

12. Ethnic relations in a war affected area of Sri Lanka

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Abstract

This study examined changing ethnic relation a border village area over a period of six decades, taking into account primordial, situational and competition perspectives in relation to ethnic relations. In addition, it examined internal and external factors, which led to the collapse of inter ethnic relations and produced war and how the activities of a local religious leader influenced the process of inter ethnic relation. And what were the causes for ethnic resurgence and ethnic conflict? The study was exploratory in nature. The Trincomalee District in the Eastern Province was chosen and a sample of households from the Seruvila Divisional Secretariat was interviewed, representing three ethnic groups Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim. Quantitative and qualitative data collecting methods were employed. Review of secondary data was followed by primary data collection in the field through interviews, case studies, group discussion and participant observation.

An ethnically integrated society had been gradually emerging within the private sphere after the establishment of The Allai (Seruvila) colonization scheme in 1952. However, social disintegration became evident, as a civil war unfolded since 1980s. Manifestation of ethnic polarization in society includes deterioration of second language skills in younger generation and decrease in inter-ethnic marriages and relationships. The development of mutual mistrust hindered harmonious relations and inter-ethnic economic transactions that prevailed earlier. The ethnic competition and ethnic conflict is created primarily in the public spheres by action such as ownership of land and religious places, establishment of resettlement schemes, appointment of administrative officers, demarcation of electoral boundaries, cultural diversities and the changes of ethnic combination. This study points out the way, in which ethnic conflict is intensified by external factors that operate in public sphere. Furthermore war has led to a weakening of Bridging Social

Capital and corresponding increase in Bonding Social Capital. Even though the war has ended, building inter ethnic trust and bridging social capital remains a major social and political challenge in contemporary Sri Lanka.

Key words: Ethnicity, Ethnic relations, Integration, Conflict and Social change

Introduction

'Race' and 'Nation' were identified as the basis of human societies a long time ago (Hutchinson and Smith 1996). But 'Ethnicity' became an important topic of social research in 1950's. However, at the early stage America, Canada and Australia used the immigrants' ethnicity as the base for most of the studies on ethnicity (Gupta 2005). Where the attention was focused on how the culture and ethnic identities became important in colonization process in such societies. Many of the early studies on ethnic related political riots were carried out in relation to colonial countries (Gupta 2005). At present, it can be mentioned that it is not specific to the third world countries.

When referring to the third world countries multi religious and multi cultural community can be seen as a common feature (Archdeacon 1983). Hence, the social and political conflicts, which occurred in those countries have caused negative influence on their economic development (Stewart 1998). Most of the developing countries have a lot of experiences on social and political conflicts and large scale civil wars during the past decade (Arunathilake et al 2000, Stewart and Fitzgerald 2001, Hennayake 1997, Smillie 1996, Goodhand 2001, ADB 2003, Abeyrathne 1998, Korf and Silva 2001, Ekanayake 2004). As a result of these conflicts, thousands of lives were lost and human and economic development was affected. Elsalvador, Nikaragua, Gauthamala, Haiti, Ruwanda, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Ethiopia, Angola and Sri Lanka are some of the examples for the countries, in which ethnic related political conflicts spread in recent two decades. These countries are the poor countries in the world. These countries have experienced number of social problems due to civil war and the growth of poor population. Acceleration of unemployment and down fall of living conditions is vital

among them (Stewart 1988). Large scale social political conflicts blocked the growth of these economies and such conflicts also hindered the opportunity to take the maximum benefits from physical and human resources of such countries as a result a large amount of money has to be allocated for these countries to eradicate poverty (Gunathilake 1998, Radwan 2004, World Bank 2000).

Except few, all other countries in the world are considered as multi ethnic societies. When studying the international political process, it is clear that various problems have occurred in these countries due to poor ethnic relations and inequality of resource distribution. When the major ethnic group becomes the ruling power of a country most probably the needs of the minorities are neglected and the needs of majority are legally established (Ivan 1999). This condition provides the seed for an ethnic conflict. That is why the National Integration is important for the success of contemporary state concept in the world. It is revealed through a lot of examples that when the majority rules the country, the minority faces the exclusion in most of the countries in the world. Sri Lanka is also a fine example for it. The creation of National Integration was challenged by the Sinhala Buddhist monopoly in independent Sri Lanka. And according to the critics, the civil war which prevailed in Sri Lanka was a direct result of this situation. The conflict which prevailed in Sri Lanka has influenced every section such as economic, Social and cultural situation of the country. As a result of that, a large amount of physical and human resources were destroyed. It affected the development of the country directly and indirectly to create various social problems.

The Ethnic Integrated social structure was changed with the emergence of war in 1980. Especially, these mixed ethnic villages can be seen in Eastern Province and they are called as "Border Villages". It is being used with the meaning of bordering according to the ethnicity and not with another. By 1981, there were 648 Sinhalese out of 738, 788, which was the total population in Jaffna district. But by 2009 not a single civil Sinhalese dwellers can be seen there. This situation was affected the North and East provinces

including Jaffna district. As a result of the spread of war, it is evident that the suspicion and unfaithfulness have caused the ethnic relationship even in the interior parts of the country. At the presence of this conflict, it is a timely need to consider the multi-ethnic social relationship.

The Research Problem

This study examined the evolution of ethnic relations in a war affected area over a period of six decades, taking into account primordial, situational and competition perspectives in relation to ethnic relations. According to the researcher, the evolutions of ethnic relations were changing, collapses and adaptation of multi ethnic relationships.

The Objective of the Research

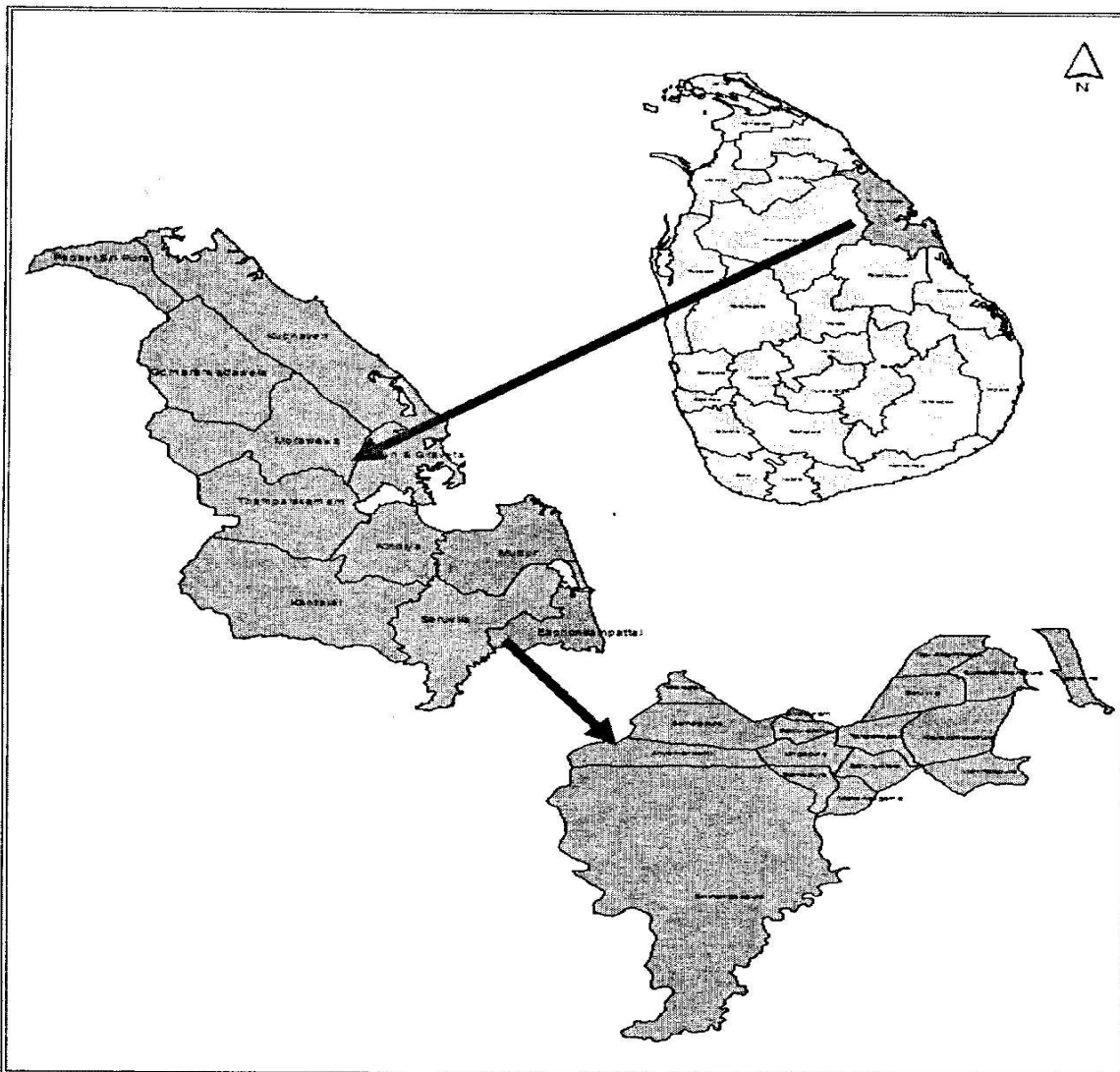
The main objective of this research was to look at how multi ethnic relationships evolved in a war affected multi ethnic zone during the last six decades. In addition, there were some auxiliary objectives as well. They were to,

1. Understand the external and internal facts which, led to the emergence of war.
2. Understand the facts, which caused ethnic resurgence and ethnic conflict.
3. Understand the coping strategies of war environment.

Methodology

The Seruwila Divisional secretariat in Trincomalee District in the Eastern Province was selected for this study. The Seruwila Divisional Secretariat is situated around 30 miles away from Kanthale town on Allai Road in Habarana – Trincomalee road. Population in this area comprises the Sinhalese, Tamils and the Muslims. The area has a historical and archaeological value, and a Buddhist temple built by King Kavantissa is located in this area. Since, then the area has been famous among Buddhists. The temple was renovated in 1921 by a Buddhist monk from Matara. With Allai colonization scheme started in 1952, Seruwila resumed a Sinhala resident area, which had been occupied by Muslims and Tamils earlier.

Map of Study area.



Sources: Survey Department 2001.

By 2005, the total population of the area consisted of 60% Sinhalese, who were the majority, and 25% Tamils and 14% Muslims. Accordingly four Gramaseva Divisions " Sirimangalapura " , "Mahindapura", "Serunuwera" and "Somapura" representing the Sinhalese , two Gramaseva Divisions " Thanganager " and "Aiyamankeni" representing the Tamils and one Gramaseva Divisions namely " Navakkenikadu" representing the Muslims were selected for the study. During the study, more attention was paid to the areas, which had close ethnic relationships and led to the conflicts.

Before collecting the primary data a background research in relation to the topic was carried out. A few research techniques such as interviews, participant observation, key informants interviews and case studies were used to collect data.

Importance of study

Implementing Social Integration among ethnic groups is an essential factor when finding solutions for the ethnic conflict. It is futile to speak about peace without paying attention to social relationships among ethnic groups. Therefore, paying attention to ethnic relations in a war-torn area is a timely need to establish peace in the war affected area of Sri Lanka.

Rebuilding of destroyed physical properties although is essential in this peace building process; the most important however is re-integration of broken ethnic relations. Findings of this research will be useful for implementing peace and rebuilding the lost interethnic relationships among the three ethnic groups.

A large number of research studies has been carried out by both local and foreign researchers related to Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. Most of the studies have paid attention to the negative effects of the ethnic conflict. Among them more attention has been paid to the topics like war and poverty (Arunathilake et. al 2000, Stewart and Fitzgerald 2001, Hennyake 1997, Smillie 1996, Goodhand 2001, ADB 2003, Abeyratne 1998, Korf and Silva 2001, Ekanayake 2004). Ethnic war and Social problems (SCF 1998, Radwan 2004, World Bank 2000, Kanagarachchi 2003), Economic cost of Ethnic War (Gunathilake 1998, Radwan 2004, World Bank 2000) and Historical factors that led to the war (Ivan 1999, Gunawardhane 1979, Siriwarene 1979, De Silva 1996, Peebles 1990, Dissanayake 1983, Gunawardhane 1985). Most of these research studies were based on macro level secondary data during the last three decades and were not primarily based on field studies carried out in the North and the East.

In order to understand the problem of ethnic integration, it is important to find out how Social relationships and organizations collapsed in these villages during the war, and how such lost relationships are established. When finding why ethnic disintegration has occurred, which is the most important factor behind the ethnic wars, obtaining field data from war victims is necessary. This study therefore is focused on the personal social and cultural relationships that existed prior to the war among the three major ethnic groups at the community level, and how they were eroded during the war, and what factors affected the disharmony among the three ethnic groups at the community level. Also, suggestions brought forward by the war affected people in the villages towards rebuilding the broken relationships is considered and reviewed in this article as possible solutions or steps towards a negotiated peace process at the village level.

Findings

Ven. Dambagasare Sri Sumedhankara from Matara came to Seruwila in 1921. He had read the legend about the stupa built by the King Kavantissa as mentioned in the chronicle Thupawansa. Though came with the intention of worshipping the thero could see the ruined chathiya / stupa as a mound of soil. The autobiography of the thero reveals that only Muslims and Tamils were the inhabitants of Seruwila at that time. After that the reconstruction had been carried out and the stupa and the temple were ceremoniously opened for the public in 1931 under the patronage of the government. Ven. Dabagassare Sri Sumedhankara thero had taken a great effort to develop the social, cultural and religious aspects of the area through reconstructing this historically important Buddhist temple. Following the work of the thero, Allai colonization scheme was established to settle Buddhist Sinhalese inhabitants between 1952 –1954.

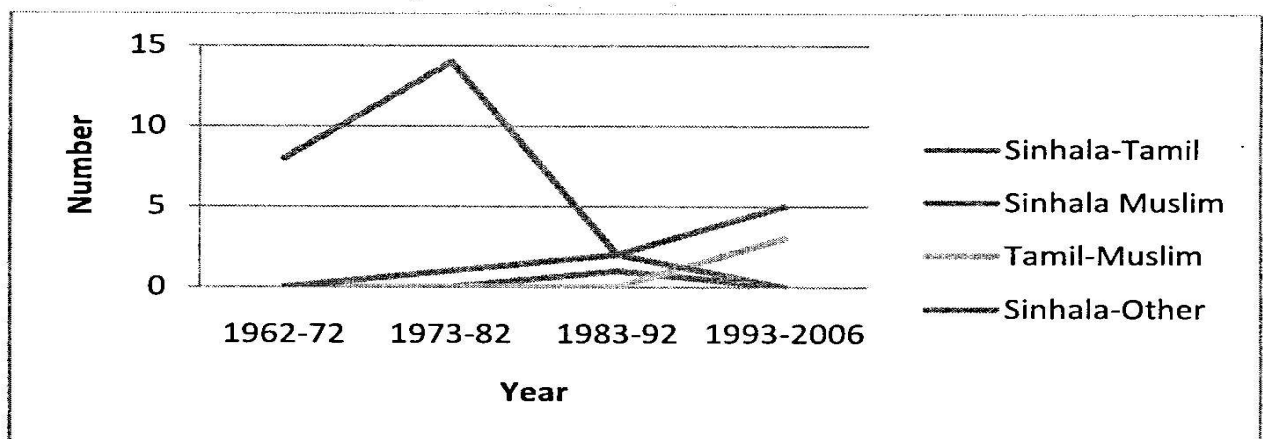
From the commencement of colonization scheme in 1954 up to now in 2008 the process and formation of ethnic relationships in the area has been researched in this study. For the convenience of the researcher, the social, economic and political factors were examined separately to understand the social relationships in these villages.

After establishing the colonization scheme in 1954 a close cooperation among the different villages belonging to the three ethnic groups was gradually established. However, due to various incidents that occurred in 1970 elements of social disintegration was evident in the villages and with the unfolding of civil war 1980, the integrated social environment was totally collapsed.

Indices that demonstrated Ethnic harmony and integration in the village were interethnic marriages, language dualism or ability to speak the language of the other ethnic group, and participation in social and economic work of families belonging to other ethnic groups. During the war, those characteristics that depicted ethnic harmony were deteriorated and ethnic polarization became evident. Ability to speak language of the other ethnic group by the new generations, who were brought up during the war period, fewer interethnic marriages, and participation in economic and social work indicated the newly created distance between ethnic groups.

Intermarriages between ethnic groups were much evident before 1980 as revealed in field data. Intermarriages were thus regarded an important indicator of harmonious ethnic relations in the area.

Inter- ethnic marriages in Seruwila Division - 1962-2006



Source: Registrar's reports of marriages 1962 -2006.Divisional Secretariat, Serunuwara – 2007.

Fourteen Sinhala and Tamil intermarriages were reported in Seruwila during 1973-1982. But, for the 26 years period that followed (i.e.1982 -2008) only seven intermarriages were reported. The significant and new feature of these seven marriages was that all male partners were Sinhalese and they were working in the security forces. Even though the inter-ethnic marriages before 1980 were a result of mixed societies or integrated societies, the intermarriages after 1980 were a result of the love affairs of security personnel, who were serving in Tamil villages. There were 14 Sinhala-Tamil intermarriages reported between 1973 -1982, but not a single Sinhala-Muslim or Tamil-Muslim intermarriages were reported during the period. The high percentage of Sinhala -Tamil intermarriage clearly illustrate that there had been close cultural ties and relationships between the Tamils, Sinhalese and the Muslims before 1980. Sinhalese-Tamil cultural mix is also revealed through other sources (Rev. Dhammarathana 2000). As stated in this book, Sinhala-Tamil cultural equality has been more powerful than the Tamil-Muslim language equality.

The religious festivals such as the annual "Nikini" festival in Seruwila Temple, the annual "Theru" festival in Verugal kovil and "Aluth Sahal Mangalya" in Nagambara kovil were participated by all ethnic groups in Seruwila, which helped building positive ethnic relationships. Common religious beliefs between the Tamil Hindus and Sinhalese Buddhists in the area provided the background for interethnic participation in religious festivals. Sinhala Buddhist people of older generations visited 'Verugal ' Hindu Kovil to make vows when their families faced with difficulties. Similarly, during agricultural seasons, offerings to God Pulleyar were paid by the Buddhist Sinhalese seeking better harvest. These religious activities have paved the way for a positive development of ethnic relationships between the Sinhala and Tamil communities in the area. Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims all participated in the annual Nikini Procession of the historic Seruwila Temple. Accordingly the religious and cultural festivals in the area directly helped to improve the friendship, integrity and co-operation among the ethnic groups.

However, with the unfolding of the war in 1980, all these rituals disappeared in Seruwila. Collapse of ritual aspect can be considered as the main factor that created ethnic disintegration, and it has negatively influenced the ethnic interrelationships. Even before the emergence of the war the views of communal politicians, protesters and conflicts generators have negatively influenced the rural level ethnic relationships. Incidents like the polemics pertaining to the ownership of Koneswaram Kovil, forcible seizing of the historic Buddha statues located in Trincomalee created dissension between the two major ethnic groups in the area that paved the way to the people's attention for homogeneous identity. This process spread up to the desire for ethnic resurgence and creating ethnic problems.

The religion acted as the main drive in the political process to form ethnic identity and ethnic resurgence. This was proved through the expanding process of the Lanka Patuna temple. Before the establishment of colonization scheme in Seruwila, the Hindu devotees had maintained a Hindu Kovil in the premises of Lanka Patuna Buddhist temple. After being accepted by the archaeological department based on archaeological evidences that the Lanka Patuna temple is a Buddhist temple, the temple was conserved as a Buddhist temple. But, with the influence of the LTTE in 1980's a Hindu Kovil was rebuilt in that location. The place was again conserved as a Buddhist temple after the defeat of the LTTE in 2008. Therefore, religion became a marker of ethnic identity rather than an avenue for integrity after 1980s. Ethnic resurgence and conflict has thus become evident as discussed by many authors, who analyzed post 1980 ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka (Tambiah 1955/1986, Wilson 1988).

The economic process was also affected positively and negatively towards the ethnic relationships. Here, the agricultural sector, fishing industry and the market functioned as the main factors. The Sinhalese, Tamils and the Muslims shared the agricultural activities before 1980s. This participation existed since the agricultural colony was established where the Sinhalese and

Tamil villages in the colony were established juxtaposed. The exchanging methods like renting; sharing the labor existed between Sinhalese and Tamil before 1980. The mutual co-operation was needed for the people of Somapura as they started activities like plugging and harvesting together. Especially both ethnic communities visited the Nagambara Kovil before starting agricultural work and made vows and redeemed them at the "Aluth Sahal Mangallaya" after the activities.

Even though only a few Sinhala families were settled in L.B.3 village, which was a Tamil inhabited area earlier, by 1980 there were around 20 Sinhala families. As a result, a good ethnic relationship was built among these families through agricultural activities. Evidence shows an unbroken mutual trust even after three decades of war. Renting the agricultural equipment and paddy lands for the Tamils by the Sinhalese even during the war period are some examples.

Fishing industry too was helpful to build positive ethnic relationships. Fishermen of every ethnic group engaged in fishing in Muththur and Werugla shore. Especially, the Sinhalese joined the Tamils in fishing as Tamils were the majority of this area. The Sinhala fish sellers used to spend the night at Tamil houses to get fish early morning and sold them in nearby villages. Close relationships had developed and they led to intermarriages too. The Sinhala fishermen from Chilaw had visited Werugal annually during the off season for making dried fish. Their migration also led to mix marriages. Some families selected Seruwila area as their permanent settlement as evident in the case study.

The war affected negatively on social relationships since 1980. Sinhalese were unable even to reach the Tamil villages like Werugal and Muththur. Not only that the war affected even the interethnic marriages and such families with intermarriages between the two ethnic groups were disintegrated. Sinhala men who married to Tamil women temporarily evacuated the area.

for their safety leaving wives and children in Tamil villages. Due to long term unsafe condition, these families were totally collapsed.

Michael was a Sinhalese, who married a Tamil lady and lived in that area. According to him around 12 Sinhalese, who married Tamils women lived the area. Among them, he was the only person who settled in LTTE controlled area. It was revealed in the study that he too had experienced a lot of difficulties. Two families were found with Sinhala women and Tamil men and they too had completely stopped their relationships. Even though families were found with Sinhala men and Tamil women in Sinhala area there were no families like Tamil men and Sinhala women in such area. Interethnic marriages due to economic and social relationships had collapsed and they had preferred the ethnic groups representing the male folk when finding a safe place during of the war.

The market was also another section, which helped building positive ethnic relationships. The Serunuwara fair was functioned as the market for agricultural production of respective ethnic groups. All the groups engaged in buying and selling at this fair. It was a main factor which helped to build ethnic relationships of the area (Furniwal1944). The fact that the fair was not functioned with the emergence of war affected negatively on ethnic relationships. All the economic functions of the Serunuwara town collapsed due to the absence of other ethnic groups and the close relationships between Sinhala and Tamil businessmen were also collapsed.

The Tamil officers who engaged in permanent jobs in Sinhala area too contributed positively towards the ethnic relationships. Before 1980, laborers from all the ethnic groups had been recruited by the irrigation department. But, after 1980 only the Sinhalese were recruited for work in the Sinhala area and vice-versa. The assign of labourers to villages by ethnic identity had created vast change in the social system after the war.

The political relationships were also examined when studying the ethnic relationships. Ethno politics was not found in the area before 1970. After 1980s ethnic organizations and representations came forward to safeguard the rights of the two ethnic groups. The Seruwila reverent represented the Sinhalese and acted as the guardian for the security of the Sinhala Buddhist where as the "Api Demalu" organization representing the federal party acted for the safety of Tamil Hindu identity. These activities at the village level gave the way to ethnic resurgence and conflict at the village level. These ethnic competitions and conflicts were created around phenomena like allocation of state lands, location of religious places, provision of employment opportunities, setting up of administrative units and other common facilities. The Pradeshiya Sabha also became inactive with the war. The Pradeshiya Sabha was reestablished after the war in 2008 and its representation is favored towards the majority Sinhalese. Out of the total of nine members, seven were Sinhalese, one each represented the Tamils and the Muslims. When considering the ethnic representation in Seruwila population Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims represented as 60%, 25%, and 15% respectively.

This social environment observed the coping strategies with war. The coping strategies are the activities done by families and individual in a society for food conservation and sustainability of life in making money (Korf 2001). These life activities are differing according to the changes of environment. That can be identified under two main sections.

1. Adaptive strategies
2. Coping Strategies

The coping activities done by families and individuals before the challenges and long term changes of different societies can be mentioned as Adaptive Strategies. Short term strategies for sudden stress and excitement conditions that occur due to natural and political disasters can be mentioned as coping strategies (Scoones 1998). After for different changes due to war. The ethnic groups had built these coping strategies when the society reached to the situation when the social relationship cannot be maintained.

Inter ethnic migration stopped due to the unsafe condition of Seruwila area with war. This area separated into two as government and LTTE controlled areas. Even though the Sinhala fish mongers came to Muththure and Werugal area to buy fish before 1980 it was totally stopped due to unsafe condition. But for the survival of the economic process Tamils came to the first security point in government controlled area and sold fish for Sinhalese. According Korf(2001) that was an Adaptive strategy in making money at sudden changes of society. The actions were taken to ensure the economic safety even in the broken social environment.

Agriculture was the main livelihood of this area. It can be identified as one of main factor for the ethnic integration. They were bound to each other in agricultural activities like labor sharing system, rent system, marketing systems and the rituals related to that. The mixed ethnic groups tend to find temporarily and permanent migration for their survival.

Sudden breakdown of ethnic relationships were problematic for the survival of the society. Therefore with the change of society a number of agriculture related adaptive strategies could be identified.

1. Sinhalese leased or rented their paddy lands for Tamil friends due to LTTE threats.
2. Sinhalese agricultural businessmen leased their agricultural machinery to their Tamil friends.
3. To avoid LTTE attacks Sinhalese employed Muslims on contract basis when harvesting.
4. Starting the brick making industry when the Chena cultivation and agriculture activities become unsafe.

As the collaborated ethnic groups separated in agricultural activities they faced difficulties in economic and security condition. They had implemented several adaptive strategies to avoid these difficulties with the change of the society.

With war the migration of Sinhalese to Tamil area and Tamils to Sinhala area completely stopped as the doubt and mistrust were developed among the social groups. Due the transactions only the Muslims did the transaction in these areas. It was a great advantage for the Muslims in business field.

People looked for alternative ways of making money during the war. Engaging in brick making was one of them. Sinhalese in Somapura and Sirimangalapura engaged in this activity. Even though firewood was found within the area at the beginning before the war, later they had to go to the forest in search of firewood. A few of them had died due to LTTE attack in forest. The Sinhalese succeeded in obtaining firewood from Tamils when the brick industry became inactive due to lack of firewood.

The collapsibility of school education as a result of the war can also be mentioned as a main issue. Factors like closing of the schools for a long period of time due to unsafe condition, lack of teachers as they have left the area directly affected school education. As education was not viable any more, the Sinhalese youth joined the security forces, which was the only available income source and employment in the area.

After the establishment of 'Allai' colonization scheme in 1952 a multi ethnic integrated society was developed in the area. However, with the war and spread of ethnic sentiments the harmonious relationships between the Tamils and the Sinhalese have been affected. Discontinuity of inter ethnic migration, inter ethnic marriages and religious rituals, inability of speaking a second language by the younger generation, lack of economic and social opportunities for inter ethnic marriages, development of mutual mistrust, and suspicion, collapse of the harmonic economic exchange system based on ethnic relationships, led to the present disharmony and ethno politics during the war and in the post war period.

Conclusions and suggestions

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are seen as primordial attachments. According to primordialists natural division of people by blood relationships, common

residence, and region are found to conflict and aggression. However, the rural multi ethnic groups did not very much affected by these primordial characteristics. People in rural areas in the north and east of Sri Lanka had integrated through religious, ritual engagements, mixed marriages and exchange of labour and economic activities. According to primodialists these societies experienced communal separation and violence that led to separation of ethnic communities as a result of choosing ethnicity as the source of identity. The competition for the resources was found along ethnic lines which led to the ethnic separation.

As a result of the promotion of religious identity, the ethnic problem started and developed in this area. This condition prevailed throughout the country. As pointed out by many researchers (Ivan 1983, Arasaratnam 1986, Peebles 1990, Wilson 1988, Tambiah 1955/1986) the struggle of separation flourished as a result of religious competition.

According to the report of land Reclamation commission established in 1929 by the British, the objective of land policy was to utilize more lands for paddy cultivation. The reconstructions of irrigation program and establishments of agricultural colonies were commenced after 1931 (Farmer 1956). In 1939 this policy paid attention to reduce unemployment, increasing the food production, and prospering the wet zone, (Peebles 1990). But evidence found that the Allai agricultural colony establishment done by government for religious need of Rev. Sumedhankara.

After 1980s when ethnic conflict started, three ethnic groups segregated for reasons their own security. Each ethnic group in the North and East pursued that living in geographically separated ethnic conglomeration is safe of community living. Therefore, after ethnic conflict commenced in 1983, Tamils and Muslims started living in separated community. Most of the Sinhalese who lived in North and East migrated to the South for security reasons, while those who lived in the North and East tended to live in separate community. This pattern shows that ethnic separation, which thought to be caused by

cultural factors did not happened in this particular Sri Lankan context (Hutchingson and Smith 1996, Barth 1969, Isajiw 1924, Gordan 1964, Park 1950, Frazier 1941).

A clear change happened in social capital due to ethnic relationships. Before the war Bonding capital and Bridging capital had been developed. But after the war the Bridging capital collapsed and Bonding capital remained. Confirming Bridging capital has been a main social political challenge as the war has ended since 2009.

In parallel to the development of ethnic relationships from the beginning of agricultural colony in 1952, an ethnic conflict was also developed started as political and religious related ethnic competition in this area. And also the religious leaders tried to establish ethnic identity through the religious based organization as external factors. However, the separation of ethnic groups gradually took place as a result of establishment of ethnic identity and ethnic resurgence. It can be concluded that the ethnic conflict created in this villages as a result of collapsibility of the inter ethnic trust and abusing the right of minority.

Considering the ethnic relationships of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, there was a close relationship between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Though the relationships between Sinhalese and Tamils and Muslims continued their relationships as they used the same language and lived in LTTE controlled areas. However, the cultural equality between Sinhalese and Tamils was more powerful than the language equality between Tamils and Muslims factors like Worshipping gods, Sinhala- Tamil cultural activities, similarities in clothing facilitated to build up the ethnic relationships between of inter ethnic marriages between Sinhalese and Tamils testified this fact.

By 2008, the younger generation in the area had been born during war and their socialization was also took place within the war environment. Especially as there was a security administration these children, the security officers

imitated as an ideology. The school education of the area was subjected to challenge as at least a single member of each family attached to the civil security force. When referring the ambition of the school boys of the area, more than 80% intended to join the security forces. This was a fine example to state how far the war environment had internalized to their minds. The preschool competition which was conducted by the cultural centre, the miming scene of soldiers had taken the priority. The chief guests of these functions were also police and army officers. Not only had that most of the advanced level students selected war related topics for their independent studies. War experiences had contributed for composing songs too. When considering these factors as a whole, a war subculture based on the war environment had formed within the main culture.

Suggestions

Conducting integrated programmers to strengthen the inter ethnic relationships and developing the positive attitudes will be a timely need. The broken inter ethnic relationships can be rebuilt by bringing the cultural events of ethnic groups to a single stage as the LTTE has militarily defeated by 2009.

After establishing the agricultural colony in 1950, a mixed religious and cultural environment was created. So, by making the younger generation aware of the mixed society the integrated society can be rebuilt.

War not only prevented the inter ethnic marriages, but also caused many harassments for those families. However, inter ethnic marriages helped a lot for the integration. Therefore to rebuild the broken inter ethnic integration these families should socially accepted and that will be an encouragement for the younger generation to inter ethnic marriages.

The religious and cultural activities, which were in this area facilitated to the inter ethnic harmony. The Nikini festival and Werugal Hindu Kovil were prominent among these. These festivals were organized under the patronage of the government. By conducting these festivals again with the

involvement of the government these societies will automatically take to a mixed religious and cultural environment.

Sinhalese are free of war fear as the LTTE has militarily defeated. But, as the security forces are still functioning of the area it has become a threat for the freedom of the minority. Therefore, the actions should be taken to assure the security of the minority of the area, and also the opportunity should be given to the younger generation to join the police and other security forces. According to the Nobel price holder (1988) John Hume, the reason for every conflict is a difference. Furthermore, he stated that the differences are natural to human beings and the best reaction is to respect them since it is the best principle of peace. Accordingly, the ethnic cooperation should be developed by identifying the ethnic identity and the ethnic differences.

Ministries like cultural affairs, National integration and other government sectors can contribute in the process of rebuilding the ethnic relationships. Through the research experiences, it can be stated that a more harmonious society, better than the condition of before 1980, can build by conducting the Seruwila ' Nikini' Perahara and Werugal Devala Perahera under the patronage of government.

The Nagenahira Navodaya is being functioned by 2009 after three decades of war. The resettlement of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims in this area should be planned as to give opportunity to have inter ethnic relationships. If not there will be a high tendency for the separation by establishing the self identity of each ethnic group. Such a background likes politically or external ethnic boundaries can be used for their needs. Considering such factors, it is important to establish agricultural colonies in order to develop ethnic integration.

While the above suggestions work to establish the ethnic integration, the ethnic groups which subjected to different discrimination due to 30 years war should also be considered. Many countries in the world established

Truth commission or International war Crimes to Tribunals to investigate the discriminated groups. Examples for Truth commission established countries are Chile, El-Salvador and South Africa; Example for International war Crimes Tribunals established countries are Yugoslavia, and Rwanda. There were many criticisms on these counts. However, even in Sri Lanka there is an internal commission to examine the discriminations after 30 years of war. It is pleased to mention that there is an accepted learned committee for that representing Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. A conflict free environment can be created by revealing the true factors through this commission.

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