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Conflict – Threat or Opportunity?

Land Use and Coping Strategies of War-affected Communities
in Trincomalee, Sri Lanka

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Foreword

This report is the result of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001, a six-month joint venture, carried out by an intercultural team from the Centre for Advanced Training in Rural Development (SLE), Humboldt University Berlin, and from the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP). The German team members, with the exception of the team leader, participated in the 39th annual training course. The Sri Lankan team members were made up of staff members of the IFSP or partner institutions and scientists from the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. The German team was composed of a water resources engineer, an agricultural engineer, a cultural anthropologist, a nutritionist and household economist and a geographer and land use planner. The Sri Lankan counterpart to the team was composed of an agricultural extension specialist, a sociologist, a civil engineer, a community mobilisation specialist and a micro enterprise specialist.

The project was conducted at the request of the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP), which is funded by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the Government of Sri Lanka through the Ministry of Plan Implementation (MPI).

Interdisciplinary consultancy projects are an integral part of SLE's training programme. The programme aims at preparing young professionals for assignments in bilateral and multilateral development organisations. It enables participants to obtain valuable practice in the use of action- and decision-oriented appraisal methods. At the same time, projects contribute to identifying and solving problems in rural development.

In 2001, the five groups of SLE's 39th course simultaneously conducted projects in Ecuador, Malawi, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka.

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The Team

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ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADR	Action- and decision-oriented research
AES	Allai Extension Scheme
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (German Federal Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development)
CATAD	Centre for Advanced Training for Agricultural and Rural Development, Berlin
CBO	Community-based organisation
CEPA	Centre for Poverty Analysis, Colombo
CO	Cultivation officer
CPE	Complex political emergency
CPR	Common pool resources
DAD	Department of Agrarian Development
DAS	Department of Agrarian Services (since 2000: DAD)
DER	Department of External Resource, Government of Sri Lanka
DFID	Department for International Development of the British Government
DOI	Department of Irrigation
DPS	District Planning Secretariat
DS	Divisional Secretary
EFCD	Upper Mahaweli Environment and Forestry Conservation Division
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations
FNS	Food and nutrition security

FO	Farmer organisation
GA	Government Agent
GDP	Gross domestic product
GIS	Geographical information systems
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
GS	Grama Sevaka
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit mbH (German Development Co-operation), Eschborn
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, Brighton
IFIM	Institut für Interkulturelles Management
IFSP	Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
IPS	Institute of Policy Studies, Colombo
IWMI	International Water Management Institute, Colombo
LDO	Land Development Ordinance
LRC	Land Reform Commission
LSA	Livelihood system approach
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
LUPPD	Land Use Policy and Planning Division
MP	Member of Parliament
MPI	Ministry of Plan Implementation, Government of Sri Lanka
NCHS	National Centre of Health Statistics, Atlanta (USA)
NEPC	Northern and Eastern Provincial Council
NEIAP	Northeast Irrigated Agriculture Project, Trincomalee

NEP	Northern and Eastern Province
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRMC	National Resource Management Centre
PA	People's Alliance
PIMU	Poverty Impact Monitoring Unit, Colombo
PNA	Participatory needs assessment
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SAI	South Asia Institute, Colombo
SCF	Save the Children Fund (U.K.), Colombo
SD	Standard Deviation
SDO	Samurdhi Development Officer
SLAF	Sri Lankan Armed Forces
TV	Television
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNP	United National Party

Executive Summary

- Livelihoods in complex emergencies*** (1) Humanitarian agencies often portray humans in political crises or natural disasters as helpless victims in dire need of emergency aid. However, people mostly survive even without aid. They cope with and adapt to the circumstances of a crisis or conflict. Development assistance should use 'spaces' and 'opportunities', which people identify in order to secure their livelihoods in complex emergencies, and encourage and support communities to deal with their own developmental issues. It is in this line of thinking that the present study on livelihoods of war-affected communities in the East of Sri Lanka presents its main argumentation.
- How do people manage to survive?*** (2) The key question for actors and agencies active in rehabilitation and development in war-affected areas is this: How do people manage to survive and to pursue their livelihoods in the day to day stress of coping in an uncertain and violent environment?
- IFSP-CATAD Project 2001*** (3) Since 1998, the promotion of food and nutrition security as a contribution towards development in a conflict-affected environment is the challenging task of the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP) in the war-affected Eastern part of Sri Lanka. In order to explore and implement more appropriate project interventions without doing harm in a conflict environment, the IFSP commissioned the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. This action-oriented research study explored livelihood strategies of conflict-affected communities in the Trincomalee District with particular emphasis on land use patterns and on food and nutrition security. This should provide the foundation for policy adjustments of IFSP and partner institutions.

- Livelihood System Analysis*** (4) The *Livelihood System Approach* (LSA) is an analytical tool to observe and understand behavioural patterns of people and communities in complex political emergencies. It looks into livelihood strategies of people in a given *vulnerability context* (the frame conditions). People have access to six forms of *capital assets* (natural, physical, human, social, political, and financial). These are the resources, which people can combine in order to carry out *livelihood strategies* and achieve certain *outcomes*. These outcomes have positive as well as negative impacts on the livelihood (*feedback loops*).
- Coping or adapting?*** (5) Livelihood strategies will differ with regard to whether people have to deal with gradual trends or sudden shocks: *Adaptive strategies* denote processes of change which are more or less conscious and deliberate in the way people adjust livelihood strategies to long term changes and challenges (trends). *Coping strategies* are short-term responses to periodic stress or sudden shocks of both natural and political hazards.
- Why institutions matter*** (6) Institutional arrangements include formal and informal forms, are ambiguous and subject to multiple interpretations by different actors. Institutions are dynamic and are continuously reshaped over time. Power relations are embedded in institutional arrangements, and these are thus part of a social and political negotiation process. Administrative, political and military power holders often play a fundamental role in determining access to resources.
- Qualitative village studies*** (7) The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 focused on comparative and qualitative village studies in order to contribute to a better understanding of the multiplicity and complexity of rural societies in a conflict environment. The research sample consisted of five research locations from different geographical areas of the Trincomalee District. The study was carried out by an intercultural team of young German and Sri Lankan scientists and practitioners in summer 2001.

- Sri Lanka: A complex political emergency*** (8) The civil war in Sri Lanka can be described as a *complex (political) emergency*: the ethnicised conflict is embedded in, and is an expression of, existing social, political, economic and cultural structures, and is characterised by loyalty to one particular communal group, and strong antipathy towards other communal groups. The overriding issue of the macro-conflict in Sri Lanka is the grievance between the Tamil minority and the Sinhalese-Buddhist majority, which has escalated into a war between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sinhalese dominated armed forces.
- Perception and impact of war*** (9) All five research areas are situated at a borderline, either between uncleared (or 'grey') and cleared areas or between the settlements of different communal groups. These areas are characterised by a high occurrence of fighting, violence, the presence of both armed parties, and intimidation. The psychological effects are striking: a lack of self-confidence, a tendency to keep a low profile, frustration in view of limited life opportunities, fear and desperation are widespread in these non-stabilised areas. Conflict, war and risk, nevertheless, have quite a different impact on each of the communities. In some locations, villagers still pursue their traditional livelihood activities and farming systems, even though under constraining frame conditions. In other locations, the conflict forced villagers to leave traditional resources behind due to the war and to search for alternative livelihood options.
- Three pillars of livelihood strategies*** (10) The research team identified three pillars of behavioural patterns, which distinguish livelihood strategies at different levels of the livelihood system:
1. **Managing personal risk of life** looks into how people cope with the increased probability of negative consequences for personal lives.
 2. **Managing household economics** identifies different strategies of organising the capital assets within a household (capital assets).

3. Accessing external support discusses how individuals or communities make use of structures and processes, in particular, how they access or influence political and military actors (structures and processes).

Each of these pillars is further divided into sub-categories. This categorisation allows an easy comparison of behavioural patterns in different locations or of different families in the same location (cf. Chapter 5).

Declining assets and entitlements

(11) Livelihood strategies comprise a **portfolio of short-term coping and long-term adapting strategies**. Many adapting strategies deal with **declining income earning opportunities** and the **risk of investment**, which is higher in conflict areas compared to peaceful areas. Furthermore, adapting strategies reflect the **declining entitlements to resources**, e.g. the disrupted access to land, water and jungle resources. Furthermore, households gradually deplete their capital stock after each shock. Cash income is more easily acquired through outside funds (state payments for home guards, welfare) or overseas employment (remittances cash flows). Relief-oriented aid offered by the state and NGOs might have supported a reorientation of household strategies towards tapping these funds instead of investing scarce assets in an insecure environment.

Distorted economies

(12) The impact of the distorted regional economy for village communities is striking. Farmers are in a very weak bargaining power towards traders and entrepreneurs who provide inputs and market their products (fish, onions, paddy etc.). The **oligopoly of economic actors** allows them to keep prices for agricultural and fishing products at a low level, which reduces the profit margins of the producers. These constraints for farmers seem more prominent in the conflict-affected areas of Sri Lanka than in the peaceful ones. Such covert control of the economy places a small group of people as winners who take profit from the war.

***Coping of key actors:
low profile*** (13) The way key actors of governmental organisations and economic entrepreneurs cope in turn influences and shapes the villagers' access to their capital assets. While villagers apply coping strategies to pursue livelihoods, people within institutions do so to survive, defend their power and position or even to extend and strengthen it. At a community level, the lack of local leadership due to the fear to expose oneself encourages opportunistic behaviour of those with good links to power holders at the expense of others and discourages collective action. The behaviour of actors in the governmental organisations and administration is similarly shaped by a strategy of showing a low profile. Administrators are reluctant to take responsibility and action legally ascribed to them, in case this has political and ethnic implications. The consequence of this strategic action and behaviour is that entitlements to resources are unevenly distributed according to ethnicity. This has been and continues to be one major cause of the ongoing conflict.

Land Tenure (14) Secure land entitlements are a precondition for the resilience of livelihoods, viz. the capacities of households to absorb shocks and to adapt to stresses induced by climate, price instability, unemployment and, in complex emergencies, political crisis. The degree of security of land use rights and resource endowments has a fundamental bearing on the livelihood options of households, and consequently their planning horizons and investment decisions. Complex political emergencies cause changes in the structure of land occupation due to population displacement and land seizures. Furthermore, existing governance structures at a local and regional level may collapse or are seriously undermined in enforcing the rule of law. Conflict is often rooted in inter-group competition over land and resources. In post-conflict situations, it is essential to establish tenure institutions which can resolve land disputes and tenure claims in a transparent and 'neutral' manner.

- Rival claims over land* (15) In eastern Sri Lanka, competing claims and disputes over land emerged between Tamils and Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims and Sinhalese and Muslims, which have their roots in the politics of memory and perception in the context of the politics of ethnicity and colonisation in Sri Lanka. Many Tamils have perceived the expansion of Sinhalese settlements in the North and East as an act of political and geographic ‘colonisation of traditional Tamil areas’. The Sinhalese understood it as an expansion into areas that they had abandoned in ancient times. In the context of the ethnicised conflict, the politicisation of land use rights, vested interests of armed actors and the link of the topic with the causes of conflict make it difficult for administrators and decision-makers to enforce the rule of law.
- Towards transparent land tenure institutions* (16) Four main issues of land tenure are fundamental to poverty alleviation and conflict transformation in the eastern part of Sri Lanka:
- **Lack of accountability** in how government institutions handle land use rights, fuels suspicion and deepens the ethnic divide in the multi-ethnic environment of the Trincomalee District.
 - Political interests and interference of power holders impede administrators from taking responsibility and action in politicised issues due to fear of negative effects and **political pressure**.
 - Social capital on community level, i.e. reputed local institutions or leaders, have lost influence and power in solving community conflicts. In turn, political capital of individuals or groups determines institutional arrangements in land disputes, and thus who wins and who loses. The political capital differs considerably among the three communal groups.
 - The **uncertainty and insecurity in land tenure** certainly prevents farmers from long-term oriented investment on land resources. Farming practices are more oriented towards risk minimisation or high return in short time, while neglecting sustainable land management.

- Triple approach for project interventions*** (17) The complexity of conflicts demands a set of different components for a flexible intervention strategy, which provides measures on different levels of the livelihood system: strengthening capital assets (potential of people) should always be combined with removing constraining factors from the level of structures and processes. The research team recommends a *triple approach for creating incentives* to overcome the widespread relief attitude of humanitarian agencies in the Trincomalee District. The triple approach comprises: (i) *Responding to shocks* (asset-based support), (ii) *Adjusting to trends* (support of structures and processes) and (iii) *Promoting viability* (mobilisation of governance structures). (See Chapter 7)
- LSA as planning tool*** (18) The Livelihood System Approach provides a holistic framework for understanding the various factors which determine behaviour, livelihood strategies and related outcomes. It introduces a systemic thinking into:
- Planning village projects (see Manual),
 - Policy definition and framework planning (priority setting) on district and provincial level,
 - Institutional analysis (an organisation is analysed with capital assets and coping strategies similarly like a household).
- Intercultural learning*** (19) The IFSP and CATAD shared the experience of intercultural teamwork in 1999 and in 2001. In both cases, the teams, both German and Sri Lankan members, evaluated their experience of working in an intercultural team with very positive results. IFSP and CATAD understand intercultural communication and teamwork as a mutual capacity building process. The encounter with another culture challenges one's own habits and thinking. It provides a clear feedback on one's own behaviour and teaches fundamental skills for the work as a culture-sensitive advisor and consultant in development cooperation.

How to Use the Report

Context of Utilisation:

The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 is an action- and decision-oriented research study, which explores socio-economic coping strategies and changes in land use patterns of conflict-affected communities in the Trincomalee District, Sri Lanka. The study follows the livelihood system approach developed by the Department for International Development (DFID) of the British Government and provides user-relevant information for its main client, the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP). This report is the main document of the six-months collaboration.

The study is structured in a way that facilitates selective reading. The following page gives an overview upon the different chapters, annexes and manuals of the report to guide the reader through the 200 pages volume. More detailed information is contained in a series of nine IFSP Working Papers (No. 37-45), which can be obtained from the IFSP office.

The study will be used by:

- **The management of IFSP and partner institutions:** The study discusses the conceptual and political implications of the research findings in *Chapter 7*. The main findings are elaborated in *Chapters 5 and 6* with detailed background information in the *Annexes 4 and 5*.
- **The field staff of IFSP and partner institutions:** The *manual* provides a user-friendly explanation of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) and how it can be utilised in project planning and community mobilisation.
- **Other development agencies in the Northern and Eastern Provinces:** *Chapter 4* provides a concise description of the frame conditions in the Trincomalee District. *Chapters 5 and 6* document the empirical findings and *Chapters 7* the implications of the study.
- **Scientists and practitioners** in the fields of rural development, conflict transformation and food security: *Chapter 2* discusses conceptual aspects of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) and food and nutrition security. *Chapters 5 and 6* (more details in Annexes 4-5) give a detailed account of the empirical findings. *Chapters 1, 4* and *Annex 3* provide condensed information on the situation in the conflict zone of Sri Lanka. The methodology of the process-and action oriented research approach is discussed in *Chapter 3* and lessons learnt from intercultural teamwork and the field in *Chapter 8*.

Structure of the Report:

- Chapter 1** Introduces the reader to background, commission and purpose of the study.
- Annex 1** shows the agreed minutes for the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001.
- Chapter 2** elaborates the analytical framework of the research study, namely the Livelihood System Approach (LSA).
- Chapter 3** explains how the research study has been conducted (methodology).
- Annex 2** documents mind maps with key research topics as a guideline during the field phase.
- Chapter 4** Describes the frame conditions (vulnerability context) of the research area in the conflict zone of Sri Lanka.
- Annex 3** gives an account of the recent history of the civil war in Sri Lanka.
- Chapter 5** analyses the socio-economic livelihood strategies of war-affected communities in the five research locations.
- Annex 4** elaborates case studies on livelihood systems in three research locations.
- Chapter 6** focuses on how people and institutions deal with the changing land use patterns evolving from the conflict.
- Annex 5** explains the institutional arrangements in land use planning and land rights in Sri Lanka.
- Annex 6:** provides material for a role play, which is based on common land use disputes in the Trincomalee District.
- Chapter 7** discusses the implications of the research findings for the IFSP, partner institutions and other development agencies.
- The **Manual** is a user-friendly guide to a simple planning matrix, based on the livelihood system approach.
- Chapter 8** reflects our research process, i.e. intercultural team work lessons learnt from the field.

Working Papers:

A series of nine IFSP Working Papers documents the different steps of knowledge generation of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 along the consecutive research phases, presents conceptual issues and preliminary research results for further discussion (Nos. 37-39, 45), and provides a detailed account of the village findings (Nos. 40-44).

<u>No.</u>	<u>Authors</u>	<u>Title</u>
37	B. Korf and M. Singarayer	<i>Livelihoods in Complex Emergencies. Land Use, Socio-economic Coping Strategies and Food Security in Trincomalee District. Reconnaissance Mission.</i>
38	B. Korf	<i>Assessing Livelihoods in Complex Emergencies: Framework of Analysis.</i>
39	B. Korf	<i>Seven Pillars of Coping Strategies in Complex Emergencies. Preliminary Results from Case Studies in Trincomalee District.</i>
40	M. Ziebell and J. Ziegler	<i>Converting Threats into Opportunities? Ithikulam – Village Profile.</i>
41	R. Abeyrathne, T. Flämig and M. Ziebell	<i>Fragile Prosperity on the Fringe of Power. Kalyanapura – Village Profile.</i>
42	D. Dharsanie, T. Flämig, B. Korf and C. Schenk	<i>Missing the Onion Boom? Kumpurupitty – Village Profile.</i>
43	T. Sakthivel and J. Ziegler	<i>Squeezed between the Lines. Vaddam – Village Profile.</i>
44	K. Devarajah, B. Korf and C. Schenk	<i>Grievances over Land. Dehiwatte – Menkamam: Thematic Area Study on Land Use.</i>
45	B. Korf	<i>Livelihoods at Risk. Land Use and Coping Strategies of War-affected Communities in the Trincomalee District.</i>

Working Papers can be obtained from:

Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP):

42, Huskison Street, 31000 Trincomalee, Sri Lanka.

Tel.: + + 94 (0)26 22023 or 22687, Fax: + + 94 (0)26 22296,

E-mail: ifspsl@sri.lanka.net

1. Introduction

Humanitarian agencies often portray human beings caught up in political conflicts or natural disasters as helpless victims in dire need of emergency aid. However, people often survive even without aid by coping with and adapting to the circumstances of the crisis. Development assistance should, therefore, focus on 'spaces' and 'opportunities' which people have already identified in order to secure their livelihoods in complex emergencies, and support communities to deal with their own developmental issues. It is in this line of thinking that the present study on livelihoods of war-affected communities in the east of Sri Lanka presents its main argument. Chapter 1 outlines the background (1.1), commission (1.2; 1.3) and purpose of the study (1.2).

1.1 Sri Lanka: An Island at War

Sri Lanka, which used to be known as Ceylon when it was a British colony, is a small, multicultural island nation located off the very Southern tip of India. Sri Lanka is a low-income country with a per capita income of about \$820 (World Bank 2000a). The incidence of poverty has reduced over the past four decades, yet one out of five Sri Lankan households subsists below the poverty line. With its strong human resource base and natural endowments, the country could have achieved substantially higher growth rates and poverty reduction had it not been for a history of ethnic conflict, political unrest and the lack of sound economic policies. Since independence 50 years ago, hostilities between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils have strained nation building. Since 1983 the Government has faced a military challenge for the control of the Northern and Eastern Provinces (NEP). The civil war between the Sri Lankan armed forces (SLAF) and the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has exacted a heavy toll on human lives and the economy. This unresolved civil conflict poses the biggest obstacle to Sri Lanka's long-term economic growth. Direct costs of the conflict, including budget commitments for military expenditure, infrastructure losses, and pension payments, together with indirect costs such as distortions to labour markets, disruptions to commerce, low foreign investments and reduced revenue from tourism hinder the country's economic progress. (see Box 1.1).

Box 1.1: Economic Cost of War

The on going conflict has created negative consequences in every sphere of the life of the people of Sri Lanka. In terms of economic costs, economists classify them into two categories: direct and indirect costs. Further, these costs are again sub-divided into short-term and long-term costs. Thus, tangible costs of the war relate to battlefield losses of personal and equipment, civilian victims, widespread destruction of capital assets and property, damage to infrastructure, and loss of cultivable land. Intangible costs include the by – products of the conflict, and these may include capital flight, loss of potential foreign capital and tourist inflows and emigration of skilled labour.

The Central Bank estimates that the conflict has reduced Sri Lanka's economic growth by about 2 to 3 percentage points a year. The war has brought about a sharp escalation of defence expenditure coupled with an expansion of armed forces of the country. Prior to the start of the war, Sri Lanka had a very low defence budget. For instance, defence expenditure was well below one per cent of GDP in the early 1970s, and in the early 1980s, it was just above one per cent of GDP. However, by 1985 the Sri Lankan government spent 3.5 per cent of its GDP for defence activities and in the 1990s it rose up to 6 per cent of GDP. Thus, the strength of armed forces, including Police, Army, Air Force, and Navy grew from 58, 660 to 235, 000 by 1996.

The Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) calculated the present value cost of the conflict during 1984-96 at approx. 170 percent of Sri Lanka's total GDP for 1996. The study estimates that Sri Lanka lost foreign investment flows of 71 percent of its GDP in 1996 during 1984-96.

Sources: Gunatilleke 2001, Arunatilake; Jayasuriya & Kelegama 2000; Sarvananthan 2001; Central Bank 1999

The individual, socio-political and moral costs of the protracted conflict are even more striking (cf. Gunatilleke 2001; World Bank 2000; UNDP 1998): At least 60,000 people have lost their lives, about 800,000 people have been displaced and approx. 650,000 have been deprived of the essential security, comfort and privacy of their homes. An estimated 172,000 people live in refugee camps which the government ironically calls 'welfare centres'. Widows and female-headed households are a growing vulnerable group which struggles for economic survival and faces social exclusion. Children and youth are among the most vulnerable in the conflict and have suffered from violence, traumatic events and forced recruitment.

The civil war is both a cause and an outcome of governance failure. The Sri Lankan political system is highly corrupt and is governed by party politics. The war further weakens transparency and accountability in society. Since 1984, parts of the island have been in more or less a continuous state of emergency. The protracted terms of office and the vested interests of power holders on both sides have created a polarised society along ethnic and religious divides. The conflict has created a militarisation of the society with a decline of law and order which has undermined its moral foundations.

Conflict is the primary constraint to development in the Northern and Eastern Province of Sri Lanka (NEP), the war zone. Although war has become a normal state of existence and is experienced as a reality by the people of the NEP, it has left them with hopelessness and frustration (see Box 1.2). Insecurity, violence and risk affects all three communal groups in the NEP, viz. the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims.

Box 1.2: Muttur Tamils Appeal to Kofi Annan

“Hundreds of Tamils in Muttur East in the southern part of the Trincomalee District demonstrated Monday demanding that the Sri Lanka army and Navy should stop bombarding their villages immediately. More than thirty thousand Tamils live in about forty villages in Muttur East. ‘We are unable to fish in the sea because the Sri Lanka Navy gunboats attack us. We are unable to cultivate our rice fields because the SLA indiscriminately fires artillery on us day and night. Our children do not go to schools due to traumatic experiences caused by the loss of lives in their families’ states the memorandum sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations by the Tamils of Muttur East.”

Source: TamilNet (December 10, 2001)

In the day-to-day stress of living in an environment of uncertainty and violence, how do people survive and pursue their livelihoods?

This is the key question faced by individuals and agencies active in rehabilitation and development in the war-affected areas of the Northern and Eastern Province (NEP). While the rehabilitation of physical assets is essential for reviving the regional economy, the real challenge lies in rebuilding trust and confidence and in establishing democratic governance structures. No meaningful and sustained reconstruction and development can take place at a village level, now or in the future, without the communities themselves controlling and actively participating in the development process (cf. Schall et al.

2000). The Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (ISFP) therefore commissioned the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 to explore socio-economic coping strategies of conflict-affected communities in the Trincomalee District with particular emphasis on land use patterns and on food and nutrition security.

1.2 Conflict Mitigation through Food Security?¹

Conflict can be both a cause and an effect of hunger (Messer, Cohen & Marchione 2001). In the conflict zone of Sri Lanka, food insecurity is the effect of war. On the other hand, interventions for food and nutrition security may have either a mitigating or an aggravating influence on the dynamics of the conflict. (cf. IFSP 2001a). Working and living in a conflict area means co-operating with people who have experienced loss of life and property, internal displacement, a breakdown of their community and institutional network and a loss of career opportunities. They continue to experience uncertainty and risk. Can one expect creativity or an active contribution in these conditions (IFSP 2000)?

The promotion of food and nutrition security as a contribution towards development in a conflict-affected environment is the challenging task of the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP), which is implemented through the Ministry of Plan Implementation (MPI) and supported by German Development Co-operation (GTZ). The IFSP supports people who are at risk of food insecurity and those affected by the conflict to diversify and intensify their food and income sources and to improve their nutrition and health care. The intention of the IFSP is that this achieves an overall improvement of basic needs especially in food security and nutrition, and leads to a peaceful co-existence with the co-operation of all the communities.

The IFSP was set up in August 1998 and is now in its second phase which lasts until the end of 2003. With its focus on development rather than relief, the guiding principles of IFSP comprise people's participation, mobilising local capacities and contributions, facilitating better services and promoting stability. This is expected to improve short-term and medium-term food and nutri-

¹ Cf. IFSP. 2000. *Conflict Mitigation through Food Security?* Working Paper 36. Trincomalee: Integrated Food Security Programme (IFSP).

tion security: with more food made available, people have better access to food and food will be utilised more effectively.

Numerous small-scale projects were initiated to improve rural infrastructure, expand agricultural production, enhance employment and income, improve health services, increase capacity for planning and monitoring and to promote human resources. These projects are not directly implemented by IFSP, but in collaboration with existing government institutions and non-governmental organisations (the service providers). They play a dominant role in needs assessment, planning of poverty and community projects, their implementation and their evaluation. This will ensure a certain degree of sustainability beyond the project duration of the IFSP (cf. IFSP 2001c).

The IFSP perceives itself as a site of learning, i.e. as a system which is constantly promoting knowledge and dissemination based on effective, sustainable practices and in-process learning. IFSP's areas of innovations include participatory planning approaches, community mobilisation and institutional capacity building.

1.3 Context of Utilisation: IFSP-CATAD Project 2001

In 1999, IFSP commissioned the Centre for Advanced Training in Agricultural and Rural Development (CATAD) of the Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany to elaborate a participatory and integrated planning approach for village development (cf. Bauer et al. 1999). The promising experience of the intercultural teamwork between the IFSP staff and the young CATAD scientists encouraged IFSP and CATAD to embark on a second venture with a team of young professionals and scientists from Germany and Sri Lanka. The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 is thus the second joint venture between the IFSP and CATAD. The study was funded by the IFSP with the financial assistance of the German Federal Ministry of Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ) and Humboldt University.

**Graphic 1.1:
Project Phases of
IFSP Trincomalee**

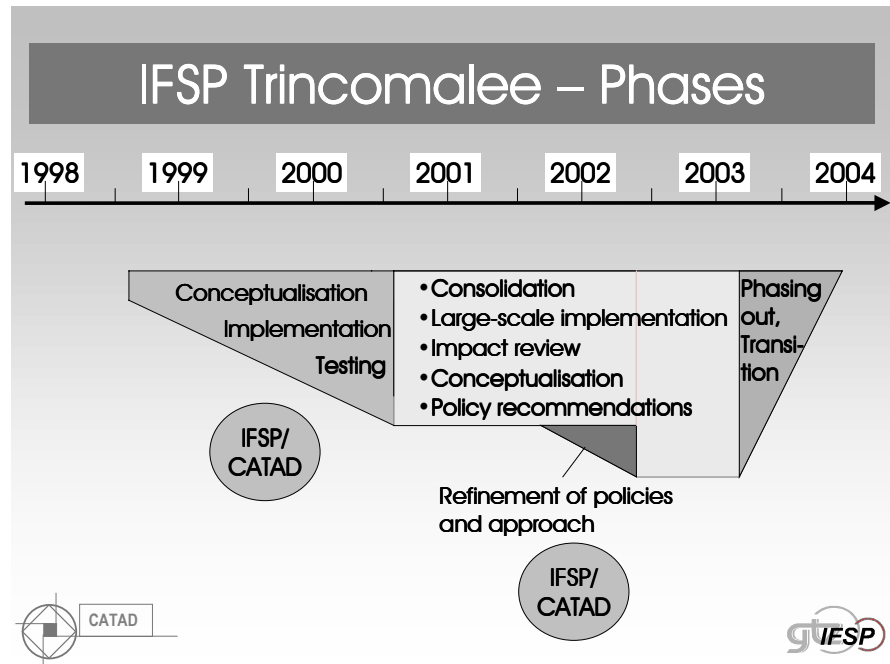
Since its inception in August 1998, the IFSP focused on conceptualising and testing innovative approaches for village development. A project progress review in July 2000, while confirming the concept in principle,

recommended greater focus on consolidating the approach towards large-scale implementation during the second phase of the project (2001-2003). The mission also recommended a more in-depth investigation into how people sustain their livelihoods and secure their food and nutrition in the face of the conflict. This knowledge should improve the aim and the impact of village projects (cf. Schall et al. 2000).

In keeping with the recommendations of the project progress review, the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 aimed at

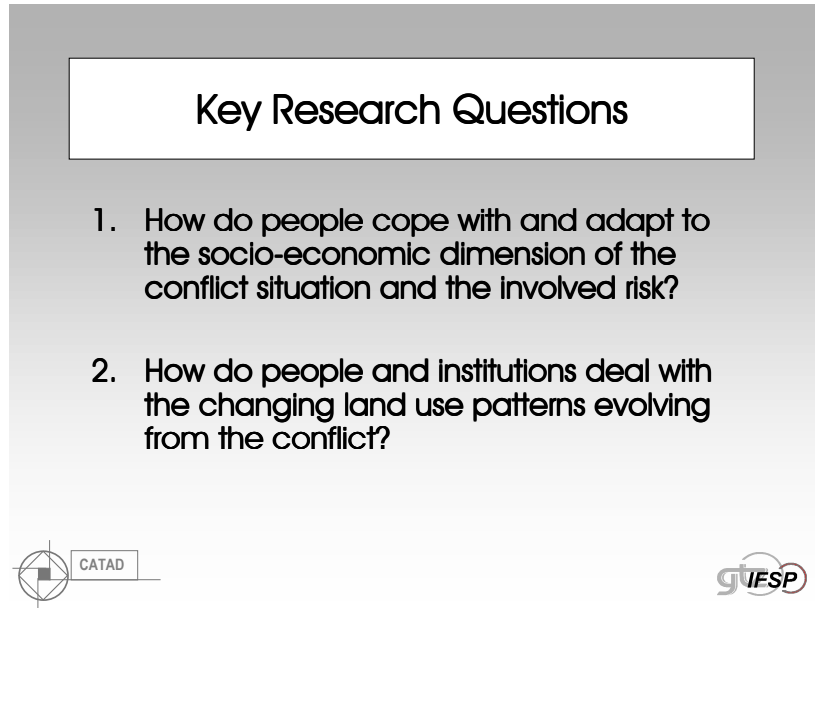
- **enabling the IFSP and its partners to explore and implement more appropriate project interventions without causing harm.**

In order to achieve this, the IFSP-CATAD Project conducted an action- and decision-oriented research study (cf. Chapter 3) with an extended support team from IFSP and partners and scientific advisors from the University of Peradeniya.



Graphic 1.2: Key Research Questions

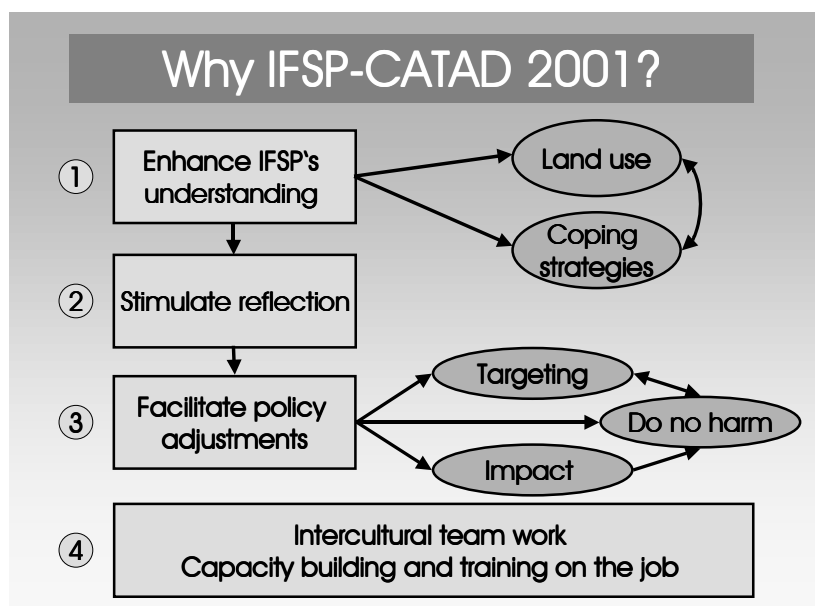
The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 deals with two key research questions: what strategies do people use to cope with and adapt to the conflict, and how changing land use patterns are dealt with (see **Graphic 1.2**). The study focuses on socio-economic and institutional aspects of livelihoods in a conflict environment.



The results of the study shall stimulate reflection among IFSP and partner institutions to adjust project interventions with regard to targeting (whom do we address), and impact (with which adequate measures) without causing harm (avoiding unintentional negative effects on the dynamics of the local conflict). Furthermore, the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 promotes intercultural and interdisciplinary teamwork with a group of young Sri Lankan-German professionals and researchers. Capacity building and training on the job will also include the field staff of IFSP and its partners, where it is feasible in the particular research context.

Graphic 1.3: Why IFSP-CATAD 2001?

Graphic 1.3 outlines the rationale for the research concept of IFSP-CATAD. It promotes four main elements: (1) enhancing IFSP and partners' understanding of the two key research topics.



(2) Enhanced knowledge forms the basis for reflection on current concepts and practices. This should, in turn, (3) facilitate policy adjustments in order to improve the targeting of measures and for project interventions to have a wider impact without creating unintentional negative effects (cf. IFSP 2001b). (4) The main process is intercultural team work, capacity building and training on the job of both the German young scientists and the Sri Lankan team members, as well as other staff from IFSP and partners participating in the study.

The present report is the final outcome of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. It consists of a main report which discusses the methodology and the results of the empirical study, and of annexes which provide supplementary information on selected subjects. Furthermore, the IFSP-CATAD team has documented preliminary research results in a series of 9 Working Papers (**see 'How to Use the Report'**).

2. Livelihoods at Risk: Conceptual Approach

Chapter 2 elaborates an analytical framework for action- and decision-oriented research in the context of the civil war in Sri Lanka. We will introduce three guiding concepts: the term complex political emergencies (CPE) describes the environment of investigation, denoting features of the civil war in Sri Lanka (2.1). The concept of Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) differentiates that nutrition security is not a simple outcome of food production, but of an interplay of factors (2.2). The Livelihood System Approach (LSA) develops an analytical model of how to understand the complexity of community life and human behaviour in such a socio-economic and ecological system (2.3).

2.1 Complex Political Emergencies

The term 'complex political emergency' describes protracted social conflicts which occur in many different countries or societies. Goodhand & Hulme 1999 define five important features (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1: Complex Political Emergencies (CPE)

The term 'complex political emergency' denotes conflicts which combine the following features:

- Conflict within and across state boundaries
- Political origins
- Protracted duration
- Social cleavages
- Predatory social formations (society of violence)

Adapted from Goodhand & Hulme 1999.

The civil war in Sri Lanka can be described as a complex political emergency or a protracted social conflict as it is rooted in, and is an expression of, existing social, political, economic and cultural structures. It involves every dimension of society and the lives of the people in the conflict zones of Sri Lanka (mainly the Northeast). It is ethnicised or ethno-nationalist in nature, characterised by loyalty to one particular communal group, accompanied by

strong antipathy towards other communal groups living within the same state.

In the Sri Lankan case, the five defining features of complex political emergencies are reflected as follows:

- *Conflict within and across state boundaries*: The conflict is of a hybrid form where the conflict is neither purely inter-state nor intra-state war. In the Sri Lankan case, India, the regional super power, has always been involved in the civil and military politics of its island neighbour.
- *Political origins*: The civil war in Sri Lanka has political roots. The rivalry for power and resources is a central dynamic and the distribution of power and recognition is crucial in politics and is determined by power plays based on ethnicity.
- *Protracted duration*: Although the civil war in Sri Lanka erupted in 1983, the ethnic conflict as such is an enduring feature since independence. The civil war is thus not a temporary crisis after which society will return to 'normal' (i.e. normal levels of physical violence).
- *Social cleavages*: The civil war in Sri Lanka is an expression of existing social, political, economic and cultural structures and it affects every aspect of life in the war zones. The conflict is an outcome of a prolonged and often violent struggle by communal (ethnic) groups (Sinhalese, Muslim, Tamil) for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance and equal access to political institutions.
- *Predatory social formations*: The ethno-nationalist nature of the conflict has triggered a virulent loyalty to one's own communal group and strong feelings of antipathy towards other groups. 'Conflict entrepreneurs' and political opportunists often seek to reinforce ethnic identities and promote ethnicity as a defining feature for individuals and society.

It is essential to understand the conflict in Sri Lanka as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, or a *conflict cocktail*. Social and political cleavages occur at various levels along many lines of dissent. The fundamental issue of the macro-conflict is the grievance between the Tamil minority and the Sinhalese-Buddhist majority which has escalated into a war between the Liberation Tigers Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the largely Sinhalese armed forces. In addition to this major line of dissent, there are other social, political and ethnic cleavages between other communal groups, e.g. clashes between Muslim and Tamil communities in the East, the recent troubles between Sinhalese and Muslims in the more peaceful zones of the country, and finally two

Marxist youth insurrections in the South in 1971 and the late 1980s as an escalated intra-Sinhalese conflict.

2.2 The Concept of Food and Nutrition Security

Food insecurity is a key problem in complex emergencies. Structural causes of food insecurity are often at the root of conflict. However, to view food insecurity as a trigger of conflict and violence will be to downplay the complexity of protracted social conflicts. On the other hand, the impact of a conflict on food security is often striking: When violence escalates food insecurity becomes acute for a large part of the population.

Food security is often reduced to a problem of production and national self-sufficiency in food. However, food security at macro-level still does not guarantee food security for all at household or at individual level (Kelegama 2000). Amartya Sen (1981) highlighted the entitlement thesis of famines which argues that people may be starving even though sufficient food is locally or regionally available. Often, malnutrition and starvation are more a problem of purchasing power or other entitlements to food than one of availability.

The concept of integrated food and nutrition security (FNS) distinguishes three dimensions of food security (BMZ 1997, 1998):

- (i) *Availability* of food at all times (is sufficient food locally produced or imported to be available at local markets?)
- (ii) *Access* to food at all times (do households have the purchasing power or other entitlements to buy food?)
- (iii) *Use and utilisation* of food according to sufficient dietary standards (do people prepare nutritious food and is their state of health able to absorb it?)

For all these elements, *stability* over time is a crucial feature as food insecurity can be *chronic* or *transitory*. Chronic food insecurity is rooted in poverty, when the nutritional status of a household is persistently inadequate. In complex emergencies, transitory food insecurity affects both households with and without chronic food insecurity. Transitory food insecurity is a temporary decline in a household's access to food.

Box 2.2: Issues of Concern in Food and Nutrition

Security

Availability Issues:

- ✓ Agricultural and food production system, structure, performance
- ✓ Production resources
- ✓ Food production at different levels of the economy
- ✓ Proportion of subsistence and market (cash) production
- ✓ Average food gaps
- ✓ Marketing problems of food producers

Accessibility Issues:

- ✓ Poverty levels
- ✓ Vulnerability factors of poor people
- ✓ Sources and problems of access and entitlements
- ✓ Local food markets and distance to them
- ✓ Coping strategies with food shortages

Use and Utilisation Issues:

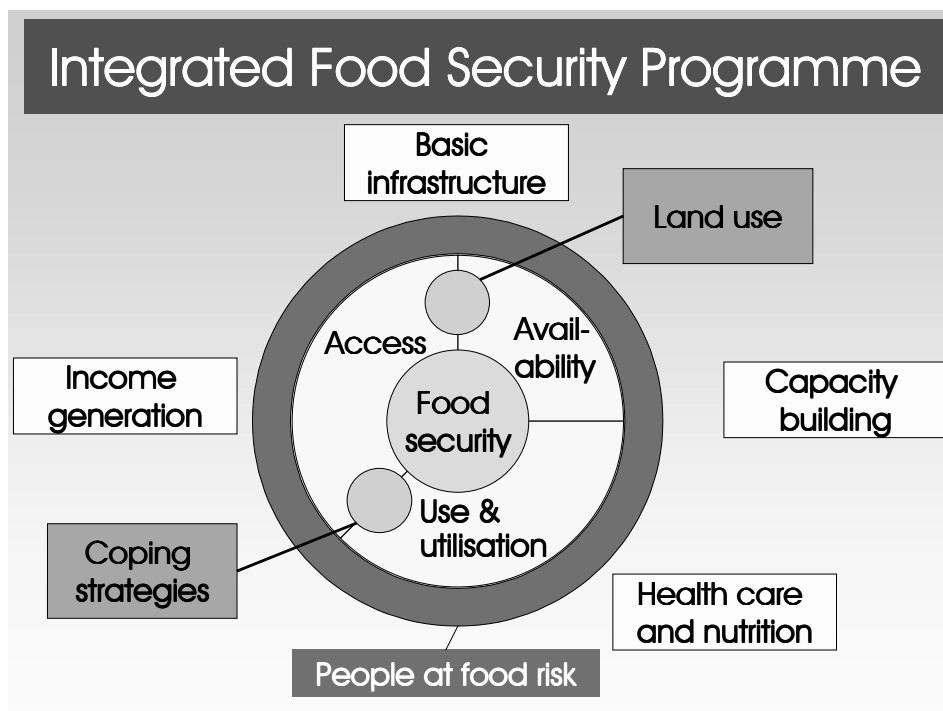
- ✓ Health and nutritional status
- ✓ Prevalence of malnutrition
- ✓ Safe drinking water and sanitation
- ✓ Education
- ✓ Gender aspects (intra-household resource allocation)
- ✓ Food conservation, processing and preparation

Stability Issues:

- ✓ Long-term stability of resource base
- ✓ Production supply and price variation
- ✓ Damage by major disasters (natural and political)
- ✓ Reliability in income

The period of transition is often temporary in the case of sudden, unpredictable shocks (such as natural disasters, e.g. the cyclone in Trincomalee in December 2001). Food can also become scarce at particular times of the year. Typically, the households and individuals most vulnerable to chronic food insecurity are also those who are hit hardest by shocks (cf. Thomson & Metz 1997).

Graphic 2.1: The Concept of Food and Nutrition Security



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

The Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP) provides various support measures in all three dimensions of food security:

- (i) Village infrastructure is a basic condition for both the production of food and access to it.
- (ii) Income generating activities and improved services enable vulnerable groups to gain purchasing power (access).
- (iii) The health and nutrition programme addresses the optimum use of food by improving hygiene, creating awareness of nutritious food, and the school mid-day meals programme.

The research subject of socio-economic coping strategies mainly addresses the interplay between access to food and its use : How do people gain access to food to meet their requirements and how do they make use of the food in an insecure environment shaped by armed conflict? It will also look into the area of food availability by addressing the production aspect of farming systems. At this point, land use comes in as a particularly important area in availability of food: what farming systems are commonly practised and how do they provide people with an income (access to food) or subsistence (availability of and access to food). Land use covers the aspect of land use for economic gain and of land use rights, which determine whether or not people are ready for long-term investment in land resources.

2.3 The Livelihood System Approach (LSA)

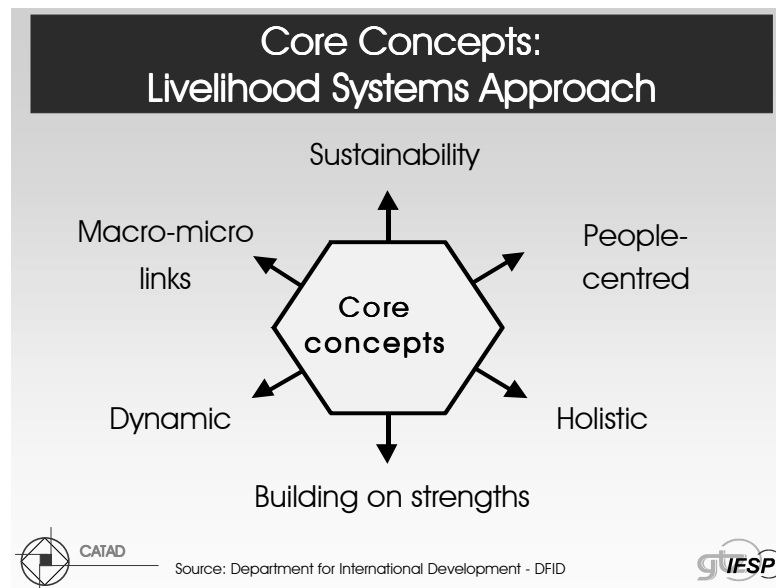
The Livelihood System Approach (LSA) is a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities of development and is promoted by the British government's Department for International Development (DFID).¹ The approach is a combination of various concepts in participatory research and draws on the work of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). The framework of the LSA is instrumental in understanding the mechanisms of livelihoods which determine household food and nutrition security. The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 employed the LSA as a framework of analysis for researchers and practitioners in development. The LSA formed the base for empirical research studies, and, at the same time, it has been proposed as a useful tool for planning and monitoring village development (cf. Chapter 6 and Manual).

¹ For detailed discussion cf. Scoones 1998; Carney 1998; Chambers & Conway 1992.

2.3.1 Core Principles of the Livelihood System Approach

The Department for International Development (DFID 2000) promotes the LSA with six core principles. Many of these principles also form IFSP intervention policies.

Graphic 2.2: Core Concepts of the Livelihood System Approach



The six core principles are:

- (i) *People-centred*: The IFSP promotes the participation of target groups in development, viz. through participatory needs assessments (PNA) and community mobilisation. It is crucial not to assume homogeneity in populations and to identify vulnerable groups for specific support.
- (ii) *Holistic*: The LSA provides a way of thinking that is non-sectoral, recognises the multi-dimensionality of village life, the multiple influences on people and the multiple actors and institutions involved in development. Similarly, the IFSP attempts to strengthen inter-departmental links and to approach communities in an integrated manner.
- (iii) *Building on strengths*: The LSA focuses on an analysis of strengths rather than needs. Development-oriented measures of the IFSP should focus on removing existing constraints to realise these potentials.

- (iv) *Dynamic*: Livelihoods and the institutions shaping them are highly dynamic. This is particularly true of complex emergencies, which impose external shocks to the livelihood systems. A key question is how livelihoods are able to recover from these shocks.
- (v) *Macro-micro links*: Macro policies and interventions have a profound impact at the micro level. Feeding micro-level information to decision-makers at macro-level is therefore essential.
- (vi) *Sustainability*: The term sustainability covers two main aspects. First it looks at the sustainability of the livelihood system: have local assets and resources depleted or are accumulated over time? Similarly, institutional sustainability means that institutional arrangements conducive for development are able to deliver adequate services at the post-project phase.

2.3.2 The Livelihood System Model

In any livelihood analysis, the key question is:

In a particular frame condition, which of livelihood resources result in the ability to follow which livelihood strategies and with what outcome? Institutional processes and structures influence the ability to carry out such strategies.

(Scoones 1998, modified)

Box 2.3: Definition of Livelihood

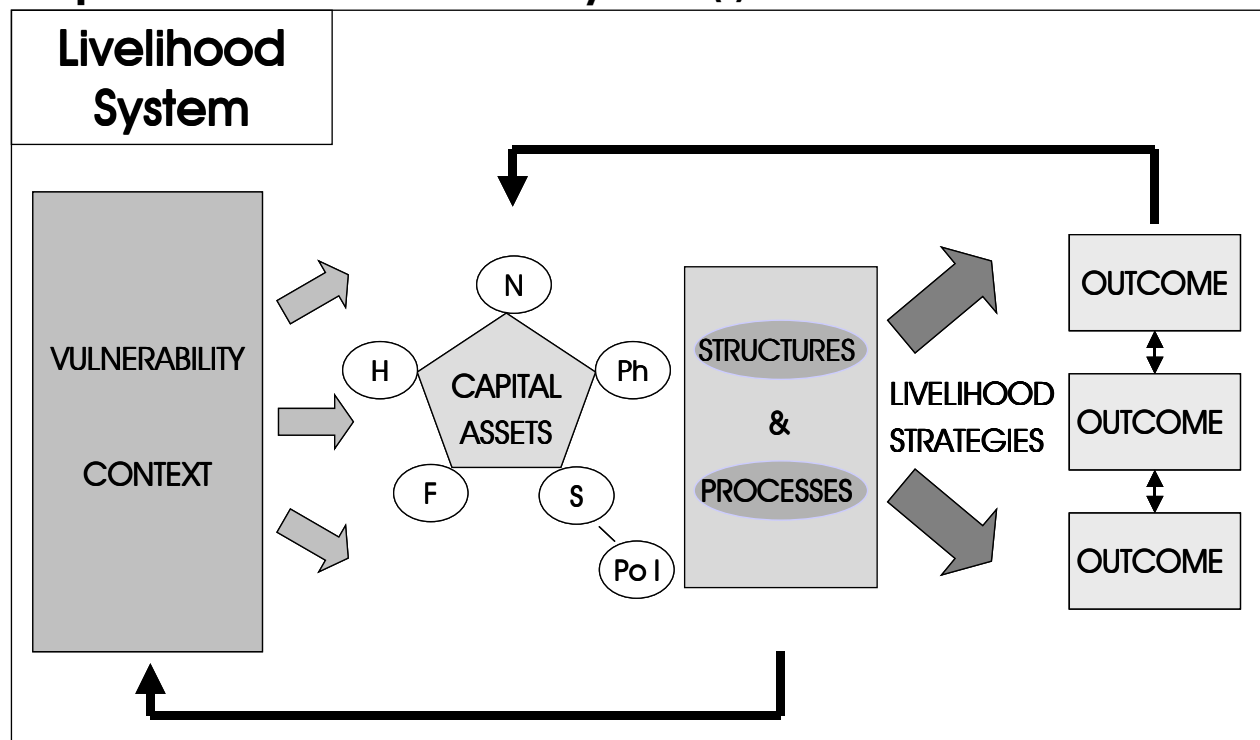
A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.

Carney 1998, modified after Chamber & Conway 1992.

An important strength of the livelihood system approach is that it emphasises people's potential in a holistic way rather than stressing on their problems, constraints and needs. It understands that livelihoods and institutions that influence and shape livelihoods are dynamic.

The LSA also looks at the links between what we observe at a micro-level and how macro-level policies have an impact on the situation at the micro-level. A 'livelihood focused' development approach would aim at removing constraints to the realisation of potentials and building strengths of people. This is very much in line with the current thinking of the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP).

Graphic 2.3: The Livelihood System (I)



Source: Department for International Development (DFID), modified by IFSP-CATAD

The livelihoods systems approach is a particularly useful analytical tool to observe and understand behavioural patterns of people and communities in complex political emergencies, i.e. protracted social and ethnicised civil wars and conflicts. It does not perceive people as vulnerable and helpless victims, but looks into their livelihood strategies in the existing frame conditions, or within their *vulnerability context*. The vulnerability context contains the natural, social, economic, political and cultural conditions which determine the life of people (see **Box 2.4**). These factors, on the other hand, can hardly be influenced by a single villager or community itself. This, however, does not mean that the vulnerability context is static. It is dynamic and is changing over time.

Box 2.4: Analysis of Vulnerability Context

I. Trends:

- ✓ *Resource stocks*: What happens to natural resource stocks and their quality (degradation, renewal, loss)?
- ✓ *Population density*: What is the current density and how does it change?
- ✓ *Technology*: What technologies exist which are of likely benefit to the people in the area?
- ✓ *Politics*: How are people in the area placed in terms of political representation?
- ✓ *Economics*: How do economic trends affect livelihoods (global prices, open economy, labour markets, taxes etc.)?

II. Shocks:

- ✓ *Climate*: How does the climate affect people's well-being (droughts, natural disasters)?
- ✓ *Conflict*: How do conflicts over resources affect livelihoods and how likely is an escalation of violence (political disaster)?

III. Culture

- ✓ *Culture*: What effect does culture have, if any, on the way how people manage their assets and the livelihood choices they make?

(from Carney 1998, modified)

The vulnerability context provides the background for households to secure their livelihoods. The livelihoods approach looks into the household resources (5 *capital assets*: physical, natural, human, financial and social) and attempts to trace how people combine their assets (*livelihood strategies*) in order to arrive at certain results (*outcomes*). Apart from the vulnerability context, transforming *structures and processes* will influence and shape behavioural patterns of people. What 'structures' (institutions: organisations, laws, policies) are present in the livelihood context and how do these structures perform and act ('processes')? Processes would thus refer to the actual institutional arrangements (rules of the game, (dis-) incentives).

Box 2.5: The Five Capital Assets**Natural capital:**

The natural resource stock from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived (e.g. land, water, wildlife, biodiversity, environmental resources)

Human capital:

Skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health needed to pursue different livelihood strategies.

Physical capital:

The basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, and communications) equipment for production and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

Financial capital:

The financial resources available to people (savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options.

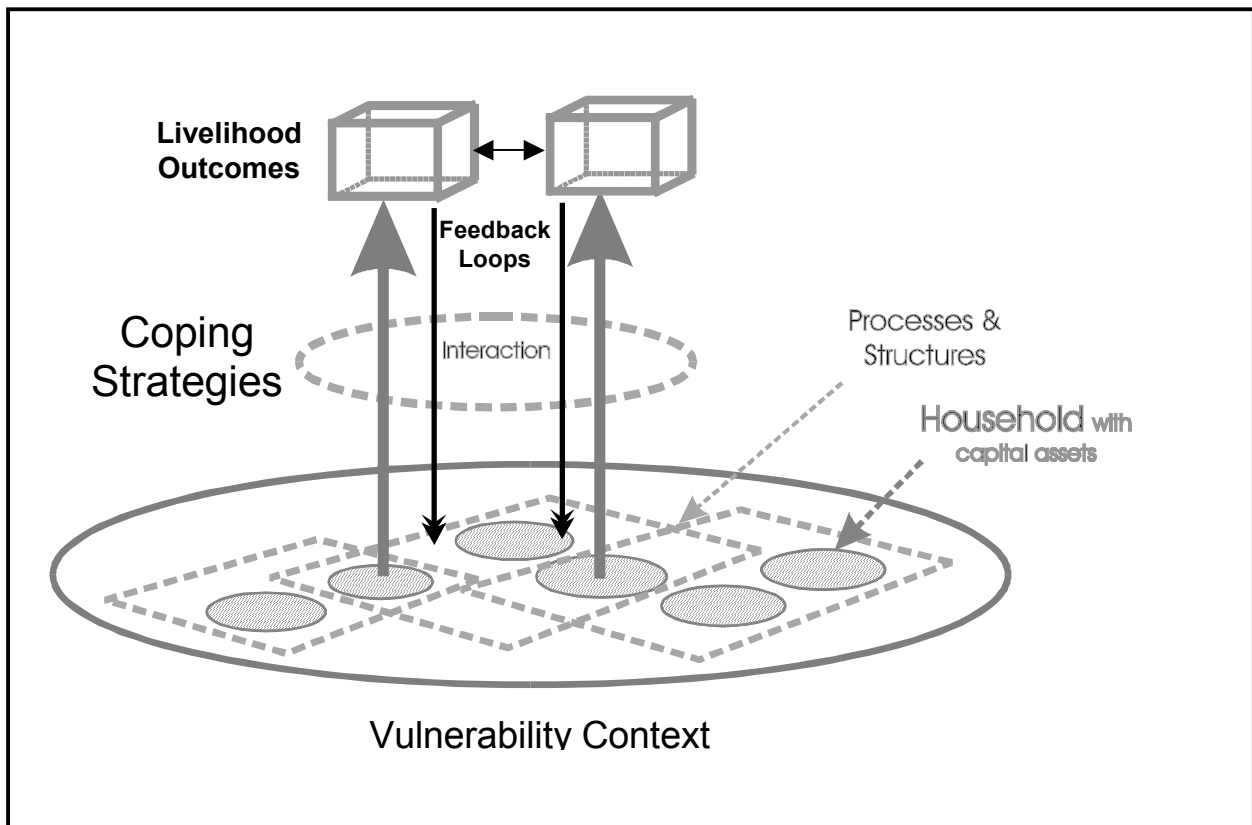
Social capital (with political capital):

The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationship or trust) upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods. Political capital as a sub-component of social capital refers to access to wider institutions of society, in particular alliances with local or regional power holders (civil, formal & informal, militant).

(Adapted from Scoones 1998, further developed by IFSP-CATAD 2001)

Structures and processes are critical in determining who gains access to which assets and to define the actual value of certain assets. Markets and legal restrictions have a profound influence on the extent to which one capital asset can be converted into other types of capital assets.

In times of uncertainty and distress, people may concentrate on short-term survival rather than on sustainable management of natural resources. It is therefore essential to assess the *feedback loops* (positive and negative impacts) of the different livelihood outcomes on the capital assets, and how structures and processes affect, in the longer term, the vulnerability context. While resource management tends to emphasise the environmental effects of coping strategies and outcomes for the livelihood system, it is equally important to look into the social, economic and political feedback loops to the household capital assets (positive as well as negative).

Graphic 2.4: The Livelihood System (II)

Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

In complex political emergencies, a conflict impact assessment could be useful to elaborate how certain livelihood strategies and related outcomes might contribute to deepen ethnic grievances and thus the conflict, while other outcomes may strengthen local capacities for peace.

2.3.3 Livelihood Strategies: Coping or Adapting?

In order to create livelihoods and outcomes, people must combine different capital assets they have access to or control of ('capital endowment') to carry out activities, i.e. develop certain livelihood strategies (see [Box 2.3](#)).

Box 2.6: Definition of Livelihood Strategies

How individuals (or households) combine their capital assets to carry out livelihood activities in order to achieve food security and to sustain their livelihoods, and which structures and processes they access and use for this purpose.

Livelihood strategies will differ with regard to whether people have to deal with gradual trends or sudden shocks (Rennie & Singh 1996):

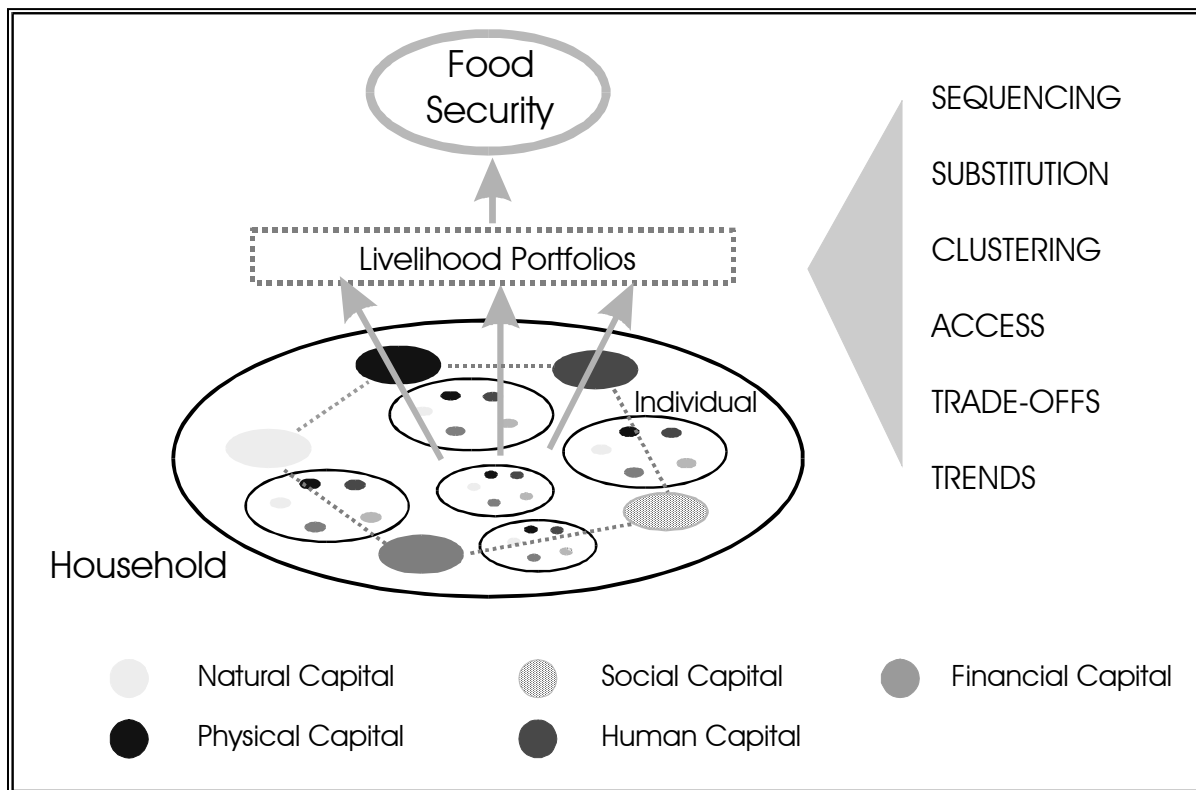
- *Adaptive strategies* denote changes which are more or less conscious and deliberate in the way people adjust livelihood strategies to long term changes and challenges (trends).
- *Coping strategies* are short-term responses to periodic stress or sudden shocks to both natural and political hazards.

In complex emergencies, there is an overlap of adaptive and coping strategies. However, due to the high incidence of sudden shocks, it is coping strategies that determine the daily survival of people to a great extent. In many cases, coping strategies with a focus on short-term survival might not be sustainable in the long term. In protracted social conflicts, however, the duration of violence and political crises urges people to stick to unsustainable coping strategies due to the high incidence of insecurity and risk. Hence, over time, coping strategies may evolve into adaptive strategies. On the other hand, having coping strategies available may be a precondition for adaptive strategies to work.

Scoones (1998) distinguishes three core livelihood strategies:

- Agricultural intensification or extensification which can be either capital- or labour-based.
- Livelihood diversification (cf. Ellis 1998, Hussein & Nelson 1998) – either the choice of investing in diversified accumulation and reinvestment, or developing livelihood portfolios to cover all types of stresses and shocks.
- Migration – either voluntary (labour migration) or forced (displacement), either temporary or permanent.

The stock of possible combinations of activities can be understood as a livelihood portfolio, which might be limited to a few activities or highly diversified (cf. Scoones 1998). The diversity of a livelihood portfolio depends on both capital asset endowments, and external factors (structures and processes and the vulnerability context), which determine the livelihood choices. These are often reduced in complex political emergencies due to the high degree of insecurity.

Graphic 2.5: Livelihood Portfolios and Strategies

Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

It is also essential to differentiate scale-levels: capital assets and livelihood options can be investigated at regional, community, household and individual levels. For an individual, it may be best to pursue a particular set of livelihood strategies, but these may have either positive or negative impacts on other household members or a broader community.

2.3.4 Vulnerability and Risk Management

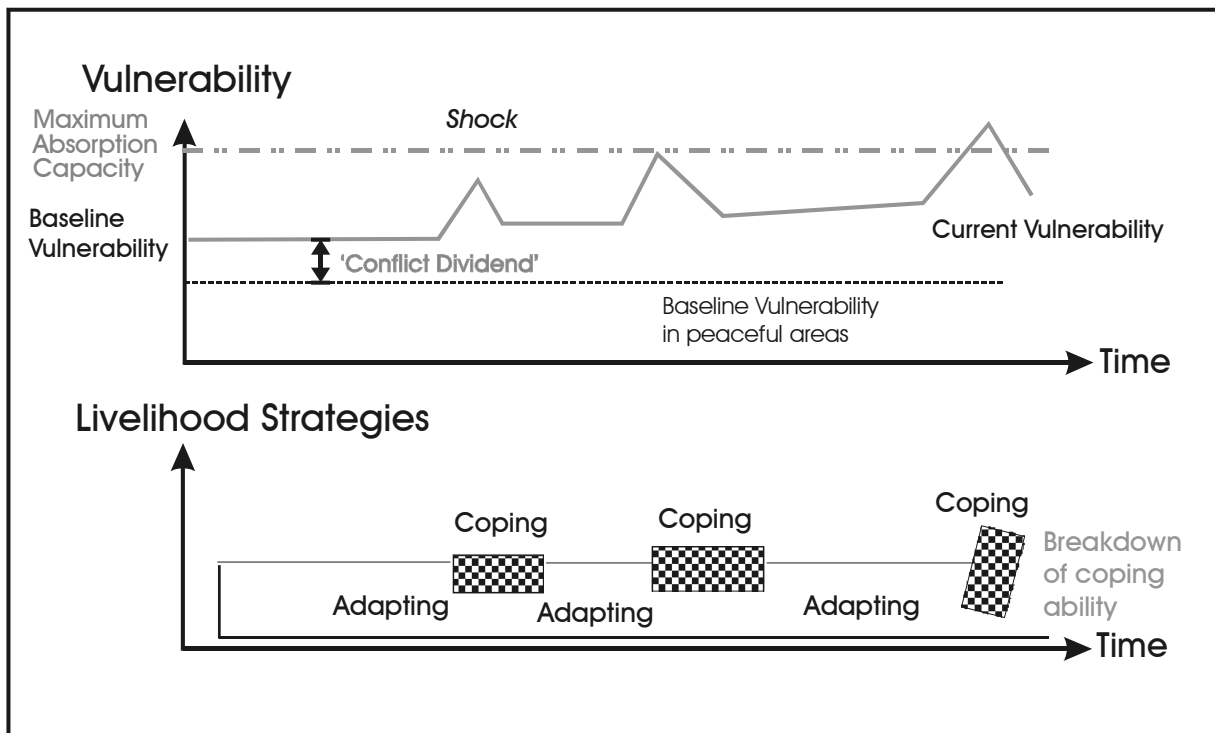
What is particularly at stake for livelihood systems in complex political emergencies? The major effect of war on livelihood systems is an increase in uncertainty and risk. In a vulnerability context shaped by random violence and the rule of armed forces and gangs, it can become a risk of life to continue livelihood activities based on agriculture or fisheries: paddy lands are partly in insecure areas close to the jungle (and thus under control of LTTE), while the security forces impose restrictions on fishing due to activities of the sea tigers. Furthermore, people have experienced displacement, having to flee their homes to the jungle or to other areas of Sri Lanka during sudden eruptions of fighting or violence.

The lack of stability appears to be an important feature of a complex political emergency (CPE) such as the civil war in Sri Lanka. According to the vulnerability concept, households in CPE face three elements of livelihood risks (adapted from Chambers 1989, Bohle 1993):

- (i) *exposure to crises, stress and shocks*: In CPE, political shocks are the most prominent feature, while we can also observe long-term declining trends (dilapidation of infrastructure, decline of agricultural production).
- (ii) *Inadequate coping strategies*: Civilians have very limited ability to cope with severe consequences of violence and fighting (political shocks). The main strategy seems to be leaving the arena of struggle (displacement, migration) by those who have the means to do so.
- (iii) *Severe consequences*: The shocks and crises, households experience in CPE, seriously harm the recovery potential of households to prevent a deterioration of their productive potential. A reduced (mentally, socially and economically degraded) situation becomes a 'normal' state of existence.

Graphic 2.6 illustrates how exposure to stresses, shocks and crises on complex emergencies affects the vulnerability of livelihoods and how households adapt to and cope with these externally imposed conditions. In complex emergencies, the baseline vulnerability is higher than in peaceful areas due to the increased risk level -- security risk and economic risk -- and declining economic opportunities (negative conflict dividend). Here people adapt their livelihood strategies to this 'reduced situation'. Short-term shocks (natural disasters, political shocks, violence) suddenly upset the precarious equilibrium and increase vulnerability (current vulnerability).² People adopt coping strategies in response to livelihood crises. Slowly, the system recovers and households employ a new adapting strategy composed of elements from the former adapting strategy and the coping strategy to develop a new portfolio of livelihood activities.

² For the concept of current and baseline vulnerability cf. Bohle 1995.

Graphic 2.6: Vulnerability and Livelihood Strategies

Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

Various livelihood strategies can be employed when managing risk. Scoones (1998) identifies five basic principles:

- *Creating reserves and buffers* for times of crises, stresses or shocks;
- *Spreading activities over space and time* to avoid total loss;
- *Changing the combination of activities* to reduce the covariance among different sources of stress or shock;
- *Risk pooling* (insurance and consumption smoothing) to ameliorate the effects of shocks and stresses;
- *Enhancing the resilience of the system* so that impacts of stresses and shocks are reduced.

Vaulmaul (2001) differentiates between income smoothing strategies to reduce ex-ante risk exposure and consumption-smoothing strategies of ex-post loss management (see Box 2.7).

Box 2.7: Ex-ante and Ex-post Economic Strategies

Income-smoothing strategies to reduce household's ex-ante risk exposure to risk (risk reduction strategies):

- Engagement in low-risk (less profitable) income generating activities
- Diversification of less capital-intensive income-generating activities (by sector, season, family member, etc.)
- Holding fixed costs to a minimum (rent infrastructure, labour)
- Building insurance mechanisms (savings and assets for liquidation in case of emergency)
- Risk sharing through spreading mechanisms (relying on kinship relations and other social networks)

Consumption-smoothing strategies of ex-post loss management strategies to stabilise consumption (adopted according to the stage of destitution of the household):

- Insurance mechanisms (liquidation of assets, use of social safety nets, savings, etc.)
- Reversible coping strategies (temporary migration, sale of labour services, reduced consumption)
- Short-term changes in food intake
- Disposal of key productive assets
- Extremely high-cost loans, which can jeopardise future household economic welfare
- Desperate measures: reliance on charity, distress migration, break-up of household

Source: Vaulmaul 2001

In many cases the post-crisis level of vulnerability will exceed the pre-crisis level due to the limited recovery potential of the household capital assets. The vulnerability increase is known as 'expanded vulnerability'. In complex political emergencies, shocks occur frequently and gradually exhaust the recovery potential and the absorption capacity of households. At a certain time a new crisis will exceed the absorption capacity of households to respond to the shock, and the household becomes dependent on outside assistance. The danger to household livelihood security in complex emergencies is a continuous downward spiral towards a depletion of household capital assets and an increasing level of vulnerability.

2.3.5 Why Institutions Matter: Political and Social Capital

Structures and processes (i.e. institutions or institutional arrangements) intervene in the complex process of securing livelihoods, determining how households and individuals gain access to capital assets and how they can make use of their capital endowments. The study of structures and processes is thus of particular importance to understand livelihood strategies in protracted social conflicts in particular.

In complex political emergencies, we can often observe a huge gap between laws and policies and the way they are enforced by the institutions responsible for doing so. Therefore, the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 makes a distinction between the formal institutions (structures: organisations, laws and policies) and how these are actually followed or by-passed through informal arrangements (processes: rules of the game). It is important to note that institutional arrangements are formal as well as informal, are often pliant and ambiguous, and are subject to multiple interpretations by different actors. Institutions are dynamic and are continuously reshaped over time (cf. Scoones 1998). Power relations are embedded in institutional arrangements, and these are thus a part of a social and political negotiation process.

Box 2.8: The Concept of (Anti-)Social Capital

One much debated issue is the impact of conflict on social capital of a society. The concept of social capital argues that networks of civic engagement are the principal determiners for development (Putnam 1993). Social assets, viz. trust and co-operation among families, kin and communities are crucial elements for livelihood strategies. A protracted conflict can undermine and even destroy social capital: Conflict entrepreneurs could use their oligopoly of violence to discourage civic engagement. Goodhand and Hulme (1999) use the term 'anti-social capital' to denote these forms of networks and engagement which trigger factionalism and sustain warfare. They assume that anti-social capital might be established comparatively quickly, while the incremental process of building up social capital is a long-term process.

The access and power to influence institutional arrangements (i.e. processes in our model) differs considerably for each individual and household. We distinguish social and political capital assets: social capital refers to access to neighbourhood or family support, i.e. informal social bonds in the community. Political capital, on the other hand, determines the access to and influence on larger institutions in society, particularly the administrative, political and military power holders. In complex emergencies, the latter – conflict entrepreneurs - often play a fundamental role in determining access to resources. They often patronise their own clientele (their own ethnic group) and thus reinforce intra-ethnic identities and inter-ethnic grievances.

3 Research Approach and Methodology

This chapter describes how the research of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 was carried out, how hypotheses have been developed and conclusions drawn. We also explain the underlying principles according to which the research has been designed and carried out (3.1). We document the research process (3.2) and discuss the research methods (3.3).

3.1 Principles of Action- and Decision- Oriented Research

The IFSP-CATAD team 2001 followed the concept of 'action- and decision-oriented research' developed by CATAD (cf. Nagel & Fiege 2001). Action- and decision-oriented research (ADR) is characterised by a few distinct features, which place it in contrast to academic research. It is an applied rather than generic form of investigation, and therefore leaves room to be pragmatic rather than methodologically strict. ADR aims at providing practitioners in particular development projects and agencies, with operational action-oriented information to facilitate planning, implementation and evaluation. The concept of ADR is closely linked to the philosophy of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and is based on seven principles:

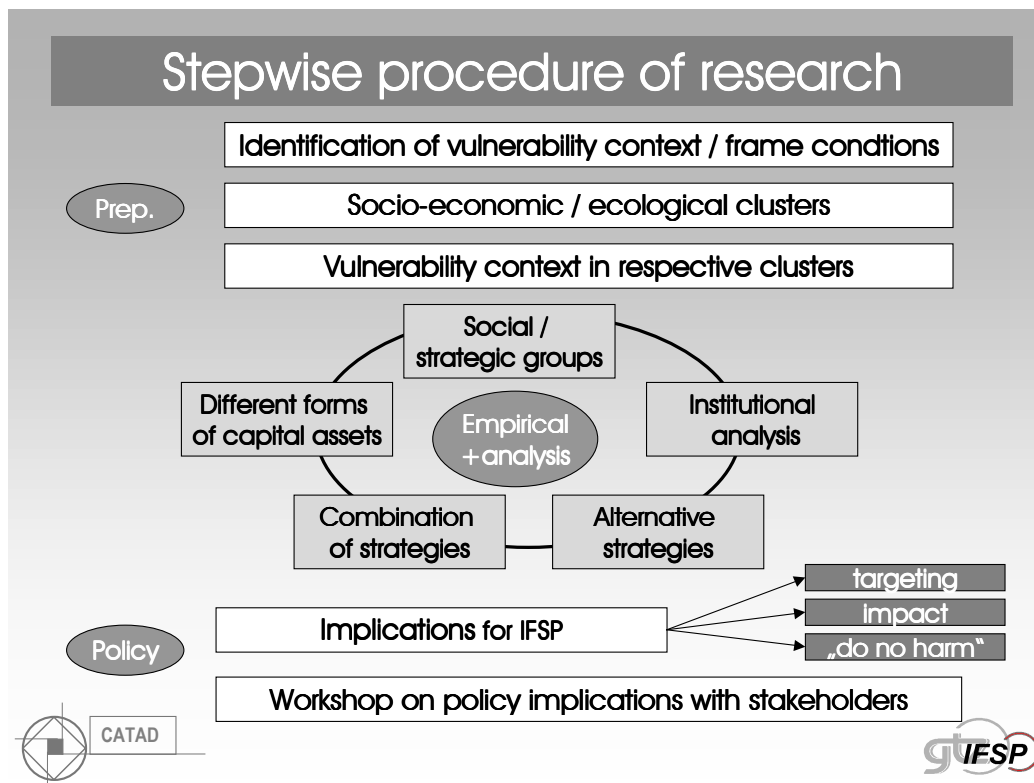
- *optimal ignorance*: 'knowing what is worth knowing'.
- *appropriate imprecision*: choosing standards of accuracy which might not be acceptable to academic research, but still allow responsible decision-making.
- *iteration*: advancing in cycles allowing a continuous learning process.
- *exploration*: applying the serendipity principle = having an open approach that allows to make fortunate and unexpected discoveries by chance.
- *eclecticism*: borrowing and combining concepts and ideas from various available sources and schools of thought.
- *triangulation*: looking at things from different (at least three) points of view. This principle is essential while deciding on team composition, units of observation, sources of information, and research methods.
- *stakeholder dialogue*: feedback to and from practitioners, combining views from researchers and 'doers'.

3.2 Knowledge Generation: Advancing in Cycles

The IFSP-CATAD Project covered a period of more than half a year. It was a continuous learning process consisting of several milestones (see Box 3.1). Section 3.2 provides a detailed account of the research process focusing on the core field phase in Sri Lanka (July to October 2001).

Box 3.1: Milestones of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001

- *Reconnaissance Mission* (April 2001): The two team leaders explored possible resource institutions and partners for co-operation among government departments, NGOs and domestic research institutions. In addition, they moderated two brainstorming workshops with staff of the IFSP and partner institutions to further define the research questions on socio-economic coping strategies and land use patterns (cf. Korf & Singarayer 2001).
- *Conceptualisation Phase* (June – July 2001): The German team members developed a framework of analysis at CATAD, Berlin in a step-by-step procedure starting from the context of utilisation (what is the purpose of the research project?), elaborating research topics and refining them into research questions. The leader of the IFSP team joined in the first week for clarification of the purpose and was constantly involved through online communication in further conceptualisation. Upon arrival in Sri Lanka, the German team members familiarised the Sri Lankan team members with the livelihood system approach: Subsequently, the whole team was grouped into sub-themes working under different themes to refine the research questions and methods for the empirical field work.
- *Empirical Core Phase* (August to October 2001): The different steps of the empirical core phase are discussed in detail below.
- *Dissemination Phase* (October to December 2001): The research team documented the empirical results in working papers (reports on village findings and cross-cutting papers) and presented the results at the Trincomalee Kachcheri to partner institutions of IFSP, at the University of Peradeniya to academics and scientists from various backgrounds, and in Colombo in various institutions (Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA), Goethe Institute, International Water Management Institute (IWMI) and Marga Institute) to disseminate their findings and to incorporate any feedback into the final report. The German team presented the results at the Humboldt University in Berlin and during a discussion forum at the GTZ headquarters in Eschborn

Graphic 3.1: Stepwise Procedure in the Empirical Core Phase

Graphic 3.1 takes a closer look at the empirical core phase, the backbone of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 and illustrates the step-wise procedure. The team advanced in continuous cycles of knowledge generation, which consisted of three major elements:

3.2.1 Preparation and Conceptualisation

At the preparatory phase, the team examined the vulnerability context of the research area. It investigated the social, economic, political, and environmental frame conditions that affect the livelihood systems in Trincomalee District. In order to take account of the diversity of the district, the team made a geographical differentiation by identifying four main agro-economic and ecological clusters in the areas where IFSP has currently undertaken village projects:

- i.) traditional paddy cultivation
- ii.) settlement areas with major/medium irrigation schemes,
- iii.) coastal zones with fishing communities, and
- iv.) cash crop (onion, vegetable) producing zones.

The vulnerability context in each cluster varies according to the security situation and the location of the research site with regard to borderline (both between cleared and uncleared area and between settlement areas of different ethnic groups), proximity to urban areas, and availability of and access to natural resources.

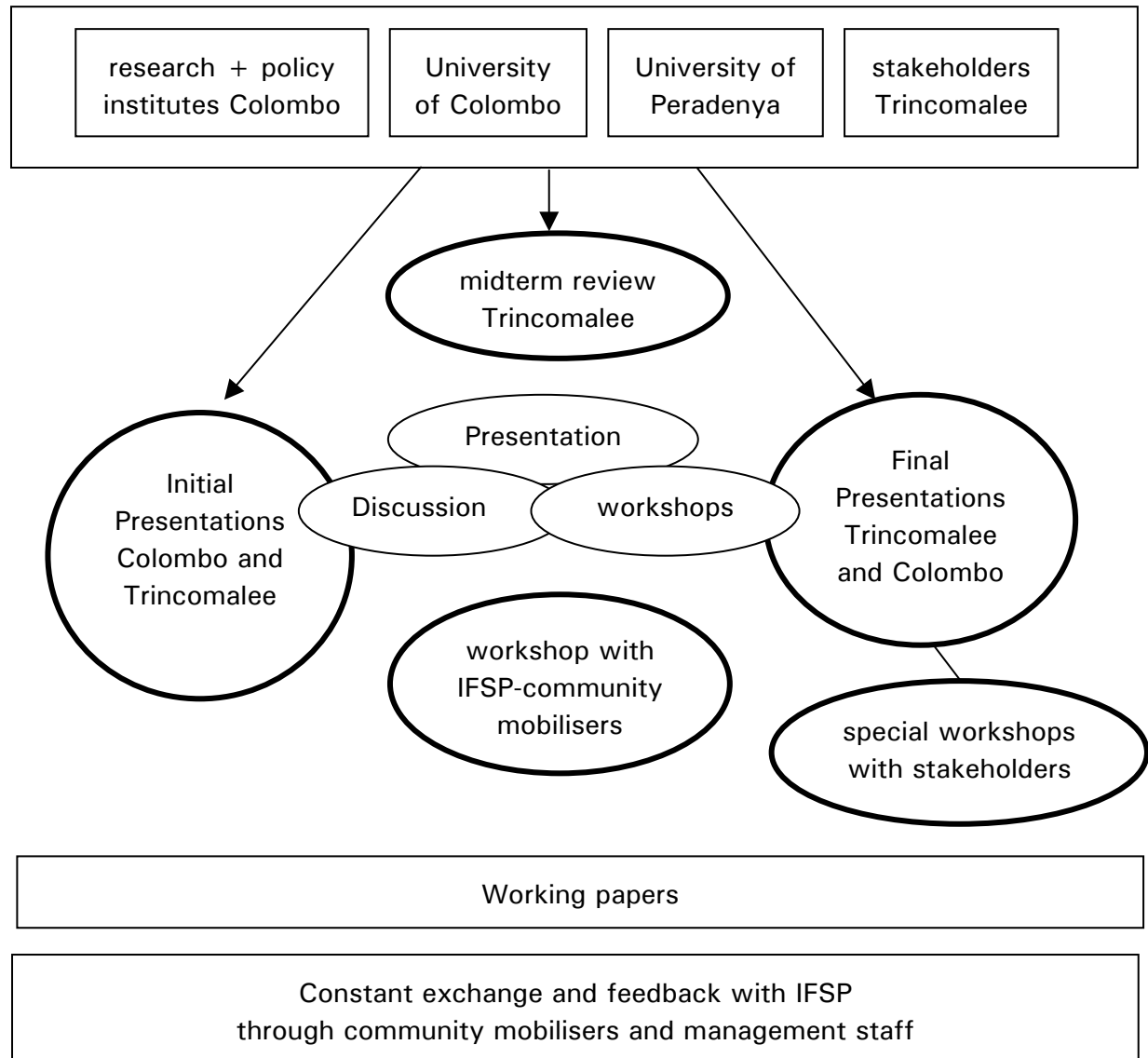
3.2.2 Empirical Fieldwork and Analysis

The fieldwork phase included empirical investigation as well as analytical reflection. The research team continuously analysed and discussed the collected information with the respective groups of informants to discern key issues on the one hand and knowledge gaps on the other. In the course of information collection, the sub-teams identified key actors and social groups within the community, different forms of capital assets of households and individuals and investigated existing structures and processes in an iterative manner. One emphasis of the investigation was to assess the perception of the villagers. The information given by them was cross-checked with other sources like statements of government officials, written sources or key informants outside of the village. The core of the research was to identify which set of coping strategies the villagers apply in order to make their living under the prevailing vulnerability context.

3.2.3 Process-Oriented: Stakeholder Dialogue

The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 understands itself as a *constant learning site* where learning goes beyond simple data collection to a process of interacting with people. One consequence of this is that the research team included young researchers and practitioners, both Sri Lankan and German, from various disciplinary backgrounds to enhance inter-cultural and interdisciplinary teamwork. Furthermore, the project also enhanced learning by laying emphasis on stakeholder dialogue (communication with external resource institutions) and capacity building of IFSP and partner staff (internal learning).

Graphic 3.2: Stakeholder Dialogue of IFSP-CATAD 2001



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

The core of the stakeholder dialogue were workshops with resource institutions (researchers) and partners (practitioners). The purpose was to establish a two-way communication where the team could share knowledge with experienced researchers and involve practitioners in using the information.

This also provided important feedback to the team:

- In the preparatory phase, the team presented the research design to various research institutions in Colombo (International Water Management Institute (IWMI), Marga Institute, Ministry of Plan Implementation (MPI), University of Colombo, Institute of Policy Studies (IPS)) and at the University of Peradeniya. In Trincomalee, the team discussed the research design with partners of the IFSP at the Kachcheri.
- In a mid-term review workshop, IFSP-CATAD invited selected researchers and practitioners from Sri Lanka to discuss preliminary research results and to identify knowledge gaps.
- The final stakeholder dialogue (step three in Graphic 3.1) was threefold:
 - (1) The implications of the research findings were discussed with the IFSP and partner institutions with a focus on project intervention strategies: How can the IFSP and partners better reach the vulnerable groups (i.e. improve targeting) and better support them with appropriate measures for livelihood promotion (i.e. improve impacts) while avoiding negative side-effects on the local conflict ("do no harm"). These issues were discussed in a series of three small workshops focusing on various aspects (agricultural production, planning, land use and irrigation).
 - (2) The research results were furthermore presented to the public at the Kachcheri in Trincomalee and to the research institutions involved in the earlier sessions.
 - (3) In Colombo, presentations were made at key institutions for research and development in order to disseminate and discuss the research findings and their implications for policy interventions at a regional and even at national level, and the possible micro-impacts of macro policies.

The results of the three stakeholder dialogues were documented in three working papers (Korf 2001a, Korf 2001b, Korf 2001c) to provide a discussion base for each consecutive step of this dialogue.

3.3 Research Methods: Qualitative Village Studies

The IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 focused on comparative qualitative village studies in order to contribute to a better understanding of the multiplicity and complexity of rural societies (cf. Perera 1992). The research sample consisted of five research locations from different geographical areas of the Trincomalee District.

3.3.1 Interdisciplinary and Inter-cultural Team Work

The team was divided into sub-teams according to different themes, where they focused on socio-economic coping strategies and land use pattern respectively. These subgroups worked closely together during the preparatory phase. During the fieldwork phase, cluster (village) teams were made, consisting of two people from both thematic groups, simultaneously assuring a cultural balance of German and Sri Lankan members. In the final phase of analysis and preparation of the stakeholder dialogue, the team formed new subgroups to assure an equal representation of the research locations in the subgroups. The four members of the village sub-teams were assisted on a daily basis by IFSP field staff (community mobilisers, engineers), two scientific advisers from the University of Peradeniya as well as the team leaders of IFSP-CATAD.

3.3.2 Sample: The Research Villages

The selection of research locations within the four identified clusters was done in close consultation with the IFSP management and staff. IFSP/CATAD chose those divisions in Trincomalee where IFSP is currently promoting community development (Gomarankadawela, Morawewa, Padavisiripura, Kuchchaveli, Eachchilampattu and Muthur).

Furthermore, the research locations were identified as they satisfied the following set of parameters:

- various agro-economic and ecological zones (cluster approach)
- main farming systems (or coastal resource utilisation)
- uncleared & cleared area locations
- varying degrees and facets of poverty and deprivation
- communities with and without IFSP intervention
- different ethnic groups

IFSP screened 15 locations for consideration. Out of these, the research team selected five locations for further investigation (Table 3.1 and Table 3.2). The fifth case (Table 3.2) was carried out as an area study on land use patterns with particular emphasis on land use disputes in two neighbouring communities, namely Menkaman and Dehiwatte. This area is characterised by a settlement scheme (Allai Extension scheme) and different ethnic communities living in close proximity to each other. The two villages are situated close to the borderline between cleared and uncleared areas, i.e. both conflict parties play an influential role for social, political and economic community life.

Table 3.1: Research Villages for IFSP-CATAD 2001

Indicator Village	Agro-economic zone	Security situation	Land use issues:	Ethnicity
Kumpurupitty, (Kuchchaveli)	Cash crops, coastal area	(Semi-)cleared, non-stabilised	Environmental degradation	Tamil
Iththikulam, (Muthur)	Chena and traditional paddy cultivation	Uncleared area, close to cleared area	Major changes in land use	Tamil
Kalyanapura, (Gomaran- kadawela)	Settlement paddy cultivation	Border village cleared area close to LTTE controlled area	Absence of 'earlier' land owners	Sinhalese
Vattam, (Muthur)	Fishing community	Border village, (cleared area close to LTTE controlled area)	Scarcity of homestead land	Muslim

Table 3.2: Thematic Area Study

Indicator Village	Agro-economic Zone	Security situation	Land use issues:	Ethnicity
Menkamam (Muthur)	Both settlement scheme and traditional village	Cleared area	Disputes over land and water resources, encroachment into grazing and tank bed area.	Tamil
Dehivaththa (Seruvila)	Settlement scheme (AES)	Cleared area		Sinhalese

Chapter 4 provides further background information concerning the vulnerability context in the research area. Annex 4 documents brief village profiles for three locations (Kalyanapura, Kumpurupitty and Vattam), and Chapter 5 on Ithikulam.

Map 3.1: Research Locations in Trincomalee District



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

3.3.3 Qualitative Field Research Methods

For data collection, the research team employed the following qualitative research methods:

- *Informal village walks* helped to gain an initial insight into the social and geographical structure of the research area and to pre-select people for interviewing.
- *Semi-structured interviews* were carried out with key informants (at village level as well as at institutional level) and individuals on household level.
- *Group discussions* provided the core of the collected data.
- *Selected RRA tools* (daily and seasonal calendars, drawings, mapping) were used to stimulate communication in an alternative manner.

The primary reference for the interviews was thematic guidelines developed for socio-economic coping strategies and land use issues. These guidelines by and large followed the logic of the livelihood systems approach, thus considering its different elements, viz. vulnerability context, capital assets, structures and processes, and in particular, coping strategies and outcomes. The researchers constantly adapted these guidelines in the form of a list of questions (rather than a questionnaire), including them in the flow of the interview. They supplemented and transformed the checklist when new questions occurred according to the interview partner and his/her special knowledge.

The main field research in the village communities was carried out in two weeks of August 2001, while a second field phase in mid September allowed us to cross-check information and research hypotheses, and to refine the data analysis in each village. In preparation for the village research, the IFSP-CATAD team met several national and international NGOs working in these areas or on similar issues. Interviews with key resource persons complemented the field research at the preparation stage, as well as during and after the village studies.

The field staff of the IFSP working in the area briefed the subgroup on some general issues of the respective village. They also assured us that the responsible government officials (Grama Niladari –Grama Sevaka (G.S.) and Samurdhi Development Officers (SDO)) were informed and asked them to arrange a first general meeting in the villages. During this meeting, the

research teams gave an introduction to the purpose of the study, its scope and consequences. Informal village walks allowed the research team to gain a first impression of the village, and, at the same time, additional knowledge was then gathered through these walks, group discussions, semi-structured interviews with household members, key informants at village level, officials as well as by using some selected RRA tools.

3.3.4 Traps and Pitfalls

The following traps and pitfalls had to be considered while carrying out research in a conflict setting:

- *Conflict analysis*: Even if no explicit conflict analysis is carried out at community level, social and political cleavages, internal conflicts and people's perception of this have to be kept in mind.
- *Do no harm*: Avoiding negative effects by probing into sensitive topics (e.g. land use rights, role of conflict parties in village life) is difficult but essential.²
- *Hidden agendas*: What are the coping strategies of respondents vis-à-vis a research team? People are not always doing what they claim or pretend.
- *Dealing with expectations*: Certain questions predetermine expectations, especially when they are asked by foreigners. Thus triggering information on coping strategies was often difficult as people tried to express their suffering (hoping that they would get something) instead of their capacity to cope with difficulties. In villages, where the project has already been working in the past, the lines and expectations might be clearer. Here, villagers might be more ready to respond to questions, because 'that is how we have to pay back for the project benefit'.

² It is important to keep a amiable atmosphere throughout the interviewing process. The interviewer could first start with an uncomplicated, 'easy' conversation about common issues, while slowly proceeding to more distressing topics. There are certain taboo topics in conversations, e.g. domestic violence or the role of armed groups. One way out can be to talk about others: 'Do you know of specific incidences in your neighbourhood? Could you give examples how this came about?' It is useful to reconfirm with the respondents when entering distressing areas of investigation by asking how they feel about being asked such questions. (see Chapter 8)

- *Responding as free choice (the no-option)*: As a general ethical rule that especially holds in conflict areas, it is vital that villagers are given the clear option not to respond to questions as they might think that they have to in order to safeguard their entitlement to project benefits.
- *Information is not neutral*: 'Each party has a story' and it is always convenient to support these stories with 'neutral' scientific data. Research studies can therefore easily become an instrument for political interests.
- *Post-CATAD 2001*: It was observed that many villagers felt 'over-assessed' by agencies without adequate assistance provided afterwards. IFSP and CATAD agreed to only work in villages, which IFSP already supports or intends to support subsequently.

3.3.5 Data Analysis

In many cases, the results from qualitative studies are challenged for their lack of replicability (would another researcher come to the same conclusion when applying the same methods and methodology?). The IFSP-CATAD Project thus developed a process-oriented, interactive and iterative approach of data analysis:

- *Evening feedback*: At the end of each field visit, the sub-groups of one research location exchanged the information collected and identified key topics for the following field day.
- *Feeding the model*: After the first field-work phase in August, the information from the qualitative interviews was attributed to the different elements of the livelihood system. This helped to get a first understanding of the complexity of community life, to derive initial hypotheses, to clarify differing views among the team members and to identify knowledge gaps.

Box 3.2: Cross-sectional Analysis of Coping Strategies

The core of the research was to identify which set of coping strategies the villagers apply in order to make their living in the prevailing vulnerability context. Coping strategies induced by the conflict and adaptive strategies of survival were equally considered. Alternative strategies within one community and across the different research clusters were then compared and analysed in order to derive the underlying rationale behind each behavioural pattern. The coping strategies were then categorised according to common trends, and exceptional cases were traced back to concrete examples from the research locations.

- *Cross-sectional thematic analysis*: In a second step, the two thematic teams analysed and made a comparison of the findings of the five locations with regard to livelihood strategies (see Box 3.2) and land use issues.
- *Hypotheses* to explain the rationale behind coping strategies were formulated and cross-checked in the second field phase.
- *Mid-term review*: the team discussed the findings and derived hypotheses in a workshop with researchers and practitioners and identified data gaps.
- *Cross-check*: with findings from other studies from conflict and peaceful areas of Sri Lanka.

The qualitative case studies approach of the research study allows the explanation of behavioural patterns of people in complex emergencies. This information helps the IFSP and partners to make appropriate project interventions. The livelihood systems approach has been developed to be applied at different levels from the individual to household level up to village and community level and as such, the focus of this study was at household and community as well as institutional level. In fact, the parallels and contradictions of people's livelihood strategies within, and between these different levels are very informative.

4. Vulnerability Context of the Study Area

Chapter 4 describes the vulnerability context of the research area, the Trincomalee District in the eastern region of Sri Lanka. The vulnerability context contains natural, social, economic, political and cultural conditions (→ Chapter 2) and examines the significant trends and shocks that households have to bear under these conditions. As the conflict has shaped society in the East over a considerable period of time, this chapter focuses on the impact of war on people's perceptions as well as on the society and the economy of the region (4.1). This chapter also examines the natural conditions that determine livelihoods (4.2), followed by a comparative description of the vulnerability context of the five research locations (4.3).

4.1 Perceptions and Impact of War in Trincomalee

4.1.1 Perceptions of the War

The Trincomalee District is located in the eastern part of the Northern and Eastern Province (NEP) of Sri Lanka, which is the war zone of the island. The district is ethnically mixed, being home to people from all three major communal groups, viz. Sinhalese (29%), Muslims (37%) and Tamils (32%)¹. Warfare in the district has been extremely divisive with both conflict parties, the Sri Lankan armed forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) pitting the communities living there against each other (O'Sullivan 1997). Violence in the East was not limited to fighting between the government and the LTTE, but also included sporadic clashes with other communal groups, especially in the early 1990s between the Tamil and Muslim populations. Though the civil war worsened in the other districts of the North-East from 1990, Trincomalee District had experienced many sporadic clashes between Tamil and Sinhala communities since the 1980s.

No one wants to go to the northern and eastern districts. Hardly any one is willing to explore business and to risk investment. People who can afford leave the area. Remaining are those who have either no choice or who are deeply rooted in local society. Since 1987, more than 56,000 families have

¹ The number are estimates from the District Planning Secretariat, Trincomalee, 2000.

been displaced due to the conflict. More than 47,000 have been resettled until 1997, but still about 1,300 families remain in camps (IFSP 2000). The others have left for more peaceful areas in Sri Lanka or migrated abroad.

Territory in the North and East is divided into cleared and uncleared areas. These terms carry a set of assumptions that often do not reflect the real situation: A 'cleared area' is assumed to be under the control of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces (SLAF) whereas 'uncleared areas' are those which remain under the military control of the LTTE. The reality on the ground is more complex than what is implied by these terms. In the northern part close to the Vanni area (Vavuniya, Mannar), cleared and uncleared areas are demarcated by a frontline with fortified structures on both sides, even though LTTE activity may take place in cleared areas at night. In the East, the ground conditions are much more uncertain: Many areas are semi-cleared or 'grey' areas of disputed territory, subject to constant instability and sporadic violence. *'In much of the eastern districts of Trincomalee, Batticaloa, and to a lesser extent Amparai, out of the main towns, GOSL power is minimal with a very strong LTTE presence. Ethnically mixed and vulnerable to sporadic upsurges in fighting the civilian population in these areas is extremely vulnerable.'* (SCF 1998). The areas situated close to a contested borderline experience the highest level of instability and random violence.

4.1.2 Economic Impact of Conflict and Violence

The disruption of economic activity is estimated to have decreased the contribution of the Northern and Eastern Provinces to national GDP from 15% in the 1980s to 4% in 1997 (DER 2000). UNDP (1998) calculates a negative average growth rate of 6.2% per year in 1990-95. However, the Eastern Province was not as badly affected as the Northern Province until 1995. Since the late 1990s, military operations and the general climate of violence and insecurity had an adverse impact on the regional economy: Ethnic trading networks and patterns are disrupted, and the checkpoint and pass system restrict the mobility of people and goods and the access to markets (cf. PIMU 2001). Eighteen years of conflict and civil war have resulted in the loss of lives, homes, land, the destruction of infrastructure and the production base of livelihoods. Basic facilities such as health services and education are inadequate. The severely restricted local economy prevents the individual from exploring any opportunities.

Agriculture has always been a central part of the economy in the Northern and Eastern Province with nearly two thirds of its pre-war population depending on farming, livestock rearing, and fishing for their livelihood. Until the mid 1980s, the region enjoyed a higher level of agricultural development than most other parts of the country. Its production of rice was in surplus and it had a comparative advantage in the production of vegetables, fruits and other cash crops. Since that time agricultural production and household incomes in the region have declined substantially. It is estimated that the land area used for agriculture as a whole declined from 44% to 36% of the total land area, and the extents used for paddy cultivation decreased from 17% to 9%, both in the period from 1983-1999. The main reasons attributed to this decline are the degradation of irrigation facilities, the high risk associated with agriculture due to the war, a large extent of agricultural lands being located in uncleared areas and the displacement of a large number of farmers (cf. NEIAP 2000). Furthermore, the breakdown of public and private sector support services, reduced access to farm inputs and credit, deterioration of rural roads, and the disruption of distribution and marketing systems constrain agricultural activities.

4.1.3 Malnutrition: Outcome of the Conflict

Poverty in the north-east has worsened with the escalation of the war. About 80% of all the population in this region are estimated to live under the poverty line (basic food basket).² About 90% of the population in the Trincomalee District depend on state support (food stamps, dry ratios, social transfers).³ Poverty and deprivation is unevenly distributed in the district with some marginalised pockets of poverty found in remote areas or in highly disputed locations along the borderline between the fighting parties. Distortion at village level contribute to further marginalisation. The state employs a large number of farmers as home guards in Sinhalese border villages with monthly allowances of LKR 6,000. This massive inflow of direct income increases local and regional disparities (IFSP 2000).

² Cf. IFSP 2000; DER 2000, World Bank 2000

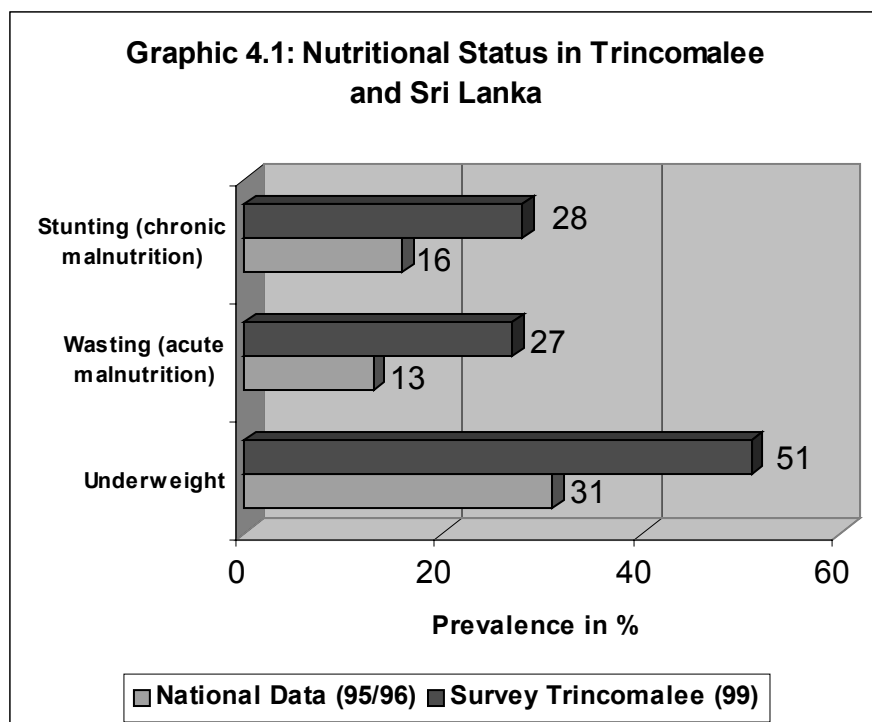
³ Cf. DPS. 2000. Action Plan for Rehabilitation. Trincomalee: District Planning Secretariat.

Household food insecurity as a result of conflict and war has reached alarming levels in terms of both acute and chronic malnutrition. A recent survey of IFSP revealed substantially higher levels of malnutrition amongst children compared to what national data would suggest (see Graphic 4.1).

Comments:

Malnutrition of children under 5 years, <-2 SD, NCHS

National data exclude the Northern and Eastern Province (NEP), Source: Department of Census & Statistics: Demographic and Health Survey 1995/96.



Source: Reinhard & Krämer 1999

The highest prevalence of malnutrition was found amongst Tamil children in uncleared areas (cf. Reinhard and Krämer 1999). This is a clear sign of the detrimental impacts of the war on household income and life opportunities in Trincomalee. Particularly affected are households that depend on fishing, small-scale farming and daily wage labour. The vulnerability of female-headed households is especially striking. In addition to the difficulty of the overall situation, intra-household food distribution culturally discriminates against women's appropriate nutrition intake. Many families that recently returned from refugee camps to their home villages are without adequate means of livelihood.

4.1.4 Structural Deficits and Governance Failure

The conflict has weakened the civil institutions in the province. Though the war is perceived as the main problem, it nevertheless appears to be only one significant reason for their stagnation. The war worsens the comparatively low capacities of the public sector institutions. It further highlights the deficits of the economy which constitute structural shortcomings of the state administration and an antagonism between the public and the private sector (cf. IFSP 2000). The destabilising security situation is a serious constraint to long-term development co-operation.

Box 4.1: The Dissolution of the NEPC

An important feature in the governance of the NEP is the now-defunct Northern and Eastern Provincial Council (NEPC). With the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement in 1987 and the 13th amendment to the constitution, a single provincial council was established for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The NEPC was dissolved in 1990 with the departure of the Indian Peace-Keeping Forces (IPKF). Since then there is a vacuum of political leadership. The President has allocated wide decision-making powers to the Governor of the NEP for which position she usually appoints former military personnel.

This vacuum has been partly filled by a bureaucratic kingdom (see Chapter 5) by the uncontrolled powers of the national parliamentarians from the district and the military power holders. Political interference, corruption and nepotism are the outcome of these ill-conceived institutional structures and a continuous power play between representatives of the central and provincial institutions, which results in the intimidation of administrative personnel. Politicians interfere in the administrative processes and are often biased towards the members of their own political (and thus ethnic) group.

The governance system from the central to the local level is a complex one which includes central, devolved (decentralised), and concurrent (a combination of central & devolved) functions. Its institutional duties overlap and are intertwined with the responsibilities of several central and devolved government functions (cf. Khan 2001). The central powers employ various 'check and balance' tactics to keep a firm hold on provincial responsibilities (cf. Wanasinghe 1999). In the North and East, the non-functioning of the provincial council aggravates these power plays even further (see Box 4.1). Furthermore, the 'departmentalised' thinking which can be observed among

government institutions hinders cross-sectoral co-operation and the exchange of information. The war has undermined the moral underpinnings of the administrative system and provides a space for uncontrolled or paternalised laxity in financial accountability and enhances opportunities for corruption, favouritism and nepotism (cf. Gunatilleke 2001).

In the context of war the State's welfarist approach has become particularly prominent, since many people in the Northeast continue to be in need of direct support, especially after displacement. Development activities, on the other hand, have been scaled down due to the unsafe and unpredictable ground conditions. Many local NGOs too have followed suit and are relief rather than development oriented. They have acted mainly as sub-contractors for donors or the government to provide relief assistance or to implement small-scale village projects. Their field activities depend heavily on external funding. The relation between NGOs and governmental institutions is generally one of widespread mistrust and mutual suspicion, although some NGOs seek the co-operation of the government or tap the expertise of government departments for their own projects. Non-governmental agencies rarely co-ordinate their activities with each other, perhaps because there is a tendency to defend one's own territory against potential competitors ('this is *our* village'). Most agencies follow their own policies when implementing projects resulting in contradictory approaches on the ground.

"The country is in a state of war economy. The public ordinance act of May 2000 and the emergency regulations affect all strata of the Sri Lankan society. Censorship, restrictions on the ground, conflict-attributed killings and retaliation, harassment of the minority group make it almost impossible to follow an ordinary and average pattern of life" (IFSP 2000). Armed forces and the police are perceived by a majority of Tamils as an occupying force and the trust in governance structures is low. Nevertheless, Tamils receive state welfare and are employed in the public services which continue to provide the prime job opportunities in the North and East.

4.1.5 Twelve Features of War Impact

The dramatic social and economic changes experienced in the war zone of

Sri Lanka are summed up in the twelve points below:⁴

- A large proportion of the population has **lost material assets and means of earning**. In addition, the public physical **infrastructure is dilapidated or has been destroyed**.
- The **social structure of the traditional society has undergone severe changes**, in particular the caste system and gender roles. While this situation has enabled disadvantaged members of society to gain a more important place within the community (lower caste, poor) or the household (women), it may also have had a detrimental effect: Women's workload has increased, and marginalised people have lost a patron who would have otherwise provided care and support in times of distress.
- **Community networks of social welfare and support have collapsed** in the face of the large numbers of individuals in a community in need of support (widows, orphans, the disabled).
- **There is little evidence for a strong leadership at village level**. Traditional leaders have limited power and status. Potential leaders are reluctant to take up these position as they fear that the exposure makes them more vulnerable.
- **Conflict and war has a profound impact on the psycho-social dimension of life**: traumatic experiences of the past exacerbate feelings of helplessness, fatalism, and vulnerability.
- War, displacement, erosion and the destruction of livelihoods has made many people **dependent on outside support, assistance and relief** for survival. Combined with the common top down approaches of government and humanitarian agencies, this has resulted in a deep-rooted dependency syndrome in the area.
- **Migration** of individuals and/or families, either forced or voluntarily, temporary or permanent, **is a prominent trend**. This has weakened social bonds and family ties. Since it is largely the upper and middle class that migrate, it has resulted in a brain drain of the more educated and entrepreneurial from the war-torn area.
- **The war undermines the confidence and trust of people in government institutions** due to their weak performance and political biases.
- **Political capital** (associated with civilian and military power holders) **is unevenly distributed among communal groups**. While this has been a cause of conflict in the past, the conflict has in

⁴ Cf. NEPC 2001, Shanmugaratnam 1999, Korf 2001a, Goodhand & Lewer 1999, Reinhard 2001, IFSP 2000; World Bank 2000; UNDP 1998; DER 2000, SCF 1998.

turn deepened this inequality of opportunities, freedom of movement, and access to resources.

- **The war has created a political economy of violence:** Threats, harassment, acts of random violence reinforce a system of bribery, taxation and other enforced economic activity of a war time economy. These conflict entrepreneurs (conflict parties, militant groups, home guards) are 'all winners in the sense that for them there are clear economic advantages in the continuation of the war' (Goodhand and Lewer 1999, p. 76).
- **The war and security restrictions have contributed to create a partly closed regional economy:** trade links are limited to and dominated by certain ethnic groups (a situation, which again engenders ethnic grievances). In addition, the region has been largely left out of the development activities of the government and donors. It is only recently that the donor community redirected their interventions towards rehabilitation and reconstruction.
- **The high uncertainty factor with regard to future development prevents the business community in investing in this high risk area.** The combined result of destruction and the lack of investment has triggered an economic decline of the region and degraded its relative economic position among the country's other provinces.

4.2 Natural Disasters and Ecological Impacts of War

The state of natural resources and climatic conditions affect political and economic vulnerability and influence livelihood opportunities and risk. The Trincomalee District is in dry zone of Sri Lanka, which is defined by distinct climatic and agricultural conditions. The average annual temperature of 28.7°C shows little variation throughout the year. The district receives most of its rain from the North-Eastern monsoon with an annual rainfall between 750 and 2000 mm. The North Eastern Monsoonal rains lasts from September to January and a minor rains from the South Western monsoons start in April. The annual schedule of the two major cultivating seasons for paddy, the Yala and the Maha, are based on these two rainy seasons. Of much more significance is the fact that the area is prone to cyclones: Major cyclones struck the area in 1964, 1978 and recently in December 2000. The cyclones of 1964 and 1978 had a heavy toll on the coconut plantation sector, which has not recover from these losses yet.

Environmental degradation and its contribution to resource scarcity has often been seen as a cause for armed conflict. At the same time, war causes envi-

ronmental destruction and hence exacerbates resource scarcity. Saverimuttu, Sriskandarajah & Jayapalan (1999) identify three major factors for environmental deterioration in the war zones of Sri Lanka:

- The use of explosives (artillery, aerial bombs and random firing of naval cannons) destroy buildings, natural vegetation, trees, arable land, livestock and wildlife.
- During military manoeuvres and operations, heavy military machinery forge pathways through built areas, agricultural land and natural vegetation. The vegetation along main roads and military camps has been cleared. The armed forces have cut down large numbers of palmyrah and coconut palms for the construction of military bunkers.
- The displacement of people leave agricultural and domestic lands unattended, leading to an increasing weed population. The need for firewood and material to construct temporary shelters for the vast refugee population has also resulted in deforestation.

The jungle in the war zone highlights the strategic benefits of the environment for armed groups. While the jungles provide cover and protection for the LTTE, the army has cleared large areas of natural vegetation in the north and east to prevent such shelter and protection.

4.3 Research Villages: Vulnerability, Risk and Trends⁵

Trincomalee is a district with much diversity in its agro-ecological zones, communal groups as well as in its poverty levels. As a result, the five research locations represent varying vulnerability contexts in the Trincomalee District.⁶ The vulnerability context is influenced by a number of factors, of which the security situation is the overriding one. The local economy also determines alternative income opportunities, e.g. wage labouring in farming. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the different research locations.

4.3.1 Vulnerability and Risk

All five research areas are situated at borderlines, either between uncleared

⁵ A deeper analysis of this is contained in the village profiles published in the series of working papers ([see How to Use the Report](#)).

⁶ Compare selection criteria for the research locations in Chapter 3.

(or 'grey') and cleared areas (i.e. Vattam, Ithikulam, Kalyanapura, Kumpurupitty) or between the settlements of different communal groups (Menkamam, Dehiwatte). This implies an increased baseline vulnerability due to the frequent incidents of fighting, violence, and intimidation and the presence of both armed groups. Households thus have to cope with and adapt to a high risk level which decreases economic opportunities and influences investment choices. The psychological effects are striking: the lack of self-confidence, a tendency to keep a low profile, frustration in view of limited life opportunities, fear and desperation are widespread in these areas of increased vulnerability. The common feature in all five locations is the lack of stability.

Nevertheless, conflict, war and risk have had a different impact on each of the communities. In some cases, villagers still pursue their traditional livelihood activities and farming systems, even though under constraining frame conditions. Farmers in Kalyanapura, Menkamam and Dehiwatte continue to cultivate their paddy fields under minor, medium and major tank irrigation schemes. All three villages sustain a living standard significantly higher than in the other areas of the district.⁷ Villagers in Vattam still engage in fishing, their traditional livelihood activity. However, the security situation seriously constrains the opportunities for doing so and urges families to send females abroad for employment. In Ithikulam and Kumpurupitty, on the other hand, the conflict has forced villagers to leave traditional resources behind (paddy fields), because fields have been made unsafe and are no longer accessible. Here the villagers have had to search for alternative livelihood activities: in Ithikulam, farmers cleared the jungle in uncleared areas and started highland cultivation, while many villagers in Kumpurupitty engage in onion cultivation or lease out their highland to tenants.

⁷ All three villages are categorised according to poverty code 2 (1 being the wealthiest and 5 being the poorest) in the village information system 'Village Data Sheets' of IFSP.

Table 4.1: Main Source of Income, Main Coping Strategy and Key Trend

	Vaddam	Menkamam Dehiwatte*	Kumpurupitty	Kalyanapura	Ithikulam
Security	Navy presence, LTTE infiltration, close to uncleared	"Semi-cleared", unofficial curfew, Tamil and Sinhalese villages in neighbourhood	LTTE surrounded & repeated attacks Strong navy presence	Confrontation between LTTE and army, army checkpoints	Uncleared area, close to cleared
Main income source	Fishing, Middle East employment	Paddy, wage labour, home guards*	Wage labour, onion cultivation	Paddy, home guards, wage labour	Highland cultivation, wage labour
Main coping strategy	Low profile economically and politically	No action policy against encroachment	Taking part in the onion boom with limited power, while degrading own social status	Accessing economic advantages through political patronage	Flexible combination of income sources
Key trend	<i>Trapped between the lines</i>	<i>Grievances over land</i>	<i>Missing the onion boom?</i>	<i>Fragile prosperity on the fringe of power</i>	<i>Turning threats into opportunities?</i>

Source: Devarajah, Korf & Schenk 2001; Dharshinie, Flämig, Korf & Schenk 2001; Flämig, Abeyrathne & Ziebell 2001; Sakthivel & Ziegler 2001; Ziebell & Ziegler 2001

4.3.2 Trends

Even though we identified the lack of stability as the overriding feature of all five research locations, the social and economic trends in these villages vary greatly:

- In *Ithikulam*, displaced farmers *converted threats into opportunities*: highland cultivation taken up after displacement provides a reliable, though limited, income for the household and, supported by wage-labour and other supplementary sources of income, enabled farmers to rebuild houses in their original village and thus to re-establish social capital.
- In *Kalyanapura*, paddy farmers were able to gain a *fragile prosperity on the fringe of power*: Even though this Sinhalese settlement village suffered from LTTE attacks in the past, villagers still possess a reasonably sound economic base (paddy cultivation, home guard employment), because they can count on the support of influential politicians, powerful administrators and the armed forces.
- For the villagers in *Kumpurupitty* the question remains whether they *miss the onion boom* in the Nilaveli area. Many landowners in this village lease out their land to tenants who cultivate onions and reap high profits, while the landowners opt for wage-labouring and stay poor.
- *Grievances over land* have increased tensions between the Tamil village of *Menkamam* and the Sinhalese settlement of *Dehiwatte*, partly due to a no-action policy by the institutions in charge.
- Fishermen in *Vattam* keep a low economic and political profile: *Trapped between the lines* (army - navy and LTTE), many households are reluctant to invest in boats and rely on remittances from Middle East employment.

This diversity in livelihood strategies and outcomes demonstrates the complexity of the vulnerability context and shows that it cannot be understood as a mono-causal feature shaped solely by the war. The vulnerability context is rather the outcome of an interplay of different factors and its impact differs according to the capital assets of a community and of a household. This means that the vulnerability context will also have other implications for each households in one community due to the difference in household capital assets. It is largely the vulnerable and the poor families which are most exposed to the impacts of war.

5. Livelihood Strategies of War-affected Households in Trincomalee

Chapter 5 analyses the socio-economic livelihood strategies of war-affected households in the research villages. Psychological coping and adapting strategies were not the subject of the investigation although they seriously influence rationality and behaviour of people as well. The chapter begins with a description of a village community in an uncleared area (Ithikulam) using the livelihood model with a focus on farming systems (5.1). In a next step, we analyse the coping strategies, derive common trends and exceptional cases in a three-pillar model of livelihood strategies (5.2), and distinguish between long-term adaptive and short-term coping strategies (5.3). We further discuss whether and how to make a distinction between poverty and conflict coping (5.4). Apart from villagers, key actors in organisations also cope with and adapt to the conflict. How this in turn affects the livelihoods of villagers will be discussed in the next section (5.5). The concluding part (5.5) deals with the fundamental question, of identifying those effects related to the conflict situation and those which are features of poverty.

5.1 Example of a Livelihood: Highland Cultivation in Ithikulam¹

What are the implications of the vulnerability context for livelihoods of people? How do structures and processes affect livelihood strategies of villagers? The following graphic elaborates the example of a village in an uncleared area, Ithikulam, and places the different elements into the livelihood model.

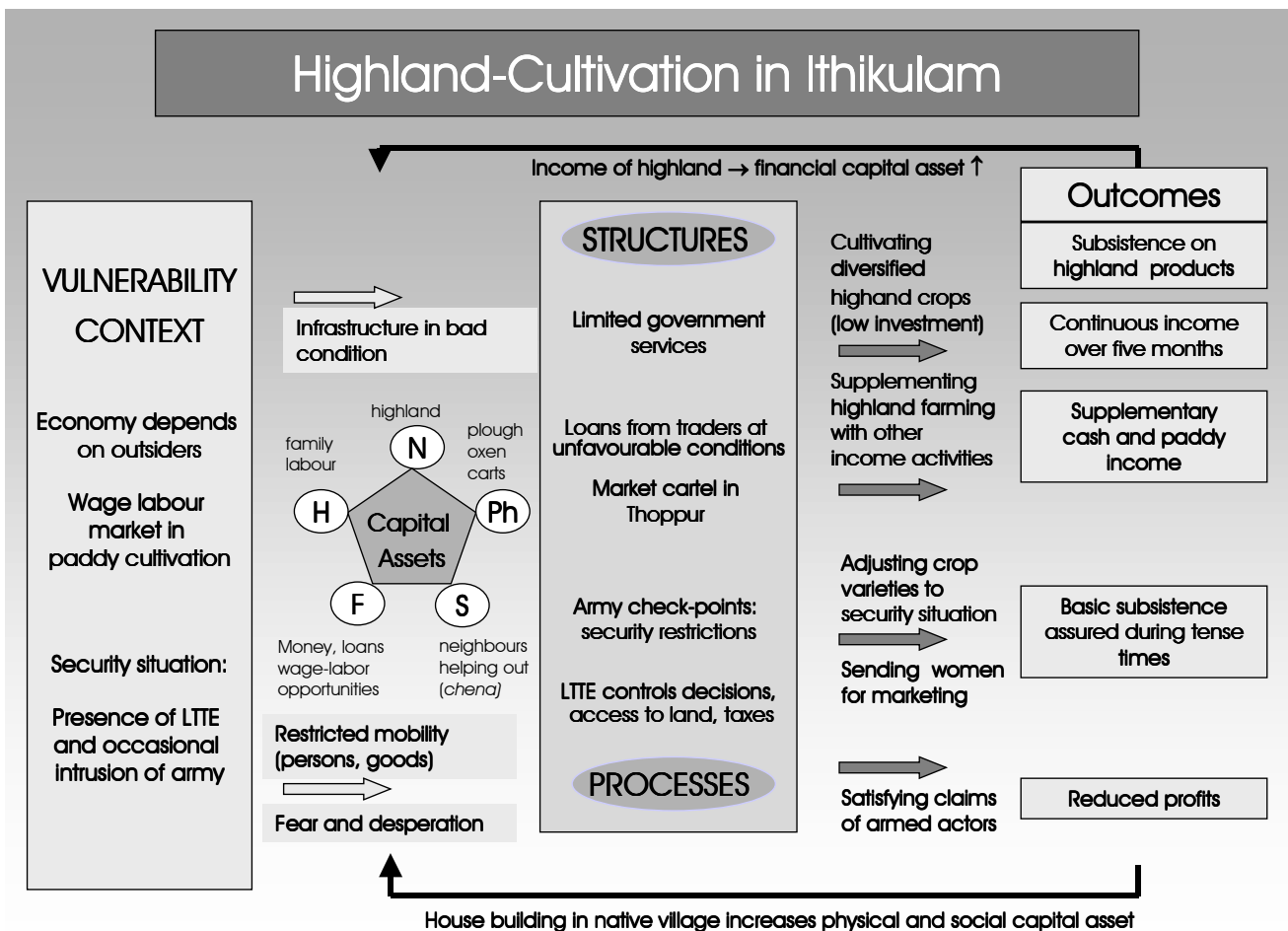
Ithikulam village was formed by displaced villagers from an ancient village, Sreenivasapuram, which is three kilometres from Ithikulam and situated at the very border of the uncleared area. Before 1985, when the villagers lived in their original village, they cultivated paddy as tenant farmers on lands which are situated in the cleared area. In 1985, the army established a military camp close to Sreenivasapuram and fighting between army and LTTE

¹ For more detail cf. Ziebell & Ziegler 2001.

occurred frequently. During each attack, villagers were temporarily displaced and then returned to the village in a few days.

The situation became increasingly more difficult when villagers had to pass the checkpoint to cultivate their fields in the cleared area. In response to the insecure living conditions, most villagers moved to Ithikulam and engaged in highland rainfed cultivation² and other income earning activities for their livelihood. Although the army requested villagers to return to Sreenivasapuram to occupy the deserted houses, only those villagers who owned a permanent house returned and the poorer people of the community remained in Ithikulam.

Graphic 5.1: Highland Cultivation in Ithikulam in the LSA-Model³



² Highland cultivation is rainfed cultivation of vegetables and corn. *Chena* cultivation refers to the traditional slash-and-burn practices. However, local people use the term *chena* for both cultivation practices.

³ The livelihood model elaborated in Graphic 5.1 is a simplistic representation of the

The vulnerability context of the village is shaped by two major factors: dependence on external economic actors and the presence of both conflict parties which restricts the mobility of people and goods and has created fear and desperation. On the other hand, the irrigation schemes in the surrounding areas provide opportunities for wage labouring in paddy fields. How can people combine their household resources (5 capital assets) to carry out livelihood strategies? (see Box 5.1)

We can associate adaptive strategies with long-term trends and coping strategies dealing with sudden deterioration of the security situation. As an important agricultural activity and income source, farm families cultivate diversified highland crops which has several advantages in this context. It also shows how rural households adapt to the increased baseline vulnerability in uncleared areas: highland cultivation demands lower investment and reduces thus the dependence on loans, which are only available to unfavourable conditions (high interest rates or dependence on traders). This ensures households a subsistence on highland crops and a reliable, though moderate income during the cultivation period of five months.

Box 5.1: Capital Assets in Ithikulam

- **natural capital:** fertile red soil (no permits, but access secured), rain, seeds from the previous season, cow dung / wood from the forest
- **physical capital:** plough, buffaloes, hoe (*mammoty*), carts, (clay houses, well, tank (with fish) to live in the highlands during *maha* / cattle, goats, chicken
- **human capital:** family labour, knowledge of highland-cultivation, flexibility, general good state of health, some education
- **social capital:** neighbours helping out on the *chena* fields and as witnessing for land rights, family relations in Sreenivasapuram
- **financial/economic capital:** money to buy seeds (if not enough in good quality), fertiliser, (weedicide and insecticide for additional paddy farming), loans from traders, other villagers, relatives / *Chenaiyoor* farmers offer wage-labor opportunities, wage-labor opportunities in other towns/regions

Furthermore, households engage in alternative income-earning activities, in particular wage labouring in paddy fields in neighbouring villages in cleared area, thus supplementing their cash and paddy income. Highland cultivation allows sufficient flexibility in household labour allocation since women and children also work on the fields, an uncommon feature in paddy cultivation.

How do villagers cope with a deterioration of the security situation or with sudden shocks? Some households change their cropping pattern and cultivate corn (maize) in tense times, since they can store this crop more easily and thus can assure subsistence of food throughout the year, even though at this low level, when they cannot access outside markets. Another coping strategy is their preference to send women to the market which is on the other side of the borderline in cleared area, since men are afraid of harassment by the armed forces. These coping strategies appear to allow households to secure a basic subsistence even during tense periods.

Box 5.2: The Role of LTTE

The LTTE has developed its own rules and regulations to compensate for the destabilishment of civil law and order. Problems between the villagers are not brought to the Sri Lankan police but to the LTTE and their court. Inquiry, arrest, judgment, imprisonment etc, are carried out by LTTE according to their rules of law in addition to restrictions on the exploitation of natural resources like jungle, wood, sand, and land, as well as rubble.

LTTE has introduced a permit system for exploitation. where payments have to be made to the LTTE to make use of these resources. In addition taxes are imposed on cart owners, big scale cattle keepers, paddy farmers, government staff and wealthy people.

In addition, villagers have to cope with the demands of armed actors in the form of taxes or bribes, which is often a precondition for carrying out livelihood activities. People in Ithikulam normally satisfy these claims and, as a consequence, have to accept reduced profits.

It is essential to note that the social and political capital in Ithikulam is limited. The village does not have any community-based organisations (CBOs) to access external funds and agencies.⁴ There does not appear to be any established social or religious body to promote social and religious matters and thus provide the base for a social network in the community. In addition, people in Ithikulam have no access to politicians and other powerholders.

With regard to land use rights, only a few farmers possess legal documents for land titles. Nevertheless, people feel that their land is secure through an informal system of assurance, since all villagers know from each other who cleared which land and neighbours can therefore stand as witnesses in case of disputes. Meanwhile, land is informally split up for dowries and is thus fragmented. However, informants clearly pointed out that the LTTE controls the clearing of land for cultivation and enforces rules on the use of jungle resources (e.g. firewood collection). Nevertheless, villagers also approached the cultivation officer (CO) in order to apply for permits – and subsequently gain – titles for their land. It appears that farmers seek title documents from both parties in order to be on the safe side regardless of who will be the future power holder in the area.

In the case of Ithikulam, villagers were able to convert an externally imposed threat (conflict) into a new economic opportunity: highland cultivation ensures a reliable, though moderate income and has enabled some of the villagers to increase their financial capital and in turn to invest in house building in their village of origin, thus re-establishing their physical and social capital. Tenant paddy cultivators in the surrounding villages, on the other hand, reported that they cultivated at very low profits due to the high cultivation costs imposed on them due to more expensive inputs (transport to uncleared area), unfavourable loans and marketing conditions (traders' cartel in Thoppur). In most years, yields are only sufficient for subsistence and hardly provide additional cash income for households.

⁴ Oxfam recently formed a society for its goat rearing programme. It is still too early to assess whether it has any impact on the village for social networking and community life.

5.2 Three Pillars of Livelihood Strategies

The livelihood system approach necessitates the analysis of all important factors and their interplay, and how these determine livelihood strategies and outcomes instead of considering only one dominant factor, viz. the conflict. In the livelihood system model, livelihood strategies define the behaviour of people in a given vulnerability context: How do they combine their capital assets and make use of structures and processes in order to carry out certain livelihood activities which contribute to securing their living?

In this chapter, we analyse and compare common trends and particularities of coping strategies of people in the five research locations. Our key concern in this section is to identify common trends of all or in the majority of research locations, and at the same time identifying specific features of certain communities and of certain households in communities.

Box 5.3: Definition of Livelihood Strategies

How people combine their capital assets in a given vulnerability context using relevant structures and processes to carry out their activities in order to sustain their livelihoods and achieve food security.

Out of the complex qualitative data on behavioural patterns, livelihood activities and coping strategies, the research team identified three areas that we call the "pillars" of coping strategies, which distinguish livelihood strategies at different levels of the livelihood system:

- **Managing personal risk of life** (5.3.1) examines how people cope with the increased probability of negative consequences for personal lives imposed by the violent environment of the civil war (vulnerability context).
- **Managing household economics** (5.3.2) identifies different strategies of organising the capital assets within a household (capital assets).
- **Accessing external support** (5.3.3) discusses how individuals or communities make use of structures and processes, in particular, how they access or influence political and military actors (structures and processes).

Graphic 5.2: Coping Strategies in Research Villages

Graphic 5.2 shows how each pillar is further divided into sub-categories. This categorisation allows a clear comparison of behavioural patterns in different locations or of different families in the same location.

5.2.1 Managing Personal Risk of Life

Managing personal risk of life refers to people's way of coping with the personal threat of life imposed by the specific situation of the protracted conflict and the culture of violence in the Trincomalee District. The different strategies found in the research villages have two dimensions: (i) risk minimisation and (ii) risk taking.

(i) Risk minimisation

Risk minimisation can be understood in two ways: avoiding personal risk of life or gaining maximum benefit with minimum economic risk. This section investigates strategies for dealing with the risk that the conflict imposes on personal life (security risk). Changed patterns of mobility have become an important strategy to respond to conflict, violence and hence the increased personal risk:

- As a common trend it was found that villagers tend to **leave their place of residence or cultivation temporarily or permanently** when the security situation requires caution. This could be considered an enforced migration because the people themselves are unable to avoid leaving.
- The people who stay behind are often those, who lack the means to start a new life in a new location. In the two Sinhalese research villages (Kalyanapura, Dehiwatte), many farmers **resided with relatives** in the peaceful zones of Sri Lanka and only returned during the cultivation period.
- In Kalyanapura, some people **came back only for cultivation** and the **fields are protected by security forces** during harvest times. However, farmers can only **work** on the fields during **daytime** which reduces their available working hours during cultivation periods considerably.
- In Ithikulam (Kalyanapura), whenever there are intrusions of the army (LTTE) or fights between the army and the LTTE, men and sometimes the entire family **flee to the jungle**.
- In Vattam, people apply another coping strategy to overcome the situation during tense times. They **move** from the village **to their relatives** or to neighbouring villages.
- **Children being sent to other towns** is a strategy that has a two motives. First, to make them stay with relatives in safer areas and the second, to provide them with better schooling.

Apart from the trend to leave the unsafe area temporarily or permanently,, the research team found some other locally specific strategies to minimise risk of life:

- In Ithikulam, men preferred to stay at home during times of tension and **sent women and elderly people** with the *chena* products **to the market** places in cleared areas, because young men fear harassment by army soldiers at the checkpoints.
- In Menkamam the water supply for paddy lands is limited and competitive and the villagers are not in the position to safeguard their fields at night. Because of shooting by the security forces they **fear**

night watching. In this unstable situation their ability to cultivate paddy or highland cultivation is very limited.

- In Kalyanapura, a Sinhalese border village, some farmers **hired Muslim wage labourers for harvesting**, because this ethnic community is less susceptible to attacks from the LTTE.
- In the two Sinhalese research villages, **farmers worked in the fields in groups** in order to reduce the risk of LTTE attacks or kidnapping. In this particular case, the conflict thus strengthened traditional forms of labour exchange.

(ii) Risk taking

In most cases, people followed various strategies in order to avoid exposure to risk of physical harm. However, in certain circumstances, the pressure of poverty forced some of them to deliberately take a personal risk in carrying out economic activities to secure an income:

- In Ithikulam, **children of widows** take more risk when they **go to the jungle to collect firewood** for selling as a means of living.⁵ Hunger and poverty urges children to take the risk of firewood collection in the jungle as a means of income generation, which they would avoid if possible, because entering these areas is dangerous due to wild animals and the presence of armed actors (army and LTTE).
- In the Muslim community of Vattam, some fishermen occasionally **trespass into the restricted fishing areas** imposed by the navy, when they expect a big catch of fish in the particular area and thus take the personal risk of entering an area of restriction in exchange for a high economic gain.

Risk minimisation or risk taking strategies such as these can be clearly linked to these specific situations in the conflict and the culture of violence in the Trincomalee District.

5.2.2 Managing Household Economics

The second pillar looks into how people combine and alter their household resources, the five capital assets, in order to carry out economic activities. We distinguish four elements: (iii) securing income (in cash or kind), (iv) organising the family, (v) managing expenditure and investment, and (vi)

⁵ The loss of human life is one of the major negative impacts of the protracted conflict for the country. As a result the number of widows has increased, and with it, the full responsibility of bringing up their children, and the problems therein have fallen on them. Often the children of widows help to their mothers to face the economic struggle.

managing the means of production. Category (vi) will be discussed in Chapter 6 with a focus on land resource utilisation and land use rights.

(iii) Securing income (in cash or kind)

Livelihood strategies aim at securing income. In the case of Trincomalee, the key question is whether or not people adopt strategies due to poverty or due to the conflict. In most cases, such a consideration is irrelevant, since conflict is a cause of poverty and thus coping and adaptive livelihood strategies might resemble livelihood strategies for dealing with poverty in the peaceful zones of Sri Lanka as well. However, in Trincomalee, many of these strategies are conflict-specific, because poverty is an outcome of the conflict situation for those people.

We can distinguish common trends and specific features in income earning strategies. Common trends are migration for income opportunities which can take various forms, and a tendency to limit household strategies to a few key income sources. A very common survival strategy of vulnerable households was illicit liquor brewing, with detrimental effects on the whole village community (see Box 5.4):

- **Migration for income opportunities** is a widespread reaction to the limited access to natural and economic resources, i.e. a lack of economic entitlements. This matches a trend which is common in all poor rural areas of Sri Lanka (cf. Dunham & Edwards 1997; Shanmugaratnam 1999; World Bank 2000) and could be found in all five research locations. The conflict situation, however, has increased the pressure for migration compared with the times before the conflict. There is a difference between migration to the Middle East and temporary labour migration:

Migration to Middle Eastern countries is especially attractive to women who want to work as housemaids.⁶ The ratio was especially high in the Muslim village of Vattam, which can be understood in the light of their closer association with Muslim employment agencies arranging such labour opportunities for women.

Labour migration to paddy or onion cultivation areas is a common

⁶ As a negative impact, during their absence, family bonds might slowly weaken, which makes their immense effort at improving living standards questionable and of relative benefit. Often the impact of this form of migration is that children are not looked after well and remittances, which come to the family, are misused either by the husband or the guardian of the children (for more information on this topic see SCF 1998).

strategy which provides a considerable income during a limited period of the year. In many cases, even tenants and landowners complement their farming activities with income from temporary wage labour in other areas.

- Another key trend observed was that **farmers tend to confine themselves to a few key income sources**, since the conflict situation has reduced their choice and opportunities: In many cases, jungle resources are not accessible, cattle or goats have been lost in past turmoils. In Kalyanapura, villagers stated that they have sufficient income from home-guard employment and thus have limited interest in livestock keeping. In Vattam, people do not seem to be especially keen to develop new activities apart from fishing.

Box 5.4: Illicit Liquor Brewing

During the conflict, illegal ways of securing an income gained importance. Brewing illicit liquor renders a high income to some vulnerable people, especially female-headed households (widows). The advantage for the brewer is that only a low investment is needed. In some research villages, the impact of liquor consumption was striking: alcoholism is widespread and demonstrates negative effects in the form of domestic violence, reduced health and ability or willingness to work. Even though powerholders and government officials are aware of the problem, they are unable to take action against illegal liquor production. Even the LTTE was not successful in preventing widows of Ithikulam from liquor brewing.

The specific vulnerability context in some of the research villages offers income opportunities which are not available in other locations:

- Farm and off-farm activities are found to be a means of earning an income in Kalyanapura. When the research team asked the villagers about off-farm activities, most of the men said they occupied as **home-guards** for a permanent income and went for **wage labour** during off-seasons.

Box 5.5: Home-guards

Home-guard services provide steady and significant cash income (approx. LKR 4,000 – 6,000) to Sinhalese farmers in border villages. Home-guards replace the armed forces during the night to defend their village from LTTE attacks. The result is an artificial cash inflow into the village and distortions to the local economy. As a consequence, farmers have few incentives to diversify their farming activities.

Furthermore, the income source is not sustainable: What happens in a post-conflict situation when this regular family income dries out?

- **Firewood selling** is very profitable in uncleared area. However the LTTE has imposed restrictions on firewood collection in the jungle, while some firewood is taken by the armed forces when firewood traders pass checkpoints (as bribes).
- Leasing land out for cultivation and searching for alternative incomes can be a strategy to **source their economic risk out to others** in case their own capital stock does not allow risky investment into cultivation. In Kumpurupitty, land owners leased their land out for a fixed land rent and worked as wage labourers for their tenants on their own land (cf. Chapter 6).

(iv) Organising the family

Family is defined as the core family and close relatives. Many households restructure their labour portfolio, or change the roles and responsibilities for certain economic tasks.

- **Sharing labour** does not only apply to the core family. Agricultural practices of sharing labour with neighbours are common. Before the conflict this was also practised in order to show the strong social bond of those who live close to each other and were interested in enhancing occupations mutually. The social bonds of the old days were stronger and healthier than in the present. This form of mutual support varies due to special reasons. In the Sinhalese border village Kalyanapura, **neighbourhood support and group work has increased with the tension as a means of protection against LTTE attacks**. In the Tamil village of Kumpurupitty, however, it has stopped. After their displacement in 1990, a considerable number of villagers moved away from their original homes and thus **social bonds within the village weakened** and villagers stopped some traditional agricultural practises like sharing labour. Labour exchange could also be a strategy to reduce cultivation costs in case tenant paddy cultivators exchange labour among themselves in order to avoid the wage expenses for hired labourers.
- **Re-sizing the family** was not only observed as a means of organising the family income but for the future of the children. It was found that parents send their children to areas far away to provide them with more safety than in the home village as well as with better education.
- In addition to re-sizing, **uniting of the family** also takes place. During times of tension Ithikulam families got united: Men did not leave the area and young married children stayed with their parents and started getting involved in *chena* cultivation to support their parents, while female household members or elders passed the checkpoints to the markets. This also shows that in times of tension, people from Ithikulam (uncleared area) have a **flexible way of handling roles and tasks** by sending women and elders to sell *chena* products in cleared area. At the checkpoints men are more likely to be harassed by the

armed forces.⁷

- Households in Ithikulam in uncleared area transferred **full responsibility of decision-making to women** when husbands are away due to security reasons or for temporary labour migration. Women then decide themselves about cropping patterns, marketing and expenses.
- Without the **involvement of children and women in highland cultivation** Ithikulam people would find it much harder to pursue their diversified livelihood activities as they do.
- **Division of labour** has not changed significantly. Villagers stated that households relax social norms and traditional gender-based divisions of labour when the circumstances require it. However, in most cases families would return to their traditional ways as soon as the security situation eases. It seems that changes in gender relations are therefore mainly temporarily imposed by outside forces without a substantial impact on long-term gender relations.

(v) **Managing expenditure and investment**

The research team observed contradictory trends and unexpected strategies in how and where households set priorities in investment. It seems that families in the conflict zones prefer to invest surplus either outside the area or keep it as a mobile asset, e.g. jewellery or TV (cf. Goodhand, Lewer & Hulme 2000). In peaceful times, the primary investment priority would be house construction due to cultural reasons (like the dowry system) and productive investment.

- **Investment in house construction** was nevertheless observed in Vattam and Ithikulam although both places are not considered safe areas by the villagers as they are close to the borderline between cleared and uncleared area. These forms of investment surprised the research team who expected to see a reluctance to invest in fixed assets in this vulnerability context. Ithikulam villagers invested income from highland cultivation and complementary sources for house construction in Sreenivasapuram, their native place, in order to strengthen their social networks (social capital of the household) and societal esteem. Fishermen in Vattam use their income from overseas employment (see above) to construct houses.
- On the other hand, fishermen in Vattam seemed **reluctant to invest in productive fishing equipment** to avoid taxation and the loss of investment, as armed actors confiscate equipment occasionally.
- Another common feature is **reducing expenses for entertainment**, celebrations like festivals and domestic ceremonies, and luxury items

⁷ This coping strategy was also seen in Batticaloa, cf. Goodhand & Lewer 1999.

in times of economic stress or crisis. After this, the consumption of food intake as well as number of meals per day get reduced. Goodhand, Lewer & Hulme 2000 observed a similar trend to reduce consumption in Batticaloa.

- Apart from this, people often seem to be willing to **degrade their social status** if expenditure requirements render it necessary. In Vattam, older fishermen frequently give their boat as dowry to their future sons in law and work as wage labourers for other boat owners. This nevertheless has to be kept apart from degrading social status in the face of economic loss due to the conflict. Before the conflict, many farmers had their own paddy lands and earned a stable income through cultivation and livestock keeping. Due to the conflict many people lost their land and homes or the necessary means of buying requirements for cultivation and livestock keeping and thus have been forced into wage labouring.
- **Using informal food markets:** The security restrictions of transporting food items into uncleared and semi-cleared areas forces people to adopt a flexibility in handling food markets. They smuggle food into these areas, exchange restricted food items among neighbours and convert food from these dry rations into cash. As a reason for the latter the villagers mentioned the poor quality of the dry rations. Once exchanged into cash, it will be returned into food items of better quality.
- **Shopping on credit** is a strategy to overcome periods of low income. In some cases, shop owners or *mudalalis* do not insist on reclaiming the full amount of a loan, and thus force poor villagers to buy at their shops and to sell their agricultural products to them.

5.2.3 Accessing External Support

Households and individuals access and influence various strategic actors in order to gain external support. In the model of the livelihood system, this strategy refers to structures and processes and how these, on the one hand, shape behavioural patterns of households, while, on the other hand, households deliberately make use of structures to access capital assets and to support their livelihood strategy.

It is important to note that the political capital of households, which we defined as access of households (or communities) to powerholders differs considerably according to the ethnicity. In Trincomalee, this means that Muslims and Sinhalese have networks with politicians (3 MPs were Muslim,

one MP is Sinhalese)⁸ and with the armed forces, while the Tamil population is more rooted within the district and provincial administrative apparatus. Furthermore, the LTTE, too constitutes a powerful armed actor. It was observed with concern that this system of politico-economic patronage continues to fuel ethnic grievances and dividing lines in the district.

In the four sub-categories of the third pillar, (vii) *Alliances with powerholders*, (ix) *Qualifying for state and NGO support* and (x) *Accessing formal and informal economic institutions* are active strategies of establishing networks for support, whereas (viii) *Satisfying claims of armed actors* is a passive strategy of reacting to forced claims from armed groups.

(vii) Alliances with powerholders

- In most villages, people try to **establish good relationships with government officials**. Creating networks with politicians and powerful administrators is a powerful tool of some communities and individuals to impose their claims on others. They have multiple reasons for this. Some hope to enhance their eligibility to land titles, others strive to obtain Samurdhi stamps, resettlement or other funds etc. In uncleared areas these forms of alliances are more or less absent because the respective government officials there are not in a position to handle these issues since the administrative system hardly functions in these regions.
- Another common feature is **seeking alliances with armed actors**. This strategy has different reasons such as economic needs and security purposes. The people from Kalyanapura for example seek alliance with the security forces for job opportunities as well as for field protection during harvesting close to the borderline. Seeking alliances with armed forces is also a prerequisite for larger economic activities such as trading, in order to enjoy easier handling at checkpoints.
- Vattam on the other hand forms an exception. Here, people have opted for deliberate non-alliance and avoided to co-operate with either side in order to stay neutral. They feared the pressure from the opposing side, should they form alliances with one of the conflict parties. The same is true of the villagers in Ithikulam in general. Both villages are close to the borderline.

(viii) Satisfying claims of armed actors

- **Villagers generally fulfil all claims of armed actors**, be it enforced taxes or bribes from either conflict party. For instance, while passing

⁸ Please note that this situation changes with the elections in December 2001.

through the checkpoints villagers might willingly give some portion of the products, which they are taking to the market. On the other hand, armed actors would take away valuables by force. This means that the public is unable to accuse this group of armed actors. However, people have also developed some practices of by-passing taxation by developing their personal strategies like playing down their own economic status.

(ix) Qualifying for state and NGO support

- There are contradictory trends with regard to **how communities use and establish community-based organisations (CBO)** as a means of attracting and addressing government agencies and NGOs. In general, NGOs work through CBOs. For this reason, strengthening village representation by CBOs is an obvious strategy found in Sinhalese Kalyanapura. Here, its strong and well-established farmer organisation with a highly reputed president could establish close links with powerful administrators and politicians, which helped them to defend their interests and to attract governmental support. On the other hand, in conflict areas people are often scared to form CBOs and potential leaders (including traditional leaders) are reluctant to take up leadership roles due to the risk of falling into discredit with the conflicting parties. They thus avoid the high profile of CBOs, like in Ithikulam for example. Generally, displacement and migration are likely to disrupt the social fabric of communities, and CBOs cease to function since in many cases the former leaders left the villages.
- **Concealing economic facts** is commonly found in all villages: interviewees play down their social and economic status, income and belongings (e.g. jewellery) in order to fulfil eligibility criteria for relief, welfare and project support from various agencies. In one case, villagers even reported that they "displaced" briefly to neighbouring villages - even though the security situation had eased - in order to qualify for resettlement aid from the government. The expectation behind this was to be visited by political leaders who give resettlement aid. After the villagers received resettlement aid they returned home within a day.

(x) Accessing formal and informal economic institutions

Economic institutions are weak and distorted by war. Banks have a limited network which does not reach these villagers, and traders have established oligopolies to dictate prices for agricultural products. State services are largely dilapidated. In this situation, villagers have limited options and little access to services:

- At the village level, **seetu** – an informal method of group saving – is popular among women, which provides them occasionally with a

bigger amount of money, rice or other goods for a more lucrative small business or investment.

- Another form of coping that is followed by many villagers is **pawning jewellery** at a bank and thus receiving credit. Nevertheless there are villagers who hesitate to approach official institutions like banks even if they are within their reach. Thus the most common form of **obtaining credit is probably from traders, relatives and other villagers**. Traders are mostly approached for credit in the form of goods, whereas relatives and villagers are more likely to be approached for cash-credits.

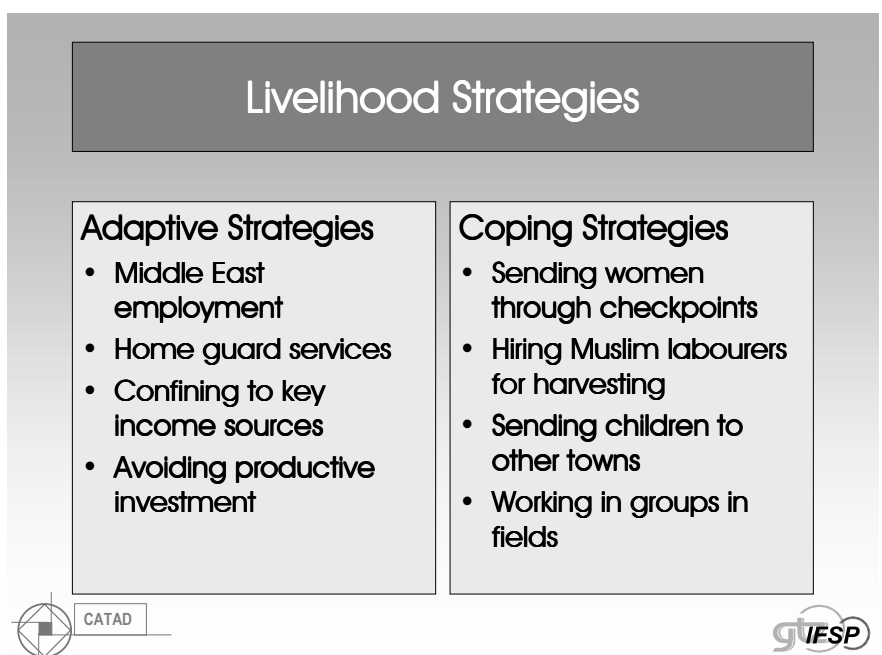
5.3 Coping and Adapting

In Section 2.3.2 of Chapter 2 we distinguished between coping and adaptive livelihood strategies, where coping referred to short-term responses to sudden shocks and adapting to adjustments to gradual declining trends. In practice, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction. Many strategies described in the previous section combine elements of coping as well as adapting. In some cases, coping strategies developed in situations of shock, but gradually transformed into adapting strategies, because of the protracted duration of the conflict. But on the other hand, categorisation into coping and adapting strategies is instrumental in deriving appropriate support strategies. This is because development interventions need to focus attention on existing adapting strategies, whereas emergency aid and relief will buffer short-term responses to shocks, i.e. coping strategies.

Graphic 5.3: Adaptive and Coping Strategies

Graphic 5.3 shows a few key livelihood strategies, categorising them according to coping and adapting strategies.

Many adapting strategies deal with the declining income earning opportunities and the risk of investment, which is



higher in conflict areas compared to peaceful areas.

Furthermore, adapting strategies reflect the declining entitlements to resources, like the disrupted access to land, water and jungle resources:

- **Middle East employment** continues to be an essential income source for households, in conflict as well as in peaceful areas of Sri Lanka, and provides a cash income that the traditional farming activities cannot secure anymore. This tendency could be partly triggered by the decreasing local and regional income earning opportunities due to the economic decline in the Northern and Eastern Province.
- **Home-guard services** in Sinhalese villages, on the other hand, is a reliable, though insecure income source for farming households, which depends on the continuation of the conflict and is thus not sustainable in the long run, and also distorts the former more diversified village economy.
- **Villagers confining themselves to key income sources** is partly enforced due to a lack of alternatives (no access to certain resources), and partly due to the access to a reliable cash income source (home-guard services provide sufficient income that a diversification of the household economy is unnecessary). However, the trend of relying on a few sources of income reduces the buffer capacities of the livelihood portfolio.
- **Avoiding productive investment** is a key trend in a few of the research villages. It is partly triggered by a lack of financial buffer to withstand a loss of investment, and partly by the uncertainty of the security situation. It is also discouraged by taxation through the armed actors, which either capture productive equipment (e.g. boats) or enforce taxes on the owners which reduce the potential profit and might render a business with marginal profit unprofitable.

These adapting strategies support the hypothesis that indigenous economic potential is very limited and that the vulnerability context discourages people to re-convert dormant assets into productive resources. Cash income is more easily acquired through outside funds (state payments for home-guards) or overseas employment (remittances cash flows).

With regard to the coping strategies, it is important to note that both features --relaxing traditional norms and confirming traditional habits -- can be observed :

- **Sending women through checkpoints** to the markets and sending children for schooling to other towns are strategies which contradict traditional norms and might be highly reversible as soon as the security situation eases.

- **Collective labour exchange** (working in groups on the paddy fields) is a traditional habit in Sinhalese villages which has been reinforced as a coping strategy in high risk cultivation areas.

5.4 Coping with Conflict or with Poverty?

Has the conflict accentuated poverty and thus livelihood strategies? How different are the villages in conflict areas from those in peaceful areas of Sri Lanka? Livelihood strategies can only be understood in the context of the entire livelihood system with the vulnerability context and their structures and processes in place which allows an understanding of the behavioural patterns and the rationality behind them. Coping strategies are the outcome of an interplay of various factors and impacts – not one single one such as the conflict - on the different elements of livelihood.

It is therefore difficult to make a firm distinction between poverty and conflict coping. However, the first pillar in our model – managing personal risk of life – is clearly linked to the conflict and the increased personal risk related with conflict. Apart from that, uncertainty and insecurity also increases the economic risk of investment, and this factor is mirrored in various coping strategies of the second and third pillar. In this regard, increased economic risk can also be caused by macro-economic conditions, e.g. through national open-market policies, and coping with such induced risks might be similar to coping with economic risks induced by the security situation.

Some argue that state welfare and relief could prevent a large-scale decline of the population into deep poverty (cf. O’Sullivan 1997). In the research locations, government welfare in the form of Samurdhi food stamps, dry rations, and resettlement aid are an important food and income source and people have adapted strategies for tapping these resources. This could also be a sign of the depletion of household capital assets due to the protracted duration of the war: Households gradually deplete their capital stock after each shock and thus increase their dependency from outside assistance.⁹

⁹ Senaka Arachchi (1998) and Tennakoon (1986) observed household coping strategies in times of drought in the Anuradhapura District, a regular occurrence in the dry zone. Both authors concludes that individuals have to implement increasingly severe austerity measures as drought worsens and ultimately dispose of their assets, increasing their dependence on relief.

Relief-oriented aid offered by the state and NGOs might have supported a reorientation of household strategies towards the tapping of these funds instead of investing scarce assets in an insecure environment.

5.5 Institutional Arrangements and Strategic Action (Institutional Coping)

The way key actors of governmental organisations and economic entrepreneurs cope in turn influences and shapes the villagers' access to some of their capital assets. While villagers apply coping activities to pursue livelihoods, people within institutions do so to survive, to defend their power and position or even to extend and strengthen it. Leach, Mearns & Scoones (1999) distinguish institutions (rules of the game = processes) from the organisations (structures). Institutional arrangements is the interplay of rules and actors. We use the term institutional coping to denote the behaviour of actors within important structures (organisations). Institutional arrangements (processes) comprise the action of organisations and the adjustment and response of villagers to these. In the three pillar model, this refers to the third pillar, viz. accessing external support.

5.5.1 Key Actors in State Organisations

The governance system in Sri Lanka with its overlapping functions for the central power (reserved list), the provincial councils (devolved list) and both institutions (concurrent list) has created institutions with intertwined responsibilities of several central and devolved government organisations. This triggers 'check and balance' tactics where the central government still influences most of the concurrent subjects and can even interfere in provincial responsibilities. The national governance system is highly politicised and shaped by party politics. Politicians interfere in the administrative process to impose their (political) interests which are often biased towards their electoral (and thus ethnic)¹⁰ supporters.

The conflict has weakened the civil institutions in the province. It is important to distinguish between constraints imposed by the conflict as

¹⁰ In the Sri Lankan system, many political parties align themselves along communal (ethnic) lines.

opposed to the inherent weaknesses which find their root in the Sri Lankan governmental system, which are found in other rural areas of the island as well.

In general, the government structures throughout the province lack staff, facilities and training. The situation is more delicate in the uncleared areas where the government only provides basic welfare services (food stamps) and certain public services (education, health), but hardly carries out any development work. Due to the precarious ground conditions, field staff of line departments is reluctant to work in these areas and many positions remain vacant for a long period, especially since qualified staff is hardly willing to work (and live) under such conditions.

Box 5.6: Decline of a Bureaucratic Kingdom?

Since 1990, administrators dominated the provincial politics due to the absence of an elected Northern and Eastern Provincial Council (NEPC) and a Chief Minister. The lack of control and accountability of the administrators triggered the development of an officer-based decision-making process and top down planning. Patronage, bribery and favouritism often remain without penalty and are common features of the bureaucratic apparatus.

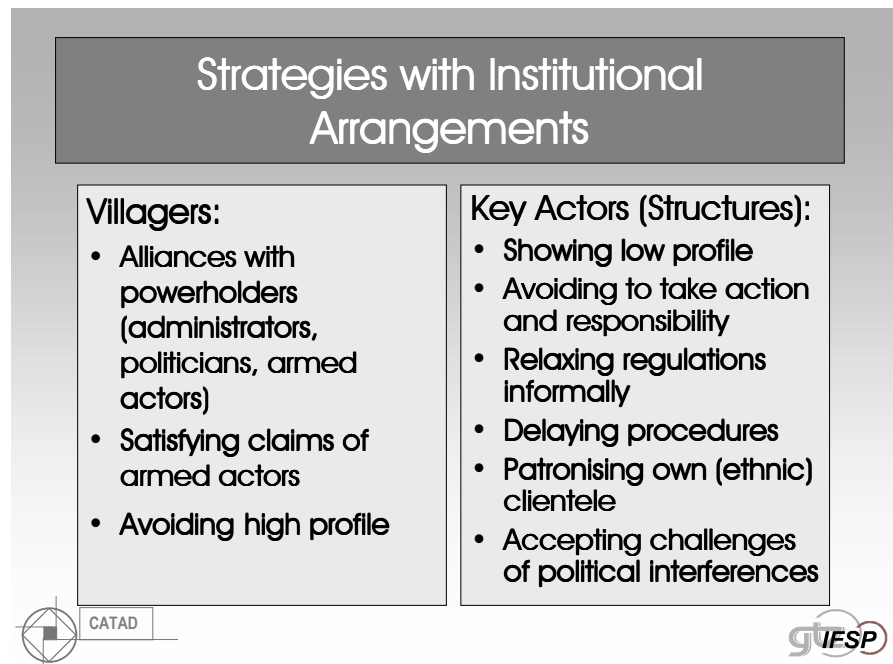
In recent years, parliamentarians in the national assembly increasingly use more power to interfere into administrative procedures for the allocation of funds and appointments for administrative posts. Their pressure undermines the bureaucratic kingdom.

Graphic 5.4 presents some strategies of key actors at structure level and the adjustment of villagers to these institutional arrangements. Some of the strategies of villagers remain rather passive in their response to organisational behaviour (when satisfying demands for instance), while other villagers deliberately choose active strategies to influence structures in their own favour (by seeking alliances). It is a general phenomenon that community-based institutions are weakened due to various reasons, such as the migration of former leaders, the fear of potential leaders to expose themselves and a destruction of the social network due to displacement, violence and distrust. This lack of local leadership, which could contribute to balancing different interests and needs at a community level, encourages

opportunistic behaviour of those with firm links with powerholders at the expense of others as well as discourages collective action.

**Graphic 5.4:
Strategies with
Institutional
Arrangements**

The behaviour of actors in the governmental organisations and administration is similarly shaped by a strategy of keeping a low profile. Administrators are reluctant to take responsibility and action which is



legally ascribed to them, in case it has political and ethnic implications.

Thus they bury their heads in the sand using various tactics of delaying decisions and procedures, keeping decision-making non-transparent and relaxing rules and legislation to allow certain illegal practices (e.g. land encroachment). This behaviour is rational in the context of political interference from the top level (either through politicians or the central government), and the influence of armed actors (the armed forces and LTTE) which deliberately ensure that their own clientele receives the largest share of the resources, allocation of funds etc. Many actors in governmental organisations fear negative consequences for themselves when they do not comply with certain unwritten rules of the political game.

The result of this strategic action and behaviour is that entitlements to resources are unevenly distributed according to ethnicity. This has been and continues to be one major cause of the conflict.

5.5.2 Traders and Entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurs and traders are important structures of the village economy and shape the access of villagers to credit, input and markets. In the

Northern and Eastern Province (NEP), conditions for doing business differ considerably when compared with other parts of Sri Lanka, and this has clear implications for the village economies. Links to the national and international economy appear to be looser, the purchasing power of people is limited and mobility of persons and goods is restricted due to the checkpoint system imposed by the army. Apart from the military purpose of checkpoints, viz. to limit supplies to the LTTE and the movements of its personnel, the checkpoint system also worsens the war economy. Armed actors have their own economic interests and demand bribes and taxes from entrepreneurs and traders (cf. Goodhand, Lewer and Hulme 2000), who acquire oligopolistic powers to do business across checkpoints.

Box 5.7 lists key coping strategies of successful traders and entrepreneurs in Trincomalee. It is striking that some of these strategies resemble those of villagers, in particular the need to satisfy demands of armed actors and to seek alliances with powerholders:

Box 5.7: Some Coping Strategies of Entrepreneurs and Traders

- Satisfying demands of armed actors
- Alliances with powerholders
- Keeping others out of business (cartel, oligopolies)
- Establishing a reputation of reliability
- Taking economic and personal risk

- It is mandatory for traders and businessmen to **satisfy the demands of the armed actors**. In order to keep the business running, tax claims of the LTTE have to be fulfilled. Regulations for passing checkpoints from the army, such as the type of lorry-carriages, need to be complied with. Sometimes it is even necessary to bribe the officers in charge to get clearance. Satisfying claims of armed actors is rather a passive and reactive strategy.
- It is, nevertheless, closely related to the active approach of **seeking close alliances with powerholders**. On the one hand, entrepreneurs and traders seek and cultivate good relations with high-ranking army officers to ease passage at checkpoints. On the other hand, villagers believe that certain ethnic groups utilise their close relations to security forces to establish or strengthen a trade network and oligopoly. The consequence is that the trading business lies in the hands of a few people mostly belonging to one ethnic group.
- Some trade networks are successful in **keeping other traders out of business** and establish cartels and oligopolies. As described above, villagers and entrepreneurs who are kept out of business perceive this coping mechanism as biased towards certain ethnic groups, which

leads to grievances among other ethnic groups.

- Some entrepreneurs and traders with limited access to powerholders seek to establish a **reputation of reliability** towards other economic agents, such as banks or trading partners, especially in inter-communal economic exchanges. They strive to be reliable and good pay masters and to secure a timely supply of goods to fulfil contracts.

Box 5.8: Traders' Cartel in Thoppur

The informal cartel of traders in Thoppur is an economic structure influencing the farmers in Ithikulam. Thoppur, where they sell their *chena* products, is the nearest village in the cleared area and has a predominantly Muslim population of nearly 100%. Villagers from Ithikulam reported that traders in Thoppur agree on common prices of paddy and vegetables at a low level. Hence, the traders' profit margin remains high, while this tactic has a detrimental effect on the profits of the cultivators.

The impact of a distorted regional economy for village communities is striking. Farmers have a very weak bargaining power with traders and entrepreneurs who provide inputs and market their products (fish, onions, paddy etc.). The oligopoly of economic actors allows them to keep prices for agricultural and fishing products at a low level, which reduces the profits of the producers. The livelihood system of Ithikulam highlighted these constraints on farmers, which are more prominent in the conflict-affected areas of Sri Lanka than in the peaceful ones. Such overt control of the economy places a small group of people as winners who profit from the war (cf. Goodhand and Lewer 1999).

In addition to safeguarding their business through alliances and networks with powerholders and trade cartels,

- many traders and entrepreneurs **deliberately face economic and personal risk** and take advantage of opportunities that occur. This refers to decisions on investments with unpredictable profits and the diversification into various business activities. Transport during night time incurs a high risk and some traders reported that they are afraid of travelling but take the risk due to the possibility of obtaining a high profit.

Nevertheless, the trade oligopoly provides rudimentary economic facilities and allows farmers to market their products, even though in unfavourable conditions. For the rural population, risk taking behaviour is essential for keeping links to the urban economy and for marketing their agricultural

products or to have access to processed goods. On the other hand, the limited banking services restrict people, especially in unsafe areas, in their access to credit at reasonable conditions. Hence investment in productive inputs or long-term equipment is either impossible or dependent on informal credit facilities, which may be much more expensive.

5.6 Conclusions

Alterations in the patterns of mobility are a key response of people in war-affected communities to adjust to the risk-prone environment of the conflict zone. People are most exposed in the borderline areas between cleared and uncleared area with the presence and infiltration of both conflict parties, and in ethnically mixed areas. The key factor of the vulnerability context is the lack of stability and thus an increased risk level. While wealthy villagers often become absentee landlords and move to Trincomalee or even outside the province, it is mainly the poorer ones who stay behind in the insecure areas.

These changing patterns of mobility result in a number of adapting and coping strategies: In the two Sinhalese research locations, quite a number of farmers lived outside the village with relatives in more secure places. Other villagers send children to relatives outside the village for schooling. These strategies and others place heavy demands on the network of the extended family in both the war zone and relatives living outside the province. However, the demand and claims from the extended family might overburden the household assets and individuals may even look for strategies to downsize intra-family claims. This could also explain the strategy of hiding economic facts and understating wealth, which was commonly observed as a strategy in the interviews during our study.

The conditions of war challenge the identity of people and the increasing importance of social and cultural capital may be understood as a means of re-establishing identity. Investment in religious institutions and symbols (temples) could contribute to strengthen other institutional arrangements at a community level. Religious leaders might be crucial for the political capital of communities in that they determine how villagers can put pressure on powerholders and lobby for their interests. The research findings point out that there is a considerable difference between the three main religions in Trincomalee and the role played by the religious leaders to stabilise

community life (see **Box 5.9**). Especially in Tamil villages potential village leaders have either left the area or keep a low profile, i.e. remain invisible, resulting in the of lack of leadership. Exposing oneself implies a high personal risk: Nobody wants to become a 'hero', since this might mean endangering one's own life.

Box 5.9: The Role of Religion and Cultural Capital

The role of religious leaders was controversially discussed in the stakeholder dialogue. The research findings from IFSP-CATAD point to a diverse picture: in Muslim and Buddhist communities, the mosque society (e.g. in Vaddamfor) and the Buddhist priest (e.g. in Kalyanapura) played a fundamental role in village life, and often acted as an intermediary institution between community and external support organisations. They also took advocacy functions and acted as judges in dispute settlement. In Tamil communities, the role of the Hindu priest was much less exposed, and it was hypothesised that the Hindu priest was more vulnerable and thus kept a low profile. Religious leaders from Buddhism and Islam take a more charismatic role in community life than in Hinduism. However, a recent study by the Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA) concluded that religion plays a vital role for entrepreneurs in Trincomalee in all three religions (cf. Weeratunge 2001). Do people invest in religion?

Access to and priority claims for resources are critical in determining differences in coping strategies between villages in complex emergencies and in peaceful areas. The freedom of choice is seriously restricted in the conflict zones due to limited access to resources because of the security situation. Furthermore, in the multi-ethnic context of Trincomalee, the conflict is based on about which (ethnic) community has better access to resources and to support. Research findings confirm that economic entitlements in Trincomalee are 'ethnicised' (cf. Korf 2001b) in the sense that opportunities and access to resources are unequally distributed among the three communal groups.

The research team hypothesises that social capital understood as community institutions are gradually undermined by the increasing importance of political capital: arrangements or disputes are not discussed and solved through intra- and inter-community institutions, but more and more by the rule of the fittest, i.e. those with the stronger link to powerholders.

6. Land Use under Threat?

Chapter 6 focuses on the second research question which deals with a particularly important aspect of livelihood systems in complex emergencies: how people and institutions deal with the changing land use patterns in the face of the conflict. Institutions pertaining to land use rights largely determine land use patterns and the utilisation of land resources. The chapter looks into land tenure issues in complex emergencies (6.1), assesses the impact of the conflict on land use patterns (6.2) and discusses several key issues in land use rights in the Trincomalee District (6.3). We also elaborate on two case studies on land disputes to illustrate how struggles over land resources can further fuel the conflict (6.4) and draw conclusions (6.5).

6.1 Land Tenure and Livelihoods in Complex Emergencies

Secure rights of access to land form the basis of smallholder agrarian livelihoods. Land also is an important component of more diverse livelihood strategies for vulnerable households which rely on wage labouring in agriculture (cf. Quan 1998). Communities' rights to common pool resources (CPR), such as forests or aquatic resources, merit consideration due to their importance especially for the poorer households. Secure land entitlements are a precondition for the resilience of livelihoods, viz. the capacities of households to absorb shocks and to adapt to stresses induced by climate, price instability, unemployment and, in complex emergencies, political crisis. The degree of security in land use rights and resource endowments has a fundamental impact on the livelihood options of households, and consequently on their planning possibilities and investment decisions. Tenure institutions are determining factors for livelihood strategies (Quan 1998).

Complex political emergencies cause changes in the structure of land occupation due to population displacement and land seizures. Furthermore, existing governance structures at local and regional level might collapse or are seriously undermined in enforcing the rule of law. Conflict is often rooted in inter-group competition over land and resources. In post-conflict situations, it is essential to establish tenure institutions which can resolve land disputes and tenure claims in a transparent and 'neutral' manner.

Land tenure arrangements and the reliability of land use rights determine land use patterns and the utilisation of land resources. It is therefore essential to distinguish between the rights, entitlements or endowments to land use and the physical and economic utilisation of land resources which are an outcome of these institutional arrangements (see Box 6.1).

Box 6.1: Definition of Land Use

IFSP-CATAD understands the term 'land use' in a twofold manner:

- (i) *land resource utilisation*: how people (physically) make use of land resources for economic activities (farming systems). Economic land use can be multi-faceted, ranging from farming practices, livestock keeping (grazing lands) to hunting and gathering of wildlife resources.
- (ii) *land use rights*: The entitlements (rights, claims, informal rules) to make use of land formally as well as informally. We can distinguish four property rights systems in land: (1) private property, (2) state property, (3) common (communal) property, and (4) systems with open and unrestricted access to resources.

The prevailing land use system in Sri Lanka's Dry Zone is characterised by the co-existence of six land use systems which differ considerably in their intensity:

- (1) **Irrigated paddy cultivation**, in both traditional villages with minor tanks, and in new settlements within medium or large-scale irrigation and colonisation projects managed by state authorities. The households in such projects, which derive their main income from paddy cultivation, are hereafter referred to as paddy farmers.
- (2) **Slash and burn agriculture** (called *chena* cultivation in Sri Lanka) on non-irrigated land resources. The traditional slash and burn agriculture is hardly practised today due to the scarcity of land.
- (3) **Highland cultivation** is rainfed agriculture of vegetables and corn (maize). Farmers often switch from slash and burn agriculture to permanent highland cultivation due to the scarcity of land.

- (4) **Lift irrigation** is a common technique for onion cultivation in specific areas of the Trincomalee District (Nilaveli in Kuchchaveli D.S. division).
- (5) **Cultivation of vegetables and fruits** in the plots adjoining the houses which are referred to as **home gardens**. This type of cultivation is practised to a limited extent both by paddy and *chena* farmers.
- (6) **Keeping of large herds of cattle and buffalo** in an extensive pastoral system. This type of livestock keeping was formerly limited to a comparatively few influential families. Most of these families lost their cattle stock during displacement and only a few have reinvested in livestock cultivation.

These diverse types of land use are governed by various formal and informal property systems. Paddy lands and home gardens are held as formal private property. Due to the utilisation of common irrigation facilities, paddy cultivation involves a dimension of common resource management, which in irrigation projects is governed by far-reaching legal regulations (especially the Agrarian Development Act). The land resources used for *chena* and highland cultivation and livestock farming are formally state property. Different user groups hold overlapping informal property rights in these land resources (cf. Birner 1998).

6.2 Impact of Vulnerability on Land Use Patterns

In the Northern and Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, land use for agricultural production has been severely affected by the conflict due to the abandonment or the inaccessibility of land resources. Grievances over land resource distribution in large-scale settlement schemes (e.g. Mahaveli, Gal Oya) have been major reasons for the conflict. The current volatile situation of land utilisation, land use rights and encroachment is a serious constraint for development, and could in the future create new socio-political cleavages among the communal groups in the Trincomalee District.

What is the impact of the vulnerability context in Trincomalee on land use patterns and household capital assets? The protracted war has seriously harmed the access to resources and the economic opportunities to make use of those which are still accessible. The two main effects on land use patterns are:

- **Limited access to land and jungle resources:** The security risk prevents people from going to fields close to jungle area or to make use of the jungle resources, since they suspect LTTE presence in the jungle. In some cases, the armed forces do not allow villagers to access certain areas. The LTTE also restricts the use of certain resources (e.g. firewood collection in the jungle). In some cases, the villagers' homes are located on one side of the borderline, and the paddy fields on the other. In tense times, people are then reluctant to pass the checkpoints to access their land resources.
- **Abandoned natural resources** due to displacement and migration: Many people have left the district to escape from the unstable security situation. These migrants or the displaced are often those who were more affluent in former times. They leave their land and assets behind.

Apart from these direct impacts, the conflict affects economic life in general, (→ Chapter 5). Three aspects which have an impact on land resource utilisation are:

- **Increased personal risk and uncertainty:** Conflict and war pose an unpredictable risk on the lives of people in the area, since sudden eruptions of communal violence or outbreaks of fighting can happen suddenly at almost any moment.
- **Restrictions on cultivation:** farmers in unsafe areas (Kumpurupitty, Dehiwaththa, Kalyanapura) are afraid of working in the fields time- and location-wise: They do not use certain fields which are close to the jungle, they restrict cultivation to the day-time and do not guard their fields in the night against wild animals. Some farmers report that they are only able to cultivate because they pay taxes to the LTTE as a precondition for accessing their fields.
- **Restricted movements of persons and goods:** the armed forces have imposed security restrictions on the mobility of persons and goods to uncleared area, and, unofficially, to some unsafe areas in cleared area. The security risk also prevents people from entering certain areas. This hinders the economic utilisation of land resources, since input supply as well as the marketing of produce are tiresome, unpredictable and expensive.

6.3 Key Issues in Land Use Rights

In order to understand current land use, it is essential to look into the current status and handling of land use rights by all actors involved, i.e. villagers and those within institutions and powerholders. This section starts with a brief overview on different land use titles (6.3.1), and discusses current practices in tenancy arrangements (6.3.2). Encroachment is a serious concern in the Northeast (6.3.3) and is influenced by the prevailing institutional arrangements in handling land use rights (6.3.4).

6.3.1 Forms of Land Use Rights¹

The ownership of about 80 % of land in Sri Lanka is vested in the state. From the 1930 's onwards, several governments have resorted to large scale distribution of state-owned land to landless people and peasants through various grant schemes under several legal acts. These land grant schemes included different types of grants, leases and permits with varying degrees of control and restrictions on sale, transfer, mortgage, succession, subdivision and land use. Our research shows that despite or in addition to these legal restrictions, a considerable degree of different kinds of land succession and informal land transfer have taken place on a seasonal, fixed-term or permanent basis.

For agricultural lands, we can identify three main forms of land ownership: (1) state (crown) land, private land (deed land) and land under the Land Reform Commission (LRC land). Table 6.1 provides a brief overview of the different types of formal titles and land use rights of state land and privately owned land. In addition to that people also use land without formal land use rights (i.e. encroachment).

When analysing the situation of land tenure in the NEP, two main influencing factors can be identified: firstly the present legal and institutional framework dealing with land use rights and secondly the conflict situation. Annex 5 describes the institutional framework pertaining to land use rights in Sri Lanka. A key conclusion is that the responsibilities are scattered between different agencies and between devolved and central functions.

The second factor relates to conflicting and overlapping claims to land. In eastern Sri Lanka, competing claims and disputes over land exist between the Tamils and the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims, as well as the Sinhalese and the Muslims. These rival claims to land, often by different ethnic groups, are rooted in memory and perception in the context of the politics of ethnicity and colonisation in Sri Lanka. Many Tamils have perceived the expansion of Sinhala settlements in the Northern and Eastern Province as an act of political and geographic 'colonisation of traditional Tamil areas'.

¹ Annex 5 provides more detailed information on land administration and legislation in Sri Lanka.

The Sinhalese saw it as an expansion into areas that they had abandoned in ancient times (cf. Government of Sri Lanka 2001b). In the context of the ethnicised conflict, the politicisation of land use rights, vested interests of armed actors and the link between land use rights and the causes of conflict make it difficult for administrators and decision-makers to enforce the rule of law (see Chapter 5).

Table 6.1: Different Types of Land Use Titles

	State (crown) land			Private land
Title	<i>Annual permit</i>	<i>LDO permit</i> *	<i>Grant</i>	<i>Deed</i>
Description	Temporary transcription of state land to a person with limited rights of usage	Transcription of state land to a person with limited rights of usage during land kachcheri	Permanent transmission of state land to a person with certain restrictions on usage	Privately owned land with full ownership rights to the owner
Comments	Issued 1978-83, can be transferred into LDO permit	Partition inheritance and transfer (selling) is not allowed	Can be transferred (sold) with approval of D.S.	Proof of ownership through a 'chain of title records'

Comments: *LDO = Land Development Ordinance

6.3.2 Tenancy Arrangements

Leasing land to tenants is common in paddy cultivation. Several varieties of tenancy arrangements can be identified according to the rights and claims a tenant and landlord are entitled to. In the research area, one common feature was that tenancy arrangements were mainly informal and oral. Land owners are reluctant to comply with formalised tenure arrangements according to the Agrarian Development Act. It is assumed that this is mainly to prevent the tenant cultivator from claiming ownership of land, which he is entitled to after a certain period of continuous cultivation of one land plot. According to the paddy lands act, a tenant is entitled to buy the land if he continues to cultivate the land for a certain period of time.

In the paddy cultivating areas we researched, (Kalyanapura, Menkamam, Dehiwaththa, Ithikulam), we found the following practices of land tenure:

- *Sharecropping (yield sharing)*: The traditional form of land tenure arrangements is crop (yield) sharing. The tenant and landowner come to an agreement which states claims and contributions of each side. The Tenant normally shares the harvest with the landowner according to a fixed percentage. In some tenancy agreements, landowners only leased out the land, and in some others cases the landowners also provided inputs and then took a larger share of the harvest. The traditional form of sharecropping has become increasingly less important and is mainly practised when competition over land is low.
- *Fixed rent*: Land tenure arrangements based on fixed rents are more and more common in paddy cultivation in both traditional and settlement areas. Under such agreement, the tenant pays a fixed amount of cash or kind as land rent to the landowner. With this type of tenancy the owner passes on the cultivation risk to the tenant. This tenancy arrangement is more flexible and it ensures that the land owner receives his rent. Some people stated that this form of agreement was also the result of a decreasing trust among people due to the protracted conflict.
- *Tenancy cum credit*: The landowner leases land out to a tenant who gives him a certain amount of money as an interest-free loan. The tenant obtains the right to cultivate the land for a proposed period, until the land owner repays the loan. The right to cultivate is therefore the compensation (or interest) for the loan. On mutual agreement, the contract can be extended. This method is often initiated by landowners who are in urgent need money.

Box 6.2: Kalyanapura: Shop Owner as Landlord

In the case of Kalyanapura, a shopkeeper provided inputs for paddy land whose owners were absent due to the tense security situation. The tenant cultivators only contributed their labour. Due to his good relations with traders and access to loan facilities, he maximises opportunities by using abandoned land and employs farmers with a lack of capital. In this case, the landlord-tenant relationship is not an impersonal contractual one. The tenants are mostly indebted customers of his shop and thus depend on him to secure their livelihoods. It appears that villagers and government institutions ignore the fact that these tenants cultivate the land without a tenancy agreement with the original landowner. There are no formal agreements which would define a settlement with an absentee landlord who reclaims his land upon his return.

A different situation was seen in Kumpurupitty, where farmers mainly engage in the highland cultivation of onions for the national market. Onion cultivation is a high input high profit cash crop. Many landowners lease out highlands for onion cultivation on an informal basis, since they lack access to financial capital required for investment in onion cultivation.

- Many landowners in Kumpurupitty reduce their social status when they lease out their land to tenants and they work as wage labourers on their own fields. The tenant has to pay a fixed land rent (Rs. 5,000 – 6,000 per acre per year). Here the landowner becomes dependent on the tenant who employs him as a wage labourer. Profits go solely to the tenant, who also determines the conditions of cultivation and marketing. The landowner cum wage labourer has a basic income from the land lease and from wage labouring during the cultivation period. This, however, does not seem to be sufficient to enable households to save or to increase their financial capital. They are therefore neither able to invest from their own resources, nor do they qualify for a bank loan as they cannot fulfil the requirements of the bank.
- The research team found a few cases where both tenant and landowner share inputs and crop equally or that the tenant provides the water pump, the landowner the land, and both share the costs of inputs and the income from the yield equally. However this kind of tenancy arrangement of sharecropping seems to be altogether less prominent.

In Kumpurupitty, outsiders gain the economic benefits of the onion boom since local farmers are hesitant to invest due to either the security risk, the lack of entrepreneurial spirit or the lack of investment capital. The tenants have little incentive for sustainable land use practices, since they only receive tenancy contracts for a short period. Thus they can pass on the negative environmental effects of onion cultivation to the landowner. A recent survey commissioned by the IFSP confirmed that the groundwater quality has seriously deteriorated due to over-extraction of groundwater and excessive fertilisation (cf. Panabokke et al. 2001).

Both farming systems (paddy and onion) rely mainly on a fixed-rent tenure system with a short contract duration. One explanation for the shift from the traditional sharecropping to a fixed land rent is that the latter provides a steady land rent for the land owner regardless of any unforeseen events (e.g. crop failure, security incidences). The land owner thus passes on the economic risk of cultivation to the tenant. Fixed rent agreements of short duration (one or two seasons) are common in areas where competition between tenants for land is high. Tenants in such areas have to build up a good repu-

tation as reliable tenants to ensure receiving a new contract for the subsequent cultivation season.

Sharecropping, the traditional tenure arrangement, requires a high degree of trust between the land owner and the tenant. Furthermore, it means that they both equally share the cultivation risk, which is higher in complex emergencies than in peaceful zones: the conflict dividend of vulnerability places an additional risk on cultivators due to the lack of security and political stability. Rational land owners will thus avoid sharecropping if they have an alternative and are able to claim a fixed land rent.

6.3.3 Encroachment on Abandoned Land

Encroachment is the unauthorised, illegal occupation and use of state land, allocated state land (permit, grant) or private land (deed). In addition, encroachment can take place on common property resources (e.g. grazing land, tank bed land).² Even though encroachment is a common phenomenon in Sri Lanka (cf. Birner 1998), it assumes a specific delicacy due to the volatile land use patterns in the conflict area. The main challenge is that many people have been displaced or have migrated to other areas. In addition, the state has relocated some refugees on land in more peaceful areas.

In the NEP, we can identify two main forms of displacement that have a considerable impact on the land ownership situation: forms of displacement in the present, and displacement which has happened in the past. The latter has perhaps been taking place now for more than a decade. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether absentee landlords intend to resettle in peaceful periods or not. The tenurial rights of absentee landowners are still unclear and therefore insecure. In these circumstances, encroachment -- i.e. cultivation without formal land use rights -- on abandoned land constitutes a threat to a peaceful settlement of the conflict as long as there are no transparent regulations to deal with these issues.

In some cases, farmers who left a village to live in more peaceful areas try to avoid encroachment on their fields by returning to their village during cultiva-

² See Case Study 'Menkamam – Dehiwaththa' in Section 6.4.1 and for more detail: Deva-rajah, Korf & Schenk 2001.

tion. In other cases people stay away and their land is abandoned and presently cultivated by other villagers as tenants. In one case, villagers stated that the local farmer organisation tried to persuade all villagers to resettle in the village and to stop the practice of returning for cultivation only.

The type of land title also determines the future position of absentee landlords or permit holders in reclaiming their land. Landlords with deeds might be in a comparatively strong position as long as they still dispose of their title documents. Permit holders, on the other hand, might face more difficulties to settle their claims if the land allocated to them is now cultivated by another person, since the property rights of permit holders are much weaker and can cease under certain conditions, as permits are only a temporary and conditional transfer of land use rights by the state.

Of particular concern is that the land use rights of a permit expire after a certain period if the permit holder does not utilise the land according to the conditions set in the permit documents. The divisional secretary can then redistribute the land to other entitled persons. Many permit holders are thus afraid that they could lose their land titles if they remain displaced for a long period. To redress the situation, the government has released a circular announcing that permits of displaced people cannot be redistributed.

With regard to cultivation on abandoned land, a few temporary solutions are currently in practice in some of the research locations:

- Abandoned land is temporarily occupied and cultivated by other villagers remaining in the village. This practice is tolerated by officials. In some cases, farmers and government officers discuss and decide on the cultivation of abandoned land during the yearly cultivation meeting.
- The land is cultivated with the consent of the absent landowner. It is also tolerated that villagers cultivate the land without an agreement on tenancy with the original landowner. The required rent is kept by the tenant and is expected to be paid when the landowner returns. Some local and divisional officers (G.S., D.S.) tolerate this practice.

In addition, encroachment takes place on state land without allocated land use rights. Sri Lanka has a long history of *ex-post facto* or retrospective legalisation of encroached land, the last taking place in the mid 1990's. Such a policy might encourage landless farmers to 'create facts on the ground', i.e. occupying land in the hope of receiving political backing and, consequently, a legal document to confirm the current state of land use. Some key

informants also stated that, in land disputes, the Sri Lankan courts tend to decide in favour of those who physically occupy the land at the time.

6.3.4 Handling Land Titles

The complexity of the Sri Lankan land laws and regulations allows administrators and powerholders to influence procedures, by-pass certain regulations and to seek biased solutions which favour their own clientele. The key question is thus how relevant actors handle and enforce rules, laws and regulations in practice.

The conflict has made the documentation of land titles difficult and subsequently the ability to prove user rights:

- **Documentation gaps:** There are a fair amount of cases in which persons legitimately holding a piece of land have inaccurate or no documentation of their rights. This situation is caused by several reasons, including a) the loss or destruction of relevant documents during the turmoil of war, without no record of these documents in the land registry. The Land Kachcheri in Trincomalee was set fire to in the 1980's where many documents got lost thus created a gap of evidence. b) the existence of only informal documents prepared by the involved parties themselves, which have not been registered or c) the complete absence of any documents where the rights were derived from custom or through longstanding undocumented occupation of the land.
- **Transfer of land:** Permits can only be transferred within relatives. Ownership and the kinship relation has to be proven by birth certificates. The transfer is possible when indicated as a gift or donation. Due to displacement, many people have lost their birth certificates. This is one of the reasons why the understanding of blood relations is extended to the donation of permit land. However, established people from the villages or the G.S. can provide proof the family status. It was openly stated that bribes are taken and the beneficiary may neither be a blood relative nor a family member. The same happens with the transfer of grants, which can only be transferred within the same income group not exceeding Rs. 1000/month. Here too bribes are quite common to prove the membership of this income group.

Furthermore, two general trends in land use patterns further affect user rights of vulnerable households and individuals and increase the uncertainty and insecurity of land tenure:

- **Fragmentation of land:** Expansion of families urges many households to distribute their land for inheritance. A large number of lands allocated by the state under permits and grants is illegally subdivided and user rights

are therefore not registered. Current legal provisions do not allow the division of paddy land below 1,5 acres (cf. Government of Sri Lanka 2001b). To bypass this official regulation, households often share cultivation among different generations of the family, while the official land titles remain solely with the head of the household. Thus officially there is no fragmentation, although in reality, however, the size of land cultivated per capita often shrinks below subsistence level.³

- **Gender inequality:** Regarding the legal situation of women in relation to land rights, under the general law they have equal rights of inheritance. But when it comes to the Land Development Ordinance (LDO), the table of inheritance prefers male successors. Although a spouse has life long ownership a woman can neither sell the land nor nominate a successor for it. Furthermore women will lose their right of ownership if they remarry or divorce from the husband who owns the land.

The uncertain status of land use rights is aggravated by the vested interests of various players at administrative and political levels, as they try to take advantage of the complex situation by concealing information on land ownership. The whole topic is kept behind a veil of political pressure, which threatens those who have a legitimate interest in transparent land use rights and the history of land ownership in specific areas as well as in general as a political aspect of peace building. This is a serious concern for development agencies involved in agricultural development and food and nutrition security, since most project activities such as tank rehabilitation involve the utilisation of land and thus have to deal with land use rights and their regulations.

6.4 Case Studies on Land Use Disputes

The following two case studies depict how land use disputes are often highly politicised in the Trincomalee District. One case study describes a case of tank bed encroachment in two neighbouring Tamil and Sinhala villages, a question that has not been resolved for 40 years (6.4.1). The second case explains how vested interests influenced the land distribution under a rehabilitated tank (6.4.2).

³ This trend is also observed in other areas of Sri Lanka and seems to be particularly prominent in the wet zone of the Kandy region (cf. Dunham and Fernando 1991).

6.4.1 Tank Bed Encroachment at Menkamam⁴

The Tamil village of Menkamam and the Sinhalese settlement of Dehiwaththa are located at the borderline between the two communal groups at the interface between Muthur D.S. division and Seruvila D.S. division. They both have irrigated paddy land under the Allai Extension Scheme (AES). A long-standing land dispute over tank bed encroachment in the traditional tank of Menkamam has fuelled grievances between the two communities for over four decades. This case is interesting, since it highlights how politicisation and ethnicisation of land disputes can prevent any constructive conflict resolution at community level. The situation in Menkamam and Dehiwaththa is just one example of similar cases in the Allai Extension Scheme.

Encroachment of grazing land at Menkamam tank started even before 1950 by Tamil farmers, who subsequently sold the land to Sinhalese settlers. In the late 1960s, a court case demanded the vacation of the encroached land. Illegal cultivation continued regardless of the court order, and further expanded and even the water-spread area (tank bed area) came under eventual encroachment. This situation was even more delicate, because when water was retained in the tank to its full capacity, illegal cultivation in the tank bed was submerged and when the water was not stored to the full capacity, paddy lands depending on tank water lost proper irrigation. Menkamam villagers complained that whenever they stored water in the tank to full capacity, Sinhalese farmers from Dehiwaththa would cut the bund and drain the tank water or block the channel that supplies water to the tank. The problem contributed to the gradual building up of enmity and resentment between the two villages.

Both sides approached powerholders to resolve the land dispute in their favour. The Tamils approach administrators, viz. the divisional secretary and the Department of Irrigation. The Sinhalese, on the other hand, counted on the support of the armed forces and the police as well as politicians. What made a resolution of the dispute difficult was that both sides were convinced that a settlement would only bring benefits to one of the two conflicting parties, and that the other's gain would be understood as one's own loss. The situation has become more tense after the outbreak of the civil war, with the

⁴ Cf. Devarajah, Korf and Schenk 2001 for more detail.

LTTE as a new player and influential party in the area. Farmers from Dehiwaththa claimed that they were forced to pay taxes to the other conflict party (the LTTE) in order to be able to access the fields and cultivate. Farmers from Menkamam, on the other hand, feel threatened by the presence of army, police and home guards in the neighbouring village. They reported that in a few cases, home guards confiscated roaming cattle from Menkamam.

Government institutions in charge of settling tank encroachment were reluctant to take action and responsibility to solve the problem, pointing to the responsibility of other institutions and delaying decisions and procedures. They fear that any decision for a settlement could backfire on them and that those parties who feel disadvantaged might put pressure on them.

6.4.2 Land Titles Behind a Veil: Behethkawewewa Tank⁵

Behethkawewewa is an abandoned tank close to the Sinhalese settlement village of Kalyanapura. The tank was recently rehabilitated with the support of the IFSP. However, land distribution in the command area of the tank (the area under cultivation) is still pending due to unclear land ownership of those who cultivated in the tank bed earlier. People who do not live in the village at present possess land titles for the command area of the abandoned tank, referred to as 'earlier owners' by the administrative institutions in charge. All village informants uniformly confirmed that Behethkawewewa tank was already abandoned when the settlement began in 1973. When distributing the land, these 'earlier' owners would have to be considered.

However, there is controversy about the type of land title that earlier owners can claim. Legally, private land, i.e. 'deed' land, cannot be redistributed. The type of land ownership is an important aspect in the controversy over the land case at the tank, since the type of land title determines the scope of possible government action. Some claim that the landowners hold a permit, which, due to their absence, could now be cancelled and the land redistributed⁶. Others argue that permits were mainly issued in settlement (colonisa-

⁵ Cf. Abeyrathne, Flämig and Ziebell 2001 for more details.

⁶ Land permits are titles which alienate state land temporarily for private utilisation. The government authorities can cancel a permit if the land is not cultivated as stated in the title documents. However, the government would take such action only if other users claim land use rights.

tion) schemes, while in traditional tanks, private ownership ('deed land') was common, since farmers in these small tanks cultivated their land for a long time. 'Deed' land, however, is private property which cannot be alienated by the state at any time. Any administrative decision with regard to land distribution can be challenged in court, but procedures last long and are complicated. Courts tend to favour those physically occupying the land.

Farmers in Kalyanapura approached various influential administrators and politicians to gain a solution in their favour. They argue that, since it is they who live in insecure areas they have a moral right to utilise the land. Farmers in this case seek alliances with powerholders for the acquisition of land titles. Farmers make use of their strong political capital to gain favourable solutions and occasionally to relax rules and regulations in their favour.

Different actors and powerholders within the governmental institutions interfere in the procedures of land alienation and attempt to prevent a transparent and accountable assessment of land ownership, which would also undermine the respective government institution in charge. In fact, it appears that some actors have vested interests and put pressure on the respective administrators either to take action which meets their interests or to suspend further investigation⁷. The outcome in this particular case was that the land use rights remained unresolved even after rehabilitation work was completed, since they were perceived as a 'hot issue' by the administrative set-up in charge.

The case of the Behethkawewewa tank has created a lot of mistrust and grievances across communal lines, since the lack of transparency and accountability of the administrative powerholders creates a suspicion that some parties might have vested interest to hide information which would disfavour their own clientele. This perception may be wrong, but the behavioural patterns of key actors fuel mistrust and thus worsen ethnicised antipathy. The key actors 'play with fire', especially since armed actors also realise the case as a *causa politica* and threaten to respond to a perceived provocation with 'adequate' interventions, thus creating a downward spiral of mutual provocation and escalation.

⁷ The research team intended to clarify the structure of land ownership during the field investigation. None of the respective government institutions involved in land administration was able or willing to provide adequate information on the land ownership. Questions on land ownership were handled as a 'hot issue', i.e. 'one' did not like to talk about it.

6.5 Conclusions

The conflict situation has created a deadlock with regard to land use rights in the Northern and Eastern Province. Due to the history of government colonisation of Sinhalese farmers in the hinterland of the Trincomalee District, land use rights and the handling of them are highly politicised since it touches the sensitive issue of demography and population ratios. Furthermore, the current legal system of land tenure is based on a series of individual records of land ('chain of title record'), which complicates legal land transactions. The administrative institutions are aware of the politicisation of the land issue and therefore often avoid taking responsibility in pending decisions, which prolongs procedures of clarification considerably.

What conclusions can we draw from the strategies of people and key institutional actors in handling land use rights? We would like to emphasise four main issues that are fundamental for poverty alleviation and conflict transformation in the eastern part of Sri Lanka:

- The lack of accountability in how governmental institutions handle land use rights fuels suspicion and deepens the ethnic divide in the multi-ethnic environment of the Trincomalee District. It is important to note what people actually perceive about institutional arrangements, and whether or not they trust government institutions.
- Political interests and thus interference of powerholders obstruct administrators from taking responsibility and action in politicised fields such as land use rights. They fear detrimental effects for themselves through pressure from those parties who feel disadvantaged.
- Social capital at the community level such as reputed local institutions (e.g. community-based organisations), elders or leaders, have lost their influence and power in solving community conflicts, while the political capital defined as the access of villagers to (formal and informal political as well as military) powerholders largely determines arrangements or non-arrangements in land disputes, and thus in turn determines who wins and who loses. The political capital differs considerably among the three communal groups.
- The uncertainty and insecurity in land use rights certainly prevents farmers from long-term investment on land resource utilisation, since future development – in both the security situation, and the access to land resources – is difficult to predict. Farming practices are therefore more oriented towards risk minimisation or a high return in a short time, while neglecting sustainable land management.

The political capital of households or communities, i.e. the access of farmers to and influence on formal and informal powerholders, determines access to

resources and relaxation of rules and laws in favour of one party. Can we observe an emerging system of patron-and-client-based political economy of ethnicity? A society at war where market and non-market entitlements of households are increasingly determined by ethnicity and political affiliation could further deepen social cleavages and grievances along communal lines and contribute to undermine civic engagement and local capacities for peace.

How should a development agency such as the IFSP respond to the complex situation of land use rights? Development agencies should promote a more profound ex-ante assessment of land tenure as part of the feasibility study prior to the rehabilitation of tanks and other interventions related to agriculture and land use. The analysis should cover *actual* land use rights and the history of land use, or the actual land occupation versus land ownership or tenancy. In addition, it is important to look at the interplay between land owners, tenants and landless labourers. Who gets which benefit out of an agricultural development project?

Agencies should also avoid involving themselves in grey zones, where they would start to replace the government institutions responsible for handling land use rights for their beneficiaries. On the contrary, it is essential to encourage, and if necessary, urge the responsible government institutions to recognise their legal responsibility and to take the required legal action within an appropriate time span. These efforts might clash with the coping strategy of the administrators who might prefer a 'no action' strategy to avoid having to settle sensitive disputes, which could easily become politicised. In addition, projects should strengthen the lobbying capacities of target groups at village-level to voice their interests and to demand accountability in administrative decisions. A project's task could be to ensure accountability and transparency in these procedures. It is important that the project be able to place the responsibility for decisions on land use rights on the local authorities in charge.

In the context of displacement, however, we wonder how displaced people who are physically absent can lobby for their interests in their absence. In this case, strengthening lobbies of target groups might support encroachers rather than displaced landowners, thus possibly contributing to the aggravation of a delicate land rights situation. It is essential to re-establish community-based institutions, which are able and have the authority to handle land use disputes and to negotiate settlements. This is part of re-establishing the

civil society and social capital in a war-torn society. However, these possibilities are limited as long as armed powerholders do not have an interest in peaceful resolution to the conflict.

7. Implications for Project Policies

Chapter 7 discusses the implications of the research findings for project policies of the IFSP and partner institutions. The chapter discusses implications of the three-pillars of coping strategies for the IFSP and partner institutions, and formulates principles based on this for project interventions (7.1). This chapter also reviews the suitability of the livelihood system approach (LSA) as a tool for planning, analysis and impact monitoring (7.2).

Chapter 7 is not a manual. It will not give precise instructions for specific sub-projects of the IFSP such as infrastructure rehabilitation or income generation. The chapter highlights principles which are essential for designing, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating project policies and measures from a systemic point of view. It was a part of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 to discuss the implications of the research findings in inter-active workshops with partners of the IFSP. It will now be the task of the IFSP management and staff (community mobilisers, engineers) and partner institutions to make the required adjustments to the existing projects, measures and institutions. In this regard, the livelihood system approach (LSA) is an important tool to develop more comprehensive intervention strategies.

7.1 Principles for Project Interventions

Section 7.1 looks into the role of project interventions in the livelihood system and the implications of the three-pillar model of coping strategies in order to derive principles for project interventions supported by the IFSP and partner institutions.

7.1.1 Interventions in the Livelihood System

The theory of strategic groups (cf. Evers 1997) see development projects and programmes as arenas of negotiation where different actors bargain for strategic resources (Bierschenk 1988). Project measures are thus interventions in a complex societal system. We can distinguish two closely inter-linked *arenas of struggle*: At the community level, many social groups compete for funds and goods delivered by a project. At an institutional level, various departments and NGOs want to acquire their 'share of the cake'.

Within institutions, staff members might have different interests. In the situation of a complex emergency, projects will also come in contact with militant actors, be it the army, the LTTE or other militant groups, each working for their own political and economic reasons. It is a key task of the project management to balance these different interests and to be accountable and transparent when deciding on interventions and project measures.

We understand that any intervention at community level should focus on supporting livelihood strategies of people, especially of vulnerable groups. This is particularly true in the case of rehabilitation, reconstruction and community development for food and nutrition security. However, development agencies often have superimposed micro-projects which did not really support those strategies that people themselves saw as effective in the particular vulnerability context.

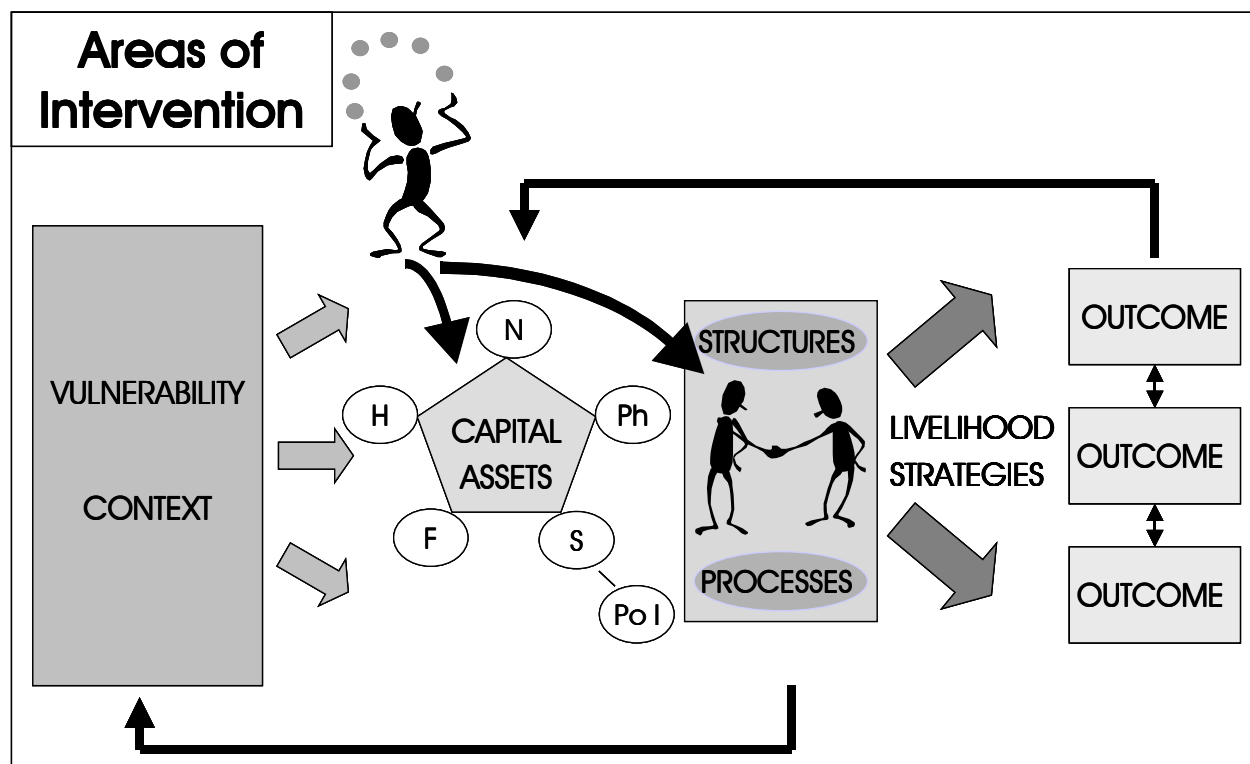
Which livelihood strategies should be supported? Clearly not all strategies are desirable and socially, ecologically or economically sustainable. We distinguish between innovative ('new') strategies and the ones that already exist. Existing strategies can have positive or negative impacts. It would be an essential task of the IFSP and partners to identify the existing sustainable strategies and to discourage negative ones without overlooking the reasons and the motivation to do so.

Community mobilisation and development should therefore focus on a two-tier strategy of intervention in a livelihood system: on the one hand strengthening household capital assets through training, support of service provision and facilitation of processes which re-establish social capital in the community. On the other hand, only if the structures and processes are conducive, people can carry out certain livelihood activities according to their own strategies. Here lies the main challenge for development agencies. How can institutional arrangements be improved to support livelihood strategies of people, and how can their access to those institutions essential for them to carry out their livelihood activities be enhanced?

Bigdon & Korf 2001 point out that empowerment goes beyond capacity building since empowerment depends upon the context in which someone or a social group is to be empowered. In the logic of the livelihood system, we can define 'empowerment' as the ability or the power of individuals to

pursue their livelihood activities and coping strategies successfully and sustainably. This, however, largely depends upon the institutional arrangements and governance structure (structures and processes) as well as the vulnerability context.

Graphic 7.1: Interventions in the Livelihood System



To what extent are development agencies able to influence the vulnerability context? Agencies involved in community development will hardly be able to have an impact on the level of the vulnerability context. In Sri Lanka, agencies have very limited power and entry-points to promote a negotiated settlement between the conflict parties. In addition, the effects of economic globalisation are externally imposed and can hardly be mitigated. However, donors could influence some governance structures at macro-level positively if their efforts were effectively co-ordinated and they challenged opposing actors with a conditionality of aid. It is this absence of links between the micro and the macro levels that has limited the impact of poverty alleviation and rural development programmes in the past.

7.1.2 Triple Approach of Development-oriented Aid

Development agencies have limited scope for improving the security situation (cf. Bauer, Bigdon & Korf 2000), although the presence of agencies and their

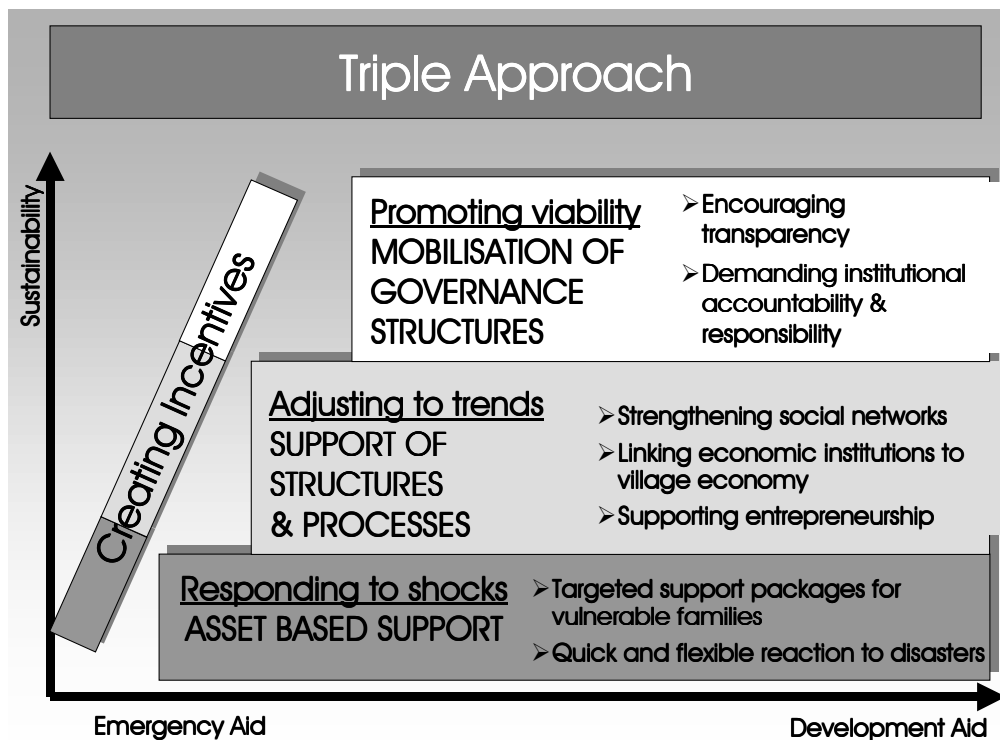
activities on the ground can contribute to stabilising the area. However, the perceptions of people determine their behaviour. If villagers do not feel safe, they will leave the area even though international agencies may be present.

Agencies and external actors can influence, but not enforce changes in coping strategies, since behavioural patterns are difficult to steer. Therefore, agencies should not try to impose prescribed strategies, but create incentives to encourage certain behaviour which favours sustainable economic development. When we recall the identified livelihood strategies, we can determine which principles are essential for IFSP and partner institutions in order to create such incentives and thus to support endogenous potentials and development processes.

The research team recommends a threefold or a triple approach to create incentives (**Graphic 7.2**) to overcome the widespread focus on relief among humanitarian agencies in the Trincomalee District. The complexity of conflicts demands a set of different components for a flexible intervention strategy, which provides measures at different levels of the livelihood system: strengthening capital assets (or the potential of people) should always be combined with removing constraints from structures and processes. Often, agencies deliver support or services to households or communities, but overlook the institutional arrangements which might impede target groups from utilising these services and inputs. The support of the IFSP and partners should therefore address both groups: vulnerable households and emerging entrepreneurs.

The triple approach comprises:

- (i) *Responding to shocks (asset-based support)*: Resource-poor, vulnerable households may be unable to cope with shock and need temporary support to overcome an acute crisis. The IFSP, for example, provided tin sheets for reconstruction of houses after the cyclone in December 2000 as a measure to support poor communities in a crisis and to establish trust for other development-oriented measures. In addition, the IFSP assists vulnerable households with support packages for income generation.

Graphic 7.2: Triple Approach

Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

- (ii) *Adjusting to trends (support of structures and processes)*: Institutional development and capacity building is the core of the triple approach. In addition to the organisational development of governmental partner institutions, strengthening social networks (neighbourhood support) and encouraging transparent and accountable community institutions are essential steps to establish social capital and trust of people in their community institutions. Furthermore, it is essential to link economic institutions (e.g. banks) to the village economy. This link has been further weakened by the conflict, and agencies such as the IFSP could support and encourage such actors to take more economic initiative to contribute to the village economy.
- (iii) *Promoting viability (mobilisation of governance structures)*: Demanding institutional accountability and responsibility is a challenging task for the IFSP: the project should urge its partner institutions and other involved organisations to take action in a way which is transparent and understandable to all stakeholders. Good governance, trust of people in their governmental institutions, is a pre-condition for peaceful co-existence of the three communal groups in Trincomalee.

The triple approach shares its conceptual thinking with various GTZ concepts, such as the concept of development-oriented emergency aid (GTZ 1998) and the concept on food and nutrition security (BMZ 1998). As a result the IFSP has already taken up many aspects of the triple approach in its project concept. The research team recommends further emphasis on two aspects: the focus on economic actors and what their roles and functions mean for the livelihoods of the war-affected communities that IFSP supports. Furthermore, partner institutions still lack a systemic view on livelihoods and an understanding of the development-oriented thinking inherent in the triple approach.

7.1.3 Coping Strategies: Investment Rationale

Has the conflict intensified poverty and thus coping strategies? Several coping strategies presented in the three-pillar model can also be related to coping with poverty. What are the coping strategies of people which are specific to the conflict? Which strategies are site-specific? In other words, are there any differences in the behaviour of poor villagers in conflict as opposed to the those in the peaceful areas of Sri Lanka? The livelihood system approach (LSA) stresses that coping strategies are the result of an interplay of various factors and impacts, and not of a single one, on the different elements of the livelihood system.

It is therefore difficult to make a strict distinction between poverty and conflict coping. However, the first pillar in our model – managing personal risk of life – is clearly linked to the conflict situation and the related personal risk. Apart from that, uncertainty and insecurity also raise the economic risk of investment, and this factor is mirrored in various coping strategies of the second (managing household economics) and third pillar (accessing external support). In this regard, economic risk can also be caused by macro-economic conditions, e.g. through national open-market policies. Coping with such induced risks is perhaps similar to coping with economic risks generated by the security situation.

Risk management is at the core of socio-economic livelihood strategies. The conflict situation imposes a general climate of uncertainty. Low income, vulnerable families are often exposed to acute and chronic (structural) risk factors which contribute to cause risk aversion (cf. Vaulmaus 2001). In complex emergencies, the chronic factors of risk include the increased

security risk and the degrading of economic conditions, while escalation of violence or the occurrence of natural hazards (e.g. the cyclone in December 2001) are sudden and impose an additional acute risk. Any policies and interventions aiming at initiating income generation and small enterprises need to carefully assess the reasons for the lack of entrepreneurial activities, both of small- and medium-scale rural entrepreneurs.

The livelihood model points to the fact that it is most often the interplay of various factors which encourage or discourage investment, i.e.:

- The lack of investment capital or access to capital (credit),
- Constraining security situation (higher risk) which results in higher costs for goods, loans, transport,
- The lack of services (credit, markets, transport),
- The lack of an entrepreneurial spirit.

In principle, there are two possible approaches to consider when promoting small-scale businesses and income activities:

- Giving priority to those interventions that can support the existing 'positive' (sustainable) coping strategies.
- Giving priority to identify and develop non-traditional and innovative coping strategies which are economically and environmentally sustainable.

Households are vulnerable often because they lack an entrepreneurial spirit, or they avoid risk because of their limited capacity to recover from losses. It can therefore be logical for them to avoid investment and to rely on welfare and neighbourhood support. IFSP and partners should not urge such vulnerable people to become entrepreneurs. The livelihood model can serve as an analytical tool to assess degrees and causes of vulnerability (cf. Chapter 3).

Our field observations point to the difficulties that Tamil entrepreneurs and traders face particular. The checkpoint system places them at a comparative disadvantage since it is mainly Tamils whom the army suspects of LTTE collaboration. Such political constraints for investment are difficult to be tackled by the IFSP. Furthermore, many economic services provided earlier by the government (e.g. marketing) have collapsed and the private sector is reluctant to fill the gap.

Nevertheless, basic marketing appears to be established in all research

locations, even though at often unfavourable conditions for farmers. This points to the fact that there are certain entrepreneurs, often outsiders, who are ready to face the economic and security risk. However, economic entrepreneurs in the conflict area focus on rent-seeking through trade and marketing rather than on gaining a surplus through goods production.

Box 7.1: Some Key Questions for Enterprise Promotion

Managing personal risk of life:

- ✓ How do people react to insecurity? Which members of the family are present throughout all the time?
- ✓ How do people organise their work in order to gain more security? Which forms of work are abandoned due to security reasons?

Securing income:

- ✓ How does actual or potential migration and displacement affect the sustainability of project activities?
- ✓ How can personal mobility be incorporated in support measures?
- ✓ What is the contribution of absent family members to sustaining the livelihood of the family?
- ✓ How can complementary income activities be promoted more efficiently? How can they be made compatible with existing ones?

Organising the family:

- ✓ How flexible do households delegate the power of decision-making among their members?
- ✓ What are the motives and practices for work relations with neighbours? Can this be taken up by the project as a potential?
- ✓ To what extent is the 'labour pool' of the family utilised? Do interventions influence how a household complements its members for certain activities?

Expenditure and investment:

- ✓ What is the relation between investment into productive goods (e.g. boats) and into non-productive goods (e.g. house)?
- ✓ What is the relation between investment in movable and fixed items?
- ✓ What are the reasons behind investment decisions (security situation, lack of entrepreneurial spirit, social pressure etc.)?

Satisfying claims of armed actors:

- ✓ How do enforced tax payments and bribery influence investment patterns, loan repayment, and the concealing of wealth?

Qualifying for NGO (or state) support:

- ✓ How do people play down their economic status in order to qualify for welfare and assistance?

The livelihood model also invites a closer look at how income generating activities fit into the overall livelihood strategy of a household: What are the trade-offs of one complementary activity? How does one activity affect the capital assets and thus other activities of a household? Time, for example, is a scarce resource for many asset-poor, vulnerable households (cf. Korf 2000c). What are the effects on other livelihood activities and the trade-off in asset utilisation, if a household ventures on an additional income generating activity? Box 7.1 shows examples of key questions to be considered when assessing the enterprise potential of households. These questions were derived from the findings in the three-pillar model of coping strategies. Similarly, further questions can be developed with the help of the research findings.

The vulnerability context clearly limits the scope of income generating and small business promotion activities, such as the poverty projects of the IFSP. They concentrate on the capital assets of selected households and can hardly address structural causes of the reluctance to invest. There is a danger that this intervention strategy creates 'islands of solutions' without mass impact, depending greatly on the IFSP's 'spoon-feeding' support. It is also obvious that the IFSP's abilities to create incentives for investment are limited under the circumstances of a civil war.

Box 7.2: The Dilemma of Rural Credit Schemes

Development agencies including the IFSP are in a dilemma about implementing rural credit schemes. The research findings reveal that people have inadequate access to credit institutions, depending on private lenders or traders with unfavourable loan conditions, which contributes to keep profits low and thus reduces subsequent investments of farmers. Private banks have a very limited coverage in rural areas and avoid borderline areas due to the security risk. The history of NGO or state-sponsored credit programmes is also ambivalent (cf. Gunatilaka & Salih 1999). It is also observed that people feel the repayment of loans to private lenders as obligatory, whereas they widely perceive NGO loans as charity and avoid loan repayment.

The IFSP should refrain from implementing its own micro-credit programme. The impact of credit on promoting economic activities of vulnerable households will be limited due to the high uncertainty level. Vulnerable households might prefer a risk reduction strategy, even if they have access to credit. Rural credit programmes implemented through state agencies or NGOs have largely failed to enhance the village economy in Trincomalee and other areas of Sri Lanka (see Box 7.2). On the other hand, restricted access to finance is one impediment for households to improve their livelihood security. Loans by private lenders usually impose unfavourable conditions on the loan holder, because the lenders can rely on their own cartel and farmers lack alternatives¹.

It is therefore essential to involve and re-awaken the private sector in credit supply, e.g. supporting private banks to extend their micro-credit programmes to reach a broader coverage. Furthermore, IFSP started a programme of village development funds, which are handled with full responsibility by its implementing partner, a community-based organisation (CBO) with a promising record of successful collaboration with the IFSP. Ownership and responsibility of distribution, allocation, and recovery of funds should be in the hands of the CBOs (local ownership), with the community mobilisers playing an advising role only.

7.1.4 Structures and Processes: Institutional Support

The research findings confirm the understanding that structures and processes are instrumental in determining livelihood opportunities of households. The present system of structures and processes in the Trincomalee District constrains rather than supports coping strategies and livelihood activities. This is a major concern and has already been experienced by IFSP as one essential constraint in the progress of interventions and the achievement of sustainable impacts.

Due to the protracted war, organisations have grown weaker in their capacities and are sometimes pessimistic about their impact and performance under the pretext of the war. In addition, we could observe that political pressure in an ethnicised environment urges government

¹ Compare the example of Ithikulam, Chapter 5.

organisations in particular to keep a low profile and to avoid taking responsibility. Therefore a gap exists between assigned responsibilities, functions, laws and regulations and the actual performance of organisations as well as the enforcement and enactment of rules, regulations, laws and policies. This contributes to an institutional environment of 'anything goes' for a privileged group of people who possess a strong political capital (i.e. the links and bonds to powerful administrators, politicians or armed actors). These people can push through their interests and gain personal advantages even though this might contradict the formal legislative rules.

Box 7.3: Good Governance as Condition for Peace

The gap between formal laws and institutions, and informal 'rules of the game' could, in the long term, seriously undermine the trust of the local population in the state as a neutral actor. Good governance, one key principle of German development co-operation (BMZ 2001), would require transparency, accountability, and equity in people's rights. The lack of good governance is one reason for the continuation of the civil war, since it increases ethnicised grievances of those who feel disadvantaged. Trust in sustainable and accountable institutions is a precondition for reconstruction and development.

The IFSP follows a three-way approach for the implementation of projects: CBOs act as implementing partners, whereas governmental and non-governmental organisations support implementing partners as service providers and IFSP providing necessary backing. The findings confirm the IFSP strategy of focusing on the integration of partner institutions in combined interventions for food and nutrition security.

The following points highlight some of the important issues that the IFSP will have to clarify in an intensified phase of institutional development under the conditions of a protracted conflict:

- *Which structures should be supported?* The protracted conflict has distorted the institutional arrangements and strengthened or even created some structures and organisations at the expense of others. What will happen at day 'X', i.e. in a post-conflict phase? Which structures will last and survive peace, and which ones will collapse? The IFSP should be careful not to foster institutions and organisations which are conflict-born.
- *Policy lobbying:* The IFSP has established strong support structures for bottom-up processes (PNA and community mobilisation), however, 'government mobilisation' is an even more demanding task. We refer here specifically to the behaviour of government institutions in politically

sensitive areas such as land rights, welfare distribution, where nepotistic structures are reinforced through the politics and economics of war. IFSP-CATAD recommends assigning an independent senior Sri Lankan for policy lobbying, demanding transparency, accountability and reliability in the enforcement of rules, laws and legislation, so that local people can understand and follow the procedures applied.

- *Accountable local leadership*: It should be one essential task of community mobilisation to enhance transparent institutional arrangements, rules and structures. Community-based organisations (CBOs) represent the villages when accessing external support from the state and from non-governmental agencies, and these agencies seek institutional structures through which they can deliver their services and goods. CBO representation has become one important condition of support for many state and non-state agencies. However, in reality, representation is often superficial and trapped by a small village elite with the consequence that CBOs often represent only a fraction of the community.²
- *Allowing informality*: The research findings confirm that in many locations villagers and potential leaders are reluctant to form strong CBOs or to take over leadership functions (avoiding a high profile), since they fear exposure which makes them vulnerable to threats from the armed conflict parties if they take up powerful positions. Many CBOs collapsed because of the lack of leadership. On the other hand, traditional (e.g. religious) leaders can still play an important function in a community. The IFSP should therefore explore possibilities of co-operating with key individuals for the implementation of projects where CBO structures are weak, and also reflect on more informal and process-oriented ways of promoting the capacity to organise a community that do not make the existence of CBOs a precondition for co-operation.

The ethnicised war has resulted in a inequality in political capital, i.e. some communal groups have a stronger link to and thus support from powerful key actors than others. The unequal access to economic opportunities and capital assets of the three communal groups remain a constant trigger for grievances and increases the antipathy towards other communal groups. IFSP should avoid implicitly supporting existing political networks which disadvantage certain groups, and demand institutional accountability and transparency in procedures.

² This observation from the village studies as well as from development practice confirms the argument of the theory of strategic groups (Evers 1997, Bierschenk 1988).

7.1.5 The Vulnerability Context: Networking and Public Relations

A development project should be understood as a public good in the sense that sharing of competence and knowledge with other actors is an essential task. IFSP and CATAD have therefore launched the joint venture of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 with an emphasis on stakeholder dialogue, i.e. integrating partners of the IFSP and important resource institutions in a constant exchange and discussion of empirical findings and their implications. Furthermore, it is essential to exchange practical experiences among practitioners. Unluckily, many donors and NGOs are reluctant to share knowledge and experience in order to gain comparative advantages for attracting funds (limiting competence to their own organisation). The experience of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001, however, underlines the necessity of dialogue for learning. The IFSP has always been in the forefront in sharing information and knowledge generation with its series of working and technical papers.

As steps to be taken next, we recommend:

- *Focus on micro-macro dialogue:* Many key actors at the national level have insufficient information of the ground conditions in the conflict zones of Sri Lanka. Much literature or reports about the conflict are not solidly based on empirical research in these areas. It is particularly important to analyse the impact of macro-policies on the livelihoods of people, in particular the civil war and the effects of economic liberalisation. Development projects with a strong grass-root bias should challenge political decision-makers on national level with their ground experience.
- *Information dissemination:* Many people living in peaceful areas do not have much knowledge and understanding of the real situation in the conflict zones. This leads to distorted pictures, fear, and thus further reluctance to talk about this topic. The IFSP could contribute to spread factual and neutral information on the local situation (e.g. what does it mean to work in uncleared area?).
- *Co-ordination:* Co-ordination among donors, agencies and NGOs in the Trincomalee DISTRICT has often been demanded, but hardly practised effectively. Efficient co-ordination goes beyond simply informing other organisations about one's own 'empire' of work. It requires a common understanding of what development means in a conflict-ridden area. Elements of effective co-ordination would include the development of a common vision of all NGOs and agencies in Trincomalee about the basic principles of rehabilitation and development to avoid contradicting policies

in the communities.³

Donor agencies have to be aware of the political role they play within complex emergencies, especially if they want to promote local capacities for peace. Technical co-operation has to define its role much more consciously not only in its causal project context but also as a political actor (cf. Bauer, Bigdon & Korf 2001).

7.2 LSA as a Planning Tool

Section 6.3 explores possibilities of how IFSP and partners could utilise the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) to assess, plan and monitor village projects. In which elements of the project cycle can the LSA provide a framework for analysis and planning? We look specifically into how the LSA could be employed in the process of Participatory Needs Assessment (PNA) and community mobilisation as the core of the development concept of IFSP.⁴

7.2.1 LSA and Project Planning

The Livelihood System Approach can be used to introduce systemic thinking into planning. Food alone is not sufficient to determine household food and nutrition security. The Livelihood System Approach (LSA) provides a more holistic framework for understanding the various factors which determine behaviour, or livelihood strategies, and outcomes, or levels of food and nutrition security, of war-affected communities. The Livelihood System Approach (LSA) as a framework can be useful in the context of:

- Planning village projects,
- Policy definition and framework planning (priority setting) at district and provincial level,
- Institutional analysis (an organisation is analysed with capital assets and coping strategies similar to a household).

³ The concept of local contribution promoted by the IFSP demands financial, labour and material input from communities, the implementing partners of IFSP, for their village projects. Other agencies, however, provide all support without any contribution. This situation can lead to 'donor shopping' where communities select those agencies which the seemingly best conditions. This is often detrimental to sustainability and increases dependency.

⁴ IFSP-CATAD has developed a manual of how to use the livelihood system approach as a planning tool, (see Annex).

The IFSP-CATAD team has elaborated a planning tool which creates the elements and flow arrows of the livelihood system in a simplified matrix to take important aspects of holistic planning into consideration (see Manual). The matrix was developed as a tool for feasibility and impact assessment of village projects.

The project cycle defines the consecutive steps from needs assessment to the final evaluation of a village project (see Manual). The livelihood model can be employed at various steps of the project cycle, viz:

- For *appraisal*: assessing feasibility and viability of interventions in the vulnerability context (ex-ante assessment)
- For *planning*: developing a holistic intervention strategy
- For *monitoring* and *evaluation*: assessing the impact of the intervention on livelihood systems and coping strategies of people.

This matrix can be utilised during all three steps outlined above: First, it is a checklist for the feasibility assessment of a village project. The information collected and analysed will then be important for planning, monitoring and evaluating project implementation.

The strength of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) is that it directs the attention to the actual behaviour of people and the impact of project interventions towards coping strategies instead of measuring only project output. For planning purposes, it will be useful to quantify certain elements of the livelihood system, viz. capital assets, outcomes and feedback loops. Those elements which can hardly be quantified, e.g. structures and processes, should be valued according to a system of indicators. Quantification and valuation are essential to compare and assess different project options according to feasibility, viability, cost-benefit and post-project sustainability.

7.2.2 LSA and Participatory Needs Assessment (PNA)

A people-centred approach demands that people participate fully in the development process. IFSP follows a participatory and integrated approach in all stages of the project cycle, viz. needs assessment, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating. Participatory Needs Assessment (PNA) is the entry-point for IFSP supported community mobilisation (cf. Korf 2000a). Villagers themselves identify their problems and needs, and develop

projects in collaboration with a team of external facilitators (partner and IFSP field staff). The participatory approach is vital for project success and the initiation of a self-sustaining development process. It emphasises capacity building to encourage local contribution and sustainable resource utilisation.

Nevertheless, action-oriented research is complementary to participatory planning. It is suggested that the LSA be employed as an additional planning tool to complement PNA. The latter emphasises the emic (inside) view of villagers, i.e. villagers perceptions and priorities. The LSA, on the other hand, could support planners and community mobilisers to gain a more complex view of the dynamics in a community (etic, i.e. outside, view). The LSA could serve as a framework for analysing livelihood strategies of people, and how these are related to the vulnerability context and the structures and processes. This would enable the facilitators and the community mobilisers to encourage an analysis of the potentials and strengths of vulnerable groups when selecting poverty projects (small-scale enterprises, income generating activities). Furthermore, it could provide a more comprehensive view on the institutional arrangements and the relative social capital⁵ of vulnerable families in the village community.

7.2.3 LSA and Community Mobilisation

Community mobilisation is the pivot of the IFSP for a people-centred development process. Mobilisation is focused and action-oriented, i.e. it is a process which is inter-linked with the planning and implementation of priority projects (cf. Bigdon & Engel 2000, Korf 2000b; Bigdon & Sivayoganthan 2001). The approach is a two-tier one: The primary aim is to encourage vulnerable groups and communities, the implementing partners, to take responsibility and ownership for village projects and community development. Parallel to this bottom-up process, community mobilisation seeks to enhance service providers' capacities (governmental departments and NGOs) by delivering support to the communities.

⁵ 'Relative' in the sense that the social capital of vulnerable families might be less strong than that of wealthier villagers, and the lack of social capital (social bonds) might be one decisive factor of vulnerability.

The Livelihood System Approach (LSA) could be a useful tool for a step-wise in-depth livelihood analysis as part of the community mobilisation process. It would include elements of awareness raising, training analytical skills, and of communication. This would provide a sound basis for prioritising needs, planning support measures and monitoring project impacts, especially for poverty alleviation projects (income generation and business promotion). The tools could consist of:

- *asset analysis*: What different resources can a household, family, individual make use of (5 capital assets), and how can these be employed in economic activities? How does a certain economic activity make use of capital assets and how does this affect other assets and activities (trade-offs)?
- *vulnerability analysis*: What are the frame conditions villagers face and how do they adapt to these? What are indicators of vulnerability, viz. what determines whether a person, family, or household is more vulnerable than others?
- *institutional analysis* (structures and processes): Which organisations are important for individuals, families and households to pursue their economic activities? How do informal rules of the game affect these?
- and finally a *synthesis* of the three sub-analyses drawing a simplified model to understand the complexity of village life.

This can be done either from an etic point of view (outsider analyse), or from an emic view (locals analyse), i.e. in collaboration with villagers as a tool for communication (e.g. asset analysis: vulnerable people analyse their assets and draw objectives for small-scale business enterprises).

Community mobilisation seeks to induce behavioural changes, i.e. to encourage confidence and investment in economic and social assets. The livelihood system analysis facilitates an understanding of the rationale of people's behaviour (why are they following certain coping strategies?). Behavioural change is a long-term and complex process, which cannot be enforced, but only encouraged and supported from outside. A key task for community mobilisers should be to analyse the reasons for certain behavioural patterns (coping strategies), identify success stories and unsustainable coping strategies (good and bad practice) in order to develop appropriate support interventions.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

All in all, the livelihood system approach constitutes a challenging and promising framework for research and development. It is a positive and systemic approach and could be instrumental to agencies for deriving policies of doing 'a little good'. 'Coping' is often associated with defensive, re-active behaviour. However, the findings show that people are not all vulnerable, helpless victims of the circumstances, but that they actively cope with and adapt to a given context. Nevertheless, violence is obviously the main threatening factor which impedes many people from engaging in sustainable economic activities.

Action-oriented research is complementary to participatory planning. Participatory needs assessments (PNA) cannot replace applied scientific research, which is instrumental in providing in-depth understanding of behaviour, trends and coping strategies. Conversely, research cannot replace participatory planning and community mobilisation as a process. It is also essential to work on the macro-micro implications of grass-root studies, and to confront key actors at the macro- and policy level with such research findings do assess how macro-level decisions impact on micro-level peasant communities.

8. Lessons Learnt from Intercultural Communication

Chapter 8 deals with the aspect of reflection of our research process. Capacity building through intercultural teamwork for both German and Sri Lankan team members was a specific objective of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. Some of the culture specific issues were openly discussed while working, others only become clear to us when reflecting on our own behaviour, reactions and interpretation of things in retrospect. Consequently, the joint team conducted an internal workshop to foster reflection and feedback on each other's perceptions and feelings to enhance mutual understanding and learning.

These 'lessons learnt' formed the discussion at the workshop with an emphasis on two key issues: First, we reflect on our encounter with another culture, which we experienced in our intensive co-operation (8.1). Second, we look at some methodological lessons from field work in the context of South Asian culture and assess the pros and cons of certain methods in the specific context of South Asian culture, taking into consideration the fact that the team worked in a conflict area (8.2).

8.1 Experiencing Culture

Culture likes to conceal itself at places where it least expects to be found. But what exactly is 'culture'? Instead of attempting to define culture, we prefer to clarify some points of how to understand the following statements of 'the Germans' and 'the Sri Lankans'. Waisfisz (1992) describes culture as a biotope with several elements. Within a national culture, we can distinguish several sub-cultures on the basis of regional differences, differences in urbanisation, level of education, age, occupational differences, and sex. Cultural characteristics give a description of group behaviour. Therefore statements on cultural behaviour are generalisations and should be made in a relative sense, as in 'the average German is more punctual as the average Sri Lankan'. The French mediator Arnaud Stimec speaks of 'micro-cultures' which are composed of culture (origin) and personality (psychology).

Group behaviour is defined by personal characteristics and interests of individuals, as well as the culture of the group and the context in which the group is working. The bigger the group, the less dominant personal characteristics are and the more dominant culture will be (Waisfisz 1992).

Culture determines and reinforces perceptions and cognitive models of individuals. Intercultural communication is thus a demanding process that clearly goes beyond simply developing an awareness of possible cultural pitfalls, but in fact demands a flexible and open-minded restructuring of one's usual way of thinking (IFIM 1991a). This pertains to the ways in which communication is encoded, how people deal with sets of hierarchy, react in conflict situations and relate to the group they work in.

Box 8.1: Cultural Differences in Behavioural Pattern

between Germany and South- and Southeast-Asian countries (cf. IFIM 1991):

- **communication**, inter alia
 - structuring information
 - verbal, para-verbal, and non-verbal communication in dialogue
 - direct vs. indirect communication
- **presentation of the self**
- **work relation**, inter alia
 - meaning of working in life
- **personal guidance** (Personalführung)
- **conflict behaviour**, inter alia
 - perception of conflicting issues
 - reaction to conflicting issues
 - conflict solving strategies

8.1.1 Language

For our team, language was a constraining factor for personal expression in so far as it is a sensitive tool for paving the way to cultural understanding. The German team members were conscious of the fact that Sri Lankans prefer 'soft' ways of talking (see indirect communication). The use of English as a second or third language for all team members made it difficult to comprehend the meanings, implications and connotations behind words used. Additional and sometimes time consuming efforts had to be taken to explain ideas and to clarify misunderstandings. Nevertheless, using English had a positive, uniting effect on the team due to its neutrality concerning ethnicity.

8.1.2 Mutual Expectations and Clarification of Roles

Expectations of the role that both parts of the team, the German team members on the one hand and the Sri Lankan members on the other, should play in an intercultural team vary greatly across culture and individuals. It is therefore essential to take sufficient time at the starting point for a clarification of mutual expectations and roles. This warming up of personal relationships is essential and will ease co-operation under stressful circumstances considerably, since it allows all individuals to develop a sort of understanding why some people might behave in a 'strange' way, and that there are always reasons behind what appears to be confusing in the behaviour of others at first sight.

In our case, the Sri Lankan counterparts expected more guidance from the German team members in the conceptual approach and the methodology of the empirical research that was prepared in the initial phase at CATAD in Berlin. The German members, in turn, intended to incorporate the Sri Lankan members so that the research concept would be a joint outcome of the working process. Clearly, perceptions of each other's role differed: The Germans propagated the idea of joint learning and local ownership, while the Sri Lankan team members searched for a given line of investigation for orientation. IFIM (1991b) describes that South Asian employees tend to demand clear instructions, avoid own decisions and expect the boss to provide a model for behaviour and action. However, all Sri Lankan team members emphasised the value of practising moderation, presentation and visualisation, which are essential tools for process-oriented team work.

In addition, growing to realise who has what to share was a learning process. At the beginning, the Sri Lankan team members tended to take their deep-rooted local knowledge for granted. They initially overlooked the fact that their local knowledge is expertise that is not self-evident and has to be actively made accessible to outsiders. In the end, they appreciated the comparable 'ignorance' of their German counterparts in local matters as an enriching contribution in perspective that helped them to make their knowledge explicit. Teamwork can only be successful if all members make their knowledge and collected data transparent and understandable to the other partners in the team. Germans therefore stressed the importance of documentation of field data, whereas in the oral culture of Sri Lanka, people

might exchange information rather informally in leisurely debates during or after work.

An intercultural team offers opportunities to play different roles as part of the research process: Investigating sensitive or politicised issues would place Sri Lankans in a delicate position of exposing themselves, while Germans would be able to ask 'stupid' questions as 'ignorants'. The German could thus protect the Sri Lankan counterparts by pretending that the Sri Lankan would only 'translate' these impossible questions. This, however, requires mutual trust and recognition between the German and Sri Lankan team members as equal partners.

8.1.3 Work and Social Relationship

There were differences in the approach to prioritising personal relations and work (cf. IFIM 1991b). Germans tend to develop personal relationships slowly, almost as a gentle ongoing process accompanying the common working process. The Sri Lankan team members expressed that they had expected it to happen the other way round: Their understanding is that working relationships can only be developed if a personal relationship is already formed as foundation.

Socialising gives an opportunity to build trust, and, according to the Sri Lankan team members, to express things and ideas more easily and clearly. Therefore they see it as an integral part of work which that should not be limited to lunch breaks or evenings. This intermingling of socialising and work was sometimes (e.g. during times of intense work load) misunderstood by some German team members as a sign of insufficient willingness to take over responsibility for the working process. They had to learn that the Sri Lankan way of working does not correspond to their idea of the kind of efficiency, which they try to realise by keeping work and personal relations apart.

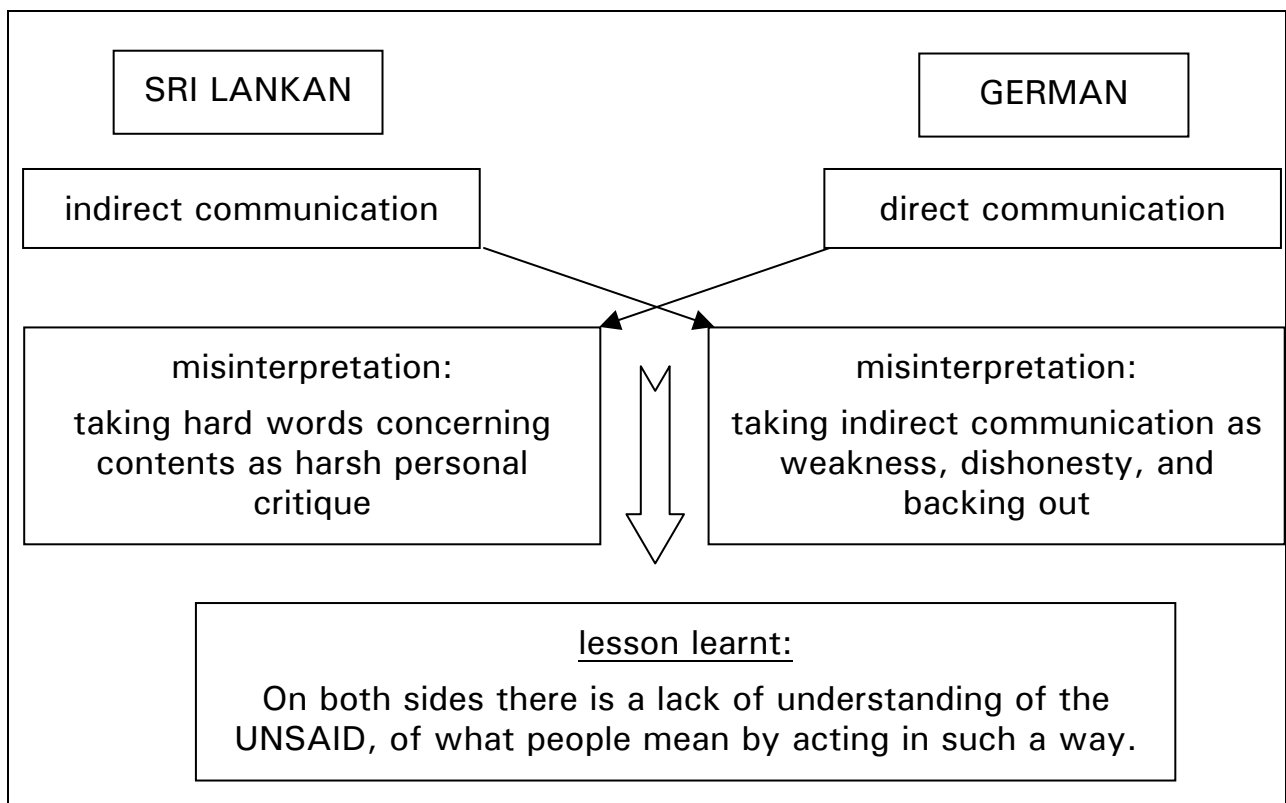
That socialising is highly valued in Sri Lankan society is underlined by the way people visit. Sri Lankans do not have a problem if somebody who is still not very familiar with the family spontaneously comes to their private homes, but interpret it as a sign of real interest. Germans on the other hand tend to wait for invitations.

In this context, the fact that the German and Sri Lankan team members lived in different environments is also important. The Germans spent three months outside their normal life and environment and could thus devote full attention and power to the study. The Sri Lankans, on the other hand, struggled to balance their private obligations to family and friends with the demands of the research team to commit themselves fully to the research process.

8.1.4 Direct and Indirect Expression: Content versus Relation

All team members saw the different perceptions on direct (German) or indirect (Sri Lankan) expression of mood, temper and emotions as a considerable personal challenge, and it was not an easy task for all individuals to adapt to the unfamiliar conventions of the other culture.

Graphic 8.1: Indirect and Direct Communication Patterns



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

The Sri Lankan ideal is to control one's mood and emotions fully and to be able to express any negative opinion or temper in a gentle indirect way, e.g. by clothing it in pleasant words or asking third parties to mediate. Being too open or direct, especially in a large group, may be perceived as personal and harmful critique. Germans on the other hand are likely to think of indirect forms of communication as weak and dishonest, and using third parties to solve conflict as inappropriate if not impolite. IFIM (1991b) nevertheless stresses that indirect communication has nothing to do with "not being able to confront" or "not being able to bear tension." Here it seems to be the Germans who mix up forms and contents.

In practise, the team members experienced this issue as a major personal challenge, although it was difficult for both sides to adapt to the unfamiliar conventions of the other culture. For the German team members, it was not easy to know which statements would cause them a loss of face or bad feelings among their Sri Lankan counterparts. They had to learn to disguise their occasional problems in humour and nice words. The Sri Lankan counterparts, on the other hand concluded that it was very valuable for them "to keep person and content apart" and have open discussions without taking arguments personally. Thus there was a gradual learning process on both sides. In fact, it can be concluded that apparent forms of communication are interpreted differently from the underlying notion of the cultural group itself.

8.1.5 Hierarchy, Leadership, and the Idea of Subsidiarity

According to the concept of subsidiarity which is promoted highly in Western societies, a team leader is expected to hand over and share responsibility as much as possible. This is sharply contrasted by Sri Lankan expectations where a leader should be both a master of indirect ways of communication and politeness, and a real 'leader' who gives clear instructions and takes all major decisions. These prototypical behavioural patterns also affected intercultural teamwork. The Sri Lankan members tended to demand clear instructions from the team leaders, while Germans would expect a leader to delegate responsibilities for specific tasks to team members or sub-groups.

8.2 Methodological Lessons from Fieldwork

The following methodological lessons concern extractive, explorative research and appraisal, i.e. outsiders entering into communicative interaction with villagers in order to collect data, information and perceptions (etic perspective, (see Chapter 7) to improve their understanding of a complex livelihood system. Methodological strategies in extractive research will differ from action research methods or participatory needs assessment, where the process of interaction is one of the most important elements of local capacity building and awareness raising. However, research ethics demand that extractive research should be transparent and accountable to those who are researched. The interviewees should be clear about the purpose, procedure and the use of research results.

Conducting action-oriented research in an intercultural team with equal partners is a challenge and offers great insights. It is essential to overcome hierarchical interviewer–translator relations, and to make use of the different roles of ‘Germans’ and ‘Sri Lankans’ in the local research setting. The main lessons learnt concerned styles, perceptions and strategies in data collection, interviewing and communication with the target groups.

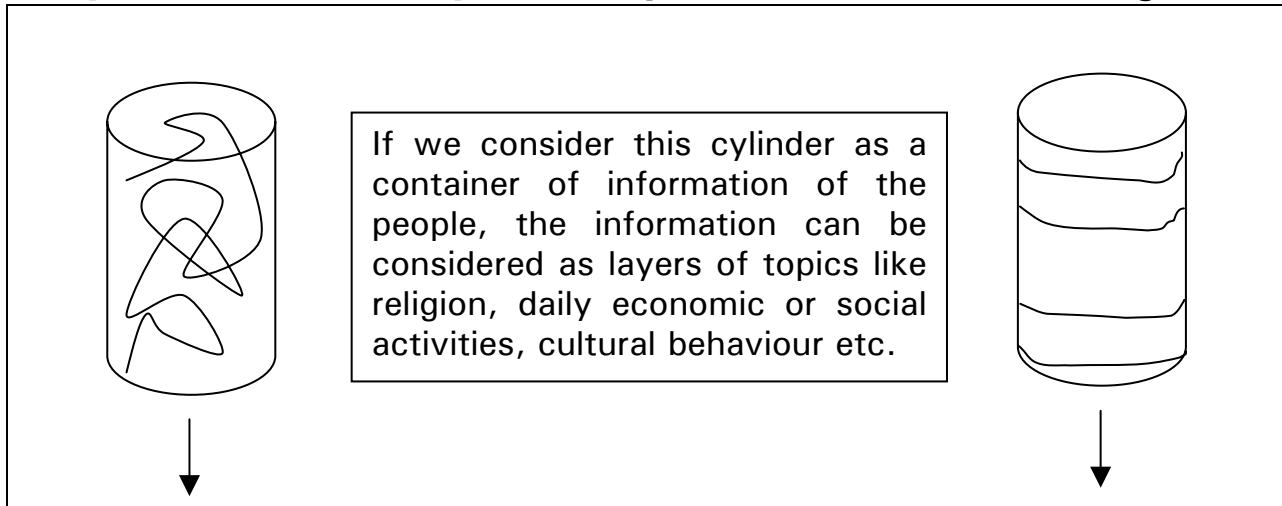
8.2.1 Topic Hopping and Topic Layers: Two Elements of Interviewing

Opinion on how an interview should be conducted in an appropriate manner initially differed between some of the Sri Lankan and some of the German team members. Some Germans held a concept of an interviewer of one who should try to connect his/her consecutive questions in a way that follows a clear line of investigation and does not create big jumps of content. The underlying idea was that the flow of information is not interrupted or lost, and more respect conveyed to the interviewee when connecting questions to what he or she has said.

Most Sri Lankan team members did not think of topic hopping as a problem though. On the contrary, they promoted this way of communication as a chance to hold people's attention and avoid causing distress in the face of obviously detailed questions. Out of topic jokes was a special tool promoted by the Sri Lankan team members to make their interviewees feel at ease. In order to interview without giving the villagers a feeling of "interviewing", the

Sri Lankan counterparts emphasise the importance to touch the topics the villagers are especially interested in, e.g. religion and their fields of wide knowledge.

Graphic 8.2: Two Complementary Elements of Interviewing



Topic Hopping
<p>Opportunities: Researcher follows the interests of interviewee and establish a trustworthy relationship, which is the precondition for gaining insights into more sensitive issues.</p>
<p>Challenge: Researchers must know how to adequately address different types of people, following their line of interest without losing the research topics out of sight.</p>

Topic Layers
<p>Opportunity: Researcher keeps an overview upon the topics of investigation and avoids to leave important issues out.</p>
<p>Challenge: The people who are interviewed may feel uncomfortable. Then they will be more reluctant to talk openly and might to hide certain information.</p>

Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

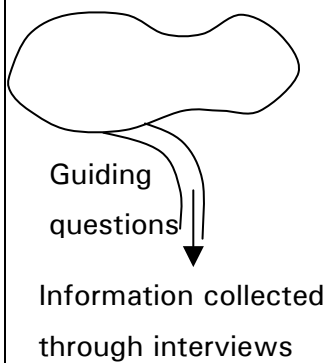
However, the two concepts of interview styles are not antagonistic but complementary. In the South Asian context, it is particularly important to maintain a pleasant and trusting mood with the interviewee. However, effective interview styles in explorative research will always take account of the interests and mood of the interviewee without losing the own research agenda (checklist of research questions) out of view. Furthermore, cross-checking information is essential, since interviewees often respond strategically and follow their own hidden agendas as people do not always do what they claim to or pretend to. In the context of a complex political

emergency, respondents might be even more reluctant to openly discuss distressing, threatening or embarrassing issues, such as the role of armed actors, and the impact of violence, since many people are intimidated by the society of violence which creates mistrust and fear.

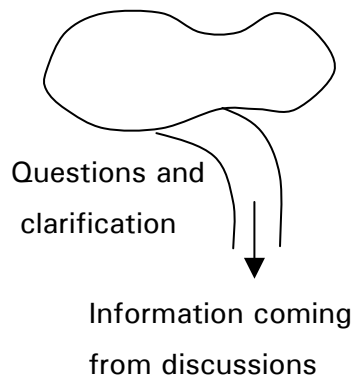
Graphic 8.3: The Water Tank of Information

The graphic compares the information flow of an interview with the water flow out of an irrigation tank. The tank irrigation system is the core of the Sri Lankan hydraulic civilisation of both the Sinhalese and the Tamils, and formed the traditional backbone of village culture in earlier times. A village tank is a small storage basin which collects rainwater and stores it for irrigation purposes (cf. Brohier 1934; Goonasekere & Gamage 1999). If we consider the information to be the water in a tank and the wall of a tank as the barrier to communication, the interview can be considered as a channel of the tank:

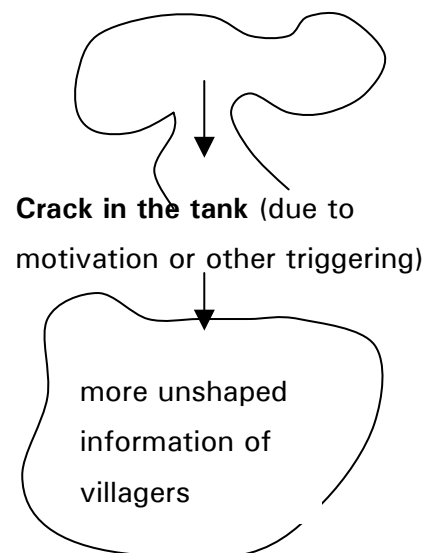
Structured interviews



Discussions can be considered a large channel of a tank:



Self explanation of the villagers can be considered a blasting of a tank:



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

A Sri Lankan team member developed **Graphic 8.3**, which depicts different styles of explorative interviewing (structured interview, focused group discussion, open discussion and self-explanation). From left to right, the interviewees gain more and more freedom in expressing themselves and in choosing issues important to them. With an increasing degree of freedom, the challenge for intercultural research teams to analyse, document and translate the information 'flow' grows bigger. On the other hand, structured interviews focus on predetermined topics and might easily overlook other important issues. Explorative research demands high facilitation skills. The researcher should understand him- or herself as a facilitator who motivates the discussion of people. In such an unstructured research context, or even in incidental, casual conversations, we found out much of new, surprising or sensitive information on informal leadership, claims from armed actors, violence, caste and politics.

8.2.2 Methodological Lessons

Different concepts of how to lead an interview and organise discussions are one instant where methodological and cultural notions intermingle. The following table documents further methodological insights that have been gained during the common working process. Separate categories have been formed to structure the information. The first concerns all those aspects which refer to conducting research in the cultural context of Sri Lanka. The second category summons issues of working closely together as an intercultural team. The third category includes additional aspects of qualitative research, which are not necessarily new as such, but still valuable to be made explicit as learning results.

One important but often underestimated part of intercultural team work is the sharing of information, and the discussion on how to interpret the collected information. The research team is confronted with a large mountain of information. The local team members know already much of the collected field information without sharing it with the foreign team members, since they tend to take their valuable local knowledge for granted. However, their knowledge is essential information for the newcomers.

Table 8.1: Methodological Lessons: Conducting fieldwork in an Intercultural Team

<i>8.2.1 Asking questions / interviewing / translating</i>		
...concerning the Sri Lankan research setting (in the conflict area)	...concerning intercultural teamwork	...in general
Useful information could be received through leisurely, informal talks	Sri Lankan team members felt comfortable in interview situations when German team members gave them freedom to conduct the interview in their own way with occasional briefing of the German member and input for possible other questions.	With a pool of questions at hand it is possible to adapt to new situations
Sri Lankans can allow Germans to ask sensitive questions as 'ignorants' or 'fools' and thus transfer the responsibility to the Germans. Nevertheless, extremely sensitive questions were not asked.	Good working atmosphere could be created when the team agreed with Sri Lankan counterparts on questions shortly before interviews. Finding quick agreements during interviews was also helpful.	Sometimes, open questions are translated into closed or leading questions and thus predetermine and limit the information of the respondent.
In the conflict setting it is likely that affected persons exaggerate, whereas 'protagonists' of the conflict hide data. Cross checking with key informants is often necessary.	Feedback on Sri Lankan culture of communication from the Sri Lankan team members was essential for a constructive co-operation.	The Livelihood System Approach (LSA) was useful as an interview guide and allowed the project field staff to familiarise themselves with the focus of investigation.

<i>8.2.1 Asking questions / interviewing / translating (cont.)</i>		
...concerning the Sri Lankan research setting (in the conflict area)	...concerning intercultural teamwork	...in general
The meaning of words has to be learnt in Sri Lankan context (e.g. time allocation "around 10")	For Germans it is also important to understand how people say things and express themselves, merely getting distilled information translated is often not enough.	It can be useful to identify key questions for the interview, translate them from English into Tamil or Sinhalese, and then back into English. This can help to identify interpretation and translation traps.
Interviewer wants to be at one level with interviewee and gain his/her trust. However, it is difficult to refuse an offered chair, which in turn, places the researcher in a 'higher' position.	Germans had to find a balance vis-à-vis their Sri Lankan colleagues during the interview: Not interfering too much in their style of interviewing but still not losing track of the conversation.	The translation/discussion of key words prior to fieldwork is helpful for intercultural teamwork, otherwise understanding is distorted.
Children gave valuable, honest, and more direct information	Interpreting demands a lot of concentration and places an additional burden on the Sri Lankan team members.	.

<i>8.2.2 Group discussions</i>		
...concerning the Sri Lankan research setting (in the conflict area)	...concerning intercultural teamwork	...in general
In lively group discussions too many people talk at the same time. A moderator is needed.	It can be helpful to clarify roles of interviewer/moderator, note-taker and translator explicitly before each interview, especially when new teams are formed.	Group discussions reveal common ideas and procedures, but less of individual opinions (as long as they do not stay group interviews when often one (talkative) person from the group dominates the discussion and the participation of everyone gets difficult).
Dividing a big group for group discussions entails the danger of rising fear (experiences of being divided into groups of men and women by armed forces)	In group discussions, the German team members had to find a balance between not interfering too much in the discussion process while at the same time showing interest /respect by asking questions.	Discussions among villagers give additional information, permitted cross-checking of information. Sometimes villagers explicitly crosscheck information themselves.

Pre-interpretation of field data should already start during the appraisal stage during brief and condensed evening discussion. The art of analysis is to summarise the exploration of the day in a few key issues or hypotheses for discussion. The information is thus continuously condensed to derive key points for further investigation. Such exchange obviously demands sufficient time, and many research teams tend to collect more and more information without analysing or sharing it.

The research team of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 emphasised the continuous learning process and tried to share information regularly prior to, during and after field work. Documentation of findings is a precondition for sharing and interpreting the information. Sri Lankans tend to share information orally rather than through the exchange of written documents as Germans might prefer.

8.2.3 Do No Harm: Researching in Complex Emergencies

The 'do no harm' concept is a framework for development aid to avoid negative, unintentional effects of project interventions (cf. Anderson 1999). The same principle should be applied for research studies carried out in conflict regions. In order to 'do no harm', the research team had to limit their geographical area, thematic subjects and time period of investigation. This especially meant that team members did not stay in the villages but drove there every day and returned during daylight. With regard to militant parties in the local economy and social life, precautionary steps (e.g. not conducting research on the days when security was a concern, leaving out sensitive issues about the role of militant parties and the army) were necessary in order to protect the Sri Lankan team members.

It also had to be taken into account that, since local researchers are part of the socio-political system, their actions are likely to be judged by communities, politicians and institutions as fostering the interest of one or the other of the two sides. The volatile security situation thus restricted a flexible allocation of time and personal resources.

8.3 A Plea for Enhancing Interculturalism in CATAD Field Projects

The IFSP and CATAD has now shared the experience of intercultural teamwork twice. In 1999, a joint team from CATAD and IFSP elaborated a participatory development concept for the IFSP (cf. Bauer et al. 1999). Out of the positive experience in 1999, the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 was the second venture. In both cases, the teams, both German and Sri Lankan members, evaluated their experience of working in an intercultural team with very positive results. IFSP and CATAD understood intercultural communication and teamwork as a mutual capacity building process, which was an explicit aim reflected in two out of four results to be performed by the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 (see Agreed Minutes in Annex 1).

Out of this shared experience, the research team emphasises that joint intercultural teams of CATAD groups and counterparts should become an integral part of CATAD field projects. Such integrated CATAD field projects could provide two services to commissioning development agencies: (1) a consultancy study and (2) capacity building for local project staff. This two-tier approach is particularly useful for in-process concept or institutional development and supports local ownership for project approaches.

However, intercultural co-operation and in-process capacity building requires a considerable input in time and manpower which has to be taken into consideration when preparing the terms of references for a CATAD field project. We would like to stress the following points:

- Capacity building should be explicitly included in the terms of references. At the same time, the content-wise scope of a commissioned study would have to be scaled down to complement the additional efforts invested into human resources development.
- Counterparts from the commissioning party should be more involved in the preparatory phase in Berlin prior to the departure of the CATAD team.
- At the beginning of the field project in the country, the joint team should take at least one week for familiarisation, team building, exchange of knowledge and fine-tuning of the research approach.
- To be a truly equal team, the commissioning party should assign a team leader as a counterpart team leader to the German team leader. The local team leader will act as a person of confidence for the local team members and advocates their perceptions.

- The time plan would have to be adjusted to incorporate the enormous amount of time and effort involved in capacity building.
- Report writing should not remain the sole task of the German team. In Sri Lanka, many local staff members of development projects show weaknesses especially in writing capacities. However, this implies that either the quality of the CATAD reports might be scaled down or other forms of documentation might become more important, e.g. short, concise working papers, where counterparts can exercise their writing abilities without the pressure of fulfilling the high standards of a publishable report. How much emphasis should be given to the report in relation to other outcomes such as capacity building?

When we look back at the richness of our intercultural encounter and the many lessons we could learn for cross-cultural co-operation, we are convinced that the joint experience was one of the most important learning exercise of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. The encounter with another culture challenges one's own habits and thinking. It provides a clear feedback on one's own behaviour and teaches fundamental skills for a future culture-sensitive advisor and consultant in development co-operation.

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ANNEX I: Agreed Minutes for the CATAD-IFSP Project 2001

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1. Food Security and Conflict

Almost 20 years of conflict and war in the North and East of Sri Lanka have resulted in an alarming degree of malnutrition and impoverishment with approximately 80% of the population in the Northeast Province (NEP) living beneath the poverty line. Houses, village infrastructure and the production base have been destroyed. Basic social facilities such as health services and education are inappropriate. The severely restricted local economy offers no opportunities to the individual. Particularly affected are households that depend on fishing, small-scale farming and daily labour. The vulnerability of female headed households is particularly striking. Many families who recently returned from refugee camps to their home villages have no means of livelihood. The destabilising security situation that prevails is a serious constraint for long-term development co-operation.

Malnutrition among women and children in Trincomalee District is far above the national average. Main causes of malnutrition are the lack of safe drinking water, poor hygiene, difficult access to health facilities, food shortages as well as little variety in the daily food. For all three nutrition indicators (underweight, wasting and stunting), significant differences exist in prevalence of malnutrition for the three communal groups (Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim). Most affected are Tamil children in the so-called 'uncleared areas'.

The Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP) aims at supporting people at food risk and affected by the conflict to diversify and intensify

their food and income sources and improve their diet and health care as its objective. This should contribute to a sustainable improvement in the basic needs situation, especially with a view to nutrition and food security among the poor population affected by the conflict in Trincomalee District as a precondition for peaceful co-existence and co-operation of the various ethnic groups in the district (goal). IFSP started in August 1998 with its first phase lasting up to May 2001. A second phase, until the end of 2003 has been agreed upon as a result of the progress review conducted in July/August 2000.

Food and nutrition security has three main elements: i) availability of food at all times, ii) access to food at all times, and iii) use and utilisation of food according to good dietary standards. To overcome at least some of the constraints of the conflict the IFSP emphasises community mobilisation, people's participation and institutional as well as human capacity building. This should in the short- and medium-term encourage the use of local resources, enhance the demand for better services and at the same time increase the contribution towards rehabilitation and reconstruction. The focus on the dimensions of the ethnic conflict requires interventions, which reflect basic needs and priorities of war affected people. All IFSP interventions and activities are expected to support stability.

2 The CATAD-IFSP Project 2001: Context of Utilisation

In 1999, IFSP-GTZ commissioned the Centre for Advanced Training in Agricultural and Rural Development (CATAD) of the Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany with the conceptualisation of a participatory and integrated planning approach for community development, and village development in particular. The study was carried out by a joint IFSP-CATAD team bringing together young post-graduate students from Germany and partner staff of the IFSP.

The positive experience with the CATAD group in 1999 including the excellent report prepared encouraged the IFSP to repeat this exercise. According to the progress of IFSP and the experience with the co-operation of the CATAD-IFSP it is considered important to continue promoting conceptual and practical work with particular emphasis on the needs and aspirations of the

IFSP and partners for village development. Any such approach would contribute to rehabilitation and reconstruction of resources, promoting employment and income generation and facilitating institutional development.

The GTZ-MPI progress review mission in July/August 2000 confirmed the project concept of the IFSP in principle. To improve the impact of project measures, the mission recommended to look more closely into some selected fields. The CATAD-IFSP study would support the IFSP by investigating two key issues, viz. land use and coping mechanisms of communities for better livelihood. The results of this investigation would serve as basis for further alterations to the project's approach to community development and integrated village development

IFSP focuses on practical approaches that contribute to improved nutrition and food security. At the same time, activities are focussing on rehabilitating the production infrastructure, and improving services to ensure that the communities have better access to the local economy. Programmes for better health and nutrition are aimed at supporting capacities at an institutional and at an individual level.

The two subjects proposed under the CATAD-IFSP project 2001 should contribute to increase the capacity of the project itself and its partners. This would include to better address policy and development issues. Conceptual contributions must be built into pragmatic recommendations that can be absorbed by all stakeholders.

The dimension of the conflict would be an overriding issue. All activities conceptualised and implemented so far are expected to contribute to stability on the ground. The magnitude of the activities makes IFSP quite a prominent "player" in the district. The conceptual contribution of the CATAD-IFSP project 2001 nevertheless address policy issues. It is important to make sure that the IFSP follows the principle of doing no harm with regard to the implication and impacts of the activity packages as well as the underlying aspects of German – Sri Lankan development co-operation. In a regional perspective, conflict and war have to be considered overriding constraints to development as opposed to the coping patterns of target groups supported by the IFSP.

3 Specific subjects to be dealt with

- 1) Change of land resource utilisation and land use rights in Trincomalee District, the consequences for increased availability of and access to food, and implications for communal co-existence and conflict resolution:

Land resources utilisation and land use rights in Trincomalee District have been subject to substantial changes in the last twenty years due to the conflict. On the one hand, displacement and resettlement have led to changes in land use, as in the cropping pattern of selected areas. On the other hand, encroachers continue to settle on and to cultivate land whose owners are absent due to displacement. This fluid situation has created a delicate system of property regimes in land and water use. IFSP needs in-depth knowledge about the current status in order to derive a sensible intervention strategy in the agricultural and irrigation sectors.

- 2) Coping mechanisms and socio-economic survival and adjustment strategies of local communities to deal with conflict impact and implications for targeted support from IFSP:

To improve the impact of project measures, the progress review mission of August 2000 recommended a review of the targeting procedures and to look more closely into how vulnerable groups can in a more specific manner be supported to improve their livelihoods. To develop appropriate instruments and services, the IFSP still lacks a comprehensive understanding of how people deal with the difficult circumstances they faced in the conflict situation (coping strategies). This includes the need for an assessment of gender roles, local institutional capacities (local groups, leadership), individual economic and social survival strategies as well as adjustment mechanisms of the village economy.

4 Methodological Approach

CATAD field projects aim at providing development projects with operational – i.e. action-oriented – information to facilitate their planning, implementation, and evaluating tasks. CATAD has developed an integrated concept called ‘action- and decision-oriented research’ (ADR). The concept of ADR is closely linked with the philosophy of Rapid Rural Appraisal. It is based on the following principles:

- optimal ignorance: ‘knowing what is worth knowing’.
- appropriate imprecision: choosing standards of accuracy which might not be acceptable to academic research, but still allow responsible decision making.
- iteration: advancing in cycles, a continuous learning process.
- exploration: applying the serendipity principle = ‘making fortunate and unexpected discoveries by chance’.
- eclecticism: choosing and accepting freely from various sources.
- triangulation: looking at things from different (at least three) points of view. This principle is essential in considering team composition, units of observation, sources of information, and research methods.
- learning: ADR is a learning process, not simply one of information gathering. Learning by interacting with people, learning not only about people, but with people.

5 Specific Tasks to be performed by the CATAD group

The purpose of the CATAD-IFSP study is twofold:

- 1) To provide the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP) and its partners with practical in-depth knowledge in selected subjects to adjust and fine-tune its participatory development concept.
- 2) To exercise intercultural teamwork and to support capacity building of young Sri Lankan and German professionals and researchers.

To achieve this purpose, four aims are necessary and sufficient.

Result 1: An intercultural team of young German and Sri Lankan researchers is formed and will collaborate closely in the research study.

Result 1 will be achieved by

- conducting a team building workshop at the beginning of the project
- discussing the preliminary research design elaborated during the preparatory phase at CATAD in Berlin with the Sri Lankan colleagues and adjusting it accordingly
- forming inter-cultural sub-groups for results 2 and 3 respectively
- conducting regular feedback sessions with the whole team to discuss the status of research of the sub-groups and to adjust the research concept where necessary

Result 2: Trends in land resource utilisation and land use rights in selected areas of the Trincomalee District are investigated and conclusions for IFSP policies are drawn.

Result 2 will be achieved by

- reviewing existing literature, regulations and documents on land tenure and land use in Sri Lanka with special reference to the Northern and Eastern Province
- documenting and mapping land use and land tenure at selected sites in the Trincomalee District
- conducting field research at selected sites through individual interviews and group discussions incorporating RRA tools where appropriate
- conducting expert interviews with resource persons in the Trincomalee District
- conducting expert interviews with selected academics and development practitioners in Sri Lanka
- processing and documenting field data and research results,
- documenting the methodological approach and research process for enabling possible replicability of the study,
- deriving recommendations for IFSP policies at discussions with relevant staff of IFSP and partners.

Result 3: Economic and social coping strategies of the conflict-affected population are investigated and recommendation for IFSP support policies are derived

Result 3 will be achieved by

- reviewing existing literature and documents on economic and social conditions of Trincomalee District and on coping strategies
- conducting field research at selected sites (individual interviews, group discussions with local population, with RRA tools where appropriate) on how people cope economically and socially with the prevalent conditions in the Trincomalee District

- conducting expert interviews with resource persons and key informants in the Trincomalee District
- conducting selected expert interviews with academics, development practitioners in Sri Lanka
- processing collected field data and documenting preliminary results,
- deriving recommendations to improve targeting of IFSP interventions in close collaboration with the relevant staff of the IFSP and partners

Result 4: The results of the CATAD-IFSP Project are disseminated to and discussed with relevant stakeholders, and documented in a concise report

Result 4 will be achieved by

- discussing weekly the state of field work with IFSP management and the implications of preliminary research results for IFSP support policies for food security
- conducting a series of workshops and presenting the research results to all relevant stakeholders in the Trincomalee District and at the level of the decision makers in Colombo
- documenting the results of the study in a concise report
- presenting the results at GTZ headquarters and – if required - at BMZ

A draft report will be delivered to IFSP management prior to departure of the CATAD team. The final report will be delivered in 50 copies to the IFSP management by end of March 2002.

6. The CATAD-IFSP Team and Supporting Partners

The CATAD-IFSP project 2001 will be jointly carried out by a German-Sri Lankan team of young postgraduate students and professionals guided by a German and a Sri Lankan team leader. This core team consisting of four postgraduate students from CATAD and four young professionals or scientists from Sri Lanka will be supported by IFSP and partner staff (support team).

6.1 CATAD team

- Mr. Benedikt Korf (Team Leader)
- Mr. Tobias Flämig (Nutritionist and Development Economist)
- Ms. Christine Schenk (Geographer and Land Use Planner)
- Ms. Monika Ziebell (Agricultural Economist and Gender)
- Ms. Julia Ziegler (Anthropologist and Geographer)

6.2 IFSP Team

- Ms. Rohini M. Singarayer (Team Leader)

Profile of IFSP professionals (very good English would be a precondition)

- i) Land use planner and GIS expertise; nutritionist/agriculturist/civil engineer with a wide conceptual and practical experience
- ii) Social scientist, development economist/nutritionist/agriculturist/civil engineer/ community mobiliser

The IFSP team leader in close collaboration with IFSP management will select suitable members suited to the IFSP team from reputed Sri Lankan research institutions and from IFSP staff. It is envisaged that two of the IFSP team originate from the IFSP or partners, and two engaged from external parties.

6.3 IFSP Support Team

IFSP understands itself as a 'learning site', viz. as a system which is constantly promoting knowledge creation and diffusion based on good practices and in-process learning in the field of innovative approaches in food and nutrition security. An 'IFSP Support Team' of experienced IFSP field staff (engineers, community mobilisers) will assist the CATAD-IFSP team in its field research. This would contribute to a joint learning exercise to further support capacity building of IFSP staff. The 'IFSP Support Team' would join the CATAD-IFSP team on a temporary base according to their availability and project duties.

6.4 Steering Committee

A Steering Committee would advise the CATAD-IFSP project on policy issues. It would consist of the Government Agent of Trincomalee, the Project Director of IFSP, the GTZ Team Leader, and the heads of all relevant departments. In addition, representatives of selected NGOs could be invited to participate. Details of responsibilities and the members of the steering committee will be arranged by IFSP management in consultation with the CATAD team leader and the IFSP team leader.

6.5 Scientific Advisors

IFSP will approach reputed research institutions in Sri Lanka (Institute of Policy Studies; Marga Institute; University of Peradeniya – Faculty of Agriculture; University of Colombo – Department of Sociology) to support the

CATAD-IFSP project in finding suitable IFSP team members, and to provide scientific support in the implementation and evaluation of the study.

Prof. C. Sivayoganathan, Faculty of Agriculture, Peradenya University, will provide scientific support to the CATAD-IFSP team. He will join the team during the conceptualisation phase (week 1), for a mid-term review (week 6), for the finalisation of the draft report and the stakeholder dialogue in Trincomalee (week 11-12).

7 Preparation of the CATAD-IFSP Project

The CATAD team will elaborate a first draft of methodology and research design for the field phase of the study during the preparatory phase at CATAD from 11 June to 17 July 2001. The CATAD team will be supported by Mrs. Singarayer, IFSP Team Leader, from 11 to 15 June 2001. The IFSP team leader supported by IFSP management will prepare all necessary arrangements in Trincomalee (preliminary data collection (e.g. census), selection of counterparts, preparation of visits to Sri Lankan institutions, preparation of office space and accommodation for the CATAD and IFSP team). The IFSP team leader in collaboration with the support team and the IFSP management will screen potential sites for case studies for the two subjects.

IFSP will inform the security forces and other concerned parties about the planned research activities of the CATAD-IFSP team as far as is appropriate.

8 Implementation of the CATAD-IFSP Project

8.1 Time Schedule

The CATAD team will stay in Sri Lanka from 20 July to 20 October 2001. A tentative working schedule for the CATAD-IFSP project is proposed in the appendix.

8.2 Communication with IFSP

Regular working meetings with IFSP management on concept development, progress, conclusions etc. will be organised. Intensive involvement of partners will be essential.

9 Costs

CATAD will bear all costs (flight, housing, allowances, transport) for the CATAD team members. IFSP will bear all costs (housing, allowances, honorarium, transport) for the IFSP team. It is agreed that CATAD will bear the costs for working rooms and the IFSP will provide working materials (visualisation materials, softboards, etc.) as well as basic computer equipment for the IFSP team as well as a printer. In addition, telephone and internet-connection will be provided by IFSP in the office. IFSP will provide a bicycle for transport within the Trincomalee town.

Signed in Trincomalee, 01 May 01

Mr. N. Pugendren
Project Director IFSP

Mr. Benedikt Korf
Leader, CATAD Team

Dr. Dedo Geinitz
GTZ Team Leader, IFSP

Mrs. Rohini Singarayer
Leader, IFSP Team

ANNEX II: Research Questions

As our team worked with the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) to collect and order the data, the research questions were adjusted to this concept (see Chapter 2). The questions were arranged according to the features occurring in the LSA: vulnerability context, capital assets (the terms “Capital Assets” and “Livelihood Resources” are used synonym) and structures and processes. As these features influence each other there are quite a lot of overlapping questions which will fit e.g. into capital assets as well as into structures and processes. The aim of the study was not to order the questions and their answers strictly into one feature but to find out what capital assets are existing, how do people use them with what outcome and how is the use of these assets influenced by the vulnerability context and by structures and processes.

Vulnerability Context

The vulnerability context describes the existing frame conditions of a livelihood system. It contains the natural, social, economic, political and cultural conditions which determine the life of people. These conditions can not be changed by a single villager or community itself. This, however, does not mean that the vulnerability context is static. It is dynamic and is changing over time. Questions on the vulnerability context were mainly investigated through literature study.

1. Economic Dimension

- Global, national and regional market situation?
- Taxes?
- Available production technology?

2. Political Dimension

- Politics of ruling parties?
- Security situation created by the conflict?
- Restrictions on mobility of persons and goods?
- Peoples affectedness by corruption, bribery, violence?

3. Social Dimension

- Influence of religion?
- Influence of culture?
- Population density?

4. Ecological Dimension

- State of natural resources?
- Main characteristics of the respective ecosystem (soils, climate, hydrology, topography)?

Capital Assets

For the capital assets we have two kinds of questions: first the general key questions operative for all capital assets to somehow assess their value for the particular livelihood system. Secondly the particular questions for each capital assets to identify it and investigate its use by the people.

Key questions for investigating the capital assets:

(adapted from Scoones, 1998)

1. Sequencing

- What is the starting point for successfully establishing a particular livelihood strategy?
- Is one type of livelihood resource an essential precursor for gaining access to others?

2. Substitution

- Can one type of capital be substituted for others?
- Are different capital assets needed in combination for the pursuit of particular livelihood strategies?

3. Clustering

- If you have access to one type of capital asset, do you usually have access to others?
- Is a clustering of particular combinations of livelihood resources associated with particular groups of people or particular livelihood strategies?

4. Access

- How does the access to different livelihood resources differ between different people? What are the important factors for different access?
- Trade offs
- What are the trade-offs in pursuing a particular livelihood strategy?

5. Trends

- What are the trends in terms of availability and access to different (new) livelihood resources?

Questions to identify the capital assets and their use:

1. Social Capital Assets

1.1 Which social networks do exist and how do people use them ?

- family
- caste
- friends
- informal networks within the village and beyond
- formal networks within the village and beyond

- 1.2 In how far has the conflict changed the interaction within these networks?
- 1.3 What kind of networks are existing to mitigate food-security?
- 1.4. What are the social regulations in the case of death, divorce and separation?
- 1.5. How is the relationship between men and women organised ?

2. Political Capital Assets

2.1 In which way do people have access to support from regional power-holders? How do they try to qualify for the support?

- government
- administrative services
- social welfare
- other institutions like, NGO 's

2.2 How do represent people themselves in local and regional communities?

2.3 Which forms of local leadership do villages have?

3. Human Capital Assets

3.1 What level of education do people receive and what are the limitations for education due to the conflict?

- primary school
- secondary school
- professional education

3.2 Which skills do people have and which of them do they use to generate income and food production?

3.3 What is peoples status of health?

3.3.1 What are people's activities to stay healthy?

3.3.2 How do people cope with death and disability?

3.3.3 Which health institutions are available for people treating their sickness and how are they used?

3.4 What is the people's physical ability to work? (in the case of being malnourished, disabled etc:)

4. Physical Capital Assets

4.1 How is the infrastructure developed?

- Housing
- Roads
- Services
- Health system
- Communication services

4.2 Which infrastructure is necessary for people to generate income and which infrastructure is available and used?

4.3 What is the available range of production tools/technology to produce food for the people?

- need
- availability

5. Natural Capital Assets

5.1 Do people have access to and ownership of land?

5.2 Do people have access to irrigation water?

5.3 Are people allowed to use the jungle as income resource (firewood, herbs, vegetables)?

6. Financial Capital Assets

6.1 Do people have and use access to credit and loans?

- government
- private credit institutions/banks
- family members
- other private people

6.1.1 What are the conditions for applying/receiving a loan?

6.2 How are the preferences for liquidity and what products/assets do people sell to stay or become liquid?

6.3 How do people save?

- saving clubs e.g.
- investments in animals, houses, assets
- long term vs. short term investment

6.3.1 Under what circumstances do people deplete their savings?

6.4 How do people behave on markets? How do they calculate the prices?

6.4.1 How is the competition between farmers/small business people/ wage labourers for product and labour markets and how does the competition influence people's behaviour?

6.5 How do people use their formal and informal exchange mechanisms?

- gifts
- mutual help
- market

6.6 What is the source of income for people and what portion of their daily time do they spend on the particular income source?

- self employment?
- Employment
- overseas employment?

Questions for Structures and Processes

Apart from the vulnerability context structures and processes are critical in determining who gains access to which assets and to define the actual value of certain assets. We made a distinction between the formal institutions (structures: organisations, laws and policies) and how these are actually followed or by-passed through informal arrangements (processes: rules of the

game). It is important to note that institutional arrangements are formal as well as informal, and are subject to multiple interpretations by different actors. Institutions are dynamic and are continuously reshaped over time.

1. Organisations

1.1 What kind of organisations/institutions do exist for:

- regulation of land ownership?
- handling health and death?
- representing different social groups (farmers, women, youth, elderly)?
- providing loans and offering saving possibilities?
- advising agricultural and other income strategies?

1.2 What are the preconditions gaining access to these institutions?

2. Cultural Norms

2.1 What influence do the following aspects have on the access and use of certain capital assets?

- religion
- caste
- eating habits
- gender relations
- family relations

3. Markets

3.1 What kind of markets for certain items (land, agricultural products, labour) do exist?

3.2 Do people have knowledge and access to these markets?

3.3 What are the preconditions to gain access to these markets?

Research Topics and Questions for Land Use

The investigation of land use and land tenure was an overriding issue in this study. As in a rural area the usage of land is the main resource to make a living special attention was given to this. The questions for land use were therefore designed and ordered differently (not according to the capital assets) but as well integrated in the LSA.

1. Analysis of present and past land tenure systems, land use rights and access to land

1.1 What are the **existing laws** regarding property rights and how do they effect people's land use rights in Trincomalee?

- existence of customary and official law
- governmental and district policy
- resettlement policy
- historical background

1.2 Which **institutions** do play an important role and what is their influence on land alienation policy?

- identification of institutions
- tasks and activities of identified institutions
- safety of land rights
- access to these institutions

1.3 Which influence have present local controlling mechanism on people's acceptance/**awareness of land use rights**?

- practice vs. law
- rules and norms

1.4 What kind of **land tenure system** does exist in the study area?

- ownership of land
- extent of holdings

1.5 What are the existing types of **access to land** and what kind of relationship to ownership does exist?

- traditional systems e.g. tank system, inheritance
- impacts of conflict to land
- gender
- role of long term refugees

2. An agronomic and ecological assessment of the present farming systems, in view of identifying their main potentials and problems.

2.1 What are the main **ecological problems** caused by different cropping system on land degradation and water resources?

- salt water intrusion
- salinity due to drainage
- water pollution by fertiliser and chemicals

2.2 What are the **agro-economic and social characteristics** of land usage?

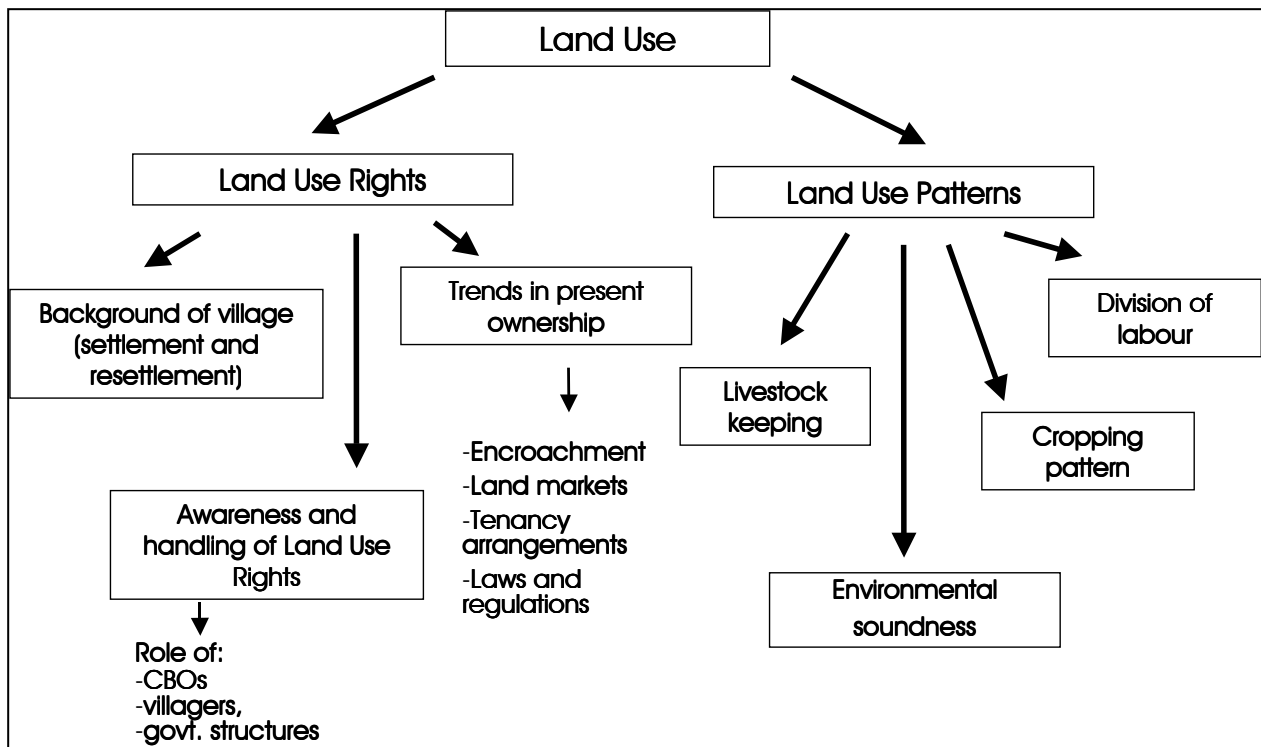
- cropping patterns and its intensity
- livestock keeping
- irrigation
- division of labour
- social change caused by e.g. less involvement of youth, women headed families, migration
- involvement of women and different age groups (in cultivation and marketing)

2.3 What are the main characteristics of the **financial income and market situation** of identified groups in the study area?

- market production /subsistence
- profit from cultivation

- other sources of income
- existence and role of food market
- expenditure of income

Graphic 1: Research Topics and Questions in Land Use



ANNEX III: History of a Conflict: The Eelam Wars in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka: An Island at War

Sri Lanka, popularly known as Ceylon under the British, is a small, multi-cultural, and low-income island nation located off the very southern tip of India. According to latest information, its population is proximately 18 million, and the per capita income is US\$ 804. Irrespective of its very low per capita income, the country maintains far superior human development indicators when compared with other countries in the region as well as comparable to more developed societies. In the midst of all social, political, and economic chaos, the country has been able to maintain the literacy rate of 90 per cent, an infant mortality rate of 17 per 1,000 live births, and life expectancy is 72 years. However, unfortunately the considerable growth of human development indicators have for decades been challenged by the agonising and costly ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

The minority Tamils who are mainly Hindu and comprise 18 per cent of the total population in Sri Lanka have alleged discrimination in the postcolonial period by the majority Sinhalese who are mainly Buddhist and consisting of 73 per cent of the total population of the country. The main reason for the creation of the ideology of a separate state for the Tamils or the ethnic tensions between the two main ethnic communities was initiated after the Bandaranaike government declared Sinhala as the only official language of the Sri Lankan government in 1956.

In order to clarify the complexity of the ethnic secessionist movement after independence, it is important at this point to follow the chronology of the ethnic problem in the country. Thereby, we can divide the chronology of the problem into three phases.

Eelam War I

First phase from 1983-88 (the Elam war One) the peak of the escalations of ethnic tensions between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils originated in the aftermath of the 1983 July riots which affected the entire country. This very incident persuaded significant sections of the Tamil society to support an armed struggle led by LTTE to demand a separate state for the Tamil people in the North East of the country. While the Tamils were demanding a separate homeland in the north, the Sri Lankan government had to confront another armed struggle in the south by an ultra-Marxist, leftist Sinhalese group named the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front) in 1989, and the government ruthlessly crushed the youth uprising by killing thousands of youth. This was not the first time the People's Liberation Front attempted to overthrow the government, but the same youth movement launched a similar attack in 1971. However, it failed.

Eelam War II

The second phase was from 1990-94 (Elam War Two), during which period all attempts of the Sri Lankan government to bring a lasting and a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict of the country failed. The LTTE returned to violence against the government as the only last remaining resort that had to be employed in order to establish self-determination for the Tamil people. After intensifying its military offensive against the government forces, the LTTE was able to capture large areas in the Northeast under their control.

Eelam War III

The third phase began in 1995 (Eelam War three), with the election of Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaranathunga, there were new hopes among all ethnic groups in the country about a peaceful solution to the decades old, inhumane, and costly war of the country, as it continued in the north. Soon after Chandrika came to power, her government resumed peace talks with the LTTE to fulfil her government election pledges to bring a long-term relief to a war—ravaged and peace hungry nation. However, rather disappointingly to the whole nation and the world, in the middle of peace talks, the LTTE violated the final ceasefire that they had with the government and regrouped and started attacking the government positions in the north.

After the fierce battle, the LTTE lost its traditional stronghold, the Jaffna peninsula, to the government forces in 1995, but Colombo has been not able to control much of the north eastern territory, because the LTTE still controls a considerable amount of territory in the north and east. In the meantime, in the year 2000 the People's Alliance government presented a power devolution package to parliament as a solution to create a more federal type of a government in which local political bodies would be able to gain more power to control over education, land settlement, and public services at regional level rather than under a unitary government. However the parliament voted down the draft of the new constitution over various conflicting issues in the newly drafted constitution of the country. Unfortunately, without the clear majority in parliament the People's Alliance government had to abort the said constitution.

Conclusions and Outlook

However, even in the parliamentary election in 2000, no party was able to secure a majority to form a strong and stable government, which is essential to put to an end to the brutal war in the country, but instead the People Alliance yet again formed a united-front government with the help of many rightwing, minority, and leftwing parties. Nevertheless, in the midst of all political upheavals, worsening economic conditions, and endless social chaos, the People Alliance government collapsed when the Muslim Congress withdrew its support over many controversial issues. Later on, the People Alliance made a move and formed a probationary government, this time, with the so-called ultra-Marxist party named the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's liberation Front). The union between the two parties ended within less than two months, because the united opposition handed over a no-confidence motion against the newly formed probationary government. To everyone's surprise, the president dissolved the government without debating the no-confidence motion in parliament and called for a general election in December after nine members of the ruling party crossed over to the opposition. Whichever party comes into power after the scheduled election, bringing an everlasting solution to the on-going ethnic conflict remains the most crucial dilemma to take Sri Lanka into the twenty first century to compete with other developing nations.

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ANNEX IV: Case Studies on Livelihoods

Introduction:

Annex IV provides background material to underline the main arguments in the Chapters 5 of the main report. The case studies are mainly derived from working papers, which the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 elaborated to document the detailed empirical research findings.¹

Case studies depict rural livelihood systems for three research locations (Kalyanapura (Section 2), Kumpurupitty (3) and Vattam (4)).² The three case studies concentrate on the main farming system in each of the communities, i.e. paddy cultivation in Kalyanapura, onion cultivation in Kumpurupitty and fishing in Vattam. The livelihood models attempt to relate this complex information on livelihood strategies to the different elements of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA).³ The key questions are: What are the impacts of the vulnerability context (frame conditions) on the availability of and access to household capital assets? Which structures and processes shape the access of households to capital assets? Which livelihood strategies do households pursue and with which outcome?

¹ The working papers of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001 can be obtained from the office of the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP). For further information **see 'How to Use the Report'**.

² The fourth case study (Ithikulam) is discussed in Chapter 5 as an example.

³ See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA).

Case Study 1: Kalyanapura - Fragile Prosperity on the Fringe of Power⁴

Kalyanapura is a Sinhalese settlement village surrounded by LTTE controlled area. Due to repeated LTTE attacks during the 1990's, people were displaced temporarily to other areas several times. This has severely reduced the number of households currently in the village.

Paddy lands in the vicinity of the community, i.e. close to the jungle, are abandoned, because the villagers fear further attacks of the LTTE. They also do not have access to the jungle any more. As in many other Sinhala villages in the conflict region, the government is strongly present with armed forces in various checkpoints in and around the village offering employment opportunities for home guards.

The essential capital assets for paddy cultivation in Kalyanapura are described in Box IV.1. Their use is greatly influenced by the frame conditions or vulnerability context.

As many people have still not returned to Kalyanapura after displacement the status of land property is unclear to a large extent, especially at the Behethkewawewa tank (**see Chapter 6**). Another im-

portant is the gradual depletion of the stock of human and social capital: In some female-headed households, women have to organise the cultivation alone. Credit facilities are only accessible for traders and cash resources have been severely depleted during displacement.

Apart from the vulnerability context there are also important institutional structures that influence paddy farming. The cultivation schedule and irriga-

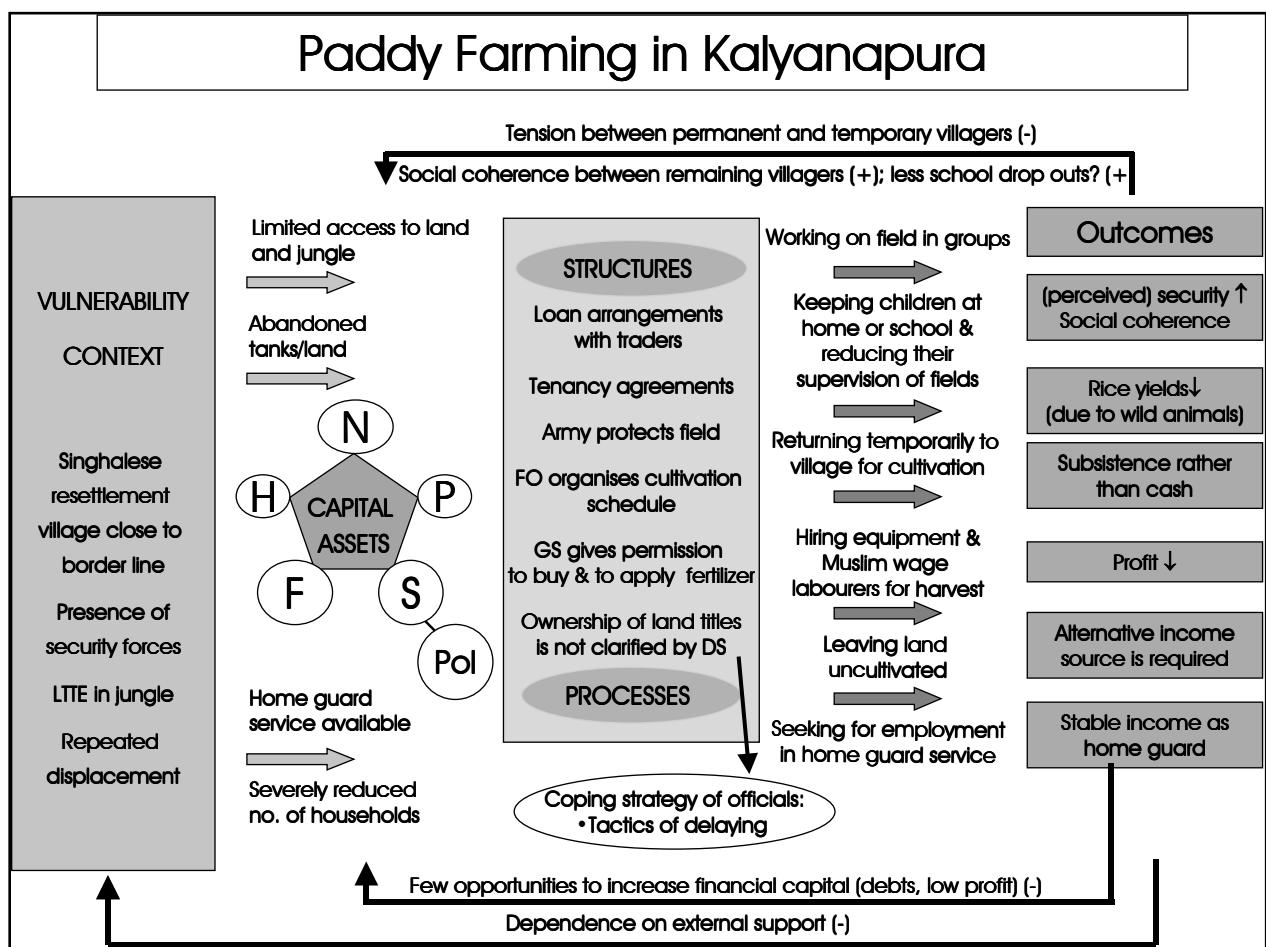
Box IV.1: Capital Assets in Kalyanapura

- **natural capital:** paddy land, unused land
- **human capital:** knowledge and skills on paddy cultivation
- **social capital:** family networks and networks with traders and wage labourers
- **financial capital:** credit from traders, small savings and cash
- **physical capital:** functioning tanks, hitherto abandoned tanks, 10 private + 2 DOA tractors

⁴ For more detail: Abeyrathne, Rathnayake M.; Tobias Flämig and Monika Ziebell. 2001. *Fragile Prosperity on the Fringe of Power. Kalyanapura – Village Profile*. Working Paper 41. Trincomalee: Integrated Food Security Programme (IFSP).

tion procedures are organised by an efficient farmers' organisation (FO). The FO in Kalyanapura further claims to give out loans and to distribute devices for applying chemical pesticides and thus exerts a major influence in the village. In addition, Sinhala traders from Horowpathane sell insecticides and other farming inputs, and provide credit and cultivation loans to farmers. The Grama Sevaka officer (G.S.) controls the purchase of fertiliser according to the regulations imposed by security restrictions.

Graphic IV.1: Paddy Farming in Kalyanapura in the LSA Model



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

Which coping strategies do people from Kalyanapura develop in order to make use of their assets and sustain their living? Three coping strategies are pursued that minimise the villagers' personal risk of life. One activity is working in the fields in groups. Here the social network among villagers and relatives helps a lot. The work in groups in turn strengthens the social network. Secondly, children are either kept at home or even sent to safer areas for schooling. Before the conflict, the parents used to send them to the fields to chase birds and other animals, which implied that they dropped out of

school. The strategy that is now applied for security reasons might at the same time increase the human capital if it leads to more school attendance of children. Nevertheless, yields and profits are reduced if wild animals destroy the crops because the fields are unattended. A third strategy to increase security is to let the army protect the fields.

Fourthly, some of the original villagers return to Kalyanapura only during the cultivation period. They thus avoid taking the risk during off-season but still secure their subsistence from own paddy production. Sometimes, tensions arise between those who remain in the village all year round and the “returnees”, because those who remain in the area feel that they have to bear the security risk alone. A final strategy to minimise personal risk of life is to hire labourers from a different ethnic group for harvesting the paddy. Especially Muslims who are less afraid of

LTTE attacks than Sinhala wage-labourers offer their manpower. However, this coping strategy has only been practised in the last year. It leads to a reduction of profit, because the hired labourers demand an increased wage due to the security situation.

The way in which household economics are managed partly concerns the issues of family organisation (children, field work in groups) and of prioritising the different options within a portfolio of livelihood strategies and income sources. Paddy cultivation is the key income source for the large majority of

Box IV.2: Coping Strategies in Kalyanapura

- *Managing personal risk of life*
 - Working in groups on field
 - Keeping children at home or at school (and away from the fields)
 - Asking the army to protect the fields during cultivation period
 - Returning temporarily to village for cultivation
 - Hiring Muslim wage labourers for harvest
- *Managing household economics*
 - Confining to key income source
 - Organising the family (children, group work – see above)
 - Arranging tenancies
 - Seeking home guard employment
- *Accessing external support*
 - Qualifying for NGO assistance
 - Asking army to protect fields
 - Collaborating with power holders to access land use titles.

families in Kalyanapura. Tenancy agreements are a means for landowners to overcome the lack of financial capital for inputs while still receiving either a fixed rent or portion of the harvested crops. Thus the risk of economic loss in case of a bad harvest is reduced. Land plots often remain uncultivated when ownership is not clarified or in cases where the owner cannot get a credit for the required inputs for the whole land plot.

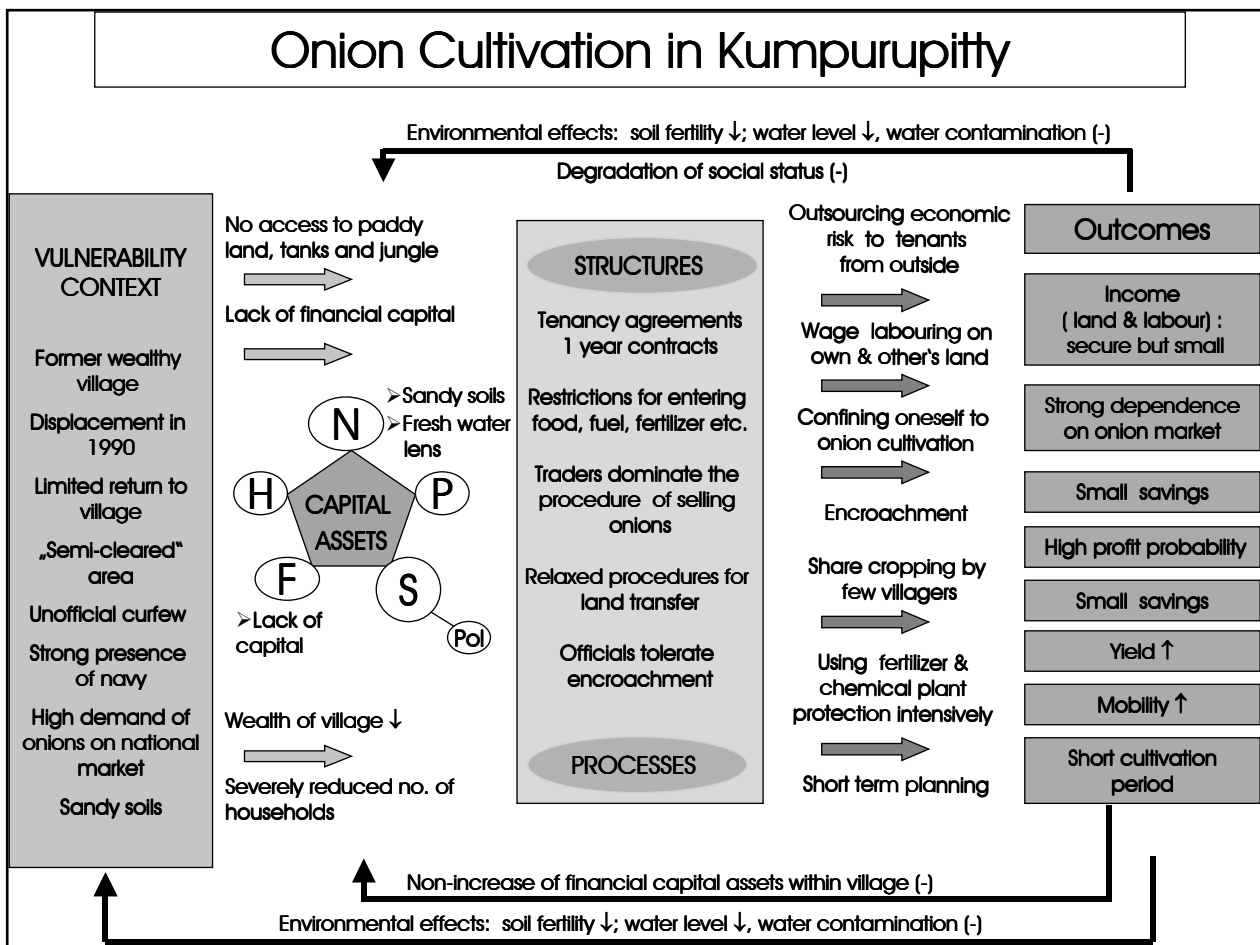
One common trend in Kalyanapura is that households confine themselves to a few key income sources, mainly due to two reasons. On the one hand, access to certain resources is restricted (e.g. jungle, remote fields) due to the security risk. This means that for some families neither a subsistence nor a stable income through paddy are assured. As a consequence and due to the fact that inheritance practices led to fragmentation of land plots, many families have to seek other employment opportunities to secure their income. Home guard services provide a steady and reliable income of approx. LKR 5-6,000 per month, which is sufficient for the survival of a rural family. Therefore, many families do not see the necessity to diversify their household income portfolio as they had done prior to the conflict (e.g. home gardens, livestock keeping).

Accessing external support is also a major strategy of both individual farmers and of the village community as a whole. The farmers often approach the army to protect them on the fields during cultivation and harvesting activities. Access to development funds and special advantages can be gained through influential village leaders, who have a close rapport with influential administrative and political powerholders. The former president of the farmers' organisation is a widely recognised leader with such strong link and backing. The farmer organisation also accessed influential administrators to decide in their favour in the case of land distribution of a rehabilitated tank (see Chapter 6).

Case Study 2: Kumpurupitty - Missing the Onion Boom?⁵

In contrast to Kalyanapura, paddy farming had to be given up in Kumpurupitty and was replaced by onion cultivation. This chapter describes the system of factors influencing this major source of income.

Graphic IV.2: Onion Cultivation in Kumpurupitty in the LSA Model



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

⁵ For more detail: Dharshinie, Dharmarajah; Tobias Flämig, Benedikt Korf and Christine Schenk. 2001. *Missing the Onion Boom? Kumpurupitty – Village Profile*. Working Paper 42. Trincomalee: Integrated Food Security Programme (IFSP).

Kumpurupitty is a combination of three Grama Sevaka divisions consisting of a traditional, formerly wealthy village and newer settlements of Tamil refugees from the plantation sector. It is located 20km north of Trincomalee, enclosed by a lagoon and the sea. The villagers were displaced in 1990. Many well-off residents of Kumpurupitty North and Kumpurupitty South have not returned to their houses. In Kumpurupitty East, the poorer settlers, mainly former refugees from the plantation sector who were colonised in a model village, have largely returned to their houses and land. The area can be described as “semi-cleared” or non-stabilised area: in spite of a strong presence of the Sri lankan navy, the LTTE infiltrates the area, which in turn is the reason for unofficial curfews and frequent clashes. Both conflict parties contribute to an intimidating atmosphere.

As one outcome of this security situation, the quantity of certain goods (among others: fuel, fertiliser) that can be transported through the checkpoint from outside is restricted, and personal mobility is impeded, too. Additionally, the presence of the navy and the LTTE in the nearby jungles keeps people from accessing their former paddy fields including the tanks, which are now dilapidated. While these natural capital assets have to lie dormant, villagers use other, favourable conditions to their

advantage: they have taken up onion cultivation as there is a high demand for onions on the national market and they make use of a fragile agro-ecosystem of sandy soils with a high water table. Although onion cultivation can yield high profits within a short period, the risk of crop failure or price fluctuations is high as well.

Box IV.3: Capital Assets (and the Lack of It) in Kumpurupitty

- **natural capital:** Highland, sandy soils; high water table
- **human capital:** knowledge of onion cultivation
- **social capital:** networks with traders & tenants from villages around; weak social bonds within village
- **financial capital:** lack of financial capital & limited access to credit
- **physical capital:** lack of water pumps, no tractor

As a result of displacement, many villagers lack important capital assets to cultivate onions on their own. Input requirements such as seed onions, fertiliser and pest control as well as water pumps are high and costly and sound credit facilities are not available. Hence, many land owners lease out highland for onion cultivation to tenants from nearby villages (Nilaveli, Irrakandy). Land owners arrange short-term tenancy contracts for one year with the entitlement to become employed as wage labourer by the tenant on their own fields. The underlying coping strategy is outsourcing the economic risk of high investment to the tenant.

The tenant, on the other hand, has to pay a fixed annual rent to employ wage labourers (including the landowner) and sometimes even has to fence the land. He is fully responsible for the cultivation and the provision of inputs. While the profit is his, he does not have to concern himself with the condition of the soil in the long run. This leads to an enormous application of chemicals and fertiliser in order to raise yields and hence profit. The latter also depends heavily on onion prices on the national onion market. But tenants or cultivating landowners have a weak bargaining position with traders and brokers and little influence on price developments, since the market is dominated by a few local traders and brokers, who in turn depend on the national onion market conditions.

For the landowners, this way of coping leads to a secure yet small income from the fixed rent for their plots and their wage labour. The responsibility for the economic risk is not taken on and thus their mobility during times of tension is increased.

The short term contracts with tenants have negative outcomes and feedback loops, too. The earnings from rent and wage labour are too small to build up savings. Hence, the scope of enlarging the financial capital is very limited. This means that in fact only outsiders benefit from the onion boom, while Kumpurupitty people remain in the poverty trap. Being a long term wage labourer - although a landowning one - also goes along with a degradation of the original social status of the land owning paddy farmers.

Getting caught in this trap becomes even more serious when the environmental consequences of short term contracts in particular and onion cultivation in general are taken into account. Not only is the soil fertility exploited, the ground water level and quality are seriously affected by the huge amount of fertiliser and frequent irrigation. In the long run this results in a depletion of the natural capital as well as the human capital, namely people's health.

Box IV.4: Coping Strategies in Kumpurupitty

Landowners:

- Outsourcing economic risk to tenants and becoming wage labourer
- Sharecropping
- Short term planning due to unstable conditions

Tenants:

- Taking the risk of investment
- Exploiting natural resources due to short term contracts

Government officials:

- Tolerating encroachment

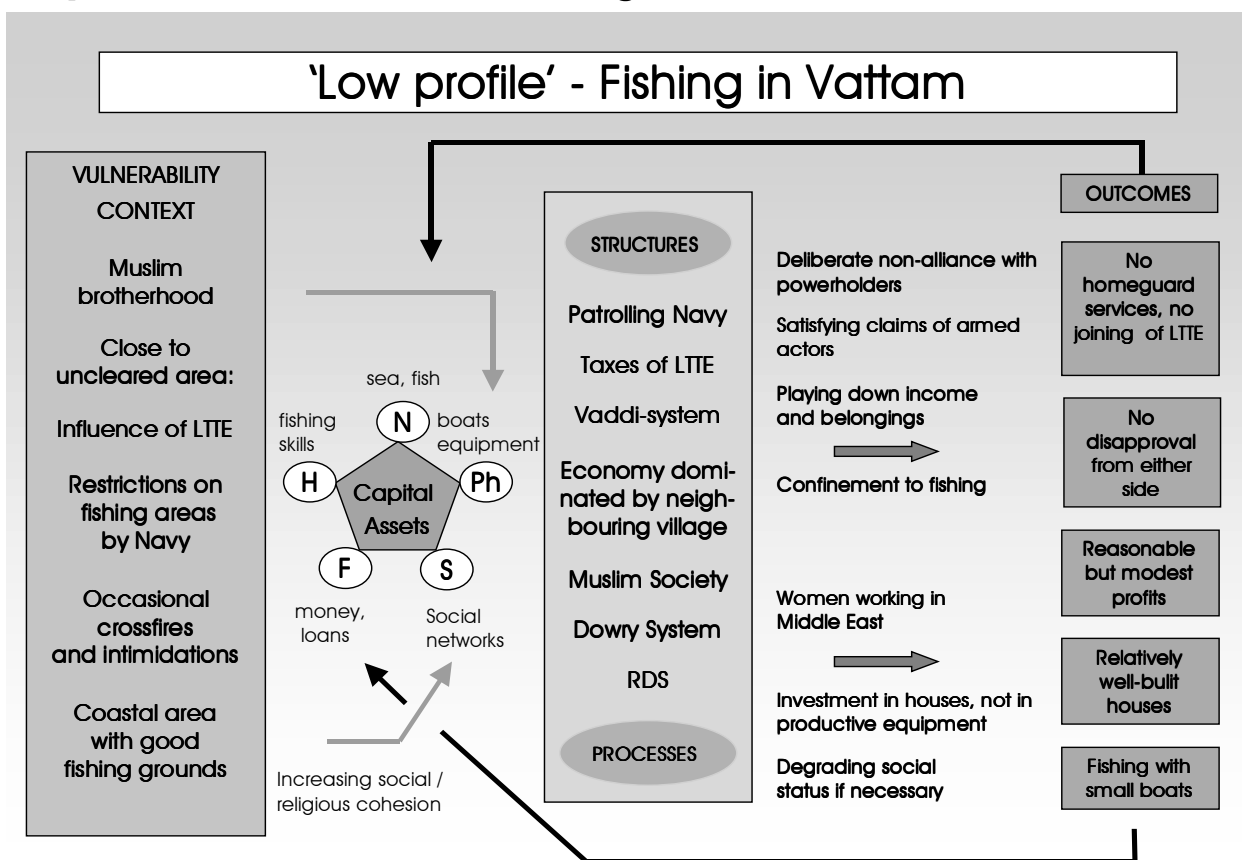
A few landowners manage to cultivate a part of their highland either on their own or in the form of share-cropping with outsiders who provide the input. The type of arrangement differs. One party might provide the land, the other party the water pump, and the costs of other inputs as well as the profit might be shared equally.

Another coping strategy observed is encroachment of abandoned and crown land. This helps the encroaching villagers either to participate in the onion boom or to grow vegetables for subsistence. However, encroachment is only possible because it is tolerated by government officials (GS, DS).

Case Study 3: Vattam - Squeezed Between the Lines⁶

Vattam is a Muslim coastal village located in Muthur division. Due to the conflict, and especially after 1985, Tamils from Muslim dominated areas were displaced to Tamil villages and vice versa. Vattam villagers owned lands in remote areas which later became inaccessible or unsafe for them. The majority of them engage in fishing which is still the main occupation in the village. In addition, many women leave the village to work abroad in Middle Eastern countries as housemaids.

Graphic IV.3: Low Profile Fishing in Vattam



Source: IFSP-CATAD 2001

⁶ For more detail: Sakthivel, Thangavel and Julia Ziegler. 2001. *Squeezed between the Lines. Vattam – Village Profile*. Working Paper 43. Trincomalee: Integrated Food Security Programme (IFSP).

The major frame condition in Vattam is that it is very close to the uncleared area controlled by the LTTE. Therefore the security forces (Navy) have introduced several restrictions on the mobility of fishing boats as to locations and times of fishing depending on the size of the boats. Nevertheless, it happens that Vattam fishermen get caught in crossfires between the army and the LTTE or houses of villagers which are very close to the beach get affected.

How can the villagers use their capital assets to make a living under such frame conditions? What structures and processes support or hinder? As the Chart IV.3 only shows the key assets for fishing, some more related capital assets are given in Box IV.5.

The natural resources in Vattam are very favourable for fishing, although the weather conditions change with the seasons and influence the fishing routine and therefore the catches. As Muslims, Vattam people have no access to the jungle and its natural resources in uncleared

area. In addition, boat owners can rarely escape from taxation of the armed actors who may threaten the villagers with taking equipment or moveable items from them.

This clearly influences their coping strategies and induces them to satisfy these claims on the one hand and to play down income and belongings vis-à-vis outsiders on the other hand. Vattam people opt for deliberate non-alliance with either side of the conflict in order to avoid being caught between the lines. This induces them to avoid government employment as home-guards as well as co-operation with the LTTE. At the same time, it makes them tolerate illegal means of fishing of neighbouring villages without reporting this to any official body, although they have to face the resulting ecological and

Box IV.5: Capital Assets in Vattam

- **natural capital:** sea, fish, sandy soil, lack of grazing and cultivation land, (coconut trees)
- **physical capital:** boats, fishing equipment, vaddi, (brick-houses, shops, close to jetty and Muthur (market, D.S., hospital etc.), mosque, Muslim school, few cattle, chicken)
- **economic/financial capital:** subsidy from ministry of fisheries via fishermen society, money earned abroad, (loans from relatives and vaadi-owner jewellery, post-office savings)
- **social capital:** social networks between fishermen and vaddi-owner, and between relatives and friends
- **human capital:** knowledge/skill of fishing

economic disadvantages. Villagers in Vattam prefer to remain unnoticed by power holders.

It also has an impact on investment preferences as people in Vattam prefer to invest in houses rather than in better equipment or big boats that can be taken away (i.e. stolen or confiscated by armed actors). As this in turn reduces the possible income from fishing, the physical as well as the financial assets are kept at a lower level (feedback loop). As houses are unproductive capital compared to bigger boats, it can be concluded that Vattam people downscale their household economy while at the same time minimising potential economic loss and therefore economic risk. The key income source becomes remittances from Middle East employment for those households that are able to send a household member abroad.

Concerning the economy of fishing, apart from the general impact of the vulnerability context described above, several institutions at the level of structures and processes come into play. There are several shops close to the jetty and in nearby Muthur town that provide almost all goods including fishing equipment required by the villagers.

Box IV.6: The Vaadi-System

The process of selling fish through the vaadi-owner can be described as an informal institution. When their catch exceeds 5kg, most fishermen sell it to the vaadi-owner (who is at the same time the Fishermen Society's president) in order to receive an immediate payment. Sometimes they are bound to sell their fish to him because he had given them loans and financial support (for buying boats and other equipment) that he does not claim back but considers a social investment. He in turn sells the fish to a vaadi-person in Thakwanagar who has the necessary capital for trading with Colombo traders. (The latter do not pay before they in turn sell the fish in Colombo). In addition, the vaadi-owner sells to local traders who come to Vattam and sell the fish in Muthur area.

The Fishermen's Society of Vattam has been formed recently and therefore does not yet have a strong influence on people's livelihoods. What is more decisive is the *vaadi*-system. Since the location of Vattam serves as the 'gateway of Muthur', it is a suitable location for trading.

The vulnerability context also influences the social capital of the village. People explained that due to the conflict, the importance of religion had

grown for many people who now seek orientation and support from Islam. Social networks thus become more cohesive. In the beginning (1950s and 1960s) the small village population was socially, but not religiously united in such a strong way as nowadays. As the population grew, the mosque society was formed, took the leadership of the village and people were united in the name of religion. The Mosque Society has become the main decision making and conflict solving body in the village. The economy of the village is affected by this Muslim institution in several ways. It advises the villagers not to save their money in a bank since the Muslim faith does not allow people to take interest from savings or lending money. Therefore there is a preference for investing money in the form described above or taking part in *seetu*-groups. Secondly, although the Muslim Society does not actively support people in hardship, it has a co-ordinating function for community help, e.g. organises spontaneous collections of money for people in need. Charitable activities are mostly restricted to the fasting period though.

Thirdly, the dowry system has a strong impact on household economy in Sri Lanka and is in turn influenced by Islam: Nevertheless, the custom that the girl's parents give to the groom's parents is still the local norm. The villagers justify it by saying that the dowry from the girl's side serves as an economic starting point for the newly formed family. In this context, Vattam fishermen fathers are willing to degrade their social status by giving their boat to their daughter's husband and seeking wage-labour with other boat-owners themselves. Last not least, Muslim girls in Vattam are brought up under special religious restrictions, e.g. they thus do not simply travel alone to nearby villages. These restrictions are somehow loosened when the family agrees on sending a woman to the Middle East. Supporting the household with income has thus a higher priority.

The fact that women go abroad to work as housemaids increases the financial capital of the household as well as its physical assets if the money earned is spent on the construction of houses. Nevertheless, the social asset, namely family relations and the upbringing of children who often stay without their mothers for several years, does not remain unaffected. On the other hand, it seems that women's work in Middle Eastern countries strengthens their role in their society, not only because they contribute considerably to the family's income, but also because they gain a certain independence from their family and are respected for their enhanced religiosity.

This could possibly have some positive feedback on other women's efforts for income generating activities within the village.

ANNEX V: Institutions for Land Use in Sri Lanka

1. Introduction

The majority of land in Sri Lanka are owned and controlled by the state, called "Crown Lands". Altogether Sri Lanka covers 6.56 million hectares (ha). Of this total area, about 1.38 million ha is agricultural land owned by the state but cultivated by private farmers under various tenure arrangements, most of which restrict lease and sale. The amount of illegally utilised state land is unknown. Another 0.88 million ha are privately-held agricultural land; urban land comprises 0.05 million ha private land; and 0.01 million ha state-owned land. The remaining 4.24 million ha is state land comprised of forests, sparsely used land, and land reserved for future use (ADB 2001).

The existing land tenure system is a fundamental frame condition for development and deficits in this system hinder or impede the realisation of development objectives. For example adequate and affordable food supplies must be made available for an increasing number of people. The land tenure system has a large impact on the agricultural production and its distribution effects, which determine availability of and access to food.

In Sri Lanka, the per capita land resources are shrinking rapidly with the increase in population. The demand for agricultural land as well as for housing and industry is correspondingly increasing. The situation is again more complex in the Northern and Eastern Provinces (NEP), which is part of the war zone in Sri Lanka (cf. Chapter 6). In the conflict areas, a considerable amount of land is not available for cultivation or for other uses due to the security situation.

Annex 5 reviews the basic legal framework and related governmental agencies involved in land laws and land management in Sri Lanka. This documentation complements Chapter 6, where we elaborate the findings of the village studies with regard to land use. Annex 5 takes only agricultural lands into consideration.

2. Legal Framework

Six different legislative documents form the core of land laws and regulations in Sri Lanka with regard to agricultural land:

- Land Development Ordinance
- Paddy Lands Act / Agrarian Services Act No.58
- Land Grants Act (Special Provisions)
- State Lands Act (Recovery of Possession)
- Land Acquisition Act
- Irrigation Ordinances

The laws and regulations related to land use and land ownership are compartmentalised into numerous sub-sectoral statutes. The legislative arrangements are complex and difficult to understand. Different legislative documents deal with various aspects of one specific type of land titles with confusing and overlapping responsibilities of different government institutions.

There are many forms of documents permitting private use of state land, many are parcel based with cadastral surveys (which facilitates conversion to a title document), and most are inheritable. All impose varying degrees of control on the rights of the allottees. The 3 major types of land ownership can be distinguished as:

- state (crown) land: jungle, cleared land without any rights issued, permit land and grant land
- private owned land (deed land)
- Land Reform Commission (LRC) land

Sri Lanka has a long history of land alienation and colonisation schemes. The state allocated crown land to landless families and transferred certain user rights. These user rights and the conditions of land utilisation differ according to different forms of land titles. The two most important forms of allocated land titles are permits and grants.

Permits: The permit is issued by the Divisional Secretary (DS) to be approved by the Land Commissioner as a transfer of land to a person with limited rights of usage. Permit land can only be transferred to relatives with the permission of the DS. Land has to be cultivated regularly, otherwise it can be distributed to another person. If abandoned permit land is under encroachment, the permit holder cannot claim it back, but has to appeal to the court and undergo a long procedure. This is different if the land is abandoned due to the displacement of people; then this land is not open for redistribution. Permit land has to be inherited as a whole, partial inheritance is not allowed.

From 1979 to 1983 permits were only given temporarily for the duration of one year. From 1984 onwards anyone who has been developing a paddy land sufficiently for three years can apply for the so called L.D.O. permit which is issued without a time limit.

Grants: Grant land is registered at the land registry. As a permit it is a permanent transmission of state land to (landless) people. There are less restrictions than for permit land. Grant land can be transferred (sold) to other people outside the family but only within the same income group and with the approval of the D.S.. The names of the issued grants change with every new government but the rights behind seem to be more or less the same.

- Jayaboomi Grants have been given out by the present government (P.A. Peoples Alliance) from 1994 onwards.
- Swarnaboomi Grants have been given out by the previous government (UNP).

In addition to privately used state land, there is private land, which was surveyed and sold during the colonial period before 1935 through outright sale. This land is referred to as 'deed' land:

Deed: Deed land is privately owned land with full ownership rights to the owner. It has been perfected through the issue of crown land as grant land in colonial times before the large scale survey in 1935. Deed land can be sold without restrictions and as well be divided by inheritance. A wise purchaser of land must undertake a cumbersome search of all past deeds concerning the particular parcel in the system (back 30 years at least), and often vital documents may be missing. In Sri Lanka, the parcel and boundary information for private lands is held in the offices of the private surveyors and may not be available. The deeds may not agree with the facts on the ground.

In case of a dispute, a settlement for land cases in courts regularly take ten years.

The current system of land tenure is based on a series of individual records of land transactions. The collection of these records in a series of 'chain of title records' forms the title. Transactions in land are consequently expensive and time consuming, because a proof of legality requires individual copies of evidence going back to 20 or 30 years (cf, Government of Sri Lanka 2001a)¹. This guided tenurial system has been characterised as complex, uncertain and insecure, which leads to low credit ratings, wastage of investment opportunities, a weak land market and a large number of land disputes (cf. ADB 2001). A World Bank funded study on land markets found that parcels with market restrictions regarding selling or leasing land through different acts, were worth only about 50 percent of otherwise comparable privately held land without such restrictions (cf. World Bank 2001).

3. Institutional Framework

3.1 Administrative Set Up of Sri Lanka

Land use policies have applications at national and sub-national (district to local) levels corresponding to the administrative divisions of the country. Sri Lanka is divided into the following administrative levels:

- Provinces: 9 out of which the Northern and Eastern Province is one;
- Districts: 25 out of Trincomalee District is one;
- Divisional Secretariats (DS) Divisions: 300 for the whole country, 11 for Trincomalee District;
- Grama Sevaka / Niladhari (GS/GN) divisions: 14,000 in the whole country, 226 in Trincomalee District.

It is important to consider the administrative set up when clarifying the responsibilities of different forms of agricultural land. In 1989 there was a shift

¹ The World Bank therefore supports the Government of Sri Lanka to establish a 'Sri Lanka Land Titling and Related Services Project' (cf. Government of Sri Lanka 2001a, b), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has proposed technical assistance to the Secretariat, Ministry of Land Development & Minor Exports Agriculture to support the formulation of a Land Resource Management Policy (cf. ADB 2001).

in the responsibilities concerning land rights from district level to provincial and central level. Nowadays, the provincial and local governments both play an important role in the management of land, and we can observe a competition over responsibilities between central and devolved functions and related institutions. In practice, neither side disposes of full authority to take decisions over land issues.

3.2 Land Administration - Involved Agencies

The task of a land administration system is to provide the legal and organisational structure to identify, prove, exercise, exchange and change private and public user rights to land. Sri Lanka has a very complex organisational arrangement for land administration, with key actors in five agencies, from three ministries (this can only be an interim information as the number and responsibilities of ministries are constantly changing). There are eight key government institutions involved with land related activities (here only concerning agricultural land) in Sri Lanka (cf. FAO 1999). Out of these eight the first four agencies mentioned here come under the Ministry of Agriculture, Land, Environment and Co-operatives².

The **Survey Department** is responsible for land surveying and mapping of the country. This includes contour surveys for irrigation and other purposes, block and preliminary topographical plan surveys and settlement demarcation surveys, town surveys, forest surveys, aerial surveys. Only after state land is surveyed can it be distributed to farmers for cultivation.

Department of Lands (Land Commissioner) is responsible for protection, development, management and distribution of state-owned land. This includes the distribution of lands under various schemes. It issues permits, grants and leases under principal acts and laws relevant to the administration of lands. The aim of land distribution programmes is to combat landlessness and rural unemployment. The Department is also involved in the alienation of state land.

² Name and responsibilities of the Ministry changed in September 2001 and after the elections in December 2001.)

Natural Resources Management Centre (NRMC), of the Department of Agriculture optimises the use of land and water resources for agriculture on a scientific basis. To achieve this the NRMC is engaged in:

- development and dissemination of techniques for land conservation and water management to achieve sustainable agriculture;
- development and maintenance of a database on land and water resources;
- soil survey, land suitability evaluation and land use planning;
- technical assistance for watershed management, land use planning and farm development;
- implementation of the Soil Conservation Act of 1951, amended in 1996 and training trainers in soil and water conservation.

Land Use Policy Planning Division (LUPPD): This Division has the responsibility of introducing systematic land use planning throughout the country. Its objective is to ensure the utilisation of natural resources to the maximum benefit of society by the formulation of land use policies and the preparation of land use plans. These should allocate land resources among competing users on a rational basis. Strategies adopted by the LUPPD in achieving these objectives include:

- preparation of land use plans at national and sub-national levels;
- preparation of a national land use policy;
- establishing a land information system and a land data bank;
- conduct training and awareness programmes on land use planning for agencies.

The National Land Commission under the LUPPD formulates national policy statements regarding the use of land in the country.

Upper Mahaweli Environment and Forestry Conservation Division (EFCD):

Within the Mahaweli Authority of Sri Lanka, this Division promotes the protection and scientific management of the Upper Mahaweli catchment area through watershed management methods. They provide Government institutions, non-governmental organisations, private sector agencies, groups and individuals operational in the area with information, technical expertise and initial material inputs so that they can successfully implement watershed conservation measures. The Division operates in three teams:

- Conservation: soil, water, forest conservation activities and techniques;
- Participation: human resources development, awareness training, mobilization.
- Information: collection of data, analysis and sharing of data, mapping, land use planning, GIS, economics, hydrological monitoring.

Registrar General's Department is responsible for the supervision of notaries and verification of stamp duty on deeds, as well as the registration and custody of notarial deeds and other legal documents affecting property and the preservation of records and the issue of copies from such records.

The **Law Commission** was established under Act No 3 of 1969 to promote the reformation of the law. The Commission keeps under review both substantive and procedural law, with a view to its systematic development and reform. Further responsibilities are the codification of the law, the elimination of anomalies, the repeal of obsolete and unnecessary enactments, the reduction of the number of separate enactments and generally the simplification and modernisation of the law. The Commission is empowered to receive and consider proposals for the reform of the law.

Numerous government agencies and line departments have responsibilities for the range of land use issues with often unclear mandates. Each agency tends to focus on a sectoral approach in its activities, but such a concentration can become a constraining factor as cross-fertilisation and knowledge becomes limited. The lack of co-ordination and cross-sectoral interventions can result in unnecessary duplication of efforts (cf. FAO 1999; Riethmüller and Fleddermann 1996).

FAO (1999) further notes that there is a growing imperative to **incorporate social and tenorial issues** in land assistance programmes and in land management approaches, particularly in the field of land registration. The institutional support at the grass-root level to land users in resolving land tenure issues is still deficient. Furthermore, land use planning in Sri Lanka faces the constraint of massive encroachment of public land and the apparent lack of political will to enforce existing regulations (Riethmüller & Fleddermann 1996). For the conflict zone, we could add that there are vested interests of influential political actors which impede the transparent resolution of land tenure issues due to the politicised and ethnicised perceptions on land use issues.

3.3 Administration of Land Use Rights

The collaboration between various agencies involved in the existing government initiatives in land titling is problematic, even within the same ministry. The multiplicity of institutions involved in the management of state land, their overlapping roles, monopolised information policy and resistance to share power lead to insecure land ownership, uncertainty of land owners and courts overwhelmed with cases of land disputes. The lack of a central co-ordinating authority for all and matters is adversely affecting the efficient administration and management of land (cf. ADB 2001).

For the administration and regulation of land use rights, there is a number of involved institutions with centralised and devolved functions. The distinction of responsibilities of central and devolved institutions is fundamental in understanding current power plays within the administrative set-up. At the provincial level, the Provincial Land Commissioner, head of the Department of Lands, is in charge of all provincial crown lands which cover approx. 60% of the Northern and Eastern Province (NEP). Land coming under the purview of the central government is administrated by the Government Agent (GA) in each district with a land officer at the Kachcheri.

At the level of the divisional secretariats, a colonisation officer is in charge for both central and provincial crown land. In the NEP, roughly 90 out of the 140 positions for a Colonisation Officer are vacant. The Department of Lands therefore depends on the close co-operation with and the information from the Divisional Secretaries (D.S.). Since the D.S. are overloaded with duties, they often do not have the capacities to administer land use issues in their area appropriately.

The main task of the Department of Lands is to supervise and administer the alienation of state land to private users. Once the Provincial Land Commissioner has released land for alienation to the respective state agencies, these institutions undertake the development and management of these lands without much co-ordination with the Land Commissioner among the agencies themselves. However, this co-ordination would be essential, because the management of land issues is institutionalised in a hierarchical set-up with the Land Commissioner having the full authority for decisions and to give the final approval (in some cases the signature of the country's president is needed) even in minor cases.

In the case of paddy land, the sectoral departments in charge of irrigation facilities (i.e. the Departments of Irrigation (central and provincial) and the Department of Agrarian Development) play an important role in the management of land and water resources. The Irrigation Department is working at two administrative levels: the central Irrigation Department is responsible for all major tanks, whereas the provincial Irrigation Department is in charge for all medium tanks. In the Northern and Eastern Provinces, minor tanks are under the custody of the Department of Agrarian Development (DAD).

The paddy lands registry documents and registers physical land use and land tenure under each tank. It also keeps the records on cultivated land acreage and the total command area under the respective tanks. The *Irrigation Departments* are not responsible for land rights issues in the narrow sense. However, they play an important role in the use of agricultural lands, because they regulate the flow of water necessary for paddy cultivation. For a paddy farmer, the access to water is as important as the access to land for cultivation.

Furthermore, these technical line departments are in charge of settling encroachment in tank bed areas³. They can file action with the police and with the courts to regulate illegal occupation of tank bed land. The respective Divisional Secretary (D.S.) would co-ordinate such action coming under his/her geographical purview. In the Trincomalee District there are minor tanks integrated into large-scale irrigation schemes. In such cases, it is the origin of the water that determines which of the three institutions is in charge of encroachment issues: If the tank is fed by water from inter-provincial schemes (e.g. Mahaweli), it is under the responsibility of the central government.

³ The tank bed area covers the land which is submerged by the water at full storage of a tank. If tank bed land is encroached, this land will either be flooded in the rainy season at full water storage or the tank cannot store water at full capacity (see Annex IV for the case study on Menkamam – Dehiwatte).

ANNEX VI: Role Play - Land Disputes in Nagawewakulam

Purpose of the Role Play:

Sensitive issues related to land use rights in agricultural development (see Chapter 6, Annex IV, V) were discussed in a half-day workshop with staff from partner institutions of the IFSP as part of the stakeholder dialogue of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. The role play depicts a realistic situation in a fictitious case study. In this play, the case of Nagawewakulam combines features of land use disputes in various research locations of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. The role play 'Land Disputes in Nagawewakulam' aimed at:

- introducing sensitive findings and realistic case studies to stakeholders without mentioning specific village cases,
- stimulating active involvement of all workshop participants,
- giving people an opportunity to understand the challenges, problems and perceptions of different stakeholders from their point of view, and understanding the rationale of certain coping strategies of other stakeholders (reality—play),
- discussing a common strategy between different development agencies that are involved with regard to the management of land use rights, and how the work of different agencies can be made more efficient.

Procedure:

The moderators introduced the purpose of the role play to the participants and explained the geographical situation of the two fictitious villages and the tank on a sketch map. The moderators emphasised that the villages wanted to solve these problems and therefore a meeting was summoned by the Divisional Secretary. Afterwards, they gave out the different roles involved in the play to the workshop participants and provided brief descriptions of each role to the respective actors (see descriptions below). 15 minutes were given for preparing one's own strategy as actor in the role play and for asking

questions of clarification. The participants were not allowed to talk about their role description to the other “actors”. In addition to the roles two observers were designated to report on how they perceived the process of the meeting. Each actor would explain his/her own feelings in the respective role.

The estimated time for the role play is 45 minutes. The aim is to negotiate and find a solution to the problem or to identify possible entry-points for a solution of the land dispute.

The Nagawewakulam Case (Introduction given to all participants)

Nagawewakulam is situated in the North-Eastern part of Trincomalee District, close to the villages of Vasana Gama and Athista Puram. The tank has been rehabilitated with the help of an international development agency with the local contribution of the villagers. The farmer organisation (F.O.) of Vasana Gama was one of the implementing partners. The Department of Agrarian Development (DAD) supported the rehabilitation work as service provider. The tank will provide irrigation water in the Maha season for 200 acres of paddy land. Rehabilitation work finished 2 years ago but the land has not been distributed up to now. At present, half of the land is encroached on and cultivated by farmers from Athista Puram. Vasana Gama is a Sinhalese settlement village established in 1970. Athista Puram is a Tamil village.

The story of Nagawewakulam tank is fictitious! The names of the two villages are imaginary.

Role Descriptions (given to the “actors”):

Divisional Secretary:

You have initiated the rehabilitation of Nagawewakulam to help the poorer people from Vasana Gama to improve their living status. After the rehabilitation of the tank, some people of Athista Puram claim ownership of part of the command area. The Vasana Gama villagers were very much involved in the rehabilitation of the tank and are also interested in cultivating the land. Your office suffers from a lack of staff: the positions of Land Officers, Colonisation Officers or Field Instructors are all vacant in your division. It is thus difficult for you to collect all required information. You have tried to trace the history of the ownership of the land for the last two years. However, you

could not come up with the relevant documents to take the decision on the distribution of the land. The international agency which funded the rehabilitation of the tank, urges you to come up with a solution which will be accepted by both neighbouring villages. In addition to the problem that both villages are interested in the land, it could not be clarified whether or not people who once sold the land possessed any legal documents on this land. What will happen if they will return to occupy their land again? In any case, you find that the problem should be solved soon, this is why you called for a round table discussion.

Farmers from Vasana Gama:

Compared with Athista Puram, your economic status is lower. You work as wage labourers in paddy cultivation and you have basic knowledge in paddy cultivation. Your present earnings from wage labour are not sufficient to fulfil the needs of your family. You have observed that the land under Nagawewakulam was not cultivated. You came to know that an International Agency was going to rehabilitate the Nagawewakulam through food for work and you actively participated in this food for work programme. You were convinced at that time that the command area would subsequently be allocated to you for cultivation. However, even though the tank is rehabilitated, the land was not given to you or to anyone else. Nevertheless farmers of Athista Puram started cultivation on part of the command area. You are afraid that you may not have a chance to get ownership of the land under Nagawewakulam. The divisional secretary (D.S.) invited you to this discussion on how the distribution of land at Nagawewakulam can be solved.

Farmers from Athista Puram:

Your economic status is higher compared to Vasana Gama. Your grandparents have bought part of the land under the Nagawewakulam from people who claimed to be the owners of the land; some of them still live in the neighbouring Sinhala village, others live somewhere else. You have some informal contracts from the earlier land owners, but no legal land documents to prove the ownership of the land. You feel that it is your land and that is why you have already started to cultivate a part of the command area of the newly rehabilitated tank, even though the legal documents have not been distributed yet. There are some rumours that the divisional secretary (D.S.) is going to give the whole command area to poorer farmers of Vasana Gama.

The D.S. invited you to this discussion on how the distribution of land at Nagawewakulam can be solved.

Department of Agrarian Development/Divisional Officer:

You assisted in the rehabilitation of the tank. Villagers from Athista Puram have some informal contracts from earlier land owners, but no legal land documents to prove the ownership of the land. Still these farmers claim that the command area of the tank belongs to them and that is why they already started to cultivate part of the command area of the newly rehabilitated tank even though the legal documents have not been distributed so far. On the other hand, Vasana Gama villagers were very much involved in the rehabilitation of the tank and are as well interested in claiming the ownership of the land. Farmers from Vasana Gama do not have sufficient machinery to cultivate the whole land and do not have loan facilities or savings to provide input for paddy cultivation. Even if the land would be given to them, they will not be able to cultivate it without further support in services and inputs.

You have good relations to the Farmer Organisations of both villages. The Athista Puram Farmers Organisation approached you and asked for the promised input delivery to start paddy farming and the land documents for the command area of the Nagawewakulam tank. The D.S. asked you to help him to solve this problem by joining the discussion.

International Development Agency:

You funded and supported the rehabilitation of Nagawewakulam under the food for work programme in collaboration with the Department of Agrarian Development (DAD) as service provider. You have observed that the people of Vasana Gama actively participated in the rehabilitation of the tank. You are aware that farmers do not have sufficient machinery to cultivate the whole land and do not have loan facilities or savings to provide input for paddy cultivation. Therefore, you intend to provide additional input packages to Vasana Gama, because villagers from that village are very poor and thus more eligible for your support (which depends upon the vulnerability (poverty level) of the households). You approached the D.S and asked him to distribute the land as soon as possible. If this does not happen until the next cultivation period starts, you will cease all your activities in the village. The D.S. invited you to discuss these matters.

Results (of the workshop in Trincomalee):

After the role play the following questions were discussed:

- How did you feel playing this game? Was it like in reality?
- What are the difficulties you felt in coming to a solution?
- How can these difficulties be overcome?

Participants got involved in the role play with liveliness and enthusiasm. It gave almost everyone the chance to come up with some arguments. The “actors” stated that the role play was useful to get into the shoes of someone else and to see things from a different point of view. The difficulties that were coming up in solving the land dispute, such as absent or unclear responsibilities, slow and interrupted flow of information, were considered to be realistic, but difficult to overcome.

The participants concluded that agricultural and irrigation development projects should only be carried out when land ownership (and land use rights) are clear. In addition, specific support should focus on vulnerable groups which are often landless people and who might not benefit from such projects. Prior to tank rehabilitation, agencies should carry out a step by step feasibility study, which includes socio-economic aspects and land use rights apart from technical and hydrological considerations.

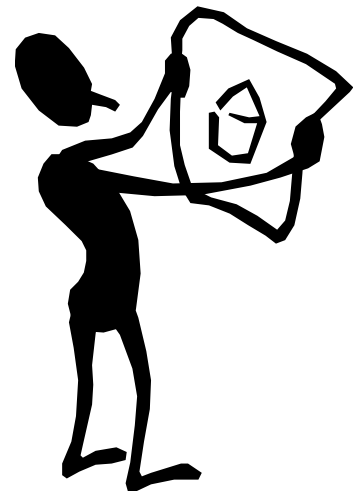
Both the role play in general and the roundtable discussion in particular were considered to be useful tools for addressing and solving land disputes. The annual cultivation meetings could be one forum for such discussions. In any case, it will be important to strengthen community-based organisations (CBOs), especially the farmer organisations (F.O.), to actively participate in solving the problems regarding land use rights.

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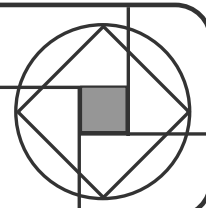


The Livelihood System Approach in Project Planning

(Manual)



SLE SEMINAR FÜR LÄNDLICHE ENTWICKLUNG



Welcome

This manual shall guide you to use the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) for planning, implementing and monitoring community development projects. The manual is an outcome of the IFSP-CATAD Project 2001. The research team adapted the LSA to carry out an empirical study on livelihood strategies of conflict-affected communities in the Trincomalee District, Sri Lanka.

Although the manual has been developed to suit the specific requirements of the Integrated Food Security Programme Trincomalee (IFSP), it is equally useful for other projects which support participatory community development.

The manual consists of four modules:

- Module I introduces the basic ideas of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) and how this can be utilised to understand impacts of project interventions.
- Module II looks into how LSA can be integrated into the cycle of project management.
- Module III develops a planning matrix which allows to apply the LSA to different steps in project planning, implementation and monitoring.

The transfer of the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) for project planning and assessment tasks was presented and further discussed at several workshops with professional staff of IFSP and partner institutions in summer 2001. The experience of the workshops has been incorporated into this version of the manual.

Module I: The Livelihood System Approach (LSA)

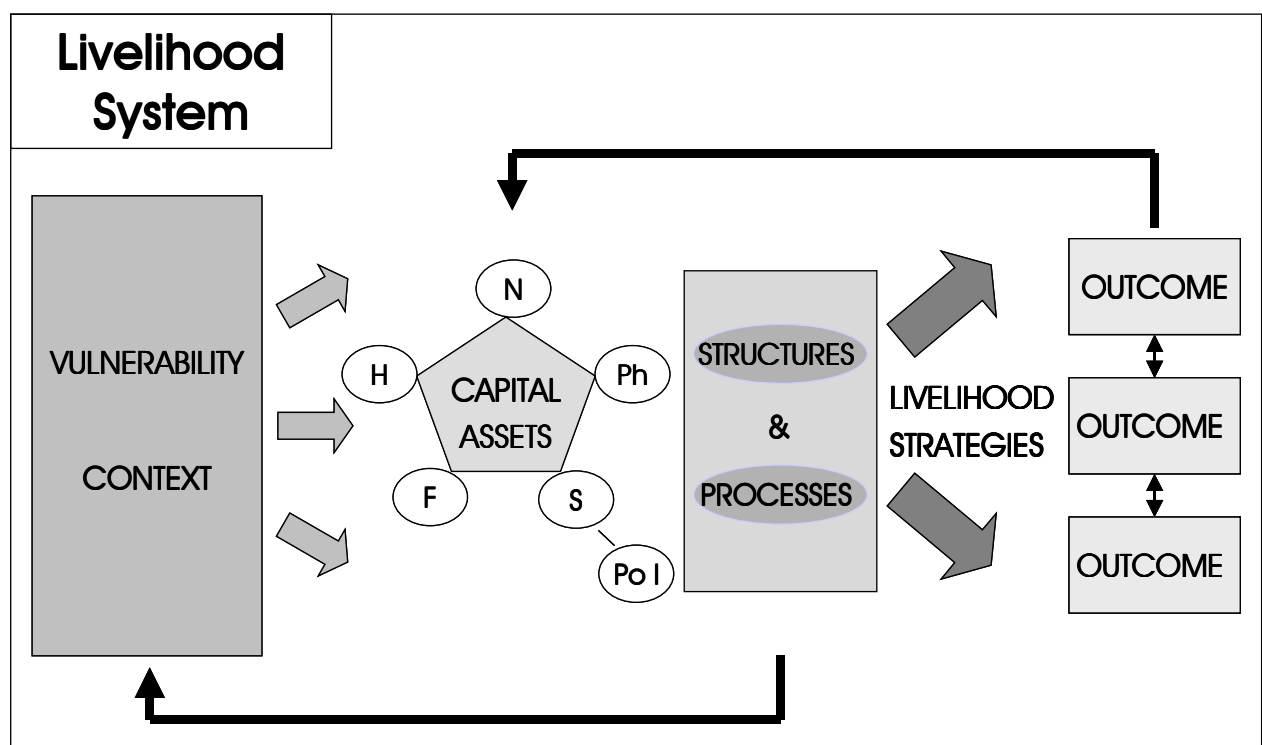
The first module familiarises the user with the basic ideas of this manual and the Livelihood System Approach. The objectives of this modules are:

- To create a common understanding of the Livelihood System Approach
- To propose areas of intervention and impact within the livelihood system approach for development projects

The Livelihood System Approach

The Livelihood System Approach is a way of looking at how an individual, a household or a village community behaves under specific frame conditions. The different elements of a the 'Livelihood System' define the context in which villagers or village communities make their living.

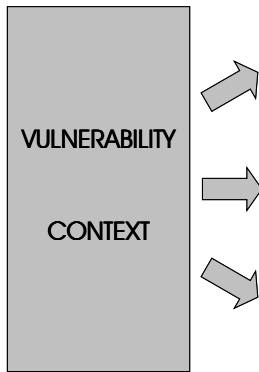
Graphic M1: Livelihood System



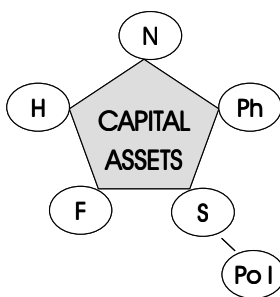
(adapted from Department for International Development - DFID, 1999)

A livelihood for a villager comprises the capabilities and assets (resources, social networks, skills) and the activities necessary for securing food and nutrition security.

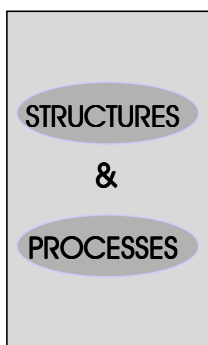
The different elements are:



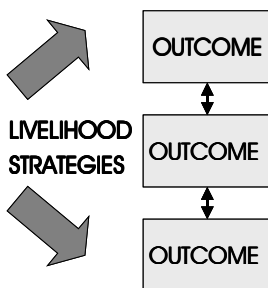
The **vulnerability context** defines the specific frame conditions which determine the life opportunities of a villager. The vulnerability context affects the life of villagers, but villagers themselves cannot influence the vulnerability context. The vulnerability context consists of long-term *trends* (climate, national politics, economic conditions) and short-term sudden *shocks* (sudden price fluctuations, violence and fighting).



The **capital assets** are the resources that an individual or household can make use of. We can differentiate six types of capital assets: *Natural* (land types etc.), *social* (social networks with neighbours etc.), *political* (access to political power holders is a sub-capital of social capital), *financial* (saving, loans, credits etc.) and *human capital* (skills, knowledge, good health etc.)



Structures & processes determine the access of households to their capital assets (whether or not and how they can make use of them). Structures are formal institutions such as governmental organisations, formal laws, regulations, which are present in a village or are important for village life. Processes, on the other hand, are the *rules of the game*, which are informally applied. Processes can change or determine the access to the capital assets within the livelihood.



An individual or a household develops **livelihood strategies** to organise their daily survival within the livelihood and to achieve certain **outcomes**. In a livelihood households combine their capital assets and handle a set of different livelihood strategies in order to decrease their vulnerability. Livelihood strategies adapt to gradual trends (adapting) and deal with short-term shocks, such as violence and fighting (coping).



Feedback Loops describe the impacts of outcomes on the livelihood of a community. Feedback loops might be positive or negative and might affect the household carrying out a certain activity as well as neighbouring households.

The Livelihood System Approach adopts a systemic view on a livelihood. It depicts how individual or households combine their capital assets and carry out livelihood strategies to survive daily in their livelihood. Hence we consider two questions:

- Which capital assets (resources) can a household rely on in order to deal with food insecurity in a given vulnerability context?
- How do structures & processes influence the access of households to their capital assets ?

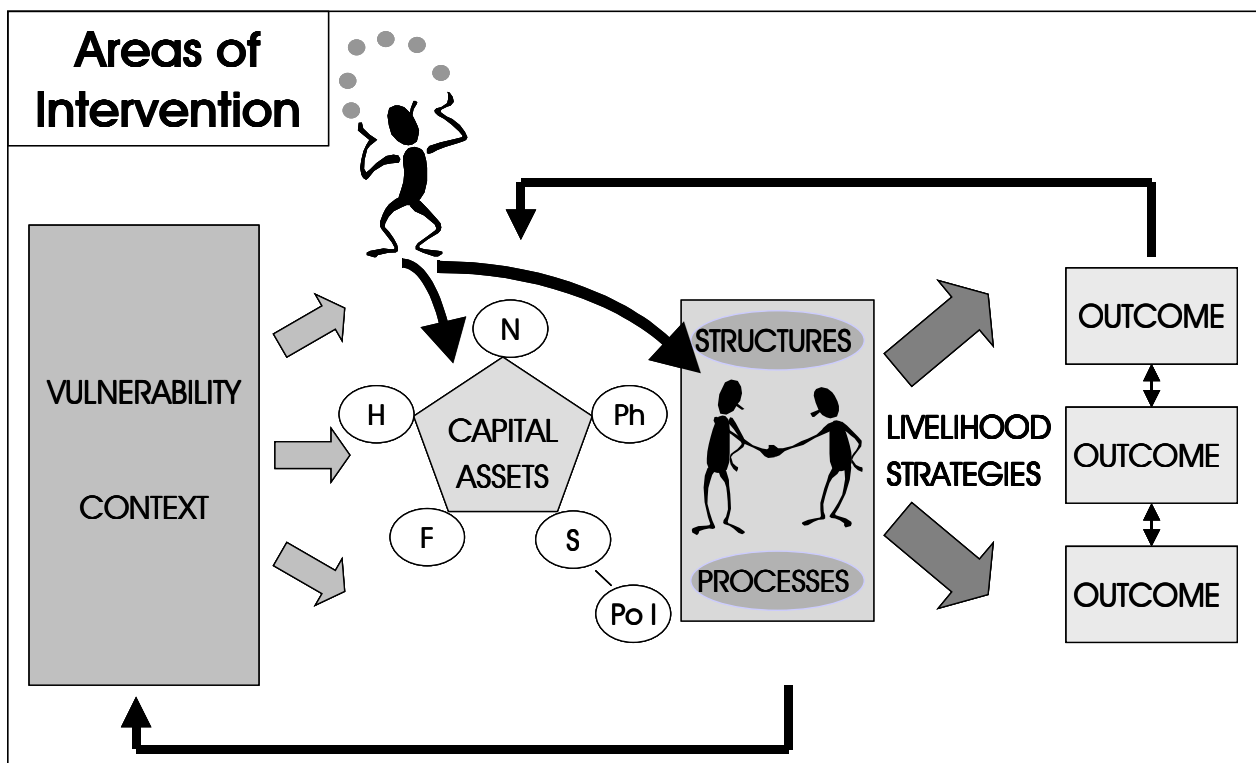
Areas of Intervention and Impact

The key question for the IFSP and its partner institutions is:

- **Where can the IFSP & implementing partners support livelihood strategies of villagers to achieve positive changes in the living conditions?**

IFSP and partner can encourage, but not enforce attitudinal and behavioural changes of villagers. Agencies should create **incentives** that villagers can carry out sustainable livelihood strategies.

Graphic M2: Areas of Intervention for IFSP & partners



Considering the different elements of a livelihood system, IFSP and partners can achieve impacts on two of its elements : namely the capital assets of households and on structures and processes (**see Graphic M2**). IFSP can hardly change the vulnerability context, since it is influenced by actors on national level, which IFSP cannot influence.

The **triple approach** of impact areas comprises three levels of intervention:

- (i) *Responding to shocks (asset-based support)*: Resource-poor, vulnerable households may be unable to cope with shock and need temporary support to overcome the acute crisis. IFSP should therefore concentrate on **supporting potentials**.
- (ii) *Adjusting to trends (support of structures and processes)*: In addition to the organisational development of governmental partner institutions, strengthening social networks (neighbourhood support) and encouraging transparent and accountable community institutions are essential steps to establish social capital and trust of people in their community institutions. Furthermore, it is essential to link economic institutions (e.g. banks) to the village economy. IFSP should focus on **removing constraints**.
- (iii) *Promoting viability (mobilisation of governance structures)*: IFSP should urge its partner institutions and other involved organisations to take action in a way that is transparent and understandable to all stakeholders. IFSP should support **accountable rules of the game**.

These **areas of interventions** within the Livelihood System comprise different activities of IFSP & partners:

(i) community projects

- re-establish physical capital assets of village communities (irrigation tanks, roads) and human capital (pre-schools).

(ii) poverty (group) projects

- provide basic assets for income generation to vulnerable households to improve access to income and food.

(iii) health and nutrition programme

- raises health and nutrition awareness among villagers to improve use and utilisation of food and in the long term, the human capital (health),
- distributes nutritious meals to school children to improve their human capital.

(iv) community mobilisation (capacity building of implementing partners)

- encourages community-based organisations and informal action groups to carry out projects in an accountable manner,
- supports the creation of transparent community structures and processes, i.e. social capital (neighbourhood support) and transparent community institutions (organisations and rules).

(v) capacity building of partner institutions and service providers

- enhances the creation of transparent structures and processes.
- encourages and strengthens governmental and non-governmental service providers to deliver support to village communities in an accountable manner,

It is important to consider all **five impact areas** as complementary. This means that the five areas are linked with each other. Community projects, for example, are planned and implemented in a process of community mobilisation and capacity building. We cannot divide the three activities. The approach of IFSP is thus *holistic* (non-sectoral) and *people-centred* (people participate).

Furthermore, monitoring of the impact areas is essential. Thus, we want to filter important aspects and describe our impact. Indicators summarise characteristics of an intended impact and sign 'milestones' of success which was achieved with our intervention. Therefore indicators are set:

- on the basis of which you can recognise whether and to what extent the impact hypotheses hold true, and whether envisaged and unintended changes occurred,
- in order to select from this multitude of information the one which is significant for the decision-making process,
- in order to gain information which is in a manageable form.

Indicators refer to a multi-faceted situation and reduce this situation to a concrete dimension. Usually one indicator is not sufficient to describe a status quo or to evaluate a change. Therefore a set of qualitative and quantitative indicators is useful. (VAHLHAUS 2000, p. 29)

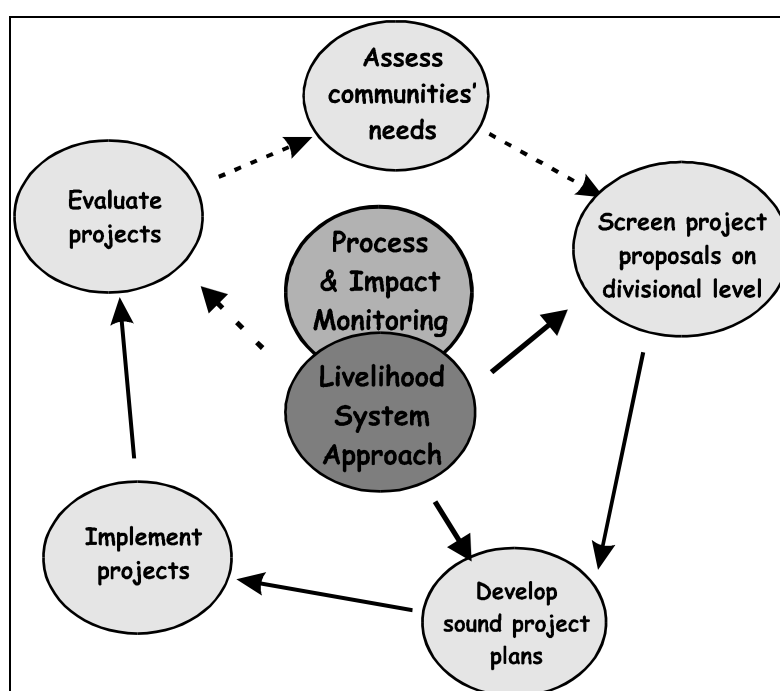
Module II: How to Integrate LSA in the Project Cycle?

The second module "How to integrate LSA in the project work" discusses how the Livelihood System Approach (LSA) fits into the IFSP's work in Trincomalee as a supplementary tool for community development planning.

The LSA views a livelihood and its community in its entirety. Thereby the LSA considers all aspects and factors which play an important role and its aim is to find out why the livelihood system works in the way it does, which opportunities are presently submerged and could be useful in future in order to support livelihood strategies of people. Therefore the LSA looks at the potentials of the individuals and households within the community (capital assets), the influence of structures & processes when accessing the identified potentials and the applied livelihood strategies which assure the daily survival. LSA also intends to identify prosperous, innovative strategies which can be supported by project work to diversify income sources and to stabilise the village economy.

The project cycle illustrates the consecutive steps from needs assessment to final evaluation of a village project (see Graphic M3). The livelihood model can be employed at various steps of the project cycle, viz:

Graphic M3: Linkage between IFSP's work and the Livelihood Approach:



(adapted, BAUER et al. 1999)

The LSA can be integrated in project work as a useful tool in the project cycle. As shown in **Graphic M3**, the LSA can mainly be applied at three stages:

- For **appraisal**: assessing feasibility and viability of interventions in the vulnerability context (ex-ante assessment)
- For **planning**: developing a holistic intervention strategy
- For **monitoring** and **evaluation**: assessing the impact of the intervention on livelihood and coping strategies of people.

Community mobilisers play a key role in community development. With regard to the project cycle management and the LSA, the key task for community mobilisers is to:

- identify and discuss livelihood strategies and their rationale with target groups (why do people adopt a certain behaviour?),
- analyse with the villagers which factors constrain their livelihood strategies on both levels: capital assets as well as structures and processes,
- discuss how the vulnerability context affects the livelihoods of people and what this implies for their daily survival,
- identify entry-points for support in dialogue with the villagers (which capital assets and which structures can IFSP strengthen to support livelihood strategies of people?),
- monitor and evaluate the impact of IFSP activities on livelihoods (has the support of IFSP enabled people to carry out their livelihood strategies?).

Module III will elaborate how the LSA framework can be utilised for the three stages in the project cycle.

Module III: How to Plan and Assess Projects and their Impact on a Livelihood?

In the last chapter we considered the project cycle and the stage at which we can include the livelihood system approach. In the following chapter, we will ask "How can we assess, plan and monitor village projects and their impact upon a livelihood?"

The aim of the **Livelihood and Impact Analysis (LIA)** is

- to become conscious of the effects of a planned intervention in a specific livelihood system, i.e. a village or community,

The impact analysis comprises two chronological stages: planning our intervention strategy and assessing the impact during and after implementing our intervention (monitoring). The first step is to analyse the livelihood prior to an intervention (*ex-ante* analysis). After assessing the status quo, the matrix provides guidance for an **impact analysis for planning, monitoring and evaluating our intervention** in a specific livelihood system.

Graphic M4: Livelihood and Impact Analysis: thematic and chronological stages of assessment of project work

I) Livelihood Analysis	II) Impact Analysis		
	Intervention Analysis	Impact Assessment	Indicators & Observations
What is the present state of the respective livelihood system and its elements?	Which resources do we want to support by our intervention? Which livelihood strategy do we want to support by our intervention? Which impact area do we want to address? Which changes do we want to observe?	What changes has the project achieved? What kind of experience did the staff involved gain during implementation with stakeholders? Which effects can we observe for the whole community?	What milestones have we achieved with our intervention? Where do we have to improve?
↓	↓	↓	
Status quo analysis (before planning, 'ex ante')	Planning the intervention (analysis before implementation)	Monitoring and evaluation (analysis during and after implementation)	

(IFSP-CATAD 2001)

The graphic comprises both **two main thematic parts** as well as **three chronological stages of assessment** and develops guiding questions for the project planner. Therefore, the matrix consists of with three columns which contain the elements of a Livelihood System and the thematic and chronological dimensions.

This matrix can be utilised during all the three steps outlined above: first, it is a checklist for the feasibility assessment of a village project. The information collected and analysed will then be important for monitoring during implementation of the project and for evaluation after implementation.

The strength is that it directs the attention to the **actual behaviour of people** and the impact of project interventions on livelihood strategies instead of measuring only project output. For planning purposes, it will be useful to quantify certain elements of the livelihood system, viz. capital assets, outcomes and feedback loops. Those elements which can hardly be quantified, e.g. structures and processes, should be valued according to a system of indicators. **Quantification** and **valuation** are essential to compare and assess different project options according to feasibility, viability, cost-benefit and post-project sustainability.

The following pages comprise the different stages of the matrix. Key questions guide through the logical structure of the matrix and ask for the key point to be filled in at each element of the matrix.

Worksheet 1: Livelihood System Analysis

Livelihood System Analysis		'Status Quo Analysis 'ex ante' (before the intervention)
Vulnerability Context		<p>➔ What are the current frame conditions which determine the vulnerability of the livelihood considering the</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political • economic • social • ecological dimension?
Capital Assets	Financial	➔ What are the main resources the livelihood can rely on considering its financial, human, natural, physical, social and political capital?
	Human	
	Natural	
	Physical	
	Social	
	Political	
Structures & Processes		➔ Which organisations on the community, divisional and provincial level, laws and rules of the game do you identify as important in the livelihood?
		➔ What kind of dynamic circumstances (e. g. marketing system, security restrictions, temporary epidemics) influence and shape the livelihood system?
		➔ How do they directly and indirectly determine the access to the resources?
Livelihood Strategies		➔ Which activities are required for a means of living in the livelihood?
		➔ Which activities are short-term reactions to shocks and stress? (coping)
		➔ Which activities can be considered as long-term response to gradual (negative) trends? (adaptive)
Outcomes		➔ What impacts can we observe by the required activities and its outcomes?
Economic		➔ Do the activities improve or decrease the financial assets (income, means of production, reproduction)?
Social		➔ Do the activities support the social relationship, status, roles?
Environmental		➔ Can we observe important environmental influences due to these activities?

Worksheet 2: Intervention Analysis

Intervention Analysis		➔ Planning the intervention before and during project implementation
Profile of the project area		➔ Where is our project area located considering name and division?
		➔ How many people live in the project area?
		➔ How many people do we want to address?
Capital Assets		➔ Which resources do we want to support by our intervention?
		➔ Which resources are directly influenced by our intervention?
		➔ Which resources are indirectly influenced by our intervention?
Structures & Processes	supporting	➔ Which organisations are our implementing partners? With whom do we directly work together?
	directly influencing	➔ Which organisation do we indirectly involve or influence by our intervention?
	others, but important	➔ Which organisations, laws, rules of the game do we consider important, without influencing their behaviour and activities?
Livelihood strategies		➔ Which livelihood strategy do we want to support by our intervention?
		➔ Which area of impact do we want to address?
Intended Impacts		➔ Which impacts do we want to observe?
Economic		➔ What impact on the financial assets (income, means of production, reproduction) do we want to achieve?
Social		➔ What impact do we want to achieve with regard to social relationship, status, roles?
Environmental		➔ What environmental frame conditions are fragile and are considered important? Identify the most important.

Worksheet 3: Impact Assessment

Impact Assessment		➔ Monitoring and evaluation of interventions of the IFSP & partner organisations after implementation
Achieved impacts regarding:		➔ Which changes has the project achieved? • (Try to develop one powerful indicator along at least one of the listed criteria which is most suitable.)
Economic viability		➔ Can you observe an increase in the financial capital assets?
Environmental soundness		➔ Can you observe positive and negative impacts on the environment of the livelihood system due to our intervention?
Social compatibility		➔ Can you observe a strengthening of the social network e. g. increase of neighbourhood help, increased participation in local activities?
Behavioural pattern		➔ Can you observe a social and/or economic intended change in the behaviour of our target group?
Experiences in cooperation with stakeholders		➔ What kind of experience did we have during implementation with stakeholders (involved institutions, participation of target group)?
Institutional Cooperation		➔ How many and which organisations are continuously involved in our intervention?
Participation		➔ How many villagers did ask for support before and after implementation?
		➔ Can we observe a strengthening of the social network e. g. increase of neighbourhood help, increased participation in local activities
Probability of adoption	Potentials	➔ Where can the IFSP & partners additionally support potentials of our target group?
	Constraints	➔ Where does the IFSP & partners need to remove constraints?
Impacts on the whole community		➔ Which effects can we observe due to our intervention if we consider the whole community
Positive		➔ Which positive effects due to our intervention can you identify?
Negative		➔ Which negative effects due our intervention can you identify?

Worksheet 4: Impact areas and indicators

Impact Assessment		Indicators and observations
Achieved impacts according to:		Examples:
Economic viability		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • average value of household income • percentage change in average value
Environmental soundness		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decrease / increase of groundwater level • reforestation activities • waste management
Social compatibility		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increase of neighbourhood help
Behavioural pattern		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decrease in seasonal migration of family members due to shocks in the past year
Experiences in cooperation with stakeholders		Examples:
Institutional Cooperation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of organisations continuously involved in the implementation
Participation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • number of PNA activities in a village • success of PNA activities
Probability of adoption	Potentials Constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examples: • marketing situation • social coherence • security situation • dependency on outsiders
Impacts on the whole community		Examples:
Positive		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased/decreased participation in local activities
Negative		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased acceptance of responsibility for common activities (number of members in committees etc. • disputes over distribution of benefits

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