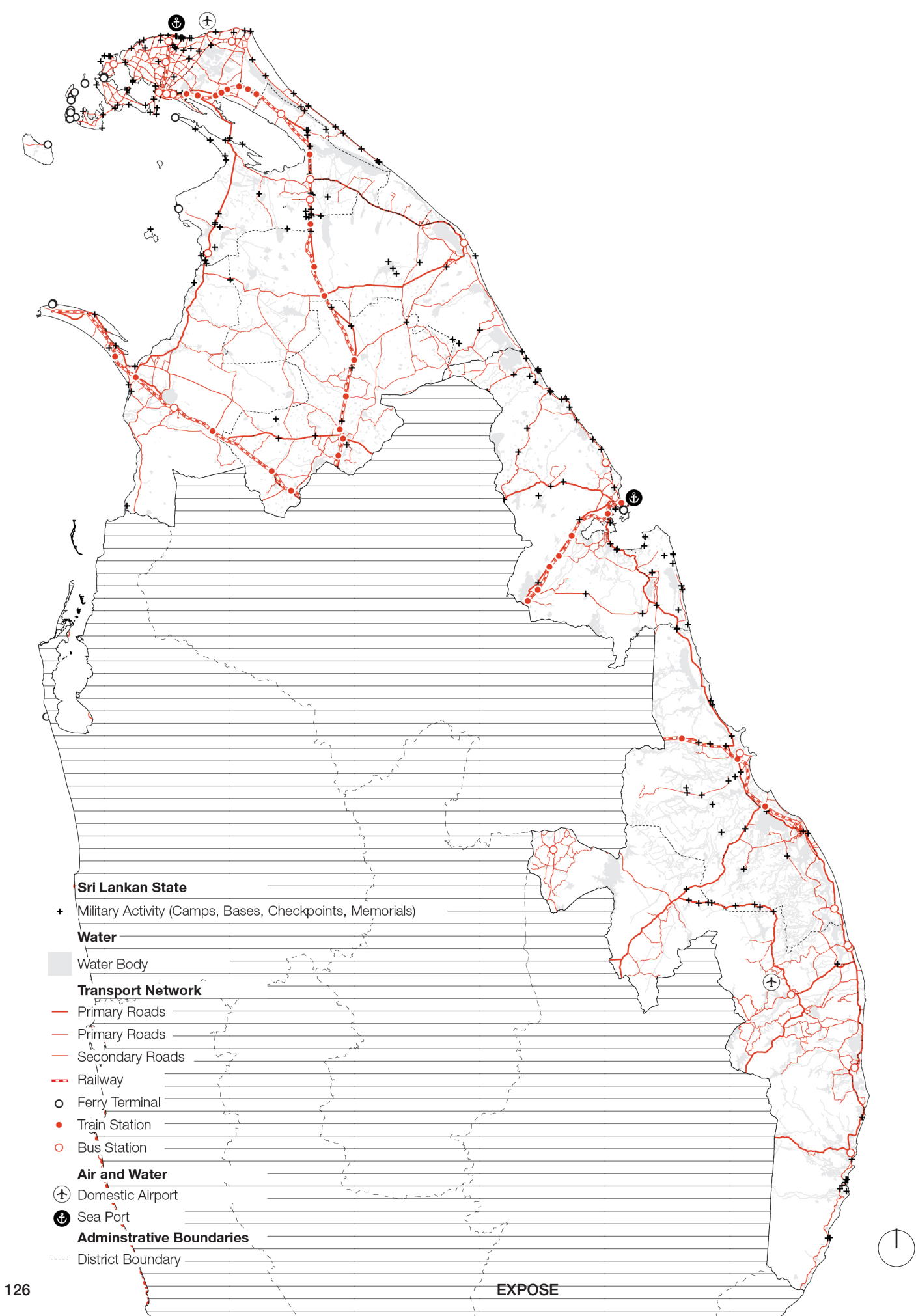


Fig. 75 Author: Mapping Soil Capacity and Crop Suitability

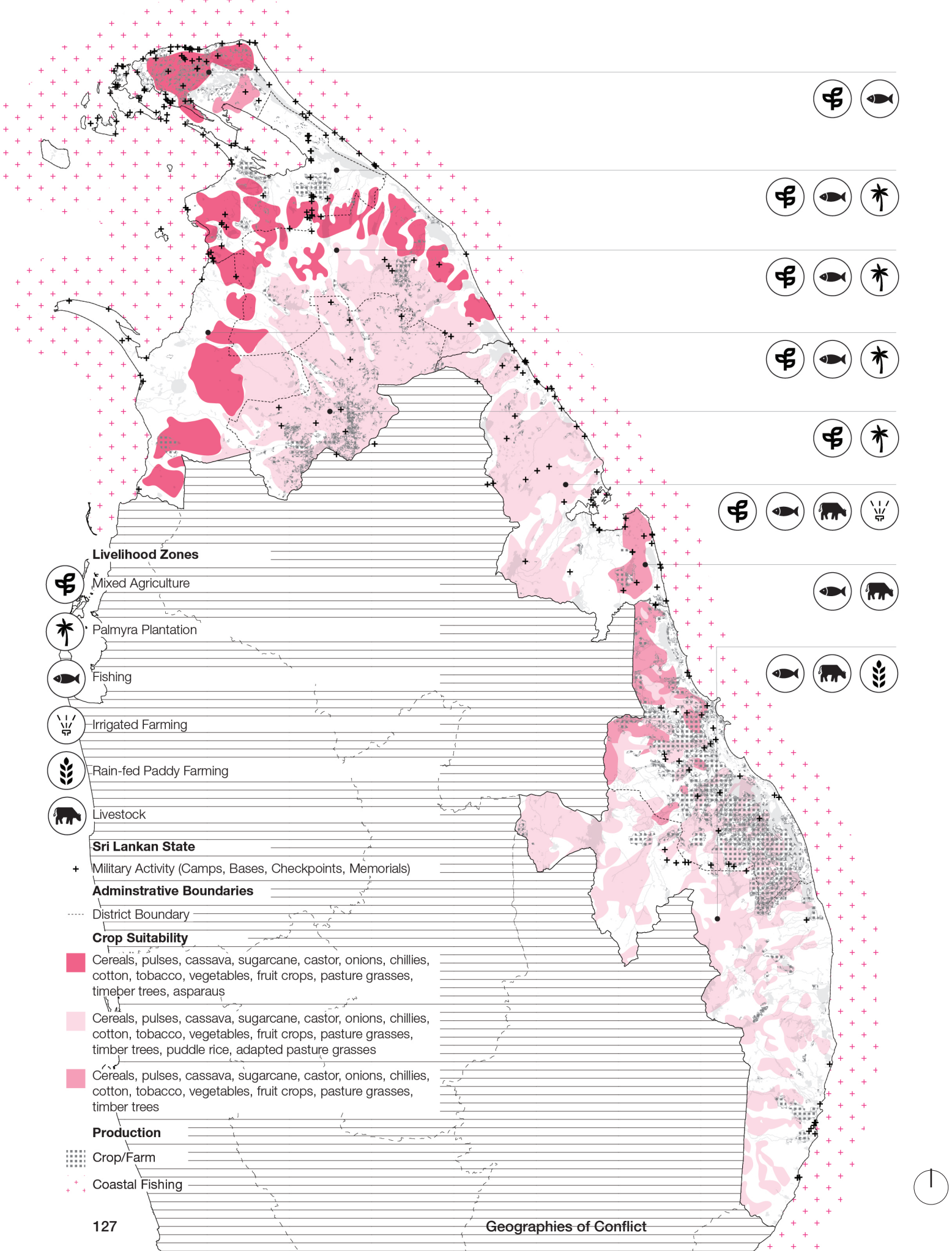


Fig. 76 Author: Mapping Water System

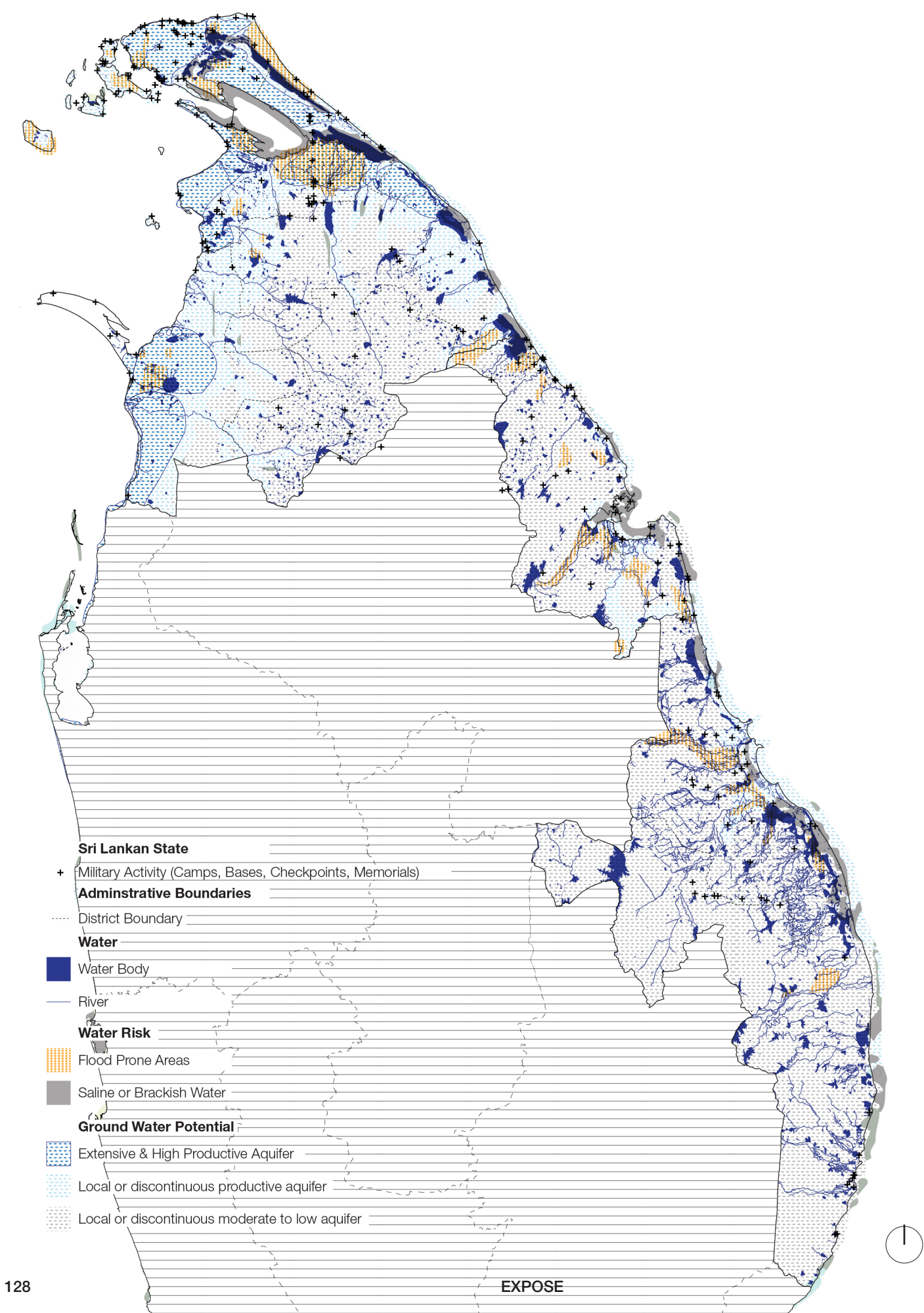
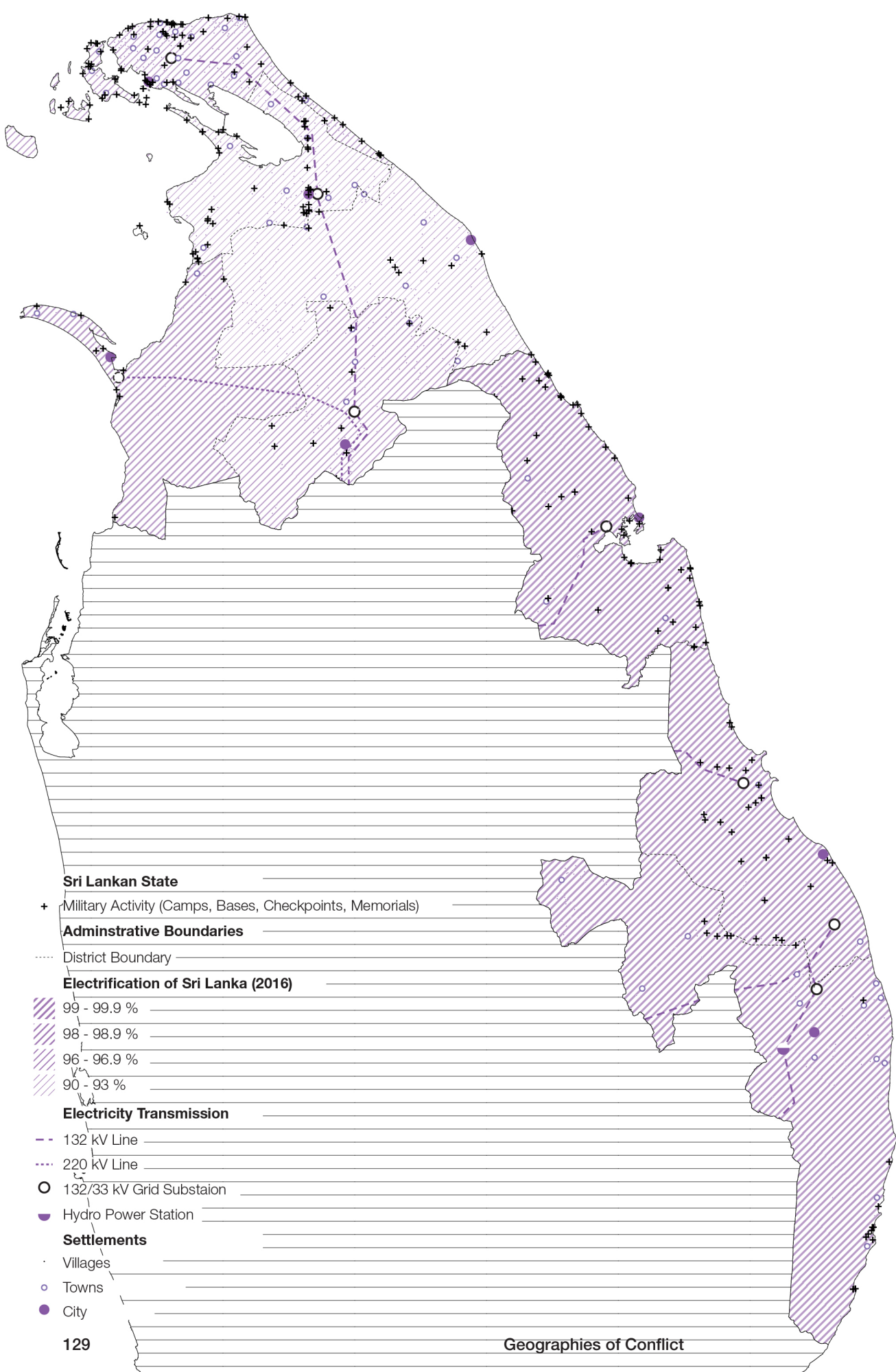


Fig. 77 Author: Mapping Renewable Energy (Solar, Biomass, and Wind) Potential



ON SOCIOECONOMIC



Fig. 78 Author: Mapping Militarization and Socioeconomic Vulnerability

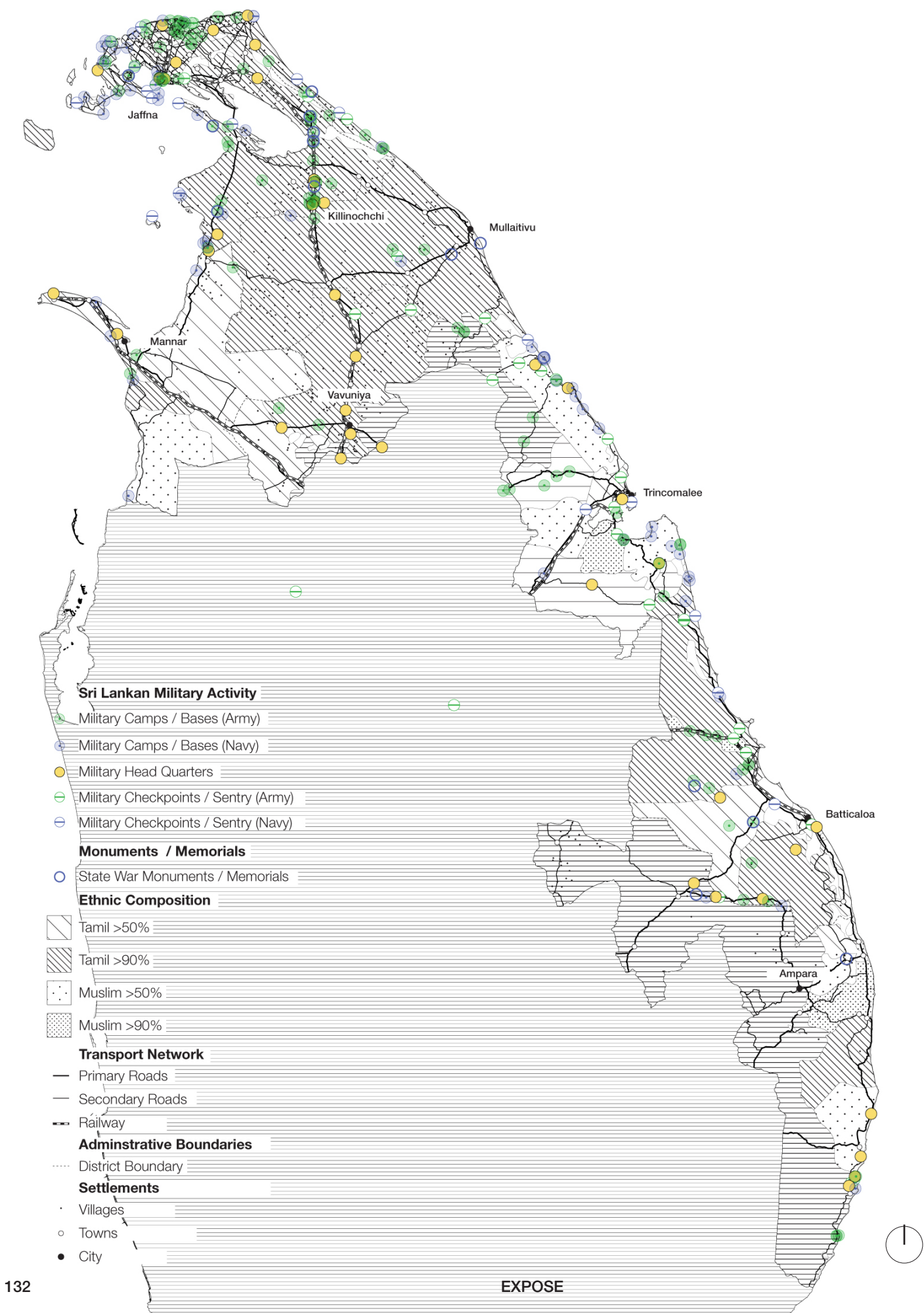


Fig. 79 Author: Mapping Places of Worship

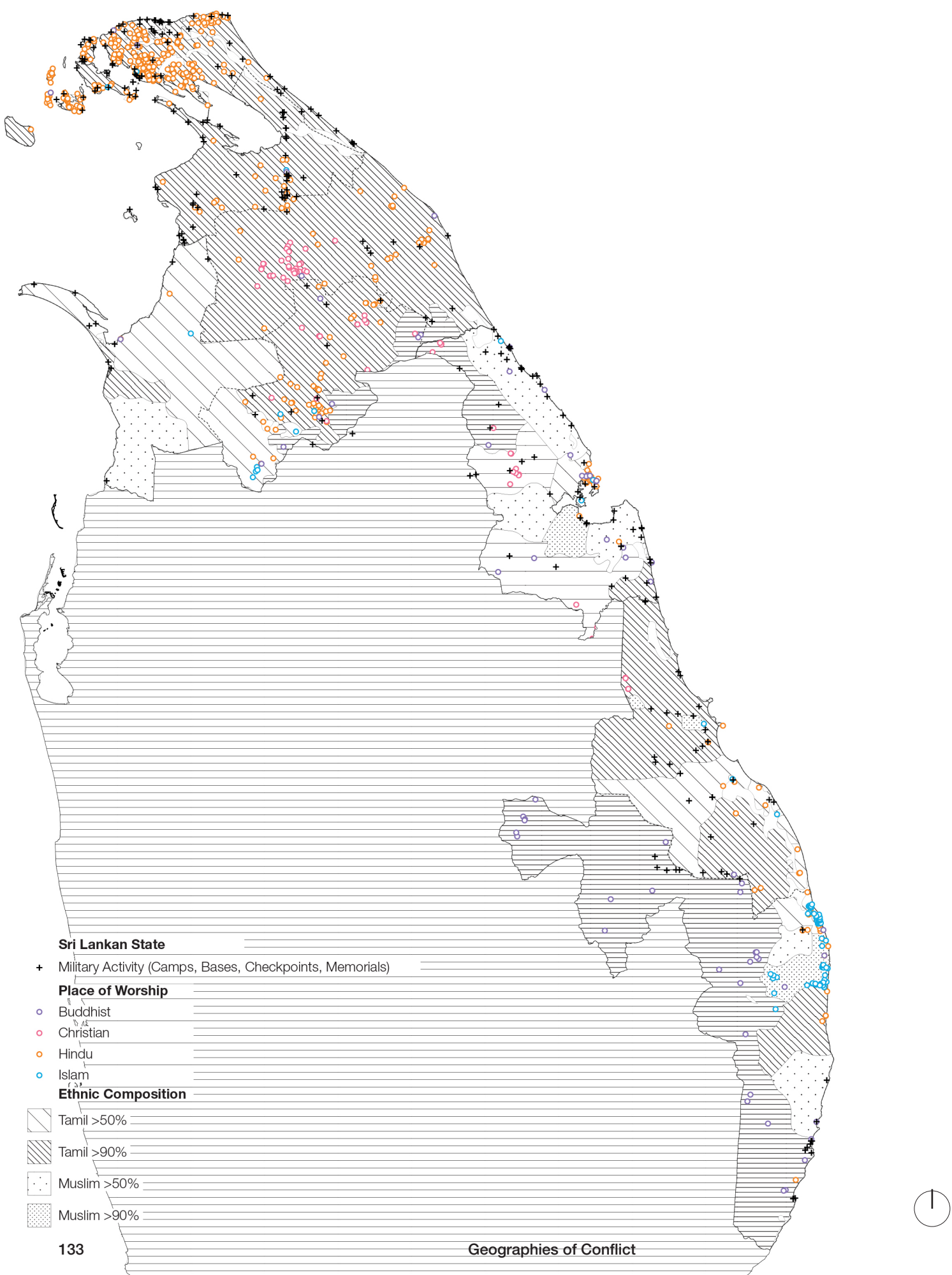


Fig. 80 Author: Mapping Accessibility to Health and Education

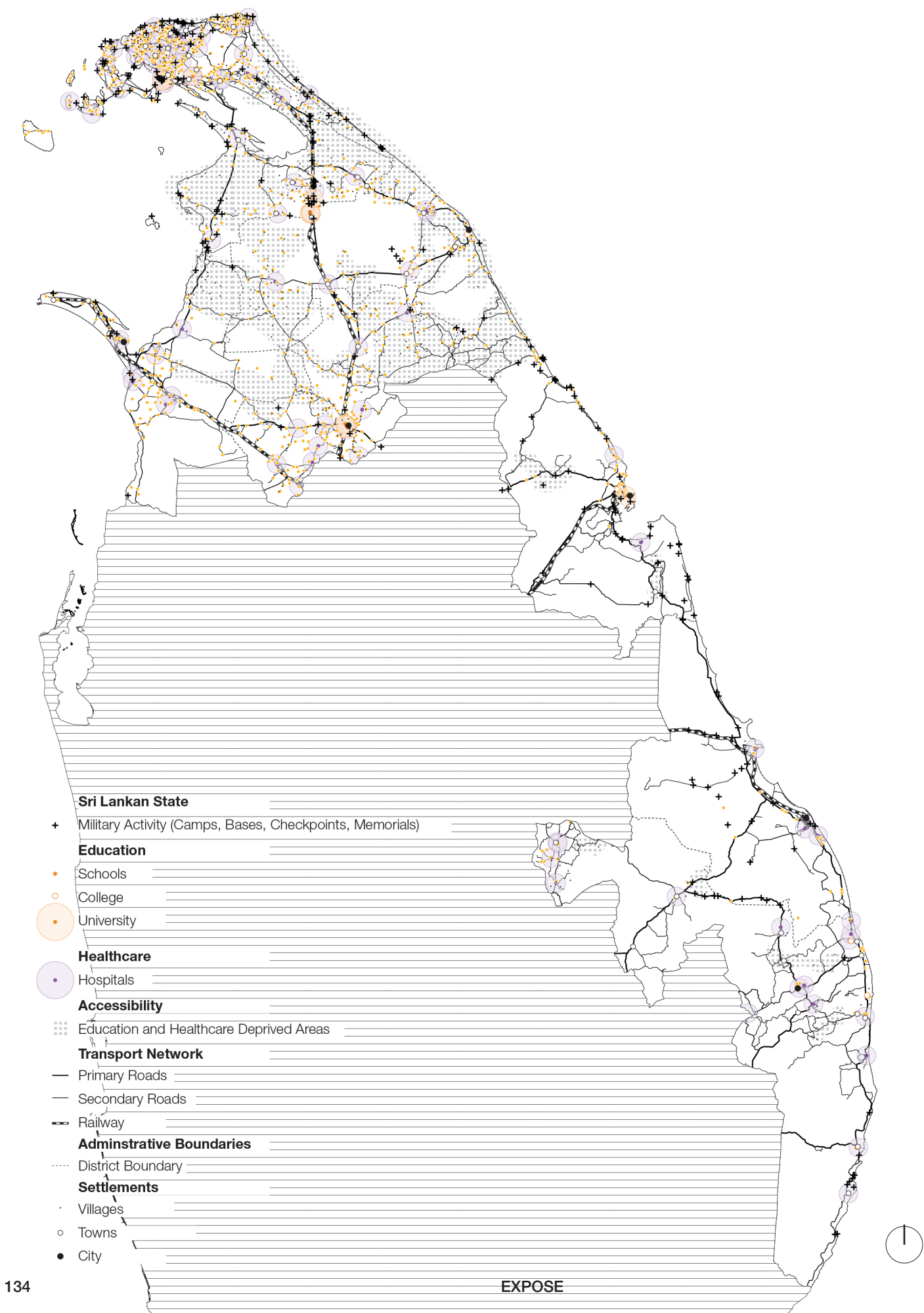
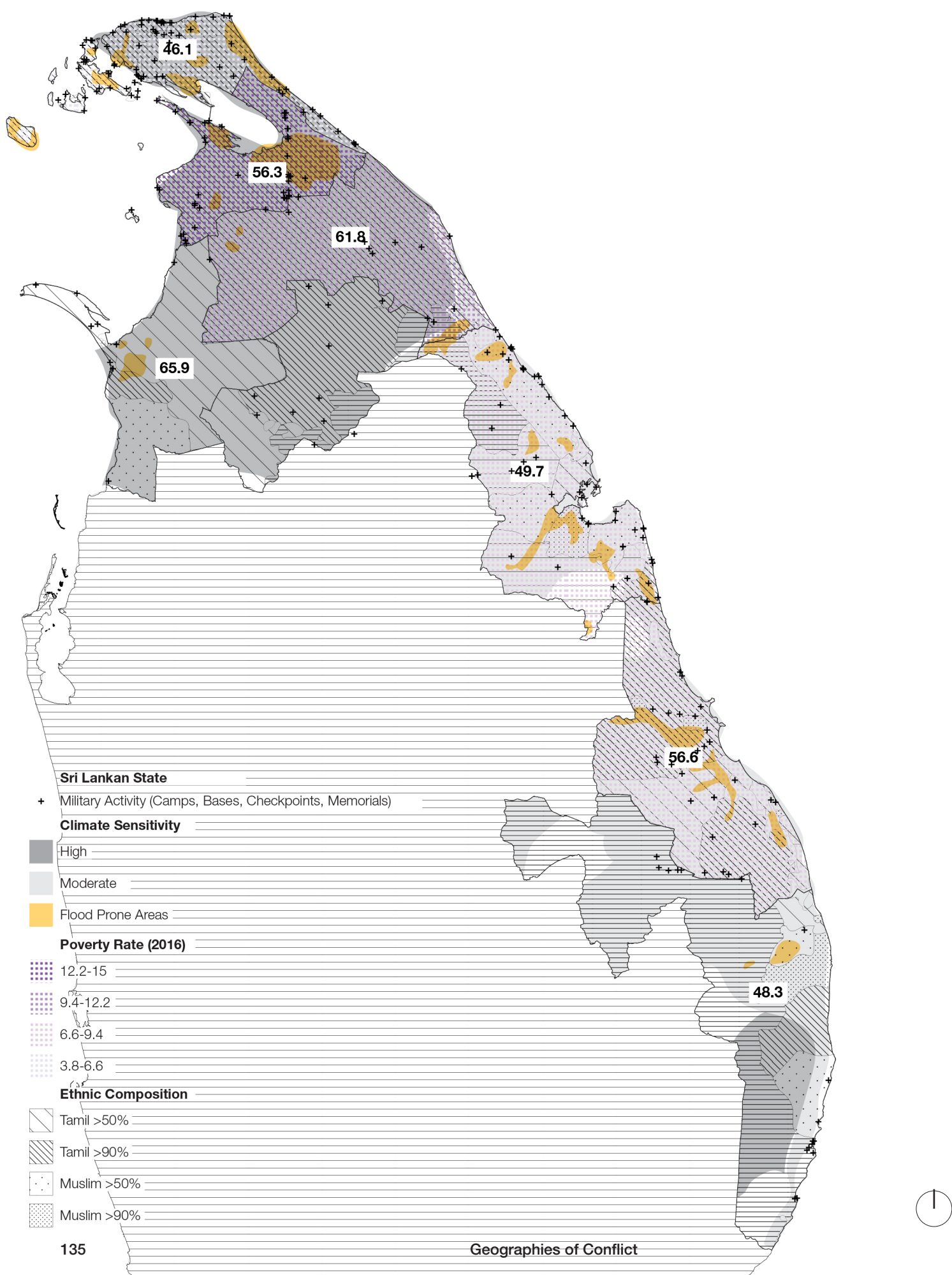


Fig. 81 Author: Mapping Socioeconomic Vulnerability and Environmental Risk



SOCIO-SPATIAL & PROCEDURAL CHALLENGES

- 1.
- 2.

Socio-Spatial Challenges
Procedural Challenges

MONO-CENTRIC

The regional mobility network is largely centralized to the development of the South-West. This create a strong hierarchy between the North-East and South and imbalances the region. The prosperity of the region occurs radially from the south and dissipates toward the North-East.

FRAGILE

The region is highly fragile, due to significant amount of flood-prone and poor water quality areas, specially in urban areas, as well as poor resilience concerning food security and climate change risk.

PRESERVATIVE

The region is exhausts largely preservative values on its land, due to ecological conservation however, there are many cases that this preservative land-use system acts as a facade for land grabs and continuous unlawful occupation of ancestral Tamil lands, whom displaced due to the civil war and now are back demanding what is rightfully theirs,

REPRESSIVE

There is repressive occupation of military and other state-aided occupation regimes that instill fear into the lives of people and restricts one ability to seek a safe and prosperous life.

Monocentric

1

Fragile

2

Preservative

3

Repressive

4

ON SELF-SUFFICIENCY (TERRITORIAL)

The socio-spatial conditions of the territory pose various degrees of challenges and opportunities concerning self-sufficiency. The land use cover is largely underdeveloped and/or underutilized. However, potential development is limited due to a large amount of land allocated for forest and wild life conversation.

There are also major infrastructural nodes mainly along the coast which are moderately well-connected via a road transport network. This also shows potential for intraregional connection, which can be further strengthened due to urban settlement patterns existing along major mobility corridors.

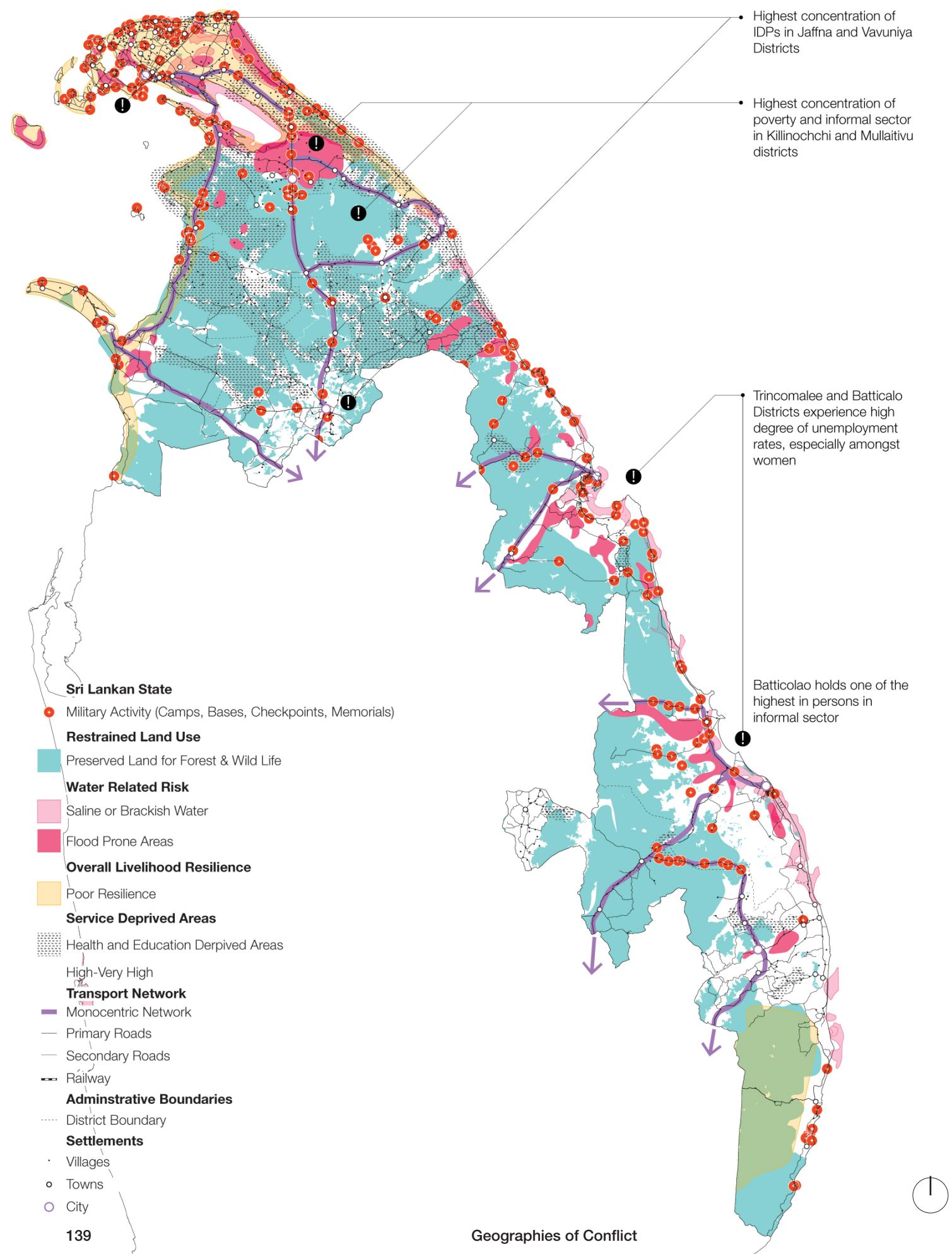
Due to the vast amount of flood prone near the Northern coastal areas, there is a potential for this land to facilitate renewable energy production. Further more, the environmental potential for soil capacity and ground water are high which increases opportunity for food production and ecological revitalization.

ON SELF-DEVELOPMENT (SOCIOECONOMIC)

The North-East like many territories across South-East Asia has a strong presence of places of worship. The shear magnitude of these spaces across the region could enable the hosting of variety of diverse functions to better service communities.

Additionally, a main source of livelihood across the region revolve around agriculture. With the influx productive soils and underutilized land, there could be ways to diversify and increases access to livelihoods.

Fig. 82 Author: Mapping Sociospatial Challenges



The six procedural challenges can be understood through being top-down, discriminatory, exclusionary, concentrated, non-recognitional of difference, and universalized, these challenges are connected to an analysis of the nations current governance and planning system, national planning policies, interviews with experts, and review of unjust practices that discriminate minority groups.

ON SELF-DETERMINATION (PROCEDURAL)

Based on understanding the procedural conditions and systems in the North-East, there are a number of opportunities and challenges regarding self-determination

Firstly, within the power structure of government, exists an opportunity to redistribute and devolve power to more local authorities. This can be seen through the district councils, where provincial decision making power and oversight can be transfered to the districts to better align to conceptual demands and better represent the local population.

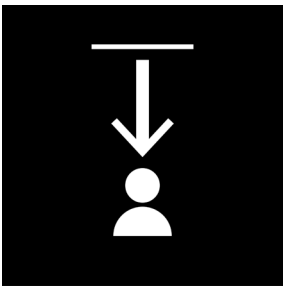
Across the micro scale, power can be further devolved through Rural Development Societies, who are meant represent and facilitate development in rural areas. Given the limited impact of the Urban Development Authority

in the North East, there could be alternative mechanisms to manage and facilitate spatial planning.

Lastly, the high degree of solidarity across the North-East expresses the potential impact of social-spatial mobilization. Furthermore, the extent of the diaspora across the global could possibly develop a strong network and support the development of the North-East, especially through strengthening financial and institutional capacity.

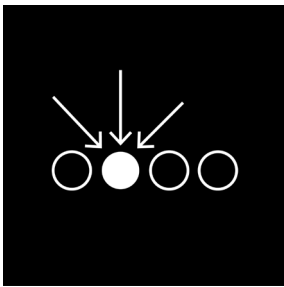
- Top-Down
- Discriminatory
- Exclusionary
- Concentrated
- Non-Recognitional
- Universalized

- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10



TOP-DOWN

Authoritative presence of state and national levels at the local government levels, that restrains the ability of local development and decision making



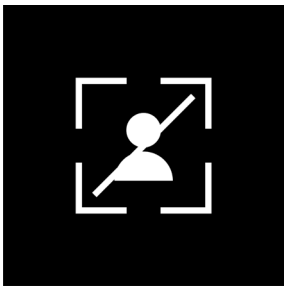
CONCENTRATED

Allocation of economic development has a limited presence in NE, which spatial development is further restricted by a significant amount of land held by environmental conservation and invasive military.



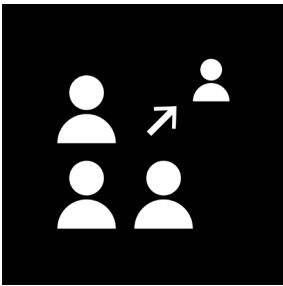
DISCRIMINATORY

The current policies and governance system exerts discrimination and oppressive practices on ethnic minorities through military occupation of Tamil land and policies restricting freedom of political views which led to criminalization of liberation movements.



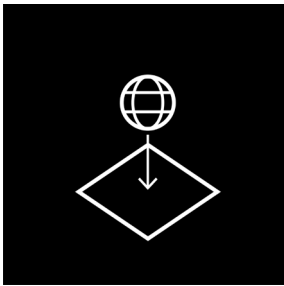
NON-RECOGNITIONAL

The current direction of national physical planning policy mainly revolves around environmental preservation and economic development, which does not address polarized ethnic-conflict and multi-dimensional inequalities faced by vulnerable groups in the North-East.



EXCLUSIONARY

The planning policy formulation includes almost zero public consultation processes, where focus groups largely include public officials and private sector



UNIVERSALIZED

The current planning policies and visions for the future lack the recognition of context specificities and different demands of the population. Global agendas on sustainable development and climate adaptation are imposed on the entire nation without assurance of contextual alignment

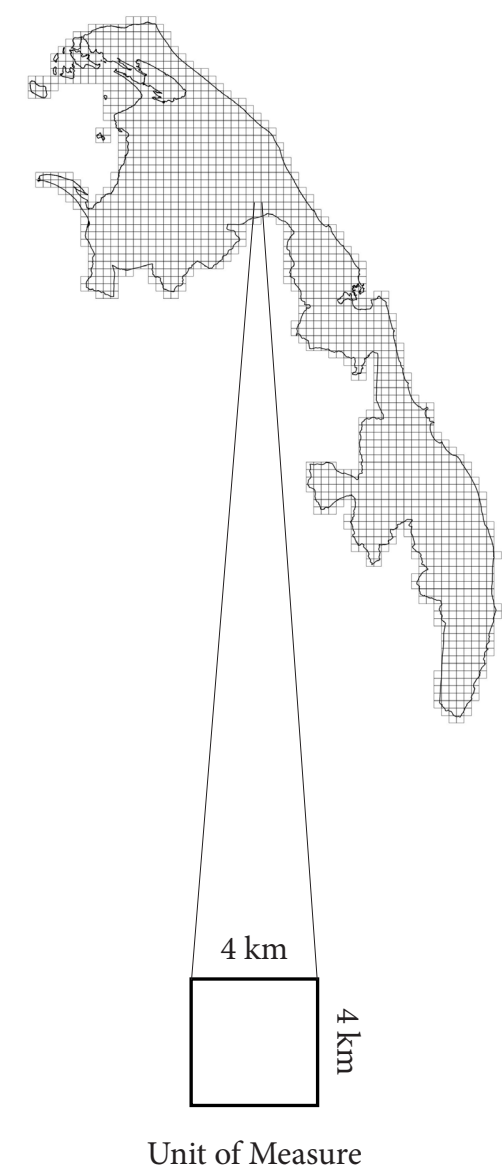
SPATIAL ASSESSMENT

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Highest Potential
Highest Vulnerability
Conclusions

01
Overlaying Unit of Measure
on North-East

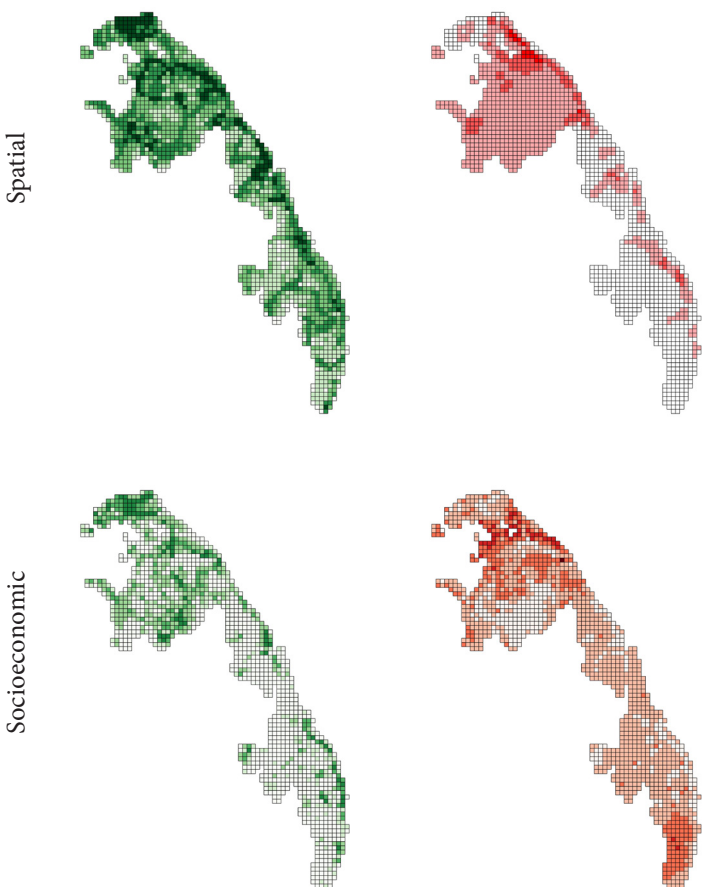
4 x 4 km Grid



02
Intersecting Highest Potential and Vulnerability
of Spatial and Socioeconomic Layers

Highest Potentials

Highest Vulnerabilities



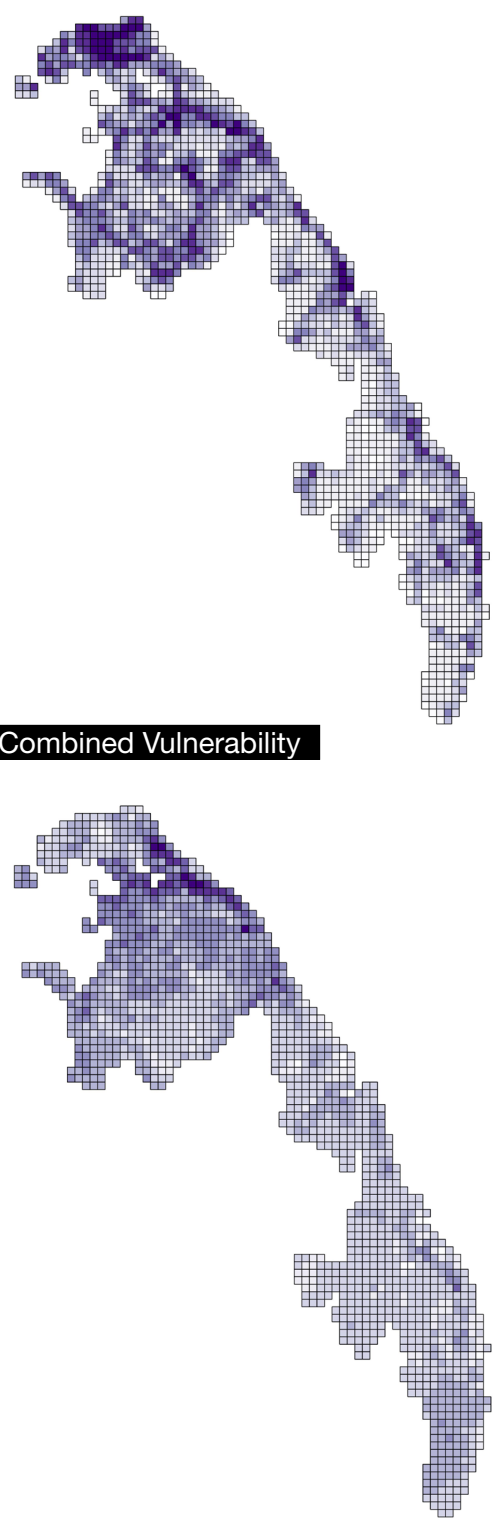
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Productive Aquifer | 1. Militarization |
| 2. Productive Soil Capacity | 2. Poor Resilience |
| 3. Connected to Main Network | 3. Climate Change Risk |
| 4. Unbuilt Area | 4. No Health and Education |
| 5. Renewable Energy | 5. No Public Transport |
| 6. Access to Services | 6. Water Quality |
| 7. Access to Place of Worship | 7. Flood Prone |
| 8. Access to Health and Education | 8. High Poverty |
| 9. Access to Public Transport | |



03
Combining
Potential and Vulnerability

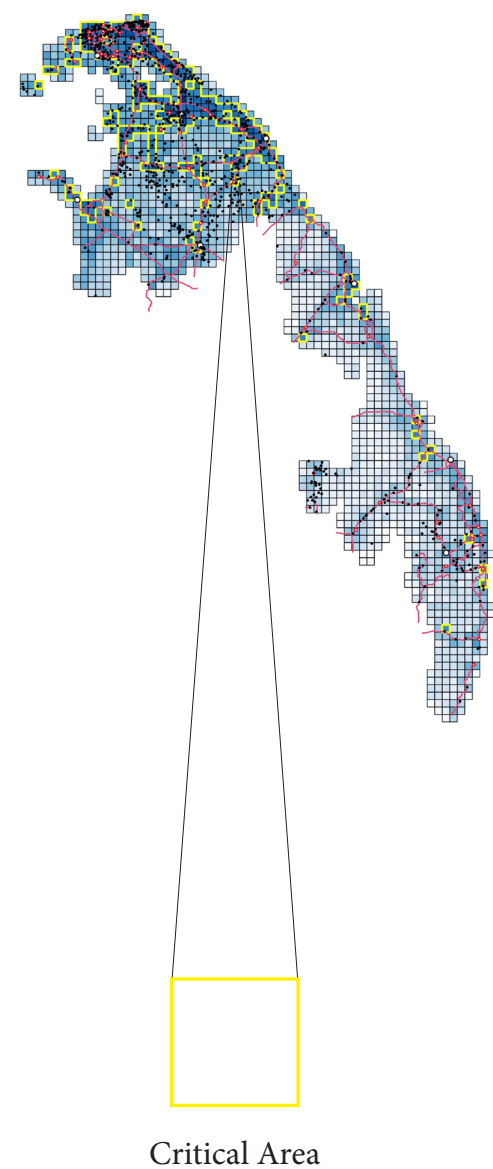
Combined Potential

Combined Vulnerability



04
Locate Critical Areas

Combined Potential & Vulnerability



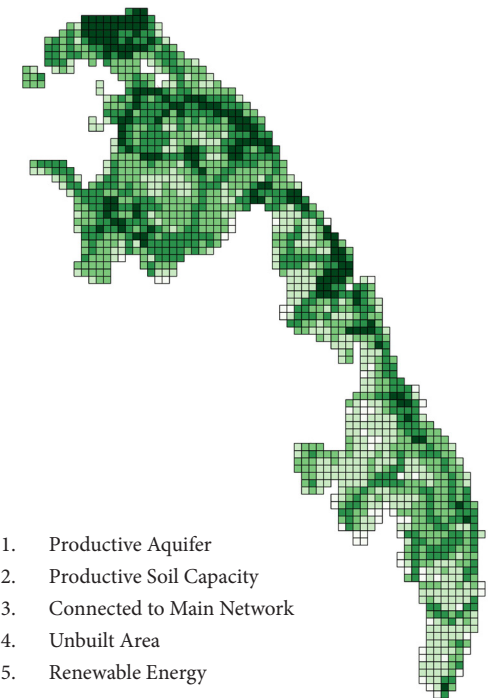
COMBINED HIGHEST POTENTIAL

The combined highest potential combines the highest spatial and socioeconomic potential outlined on two maps. By combing the spatial and socioeconomic potential, we can understand the highest potential of across the North-East. The indicators for potential are defined by spatial and socioeconomic factors. The spatial indicators involve the areas of productive aquifers, productive soil capacity, proximity to major road network, unbuilt area and areas of renewable energy production potential (Solar, Wind and/or Biomass). The socioeconomic indicators involve areas of access to services, to places of worship, health and education and public transport.

The combined map indicates that potential is widely dispersed along the corridors of mobility as well as larger urban areas. It appears that the Jaffna District, and largely the Eastern coastline contains high potential. Additionally, the Northern province has significantly more ares of potential.

Spatial Potential

Fig. 83 Author: Mapping Highest Spatial Potential



Socioeconomic Potential

Fig. 84 Author: Mapping Highest Socioeconomic Potential

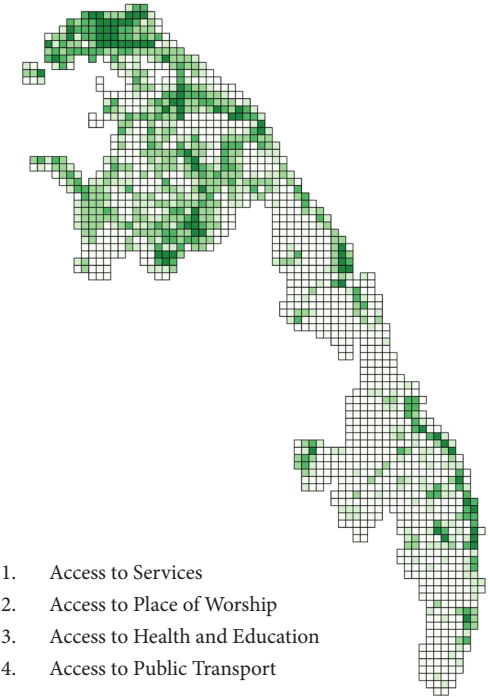
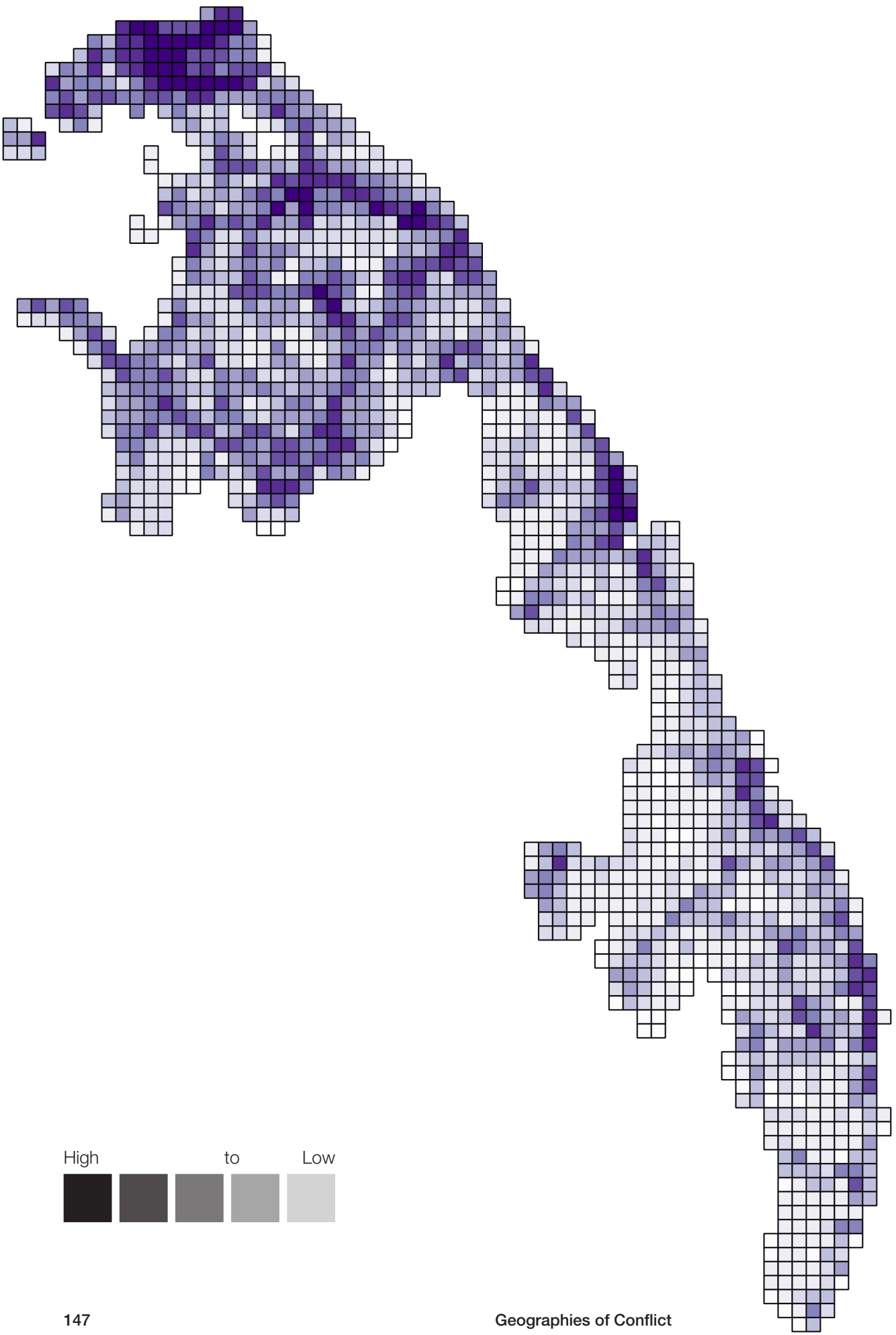


Fig. 85 Author: Mapping Highest Combined Potential



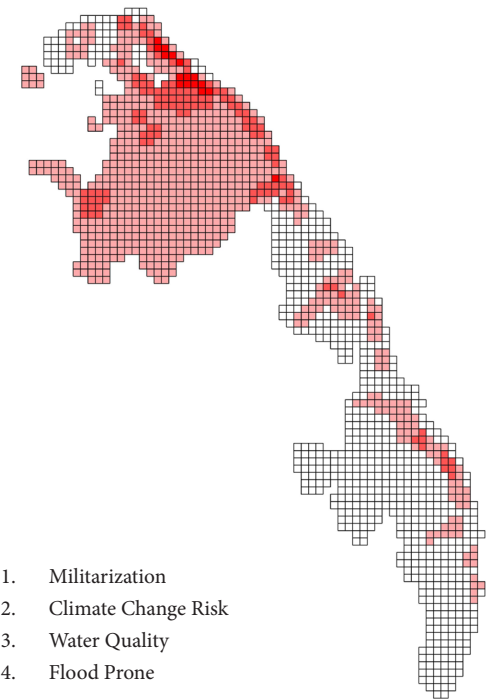
COMBINED HIGHEST VULNERABILITY

The combined highest vulnerability combines the highest spatial and socioeconomic vulnerability outlined on two maps. By combing the spatial and socioeconomic vulnerability, we can understand the highest vulnerability of across the North-East. The indicators for vulnerability are defined by spatial and socioeconomic factors. The spatial indicators involve the climate change risk, flood prone areas, low quality of water and poorest areas of resilience (defined by the World Food Program). The socioeconomic indicators involve areas of militarization, no access to health care and education, no access to public transportation and high degrees of poverty.

The combined map indicates the North-Eastern areas of along the coast and slightly inwards are the most vulnerable areas in the North-East. This could be mainly due to high flood prone and climate change risk in these areas as well low water quality.

Spatial Vulnerability

Fig. 86 Author: Mapping Highest Spatial Vulnerability



Socioeconomic Vulnerability

Fig. 87 Author: Mapping Highest Socioeconomic Vulnerability

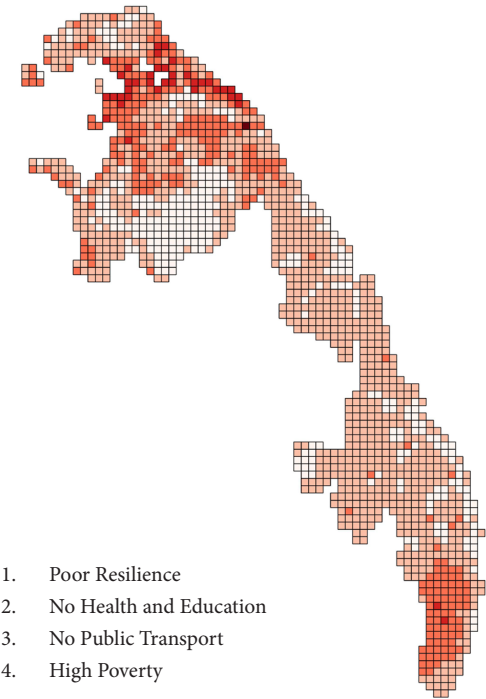
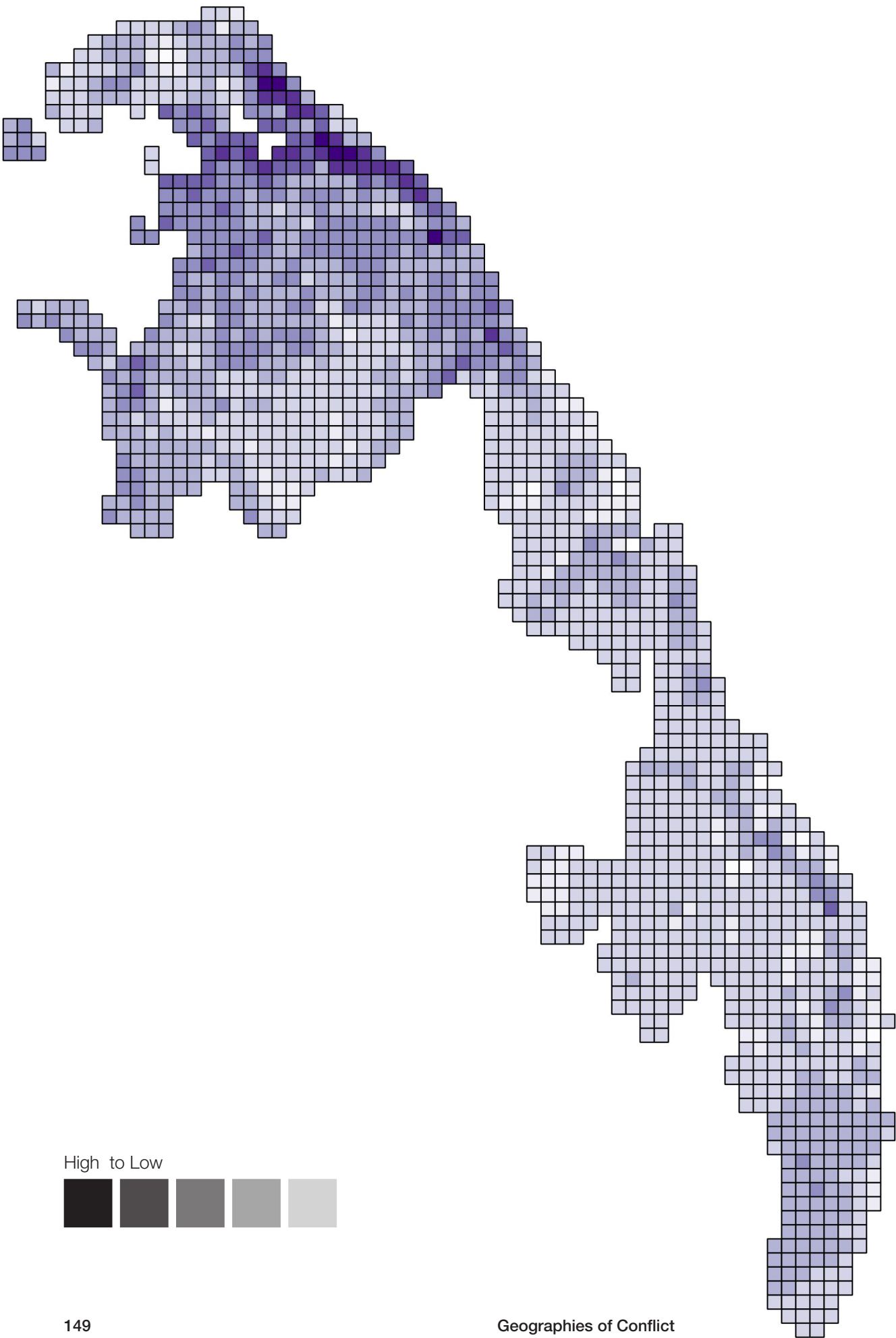


Fig. 88 Author: Mapping Highest Combined Vulnerability

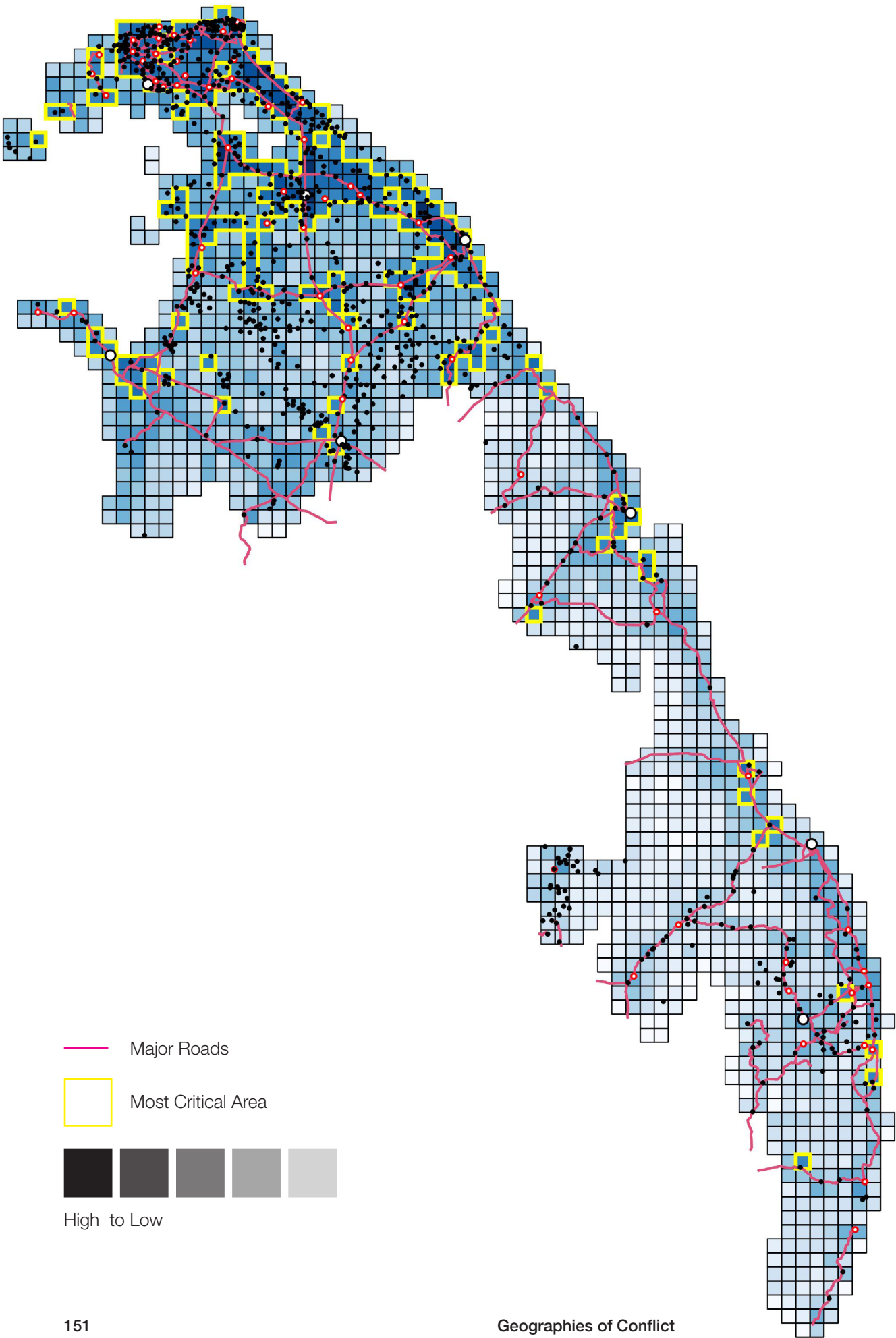


LOCATING CRITICAL AREAS

The two combined layers and further combined to understand where the most critical regions are located, in this case, critical is defined where the highest potential and vulnerability are located because there is where the most fragility and potential intersect and most likely require the most innovative response is required.

- 1 Large concentration of critical areas exist within the Northern Province, mostly within the Jaffna, Killinochchi and Mullaitivu Districts
- 2 Significant portion of critical areas are situated along the main mobility corridor,
- 3 Major urban areas within each area appear to be in critical state, and hold a combination of high potential and vulnerability
- 4 Coastal areas seem most critical than inland, this would demand increased attention due to the interface between water and land, sometimes dense urban settlements

Fig. 89 Author: Mapping Critical Areas



P R O P O S E

154

166

174

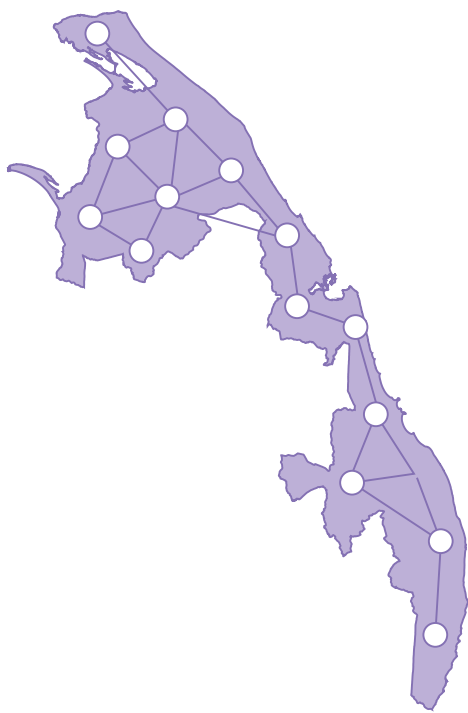
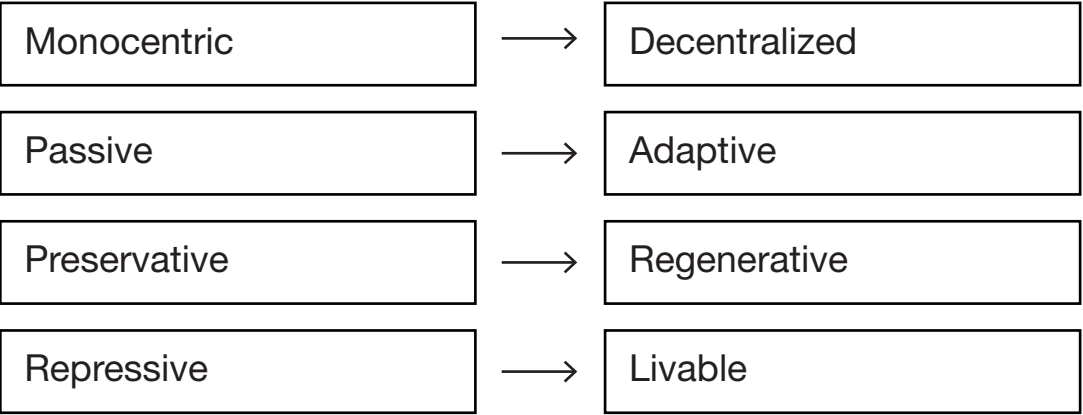
Targets of Transition
Institutional Frameworks
Provocative Spatial Futures

TARGETS OF TRANSITION

DEFINING SPATIAL TARGETS

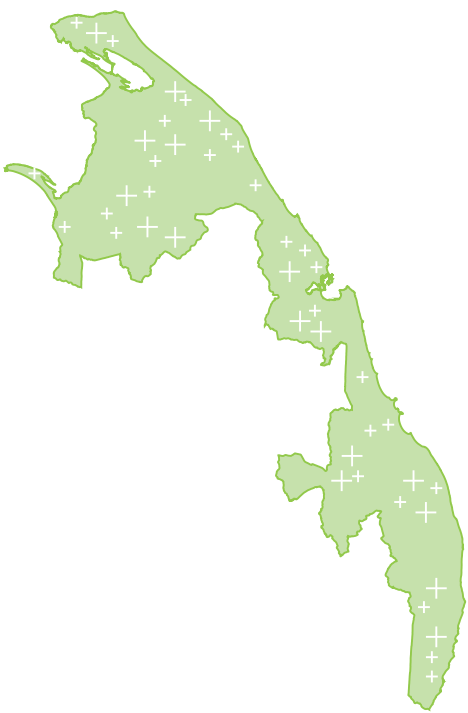
Once the critical areas were defined, there was a better understanding of the challenges and their respective contexts. This inspired the formation of targets, which are derived from the 10 challenges.

The four sociospatial targets concern the transition from monocentric to decentralized, passive to adaptive, preservative to regenerative, and repressive to livable.



DECENTRALIZED: ACCESSIBILITY AND MOBILITY

Decentralizing and localizing cycles of production and consumption, distribution and access to basic services, as well decentralizing network of education and health.



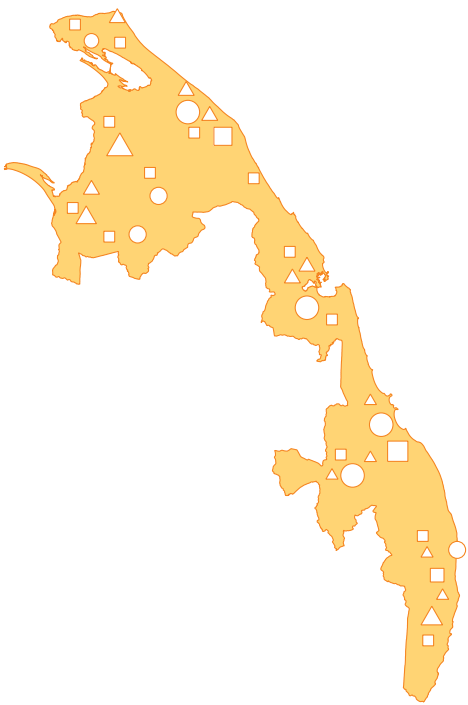
REGENERATIVE: ECONOMIES AND ENVIRONMENT

Regenerative economies of production and ecological systems to build back better and contribute positively to the region's people and territory.



ADAPTIVE: NATURAL SYSTEMS AND PEOPLE

Adaptive natured-based vernacular systems to build resilient capacity of both natural systems such as coastal areas and communities.



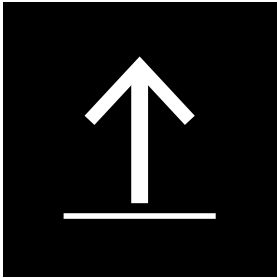
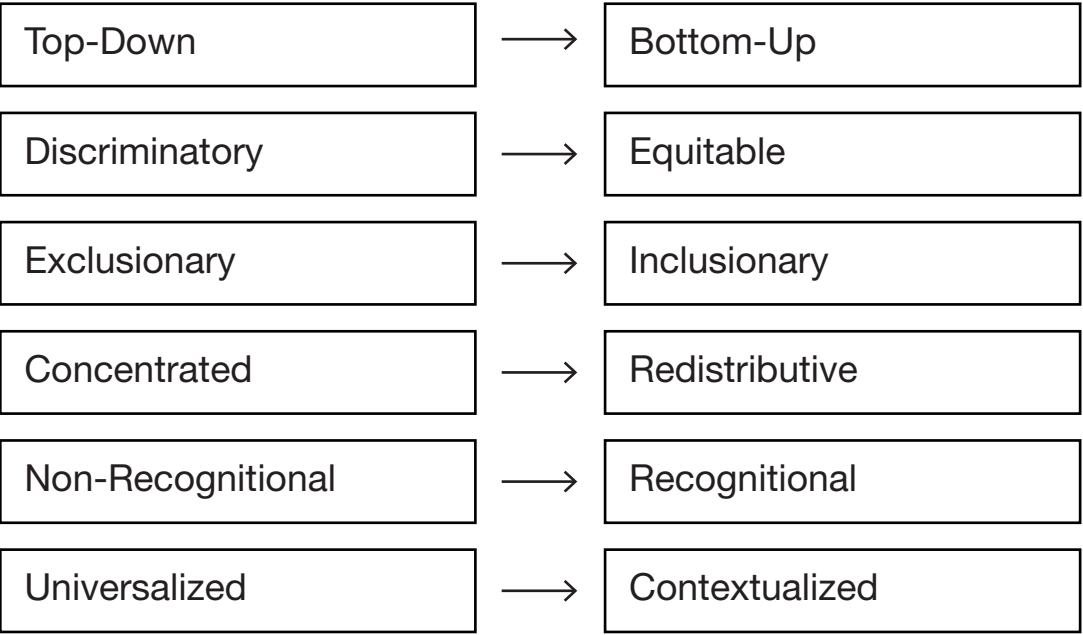
LIVABLE

Promoting livable environments through fostering diverse functionality, access to recreational and service based infrastructure, localizing economic functions and ensure safety for all.

DEFINING PROCEDURAL TARGETS

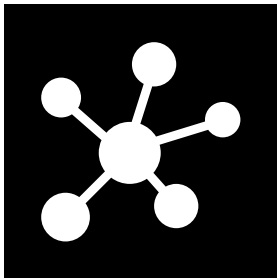
The procedural targets derive from the six procedural challenges. By setting targets based on the challenges, it ensures a direct response and offers specific lines of inquiry when developing further actions and steps.

The six procedural targets concern the transition from:



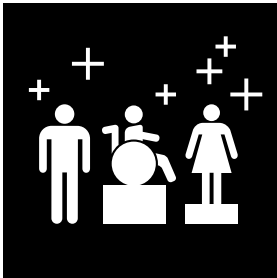
BOTTOM-UP

Fostering community led processes and enable decision making processes at local government scales



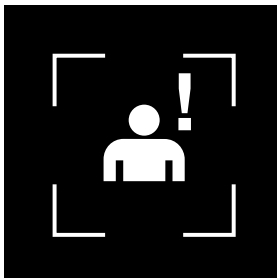
REDISTRIBUTIVE

Devolving power to local authorities and governments as well as allowing informal institutional frameworks in decision making and governance



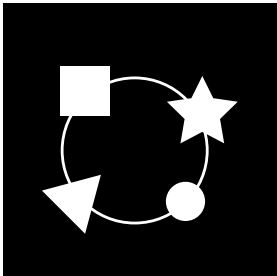
EQUITABLE/REHABILITATIVE

Prioritizing marginalized groups with increased investment in rehabilitation and ensuring a diverse response mechanism for various groups



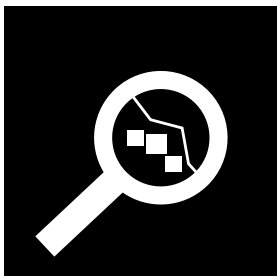
RECOGNITIONAL

Recognizing difference of various religious and cultural perspectives toward an intersectional understanding of potential challenges, people and environments



INCLUSIONARY

Inclusion of all sectors of the population regardless of caste, gender, race and socioeconomic status and ensuring different approaches of engagement based on the conditions of the individual and/or community



CONTEXTUALIZED

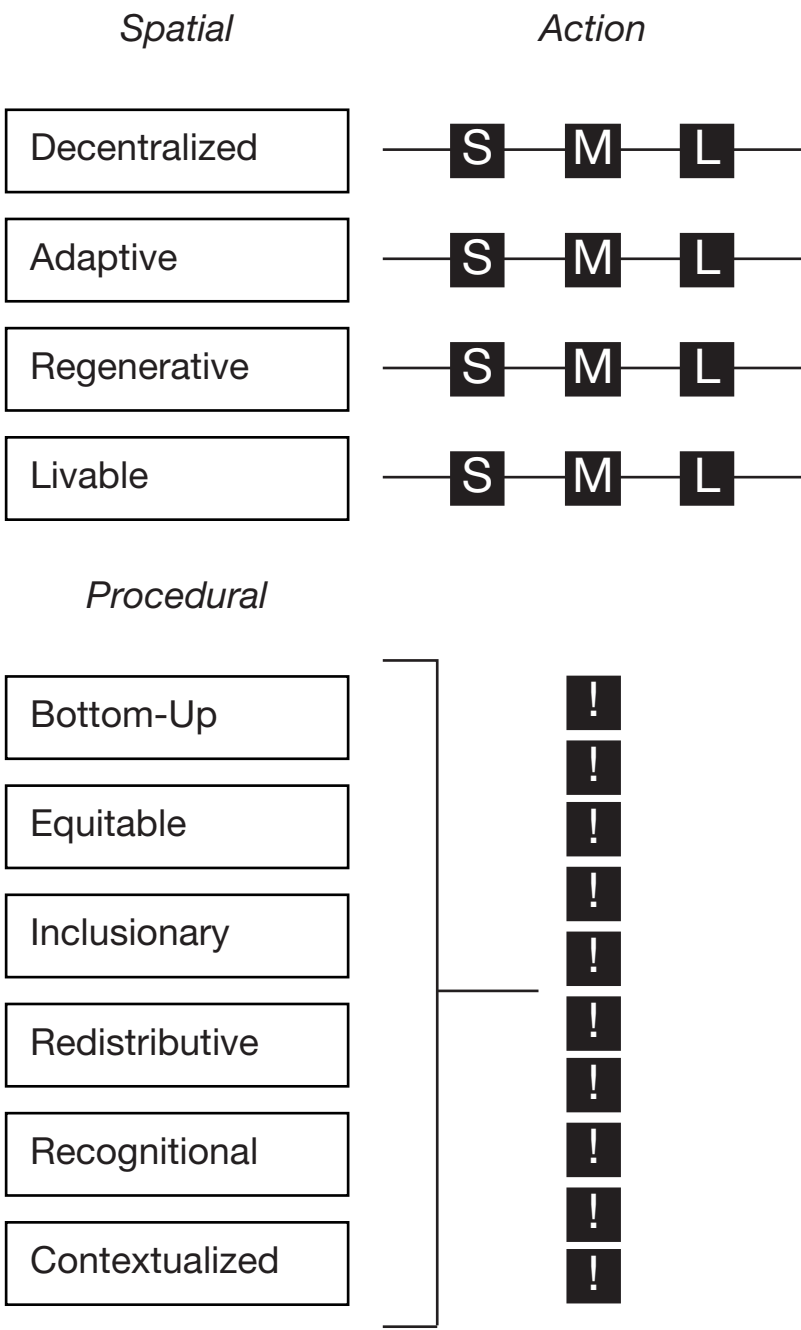
Respect and integration of local practices, condition and ways of life to promote maximum context-specificity.

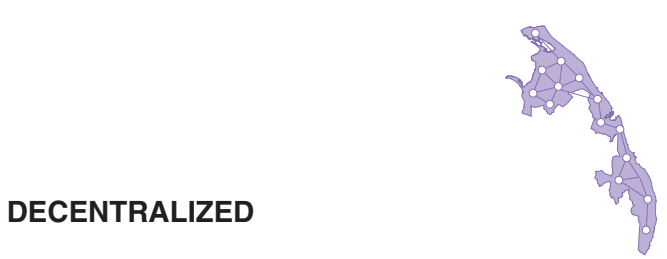
MATERIALIZING ACTION

Rather than defined specific strategies to manifest the targets. The development of actions was chose to materialize the targets in efforts to create a toolkit that can be used as ingredients and combined differently based on the specific challenges of a site. This can also acts as tool for future research and practitioners who can expand this toolkit or use it in similar conditions.

How to transform targets into actions to address the various challenges and generate change toward the future?

FORMATION OF TOOLKIT





DECENTRALIZED

- D1 Full circular mobility network to connect everyone to everywhere in NE
- D2 Mobility switch points to strategically limit large scale mobility within communities, neighborhoods, and cities
- D3 Creating service hubs (Santhi) within 4 km of settlement
- D4 Facilitating decentralized health care network, with hierarch accessibility of health care service, i.e. clinics, ER, and pharmacies
- D5 Strengthening domestic transit hubs to connect to transnational mobility, connecting with Tamil Nadu, Indonesia
- D6 Stronger proximities between production and consumption cycles
- D7 Increase access to local fresh food,
- D8 Decentralizing urban maintenance schemes, creating community-led safety, development, services and economies
- D9 Increasing access to local employment opportunities
- D10 Decentralizing energy, waste and water management systems, giving local governments more agency to decide



REGENERATIVE

- R1 Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity
- R2 Polyculture crop production, to support organic functioning of system
- R3 Diversifying crop production to sustain local diets, at least with major crops such as rice and vegetables
- R4 Land sharing - combining functions
- R5 Land sparring - intensified production and certain flows to give back land to biodiversity and ways of natural ecosystems
- R6 Energy production along coast lines, especially the vulnerable ones for living
- R7 Energy and food production along infrastructural network, intensifying land use of to increase space for biological networks
- R8 Household waste collected within neighbourhods to generate biomass energy
- R9 Solar farms along residual infrastructural spaces
- R10 Using residual heat energy for near by household use
- R11 Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies
- R12 Allocation of productive land in the outskirts of the city to increase proximity to agricultural production and food consumption
- R13 Water retention beds as public parks to both collect and recharge aquifer, allow for water permeability during intense flood and storm events
- R14 Hyper productive water towers, producing power, food and collecting/storing water
- R15 Aeroponic or aquaponic food production near fishing communities



ADAPTIVE

- A1 Seasonal land use system - the combination of maximizing local economy during peak season and introduce less vulnerable uses during low season
- A2 Aquaculture and type of agriculture that acts as buffer during coastal threat and produces local economies
- A3 Community led adaptation system, a system of retreat,
- A4 Resilient building typologies, buoyant building using local materials
- A5 Institutionalizing fishing community knowledge to better inform strategies on coastal resilience
- A6 Productive/hybridizing coastlines, fishing, energy and ethical tourism
- A7 Increasing water retention along major roads, and within cities, using large open spaces to strategically collect and store rainwater, and recharge the ground water
- A8 Ecological adaptive coastal systems, nature based adaptation, using local knowledge
- A9 Natural purification to recycle and reuse rain and gray water
- A10 Using native species to 'green' or brown the streets and public spaces to increase water retention and reduce flood risk
- A11 Collecting rainwater and graywater for community storage tanks, for communal use for drinking and other purposes



LIVABLE

- L1 Para-safety groups, rather than police or military, run by community, spatially decentralized to co-manage
- L2 Community stewards, institutionalizing RDS/ WDS to promote community led maintenance and safety
- L3 Diversifying the junction or 'santhi' as vital nodes in neighborhoods, increasing accessibility to services, shops,
- L4 Developing mixed used affordable housing, that can house marginalized/vulnerable groups and host small enterprises
- L5 Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,
- L6 Articulating car free mobility network such as bike lanes within the city
- L7 Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health
- L8 Solar powered public street lighting to increase the feeling of safety on streets
- L9 The large inter-connected ecological network is accessible to each large and medium size settlement
- L10 Increasing development of accessible livable and affordable housing schemes

1. Devolving decision making power to district councils
2. Strengthening network between local, division, district and provincial government by limiting redundancies and strengthening decision making capacity at LG and DS,
3. Building local capacity of spatial planning and general planning, policy making at local government scale, creating network between universities and capacity building of public servants, knowledge exchange between existing institutions and various agencies at local level
4. Limiting oversight of national and provincial sector on regional development and other major sectors
5. Co-managing the region by community based regionalism, enable decision making and power of grass root societies,
6. Strengthening the power and representation of RDS and other non-formal/governmental community organizations, allowing an % of seats for community groups, can be flexible to align with context spec fifty
7. Reallocating funding of military and police to social enterprise and community development
8. Reallocating funding of military and police and other agents of law enforcement to create community led maintenance and safety groups
9. Coalition building > to through coordination of grassroots organizations and community development groups to promote regional strength (CBR) - bring together and put pressure on the government and corporate elites as well as politicians
10. Reallocation funds from national sectors toward Local Governments and spatial planning and development related capacity building - alternative funding sources (World Bank, ADB, UNH)
11. Creating agencies that directly communicate and engage with international agencies to facilitate more context responsive change
12. Creating a network of existing of initiatives
13. Processes of co-production across community groups, local inst., experts, public/private and NGO, to better align various interests and demands
14. Community development and capacity building
15. Facilitating a coalition building between national, provincial, district and local governments to synthesize sectoral demands align interests, and consensus building
16. Establishing a network of informal, formal and other active community groups to institutionalize demands and strengthen solidarity to confront power imbalances
17. Land governance - that establishes a commission

- on land use distribution and land rights, must be available and operate at the institutions geographically closest to the affected people.
18. Community based land committees, that has the power and right to use and appropriate in their desired ways with a degree of alignment of strategic functions of the region
 19. Organizing critical community agents to mobilize demands and develop capacity (financial and knowledge) to better adapt and respond and self-determine
 20. Recognize and value peoples relations to land based on their rights to engage in livelihoods of their choice
 21. Recognize the diversity of ways one can establish their right to possess lands; formal documentation is only one way
 22. Recognize and prioritize landless and marginalized communities due to socially discriminatory practice; caste and gender based
 23. Develop people-centered terms for the commons (public land and public space) and community property (based on traditional and historic possession and use)
 24. The State must proactively ensure and prioritize equitable distribution of state lands to landless communities
 25. Land administration must involve the collaborations of all parts of the community (marginalized, landless, women, etc.) and existing initiatives on land related issues with public officials and experts, this process is of co-production
 26. Land governance coalition must be equipped with the knowledge, data and financial capacity related to land, development and people rights
 27. The state must return land taken by the military to people and communities, and compensate people's losses and grievances
 28. Reparations and compensation must be made to address injustices and violence experienced during time of displacement
 29. Military business such as hotels, farms and other commercial activities should be ceased in which the land shall be returned to the communities
 30. If alternative lands are distributed due to legitimized reasons, then this relocation process should consider access o education public transport and basic services
 31. Military personnel should be ceased of operation and not be appointed to state and civilian institutions
 32. Land seizure/acquisitions related to Archaeological, environmental and wild life should be ceased and any legitimate evidence based claim should ensure

- consultation with local communities
33. Erection of Buddhist symbols such as Buddhist statues in areas where Buddhism is not practiced should be stopped
 34. Manipulation of demographic of areas where certain ethnic communities live in high concentration, especially in the North-East, by settling Sinhalese and Buddhists from the South should be ceased
 35. Land taken away from minority communities should be returned with appropriate compensation for the period their land could not be accessed
 36. Land should be allocated to communities that have been denied land due to caste based discrimination in areas where education, healthcare, transport, basic services and economic opportunities are readily accessible
 37. Diverse natural resource and water management by different communities should be better facilitated to find consensus in management and ownership, and existing conflict should be resolved
 38. Small scales producers and businesses must be ensured of their rights to land, natural resources and commons, be prioritized over large-scale land transfers to multi-national companies
 39. Land transfer for large scale development projects must ensure a transparent approval process of public community, especially the affected local communities
 40. Farmers, fishermen and other major livelihood domains should be given necessary skills, financial resources, and tools to adapt to climate change, and be incentivize to practice of sustainable agriculture rather than intensive monoculture farming
 41. New social programs and policy to recognize care work of women and ensure safety and support their conditions of family, maternity, safety
 42. Economic opportunities and livelihoods must be developed for women led households that are sustainable, safe and ethical.
 43. Ensuring social welfare for part-time, seasonal, informal and formal economic activities
 44. Abolishment of any archaic patriarchal or socio-cultural discriminatory laws that exacerbates and restrains the vulnerability of marginalized groups.
 45. enactment of policy to ensure labour rights of works in the informal economy, including livable wage, maternity benefits, health insurance, childcare support and pensions
 46. Prior to initiating development projects, the state, and agencies involved in development and planning ensure community awareness and engagement with during all phases of development.

47. Prioritizing the local community residing in geographical areas for proposed development, this includes defining how these local communities and people benefit in tangible benefits
48. Land acquisition for development must be supported by development strategy, external human rights assessment, and socio-ecological management strategy, feasibility studies and adequate time for objections and alternative proposals to original plans
49. Development of tourism economy must prioritize, protect and benefit local communities, and natural systems
50. Ensuring accessibility to education and health services
51. Enabling policies to decentralize energy and water management to local communities
52. Enabling policies to re-purpose land use for localize agro-ecology, good production, energy production and waste management
53. Facilitate processes of co-creation between water and environmental management exports and local actors toward nature based adaptation schemes, and urban development
54. Ensuring availability and accessibility to social housing and social welfare services to all sectors of population, specifically marginalized and vulnerable groups
55. Management of transport infrastructure network and public transportation
56. Management of off shore and on-land energy production, distribution and storage network
57. Total control on the management of ecological and natural systems
58. Establishing a naturalized water sensitive buffer between North-East and South of Island
59. Integrating Tamil and other widely spoken languages in official public documentation
60. Creating trade agreements with south of island and Tamil Nadu

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

PROPOSE

- 1
2.
3.
- Framework Definition
- Formal Institutions
- Informal Institutions

DEFINING THE FRAMEWORK OF CHANGE

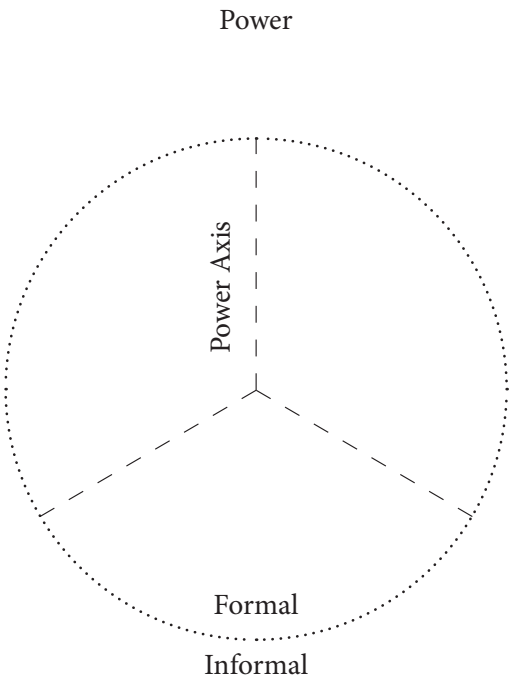
Based on the rule of law, the framework of change will be understood through the combination of formal and formal institutional frameworks. This combination aims to both understand the formal and informal forces that are largely influence the spatial, procedural and socioeconomic dynamics within the region. Given the multi-dimensional layers of systemic injustice and inequality, it is important consider the complexity of how of strong informal forces can be in steering and influencing a formal body of power.

This combined framework will be the basis to explore new orientations and alternative futures. It is evident, the distribution of power and recognition of various pursuits of justice is vital to ensure a just, sustainable and contextualized futures for marginalized Eelam Tamils in the North-East.

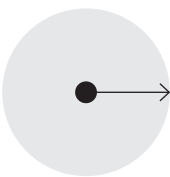
POWER, INTEREST AND RELATIONS
FRAMEWORK

To understand the relations, power and interest among informal and formal institutions, this framework aims to illustrate how they exist amongst each other, power is distributed, and who may be interested in specific ideas

In this framework, the *Interest* revolves around the general ambition of the research, on promoting conditions of spatial justice for marginalized eelam Tamils in North-East. Where the larger the radius, the more interest the given actor would have toward the above stated. *Power* will be based on who has the decision making power, capital and capacity to determine the spatial transformation and procedural operation of the region. *Relation* will be based on the findings concluded in the analysis, and will hypothetically represent how relations between institutions would be under given conditions.



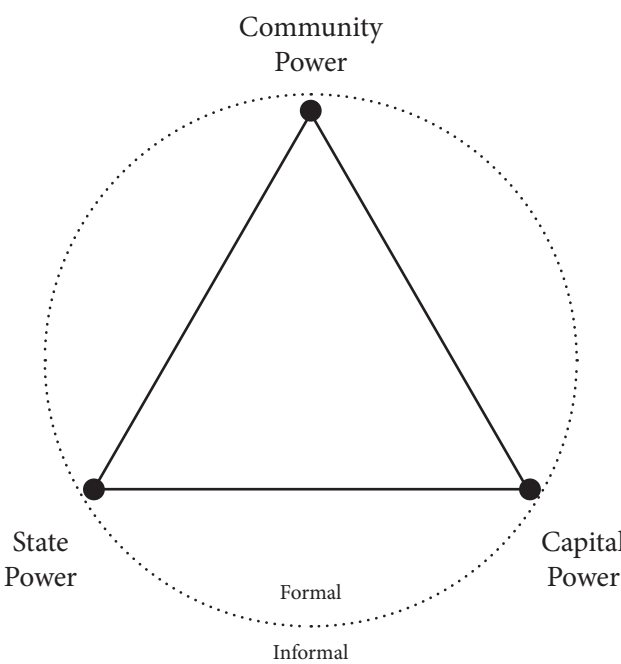
Interest



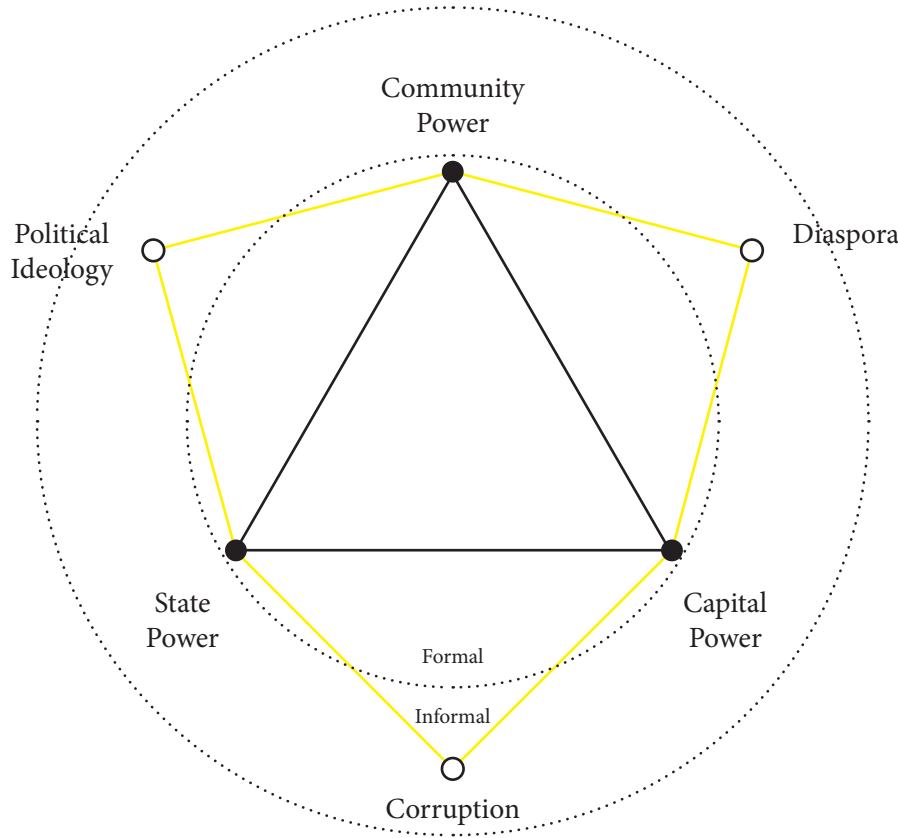
Relations



FORMAL FRAMEWORK (THE RULE OF LAW)



COMBINED INFORMAL & FORMAL
FRAMEWORK (THE RULE OF LAW)



COMMUNITY POWER

Community power is limited within the current political context in the North-East. Although there is activity and initiatives on the ground that works toward human rights, accountability of war crimes by government, land rights, and overall self-determination of oppressed Tamils in the North-East. Due to oppressive state policies and authoritative ethnocratic ideologies perpetuated by the central government, the mobilization of community is extremely limited due to heavy militarization and land occupation by the Sri Lankan State Army.

STATE

Since independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, there has been an evolutions of regimes, through the erosion of democracy toward ethnocratic chauvinism. The rise of the Sinhala Buddhist regime has become chauvinistic and authoritarian in the last decade, particularly after the gruesome conclusion of the thirty-year armed conflict in 2009. From then on, the notion of nation building and rehabilitation have been overwhelmingly influenced by major global powers such as the US and China.

The ethnocratic state of Sri Lanka currently has strong tensions with other ethnic groups such as the Eelam Tamils or Indian Tamils on the island. These minority groups continue to be disenfranchised, while disproportionately face military occupation and surveillance of their lands, and experience limitations on their ability to seek livelihoods.

CAPITAL POWER

Currently, the island receives major foreign investment and loans to stimulate infrastructure, tourism and urban development. A large amount capital investment and intense development of the island stems from the idea that island holds a 'strategic location' for global trade flows. This makes the island geopolitically attractive, but becomes a mere object of purchase. In this sense, China has a significant role in sponsoring major development, which increases the island's debt and dependence on foreign power. However, most of the capital is centralized in the south-west surrounding Colombo, or in the major port areas like Trincomalee and Batticalao. Many of the target port area developments are where ethnic minority groups live, and who could benefit from the investment if they were considered.

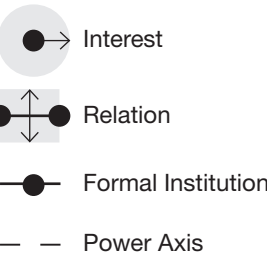
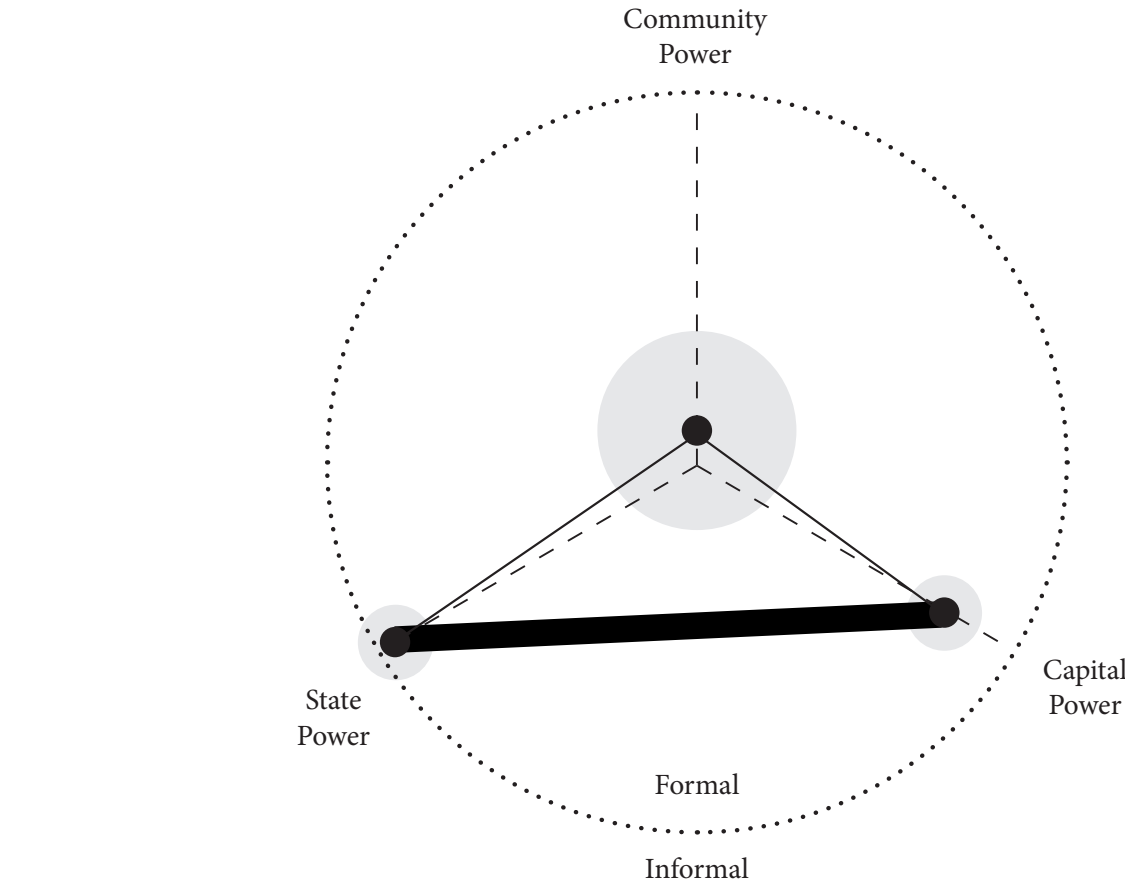
KEY AGENTS

- 1. Rural / Women Development Societies
- 2. People's Alliance for Right to Land
- 3. Law & Society Trust
- 4. Local Vendors and Entrepreneurs
- 5. Religious Institutions
- 6. Womens Action Network (WAN)
- 7. The families of Sri Lanka’s ‘disappeared
- 8. Northern Province Fisher People’s Alliance
- 9. Community based organizations (CBOs), such as Farmer Organizations, Fishermen Cooperative Societies, Women Rural Development Societies, Community Centres and Self Help Groups

- 1. Sri Lankan State Government
- 2. Ministry of Wild Life
- 3. Ministry of Environment
- 4. Ministry of Local Governments
- 5. Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure
- 6. Sri Lanka Army
- 7. Sri Lankan Navy
- 8. Nation Physical Planning Department
- 9. Urban Development Agency
- 10. Northern Provincial Council
- 11. Eastern Province Council
- 12. Local Authorities (Urban, Municipal and Rural Councils)

- 1. Chinese Government
- 2. Indian Government
- 3. US¹ Government
- 4. Tourism Companies
- 5. Chinese Developers
- 6. Foreign Trade Networks

FORMAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK



DIASPORA

The diaspora population is larger than Tamil population in the North-East. This is mainly due to massive portion of the population seeking refuge during the height of the armed conflict.

The diaspora population had played a significant role in the discourse of self-determination and justice for Eelam Tamils in North-East. During the armed conflict, diaspora was integral in the funding efforts and accountability processes for the armed struggle toward Tamil nation liberation. However due to the increasing criminalization of the struggle, the unity of the diaspora is at great danger. And, the diaspora seeks prosperity in their new claimed homes, they continue to grow distant from the struggle o Eelam Tamil liberation and self-determination. Today, the diaspora can have significant influence on policy reform and nation-states to take action on the humanitarian crisis in the North-East and work toward holding the Sri Lankan State accountable for war crimes and genocide.

Fig. 90 Green Left: *Tamil Diaspora Protest*



POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

The political ideology concerns with the idea of Tamil Nation-hood and self-determination. This ideology predates the struggle in the North-East through the struggle for Tamils in Tamil Nadu, India. Where scholars and thinkers developed ideas to promote national consciousness and highlight the importance of Tamil self-determination. These ideas, were then recycled and used by political organizations and youth in the North-East when the struggle for Tamil nation hood also arose to the surface. Being an ideology, it would in-fact express the

most interest in seeking justice and self-determination for Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka.

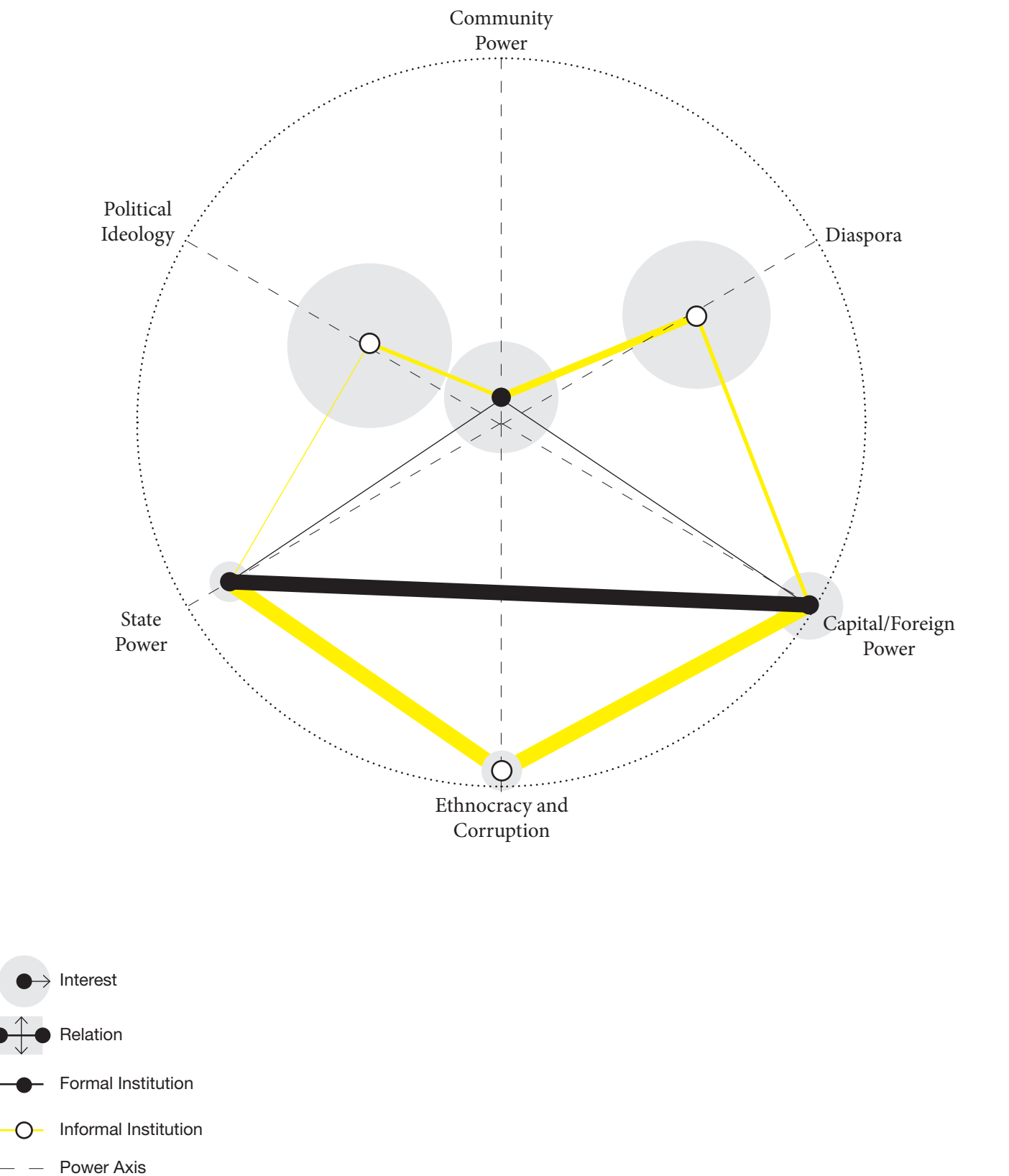
ETHNOCRACY & CORRUPTION

Since the Independence from colonial rule, the ethnic tensions on the island slowly grew due to imposed upon nation state framework that disproportionately affected the Tamils on the island. This was mainly due to th large transfer of power given to the Sinhalese from the British upon Independence. Overtime, anti-Tamil and Sinhala Buddhist Chauvinism became to pollute those in elite power circles which steered the political consciousness toward an ethnocratic corrupt state. The corruption of the state, like many states, can be attributed to neoliberalist expansionist ideologies that place the economic and individuals power over the population demands and urgent environmental needs. Mo rover, this corruption is also led by foreign interest on the island, as a strategically positioned state for trade and communication, foreign power attempts to use it capital position such as China, United States and India to steer the development of the island in the favor of economic gain and defense tactics.

Fig. 91 Research Leap: *Sri Lankan and Chinese Officials collaborate on large development in Sri Lanka*



INFORMAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK



~~VISION~~ PROVOCATIONS ON ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Scenario Definition
Status Quo
Share Sovereignty
Tamil Eelam

SCENARIO CONSTRUCTION

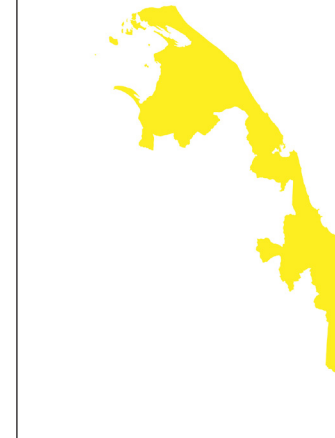
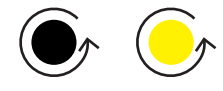
Rather than using the traditional method of forecasting a vision toward the future. This chapter aims to define three spatial-political futures of the island, and how to simulate the transition toward self-determination, self-sufficiency and self-development of Eelam Tamils in the North-East.

The purpose of the three scenarios is to recognize how governance becomes a driver of space. In this sense, three political ideologies are defined that reflect the realities and perspectives toward the future. This will be a way to access the various pathways on its implications on the degree of spatial and procedural reform. Additionally, it is way to acknowledge complexity, that there is not one pathway forward, but to move forward to understand the various pathway's potentials and challenges under different political contexts.

Although each spatial provocation would aim toward a similar desired future, each pathway would demand a different avenues of change. Thus the actions toward change would vary due to limitations and conditions of each scenario. This means that each pathways would have a different rate of change toward the same future.

The spatial provocation aims to speculate and explore how the region of the North-East can transition toward the desired future in which the impact of spatial transformation varies from being limited in the status quo pathway to possibilities being limitless in the Tamil Eelam scenario.

CONDITIONS OF SPATIAL PROVOCATIONS

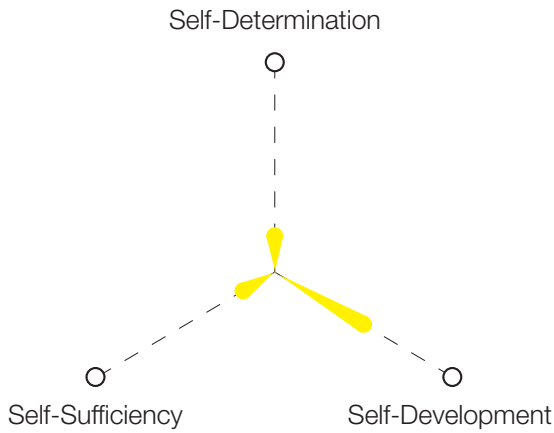
Scenario	<u>Status-Quo</u>	<u>Shared Sovereignty</u>	<u>Tamil Eelam</u>
Spatial Future			
Operation	Business as Usual $\frac{A > B}{C}$	One Nation, Two Systems $\frac{A}{D} \quad \& \quad \frac{B}{D}$ $\frac{\hspace{1.5cm}}{C}$	Autarky, Separate State $\frac{A}{D} \quad \& \quad \frac{B}{D}$
Desired 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-Led Action	 Systems and Economies of Sharing + Independent Conditions and Peoples	 Complete Separation, Political, Spatial, Procedural and Cultural Self-Determination,
Progress	Incremental & Slow	Moderate	Intense & Fast

The transformation of the region would be accelerated by a series of microcosms that strengthen the region from the bottom-up. This would that the type of innovations and interventions demand the most innovative and outside-the-box-thinking.

New type of governance, collaboration and coalitions would be formed to creatively coordinate between actors to unlock conditions toward self-determination and address the pressing needs of the North-East.

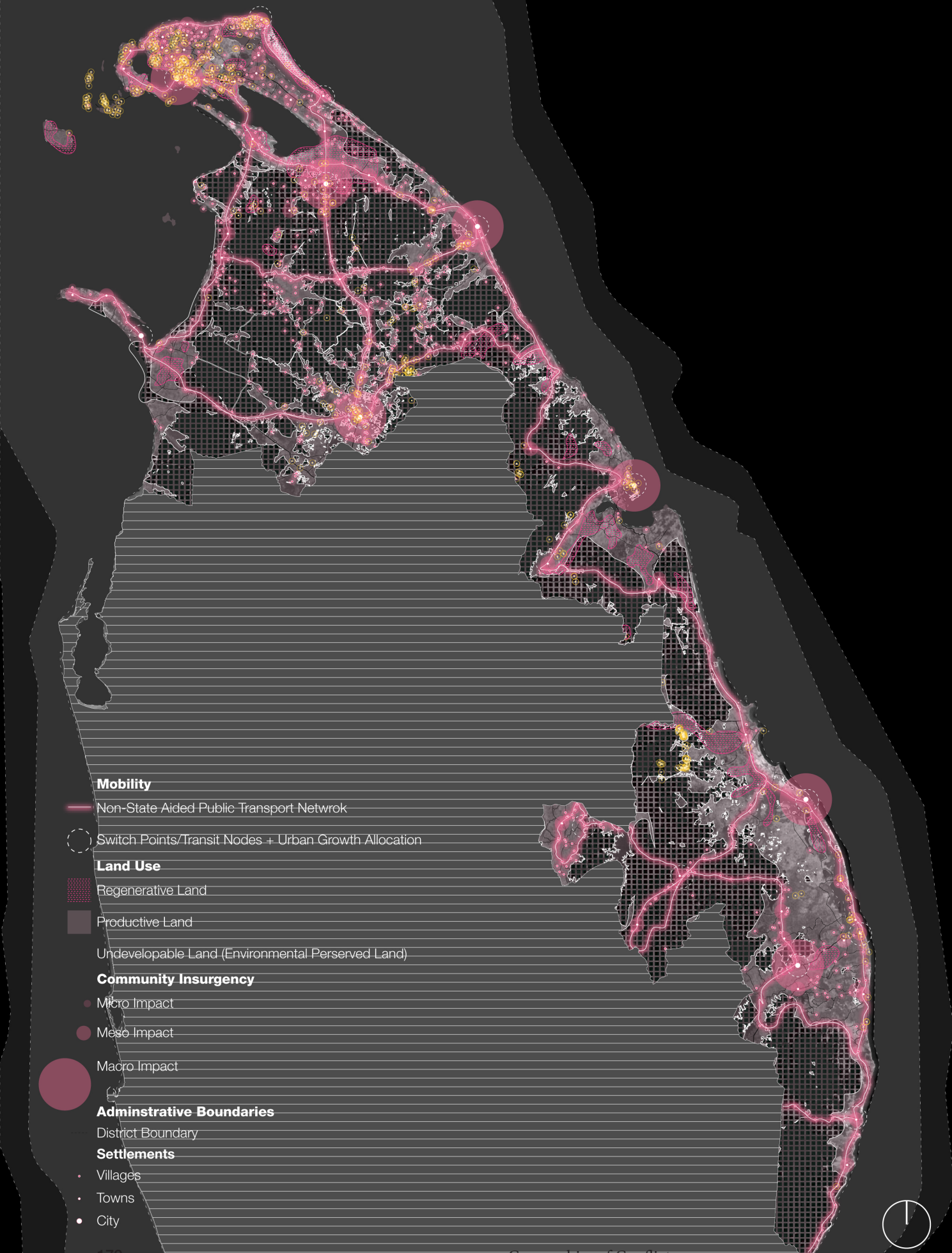
This change begins where the people are, the capacity to change is with the people which can be achieved through the deployment and activation of insurgent counter-practices that would hack the current oppressive system.

This departs from leveraging existing initiatives and exploring innovative ways on how they can accelerate change. This scenario revolve around transforming existing places of worship as platforms to offer service and get the community off the ground toward prosperity. Moreover, it involves the regeneration of currently deemed vulnerable land toward directly servicing impoverished groups through water sensitive agro-ecology and renewable energy production. And, the development of an insurgent community led public transport network that enables connectivity across the region without depending on the current state regime.



Scenario	Status-Quo
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
Progress	Incremental & Slow

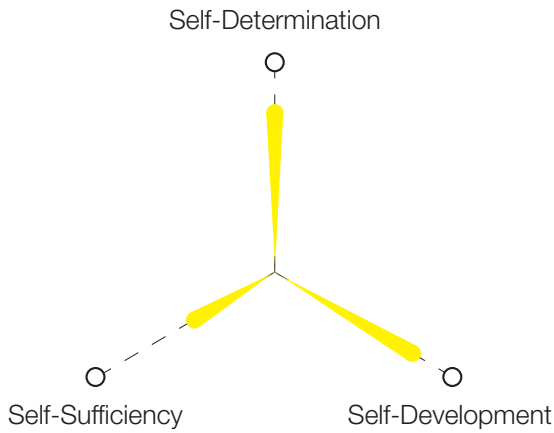
Fig. 92 Author: Mapping of Spatial Provocation Status Quo



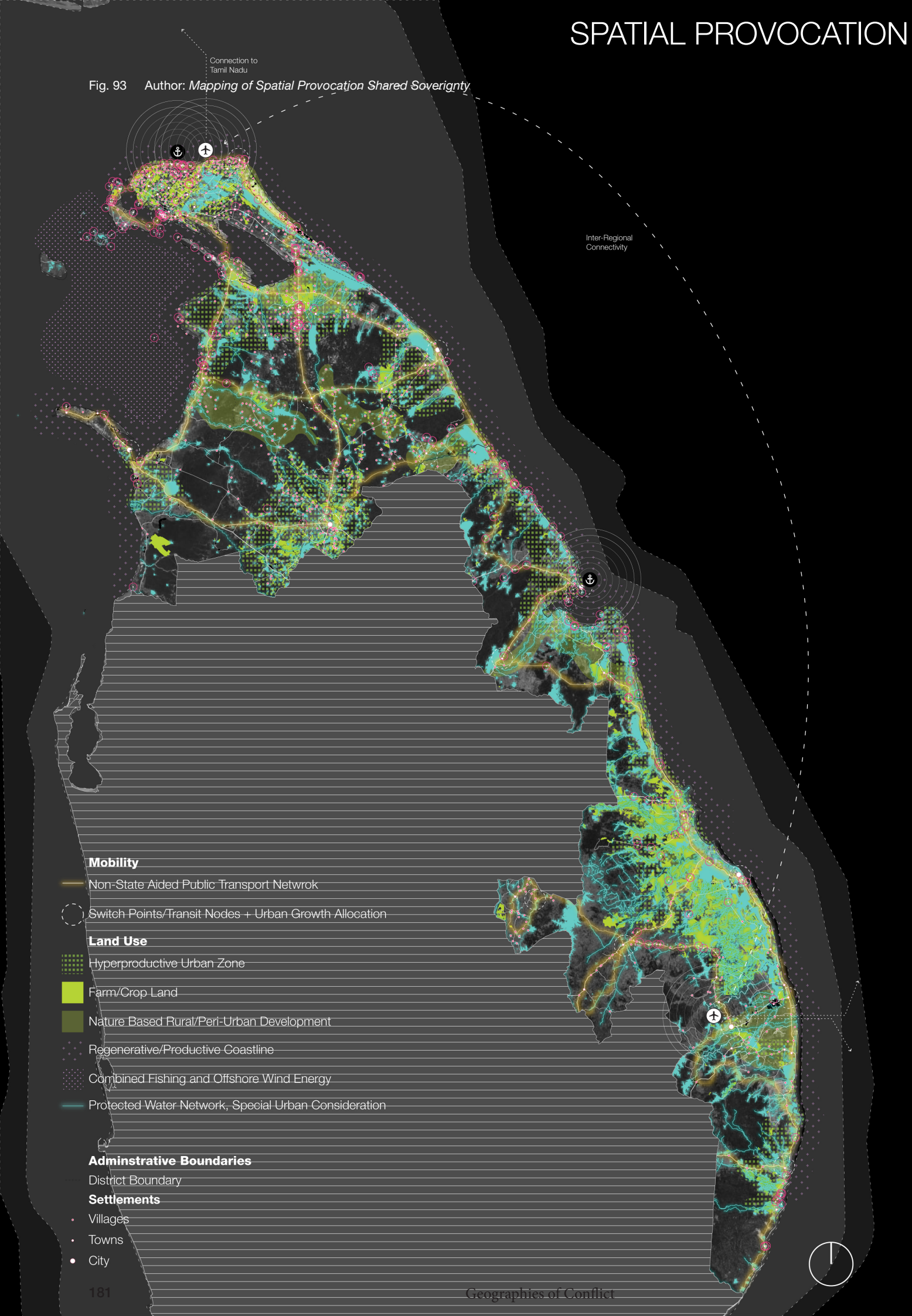
The transformation of the region would be accelerated by a combination of revitalization and the regeneration of the regions living environments and ecosystems. The transformation would largely revolve around demilitarization of previously state occupied land toward various avenues of giving back to the communities that have suffered the limitations and oppression of military occupation. This would involve various transformative strategies such as introducing social welfare programs, improving access to health care and education, developing space to promote small scale economies and energize entrepreneurial culture, as well as returning land to original inhabitants to seek once had livelihoods and homes. Moreover the transformation of existing mobility infrastructure such as airports and ports to promote inter-regional connectivity and activate international travel directly from the North-East.

A productive network would be established to coordinate efforts toward promoting the localization of economies such as food and renewable energy production as well as initial inter-regional trade networks. These productive hubs and networks would operate in close proximity to denser urban environments, and productive clusters would be formulated in rural areas to stimulate collaboration. Ultimately the productive network would catalyze economic growth, socioeconomic welfare and strengthen resilient capacity of communities.

Given the conditions of the scenario, large development and infrastructure projects would be limited due to the sharing of systems such as road, rail and energy networks.



Scenario	Shared Sovereignty
Spatial Future	
Operation	One Nation, Two Systems $\frac{A}{D} \quad \& \quad \frac{B}{D}$ 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



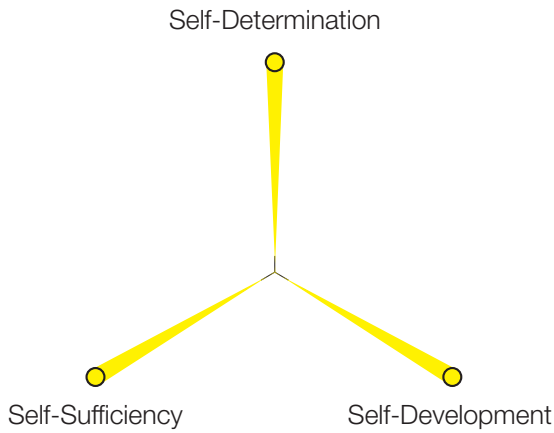
To accelerate transformation in this scenario, there would be a need for large scale revitalization of the region, and focus on revamping the entire the region toward full self-sufficiency, determination and development of the land, and the people of the North-East.

This would involved initiating a regional network to support the production renewable energy and food, adaptation to climate risk, ensuring access to basic services, and stimulating local economies as well as strengthen mobility to connect everyone to anywhere, to ultimately ensure the North-East can sustain its own population and growth.

A productive network would be developed in combination with ensuring the regeneration environmental ecosystems. In doing, production would be intensified along a mobility corridor that would streamline production distribution of renewable energy and facilitate a large portion of the demanded food. Urban and Peri-urban areas would have productive buffer where diverse production of crops and renewable energy would be produced.

In order to reduce the mobility of goods and people, and emission of energy. Localization of production and consumption cycles would be deployed across major urban nodes as well clusters of rural and Peri-urban nodes. This localization would also ensure the access to basic services, healthcare and education to strengthen self-development capacity of the population.

And finally, a natured based canal would be created along the inner border of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka to help mitigate water-related risk and ensure a distinct separation of land.



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

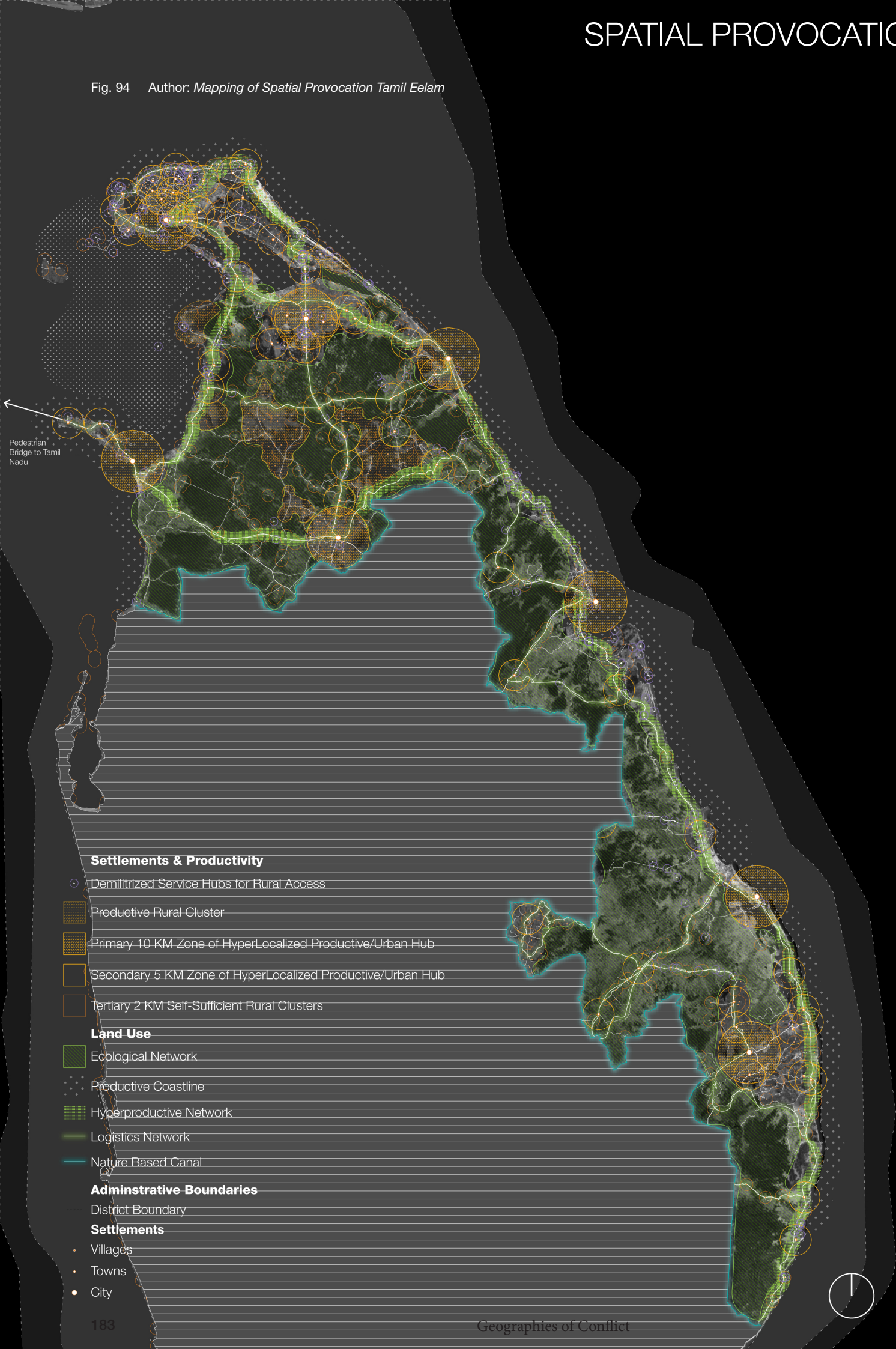


Fig. 94 Author: Mapping of Spatial Provocation Tamil Eelam

POLITICIZE

186
204

Pathways to Change
Generators of Change

PATHWAYS TO CHANGE

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

Defining the Pathway
Operationalizing Change
Accelerating Change
Conclusions

THE TRANSITION CURVE

The definition of the transition curve depicts the rate of change toward the given desired future within each scenario. The desired future in this case is toward liberation, self-determination and spatial justice in the Sri Lanka's North-East. Its important that it suggests going towards rather the future itself, this is important to understand due to the varying political realities each pathway to change operate under.

The vertical axis defines the level of change and impact created over the horizontal axis of time. As previously described in the spatial provocations, each are defined by specific political conditions, for example in S1 (status quo) the political reality toward this desired future would be oppressive and highly difficult to implement large scale interventions.

Given the specific conditions of each scenario, there are limitations to the rate of change and thus limitations on the pathway's trajectory toward the desired future of self-determination in the North-East.

Therefore the pathways toward change recognize the varying complexities posed by each scenario and acknowledges the limitations of change.

S1 or the Status Quo Scenario would experience low and slow incremental change until there is substantial activity toward the possibility of intensifying change.

S2 or Shared Sovereignty scenario would have considerate higher rate of change than the latter scenario but also experience a degree of limitations due to dependencies on specific systems. Thus, the rate of change is moderate and abstracted as a steady rate of change.

S3 or the Tamil Eelam scenario would be the best case scenario which involves the full obtainment capacity toward self-determination, self-development and self-sufficiency. The rate of change experiences rapid growth the beginning where all things would be possible and slowly phase into a steady pathway of growth toward the desired future.

The definition of the three pathways of change is characterized and limited by the conditions of each scenario which is crucial to acknowledge in the realization process toward change.

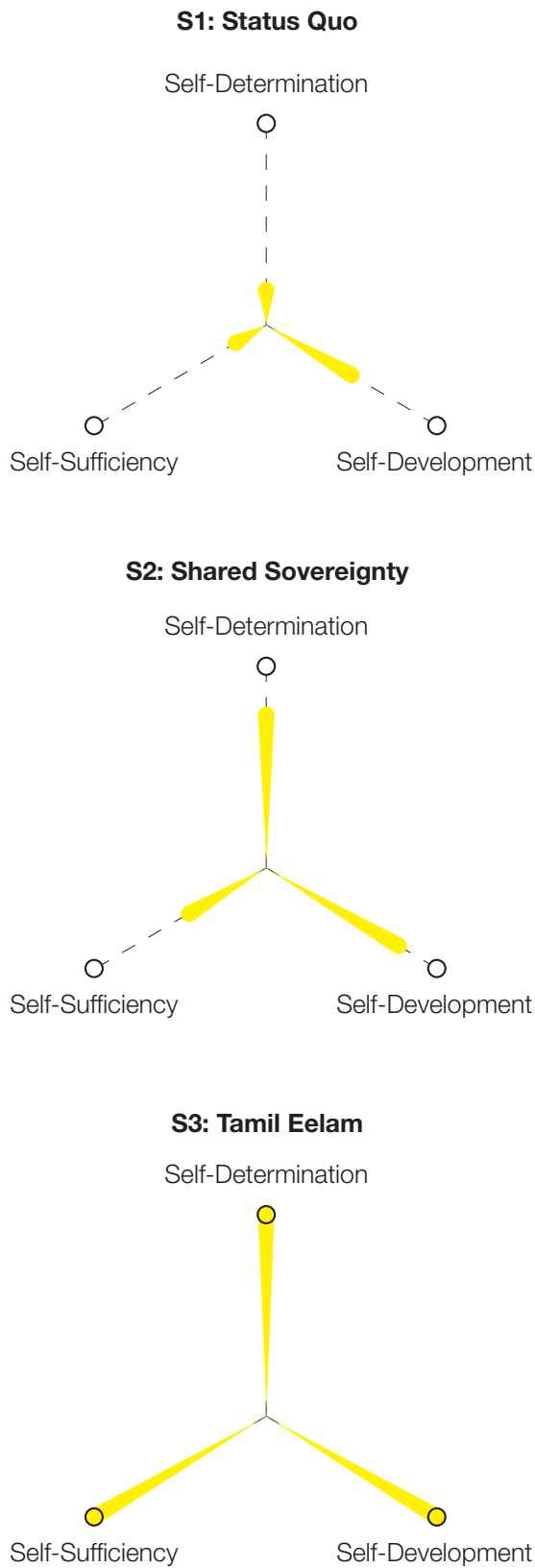
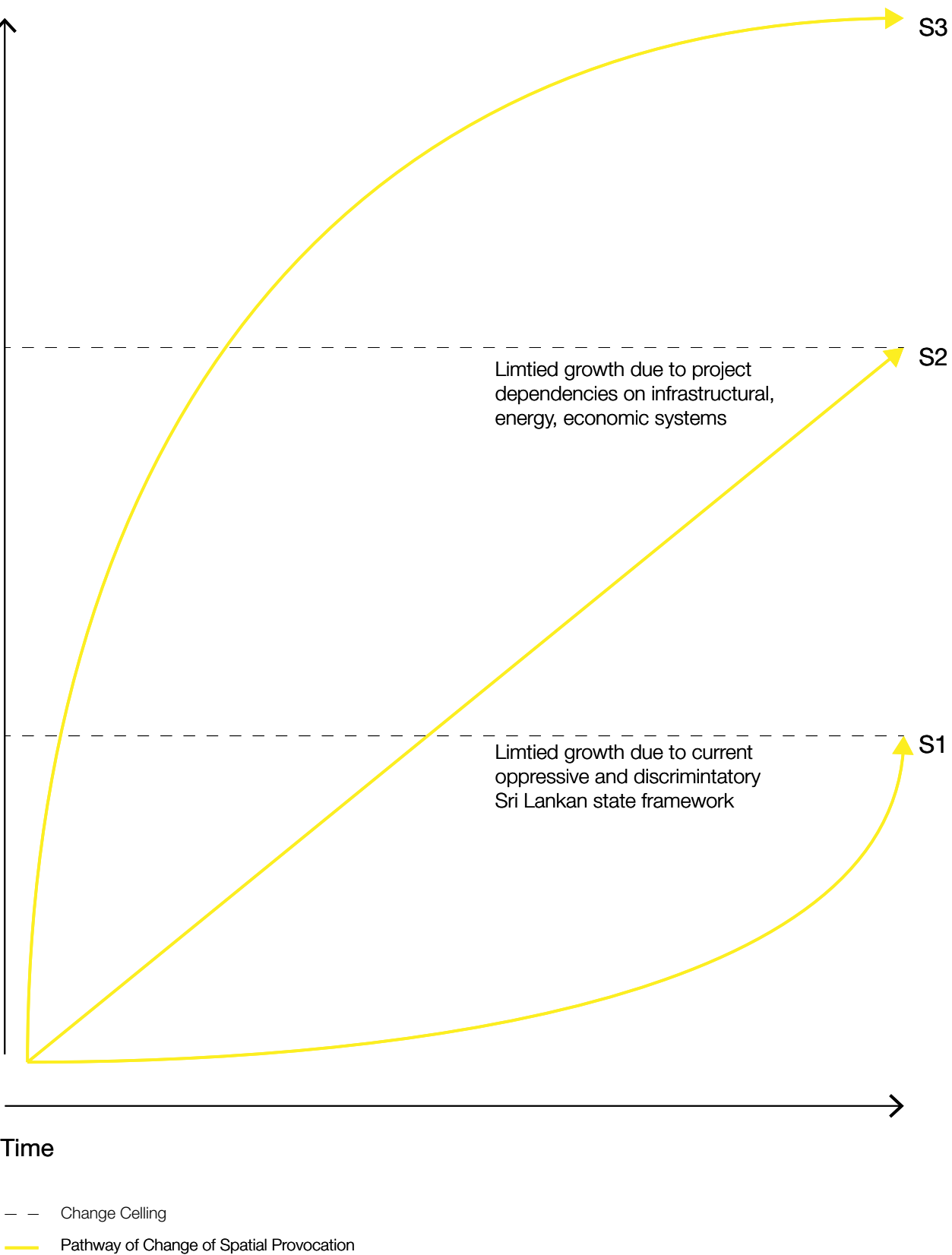


Fig. 95 Author: Pathways of Change Graph

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



FOUR STEPS OF TRANSITION

Defining the steps for transition involves four distinct steps toward the phasing the transition in a feasible way. The fours steps would involve acceleration, scaling uo, systemization and monitoring. Each step plays a crucial part in the realization toward transformative impact, and toward the desired future.

STEP 1: ACCELERATION

The first step of this transition involves the acceleration of the pathway toward change. The acceleration would be defined by a selection of activator projects that are situated in highly critical areas. By accelerating change in these areas, would ensure the high magnitude of impact and act as an exemplar for the potential transferability across the region.

STEP 2: SCALING UP

After the acceleration process, there would be an opportunity to scale up the impact of this transition and transfer methods, lessons learned and resources to increase the rate of change within each scenario. The scaling up phases would be crucial because it would gather the needed energy and strength to make a case toward systematizing the transition.

STEP 3: SYSTEMIZATION

The systemization for this transition would imply the development of a framework that would allow steady and sustain growth. It would also mean there would be a method that could potentially replicated and used to create feedback loops toward improving the potential shortcomings during the transition

STEP 4: MONITORING

The monitoring phases would be crucial as the last phases because it would contribute to sustained operation of the region and ensure that growth can continue to occur. Also, it would be important that transition continues along the pathway steadily and any unforeseen circumstance could be mitigated and adapted to. The monitoring phases also acts as an opportunity for reflection and seek for ways to improve the process for future development.

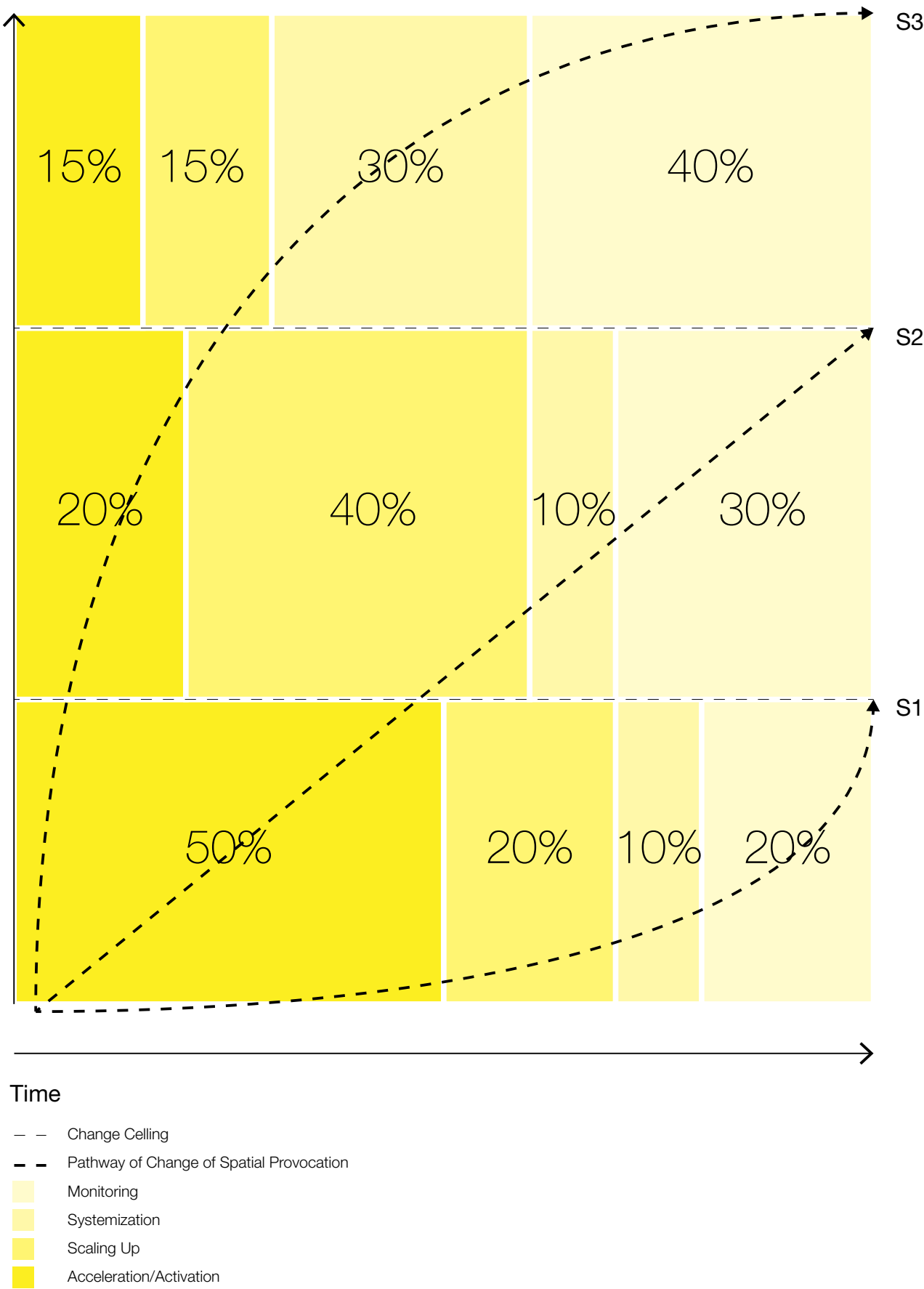
CONTEXTUALIZING THE STEPS

Given political realities and limitations on growth within each scenario implies the possibility, impact and relevance of each step of the transition. As expressed in the diagram, the steps are defined through percentages of importance or ratios to show how much investment and impact each step would have given the limitations of each scenario. For instance, acceleration would be most relevant and impactful in the first pathway due to harsh oppressive realities in which the intensity of smaller projects could shift once there is enough gathered activity from the acceleration of many microcosms of energy.

On the other hand, monitoring and systemization would be crucial in sustaining the effort and rapid change in the third scenario. The large percentages of these steps stem from the vast ability to change, given the permissive conditions of this scenario

The ration of each step within the pathway of change acknowledges the limitations of each scenario where certain steps would be more crucial to invest in than others.

Fig. 96 Author: *Defining Steps Toward Change*



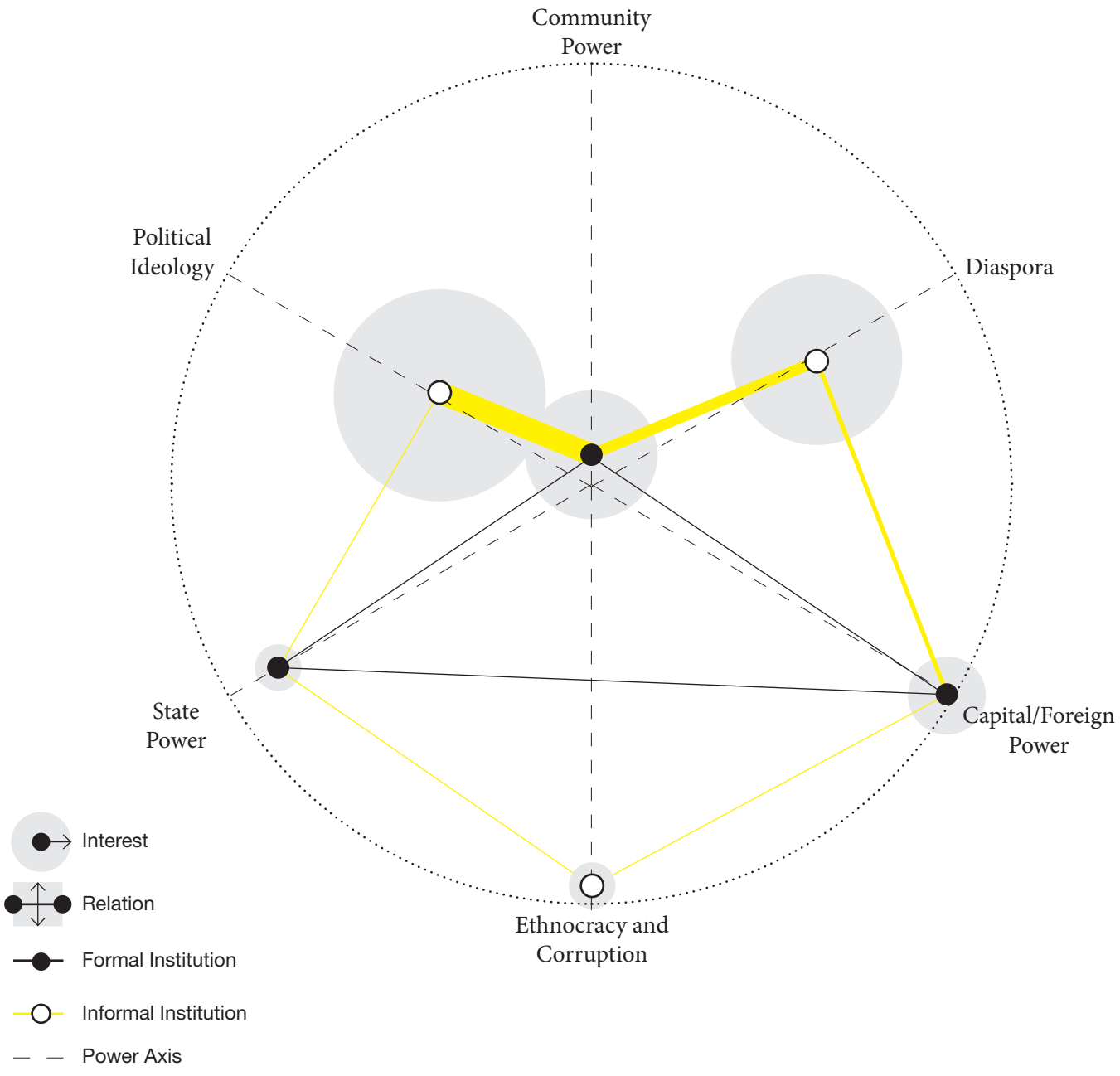
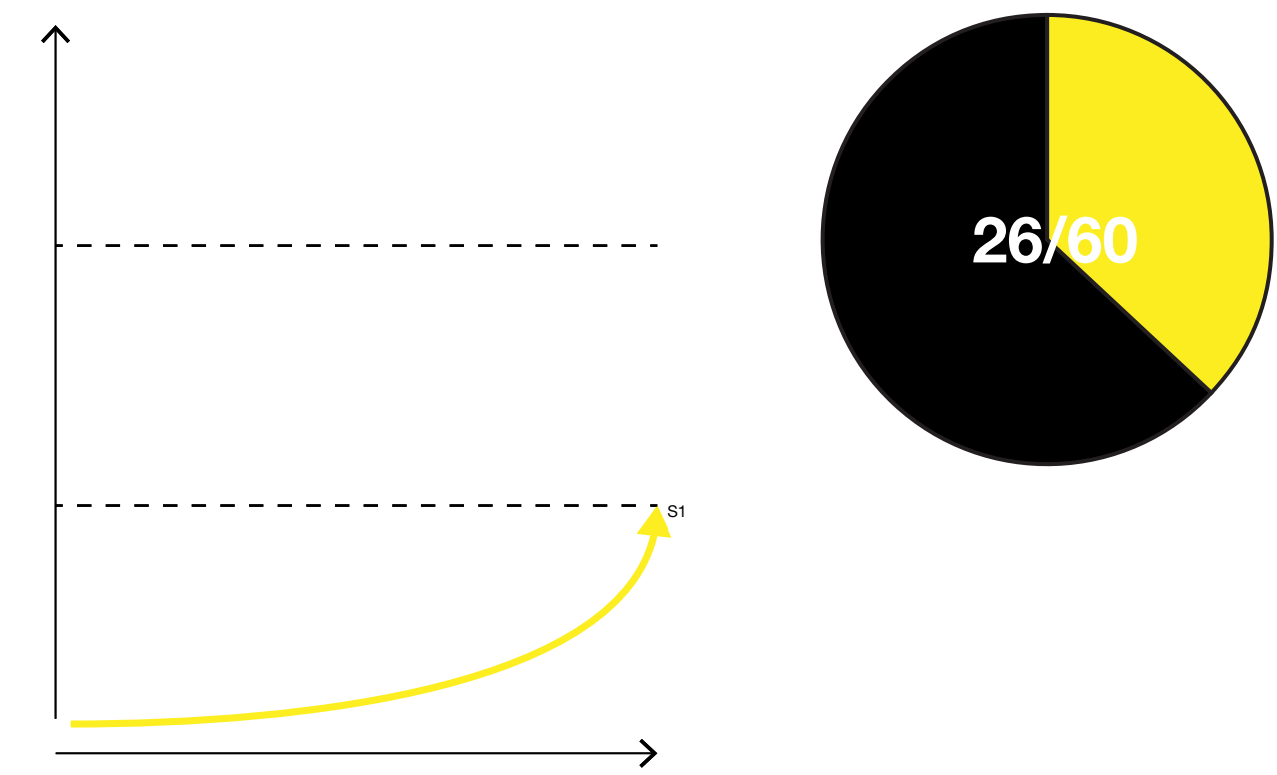
S1: STATUS QUO

The limitation of growth is high in this scenario due to the oppressive systemic conditions that populations face in the North-East. Therefore, the rate of change is incremental and would slowly gain momentum over time. Operationalizing change would demand alternative ways of collaboration and thinking, to operate outside the state framework and require locally engage actions. Moreover temporary coalitions would be need to created to circumvent neglect from state officials and formal institutions who would not carry the best interest of marginalized Eelam Tamils in the North-East.

POSSIBLE PROCEDURAL REFORM

Given the political and limitations on social mobilization in the North-East, there is significant limitation on procedural reform. However based on the diversity of the procedural actions defined, twenty-six possible actions can be carried out that would mainly rely on alternative forms of governance, engagement and collaboration as well investment. Thus, there is a possibility to invoke real change given the hardships and limitation posed by the realities of today.

Fig. 97 Author: Provocation One Pathway to Change



INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK (THE RULE OF LAW)

The insitutional framework in this case places significant importance of community led action. The communities themselves are both most vulnerable but are the only agents of change within their environment given the degree of continuous state aid negelct. The capacity of the community could be strengthened with possible financial support from diaspora, as well as unification of the network could help processes of recognition and justice on the global stage. In this scenario, the state, capital and corruption would continue to exert dominance in which large scale reform would not be possible.

POSSIBLE METHODS / TOOLS FOR COLLABORATION

1. Temporary Coalitions
2. Leveraging existing initiatives
3. Working within safe spaces in community
4. Capacity building
5. Fundraising
6. Trade schemes with allied networks
7. Knowledge exchange
8. Protests, and rallies
9. Mobilization of communities
10. Collaboration with diaspora

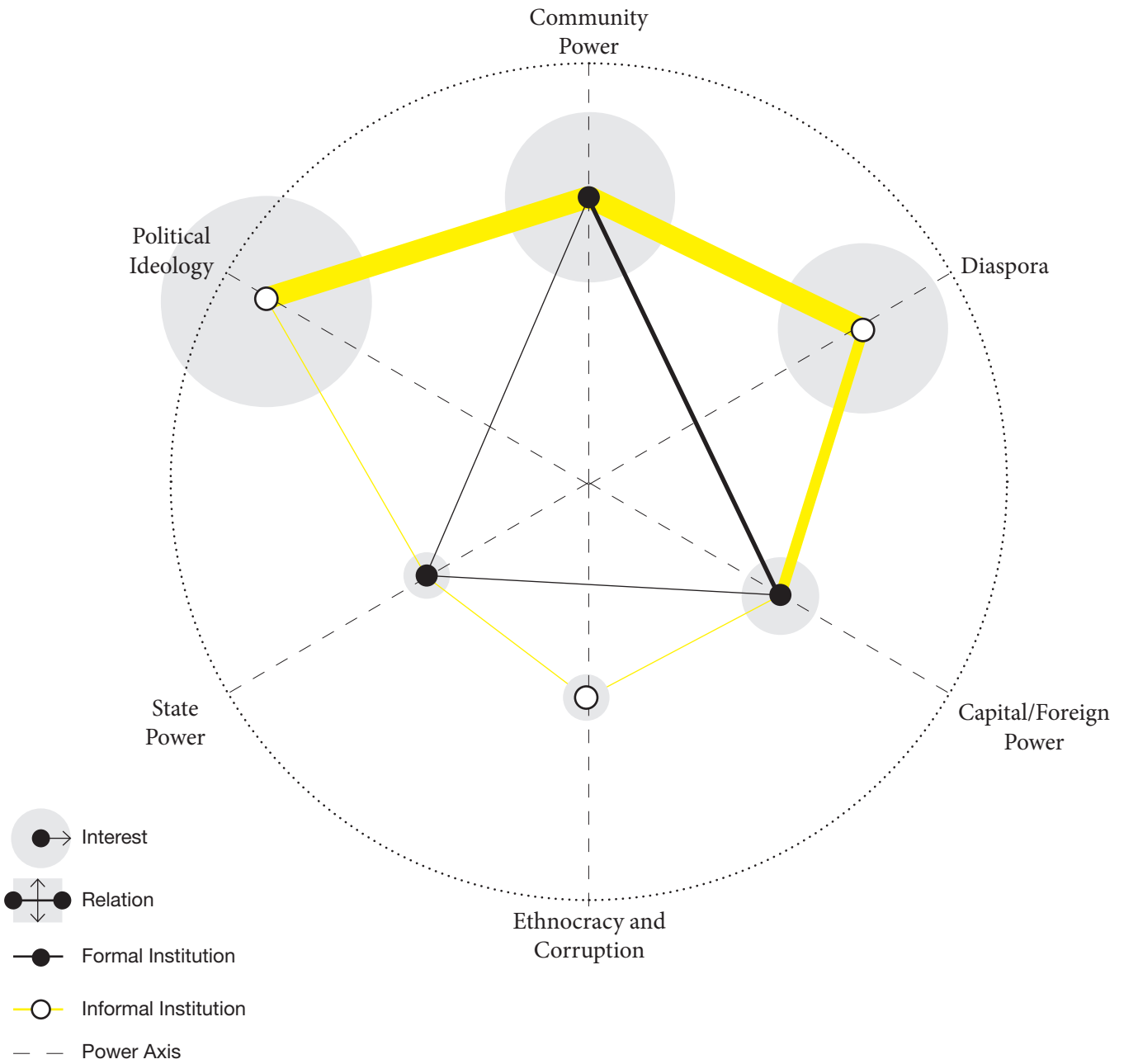
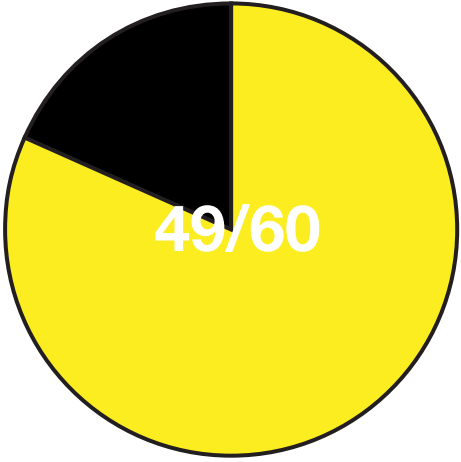
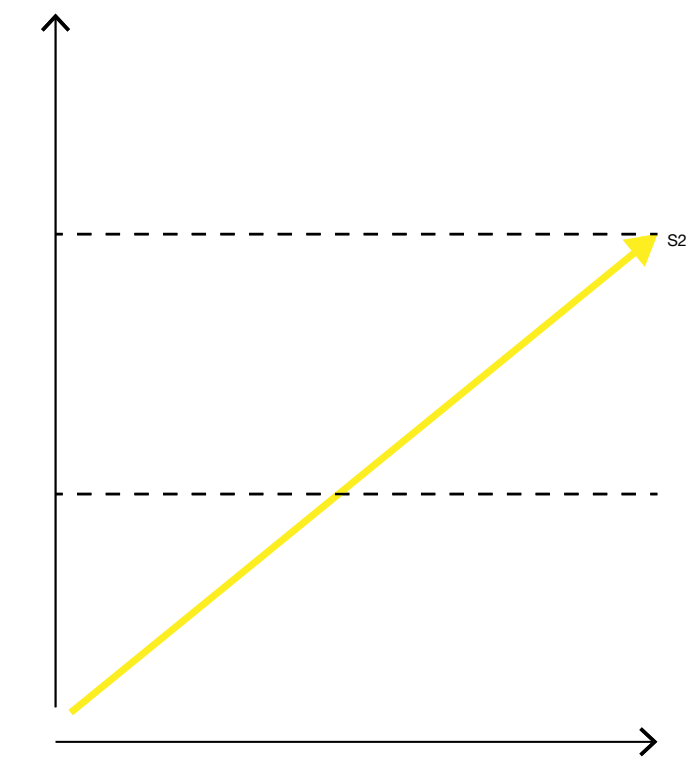
S2: SHARED SOVEREIGNTY

Share sovereignty would combined dependencies and independence with existing systems. This would increase magnitude of change but also have its limitations due to given dependencies on systems such energy and transport infrastructure. Thus the rate of change would be moderate. Operationalizing change would involve procedural reform and ability to autonomously manage land use, distribution of services and promote alternative methods localizing production and consumption and reduce reliance on the shared system

POSSIBLE PROCEDURAL REFORM

There would be significant amount of procedural reform, given the level of shared and independent systems. This procedural actions carried out could catalyze socioeconomic prosperity, social infrastructure development and territorial independence. However, due to the limitations posed by the reliance on major infrastructural systems, some aspects cannot change and rely on share resources and systems.

Fig. 98 Author: Provocation Two Pathway to Change



INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK (THE RULE OF LAW)

In this scenario, State, Capital and Corruption powers reduce significantly. The relation between them and Community, Diaspora and Political ideologies begin to diffuse due increased ability to self-determine. The Community power would grow significantly and diaspora could potentially strengthen relation with community and offer more direct support. In doing so, the political ideology would be criminalized and grow in interest and have stronger relation to community as they can feel safer believe in self-determination and spatial justice.

POSSIBLE METHODS / TOOLS FOR COLLABORATION

1. Land commission
2. Community societies
3. Cross-cutting coalitions
4. Community based regionalism
5. Equitable financial distribution
6. Inclusive decision making
7. Decentralized decision making
8. Human rights council, direct engagement with global agencies

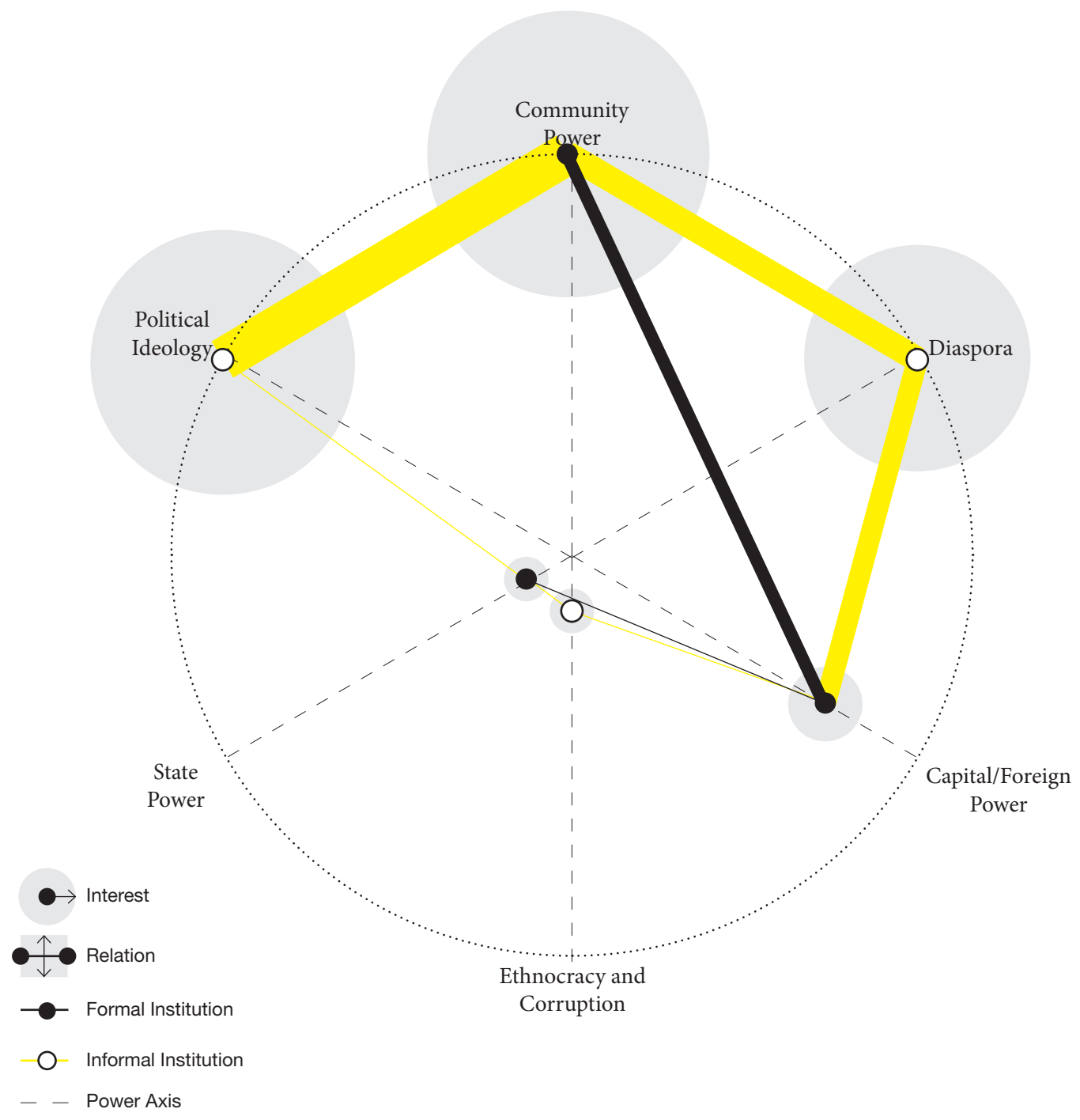
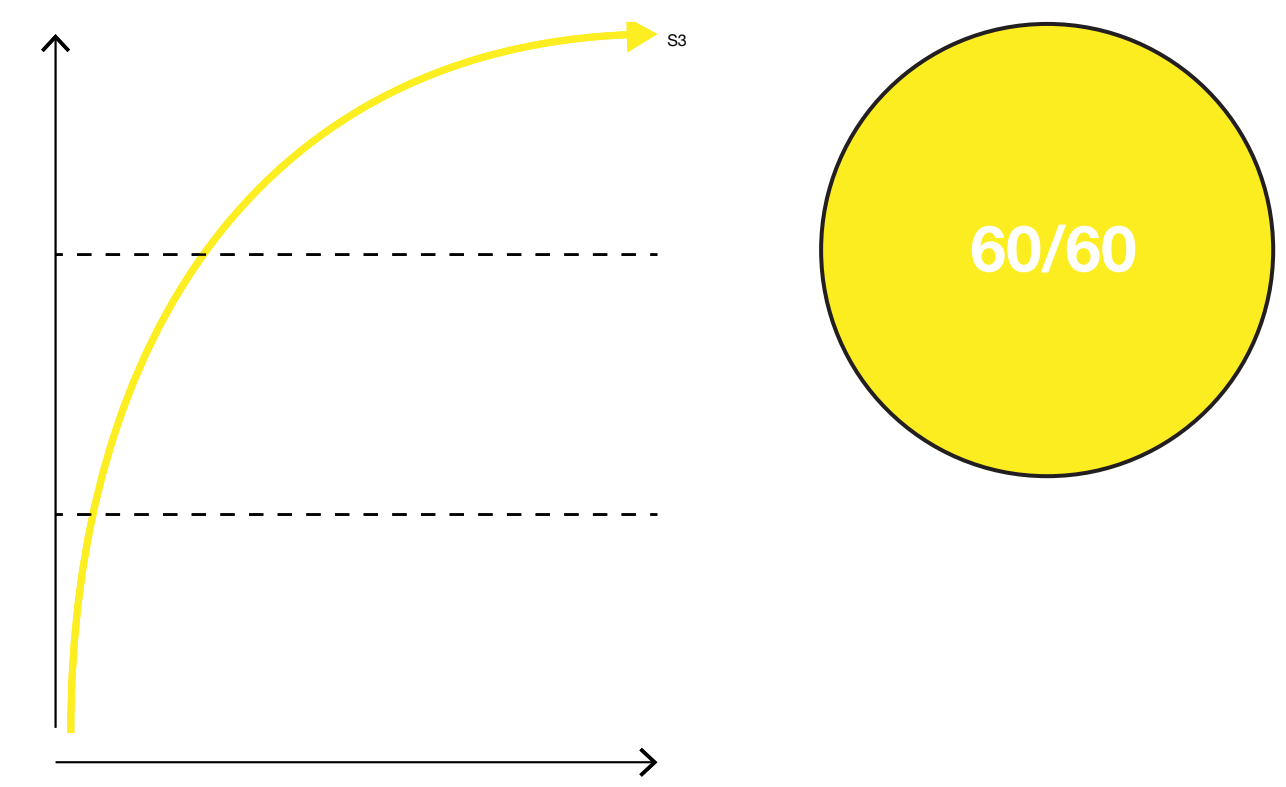
S3: TAMIL EELAM

An independent state is established and complete autarky is achieved. Self-determination, self-sufficiency and self-development can be achieve without any limitations. The population of Tamil Eelam is liberated, and the rate of change is intense and rapid. However, with this transition, there is an urgent demand to find ways to sustain the region's environment and population. Operationalizing change would be see the least amount of obstacles but demands inclusive and equitable approach to ensure building back stronger and better.

POSSIBLE PROCEDURAL REFORM

In this scenario, complete procedural reform is possible. The ideal case would allow the rapid growth of the region toward the desired future however, new systems would be required to be in place to facilitate the intense growth in responsible, sustainable and contextualized way. It would also be important to firstly build capacity to sustain and facilitate change across the region.

Fig. 99 Author: Provocation Three Pathway to Change



INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK (THE RULE OF LAW)

In this scenario, State, Capital and Corruption powers lose all power given the status of separate states. The power of community is core the development and prosperity of the region where relations internally and externally can be made freely. In this case, the political ideology is at full potential and the diaspora can build more strength with homeland. Since the current state would cease to exist, a new state would be defined would have a stronger relation to Community power. The Community also can create new relations with foreign power and capital that benefits their overall economic competitiveness and capacity.

POSSIBLE METHODS / TOOLS FOR COLLABORATION

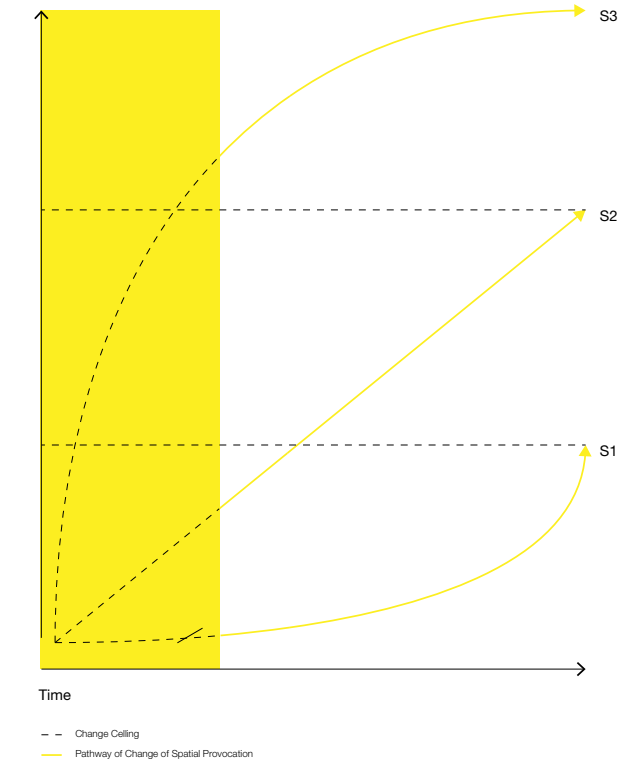
1. Community based regionalism
2. Socialist Governance
3. Coalition building
4. Knowledge exchange
5. Capacity building of public and private
6. Capacity building of community
7. Land return system
8. International coalitions
9. Strengthen ties with Tamil Nadu

ACCELERATING CHANGE VIA ACTIVATOR PROJECTS

The acceleration phase of this transition could be considered as one of the most important steps of any transition. But also, give an idea as to how the change could look like on a short term basis. The leading question is how, the pathway can be accelerated toward the project spatial provocation.

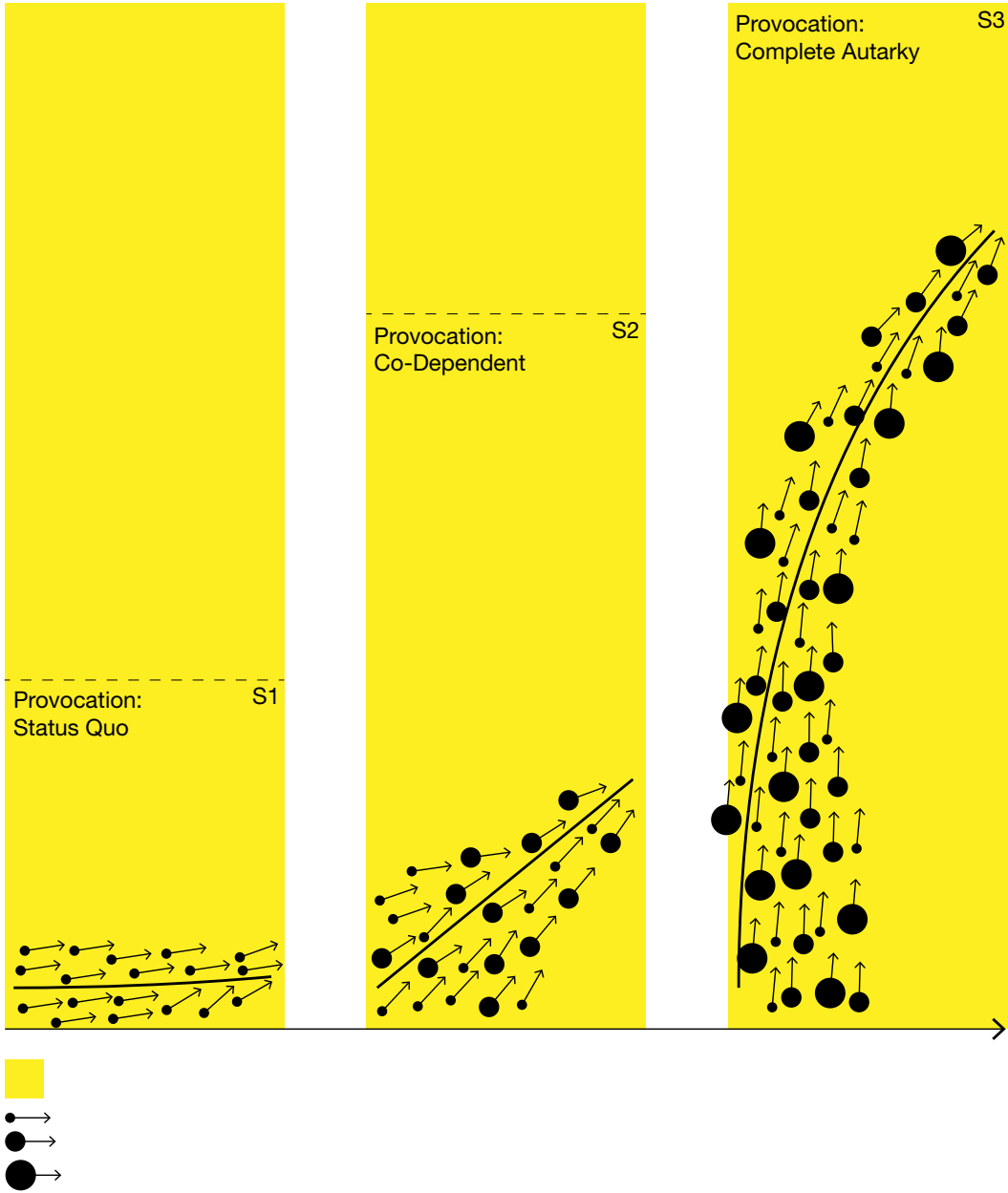
This would involve the development of activator projects that could activate the acceleration processes. The activator projects aims to stimulate innovative and alternative perspectives on unlocking conditions toward spatial justice within the respective in the reality. The rate of change and potential intensity of each project is limited by the conditions of the scenario but aims to explore ways to have the most transformative impact.

Fig. 100 Author: Accelerating per Pathway



How to accelerate pathway toward each projected spatial provocation?

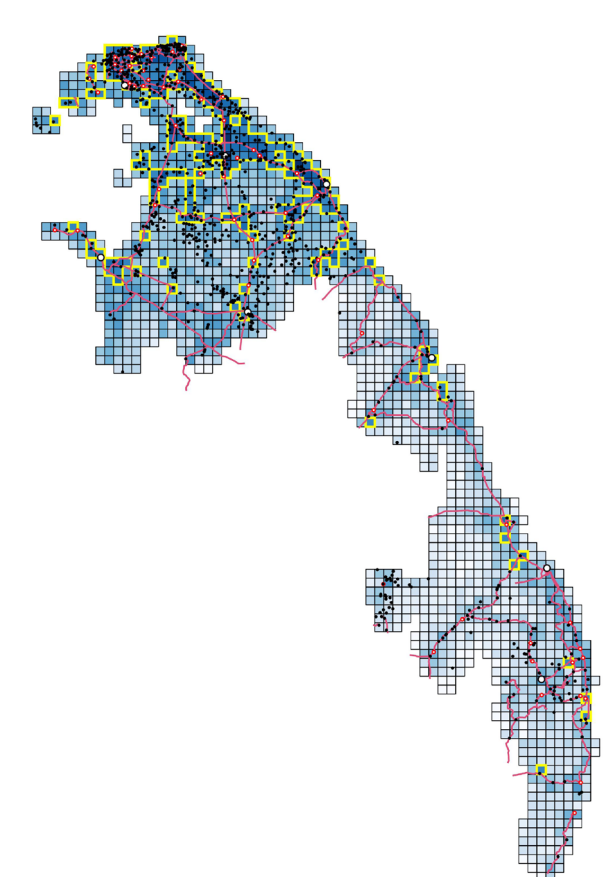
Fig. 101 Author: Activating Acceleration per Provocation Pathway



ACTIVATOR PROJECTS

Given the political conditions of each scenario, the acceleration of each project will vary significantly. This implies the level of importance of the activator projects due to the challenges posed by the scenario. The Status Quo scenario is heavily reliant on the success and magnitude of these projects and hopes to see a breaking point in which change can be scaled up and potentially fundamentally shift the oppressive realities toward the self-determination and liberation of the North-East. The two later scenarios would permit significantly large scale impact projects that could accelerate the transition at

significant faster pace than the first scenario. The activator projects do not act as exemplar projects, but aim to unlock conditions toward the desired future at the local scale which is contingent on the action of communities and local governments. In doing, the activator project aims to express how the transition can be manifested at the micro and meso scale and invoke tranformative impact across the varying spatial-political scenarios

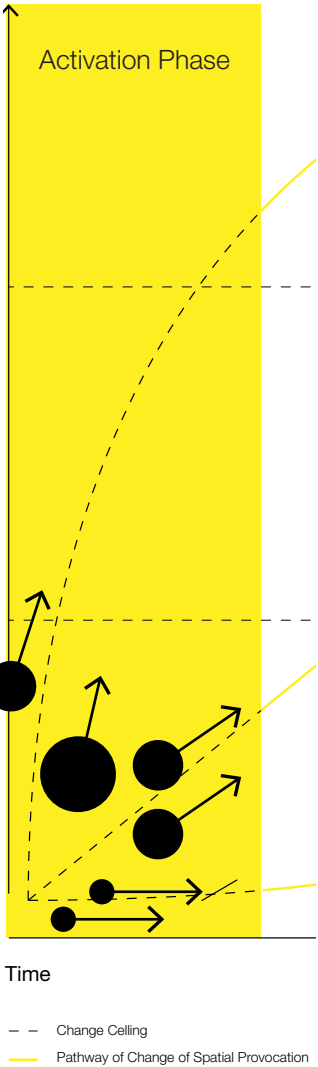
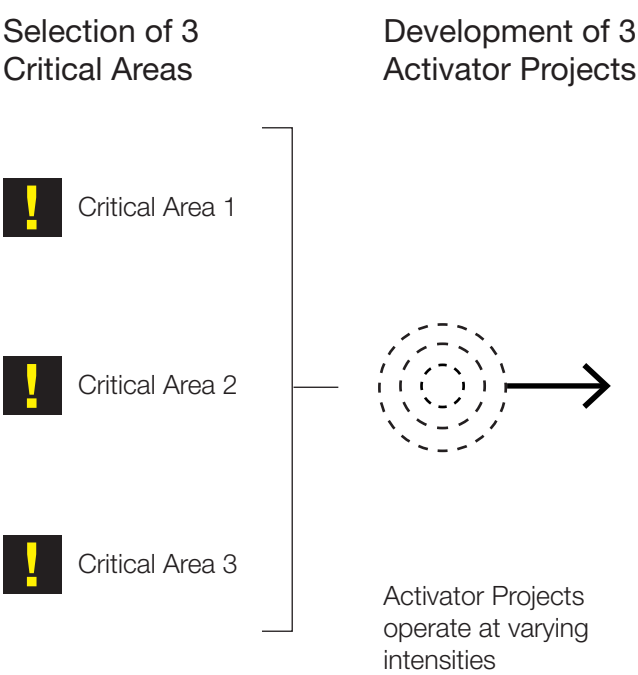


ACTIVATOR PROJECTS VIA CRITICAL AREAS

The degree of activation aims to channel through the critical areas that were previously defined via the spatial assessment. By seeking the possibilities through the critical areas, the impact of activation will be potentially greater due to the complex intersection of critical conditions. These conditions are a combination of indicators concerning the highest potential and vulnerability, thus demanding the most innovative and possibly alternative response while maintaining contextualized perspectives moving forward.

Ultimately the activator projects through the critical areas aims to explore how spatial planning and design can unlock conditions toward self-determination in a sustainable, just and contextualized way.

In doing so, six critical areas are selected across the region that represents the diverse socioeconomic, spatial and environmental condition of the region. This aims to accurately depict the diversity of the region and how various contexts can activated toward the desired future.



Provocation 1: Status-Quo

Provocation 2: Shared Sovereignty

Provocation 3: Tamil Eelam

1-1: Nallur Temple, Jaffna Critical Score



10

2-1: Killinochchi, Killinochchi



12

3-1: Valaichchenai, Batticaloa

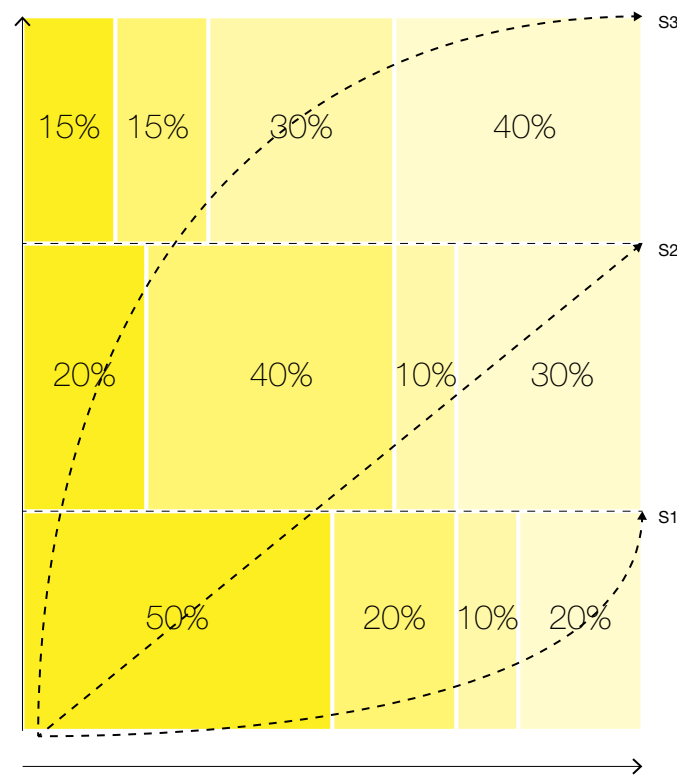


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PATHWAYS TOWARD SPATIAL JUSTICE

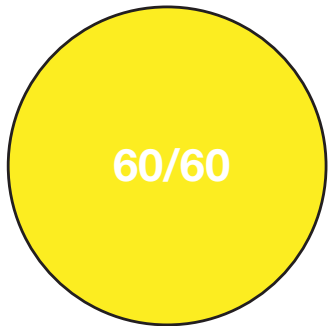
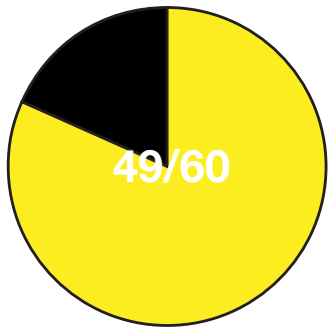
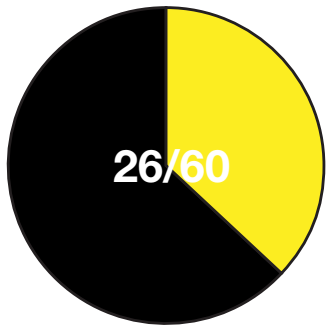
This enabled the exploration of various pathways toward change and broadened the creation of diverse perspectives using the provocative scenarios. It also enables the visualization and definition of possible steps toward change across three distinct political realities that surround the quest for justice in the North-East. The three scenarios also demonstrated the ceiling of potential or growth which strongly influenced the rate of change across the three respective pathways. To understand the process of change, four steps were defined; acceleration, scaling up, systemization and monitoring to ensure sustainable long term operation.

Due to differing conditions set by the political provocation, the ratio of intensity or importance of each phase/step altered. The ratios give an idea to how much investment and impact each step demands as well as demonstrate the limitations in other steps, this avoids the pitfalls of generic road-mapping and allows a more contextualized definition. The three pathways of change, aims to both project possible steps toward spatial justice and self-determination in the North-East while enabling diverse contextualized perspectives on the pathway toward change.



OPERATIONALIZING CHANGE

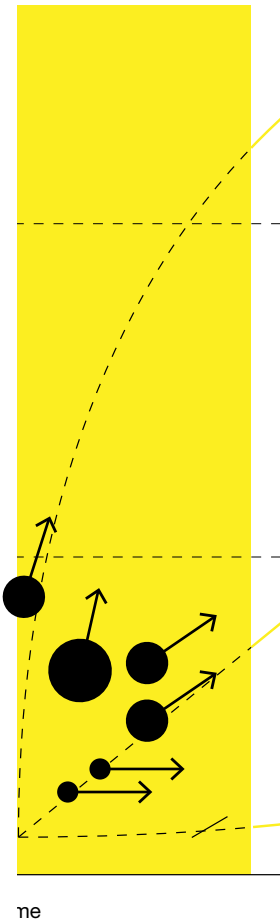
The procedural actions developed in the spatial justice toolkit were used to measure the possibility of operationalize change. However, its important to note that the lead political spatial ideology created limitation that restricted the possibility of procedural reform. In doing so, this recognizes the complexity and challenges of how a ideation and developing toward a desired future would potentially experience.



ACCELERATING THE TRANSITION

The leading question of this section, was to understand how to accelerate change in the transition toward spatial justice. The activator projects are defined to test and experiment the implication of the provocation at the meso and micro scale. To maximize the impact of acceleration, the critical areas are used to frame and position the activation project. The critical areas were used due to the potential complexity and demand for innovation at the convergence of challenges and opportunities respectively. In this way, the extent of impact of the activator projects was to not only accelerate change but to also be an exemplar of possible transferability across the region.

The development of each project is vital in the pursuit of spatial justice within this research project. They become the ultimate manifestation to envision transformative impact at the micro scale , and demonstrate how spatial planning and design can unlock conditions toward spatially-just, contextualized and sustainable transition in the North East.



1-1: Nallur Temple, Jaffna



2-1: Killinochchi, Killinochchi



3-1: Valaichchenai, Batticaloa



GENERATORS OF CHANGE

1.
2.
3.
- Networks of Care 1-1
- Demilitarized Futures 2-1
- Productive Network 3-1

NETWORKS OF CARE 1-1

SITE CONDITIONS

This critical area is situated in one of the densest urban populations in the North-East. The Jaffna city area is home to largely Tamil population as most are Hindu and Christians. It is also located at the northern tip of the entire island which makes it a strategic location nearby the sea, and is well connected to major mobility networks. The area also faces challenges of militarization and overall poor resilience to climate change impact.

Fig. 102 Google Earth: Surrounding Shops at Nallur Temple



Fig. 103

Google Earth: Residual Space at Nallur Temple



Fig. 104 Author: Activation One - Map of Opportunities



NETWORKS OF CARE

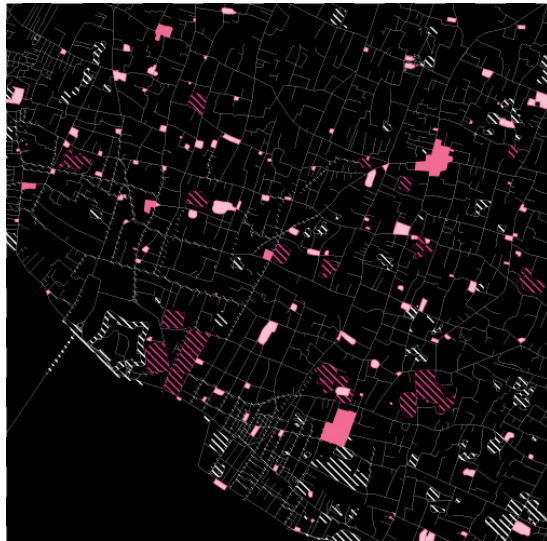
The activation of this cell concerns the intensification of existing significant sociocultural community spaces, in this case, places of worship and open air spaces. The intensification acts as a way stimulate services and strengthening local economic activity for community. This activated nodes aim to prioritize capacity building and care oriented programs for vulnerable populations such as women led households. Moreover, a network is established to connect the nodes to one another and increase access to the network of care for the greater population across this area. The activation of this cell involves the combination of the following strategic actions:

- 1. Leveraging the socio-cultural significance of places of worship to facilitate capacity building, social services and overall increase access to programs toward stimulating local economies, health care, daycare and capacity building of the surrounding community
- 2. Coordinating Open Air Community Programing by the revitalization of open public space and parks.
- 3. Establishing a network of non-state public transportation network that facilitate public access across the network and supporting activities, and strengthens communication and activities of the network
- 4. Revitalizing and investing in local economies surrounding public transport stops, places of worship and open air spaces

SPATIAL ACTIONS

- D4** Facilitating decentralized health care network, with hierarchy accessibility of health care service, i.e. clinics, ER, and pharmacies
- D7** Increase access to local fresh food
- D9** Increasing access to local employment opportunities
- R1** Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity

Activating Nodes + Acupunctures



Activating the Network



- R11** Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies
- P5** Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,
- P6** Articulating pedestrian friendly mobility network such as bike lanes within the city, and frequent crosswalks
- P7** Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health

Fig. 105 Author: Activation One - Activation Plan

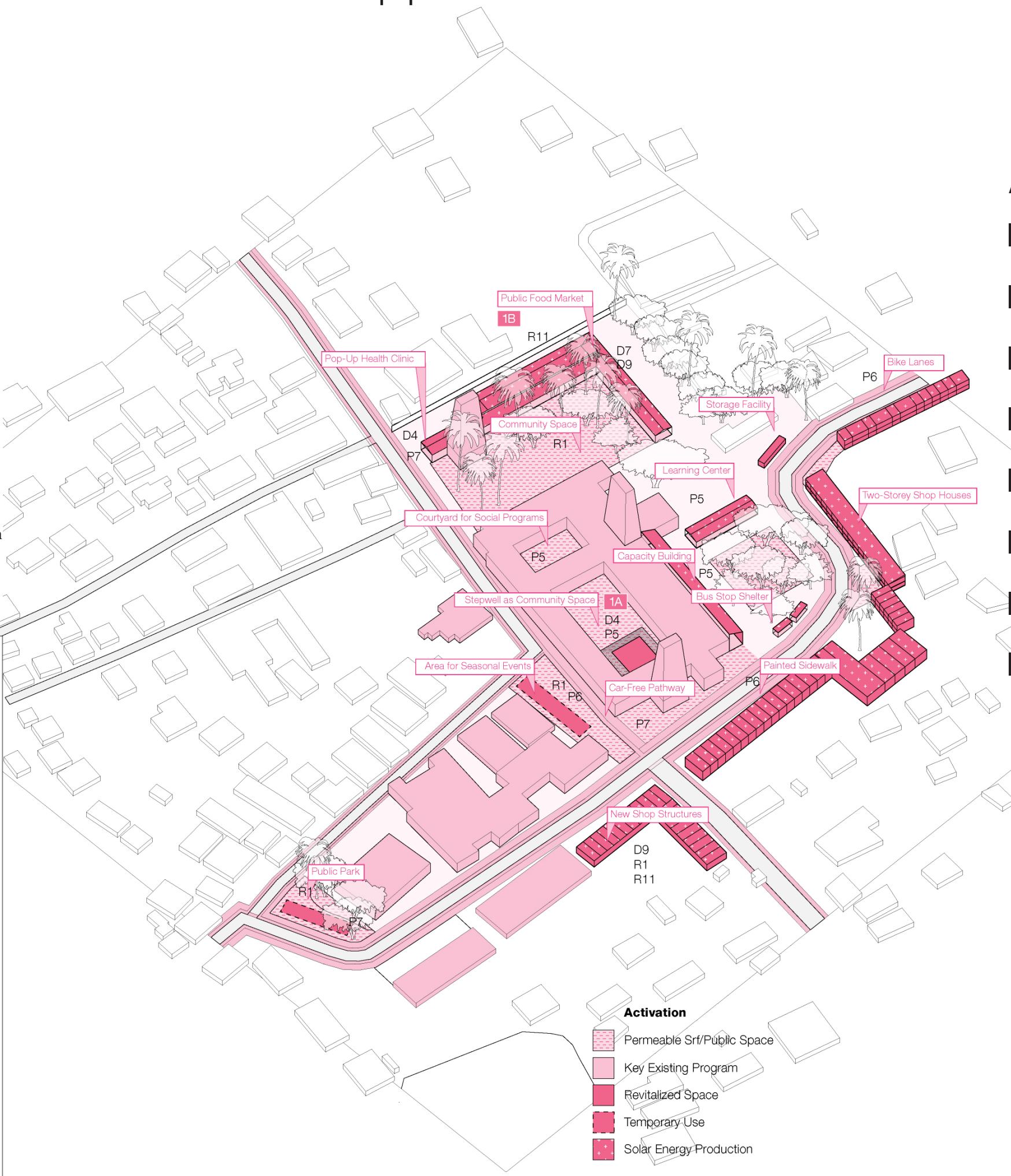
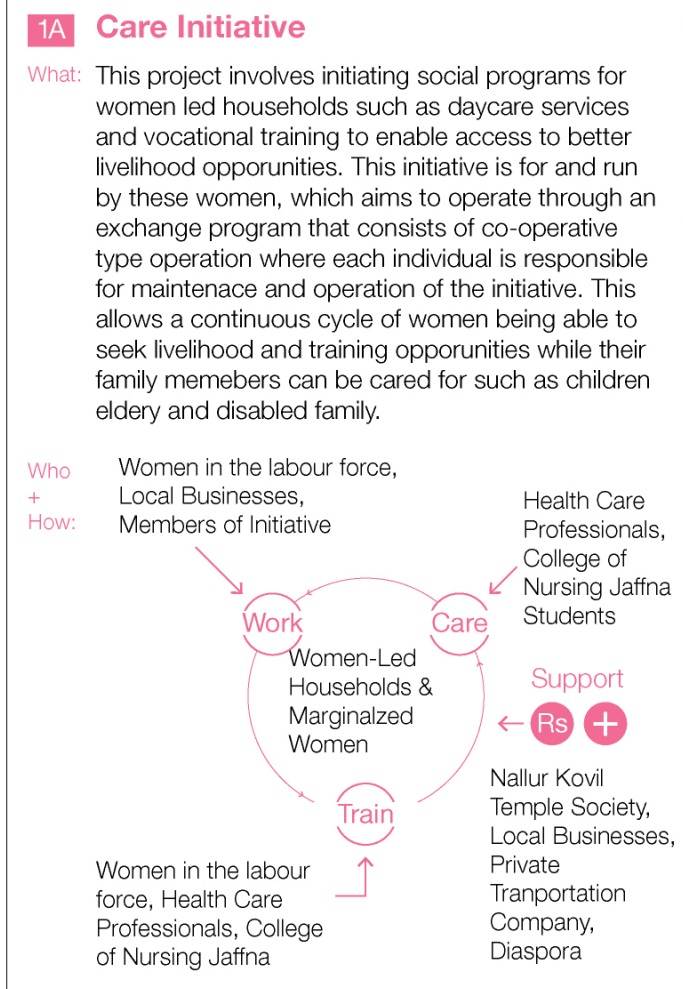


Fig. 106 Author: Activation One - Project Axo

NETWORK(S) OF CARE

The Nallur Temple areas acts as a not only a significant sociocultural and religious hub, but hosts a strong local economy, and offers vast public space for its users. The Temple and surrounding space experiences a explosive expansion during large festivals and events, where the surrounding streets are converted into market and event space.

Given the conditions, networks of care at the cell scale aims to manifested at heart of Nallur Temple area. With its vibrant local economies, vast open space, and various access points, this project aims to re-purpose underutilized space to stimulate local economic activity and community interaction, as well as hyper-program the existing temple to facilitate social programs and capacity building for marginalized groups. This projection also aims to facilitate more human based mobility and accessibility through the articulation of sidewalks, bike lanes and the closing off road traffic lanes.



APPLIED SPATIAL ACTIONS

- D4** Facilitating decentralized health care network, with hierarchy accessibility of health care service, i.e. clinics, ER, and pharmacies
- D7** Increase access to local fresh food
- D9** Increasing access to local employment opportunities
- R1** Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity
- R11** Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies
- P5** Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,
- P6** Articulating pedestrian friendly mobility network such as bike lanes within the city, and frequent crosswalks
- P7** Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health

Fig. 107 Author: Activation One - Existing Site View

CURRENT CONDITION

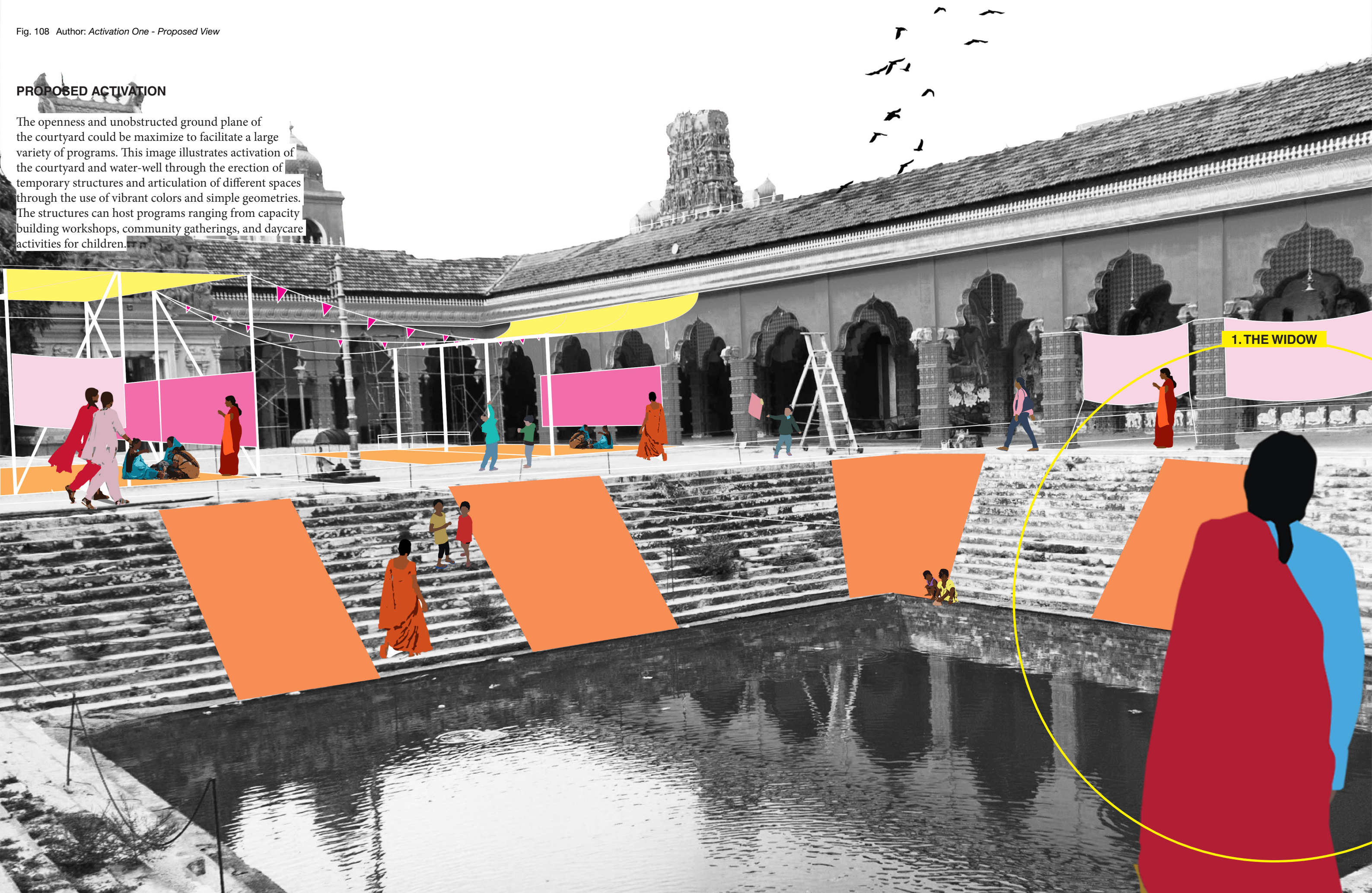
The inner courtyard and space nearby the step-well within the grounds of the temple is largely underutilized during off-peak days. This space also is remote and closed off from the outside, which could serve as a benefit for learning and care facilities , while ensuring a safe space for all.



Fig. 108 Author: Activation One - Proposed View

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.

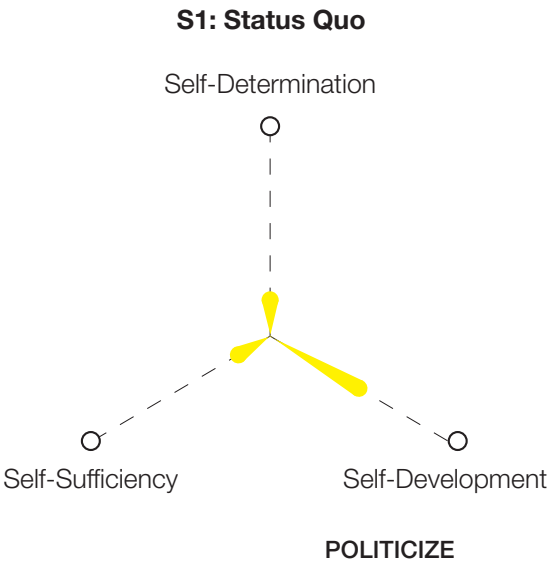


1. THE WIDOW

In this spatial provocation, the impact on daily life is restricted and subject to continuous marginalization and oppressed perpetuated by the Sri Lankan state. This demands communities and individuals to develop workarounds and deploy insurgent practices toward seeing a glimpse of progress.

In doing so, the population would continue to live under difficult circumstances unless alternatives can be developed.

In this case, the communities can leverage the vast existence of places of worship as platforms for change. It can dodge possible surveillance and harassment due to general acceptance of these institutions. In general, communities would continue to live under the demise of the racist chauvinistic state of Sri Lanka.



SELF-DETERMINATION

The widow has limited ability to determine themselves with current system. This raises the importance to seek alternative mechanisms to allow for self-determination. The network of care programs could begin to empower them to access aspects of work and living. However, life is mostly restricted to challenges procedurally and legislatively speaking.

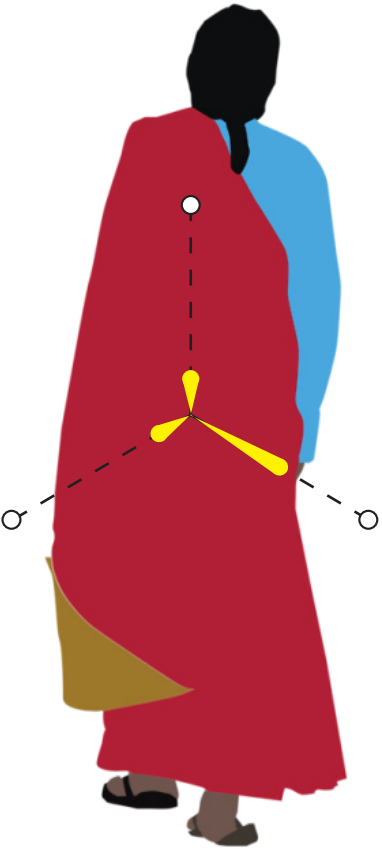
SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The widow has a low degree of self-sufficiency, however would have same access to services and work. In this network of care, they would be able to care for themselves more and potentially positively impact their loved ones. Financial and vocational capacity could enable access to infrastructure, services, and necessary goods, but will be limited due to the scale of the operation and ongoing surveillance of military.

SELF-DEVELOPMENT

They will be exposed to trainings and capacity building programs to improve their skills. And, able to drastically improve their access to livelihoods and better living conditions. The connection to the network of care, could establish a sense of community and form safe groups. It also means, the increased capacity to participate in the labor force.

1. THE WIDOW



DEMILITARIZED FUTURES 2-1

SITE CONDITIONS

This critical area is located in one of highest militarized areas in the North-East. Iranaimadu, Killinochchi is the epicenter of military camps, bases, checkpoints where land is disproportionately occupied by the military. This cell is permeated by the A9, which the only main access-way to and from the North to the rest of the island. Development surrounding the corridor is moderately dense in comparison to the rural internal fabric.

CRITICAL AREA SCORE

12

POTENTIAL

- Ground Water
- Access to Transport Network
- Access to Services
- Access to Place of Worship
- Access to Education and Healthcare
- Access to Public Transport

VULNERABILITY

- Heavy Militarization
- Poor Resilience
- Climate Change Risk

Fig. 109 Google Earth: Militarization of Major Road in Killinochchi



Fig. 110 Google Earth: Inner Street of Iranaimadu Area



Fig. 111 Author: Activation Two - Map of Opportunities



DEMILITARIZED FUTURES

The activation of this cell largely concerns with demilitarization and revitalization of ex-military occupied areas. This is to mainly return the land back to the local communities and provide access to basic services and rejuvenate their ability to seek livelihoods. Although major infrastructures such as the rail and transport network are shared across the border, the functional areas surrounding these corridors are subject to change. In doing so the activation of this cell operates on two main strategies.

1. Demilitarization and Revitalization

All military related occupied land will be transformed into social infrastructure or returned back to local communities who were denied access. This transformation aims to increase access to basic services, education, health, as well as stimulate local economic activity and employment opportunities. Additionally, social services and capacity building will operate closely with communities especially those have been historically marginalized.

2. Intensify Corridor and Network

The linear nature of the urban fabric is leveraged toward the intensification between the rail and road network to promote diverse land use and decentralize access to services, economies and infrastructures. This will also be combined with an ecological buffer that would ensure safe zone surrounding the immediate 5-10 meters of the rail tracks.

SPATIAL ACTIONS

- L1** Para-safety groups, rather than police or military, run by community, spatially decentralized to co-manage
- L3** Diversifying the junction or 'santhi' as vital nodes in neighborhoods, increasing accessibility to services, shops,
- L4** Developing mixed used affordable housing, that can house marginalized/vulnerable groups and host small enterprises
- L5** Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,

- L7** Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health
- R11** Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies
- R1** Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity

Demilitarization and Revitalization



Intensifying Corridor and Network

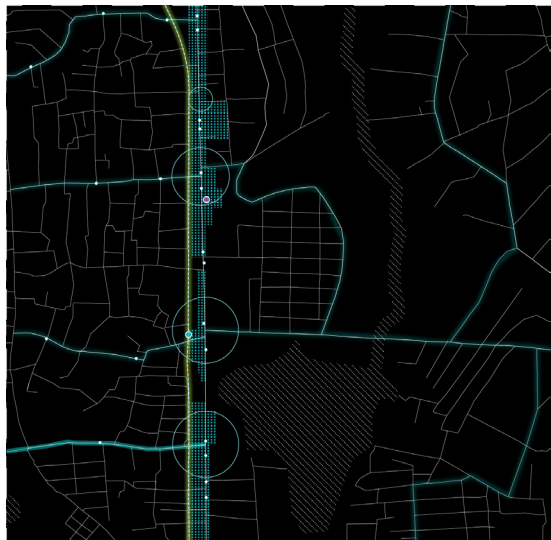


Fig. 112 Author: Activation Two - Activation Plan



Activation Plan

- Hyper-Programmed Activation
- Socio-Economic Infrastructure
- Food Production
- Revitalized Water Body
- Place of Worship
- Public Transport Network
- Ecological Buffer Zone
- Train Station
- Bust Stop
- Santhi

Fig. 113 Author: Activation Two - Project Axo

DEMILITARIZED FUTURES

The future of this activation area is premised on demilitarization and erasing the demeaning presence of the Sri Lankan State and its military. The activation aims to stimulate prosperous livelihoods and ensures a safe, livable and equitable living environment, after decades on surveillance and marginalization.

APPLIED SPATIAL ACTIONS

- L1** Para-safety groups, rather than police or military, run by community, spatially decentralized to co-manage
- L3** Diversifying the junction or 'santhi' as vital nodes in neighborhoods, increasing accessibility to services, shops,
- L4** Developing mixed used affordable housing, that can house marginalized/vulnerable groups and host small enterprises
- L5** Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,
- L7** Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health
- R11** Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies
- R1** Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity

2A

The Santhi Co-Operative

What: This activator project aims to facilitate a collective operation between the food market, social infrastructure, local business and public transport infrastructure. The co-operative would use a percentage of the proceedings from local businesses and food market to fund the operations of the social services and maintenance of infrastructure. In return, the trainings and capacity building carried out in the social services would partially support the operation of local businesses and food market. And, allow businesses to leverage ideal position near public transport node. Thus, it would catalyze economic vitality, strengthening capacity and social services to empower vulnerable groups and promote sustainable mobility. This would result in the formalization of the Santhi, a safe space for the community to pursue prosperous livelihoods and live without being under the demise of military surveillance.

Who + How:

The Santhi

1. Local Businesses

2. Food Market

3. Social Services + Training Center

4. Public Transport Infrastructure



Fig. 114 Author: Activation Two - Existing View

CURRENT CONDITION

The current condition of the site is occupied by the military and clearly disfavours the growth of local community, as well as restricts their mobilization due to heavy surveillance and car-biased infrastructure.



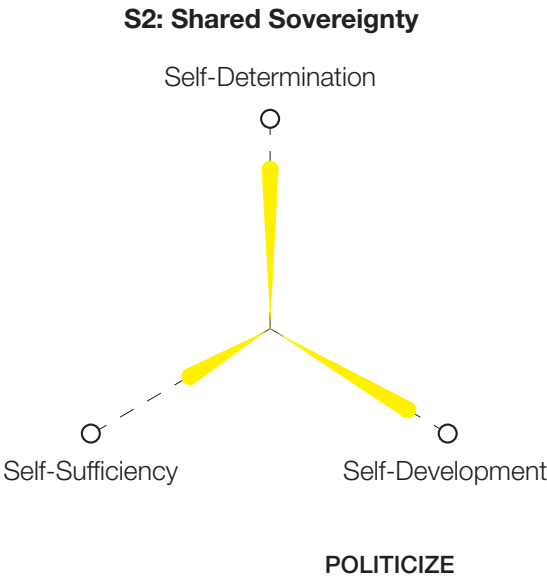
Fig. 115 Author: Activation Two - Proposed View

PROPOSED ACTIVATION

The activation focuses on enabling local economic activity through the creation of food market which operates to promote entrepreneurial opportunity and social-cultural space for local inhabitants. The space is further brought to life, by allocating access to public transport and semi-enclosed spaces created by local vegetation.



In this spatial provocation, the impact on daily life is substantial due to increased self-determination which positively effects self-development. Local communities and individuals will be free from surveillance and pursue livelihoods, and daily life in a safe environment that favors their growth. Local enterprises can strive, marginalized populations can seek better living conditions and capacity building programs, and average citizen can exhaust their rights to freely roam their environments without the demise of the military and oppressive Sri Lankan state. Due to the sharing of resources and systems on the island, self-sufficiency would not be urgent, but a moderate degree would be possible.



SELF-DETERMINATION

The vendors or the local entrepreneur has increased autonomy over their respective enterprises. The ability to run a business is obtainable. In this case, the vendor can determine how and where their business operates.

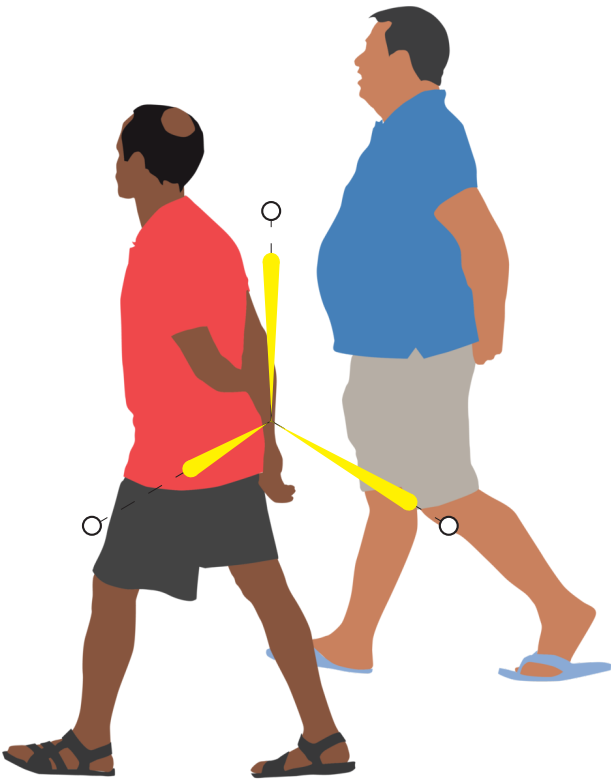
SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Low to moderate sufficiency implies that vendors of the market would partially rely on goods, in this case produce, on the South-West. However there would be increases local purchasing power due to increases local framing and re-purposing of land.

SELF-DEVELOPMENT

The vendors are encourage to develop and grow their businesses as much as possible and promote a healthy competitive market. They would also have increased access to trainings, new technologies and knowledge exchange with local and global industry leaders.

2. THE VENDORS



PRODUCTIVE NETWORK 3-1

SITE CONDITIONS

This critical area is located on the South-Eastern coast north of Batticalao. The town of Velachchenai is situated off the south of the delta and has a strong local entrepreneurial culture largely activated by small to medium enterprises. Across the river is a large swath of potential productive land with various agricultural activity. Due to the proximity to water, the surrounding land is largely under flood risk, and the population is further disadvantaged by military activity and surveillance.

CRITICAL AREA SCORE

11

POTENTIAL

- Energy Potential
- Soil & Food
- Water Quality
- Mobility
- Productive Land
- Place of Worship
- Education and Health
- Public Transport
- Access to Services

VULNERABILITY

- Military Occupation
- Flood Risk

Fig. 116 Google Earth: Diverse Ecological Landscape, Velachchenai



Fig. 117 Google Earth: Major Street Activity in Velachchenai



Fig. 118 Author: Activation Three - Map of Opportunities



PRODUCTIVE NETWORK

The activation of this cell entails the overall transition toward self-sufficiency. To do so, all natural land will be operate in a multi-functional to maximize local production of food with ecological prosperity. The localization extends itself to the socio-economic systems responsible for sustaining communities and living environments. The activation will involve two main strategies:

1. Establishing a local distributive and productive network

This strategy aims to define a centralized distribution systems that ensures the accessibility to various flows of food, energy and people. Additionally, it activates the peripheral natural and farm areas to facilitate local food and energy production to promote local consumption cycles.

2. Localizing Economies and Services

Once the network of distribution and production around the living environments are create, the localization of economies and services as well as mobility points will be established to decentralized accessibility and production. This also includes an intensified activation zone that functions as a backbone to service the surrounding population through providing social services, education facilities, community food production, affordable housing and public transport.

SPATIAL ACTIONS

- D6

Stronger proximities between production and consumption cycles
- D7

Increase access to local fresh food
- D9

Increasing access to local employment opportunities
- R11

Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies

Distributive and Productive Network



Localizing Economies & Services



- R1

Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity
- R3

Diversifying crop production to sustain local diets, at least with major crops such as rice and vegetables
- L5

Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,
- L7

Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health

Fig. 119 Author: Activation Three - Activation Plan



Fig. 120 Author: Activation Three - Project Axo

PRODUCTIVE NETWORK

This project focuses on localization of consumption, production of cycles. To make this nexus of cycles have a larger contribution to society, the cycles integrate processes of education and capacity building and various social infrastructures. This is to strengthen and diversify cycles such as food and agriculture, where the local population can learn, produce and consume all in one place. This could enhance the accessibility to employment and education opportunities.

3A

Localized Food Flows

What: This activation project aims on facilitating local food flows through strengthening local production, consumption, and capacity building to agricultural and food practice. The project focuses on how much communities can be more self-sufficient within this spatial provocation. It involves the promoting of hyper-local production, promotion of season consumption of produce and sea food. Additionally, the flows of food are further strengthened through formalized education and training on agriculture and food industry by leveraging local techniques in combinatoin with innovative methods. This training would be carried out by local experts, and also provide financial and business courses to ensure holistic progression of food flows and overall increasing ability to feed the North-East.

Who + How:

Food Market

Community Gardens

Agriculture School

Production and Collaboration

Learning

Applying and Testing



LIST OF SPATIAL ACTIONS

- D6** Stronger proximities between production and consumption cycles
- D7** Increase access to local fresh food
- D9** Increasing access to local employment opportunities
- R11** Create food hubs (markets) within the city to increase accessibility to fresh produce and promote local economies
- R1** Promoting diverse land use, to ensure both ecological and socioeconomic prosperity
- R3** Diversifying crop production to sustain local diets, at least with major crops such as rice and vegetables
- L5** Facilitating local capacity building, by creating spaces for knowledge exchange between skilled professionals, experts and community,
- L7** Transforming residual spaces to ensure increased access to services, leisure, employment and health

Fig. 121 Author: Activation Three - Existing View

CURRENT CONDITION

The barren land largely underutilized with the urban fabric of the town. The empty lot acts a disservice to the surrounding community due to its potential to contribute in diverse ways and host a variety of supporting programs.



Fig. 122 Author: Activation Three - Proposed View

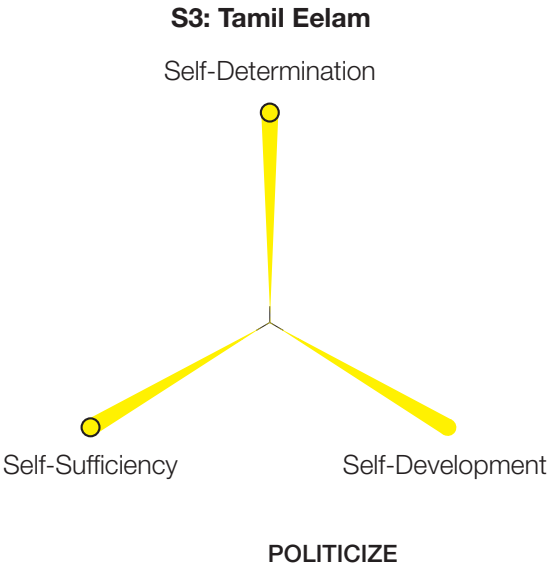
PROPOSED ACTIVATION

The activation aims to facilitate a localized food system that brings together production, consumption and learning spaces. By strengthening their proximities, individuals can learn and apply and experience the values within the same plot. This could also act as a way to increasing applied learning opportunities for new generation.



In this spatial provocation of Tamil Eelam, the ideal living conditions are unlocked. The population can freely live without the demise of the state. This implies the total self-determination, self-development and self-sufficiency of the North-East.

Local communities and individuals can openly dictate the overall trajectory of their lives. For the younger generation, they can obtain a multitude of educational levels. The localization of economies and systems increases the possibility to strengthen individual capacity. One can chose to open a business, go to school and contribute to their community without the basis of ethnicity or race.



SELF-DETERMINATION

The students can openly pick their pathways have increased access to education while not being judged based on their ethnicity, race or political affinity.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The level of overall access to training and capacity building services, directly correlates to the ability to be self-sufficient. The students can obtain the capacity to compete the labor force for more competitive and higher level positions. By participating in the cycle of production, consumption and learning, they are directly feeding in the regions ability to be self-sufficient.

SELF-DEVELOPMENT

The expose to training, and services for not only them but their families, can contribute greatly to the progression of the students. The access to these services, can empower them with increased time for self-development as their loved ones can be taken care of. By the complete eradication of military, students can develop themselves with increased safety.

3. THE STUDENTS



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Conclusion

Reflection

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CONCLUSION

Summary
Further Research
Key Findings

This research project aims to understand the spatial and procedural implications of planning and spatial justice in conditions of oppressive power and conflict. Ambitions towards spatial justice amongst marginalized ethnic minority populations are at further risk if liberal notions of government and planning continue to operate under the ethnocratic state regime. Thus, the thesis pivots on a two-part problem, academic and contextual, how universalization of spatial justice and planning theory further distances its ability to engage with the ongoing systemic and spatial repression of Eelam Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka.

This demands an alternative approach and perspectives that are context-specific to which can engage with the realities of marginalized populations towards the quest for justice. The research framework is steered by an exploratory research approach that suggests an organic process to contextualize the preconditions of spatial justice. In doing so this research project begins to unveil the marginalized areas of North-Eastern, Sri Lanka, and the Eelam Tamil people.

The outcomes of this research ensure theoretical, communicative, and design-related products. Firstly, the alternative conceptual framework on spatial justice for oppressed ethnic groups under ethnocratic regimes will be defined. Secondly, throughout the development of research, findings will be operationalized to express a call for justice and expose key perpetrators of injustice through a social media campaign and call for action. Thirdly, explorative research by design approach that aims to empower a struggle for Eelam Tamil self-determination through a combined quantitative and qualitative spatial analysis, a spatial and procedural toolkit on spatial justice, provocations on three distinct spatial political realities, and a strategic framework that aims to operationalize change through design and processual propositions.

Ultimately, this project aims to redefine how spatial justice and spatial planning can be operationalized in conditions of ethnic conflict and oppressive state regimes, toward empowering self-determination and liberation of marginalized populations.

Throughout the many veins of the research project, there are a number of opportunities for further research. This involves both expansions of the theoretical, methodological, analytical, and design aspects of the research.

Although this research begins with a critical theoretical departure point on exploring alternative conceptualizations of spatial justice, there was a limitation on strengthening the aspect of spatial planning. The understanding of spatial planning is expressed throughout the research project, from spatial analysis to planning and policy, however, the research could have benefited from a more in-depth theoretical underpinning of spatial planning and alternative design perspectives. Further research could involve correlating spatial planning normatives with planning regimes within conditions of conflict toward a synthesized and contextual planning perspective.

The explorative nature of the methodology, methods used and analytical framework could benefit from further testing and experimentation. Additionally, further research could involve a stronger feedback loop between experimentation and the formulation of the research framework. Further research could also involve drawing comparisons with existing explorative research frameworks in similar cases to understand potential limitations and lessons learned.

The design aspect could be further researched through the documentation of best practices, success factors, and limitations of similar cases and conditions of conflict within south-east Asia. In doing so, new perspectives on design can be explored and formalized as well as integrated into the shaping of the toolbox and regional strategies. Moreover, it could lead to increased impact and contextual alignment of design interventions at the micro scales.

DEMAND FOR ACKNOWLEDGING COMPLEXITY

The complex intersection of socio-ecological and socio-spatial as well as procedural challenges made it evident an alternative approach was necessary. This is also meant, that spatial justice as an idea required to be reconceptualized and address more fundamental, more holistic dimensions of self-determination and basic human rights. Thus leading to an integrated approach that addressed the territorial, procedural, and socioeconomic dimensions, which prompted the three pillars of self-determination, self-development, and self-sufficiency as vital conditions to fulfill, in order to move toward spatial justice and liberation of marginalized Eelam Tamils of the North-East.

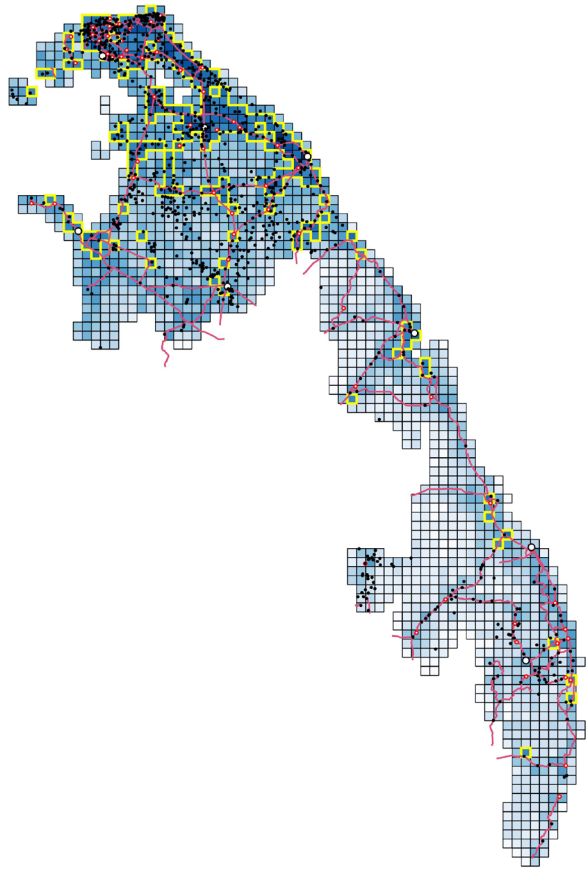
Given the limitation of time and resources, the integrated thinking approach lacked the in-depth perspectives within each dimension but ensured a well-expressed overview of how the systems co-exist and operate. The research done on the various pillars, could pave more in-depth research to further define possible pathways and provide more insights on the multi-dimensional challenges faced in the North-East.

VALUES OF MIXED-METHOD APPROACH

Combining spatial analysis with socioeconomic indicators to understand criticalities of the region, and understanding demands via interviews, lived experiences, and voice of marginalized communities (via social media, interviews, and news media).

Due to the multi-layered nature of the challenges faced across the territory, it increased the demand to understand the problems in a diverse way. Also, the limitations on data within this context demanded an alternative way to formalize various sources of data in a combined way. In doing so, the combination of quantitative (such as vectorial spatial and census data) and qualitative data (such as militarization, interviews, and lived experiences) was carried through processes of mapping, drawings, and writing to ensure a productive synthesis and communication through an intersectional perspective.

Fig 123 Author: Mapping Critical Areas



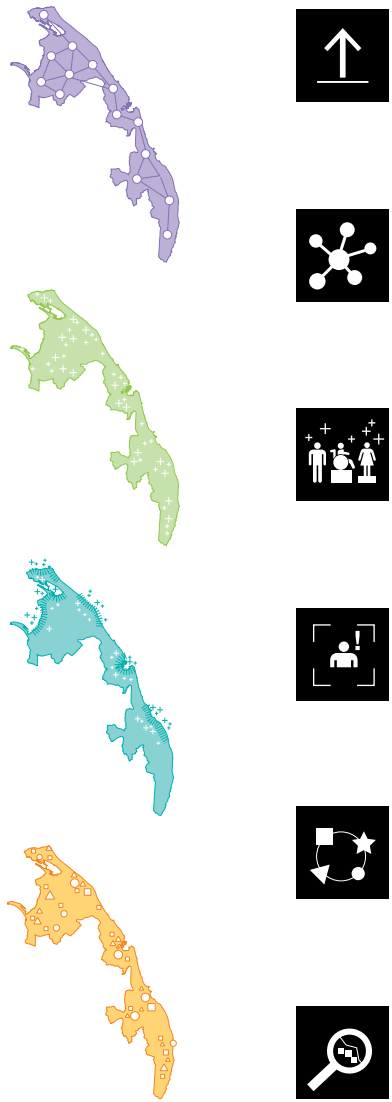
ENSURING CONTEXTUALIZED YET PROGRESSIVE RESPONSE

To ensure a contextualized response, a set of targets were framed to steer possible interventions and propositions for the future. Rather than directly creating a vision based off the challenges, the targets were then defined to directly address ten key spatial and procedural challenges and involved the transition from the existing situation to a desired future (ie from Preservative to Regenerative). Following this, a toolkit was developed to define a list of spatial and procedural actions that could define concrete solutions and measures toward operationalizing the transition toward the given targets. This led to the formation of 46 transcalar spatial actions and 60 procedural actions composed of policy reform, coalition building, financial sourcing, and social mobilization.

The role of the toolkit is to act as inputs into various strategic combinations that could vary depending on local conditions and opportunities across environmental, socio-economic, and procedural dimensions. It ensures the contextualize perspective on how to address the

challenges across the territory but also offers the flexibility to combine and synthesize through different scales, themes, and environments. This also acts as a way to measure and assess the degree of operability across the three spatial provocations and recognize possible limitations.

Fig 124 Author: Contextualized and Innovative Spatial and Procedural Targets



PROVOKING SPATIAL-POLITICAL FUTURES

It became evident that governance and political conditions hold a strong influence on the overall territorial, socioeconomic, and procedural systems in Sri Lanka. And, have a significant impact on marginalized populations, particularly the Eelam Tamils of the North East, where their right to self-determine, self-develop and be self-sufficient is denied. The recognition of these

conditions of governance within the local context is vital when envisioning or speculating on any future development, due to their complex inter-relation, one cannot be possible without the permission of the other.

Fig 125 Author: Spatial provocations.



Therefore, governance became a driver of space. Political context and degree of will informed the possible limitations and operability of planning and design. This interrelation between space and political context clarified that a traditional diagnosis toward the proposal of design and planning would only provide insights given the current oppressive conditions. Rather than forecasting from the current reality, the backcasting of three distinct spatial-political provocations (scenarios) were defined to understand the varying implications on the acceleration and degree of change toward spatial justice and self-determination for Eelam Tamils in the North East.

This approach ensured that contextualized perspectives could be formed due to the recognition of the varying political conditions. Given the limitations, a series of necessary actions were developed through each provocation to understand how spatial justice could be accelerated. This demanded both grounded and innovative measures to be taken in order to move toward spatial justice and self-determination.

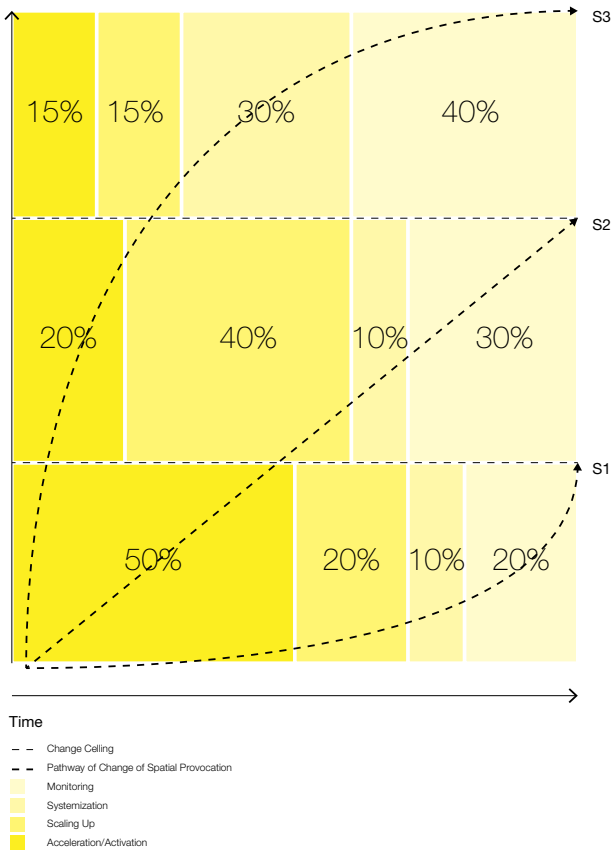
OPERATIONALIZING PATHWAYS TO CHANGE

The leading question of this part would be how to operationalize a pathway of change and accelerate the transition toward self-determination of the North-East and Eelam Tamils? Given that the spatial provocations strive toward a similar desired future, the pathways of change are limited in their potential growth, as their rate of change varies due to their respective political parameters. Four steps are then defined to further understand the implication and limitation on each pathway, which vary in relevance as each step is limited by the political context defined in each provocation. The limitation of growth is also measured by the possible procedural reform dictated by the number of procedural actions that could be activated. This also offered interesting insights that there is possible reform within the highly limited scenario.

The second part of the operationalization involved the acceleration by activator projects. The sites of the activation areas are dictated by the most critical areas, with the assumption that activation in these areas would have the greatest impact. The activation is manifested through three key areas that are further catalyzed by activator projects at the micro-scale. Additionally, it was crucial to explore the possibilities of each spatial provocation, thus the activation could be exemplified across the varying conditions.

The acceleration and operationalization of the various pathways frame diverse perspectives on how change can be manifested and influenced by different political realities. It is to also demonstrate that there is a possibility for intervention, growth, and empowerment across the scenarios, which demand varying courses of action. And, show that pathways can also be converged, and the different paces of change can be combined to incrementally facilitate the transition toward spatial justice and self-determination.

Fig 126 Author: Operationalizing Change



CHALLENGING WESTERN HEGEMONY

The continued denial and oppression of Eelam Tamil self-determination has led to spatial and systemic repression of their economic, social, political, and cultural prosperity who seek access to basic human rights and conditions for a proper livelihood.

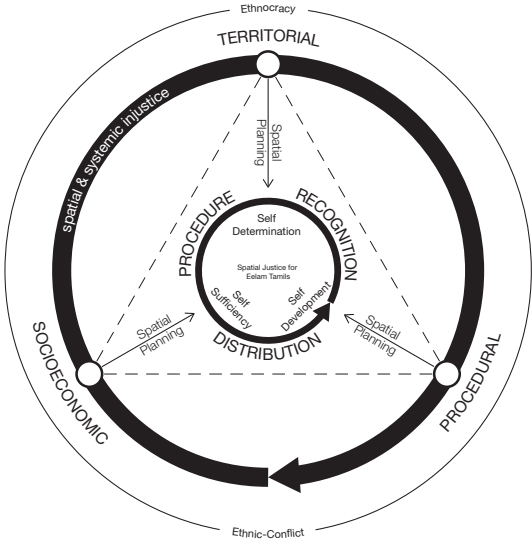
It is clear, that spatial justice is a multifaceted issue that firstly demands that both, Eelam Tamils are able to self-determine themselves and have access to basic resources and their land. In order, to promote processes of spatial justice within the North-East of Sri Lanka, it is important to recognize this disadvantage and alternatively materialize these challenges into spatial opportunities that could suggest pathways toward self-determination.

The decontextualization and Western dominant Spatial Justice theory have undermined the vulnerabilities of minority ethnic groups within conditions of oppressive power and ethnic conflict. This demands an alternative approach and reconceptualized perspectives that are context-specific, to better address the realities of

marginalized populations towards justice and self-determination.

Through the course of the research, one of the main goals was to develop an alternative approach and perspective on spatial justice and planning, that would be more aligned to contexts of conflict where authoritative powers unjustly exercise their power against different ethnic groups. Thus, directly address the increasing gap between western ideologies on planning theory and spatial justice, and geographies of conflict which often operate under different socio-political regimes. Through an alternative approach, spatial justice and planning were better informed and contextualized through the conditions and realities of the context. Through the perspective of marginalized Eelam Tamils in the North-East, a newly informed conceptual departure point was established that can be further developed into possible transferability in a similar context.

Fig 127 Author: Reconceptualizing Spatial Justice in Ethnocracies



REFORM ON SPATIAL PLANNING

Throughout the research, there have been numerous occasions suggesting improvements of spatial planning, decision-making processes, and the overall procedural system of Sri Lanka, in the form of targets, actions, and strategies.

Firstly, upon the analysis of current spatial planning policy and vision documents, it was evident that there are many instances that needed to be revised in order to ensure more equitable, contextualized, and sustainable

futures. These recommendations were defined by six procedural targets, directly addressing six challenges. Such transitions as, top-down to bottom-up, concentrated to decentralized, and non-recognitional to recognitional to name a few.

Furthermore, sixty procedural actions were developed to address various aspects of spatial planning and planning at large such as financial mechanism, methods of co-creation and participation, decision making, and institutional frameworks. The aim of these actions is to function as ingredients that can be diversely combined to address different contexts across the North East.

The recommendations of planning also manifested in the form of new institutional frameworks and specific proposals for procedural processes across the three activator projects and spatial provocations. This operationalized the insights gained from the initial analysis and utilized the alternative perspectives from the sixty procedural actions. This was further substantiated throughout the process of defining the pathways and steps for change, that built on typical steps in the spatial planning process such as implementation and scaling up with new ideas of monitoring and acceleration.

Reform on spatial planning exists through various forms throughout the research and aims to alternatively formulate recommendations through the combination of provocation, design, and research, and challenge the way planning revisions are communicated.

REFLECTION

ON RESULTS & OUTCOMES
ON ETHICS
ON COURSE & SOCIETAL RELEVANCE
ON RESEARCH & METHODOLOGY

ALTERNATIVE DIRECTIONS

The explorative nature of this research project aims to not only contribute the state-of-art in critical planning theory but also go further to expand its applicability to better engage in socio-cultural and political settings outside the hegemonic Anglo-Western discourse.

In this vein, one of the main objectives of this research is to understand how planning and spatial justice theory can be contextualized within conditions of oppressive power and ethnic conflict, to promote equity and just planning processes toward self-determination of marginalized ethnic groups. Because normative planning theory largely stems from Western liberal ideals of democracy and society, it fails to address and recognize the complex layers of conflict and diversity. On the contrary, it is important to note that there emerging alternative perspectives toward diversifying and decentralizing our centers of knowledge. Works of Faranak Mirafabt, Vanessa Watson, Dharmaratnam Sivaram (who is underexplored in this research), Oren Yiftachel, have had a profound influence throughout the progression of this research. And, motivates this research to critically assess the dominant discourses on planning and political contexts they stem from.

In turn, this research attempts to re-conceptualize the notions of spatial justice by recognizing the aspirations of silenced and underrepresented populations. To bring a sense of focus, the work aims to explore possibilities and develop frameworks within ethnocratic regimes. With a combined inductive and deductive reasoning approach, this reengaging of theory and practice can be manifested through the formulation of conceptual guideposts. This will be done by grounding the phenomenon of spatial justice and increasing decontextualized planning theory, particularly in non-Western contexts, with the case of the ethnocratic state of Sri Lanka, and one of its marginalized ethnic minority populations, Eelam Tamils.

However, it also uses the backcasting method to simulate possibilities if the spatial-political reality of Sri Lanka was different. This acknowledgment of complexity implies that governance and space are interrelated. This also enabled an extensive exploration of plausible scenarios that could envision the future of the self-determination of Eelam Tamils in the North-East of Sri Lanka.

Output 1: Alternative conceptual framework on spatial justice for oppressed and marginalized ethnic populations within ethnocratic regimes

AN EXPOSE AND ACTIVISM

One of the core ambitions of this research aims to expose the systemic and spatial injustices the state of Sri Lanka and other forces have perpetuated on the ethnic minority Eelam Tamil population. The findings of this work will act as a vehicle to disseminate knowledge to a broader audience because it is crucial for this work to operate beyond the academic environment. It also aims to offer a unique spatial perspective on the social justice issues faced by Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka and in doing so, decriminalize and destigmatize the struggle for determination of Eelam Tamils and generally underrepresented minority state who are victimized by their states' dominance.

By exposing the spatial dimension of injustice, it will contribute to the increasing demand for social justice and equity today. And, intends to create advocacy within the domain of the built environment, to show how meaning can be done through this lens to promote social justice and equity.

In doing so, the research intends to have two main outcomes within the category of social justice activism, firstly, to illustrate and write an exposé on the Sri Lankan state and continued oppression of ethnic minorities on the island. Second, is a call for justice that would be in the form of a social media campaign and social impact statement which hopes to disseminate the findings of the research conducted in this project.

Outcome 2A: A manifesto on Spatial Justice and Call for Action

Outcome 2B: Social media campaign - Spatial Justice Project:

- Exposing and exploring spatial (in)justice in geographies of conflict.
- A campaign to seek justice for the oppressed in Sri Lanka's North-East.
- Disseminating and communicating results of research to wider audience

Fig. 128 Eranga Jayawardena: A Sri Lankan Tamil man holds a placard during a protest in Colombo on August 21, 2018, demanding the release of lands still occupied by the military



EMPOWERING A STRUGGLE FOR EELAM TAMIL SELF-DETERMINATION AND LIBERATION

In light of exposing the injustices faced by Eelam Tamils in Sri Lanka. Proposing and politicizing is a crucial step towards understanding how spatial justice can be materialized in the context of conflict. This part of the research will aim to operationalize the challenges and key findings from the theoretical and case analysis toward developing strategic frameworks through spatial, procedural, and societal dimensions. It will also depart from the conceptual guideposts defined to find context-based opportunities toward spatial justice (particularly for marginalized communities within the selected case).

The strategic framework would involve unveiling unseen spatial and institutional and societal capacities at the regional and local scales toward actualizing the conditions of spatial justice. And, propose various pathways toward community and regional resilience in light of global agendas regarding sustainable development and social equity. This would also involve a combination of policy recommendations, strategic projects, network/coalition building, and methods toward institutionalizing ideas of self-determination and liberation of marginalized communities on a spectrum of scales. In doing this, this could increase pressure on the state of Sri Lanka and global organizations like the United Nations on recognition of Eelam Tamil liberation, accountability of human violations, and activate processes of sustainable and just development that is contextualized across the layers of conflict and difference in Sri Lanka.

Outcome 3: Capacity & Potential Study; Understanding the spatial-socioeconomic-environmental potentials and opportunities toward self-determination and spatial justice

Outcome 4: Spatial Provocations on Alternative Futures; exploring possible scenarios to investigate the potential of the region through the combination of varying potentials and capacities

Outcome 5: Strategic Framework of Provocative Spatial Scenarios (Regional) + Activator Projects (Local); to materialize a combination of spatial and procedural potentials into a strategic socio-spatial framework along with procedural guidelines toward spatial justice and self-determination

Given the nature of this project, an attempt to limit any efforts to generalization is strongly deployed throughout the research as it primarily pivots around the pitfalls of universalization. In doing so, the research attempt to bridge the gap between universal agendas and context demands through contextualized research and design.

One of the main ambitions of the project is to realize and systematize knowledge and experience from the community level so it is especially important to preserve the authenticity of their voice and not distort it to meet alternative goals. This material produced in this project must also not compromise the safety, security, and well-being of any individual and proceed respectfully. The ambitions of this project are led by initial assumptions of unethical acts and injustices perpetrated by the state of Sri Lanka, which makes it important to validate any argument with facts and evidence.

ACADEMIC NEUTRALITY

This research aims to confront the prevailing notions of neutrality in academics. Frankly, this a utopic ideal that ignores the inherent subjective bias all humans in some form perpetuate. The bias that drives this research also stems from deeply rooted personal ambitions to challenge the status quo, the systems of injustice, and seek just futures for Eelam Tamils who face systemic discrimination and is marginalized from the State of Sri Lanka. Therefore, as a practitioner and researcher of the built environment, there is an urgency to act. This urgency, in some moments of the research, uses activism as a vehicle to stimulate change, acts as a voice to empower those who are silenced and under the demise of systemic injustice.

BEYOND PLANNING AND ROLE OF URBAN PLANNERS & DESIGNERS

Given the findings of the research, and understanding of the context, the challenges far exceed spatial planning and design, its demands structural political, and systemic reform. Thus, this research acknowledges the complexity and illustrates provocations on various political realities that reflect the contrasting perspectives across societal groups within Sri Lanka. The provocations outlined in the research aim to unveil various possible pathways that can catalyze change. This creates an inflection point in the work and reflects upon the role of spatial planning, which demands an acknowledgment that forecasting futures based on current conditions could be limited in projected transformative impact. The exploration through three distinct political realities ensures the contextualization of the context toward unlocking conditions toward spatial justice and sustainable futures.

COURSE RELEVANCE

The graduation project topic lies at the intersection of spatial planning, spatial justice, and geographies of conflict. One of the aims of the project is to explore alternative perspectives on spatial planning and spatial justice that could empower marginalized groups within nations rooted in ethnic conflict. The project largely operates under the Planning Complex Cities Studio and aligns to the studio-central focus around spatial planning, development, governance, and participation, its relation to conflicts of disparities and inequalities amongst communities and territories. The expectation of graduation projects within this studio suggests student work should address the interrelations between spatial and institutional development. In doing so, this graduation project acts as a vessel to explore the spatial and procedural implications of resource distribution and development across an impoverished region with vulnerable communities. In other words, how can spatial justice be contextualized within conditions of ethnic-conflict and oppressive state frameworks?

At the more general scale of the Urbanism track and Masters of Science program, this graduation project acts as an example in which integrated social, cultural, economic, and political perspectives are combined through the dimension of space. And, to promote the importance of ensuring a multiscalar approach. This graduation project involves a combination of regional and local community development that will be explored while responding to global trends of globalization, climate change, energy transitions, and ultimately toward an equitable, sustainable and resilient future. Additionally, this graduation project also aligns with the program’s tradition of working in a multidisciplinary way through the communication and collaboration between spatial planning experts, justice advocates, and local community members.

SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

Increasing social polarization and neoliberalism, the wreckage of colonialism, and rapid urbanization, are widening the gap of socio-economic inequality which is materialized in the segregation of communities due to differences of culture, ethnicity, race, wealth, power, caste, and politics to only name a few. Pre-existing inequalities have partially been widened due to the neglect of vulnerable and marginalized populations from the public and private sectors. Within the domain of planning and

design, civil society is a critical aspect in both theory and practice. Critical because, the environment both physical and non-physical is contingent on the participation, production, and interaction of civil society. Therefore it is important to promote inclusion and equity to ultimately design and plan for all. Moreover, as we reap the impacts of imperialist and universal perspectives on how society operates, it is crucial to develop perspectives based on the knowledge and experiences from cultural and societal conditions. This, in turn, raises the capacity of planning and design that can respond to the challenges of communities, cities, regions, and even nations in a more contextualized way. Sometimes, the hegemonic perspectives we have on society, economy, and the environment must be brought under a critical lens to truly understand if they operate under foreign assumptions such as liberal democracy, social participation, or even the use of public toilets. This demands an alternative approach and perspectives that are context-specific to which can engage with the realities of marginalized populations towards the quest for justice.

This research project aims to understand the spatial and procedural implications of spatial planning and spatial justice in conditions of oppressive power and conflict. Ambitions towards spatial justice amongst marginalized ethnic minority populations are at further risk if liberal notions of government and planning continue to operate under the ethnocratic state regime. The project’s relevance sits right in the middle of the concerns of universalized planning perspectives and its misalignment to the ground realities outside of the western context that is often privileged in topics of democracy, citizenship, and self-determination.

Specifically, this research is concerned with the continuous discrimination and oppression of the Eelam Tamil people in the North-East of Sri Lanka by the Sri Lankan state. And, how can spatial planning unlock conditions toward spatial justice and self-determination for the marginal Eelam Tamils in the North-East. In doing so, it was crucial to contextualize what spatial justice meant for this context, which led to ideas of self-determination of the North-East and Eelam Tamil people. It is important planning discourse and practice can engage within complex political contexts, and find alternative perspectives, methods, and tools to help make these contexts more just and sustainable.

Nevertheless, the research ensures to acknowledge the demands of global agendas on sustainable development

and social justice such as Sustainable Development Goals and the New Urban Agenda. However, the universalized nature of these agendas is as well acknowledged and will be critically assessed on how they bridge the demands and conditions of the local context. In doing so, the research could act as a case to better understand how to engage with politically sensitive climates with high degrees of social unrest amongst opposing groups. As these conditions of political division become more prevalent within our society, it becomes more relevant to develop methods, tools, and perspectives on they can be addressed through various disciplines and practices such as planning and spatial practices.

SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

The research project aims to position itself within a critical discussion amongst planning scholars and practitioners regarding how to better equip the planning discipline to engage with realities and conditions outside the anglo-western context. The exploratory research approach addresses both the critical and explorative nature of the research and how it aims to understand and perhaps advance the discussion of re-engaging planning and justice within conditions of the non-western context such as the global south, or where unilateral democratic government falls short to address the complexity of multi-ethnic groups, cultural practice, and political dialogue.

In doing so, the research intends to contribute to this prevailing discussion towards further content development and publication of relevant work in various academic and non-academic networks. It intends to actively engage the broader discourse of the Tamil struggle for nationhood through forms of solidarity via social media and contributing toward larger mobilizations of demands and research about the accountability of the Sri Lankan state on Tamil genocide and war crimes. Moreover, amidst a global pandemic, it becomes more urgent to innovate empirical research methods to better understand the anthropological, societal, cultural, and environmental dynamics of a context. This research project will provide the opportunity to explore new methods and ways to engage with people that could suggest alternative precedents for engagement and research, and ultimately contribute to the overall challenging of western notions on planning theory and practice within the realm of spatial justice and sustainable development.

THEORETICAL LIMITATIONS

The process of research within this project departed from a critical theoretical question, where new perspectives on spatial justice and planning were unveiled throughout the research process. This organic nature of this research led to new insights into alternative planning theory. However, the various enlightenments throughout the research could not be accommodated with in-depth theoretical underpinning and potentially limited the depth of the theoretical framework. Theoretical underpinning on discourses on radical or insurgent planning could have assisted in developing conceptual knowledge to then operationalize through strategic actions and projects proposed. Moreover, a more in-depth exploration of

institutionalization and transitional governance would have also been useful concerning the development of pathways of change and how the spatial provocations could be possibly implemented.

There was an intentional choice to lean toward research by design process because this project pivots on the notion practice-oriented actions are required to confront the pressing challenges of injustice in the areas of conflict and limit additional theorization. This led to limited development on underpinning theory concerning self-determination and sovereignty and other potential alternatives that could have brought more insight into the work.

On the contrary, through the process of design explorations and backcasting, the insights gained could reengage the universalized perspectives on spatial justice and planning theory. With additional resources and time, a more in-depth definition of theories could assist further research within this field and context.

RESEARCH AND/BY DESIGN

This research project set out intentions to use a multi-scalar and intersectional approach to develop a critical perspective on how the project can evolve and address the pressing challenges of the research. This involved a process far from linear, a process that included a combination of forecasting, backcasting, and oscillating amongst various scales.

The limitation of this research is that it does not reflect commonly used processes within the field of spatial planning and justice. This enables a degree of uncertainty concerning the approach and results of the research. However, one of the key underlying notions that motivated this work is the urge to challenge anglo-western norms on spatial planning, academic research, and spatial justice. Thus, the critical planning approach illustrated by Peter Marcuse was chosen to enable a process to confront the structural forces that perpetuate various societal inequalities within practice and research. But, also provoke pathways toward meaningful impact through the proposition of alternative and political realities

ON METHODOLOGY

The methodology largely operates through four lines of inquiry. The structure of the inquiry draws from the

Critical Planning approach of Peter Marcuse. This critical approach aims to engage with structural issues and mechanisms that traditional communicative and justice planning concepts fall short to address. The following suggests Analyze (analyzing the roots of the problem); Expose (converting findings into a weapon to achieve goals); Propose (developing a vision while pushing the limits of practice); Politicize (forming strategies for achieving change and addressing issues of power). In doing so, four series of sub-research questions act as a line of questioning along with the four steps of Critical Planning (defined by Marcuse) as a backbone.

This critical planning approach was selected due to its ability to unravel deeper dimensions in potential issues such as systemic and structural issues, such as power, space and time. Furthermore, the critical lines of inquiry are combined with an exploratory research approach which includes a combined cycle of deductive and inductive reasoning. The explorative nature of the research is then combined with critical lines of inquiry to support the understudied and complex context and conditions.

To operationalize this combined approach, a series of qualitative and quantitative research methods are used to support the explorative nature of the research. The methods used vary from literature and media review to support both the theoretical and contextual understandings, analytical tools such as socio-spatial analysis through GIS and statistical analysis, and documentative and explorative tools such as scenario building and transcalar mapping. Finally, the use of the case study will support the theoretical grounding of the explored ideas and concepts to ultimately contextualize planning perspectives and possibly explore alternatives.

This research approach aims to support a critical exploration that is both organic and rigorous to understand the implications of grounding theories in context and develop alternative perspectives through provocation.

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GEOGRAPHIES OF CONFLICT:

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

Masters Thesis P5 Report
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