



Gender and Displacement in Jaffna, Sri Lanka

Survey of Internally Displaced
Persons, 2020

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Gender and Forced Displacement Project

Gender and Forced Displacement Project is one of the 32 projects in the Gender, Justice and Security Hub of the London School of Economics and Political Science funded by the UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) through the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF). The aim of the project is to understand and measure how gender inequalities are affected by forced displacement in Afghanistan, Iraq (Kurdistan), Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey and Sri Lanka. The inequality measures identified through the work of the project will be used to inform policies of protection and assistance in resettlement in the six focus countries and beyond. This report, which is one of the preliminary outputs of the project, presents the results of a household survey of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka.

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Executive Summary

During the thirty-year war that ravaged Sri Lanka, more than a million Sri Lankans belonging to the country's Northern and Eastern provinces experienced multiple protracted displacements. While the majority of those affected by the conflict in the North and East have received aid to return, relocate or assimilate with their new communities since the end of the war in 2009, some Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are still waiting to be resettled or relocated, 12 years since the end of the war.

This report presents the preliminary results of a household survey of IDPs in Jaffna District in Northern Province, one of the areas that still has a large IDP population. The main focus of this survey conducted in October 2020 employing Covid-19 safety protocols was to examine the gendered experiences arising from protracted displacements spanning over three decades. The survey covered 220 households (182 male-headed and 38 female-headed), which accounts for 54.3 per cent of the total IDP households in the Jaffna District.

Among other topics, the survey gathered data on the respondents' current living conditions, finances, asset ownership, safety and security concerns, access to services, social networks and relationship with other IDPs and the host community, and water, sanitation and hygiene issues they face. It also gathered data on the respondents' pre-displacement experiences to compare that with their current lives, in order to examine the role of displacement in gendered issues they face.

The survey results presented in this report are not conclusive, as important additional elements of this research, such as in-depth interviews with IDP households and key informants, are still going on in Jaffna. However, even this preliminary examination highlights significant disparities in ways men and women may have experienced protracted displacement over the years.

One of the key differences between male and female respondents' experiences that this report highlights is with regard to household finances. Survey data indicates that the average income of female-headed households (FHHs) is half of that of male-headed households (MHHs). Not surprisingly, this has aggravated the poverty levels among FHHs as indicated by the much larger proportion of FHHs than MHHs reporting that their income is not sufficient to cover household food expenses.

Another area in which males and females have significantly different experiences is with regard to safety and security concerns. Contrary to the general pattern of women in displacement experiencing more safety issues than IDP men, in this survey, male respondents highlighted more safety and security concerns than female respondents. For instance, a higher proportion of men than women said they feel unsafe when out in their neighbourhoods. Male respondents are also more concerned about the prevalence of drug abuse, alcoholism and youth gangs than females.

Apart from the disparities in the way displacement has affected men and women, the survey results also shed light upon overall issues that apply to IDPs in Jaffna. The vast majority of survey participants currently live in camps, and most of them arrived in these camps in the 1990s. The tragedy is that a large proportion of them arrived in these camps expecting this to be a temporary living arrangement, yet are still there after more than 20 years. The living conditions of most of these camps are deplorable. Half of the respondents do not have access to safe drinking water, and the vast majority do not have access to hygienic toilets and bathing facilities. Despite these difficulties, they continue to live there as they do not have other satisfactory options available.

நிறைவேற்றுச் சுருக்கம்

இலங்கையில் அழிவை ஏற்படுத்திய முப்பது ஆண்டுகால யுத்தத்தின் போது, நாட்டின் வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கு மாகாணங்களைச் சேர்ந்த ஒரு மில்லியனுக்கும் அதிகமான மக்கள் நீண்டகால இடம்பெயர்வுகளை அனுபவித்தனர். வடக்கு மற்றும் கிழக்கில் மோதல்களால் பாதிக்கப்பட்டவர்களில் பெரும்பாலானோர் 2009 ஆம் ஆண்டு யுத்தம் முடிவடைந்ததிலிருந்து தங்கள் சொந்த இடங்களுக்குத் திரும்பி வருவதற்கும், மாற்றிடத்தில் குடியமர்வதற்கும் தங்கள் புதிய சமூகங்களுடன் ஒருங்கிணைவதற்கும் உதவிகளைப் பெற்றுள்ள நிலையில், யுத்தம் முடிவடைந்து பன்னிரண்டு ஆண்டுகளாகியும் உள்நாட்டில் இடம்பெயர்ந்தவர்களில் சிலர் மீள்குடியேற்றப்படுவதற்காக அல்லது மாற்றிடத்தில் குடியமர்த்தப்படுவதற்காக இன்னும் காத்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

இந்த அறிக்கையானது வடக்கு மாகாணத்தில் உள்ள இன்னும் அதிகளவு இடம்பெயர்ந்த மக்கள் தொகையினைக் கொண்ட பகுதிகளில் ஒன்றாகிய யாழ்ப்பாண மாவட்டத்தில் உள்ள இடம்பெயர்ந்தோர் பற்றிய கருத்தாய்வின் ஆரம்ப முடிவுகளை முன்வைக்கிறது. கோவிட் -19 பாதுகாப்பு நெறிமுறைகளைப் பின்பற்றி 2020 அக்டோபரில் நடத்தப்பட்ட இந்த ஆய்வின் முக்கிய கவனம் மூன்று தசாப்தங்களாக நீடித்த இடம்பெயர்வுகளிலிருந்து எழும் பாலினம் தொடர்பான அனுபவங்களை ஆராய்வதாகும். இக்கருத்தாய்வானது 220 குடும்பங்களை (182 ஆண் தலைமை மற்றும் 38 பெண் தலைமை) உள்ளடக்கியுள்ளது. இது யாழ்ப்பாண மாவட்டத்தின் மொத்த இடம்பெயர்ந்த குடும்பங்களில் 54.3 வீதம் ஆகும்.

இக்கருத்தாய்வானது ஏனைய விடயங்களுடன் சேர்த்து பதிலளித்தவர்களின் தற்போதைய வாழ்க்கை நிலைமைகள், நிதிநிலைமை, சொத்து உரிமை, பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் பாதுகாப்பு கரிசனைகள், சேவைகளை அடைந்து கொள்ளுதல், சமூக உறவு வலைப்பின்னல்கள், பிற இடம்பெயர்ந்தோருடனான உறவு மற்றும் உள்ளூர் சமூகத்துடனான உறவு, நீர், சுகாதாரம் மற்றும் சுகாதார பிரச்சினைகள் தொடர்பான தகவல்களைத் திரட்டியுள்ளது. இடம்பெயர்ந்தவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் பாலின பிரச்சினைகள் மீதான இடம்பெயர்வின் பங்கை ஆராய்வதற்கு பதிலளித்தவர்களின் தற்போதைய வாழ்க்கையுடன் ஒப்பிடும் நோக்கில் அவர்களின் இடம்பெயர்வுக்கு முந்தைய அனுபவங்களின் தரவுகளையும் இக்கருத்தாய்வு சேகரித்துள்ளது.

இந்த ஆராய்ச்சியின் முக்கியமான மேலதிக ஆய்வுக் கூறுகளான, இடம்பெயர்ந்த குடும்பங்கள் மற்றும் முக்கிய தகவலறிந்தவர்களுடனான நேர்காணல்கள் போன்றவை இன்னும் யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றமையினால் இந்த அறிக்கையில் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள கருத்தாய்வு முடிவுகள் முழுமையானவையல்ல. எவ்வாறாயினும், இந்த பூர்வாங்க ஆய்வு முடிவுகள் கூட பல ஆண்டுகளாக நீடித்த இடம்பெயர்வை அனுபவித்திருக்கக்கூடிய ஆண்களும் பெண்களும் எதிர்நோக்கிய குறிப்பிடத்தக்க ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகளை எடுத்துக்காட்டுகின்றன.

பதிலளித்த ஆண்களினதும் பெண்களினதும் அனுபவங்களுக்கிடையேயான முக்கிய வேறுபாடுகளில் ஒன்றான குடும்பங்களின் நிதிநிலைமையினை இந்த அறிக்கை வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றது. ஆண் தலைமை தாங்கும் குடும்பங்களின் சராசரி வருமானத்துடன் ஒப்பிடுகையில் பெண் தலைமை தாங்கும் குடும்பங்களின் சராசரி வருமானமானது அரைவாசியாகக் காணப்படுவதாக இக்கருத்தாய்வுத் தரவுகள் வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றன. ஆச்சரியப்படமுடியாதவகையில், குடும்பச்செலவுகளை பூர்த்தியெய்வதற்கு தங்கள் வருமானம் போதுமானதல்ல என ஆண்கள் தலைமைதாங்கும் குடும்பங்கள் குறிப்பிட்டதை விடவும் அதிகளவிலான பெண்கள் தலைமைதாங்கும் குடும்பங்கள் குறிப்பிட்டதைப் போல் இந்நிலைமையானது பெண்கள் தலைமைதாங்கும் குடும்பங்களில் வறுமைநிலைமையினை மோசமாக்கியுள்ளது.

ஆண்களும் பெண்களும் கணிசமாக வேறுபட்ட அனுபவங்களைக் கொண்டிருக்கும் மற்றொரு பகுதி பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் பாதுகாப்புக் கரிசனைகள் தொடர்பானதாகும். இடம்பெயர்ந்த ஆண்களை

விடவும் இடம்பெயர்ந்த பெண்கள் அதிகளவிலான பாதுகாப்புப் பிரச்சினைகளைக் கொண்டிருப்பார்கள் என்னும் பொதுவான போக்கிற்கு மாறாக இக்கருத்தாய்வில் பெண்களை விடவும் ஆண்கள் அதிக பாதுகாப்புக் கரிசனைகளை வெளிப்படுத்தியுள்ளனர்.

உதாரணமாக, பெண்களை விடவும் ஆண்களில் அதிகமானோர் தங்கள் சுற்றுப்புறங்களில் வெளியில் நடமாடும் போது பாதுகாப்பற்ற நிலைமையினை உணர்வதாகக் கூறியுள்ளனர். அத்துடன் பதிலளித்தவர்களில் பெண்களை விட ஆண்கள் போதைப்பொருள், குடிப்பழக்கம் மற்றும் இளைஞர் கும்பல்கள் அதிகமாக இருப்பதைப் பற்றியும் அதிகம் கரிசனை கொண்டுள்ளனர்.

இடம்பெயர்வு ஆண்களையும் பெண்களையும் பாதித்த விதத்தில் உள்ள ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகளைத் தவிர, யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் உள்ள இடம்பெயர்ந்தவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் ஒட்டுமொத்த பிரச்சினைகள் குறித்தும் இக் கருத்தாய்வு முடிவுகள் வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றன. இக்கருத்தாய்வில் பங்கேற்றவர்களில் பெரும்பாலோர் தற்போது முகாம்களில் வசிக்கின்றனர், அவர்களில் பெரும்பாலோர் 1990 களில் இந்த முகாம்களுக்கு வந்திருந்தனர். துயரமான விடயம் யாதெனில், இம்முகாம்களுக்கு வந்த போது அவர்களில் பெரும்பாலோர் முகாம் வாழ்க்கை தற்காலிகமாக இருக்கும் என எதிர்பார்த்த போதும் இருபது ஆண்டுகளுக்கு மேலாகியும் அவர்கள் முகாம்களிலேயே வாழ்கின்றனர். இந்த முகாம்களில் பெரும்பாலானவற்றில் வாழ்க்கை நிலைமைகள் மோசமானவை. பதிலளித்தவர்களில் அரைவாசிப் பேருக்கு பாதுகாப்பான குடிநீர் கிடைப்பதில்லை, பெரும்பாலானவர்களுக்கு சுத்தமான கழிப்பறைகள் மற்றும் குளியல் வசதிகள் இல்லை. இவ்வகையான சிரமங்கள் இருந்தபோதிலும், பிற திருப்திகரமான தெரிவுகள் இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் தொடர்ந்தும் அந்த முகாம்களிலேயே வசிக்கின்றனர்.

විධායක සාරාංශය

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වසර තිහක පමණ කාලයක් ඇවිලිනු විනාශකාරී යුද්ධයේදී, රටේ උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර පළාත්වල ජීවත්වූ මිලියනයකට අධික ජන සංඛ්‍යාවක් අවස්ථා ගණනාවකදී අවතැන්වීම් වලට මුහුණ දුන්හ. උතුරු හා නැගෙනහිර ගැටුම්වලින් පීඩාවට පත් වූවන්ගෙන් බහුතරයකට 2009 දී යුද්ධය අවසන් වීමෙන් පසු ගම්බිම් වලට නැවත යාමට හෝ නව ස්ථානයක පදිංචි වීමට හෝ නව ප්‍රජාවන් සමඟ ඒකාබද්ධ වීමට අවශ්‍ය ආධාර ලැබී ඇතිමුත්, අවතැන්වූවන්ගෙන් සමහරක් යුද්ධය අවසන් වී වසර දොළහකට පසුවත් නැවත පදිංචි වීමට හෝ නැවත ස්ථානගත වීමට බලා සිටිති.

මෙම වාර්තාව, උතුරු පළාතේ තවමත් අභ්‍යන්තර අවතැන්වූවන් විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක් සිටින යාපනය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ අවතැන්වූවන් පිළිබඳව පැවති ගෘහ සමීක්ෂණයක මූලික ප්‍රතිඵල ඉදිරිපත් කරයි. 2020 ඔක්තෝම්බර් මාසයේ දී කරන ලද මෙම සමීක්ෂණයේ ප්‍රධාන ඉලක්කය වූයේ දශක තුනක් පුරා දිග්ගැස්සුනු යුද්ධයෙන් අවතැන්වූ ස්ත්‍රීන්ගේ සහ පිරිමින්ගේ අත්දැකීම් සන්සන්ධනය කිරීමයි. මෙම සමීක්ෂණය ගෘහ ඒකක 220 ක් (පුරුෂ මූලික ගෘහ ඒකක 182 ක් සහ කාන්තා මූලික ගෘහ ඒකක 38 ක්) ආවරණය කළ අතර එය යාපනය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ සමස්ත අවතැන්වූවන්ගෙන් 54.3 ප්‍රතිශතයකි.

සමීක්ෂණයට සහභාගී වූවන්ගේ වර්තමාන ජීවන තත්වය, මූල්‍ය සහ වත්කම් හිමිකාරිත්වය, ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳ ඔවුන්ගේ ගැටළු, සේවා සඳහා ඇති ප්‍රවේශය, ජලය සහ සනීපාරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳ ඇති ගැටළු සහ සමාජ ජාල සහ ඔවුන් අනෙකුත් අවතැන්වූවන් සහ සන්කාරක ප්‍රජාව සමඟ ඇති සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳ දත්ත රැස් කරන ලදී. මීට අමතරව, අවතැන්වීමට පෙර ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන්ගේ ජීවිතය පිළිබඳව දත්ත ද රැස් කරන ලදී. එම දත්ත යොදාගනිමින් ඔවුන්ගේ පෙර සහ වර්තමාන ජීවිත සංසන්දනය කළ හැකිවිය.

මෙම වාර්තාවේ ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇති සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිඵල අවසාන නිමනයන් නොවන අතර මෙම පර්යේෂණයේ වැදගත් අතිරේක අංගයක් වන අවතැන්වූවන් සමඟ පවත්වන සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා තවමත් යාපනයේ සිදු වෙමින් පවතී. කෙසේ වෙතත්, මෙම වාර්තාවේ ඉදිරිපත් කරන මූලික තොරතුරු වලින් පවා පුරුෂයින් හා ස්ත්‍රීන් වසර ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ අවතැන්වීම අත්විඳ ඇති ආකාරවල සැලකිය යුතු විසමතා නිරීක්ෂණය කළ හැක.

මෙම වාර්තාව මගින් අවධාරණය කරනු ලබන පිරිමි සහ ගැහැණු ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන්ගේ අත්දැකීම් අතර ඇති එක් ප්‍රධාන වෙනසක් වන්නේ ගෘහස්ථ මූල්‍ය කටයුතු සම්බන්ධයෙන් ය. සමීක්ෂණ දත්ත වලට අනුව ස්ත්‍රී මූලික ගෘහ ඒකකයන්හි සාමාන්‍ය ආදායම පුරුෂ මූලික ගෘහ ඒකකයන්හි ආදායමෙන් අඩකි. මෙම තත්වය යටතේ කාන්තා මූලිකත්වයෙන් යුත් ගෘහ ඒකකයන්ගෙන් වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් පුරුෂ මූලික ගෘහ ඒකකයන් වලට වඩා වැඩි දරිද්‍රතා මට්ටමක් අත්විඳීම පුද්ගලයන් නොවේ. ආහාර වියදම පියවා ගැනීමට ප්‍රමාණවත් ආදායමක් නොලබන විශාල ප්‍රතිශතයක් කාන්තා මූලික ගෘහ ඒකකයන් අතරින් වාර්තා වීමෙන් මෙය සනාථ වේ.

ස්ත්‍රීන් හා පුරුෂයින්ගේ අත්දැකීම් අතර සැලකිය යුතු ලෙස වෙනස්කම් ඇති තවත් අංගයක් වන්නේ ආරක්ෂාව සම්බන්ධයෙනි. අවතැන්වූ පිරිමින්ට සාපේක්ෂව අවතැන් වූ කාන්තාවන් ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳව වැඩි ගැටළු වලට මුහුණ දෙන සාමාන්‍ය රටාවට පටහැනිව, මෙම සමීක්ෂණයේදී පිරිමි ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන් කාන්තා ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන්ට වඩා ආරක්ෂාව පිළිබඳව ගැටළු මතු කර ඇත. නිදසුනක් වශයෙන්, කාන්තාවන්ට වඩා පිරිමින්ගෙන් වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් කියා සිටියේ තම ප්‍රදේශයේ දී තමන්ට අනාරක්ෂිත බවක් දැනෙන බවයි. එමෙන්ම, කාන්තාවන්ට වඩා මත්පැන් සහ මත්ද්‍රව්‍ය භාවිතය හා තරුණ කල්ලි පිළිබඳව පිරිමි ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන් වැඩි සැලකිල්ලක් දක්වන බව සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිඵල පෙන්වා දෙයි.

අවතැන්වීම පිරිමින්ට හා කාන්තාවන්ට බලපා ඇති ආකාරයෙහි විෂමතාවන්ට අමතරව, සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිඵල මගින් යාපනයේ අවතැන්වූවන්ට අදාළ වන සමස්ත ගැටළු පිළිබඳව ද තොරතුරු අනාවරණය වේ. සමීක්ෂණයට සහභාගී වූවන්ගෙන් බහුතරයක් දැනට කඳවුරුවල වාසය කරන අතර, ඔවුන්ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙක් 1990 දශකයේ දී මෙම කඳවුරුවලට පැමිණ ඇත. මෙහි බෙදවාහන නම්, ඔවුන්ගෙන් විශාල කොටසක් මෙම කඳවුරුවලට පැමිණ ඇත්තේ මෙය තාවකාලික ජීවන සැලැස්මක් වනු ඇතැයි අපේක්ෂාවෙන් වීමයි. එහෙත්, වසර විස්සකට වැඩි කාලයක් ගතවී ඇතත් තවමත් ඔවුන් මෙම අවතැන් කඳවුරු වල වාසය කරති. මෙම

කඳවුරු බොහොමයක ජීවන තත්ත්වය ඉතා අවම මට්ටමක පවතී. ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන්ගෙන් අධිකට ආරක්ෂිත පානීය ජලය නොමැති අතර අතිමහත් බහුතරයකට සනීපාරක්ෂක වැසිකිළි හා නාන පහසුකම් නොමැත. මෙම දුෂ්කරතා මධ්‍යයේ වුවද, වෙනත් සතුටුදායක විකල්පයන් නොමැති බැවින් ඔවුන් දිගටම මෙම කඳවුරු වල වාසය කරති.

1 Introduction

This report, which is an output of the Gender and Forced Migration Project of the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) Gender, Justice and Security Hub, presents the preliminary results of a household survey of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka. The project seeks to understand and measure how gender inequalities are affected by forced displacement in Sri Lanka and five other countries.¹ We are interested in using these inequality measures to inform policies of protection and assistance in resettlement in Sri Lanka. Concurrently, we expect through this work to facilitate the empowerment and acquisition of skills of displaced girls and women. The survey data will also contribute towards understanding how men and women experience resettlement in different ways and whether these differences lead to different gendered wellbeing outcomes.

The results presented here are indicative and will be supplemented by further research including in-depth interviews with IDP households and key informants in Jaffna. Yet, even this preliminary work reveals important pointers about possible ways men and women in Jaffna experience protracted displacement differently over the years. The key differences relate to household finances and safety and security concerns. In addition, there are significant differences in the asset portfolios and social networks of male and female IDPs.

The rest of the report is organised as follows. Section 2 provides a brief overview of conflict induced displacement in Sri Lanka, while Section 3 explains the methodology adopted in conducting the survey. Whereas Section 4 provides a summary of the demographic details of the study sample, Section 5 explores the respondents' history of displacement and mobility. Section 6 compares the household finances of male and female-headed IDP households while Section 7 examines the respondents' asset portfolio. Section 8 investigates various aspects of the lives of IDPs, including their living conditions, social networks, relationships with other IDPs and the host community. Section 9 examines the respondents' safety and security concerns, with a special focus on the similarities and differences between men and women's safety concerns. Section 10 provides details of water, sanitation, and hygiene issues at study sites, while Section 11 investigates how displacement has affected IDP children. Section 12 compares the respondents' pre-displacement experiences with that of their current lives and examines how displacement has contributed to the exacerbation of gender issues. The final section provides concluding remarks about the overall findings.

2 Background

During the thirty-year war that ravaged Sri Lanka starting from the early 1980s and ending in 2009, more than a million Sri Lankans belonging to the country's Northern and Eastern provinces experienced multiple protracted displacements.² According to the Ministry of National Policies, Economic Affairs, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Northern Province Development and Youth Affairs, by December 2018, around 97 per cent of the internally displaced persons in the Northern and Eastern provinces had been resettled, and only 10,509 families consisting of 35,926 persons remained displaced.³ While the majority of those affected in the North and East have received aid to return, relocate or assimilate with their new communities, some IDPs are still awaiting assistance to overcome the damage and loss imposed by multiple and prolonged displacements, 12 years since the end of the war.⁴

Among the vulnerable groups, women, particularly widows, wives of the disappeared, female ex-combatants, and the

¹ The other countries are Afghanistan, Iraq (Kurdistan), Lebanon, Pakistan, and Turkey.

² 'National Policy on Durable Solutions for Conflict-Affected Displacement' (Ministry of Prison Reforms, Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Hindu Religious Affairs, 2016), <https://reliefweb.int/report/sri-lanka/national-policy-durable-solutions-conflict-affected-displacement>.

³ 'Performance Report 2018' (Colombo: Ministry of National Policies, Economic Affairs, Resettlement & Rehabilitation, Northern Province Development and Youth Affairs, 2019). <https://www.parliament.lk/uploads/documents/paperspresented/performance-report-ministry-of-national-policies-economic-affairs-2018.pdf>

⁴ 'National Policy on Durable Solutions for Conflict-Affected Displacement' (Ministry of Prison Reforms, Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Hindu Religious Affairs, 2016), <https://reliefweb.int/report/sri-lanka/national-policy-durable-solutions-conflict-affected-displacement>.

disabled continue to experience hardships imposed by the legacy of the war.⁵ As most of those who have gone missing are males who were the family breadwinners, left-behind women struggle to meet their families' financial needs.⁶ According to the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs, there was an estimate of 42,565 female-headed households in the Eastern Province and 16,936 in the Northern Province by the end of the conflict in 2009.⁷ These women belong to the poorest of the poor and face manifold hardships.

3 Methodology

According to Jaffna District Secretariat, there are currently 405 IDP households in the Jaffna district belonging to four Divisional Secretariat Divisions (DSDs)⁸: 168 in Valikamam South, 105 in Valikamam North, 87 in Vadamaradchi North, and 45 in Valikamam East. Hereafter, these four DSDs are referred to respectively as Uduvil, Tellippalai, Point Pedro and Kopay, the main towns in the DSDs and the names by which these DSDs are widely known.

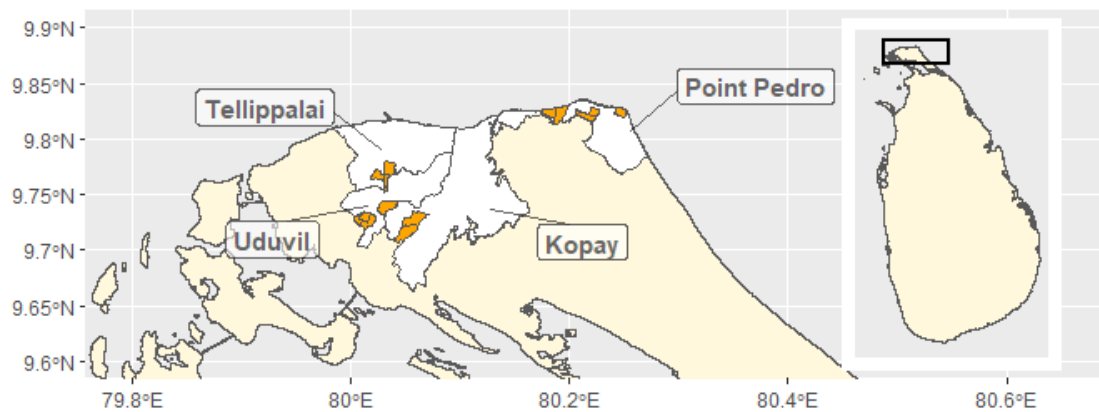


Figure 1: The map of research sites

Our survey was conducted in October 2020 in sites spread across 14 Grama Niladari Divisions (GND) in these four DSDs (Figure 1) using purposive sampling. This method was adopted to include an equal number of male and female respondents to identify specific gendered effects of the experience of displacement. The survey covered 220 households, which accounts for 54.3 per cent of total IDP households in Jaffna District.

A crucial caveat to these findings is that the survey excluded the host communities. This is not to suggest that information on the host community is not important for a study like this. Instead, we decided to rely on the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) for gender statistics for hosts. This was a pragmatic decision which allowed the limited survey resources to focus on collecting gender nuanced data only from the IDP population, which is not covered in SIGI, for example.

Table 1 below provides more context information about the survey. While most of the surveyed households were from known/named IDP camps, a few were in rented accommodation at the time of the survey. The table identifies the camp

⁵ 'Sri Lanka's Conflict-Affected Women: Dealing with the Legacy of War', Asia Report N°289 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 28 July 2017), <https://www.refworld.org/docid/597b3e704.html>.

⁶ 'Interim Report on the First Mandate of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Complaints of Abductions and Disappearances' (The Commission of Inquiry into Abductions and Disappearances, August 2015).

⁷ Commission of Inquiry on Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation, 'Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation', November 2011. <https://reliefweb.int/report/sri-lanka/report-commission-inquiry-lessons-learnt-and-reconciliation>

⁸ DSDs are the first layer of the administrative subdivision of districts in Sri Lanka. DSDs are further classified into Grama Niladari Divisions, the lowest administrative division in Sri Lanka

names where available.

Table 1: Surveyed IDP sites in Jaffna

no	GND	DSD	main town in DSD	named IDP camp(s)	no. HHs in survey
1	Urumparai East (J265)	Valikamam East	Kopay	Yogapuram and Puliyadi	20
2	Urumpirai South (J266)	Valikamam East	Kopay	Krishnan Koviladi	7
3	Mallakam North (J214)	Valikamam North	Tellippalai	Court camp	10
4	Mallakam Centre (J213)	Valikamam North	Tellippalai	Konapilam	33
5	Tellippalai East (J227)	Valikamam North	Tellippalai	-	2
6	Polikandi East (J394)	Vadamaradchi North	Point Pedro	Palavi	21
7	Polikandi west (J393)	Vadamaradchi North	Point Pedro	Pathuvalai	22
8	Puloly west (J410)	Vadamaradchi North	Point Pedro	KKS camp	14
9	Point Pedro East (J403)	Vadamaradchi North	Point Pedro	-	4
10	Alvai North (J400)	Vadamaradchi North	Point Pedro	-	1
11	Chunnakam town South (J196)	Valikamam South	Uduvil	-	11
12	Uduvil Centre (J184)	Valikamam South	Uduvil	Sabhpathi and Kannahi	51
13	Uduvil South East (J183)	Valikamam South	Uduvil	-	3
14	Udivil South west (J182)	Valikamam South	Uduvil	Mayiliddy	7

Below, we consider the significance of the geographic location of the surveyed households. While an obvious approach for such location-based analyses would have been to focus on the GND level, the thin spread of surveyed households in some of the GNDs meant that location-based analyses offered a greater degree of information, at a higher level of geographic aggregation. Therefore, the spatial analysis was conducted at the DSD level identified by the main town in the DSD: Kopay, Tellippalai, Point Pedro, and Uduvil.

4 Summary statistics

Table 2 presents summary statistics for the data collected during the survey. The sample is divided approximately equally between male (107) and female respondents (113). The 107 male respondents belonged to 100 male-headed households (MHHs) and seven female-headed households (FHHs). The 113 female respondents belonged to 82 MHHs and 31 FHHs. Nearly all of the sampled households were registered IDPs (98 per cent), and on average, they have been displaced approximately five times.

Table 2: Summary Statistics

	Male respondent	Female respondent	All
Household statistics			
Number of HHs	107	113	220
Number of male headed HHs	100	82	182
Number of female headed HHs	7	31	38
IDP by registration	102	113	215
Average no. times displaced	5.65	4.09	4.85
HH income (Rs. monthly)	37,471	19,902	28,486
Households in each village			
Kopay	25	10	35
Point Pedro	10	58	68
Tellipalai	34	11	45
Uduvil	38	34	72
Household members			
Total members	489	450	939
Average members	4.57	3.98	4.27
Respondent's age (avg.)	42.33	45.36	43.89

The data is spread across the four sites as 35 households in Kopay, 68 in Point Pedro, 45 in Tellipalai, and 72 in Uduvil. Though the overall distribution across male and female respondents was approximately equal, it was not possible to maintain this parity in each site. In most sites (Kopay, Tellipalai, and Uduvil), the proportion of male respondents was larger than that of female ones, while this parity is reversed in Point Pedro.⁹ Overall, the households in the sample comprised 939 individuals.

The age distribution of the 939 individuals in the sample of households is illustrated in the population pyramid in Figure 2 below.

⁹ This is more a result of purposive sampling than a reflection of population characteristics in these sites.

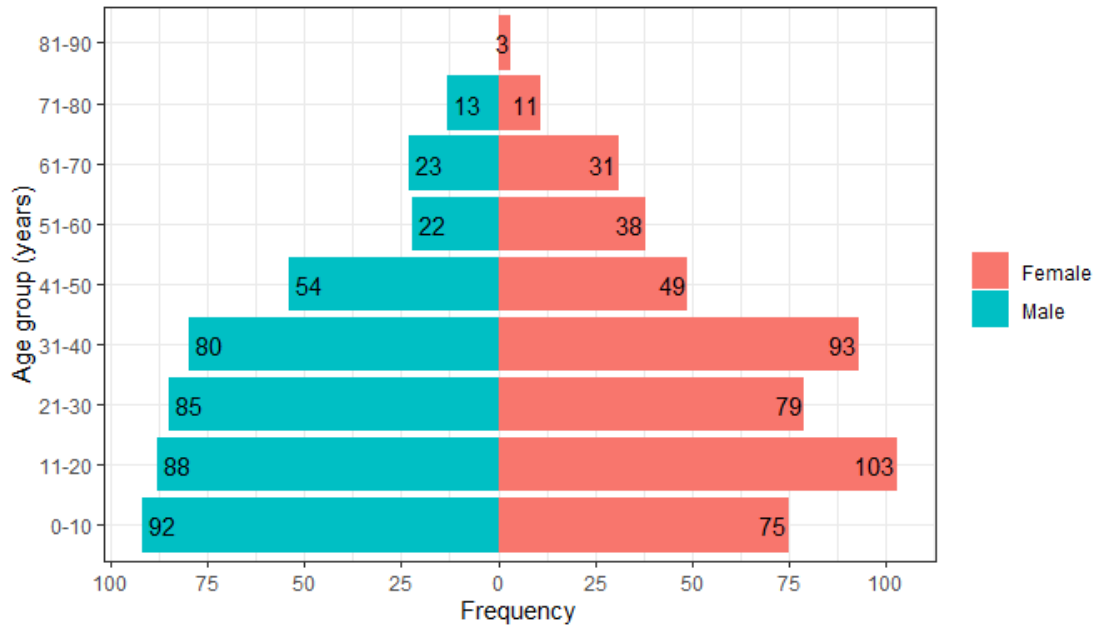


Figure 2: Age distribution of the individuals in the sample households

The bottom-heavy pyramid indicates that the sample of households comprises more young people than old. The largest age group is females aged 11-20 (103 individuals), and the smallest is females aged 81-90 (three individuals).

Figure 3 below illustrates the distribution of respondents' occupational categories based on the gender of the respondent.

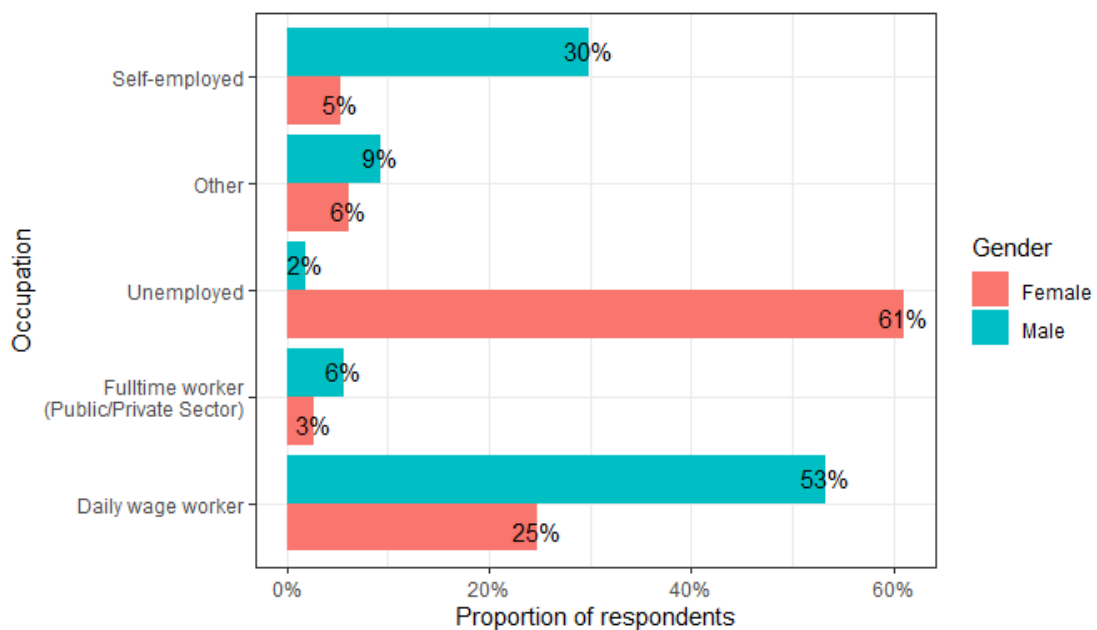


Figure 3: Current occupation

Most male respondents are either daily wage earners (53 per cent) or self-employed (30 per cent). Most female respondents are not formally employed (61 per cent), while a quarter of them work as daily wage earners. The proportion

of full-time employees in government or private sector jobs accounts for less than 6 per cent of both male and female respondents.

5 History of displacement

This section examines the arrival patterns of the respondents' families in their current locations and the potential for returning to hometowns or relocation in new villages.

Figure 4 below illustrates the arrival pattern of the IDP households in the four DSDs studied here. Nearly half the households in this sample had arrived in their current sites in 1990 (a total of 107 households) and had lived as IDPs for three decades. The fill colours used for the bars in Figure 4 correspond to the hometown of the IDPs, which is where they were displaced from. All of them were displaced from various places from within the Jaffna peninsula.

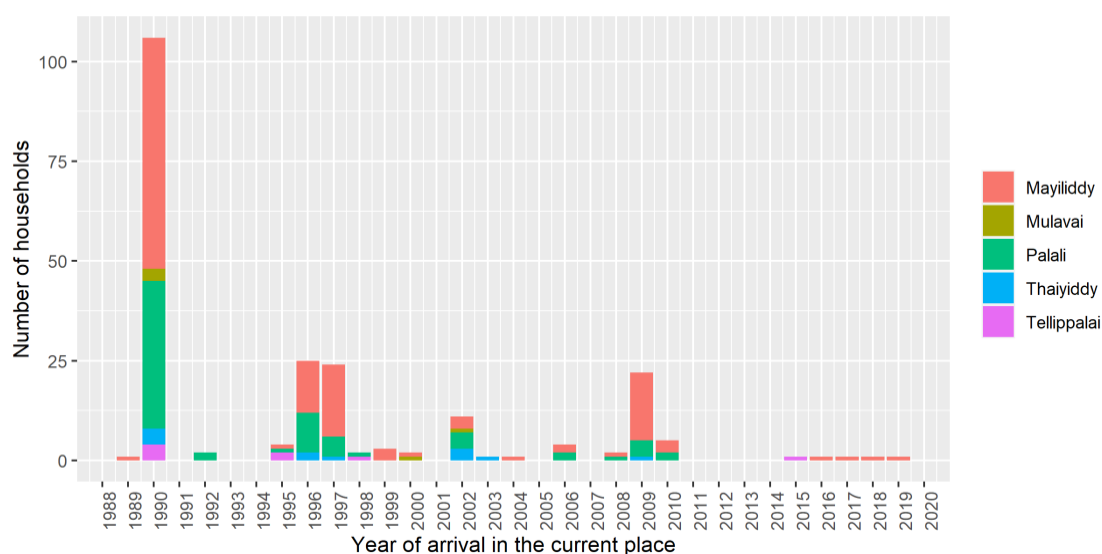


Figure 4: Arrival pattern by area of origin and year

There is an important geographical trend, which bears on the question of security. A large proportion of those who have been IDPs since 1990 and are still displaced are from Mayliddy and Palali areas. As both Mayliddy and Palali are in high-security areas and are close to Jaffna International Airport (former Palali Airport), these IDPs have not been allowed to return to their hometowns even after more than a decade since the end of the war.

The arrival date of IDPs at their current sites coincides with key milestones of the civil war in Sri Lanka. For example, the spike about 1990 in the figure corresponds with the large number of displacements that occurred in Jaffna following the collapse of the peace talks between the Sri Lankan government (under President Premadasa) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in July 1990 which was the beginning of Eelam War II (1990-1995).¹⁰ Similarly, the spikes in 1995-1996 in the figure correspond with the Sri Lankan Army's capture of the Jaffna peninsula; those in 2001-2002 with the increase in attacks by the LTTE in the months leading to the ceasefire declaration in 2001 and signing of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) in early 2002.¹¹ Both events happened during the period identified as Eelam War III (1995-2002). With the recommencement of war in 2006 following the collapse of the CFA, there were further displacements culminating in the surge in arrivals seen in Figure 4 in 2009. This was during the final phase of the war, Eelam War IV (2006-2009).

Only 10 households in the sample had arrived in their current place after the end of the war in 2009. The most recent arrival

¹⁰ The peace talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government happened while the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was withdrawing from Sri Lanka in early 1990, but collapsed soon after the withdrawal.

¹¹ Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran signed the Norwegian brokered CFA in February 2002.

was in 2019. However, the arrival year of these post-2009 arrivals does not correspond with when they were displaced. Some of them were displaced during the war either in or before 2009 but had only arrived in the current place much later. Others had married an IDP and had moved in with him/her during the post-2009 period.

Regarding the process of arrival in the current place following their displacement, 43 per cent of the respondents are of the view that the process was unsafe; 25 per cent considered it safe. The others either cannot remember whether it was safe or were not born when their parents moved to the current location. Among the respondents who stated that their rehousing process to the current location was unsafe, 71 per cent were female.

During the survey, the respondents were asked about their expectations of being moved from the current place within the next six months. A total of 106 (48 per cent) respondents either did not expect to move in the next six months or did not have a clear answer to this question. As illustrated in Figure 5 below, a large majority of those who have a clearer idea expect to be either resettled in their hometowns/villages (69 households) or relocated to some other permanent settlement (36 households).

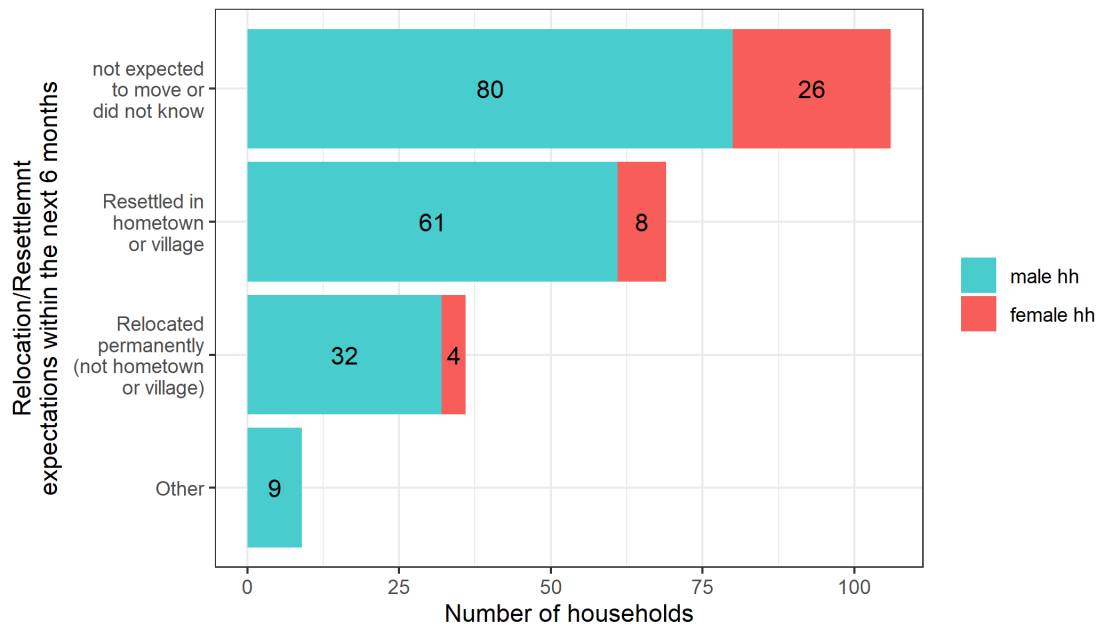


Figure 5: Where are you likely to move in the next 6 months?

Figure 6 examines the reasons which prevent the IDPs from returning to their hometowns or villages, categorised based on their gender.

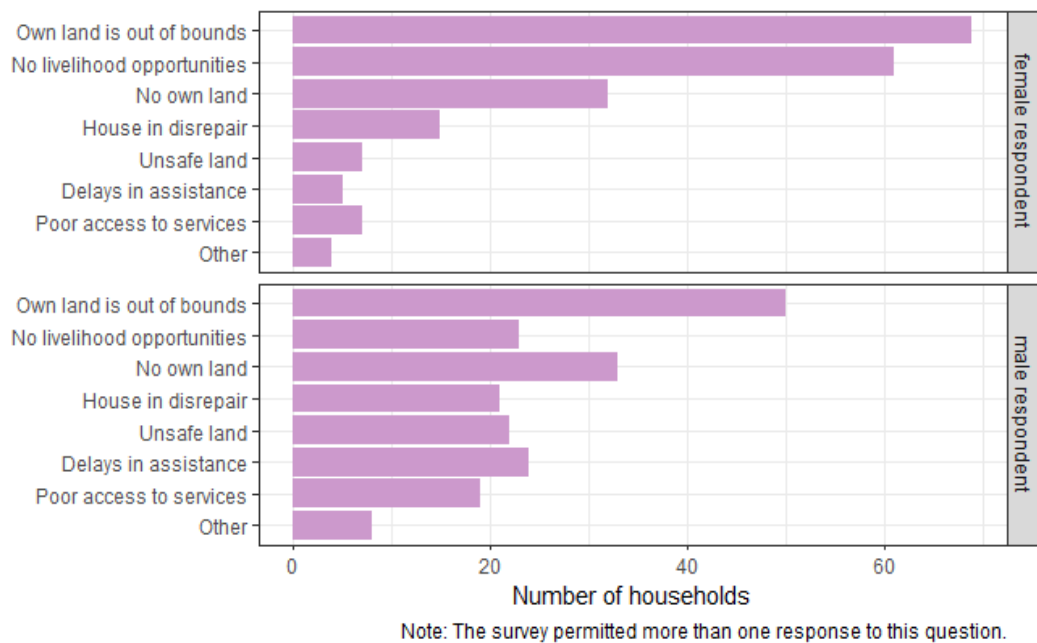


Figure 6: Reasons preventing return to hometown/village

As illustrated in the above figure, the main reason why IDPs cannot return to their hometowns/villages is that their land in those towns and villages is located in high-security zones, which are out of bounds for them. Sixty-nine female and 50 male respondents cited land being out of bounds as a reason for not going back. For female respondents, the absence of livelihood opportunities in their hometowns/villages also acts as a key deterrent, with 61 females citing it as a reason for not returning. However, only 23 male respondents stated scarcity of livelihood opportunities in their villages/towns as a reason for not returning.

Apart from those reasons, the other main reasons which prevent IDPs from returning to their hometowns or villages are that they do not own any land in their villages, the dilapidated conditions of their houses in the villages, delays in housing and other assistance, the land being unsafe due to landmines and poor access to services in hometown/village.

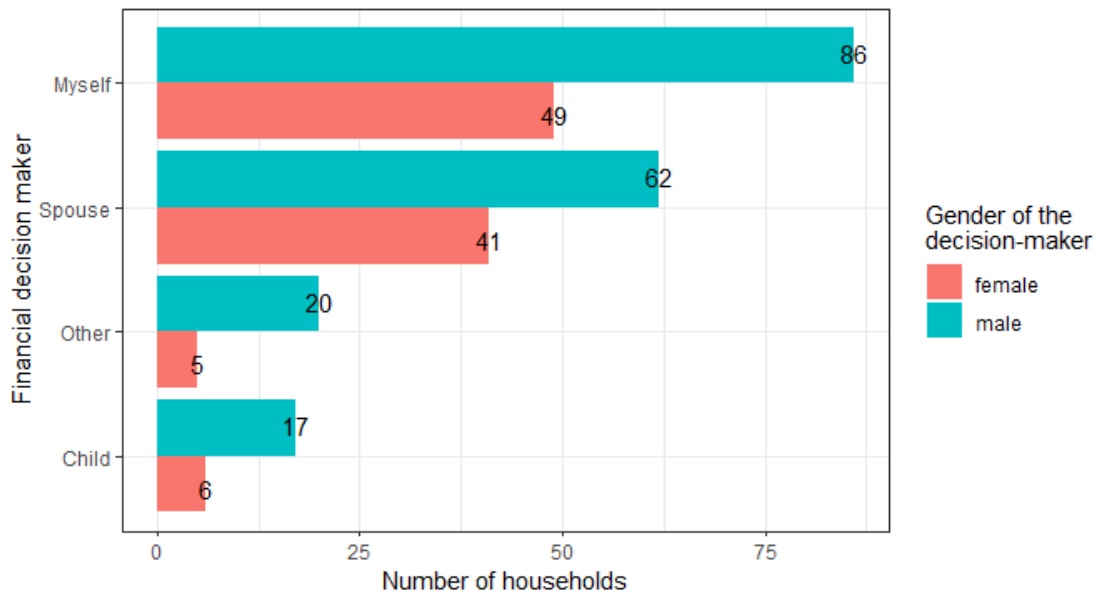
6 Household finances

This section examines the gendered experiences related to household financial activities. It presents the survey results related to financial decision making, income and expenditure, debt, and aids and grants received by the IDP households.

6.1 Financial decision making

Figure 7 examines the gender of the person/s who is/are responsible for making financial decisions in the household. On 185 occasions, the respondents identified males as responsible for household financial decisions, compared to only 101 occasions when they mentioned females as being involved in financial decision making.¹²

¹² This is a multiple response question where the respondents could pick more than one person as being responsible for financial decisions in the household. That is why the total is larger than 220, the sample of households.



Note: The survey permitted more than one response to this question.

Figure 7: Financial decision maker of the household

The above chart illustrates the dominance of the male role in the financial decision making of the IDP households. Figure 8 offers a more nuanced perspective about this by examining it from the headship status, as seen in Figure 8. The analysis according to headship is especially appropriate when respondents sought to identify more than one person as key financial decision makers in their households. Figure 8 seeks to aggregate this information at the household level and identifies if the said decision makers are all male or all female or a mix. For example, if at the household level financial decision making is done by both men and women, then Figure 8 identifies the decision makers are gender 'Mixed'. The results suggest even though at a community level financial decisions making is dominated by males, in FHHs the reverse is true.

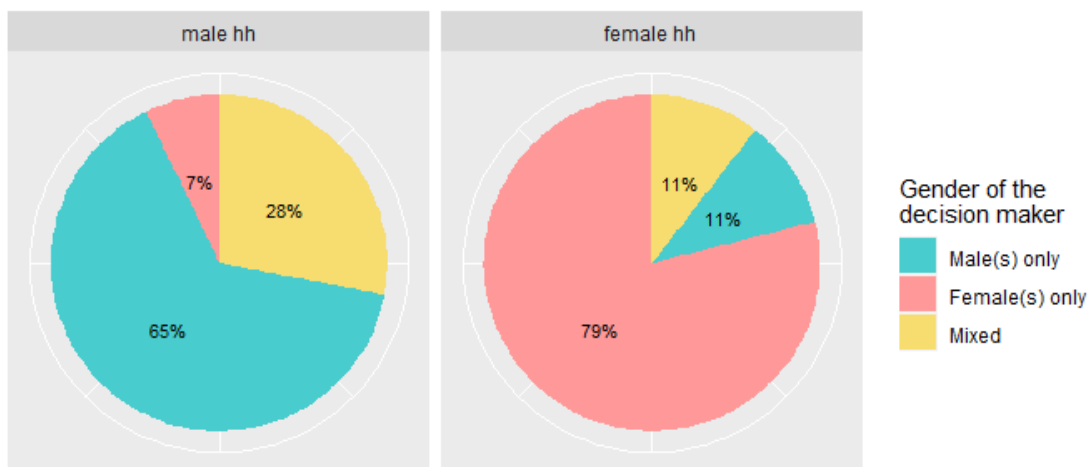


Figure 8: Financial decision maker(s) of the household

6.2 Income and expenditure

Figure 9 illustrates the distribution of income across male- and female-headed households in the sample. The figure offers two over-layered histograms explaining the MHH and FHH income distributions.

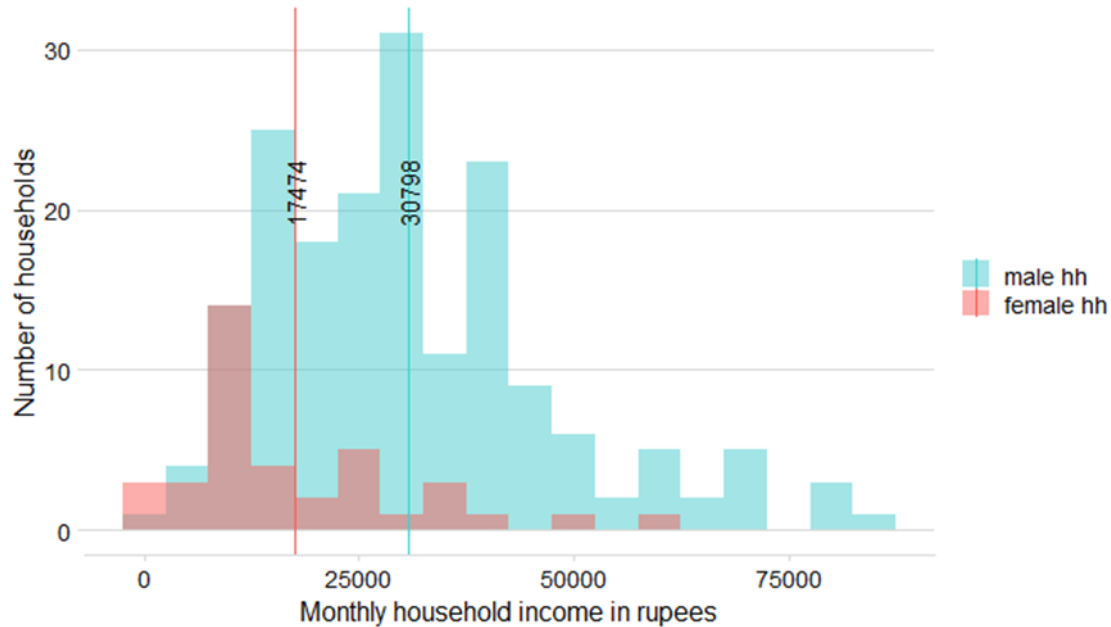


Figure 9: Distribution of household income among MHHs and FHHs.

As shown in Figure 9, the mean income of MHHs, LKR 30,798 (USD 167), is nearly double that of FHHs, LKR 17,474 (USD 95).¹³ Compared to the income of MHHs which is distributed across the full spectrum of incomes considered in the figure, the income of FHHs is concentrated in the lower part of the spectrum. Apart from the gender of the head of the household, other markers of social political identities such as the age of income earners in the household may explain the MHH vs. FHH differences seen in Figure 9.¹⁴

However, it is important to note that this figure illustrates the household level income distribution of male- and female-headed households and not per capita income distribution. As shown in Table 2 (“Summary Statistics”), the average number of members in MHHs is higher (4.57) than that of FHHs (3.98) and therefore, the per capita differences in income distribution among male and female members will be narrower than that of the differences in household income distribution.

Figure 10 illustrates the distribution of monthly income across the four DSDs included in the survey.

¹³ The conversion rate of 1USD = LKR 184.73 as of 30 October 2020.

¹⁴ Some of these reasons will be examined in more detail in the next stages of this research through an intersectional lens.

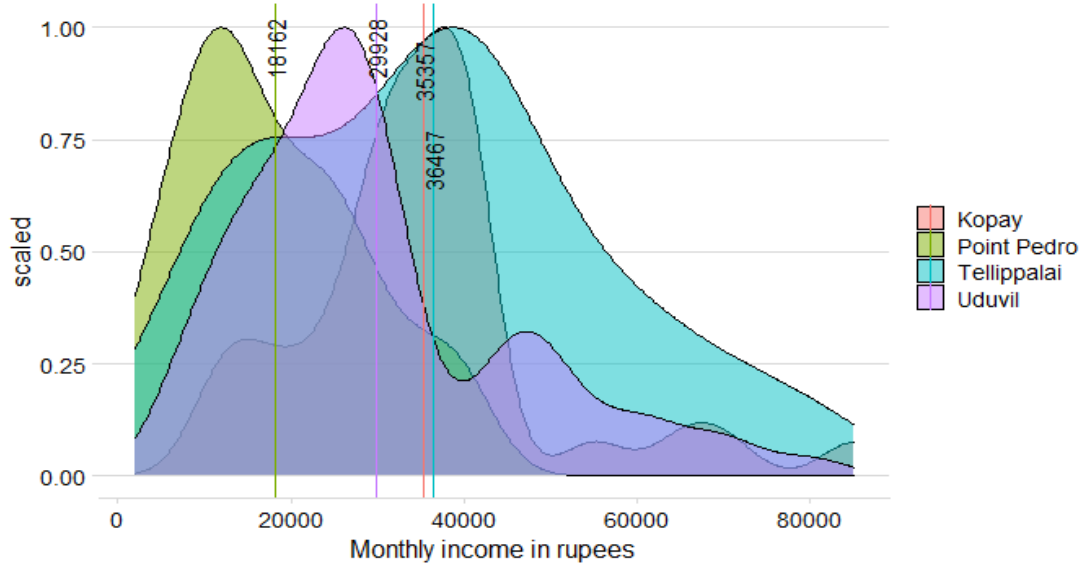


Figure 10: Household income distribution in the selected IDP sites

As noted above, the highest average monthly income is recorded among Tellippalai respondents (LKR 36,467, USD 197), closely followed by respondents from Kopay (LKR 35,357, USD 191). The average monthly income of respondents from Point Pedro (LKR 18,162, USD 98) is approximately half of that of Tellippalai. The low average monthly income of Point Pedro, where the majority of surveyed households are female headed, is reflective of the gender dynamics of income distribution between male and female-headed households illustrated in Figure 9.

Figure 11 examines the self-ranked income sources of the respondents. The relevant survey question asked the respondents to select the top three ranked income sources.¹⁵ Both male and female respondents ranked wages as the key source of income followed by earnings from self-employment activities. The second most important ranked category for a significant number of male and female respondents is 'other benefits'.

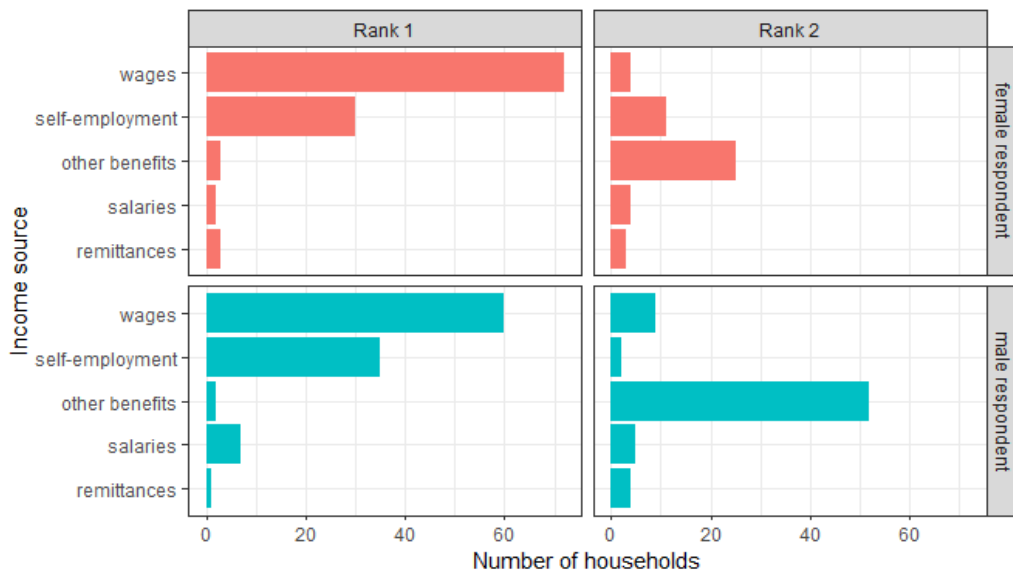


Figure 11: The importance of income sources

¹⁵ The analysis revealed that the third-ranked income source is not significant for these IDP households. So, the figure plots only the first 2 rankings.

Figure 12 examines how the respondents ranked their household spending. Nearly all respondents ranked expenditure on food as their number one spending item, which is generally considered an indicator of the presence of extreme levels of poverty.



Figure 12: The significance of expense categories

There are also a few female respondents that ranked health as the number one expense in their households.

Figure 13 looks at whether the respondent’s household income is sufficient to afford food, clothes, utilities, educational expenses (‘not relevant’ is selected if the household had no school going children), transportation costs, healthcare services and the cost of medicine and vaccines all year round.

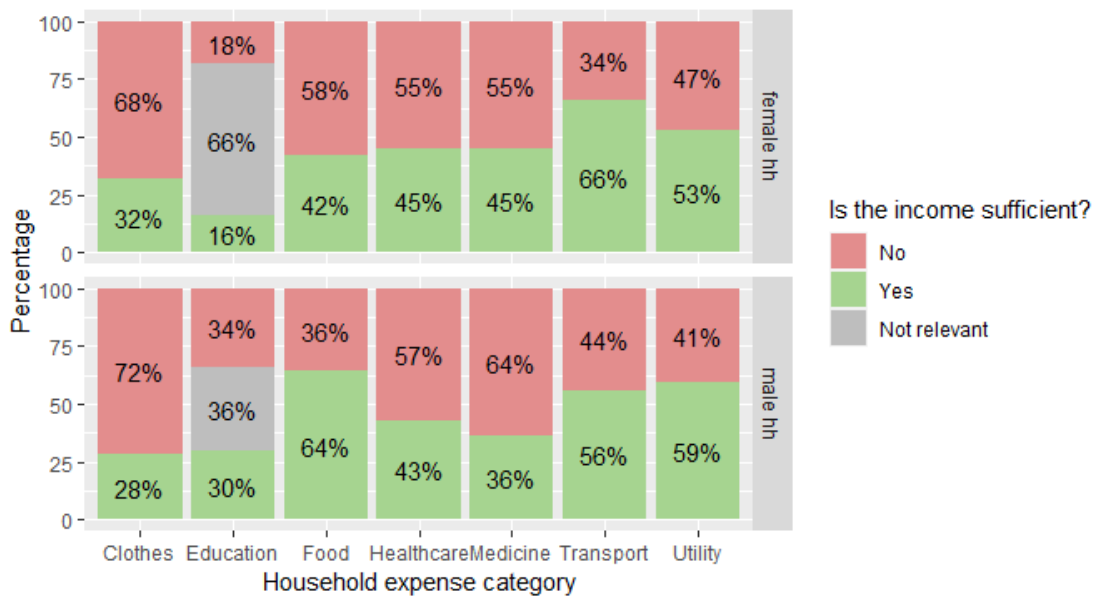


Figure 13: The adequacy of income for various household expenses

A higher percentage of FHHs than MHHs have stated that their income is sufficient to cover all key categories of expenses except for expenditure on food and utility bills. Better financial management practices followed by FHHs and minimal use of alcohol and drugs by female household heads could be among the reasons for the discrepancies in the levels of income sufficiency among male and female-headed households. Having said that, a much larger proportion of FHH (58 percent) than MHH (36 percent) have reported that their income is not sufficient to cover food expenses in their households, which is often a sign of extreme poverty.

6.3 Debt

As evidenced in Figure 13 regarding the sufficiency of income to cover key categories of expenses, more than 80 percent of the IDP households (regardless of FHH and MHH status) have stated that they are currently facing financial difficulties, Survey results show that 83 per cent of MHHs and 81 per cent of FHHs have financial problems.

Figure 14 illustrates the most important actions taken in response to the financial difficulties by the 31 FHHs and 151 MHHs who reported having financial issues.

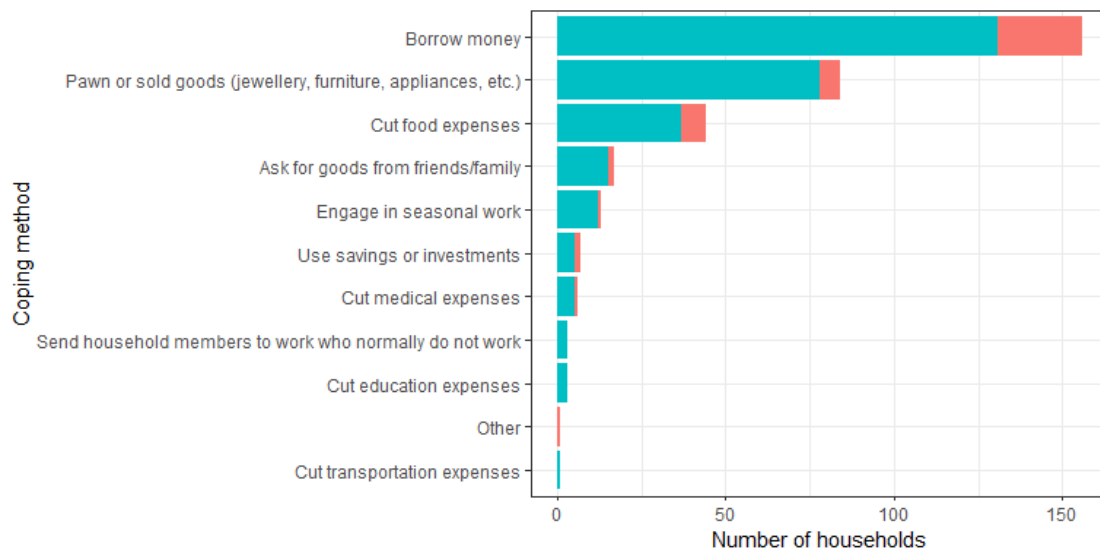


Figure 14: Actions taken to address financial difficulties

While borrowing is the most common coping strategy used, MHHs seem to be able to borrow money more readily compared to female-headed ones. A similar pattern can be observed with regard to pawning.

Figure 15 below illustrates how individuals (156 households) ended up using the borrowed money. Both MHHs and FHHs spent the highest percentage of their borrowings on day-to-day household expenses and to offset income losses due to lockdowns imposed to address the spread of Covid-19 in Sri Lanka. A relatively higher percentage of MHHs than FHHs spent on medicine and hospitalisation, and education.

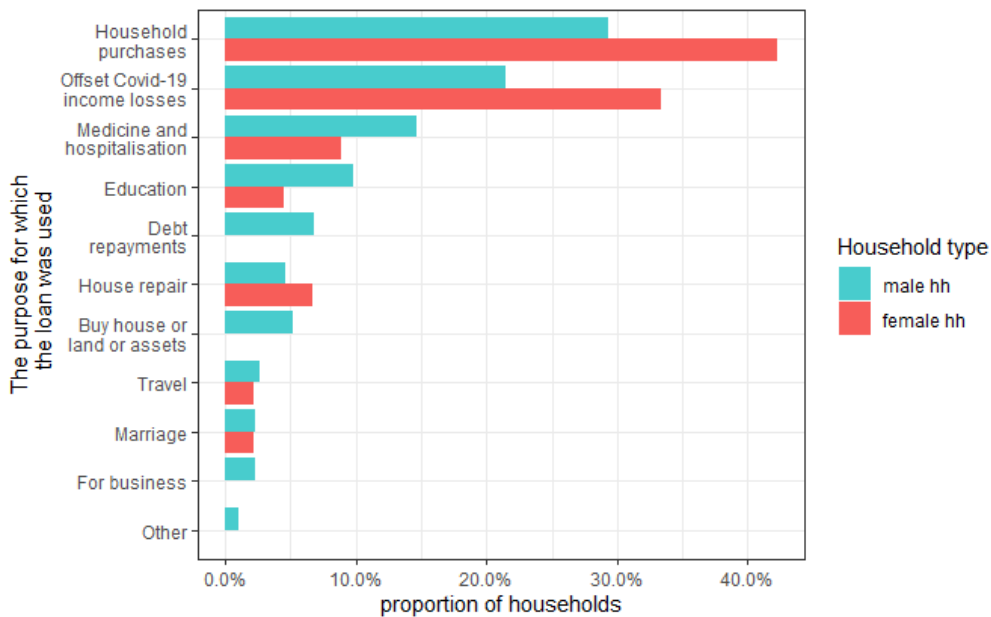


Figure 15: The purpose of the loan

While MHHs used their borrowings to repay past debt, none of FHHs did so. This could be either because FHHs are more careful in their financial management or because they do not have the opportunity to borrow continuously. Compared to FHHs, a higher percentage of MHHs spent money on buying houses, land and other assets. While a small portion of MHHs borrowed for business ventures, no FHHs borrowed for business purposes.

Figure 16 provides details of the people or institutions from which the money was borrowed. Both male- and female-headed households mostly borrowed from either friends or relatives. A lower percentage of FHHs than MHHs resorted to borrowing from banks. This could be because of difficulties in meeting the lending criteria of banks, such as finding suitable guarantors. While MHHs also borrowed from money lenders, only a fraction of FHHs resorted to borrowing from money lenders. This could be because females are more risk-averse than males, or it could be because females have prior negative experience dealing with money lenders. A higher portion of FHHs than MHHs stated that they were unable to find a suitable lender.

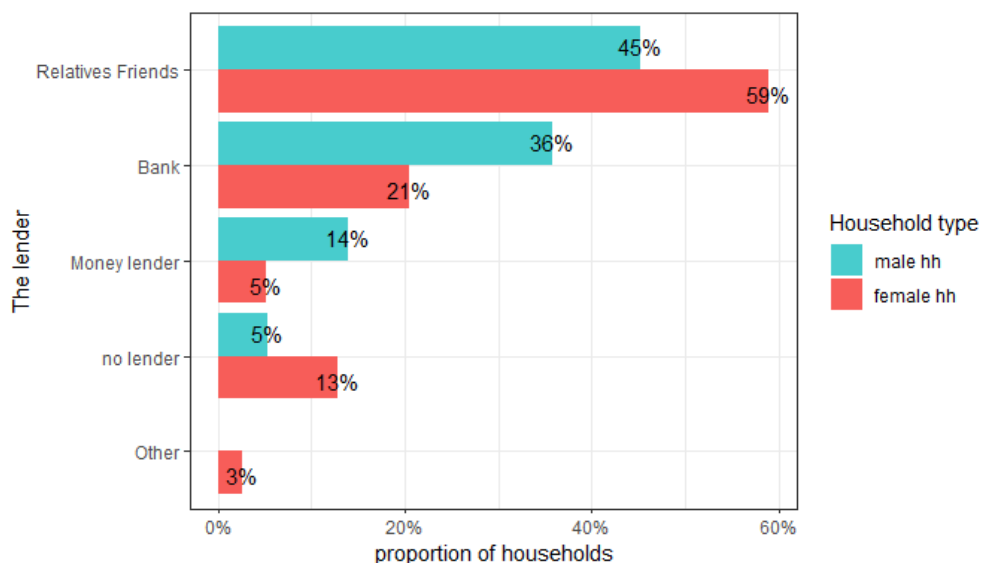


Figure 16: The lender

Among the (156) households which resorted to borrowings and pawning items, only six have managed to repay their debt and mortgage. All the others (except for two which preferred not to answer) have unpaid debt or unrecovered pawned items, or both.

6.4 Aid and grants

Figure 17 below illustrates the percentage of IDP households that have received aid or grants within the last 12 months.

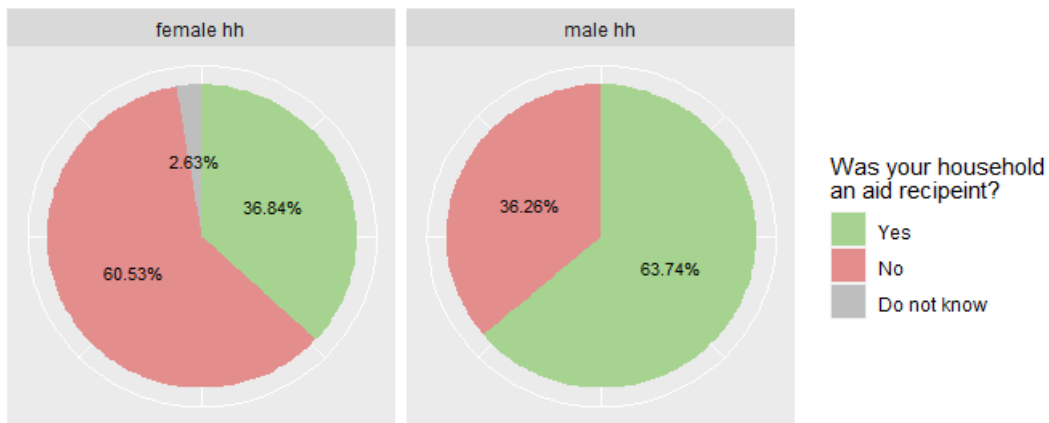


Figure 17: Recipient of aid or grants

Figure 18: Aid or grant recipients in the households

While nearly 64 per cent of MHHs have received aid or grants in the past 12 months, only 37 per cent of FHHs have received aid. Going beyond the household level access, we also collected information on the individuals who received support in the form of aid/grant. Not surprisingly, as illustrated in Figure 18, this analysis confirms the in FHH the aid recipients are predominantly female and in MHHs they are predominantly male.

The most common types of aid received by the 130 households which received aid or grants in the past 12 months were cash and food, with respectively 113 and 99 households receiving cash and food in the past year. Shelter materials and support for livelihood skill development are among other types of aid these households received.

Among the aid and grant recipients, 124 (95.4 per cent) received government aid, while 99 (76.2 per cent) received aid from local NGOs. Only three received aid from international NGOs. The lack of visibility of INGOs in the (protracted) displacement intervention space seems to affect how much the IDPs are willing to trust them.

Figure 19 illustrates the level of trust that the respondents have for these different funding bodies, and the INGOs seem to fare the worst. Figure 19 illustrates the distribution of different levels of trust ('a lot', 'a little', or 'not at all') among female/male respondents towards these agencies. The percentage on the right is the proportion which either said 'a little' or 'a lot' (i.e a total of green shades in the figure), and that on the left is the proportion which said 'not at all'. Overall, the respondents mostly trust government bodies, while the least amount of trust is with the INGOs, which are respectively the funding bodies from which the respondents received the most and least aid and grants.

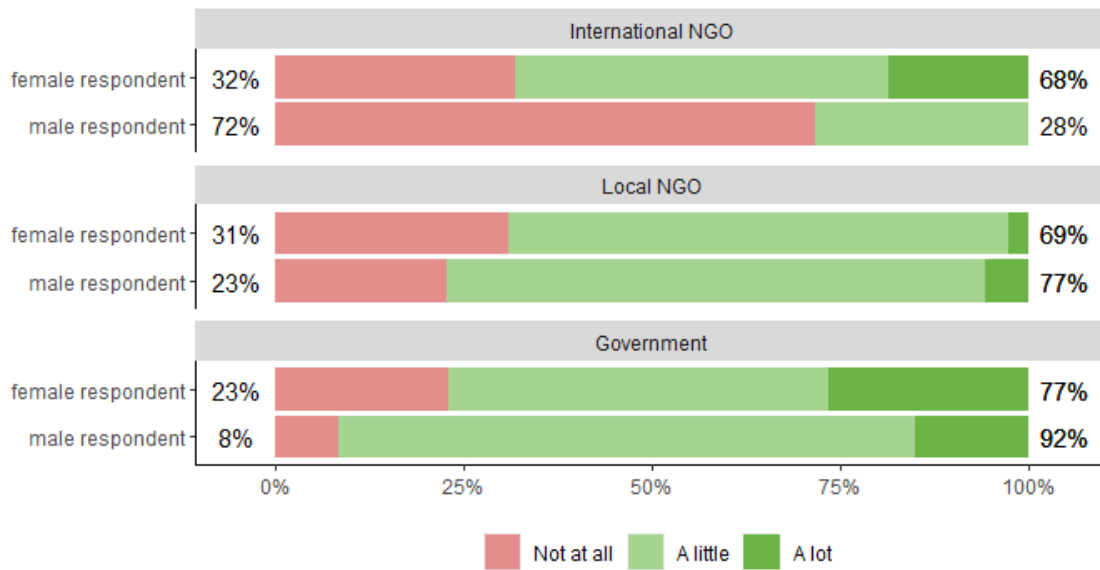


Figure 19: Trust in aid organisations

7 Household asset ownership

This section examines the asset ownership patterns of the respondents and their households. While subsection one examines various types of assets held by the respondents, the second subsection’s focus is solely on land owned by the respondents’ households.

7.1 Assets - all types

This subsection examines the type of assets held by the respondents. While the respondents’ family/household members may have assets, this section looks at those assets only if the respondent has a legal entitlement to these assets.

Figure 20 below illustrates the asset ownership of female and male respondents.

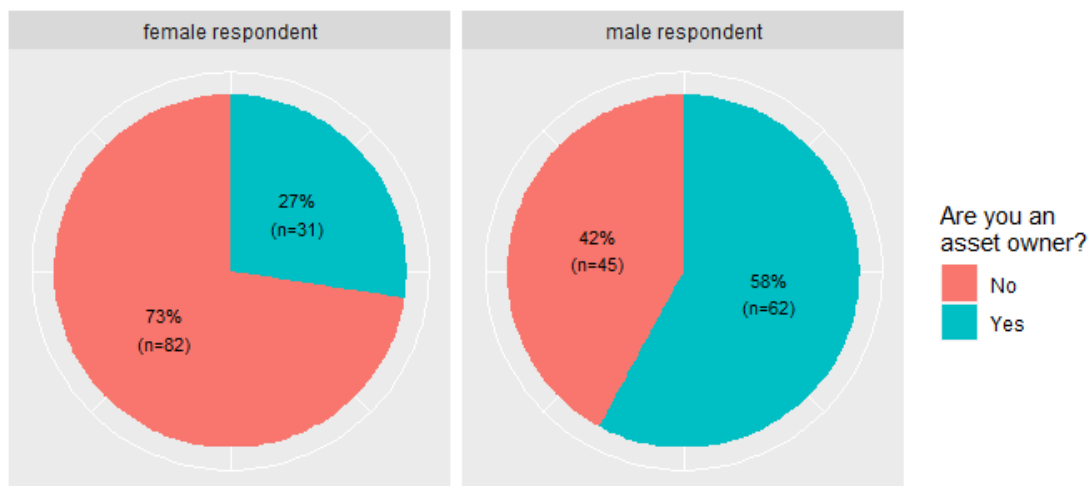


Figure 20: IDPs with assets

Some 58 per cent of male respondents stated that they own assets, which is double the proportion of female respondents who own assets (27 per cent).

Figure 21 illustrates whether the respondents who stated that they own assets (93 respondents) have sole or joint ownership of those assets.

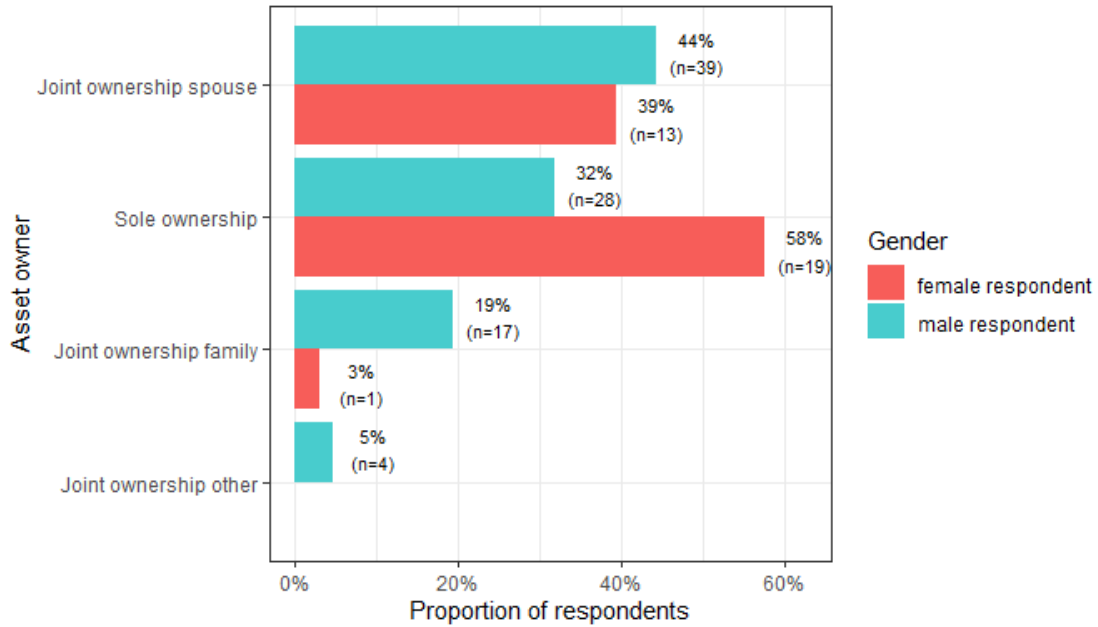


Figure 21: Ownership of assets

Proportionally, the most important asset ownership arrangement for females is sole ownership: 58 per cent of the female respondents have solely owned assets. In contrast, for male respondents (44 per cent), the most important arrangement is joint ownership with the wife. Apart from their wife, males also own assets jointly with other family members (19 per cent) and non-family (5 per cent). However, only one female respondent jointly owns assets with anyone other than their spouses.

Figure 22 illustrates the type of assets that male and female respondents have under sole ownership.

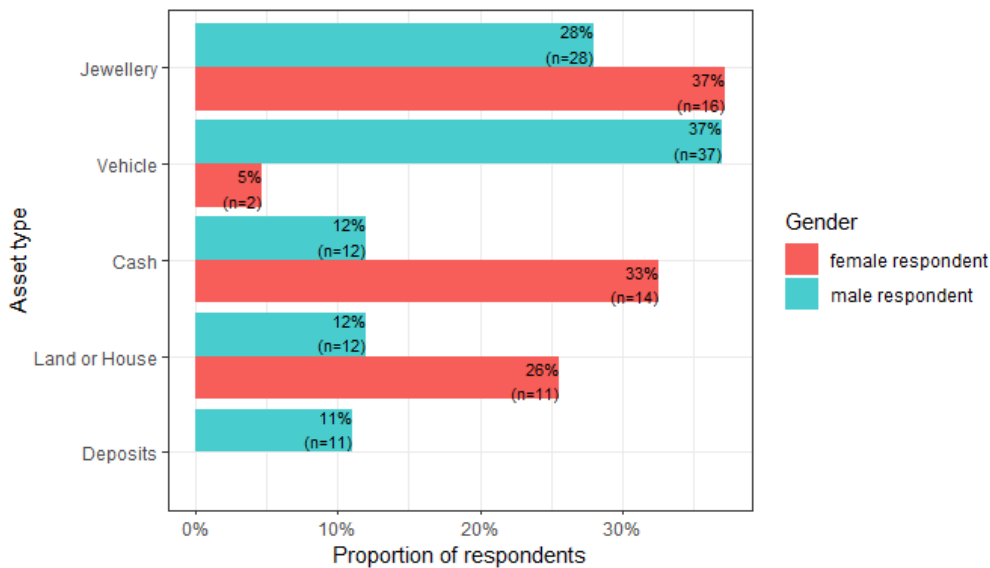


Figure 22: Type of assets under sole ownership

Most males with assets (37 per cent) have a vehicle in their name, while for females, jewellery is the most common asset to be owned independently (37 per cent). A higher proportion of female asset holders than males have cash and land or house under sole ownership. However, none of the female asset holders have bank deposits in their name, while a small proportion of male asset holders do.

7.2 Assets: land

In this subsection, we examine land ownership at the household level. We recognise that the respondent may or may not be the legal owners of such lands. Figure 23, for example, illustrates whether the surveyed IDP households currently own any land and whether that status is different between male- and female-headed households.

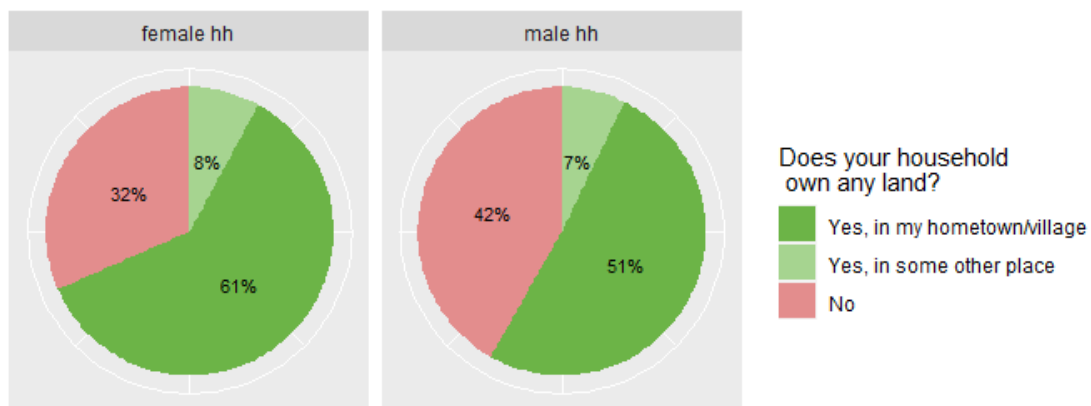


Figure 23: Land ownership of IDP households

We see that while 61 per cent of female-headed households currently own land (either in their hometown/village or in some other place), only 51 per cent of male-headed families do so. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to test the hypothesis that household land ownership is independent of the head's gender. The test results suggest that the null hypothesis that land ownership is independent of the head's gender cannot be rejected ($X^2 = 1.3687$, $df = 2$, $p\text{-value} = 0.5044$).

Out of the 132 households that own land, more than 50 per cent (69 households) do not have the rights to sell/mortgage/develop their land.

Figure 24 illustrates the reasons why IDP households' rights to their lands have been limited. For both MHHs and FHHs, the main reason limiting use-rights to their lands is the location of the land in question.

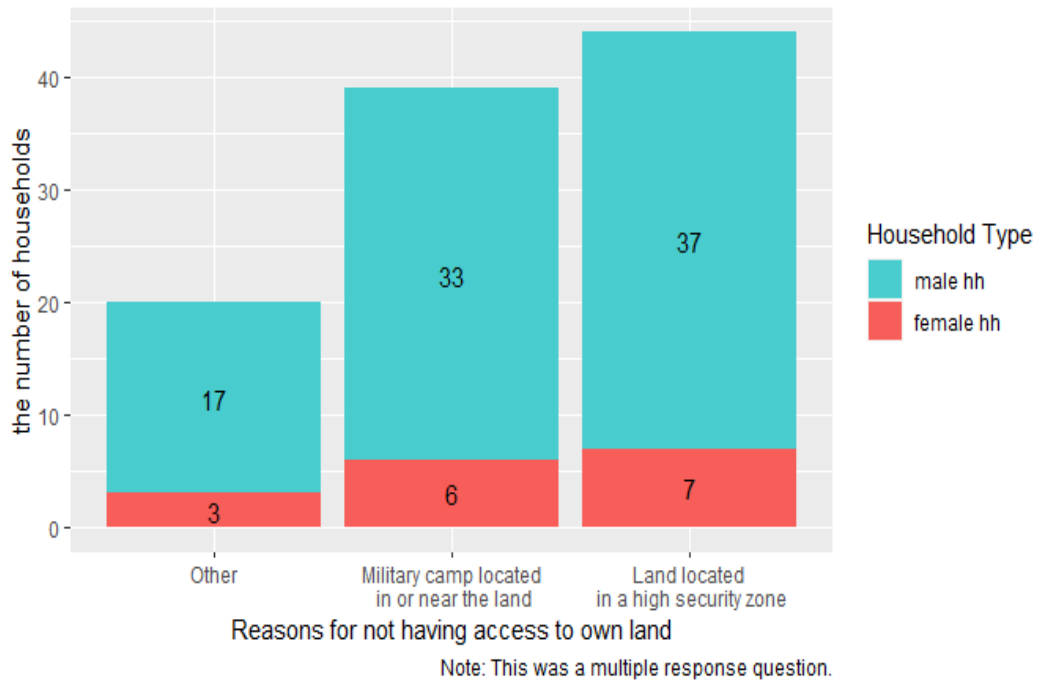


Figure 24: Why landowners do not have permission to access their land

Forty-four households have their lands in areas designated as high-security zones, while 39 have a military camp located in or close to their lands. This resonates with the earlier finding (see Figure 6) that land being out of bounds was the main reason preventing the return to hometowns. The 'other' reasons identified in Figure 24 which bar the 19 IDP households from exercising rights to their land include ownership disputes, land grabbing, the land being owned/ donated by the government, lack of proper documentation and expansion of Jaffna Airport.

Figure 25 illustrates the means through which the 132 households that own land obtained their land. Approximately half of MHHs have inherited land from their parents while none of the FHHs have inherited land from their parents.

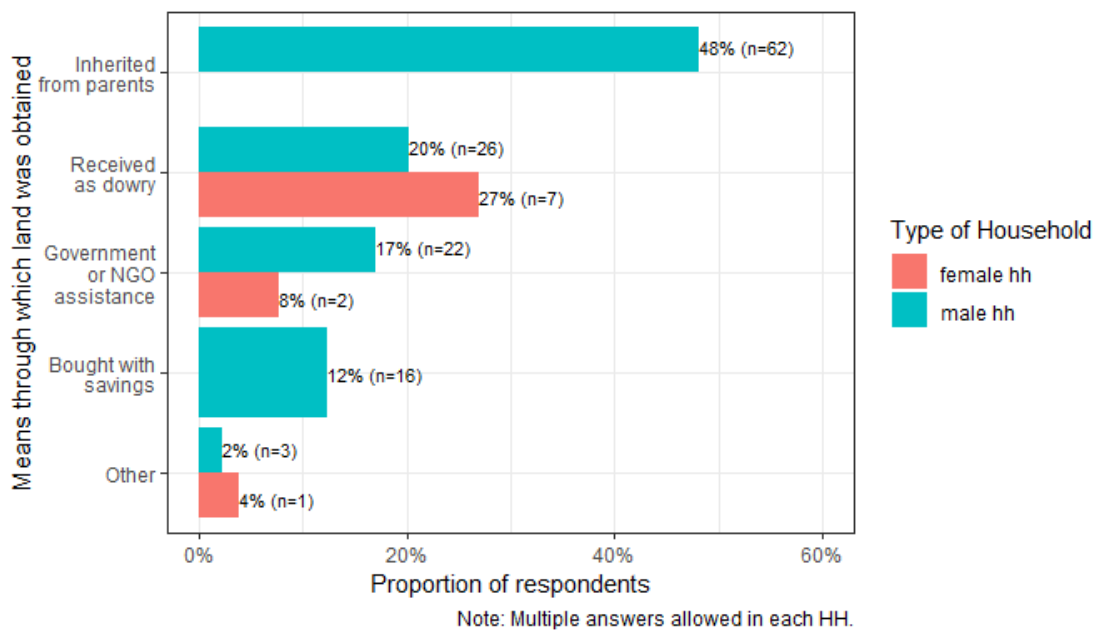


Figure 25: The means through which land was obtained

We note that a higher percentage of FHHs (27 per cent) than MHHs (20 per cent) have received land as dowry. While 15 MHHs households (12 per cent) have bought land with their savings, none of the FHHs have bought land with personal savings.

Figure 26 illustrates the distribution of the gender of the individuals who legally own land in the surveyed IDP households. The figure presents this data according to the headship.

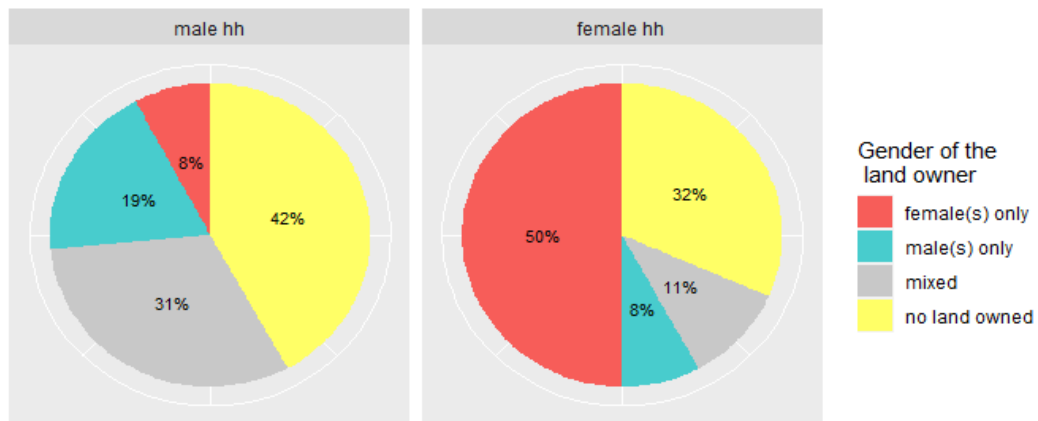


Figure 26: Gendered land ownership among the IDP households

8 Life as IDPs

8.1 Living conditions

Figure 27 illustrates the current locations of the sampled households. Most of them (177) currently reside in camps, while others mostly live in rented houses (21) or with host families (13). One respondent stated that they live in their own house. It is rather unusual that an individual who currently lives in their own house would still think that they are displaced.¹⁶

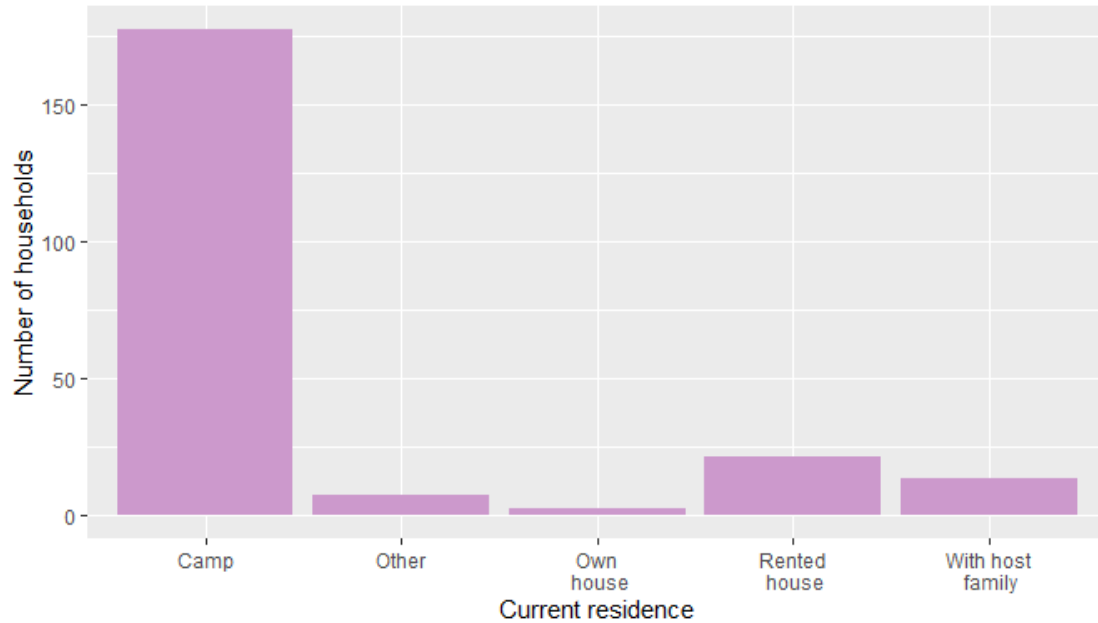


Figure 27: Current locations of IDP households



The community centre which is home to an IDP family in Tellippali

¹⁶ We will look into this case during the next stages in the fieldwork.



A camp site in Point Pedro, Jaffna. This camp site is susceptible to flooding and other adverse weather conditions

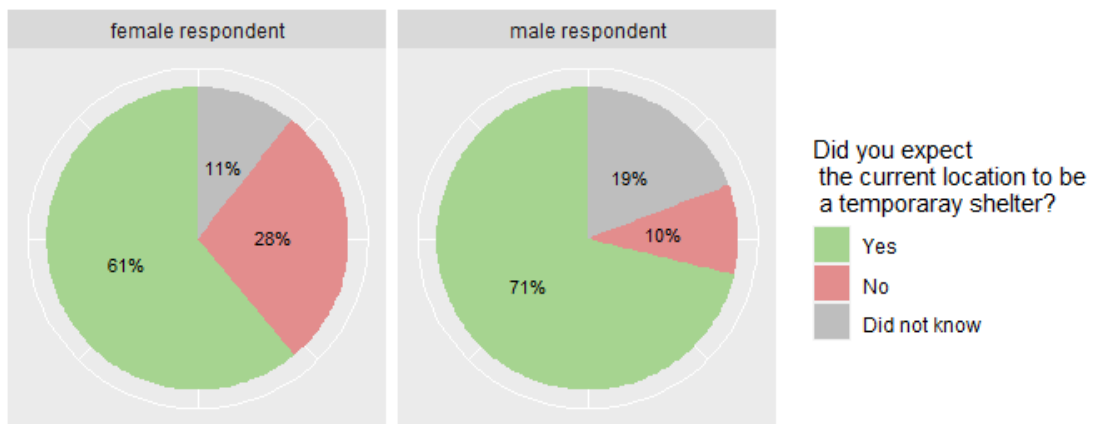
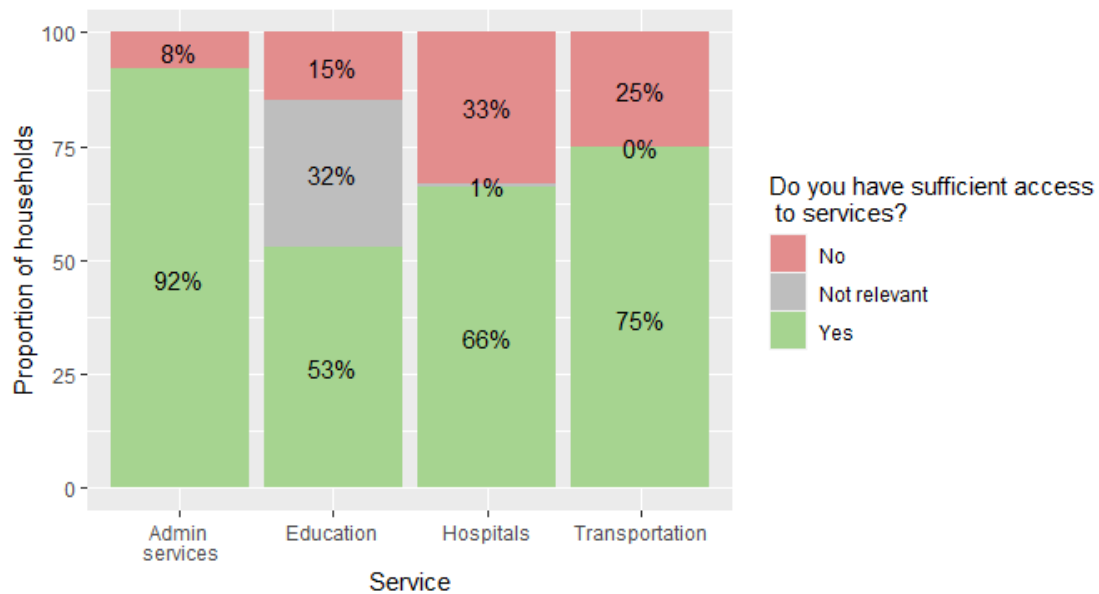


Figure 28: Expected length of stay at current location at the time of arrival

Figure 28 above illustrates whether the respondents expected the current location to be a temporary shelter or not when they first moved. A higher percentage of female respondents (28 per cent) than male respondents (10 per cent) expected to stay in their current location for a long time. This indicates that females were more aware or more ready to accept their living arrangement than males when they first moved to the current locations. The tragedy for most of these households (61 per cent. FHH and 71 per cent MHH) is that they arrived in the current locations expecting those to be a temporary living arrangement yet are still there after several decades.

Figure 29 below shows the level of access that the respondents' households have to various services.



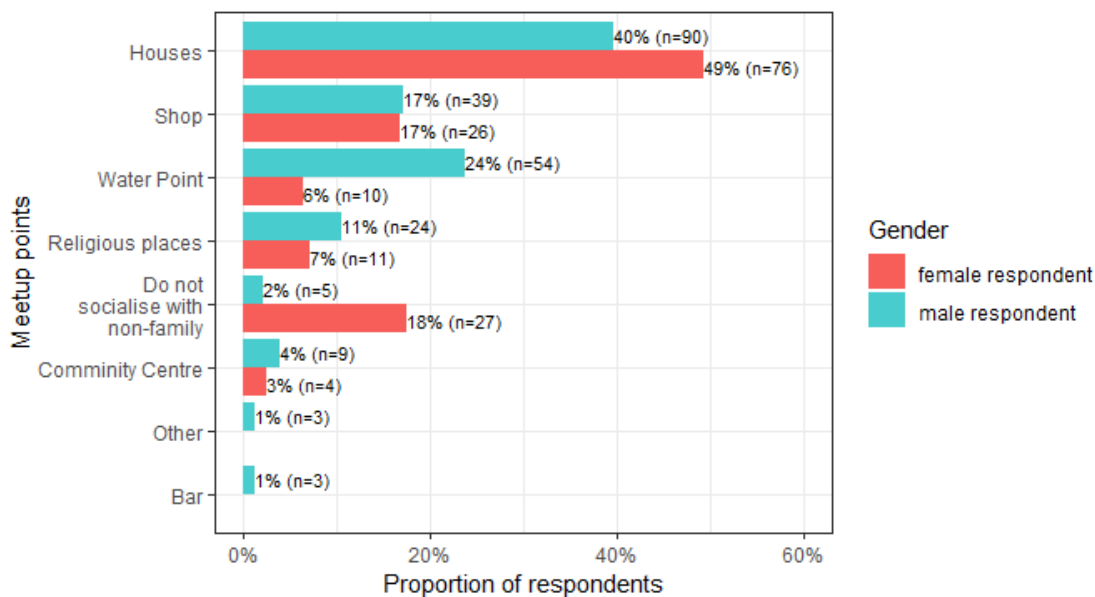
Note: Not relevant refers to those who do not require access to a given service

Figure 29: Access to public services

Overall, many households (92 per cent) have sufficient access to administrative services. Similarly, a significant proportion of respondents who require access to education and transportation can access those. Comparatively, access to hospitals seems more difficult, with 33 per cent of respondents saying that they do not have sufficient access to hospitals and healthcare services.

8.2 Social networks

Figure 30 illustrates the different locations where the respondents socialise with non-family members.



Note: The survey permitted more than one response

Figure 30: Locations where IDPs socialise with non-family members

The most frequently used places of socialisation, particularly for female respondents, are their houses. In addition, for male respondents, the place where they collect water is a common meetup point. Males also socialise at shops and religious places slightly more than females. A significantly higher proportion of females than males stated that they do not socialise with non-family members. This could be because females who are mostly homemakers do not get the opportunity to meet non-family members as much as males.

Figure 31 illustrates the changes that the respondents felt had happened to the number of people they could talk to or get help from since displacement. This figure presents a comparison of pre-displacement conditions with the current situation. A significant number of respondents were not able to compare their current conditions against pre-displacement conditions. These respondents were removed from the analysis in Figure 31.

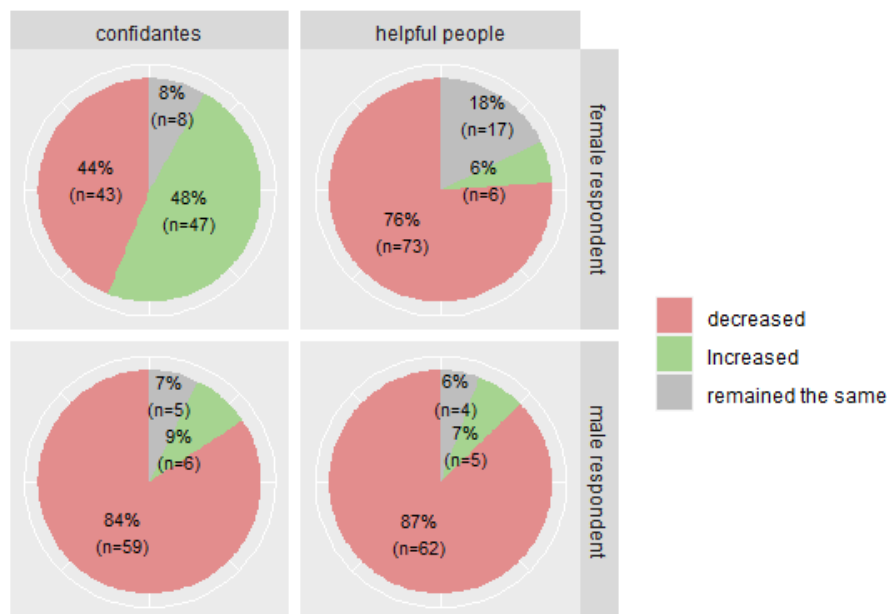


Figure 31: Changes in the number of people that IDPs can talk to or get help from

The results make it clear that these human contacts in the form of people talking to and helping each other have collapsed after the displacement. Apart from the analysis of the data on female respondents about the number of people they could speak to (top-left pie chart in the figure which suggests 48 per cent had experienced an increase), the rest of the data suggest that the numbers have decreased for a significant proportion of respondents (ranging from 76 per cent to 86 per cent). There is also evidence that this negative impact is felt more strongly by the male respondents. For example, while 44 per cent of the females reported that the number of people they could talk to had decreased during displacement, the corresponding proportion is nearly double (84 per cent) for male respondents.

Figure 32 illustrates the key categories of people who advise and support the respondents in their times of need. The majority of female respondents (58.8 per cent) rely on government officials for support and advice, while a significant percentage of males (43.9 per cent) reported that they do not have any key people to seek help from.

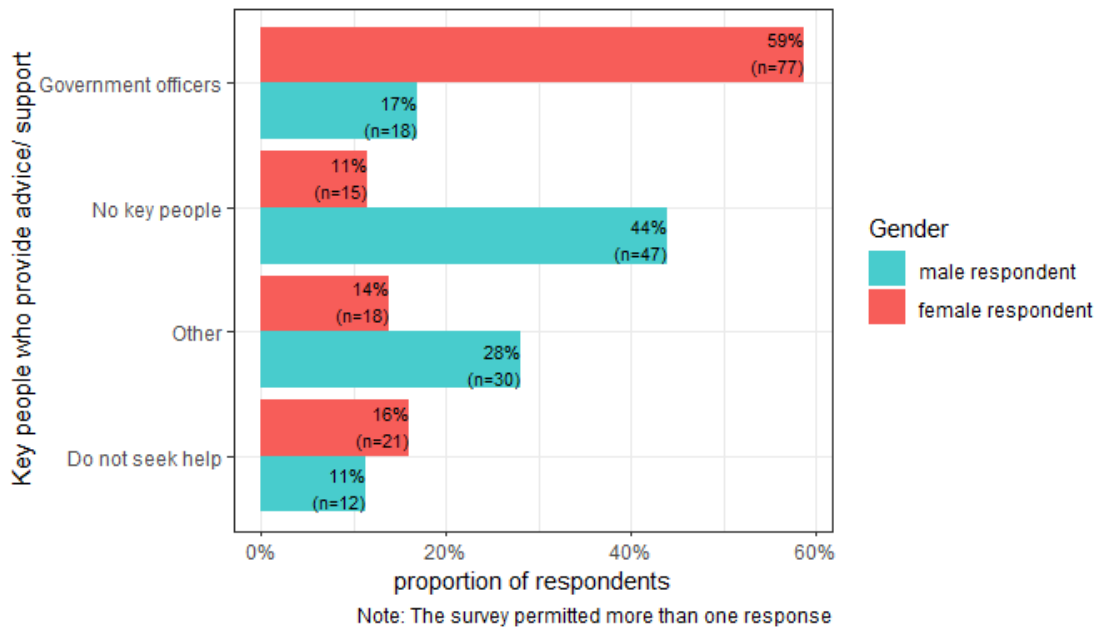


Figure 32: Key people that support and advise IDPs

8.3 Relationship with other IDPs and the host community

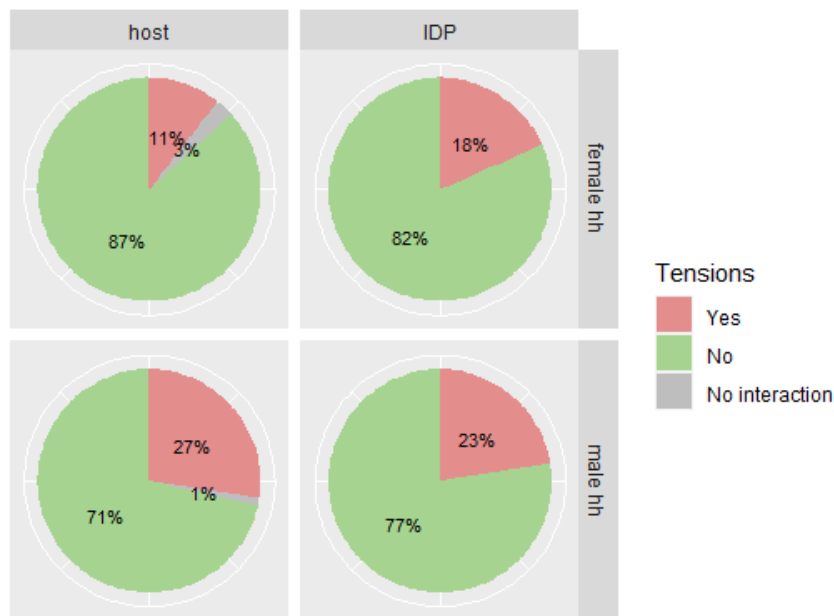


Figure 33: Relationship with other IDPs and hosts

Figure 33 above presents data on self-reported tensions that IDPs have with fellow IDPs and with their host community. As illustrated in the figure, a smaller proportion of FHHs reported tensions with host or IDP communities compared to MHHs. While FHHs reported some tensions (11 per cent) with the host community, for MHHs, this proportion at 27 per cent is more than double that of the FHH. The relatively low prevalence of tensions with the host community reported by FHHs could be because females tend to stay within their communities and have minimal interactions with outsiders compared to males. On the other hand, the relatively low occurrences of tensions with the IDP community reported by the FHHs could be because females rely on each other for support and for tasks such as babysitting.

Figure 34 below illustrates the reasons for the tensions reported by the 54 households which have experienced tensions with the host community. For both MHH and FHHs, the main reason for tensions with the host community is land-related issues, with 17 respondents from MHHs and nine respondents from FHHs citing it as an issue. These land issues are partially related to the fact that IDPs reside in land belonging to the host community. Apart from that, youth gangs and housing issues are prominent reasons for tensions with the host community for both male and female-headed households. While alcohol and drugs are key reasons for tension with the host community for MHHs, they play only a small role in tensions with the host community for FHHs.

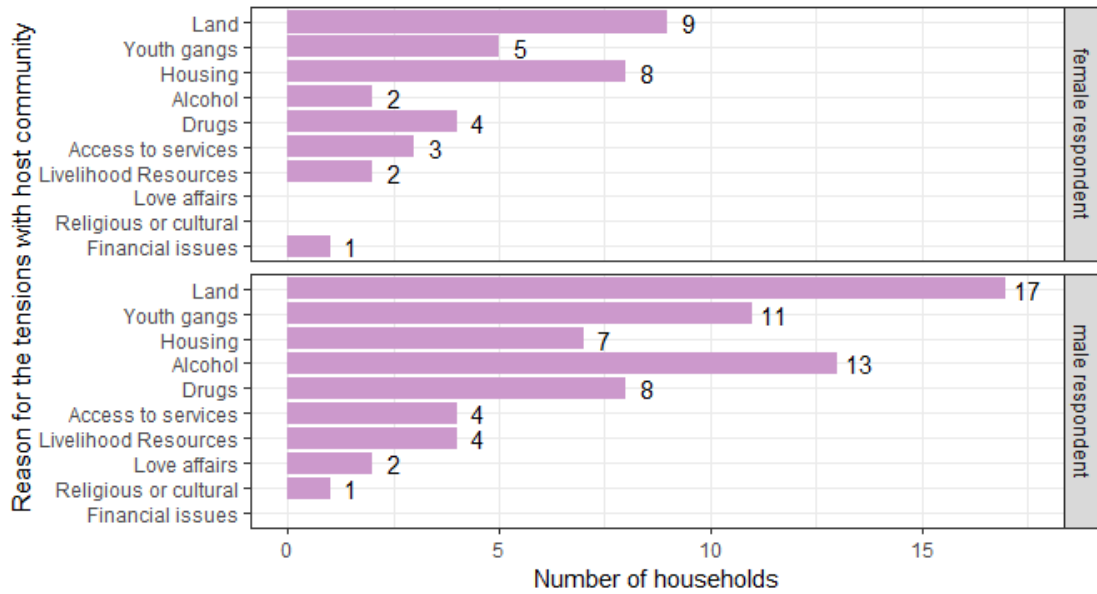


Figure 34: Reasons for tension with host community

Reasons for tensions with the host community can be compared with those for tensions with the rest of the IDP community. While the main reason for tensions with the host community is related to land issues, the main reason for tensions with other IDPs is alcohol.

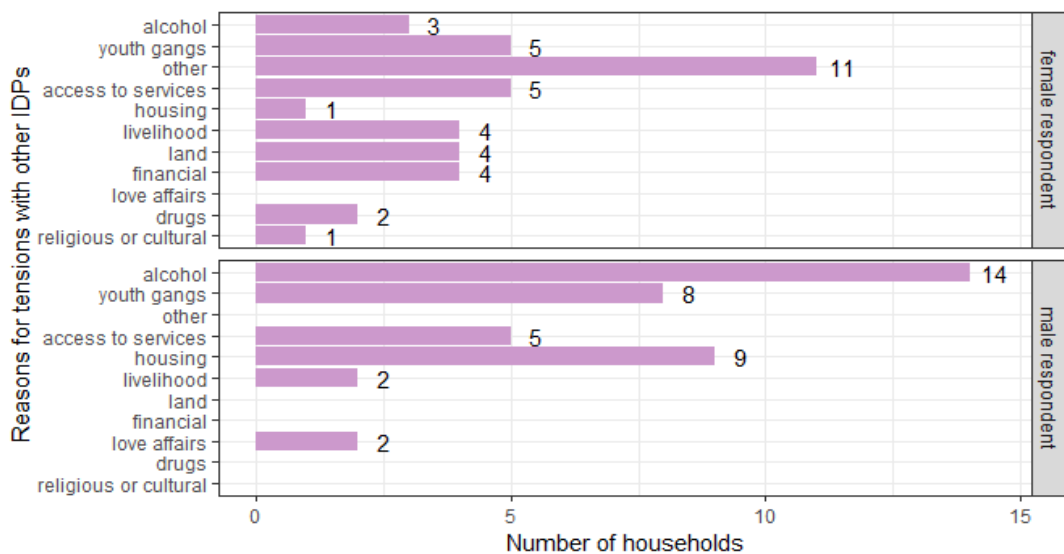


Figure 35: Reasons for tension with others in the IDP community

8.4 Health and wellbeing of IDPs

Figure 36 illustrates the respondents' perceptions of their state of health during the past 12 months. 36 per cent of males said that they were in good health, while less than a quarter of female respondents said so.¹⁷ On the other hand, 32 per cent of women and men said that their health condition during the past year was poor.

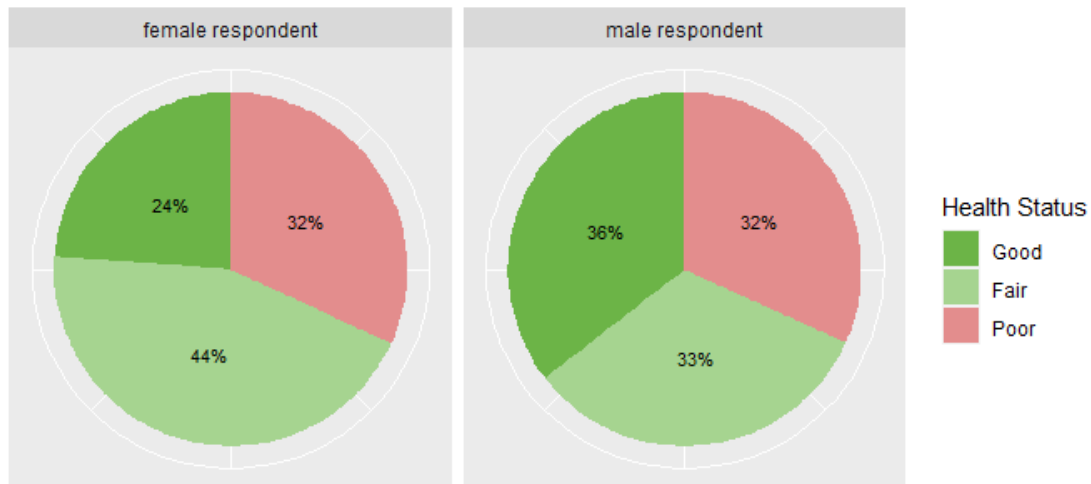


Figure 36: Respondents' perception about their health during the past 12 months

Figure 36 illustrates the prevalence of indicators of mental health issues among the respondents. Overall, female respondents' mental health status appears to be poorer than that of male respondents.¹⁸

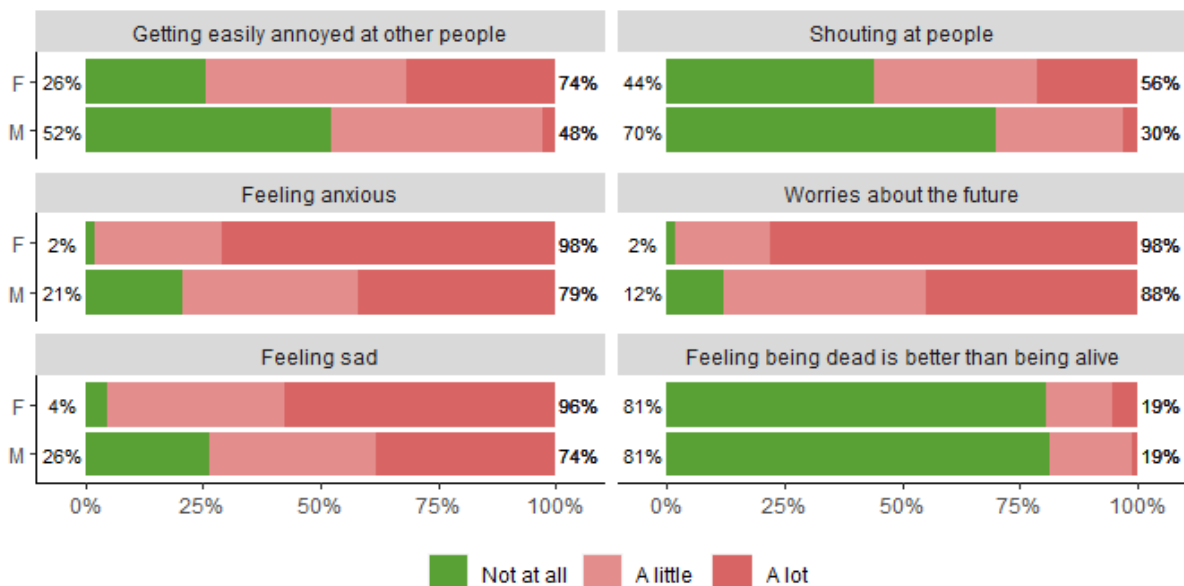


Figure 37: Prevalence of indicators of poor levels of mental health and wellbeing among respondents

The following graph illustrates how satisfied the respondents are with their current lives categorised based on their gender. In the figure, the percentage on the left is the sum of the proportion in red shaded areas ('completely dissatisfied' or

¹⁷ One possible explanation is that the sample contained more older women than older men.

¹⁸ Later on, in this research, we will combine these indicators, for example in the form of a composite index which can be used as more comprehensive measure of mental health.

'dissatisfied'), and that on the right is the proportion in green shades ('satisfied' or 'completely satisfied').¹⁹ The proportion of respondents who are either 'completely dissatisfied' or 'dissatisfied' (combined area in red shades) is higher for females (58 per cent) than for males (46 per cent). It also transpires that regardless of gender, approximately half the respondents are dissatisfied with life while not even a single person was 'completely satisfied'. The reasons for this will be examined in the next stages of this research.

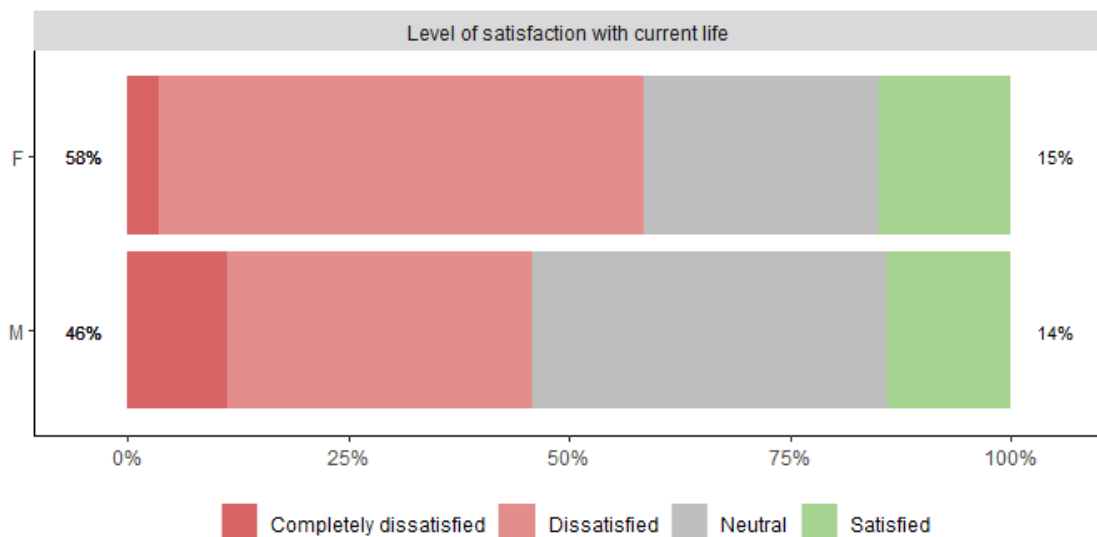


Figure 38: Respondents' level of satisfaction with their life

9 Neighbourhood safety and security

9.1 Safety and security concerns

Figure 39 illustrates how safe respondents feel when they are out on their own during the day and at night. While no female respondent said they feel unsafe when walking alone in their neighbourhood during the daytime, 7 per cent of males said they feel unsafe when out on their own during the daytime. Whereas half of the female respondents stated that they feel safe when walking alone in their neighbourhood at night, less than one-fifth of male respondents said so. The majority of male respondents feel unsafe (58 per cent) or very unsafe (25 per cent) when they are out on their own at night in their neighbourhood. Safety is therefore highly gendered.

¹⁹ The remainder are those who answered 'neutral'.

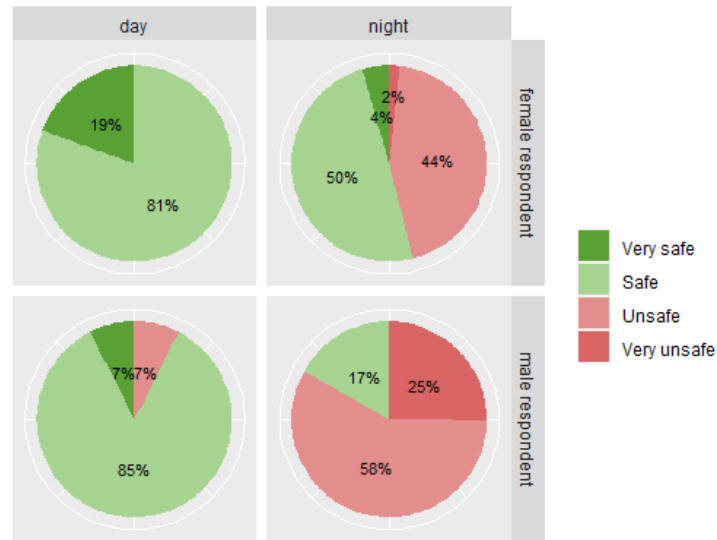
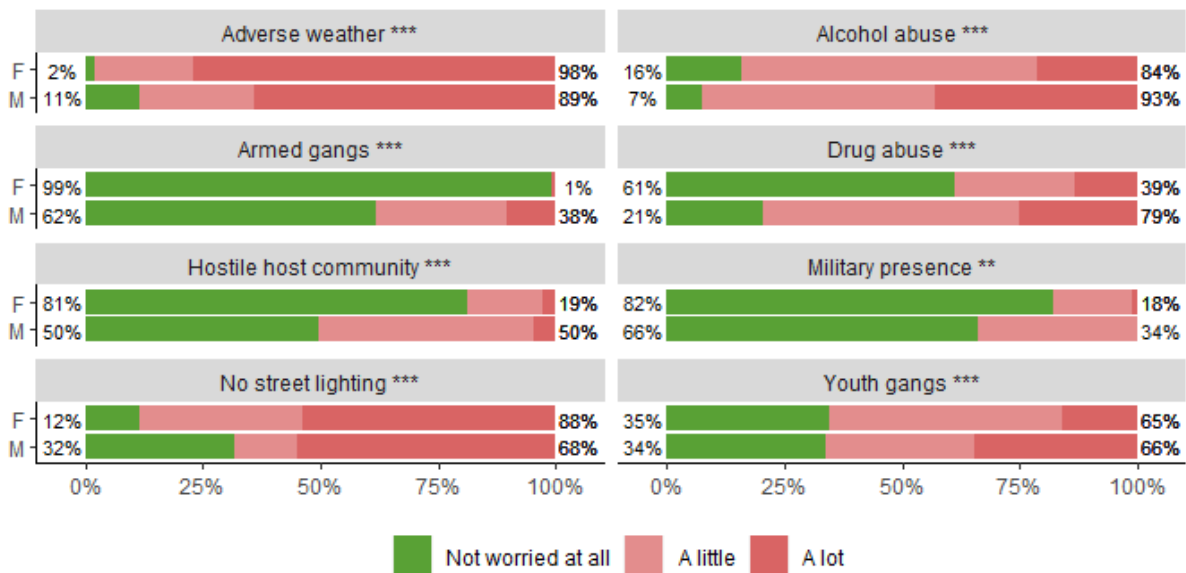


Figure 39: Respondents' perception of safety when walking alone in the neighbourhood

Figure 40 below illustrates how concerned respondents are regarding a range of safety and security issues in their neighbourhood. The area in red reflects the proportion of worried individuals (dark red - 'A lot' worried and light red 'A little').



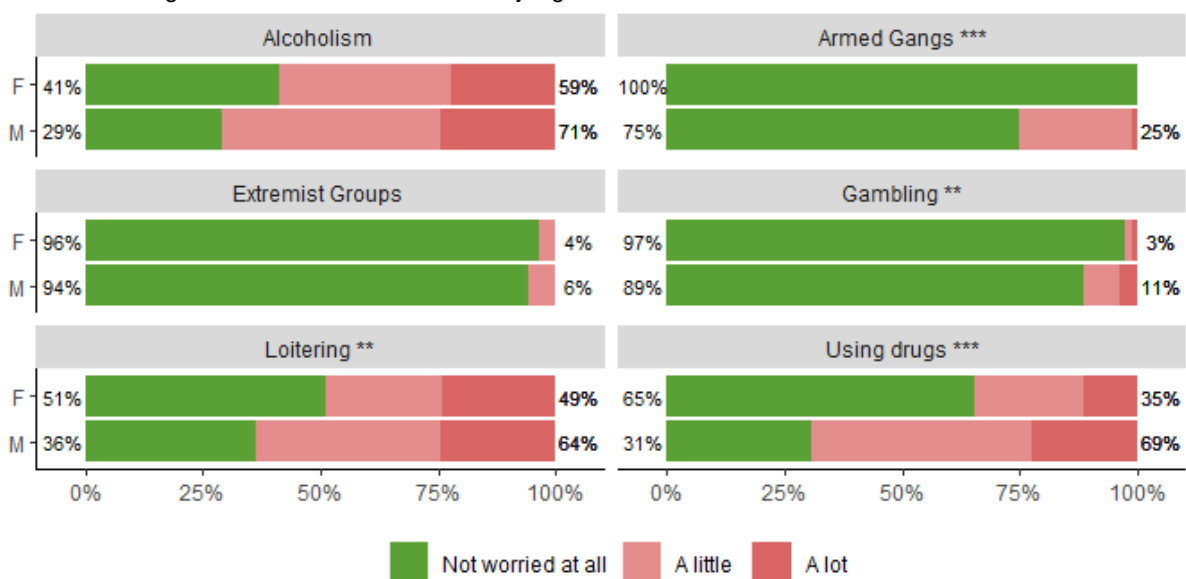
Note: Significance levels of Chi-Square test of independence: *** 1 percent, ** 5 percent, and * 10 percent level.

Figure 40: Concerns regarding neighbourhood safety

Both men and women are most concerned about adverse weather (male – 89 per cent and female – 98 per cent), alcohol abuse (male – 93 per cent and F – 84 per cent) and lack of street lighting (male – 68 per cent and female – 88 per cent) than any other neighbourhood safety issue. Compared to men, women seem more concerned about adverse weather conditions and lack of street lighting, while men are more concerned about youth gangs, alcohol abuse, and drug abuse. This suggests men who usually go out to work and have more exposure are more concerned about safety issues that affect their broader communities, while women are more concerned about issues in their immediate neighbourhood that affect their day-to-day lives. The figure also summarises a series of Chi-square tests of independence between gender

and these security/safety issues. Each of these tests checked if the pattern of concern is statistically significantly different between men and women. The results suggest that the variations noted between men and women are statistically significant at 1 per cent level for seven variables; for 'military presence', it is significant at 5 per cent level.

Figure 41 below illustrates how concerned the respondents are regarding the potential involvement of their family members in certain illicit or illegal activities. These results are categorised based on the respondent's gender. Overall, males are more concerned about their family members' involvement in illicit or unlawful activities than females. This could be because males who go out of the camp for work, in general, are more aware of the situation in their neighbourhood than females who mostly spend their time in the camps. The main concerns of both males and female respondents are regarding the use of drugs (M-69 per cent and F-35 per cent), alcoholism (male – 71 per cent and female – 59 per cent) and loitering (male – 64 per cent and female – 49 per cent) by their family members. The Chi-Square tests, presented within the figure, reveal where these gender differences are statistically significant.



Note: Significance levels of Chi-Square test of independence: *** 1 percent, ** 5 percent, and * 10 percent level.

Figure 41: The involvement of the respondent's family members in dangerous activities

9.2 Prevalence of violence in the neighbourhood

The following figure illustrates the types of violence that the respondents faced during the last 12 months. While most male and female respondents stated that they did not face any violence during the past year, the percentage of those who said they did not face any violence is higher among females than males. Twenty-two males said that they had experienced verbal violence over the past 12 months. In contrast, only six women reported having experienced verbal violence over the same period. Whereas no females said they faced physical violence during the past 12 months, five male respondents stated they were victims of physical violence.

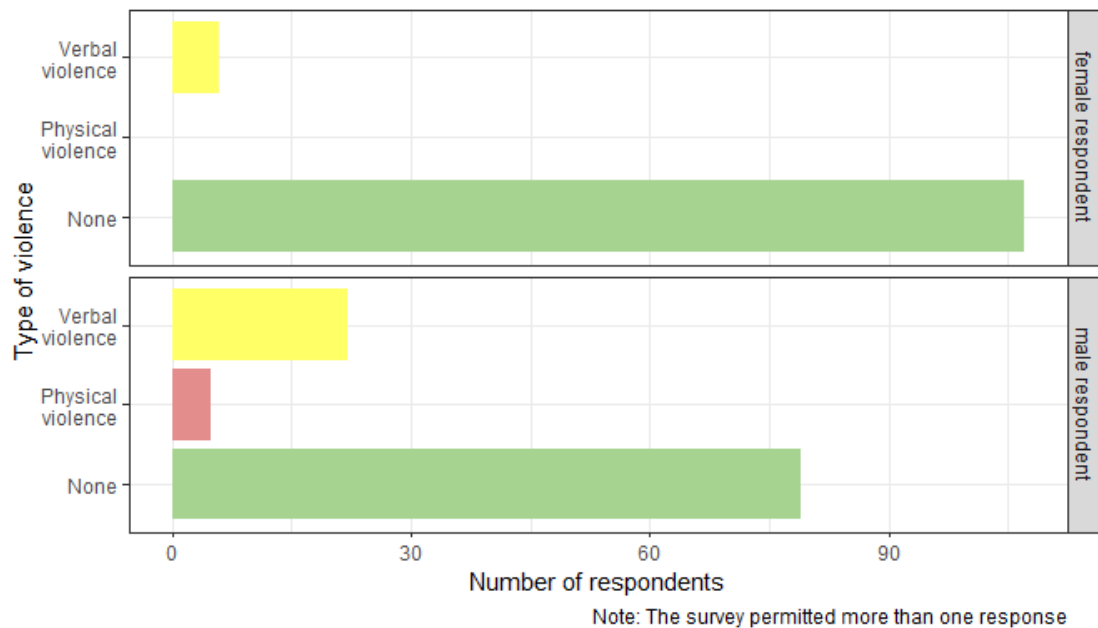


Figure 42: Types of violence experienced during the past 12 months

As survey participants, in general, do not provide honest answers to personal questions on their experiences of violence, this survey included a question on the type of violence experienced by the respondents' neighbours as a proxy measure to obtain more accurate results on the prevalence of violence. While most (71 per cent) respondents stated that their neighbours did not experience any form of violence in the past year, nearly a quarter of them said their neighbours were victims of verbal abuse, and 4.5 per cent stated that their neighbours experienced physical violence in the past year. While the percentage of those who stated that their neighbours faced either physical or verbal abuse (29 per cent) is higher than those who said they faced verbal or physical violence themselves (15 per cent), the higher rates among neighbours could be the result of multiple respondents referring to the same neighbour who experienced violence. Among the 61 respondents who stated that their neighbour was a victim of violence in the past 12 months, nine (14.7 per cent) stated that the types of violence faced by the neighbour were sexual in nature, while 52 (85 per cent) stated it was not.

Figure 43 below looks at the prevalence of violence among the respondents' neighbours across the four DSDs studied here. While more than 85 per cent of respondents in Point Pedro and Tellippalai said that their neighbours did not experience any form of violence in the past year, only 68.5 per cent in Udivil and 29.7 per cent in Kopay said so. While no one from Point Pedro and Tellippalai reported that their neighbours experienced physical violence, 4 per cent of respondents in Uduvil and 19 per cent of respondents in Kopay said that their neighbours experienced physical violence. Similarly, respondents from Uduvil and Kopay reported the highest percentages of verbal violence among neighbours.

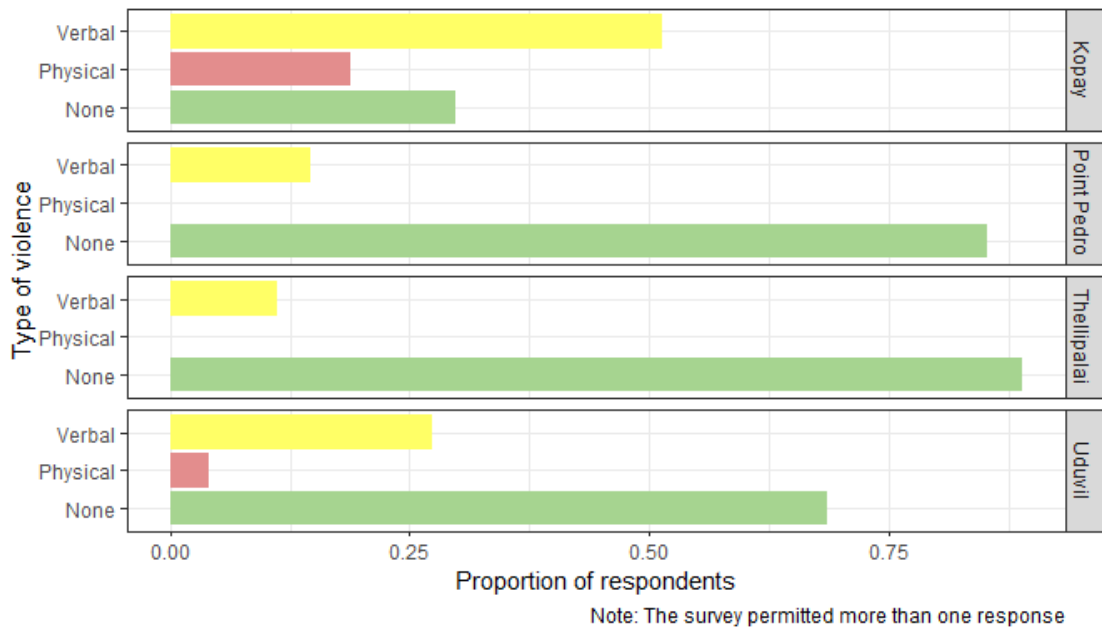


Figure 43: Types of violence experienced by neighbours during the past 12 months

When asked whether the type of violence experienced by neighbours was sexual in nature, five respondents from Kopay and four respondents from Uduvil stated that it was sexual, while no respondent from Point Pedro and Tellippalai indicated so (Figure 44).

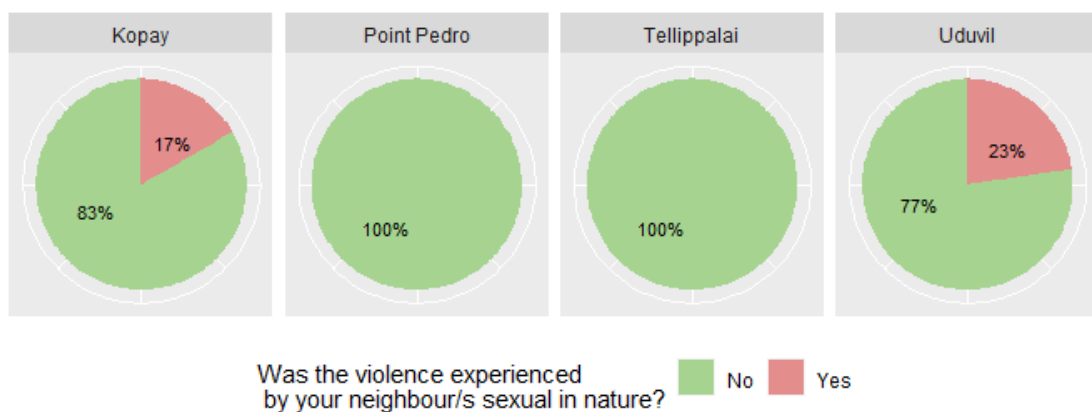


Figure 44: Sexual violence in the neighbourhood.

Figure 45 illustrates the respondents' perceptions of the prevalence of domestic violence in their neighbourhood. Nearly half of the respondents (47 per cent) consider domestic violence common in their neighbourhood, while a small minority (4.5 per cent) believe it to be rampant. While 39 per cent said that they believe domestic violence to be rare in the neighbourhood, 10 per cent said that they do not know how prevalent domestic violence is in their neighbourhood.

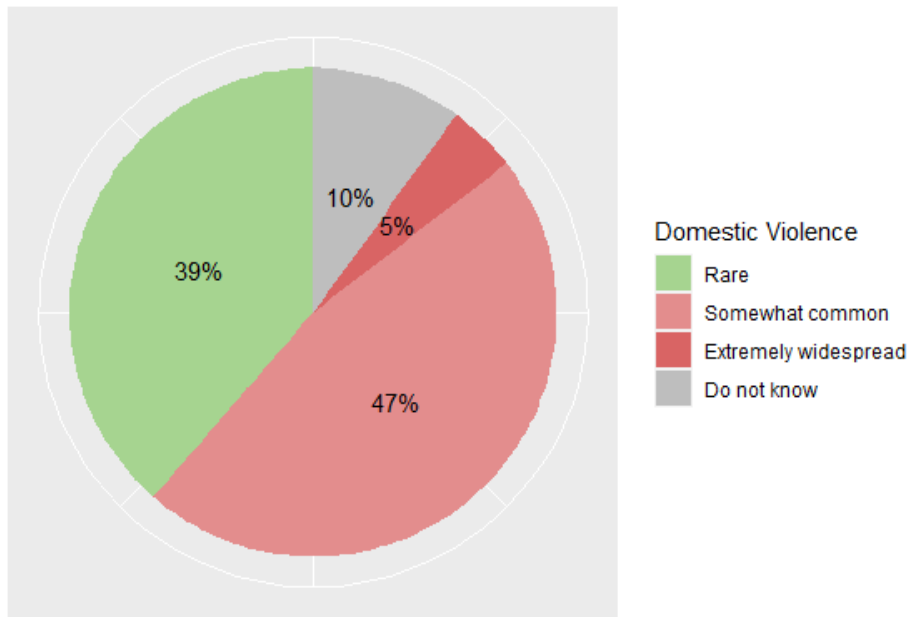


Figure 45: Respondents' perception of the prevalence of domestic violence in their neighbourhood

Figure 46 illustrates the respondents' perceptions of the prevalence of domestic violence in their neighbourhood according to the respondent's location. While nearly half of the respondents in Uduvil and Tellippalai consider domestic violence to be rare in their neighbourhood, most of the respondents from Kopay and Point Pedro believe domestic violence somewhat common in their area. Among all four locations, Kopay is the one with the largest proportion of respondents believing domestic violence to be extremely widespread in their neighbourhood, with 11 per cent of respondents from Kopay stating that they believe domestic violence to be widespread in their area.

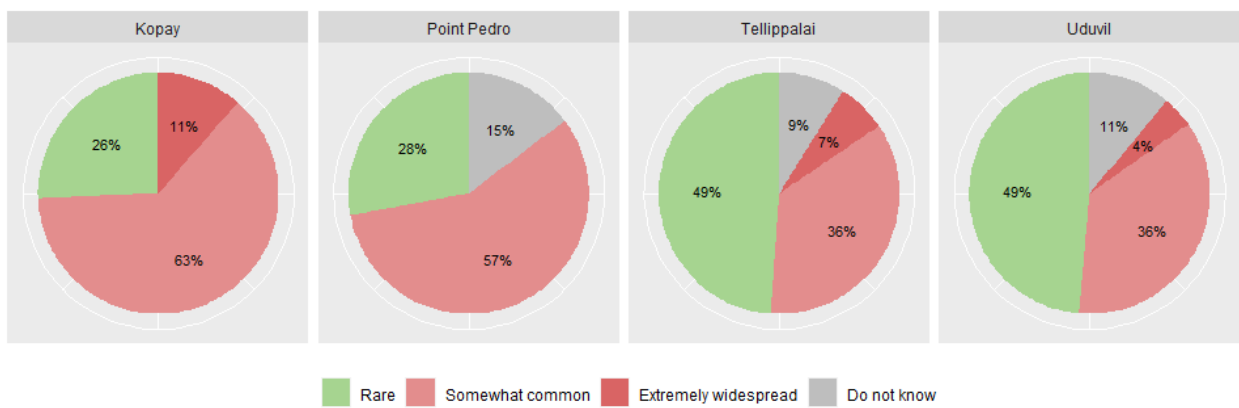


Figure 46: Respondents' perception of the prevalence of domestic violence in their neighbourhood

9.3 Precautions against sexual harassment in the neighbourhood

One hundred and thirty respondents (65 males and 65 females) stated that they had witnessed no sexual harassment in their neighbourhood, while the others (90) indicated that they experience sexual harassment. Figure 47 illustrates the measures taken by these 90 respondents to protect themselves and their families from sexual harassment in the area they reside in. Female respondents' most common measure to avoid being sexually harassed is to travel as a group. The most common measure taken by males is to avoid travelling after dusk. While five females said that they take no action to counter sexual harassment, no males reported that they do not take any action.

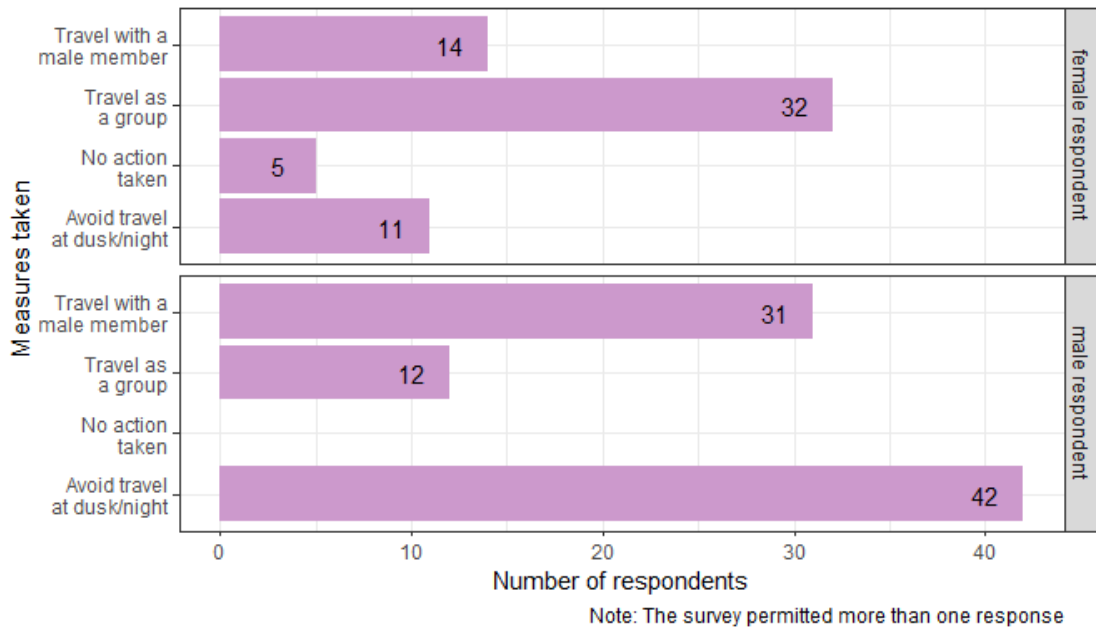


Figure 47: Measures taken to protect from being sexually harassed

10 Water, sanitation and hygiene

10.1 Drinking water

One hundred and ten respondents stated that they have limitations in accessing safe drinking water. The highest percentage of respondents who stated that they do not have access to safe drinking water is from Tellippalai (62 per cent), while the highest percentage of respondents who stated that they have sufficient access to safe drinking water is from Uduvil (58 per cent).

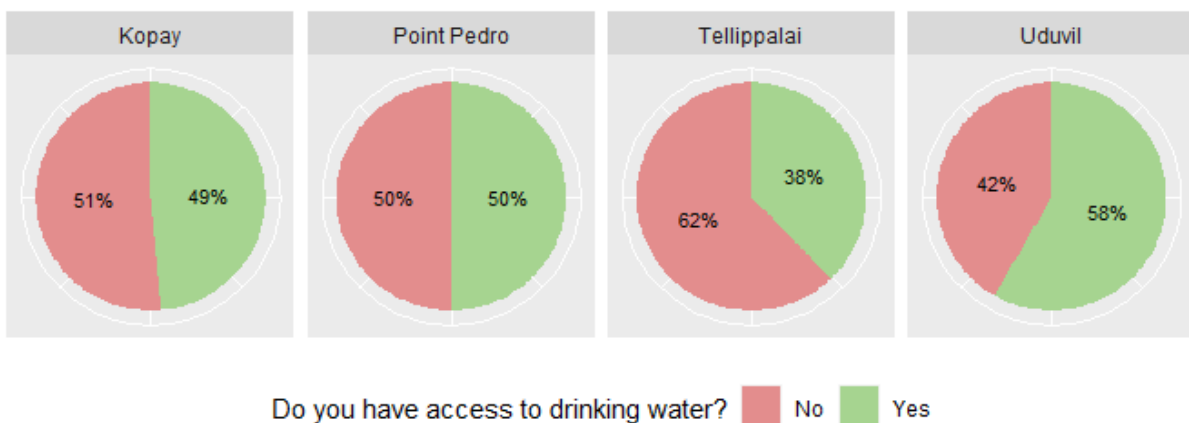


Figure 48: Availability of drinking water across the study sites

Figure 49 below illustrates how the respondents obtain drinking water based on their current location. The majority of respondents in all four sites (58.2 per cent) collect drinking water from a water source (such as a well or pipeline) located in the camp or near the camp. A considerable percentage of respondents (36.4 per cent), particularly in Uduvil, have water in their houses. A small proportion of respondents either buy drinking water from a vendor or buy bottled water.

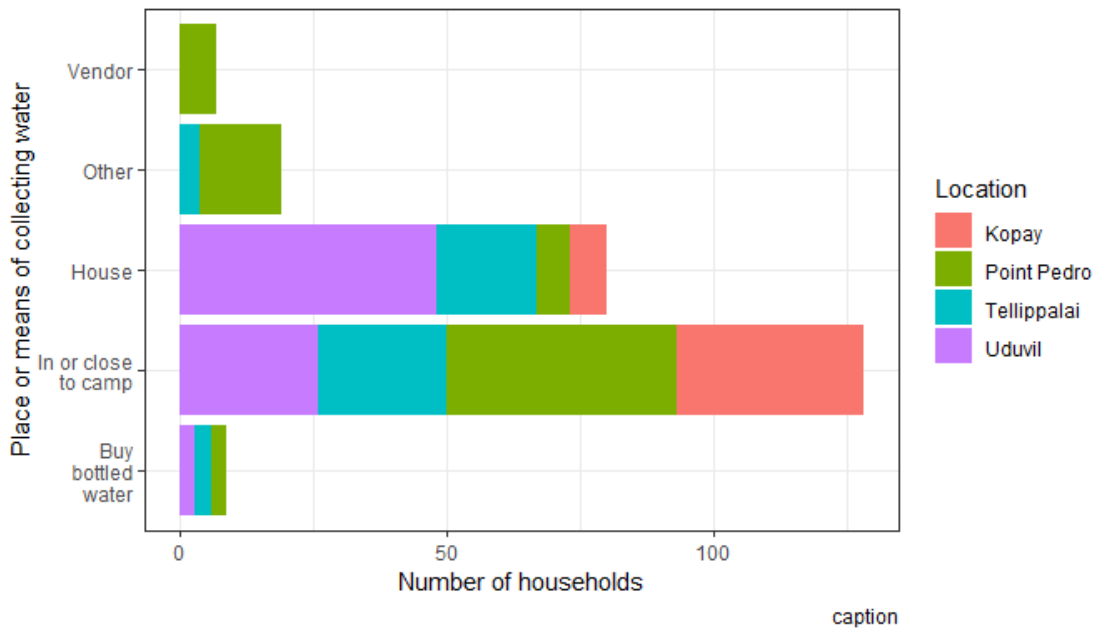


Figure 49: The place from or means through which the respondents collect drinking water

Figure 50 illustrates who is responsible for collecting water in the respondent’s household.

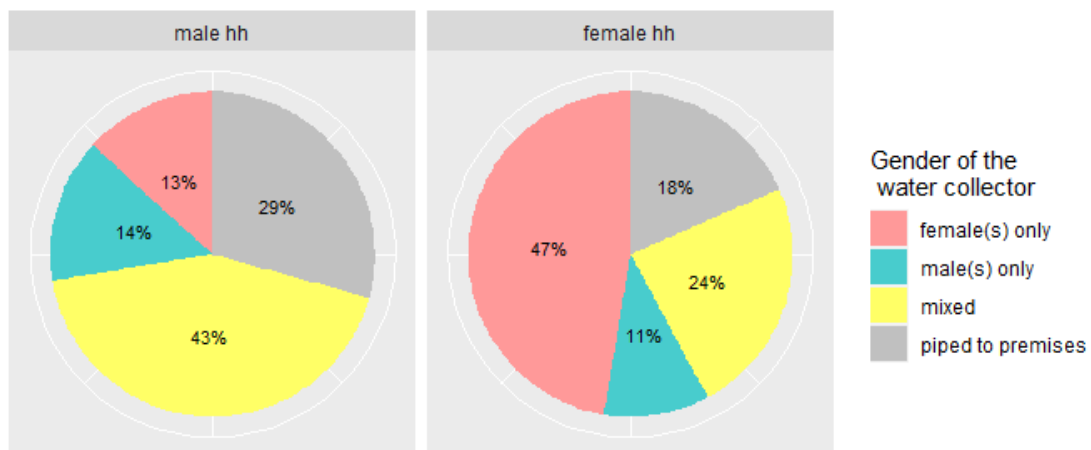


Figure 50: Who collects water

10.2 Toilets, handwashing, and bathing facilities

Figure 51 illustrates the respondents’ access to toilets, handwashing facilities and bathing facilities categorised based on their gender. Nearly 80 per cent of both males and females said that they do not have access to toilets. However, when it comes to bathing and handwashing facilities, a higher percentage of males than females said they do not have access. While around 55 per cent of females said they do not have access to bathing facilities, more than three-quarters of males stated so. The disparities between males and females are even higher when it comes to handwashing facilities, with only

one-quarter of females saying that they do not have access to handwashing facilities with soap when 80 per cent of males say they have do not access to handwashing facilities.

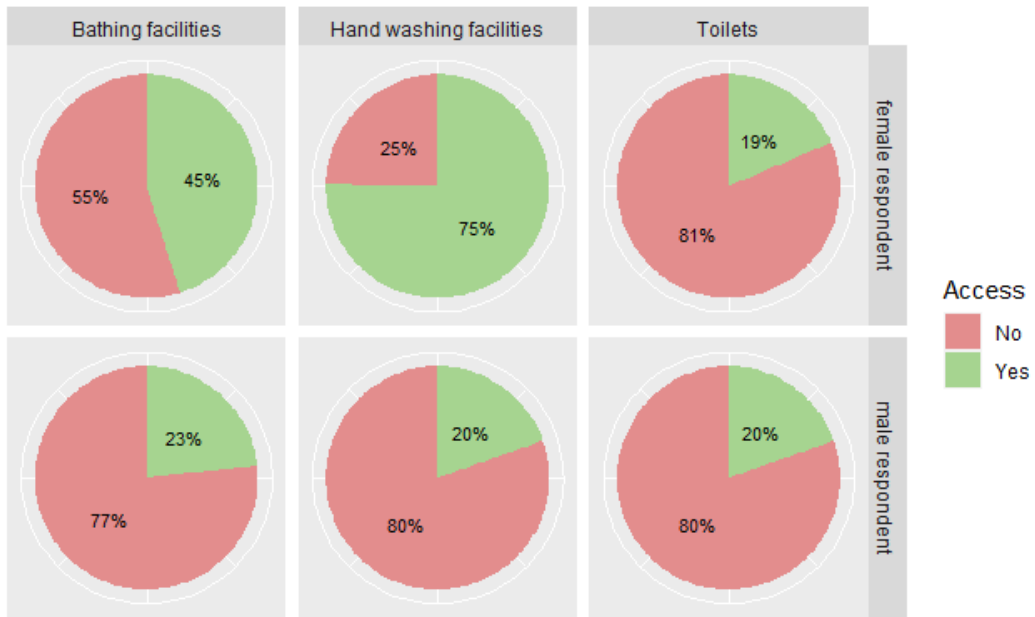


Figure 51: Access to sanitary facilities among male and female respondents



A public toilet at an IDP camp in Tellippalai, Jaffna



A public well used by IDP families in Kopay, Jaffna



A tube well at Konapilam camp in Tellippalai, Jaffna

The following pie charts illustrate the respondents' access to toilets, hand-washing facilities (with soap) and bathing

facilities based on their locations. Overall, respondents in Point Pedro and Uduvil have more access to sanitary facilities than those in Kopay and Tellippalai. In all four sites, respondents have less access to toilets than bathing and hand-washing facilities.

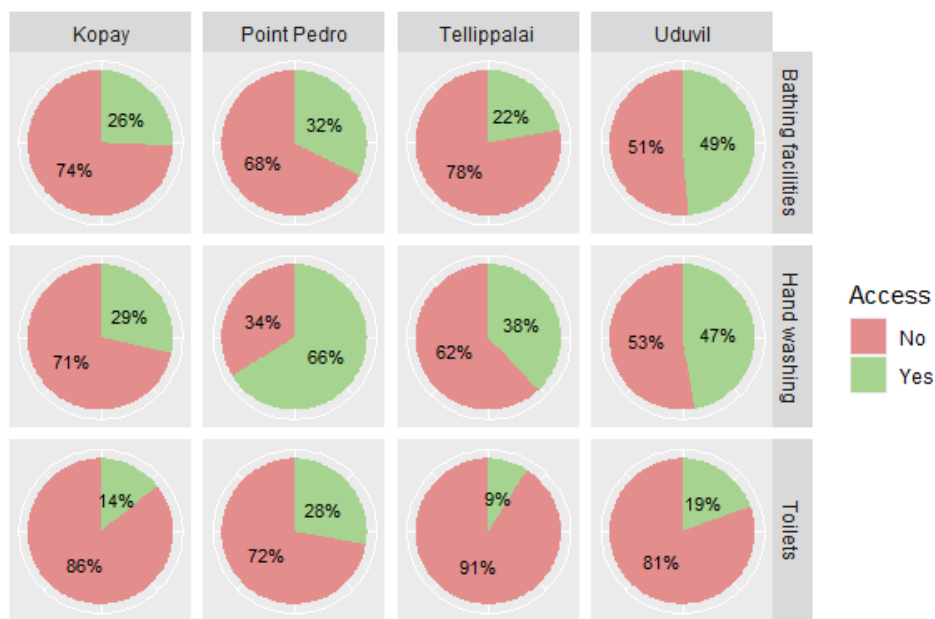
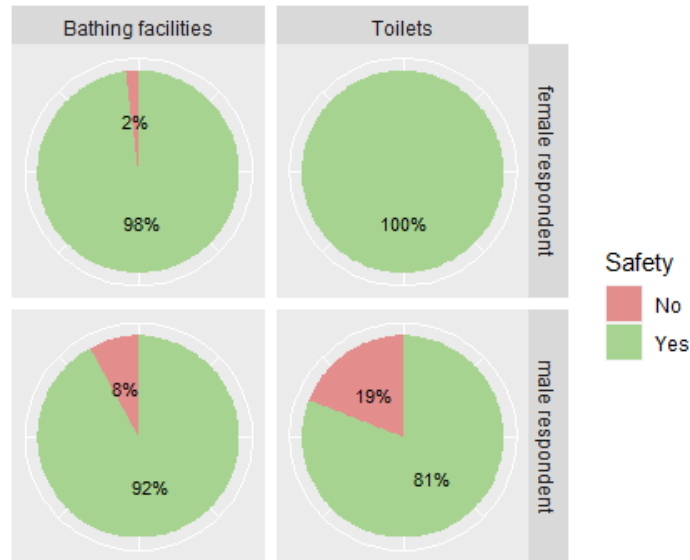


Figure 52: Access to sanitary facilities across the four study sites

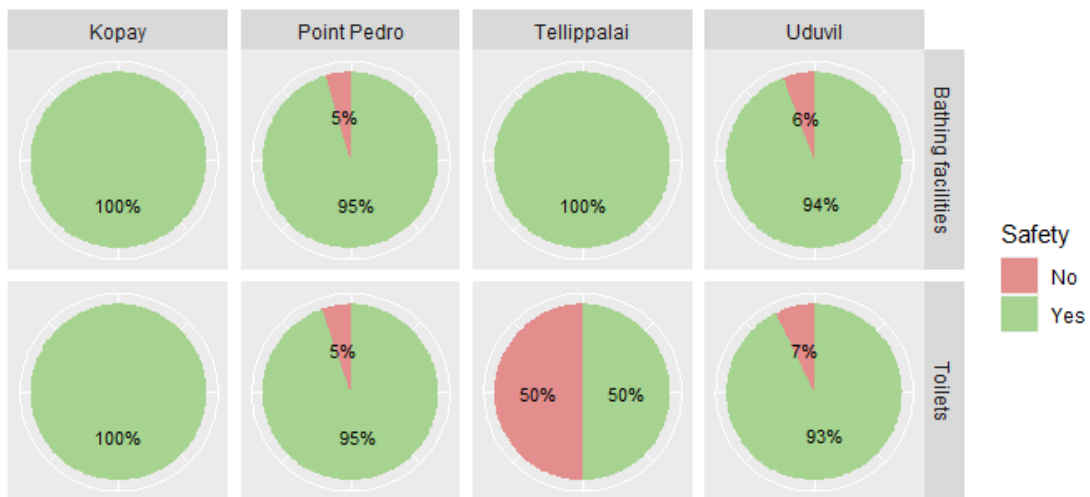
In the sample, 42 respondents have access to toilets, and 76 have access to bathing facilities. The following graphs illustrate these respondents' perceptions of their safety when accessing toilets and bathing facilities, categorised by their gender. Overall, a higher proportion of females than males feel safe when accessing toilets and bathing facilities. While all 21 females who have access to toilets stated that they feel safe when using them, among the 21 male respondents, 4 (19 per cent) said they do not feel safe. Among those who have access to bathing facilities, 2 per cent of females and 8 per cent of males said that they do not feel safe using these facilities.



Note: This graph summarises only the responses of those who stated that they have access to toilets and bathing facilities

Figure 53: Respondents' perception of safety when accessing toilets and bathing facilities

Figure 54 illustrates the respondents' perception of safety when accessing toilets and bathing facilities in their current location. Overall, Kopay respondents feel the safest when accessing toilets and bathing facilities, with all respondents from this site saying that they feel safe when accessing sanitation facilities. Respondents from Tellippalai feel the least safe, with half stating that they do not feel safe when accessing toilets.



Note: This graph summarises only the responses of those who stated that they have access to toilets and bathing facilities

Figure 54: Perceptions of safety when accessing toilets and bathing facilities across the study sites

Figure 55 explores why the respondents who stated that they do not feel safe when accessing toilets and bathing facilities feel so. Lack of privacy and poor hygiene are the main reasons behind the respondents' feelings of lack of safety. Apart from those, the absence of separate facilities for men and women and the absence of locks and lights have led to the respondents' safety concerns.

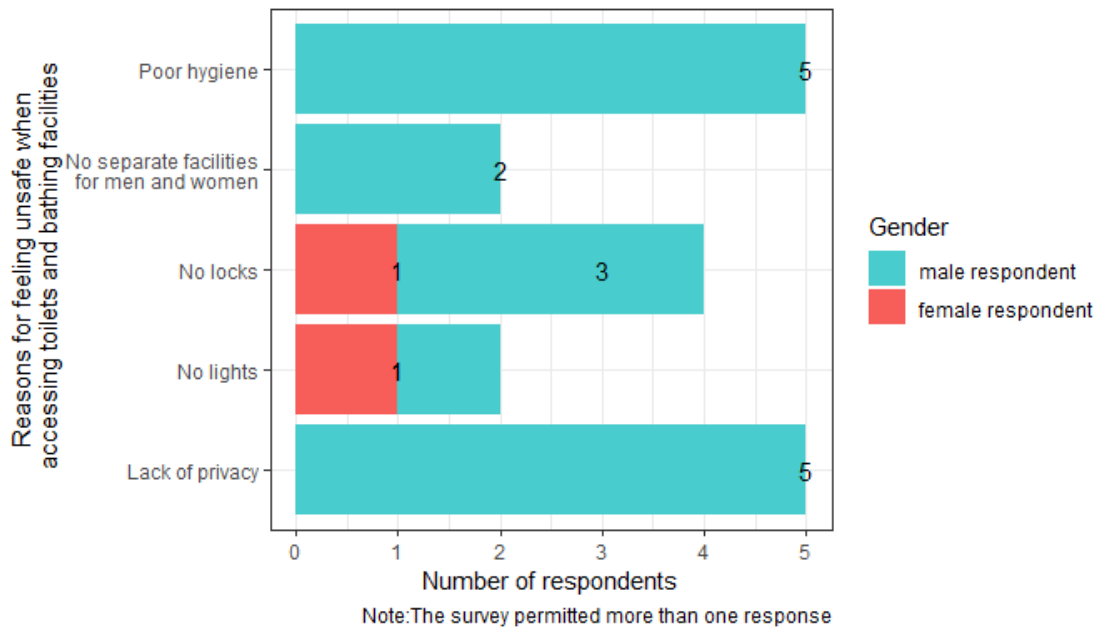


Figure 55: Why respondents felt that their toilets and bathing facilities are unsafe

Figure 56 illustrates whether respondents reduce the number of times they use toilets due to lack of privacy. While 83 per cent of females said that they reduce the number of times they use the toilets due to lack of privacy, only 47 per cent of men said so.

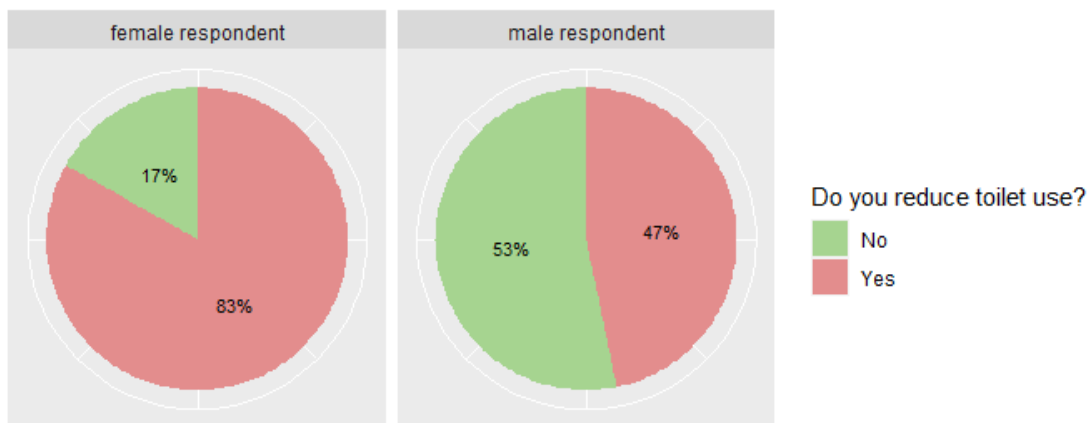
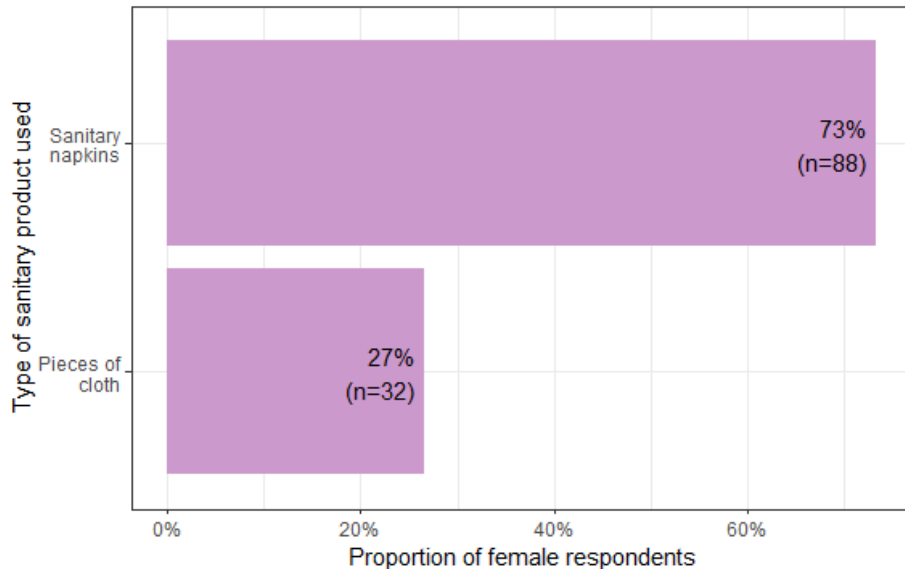


Figure 56: Reducing the number of times the toilets are used due to lack of privacy

10.3 Feminine hygiene

The questions about menstrual hygiene were asked only from female respondents exclusively by female enumerators. Out of the 113 female respondents, 95 stated that there are women in their households who require sanitary products, 17 stated that there are no women who require sanitary products, while one preferred not to answer questions related to menstrual hygiene. Apart from the one who preferred not to answer, all-female respondents stated that female members in their families did not receive any menstrual kits from the government or I/NGOs in the last month.

Figure 57 illustrates the most commonly used sanitary products by the 95 households that require sanitary products. While the most commonly used product is sanitary napkins, one-quarter of female respondents stated that they or their female family members use pieces of cloth, which indicates issues related to menstrual hygiene.



Note: The respondents were allowed to choose multiple answers for this question

Figure 57: Commonly used sanitary products

The following graph illustrates the availability, affordability, and ease of disposal of sanitary products for female respondents and their female family members. While three-quarters of women stated that sanitary products are easily available, only 36.4 per cent stated that these products are affordable. Nearly 85 per cent of women stated that it is not easy to dispose of used sanitary napkins, which could be a result of lack of privacy in camp settings.

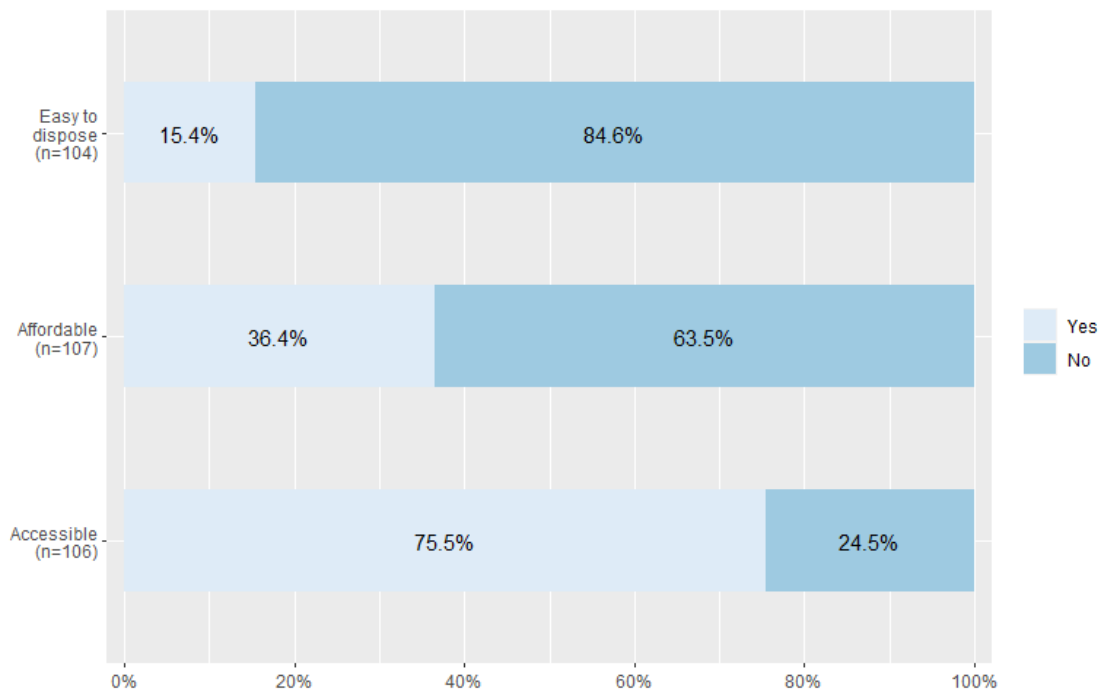


Figure 58: Availability, accessibility, and ease of disposal of sanitary products

11 Displacement and children

11.1 Early school leaving

In the sample, 91 females (81 per cent) and 72 males (67 per cent) stated that they dropped out of school before completing their secondary education. Figure 59 illustrates the reasons why these 163 respondents dropped out of school before completing their secondary education. For both males and females, the main reason for leaving school early is lack of money, followed by a lack of interest in studies. Displacement was a reason for dropping out of school for 15 per cent of female and 12 per cent of male respondents. While nearly a quarter of male respondents left school to find a job, no females had dropped out of school to seek a job.

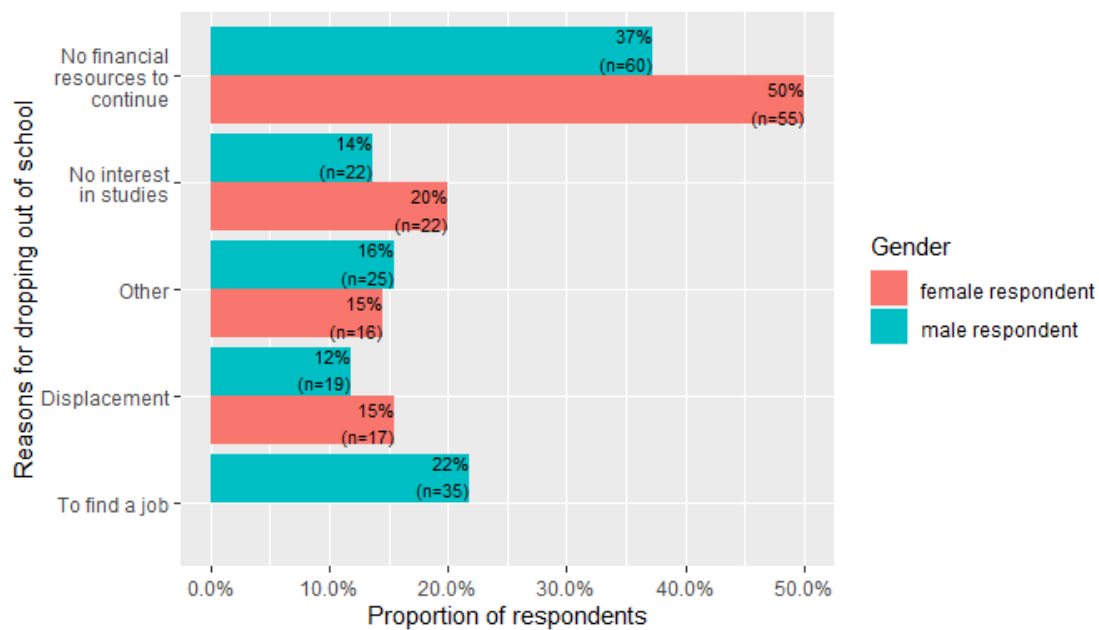


Figure 59: Reasons for dropping out of school by percentage

One hundred and twenty-one respondents stated that they have sons. Among them, 25 per cent said that their son/s left school before completing their secondary education. At the same time 50 respondents stated that they have daughters, of whom 16 per cent said that their daughter/s dropped out of school without completing their secondary education. Figure 60 illustrates the reasons why these boys and girls dropped out of school.

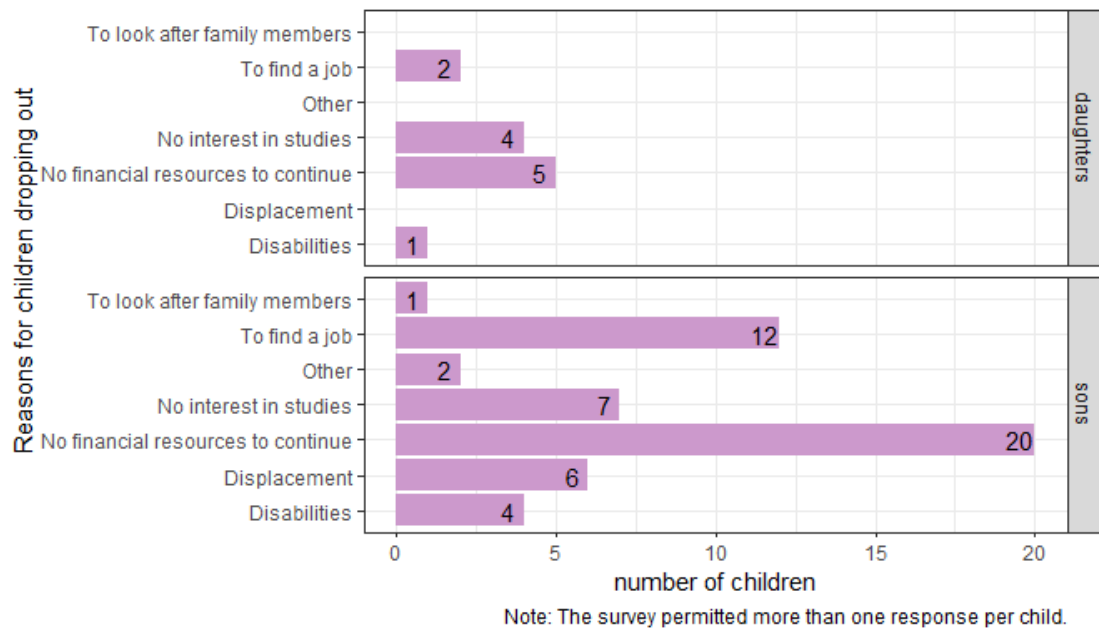


Figure 60: Reasons for dropping out of school by numbers

The main reason for discontinuing education of both male and female children is the lack of financial resources. Also, a lack of interest in studies and search for jobs have been key reasons for early school leaving of respondents' children. While displacement has been a reason for dropping out of school for around 11 per cent of male children, it has not been a reason for discontinuing female children's education.

11.2 Working children and adolescents

One hundred and thirteen respondents stated that there are children between 6 and 17 in their households. As shown in Figure 61, 86 per cent of them (97 respondents) stated that all children between 6 and 17 in their households are attending school, while 14 per cent (16 respondents) stated that they are not.

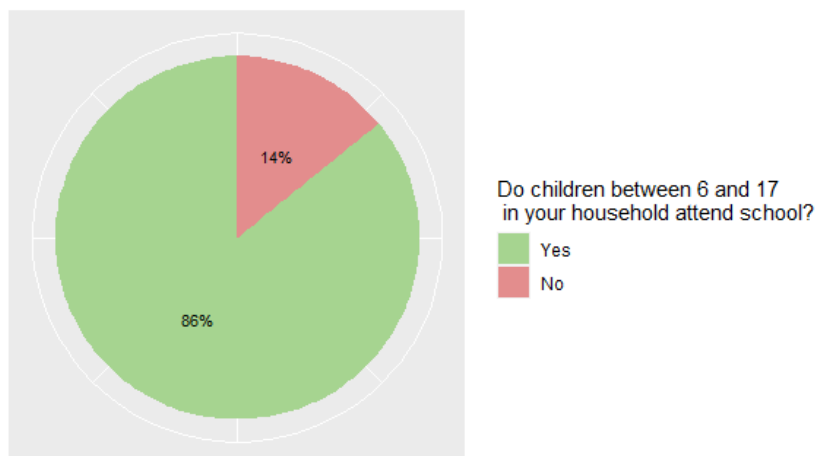


Figure 61: School attendance of children between the ages of six and seventeen

Among the 113 respondents who stated that there are children between 6 and 17 in their households, 110 stated that none of these children are working while three stated that boys in their families are working. Of these three respondents, two stated that the boys are engaged in paid work while one stated that the boy in their family is engaged in unpaid work. The two who are involved in paid work are employed respectively in farming and drying fish, while the one who is doing unpaid

work is involved in doing domestic work. The boy who is involved in farming attends school while the other two do not.

11.3 Early marriages

Figure 62 illustrates the distribution of the age at which the respondents and their spouses got married as categorised by their gender. While the average age at which females in the sample got married is 21, for men it is 24. As can be seen in the graph, females are disproportionately distributed mainly in the lower age groups and dominate those who got married before turning 18.

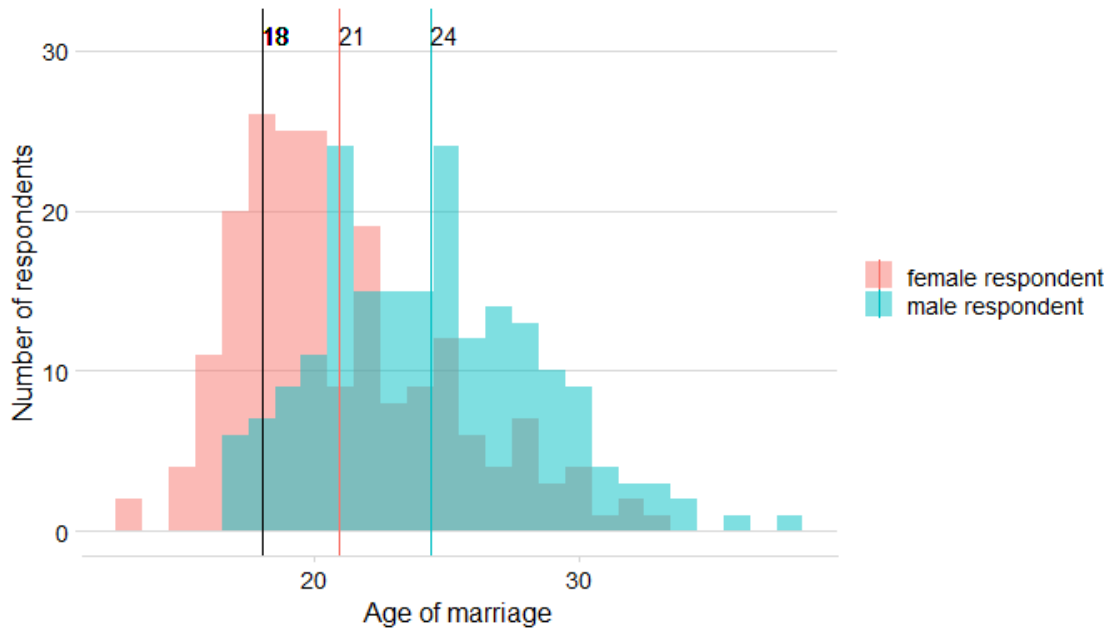


Figure 62: Age at which the respondents and their spouses got married

Thirty-eight respondents stated that there are women between 20 and 24 years in their households. Among them, five respondents stated that the woman/women between 20-24 years in their household got married before they turned 18. Among them, one person stated that displacement was a reason for early marriage, while three stated that it was not a reason. On the other hand, 33 respondents stated that there are men between 20-24 years in their households. Among them, two respondents stated that the men between 20-24 years in their household got married before they turned 18. Of these two, one person stated that displacement was a reason for early marriage while the other stated it was not.

12 Life before displacement and as IDPs: comparison

Among the respondents, 37 were born as children of IDPs and do not have any non-IDP experiences. Sixty-seven had lived in their villages/towns before being displaced but were not able to recall life in their hometown/village, either because they were very young at the time of displacement or because they had lived as IDPs for such a long period that they can no longer remember how their life was before they were displaced. Only 116 respondents among those with displaced and non-displaced experiences were able to compare the similarities and differences between the two periods. Among them, 65 are female respondents, and 51 are males.

Figure 63 illustrates the differences in perceptions of men and women who are able to compare IDP and non-IDP lives about the changes that have occurred to women's participation in certain activities post-displacement. Overall, most female respondents believe that since displacement women's paid work, unpaid work, freedom of making financial decisions, participation in community decisions and access to education have significantly decreased while their household work has significantly increased. On the other hand, most male respondents consider that women's paid work, unpaid work, freedom of making financial decisions, and access to education have either remained the same or increased post-displacement while their household work has either decreased or remained the same.

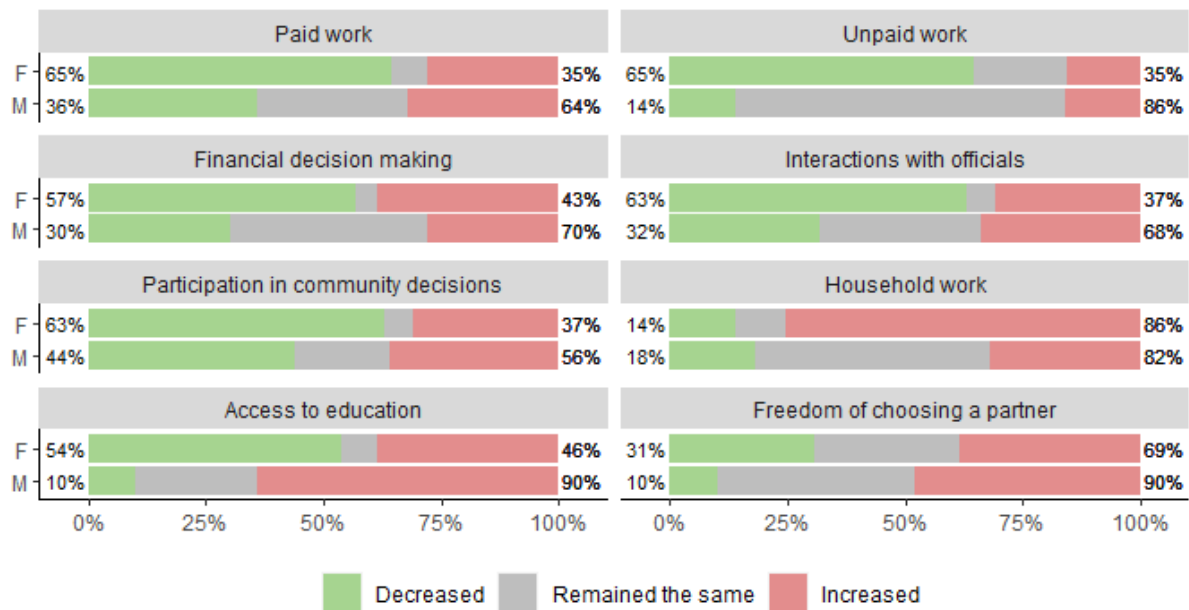


Figure 63: Impact of displacement on women

The following graph illustrates the perceptions of men and women who can compare IDP and non-IDP lives regarding the changes that have occurred to men’s participation in certain activities after being displaced. Overall, a higher percentage of women than men believe that men’s unpaid work and access to education decreased after they were displaced. Also, a higher proportion of female respondents than males believe that men’s freedom to make financial decisions increased post-displacement. On the other hand, most men believe that their access to education increased after they were displaced. There are no significant differences between male and female respondents’ perceptions regarding men’s paid work, participation in household work and community decisions.

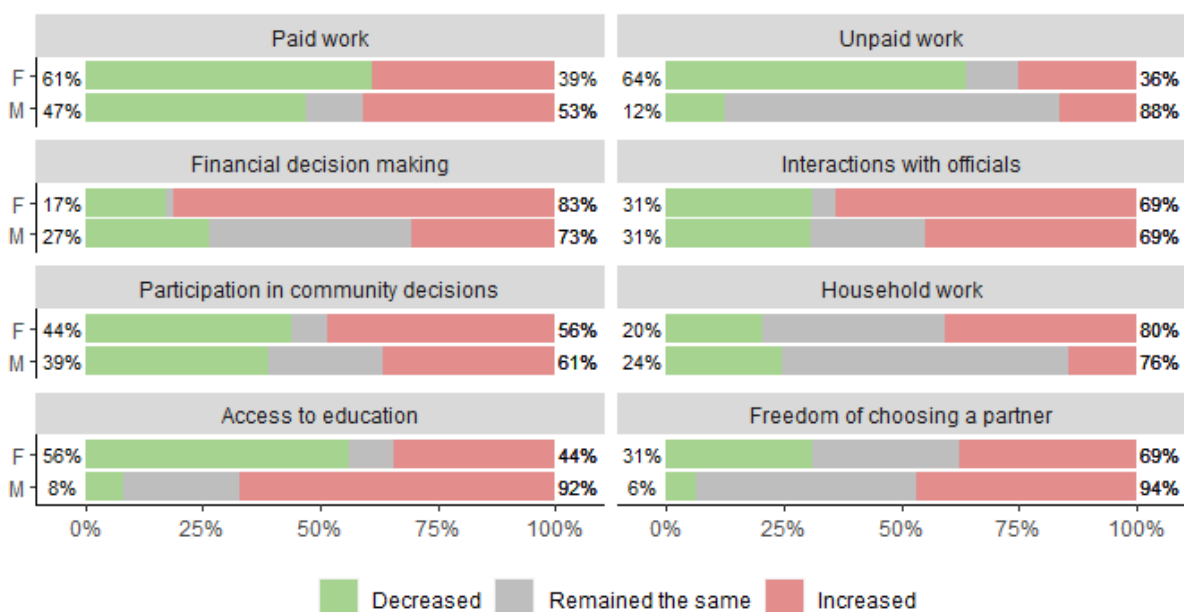


Figure 64: Impact of displacement on men

As stated earlier, 116 respondents have both IDP and non-IDP experiences and can compare life before displacement with that in displacement. Among them, 64 stated that they are concerned about the security of men and boys in their families, while 74 stated that they are concerned about the security of girls and women in their families. Figure 65 illustrates how their safety concerns about men and boys and women and girls in their families changed after displacement, categorised by the gender of the respondent. Overall, the security concerns of both male and female respondents have increased significantly after displacement. However, for both male and female respondents, concerns about the safety of male members in their families have increased more than that of women.

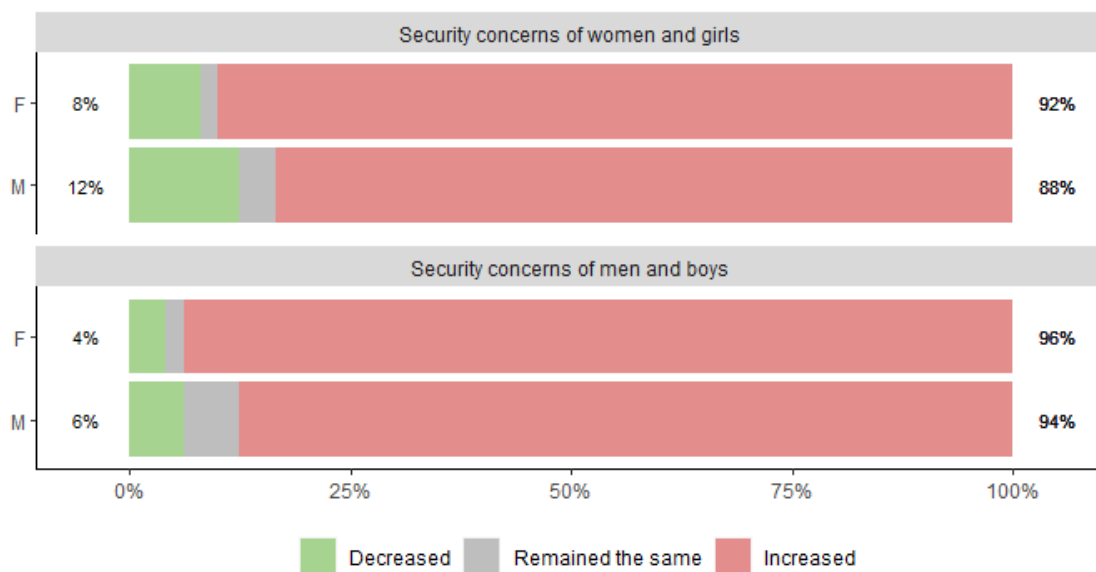


Figure 65: Security concerns regarding their family post displacement

13 Conclusion

This report presents the preliminary findings of a household survey of IDPs in Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka conducted in 2020. The primary objective of this survey was to examine the gendered experiences arising due to protracted displacement spanning over the last three decades in Sri Lanka. In addition, the survey examined the overall wellbeing of those affected and collected information on seven key areas which were covered in separate sections in the survey questionnaire; finances of IDP households, assets held by the IDPs, life in IDP camps, safety and security concerns of IDPs, sanitation and hygiene at IDP camps, the impact of displacement on children and a comparison of life before and after displacement. A crucial caveat to these findings is that the survey excluded the host communities.

The preliminary examination of the data from the survey highlights significant disparities in the ways men and women in Jaffna, Sri Lanka may have experienced protracted displacement over the years. One of the key differences between the experiences of male and female respondents regards household finances. The average income of FHHs is half of that of MHHs, and the proportion of FHHs that received aid or grants in the past year is nearly 50 per cent of that of MHHs.

Another area in which males and females have significantly different experiences is regarding safety and security concerns. Contrary to the general pattern of women in displacement experiencing more safety issues than IDP men, in this survey, male respondents highlighted more safety and security concerns than female respondents. For instance, a higher proportion of men than women said they feel unsafe when out in their neighbourhoods. Male respondents are also more concerned about the prevalence of drug abuse, alcoholism and youth gangs than females. The comparatively higher level of security concerns highlighted by males could be because they go out of the camp for work and hence are more aware of the situation in their neighbourhood than females who mostly spend their time in the camps. However, it could also be

because of the higher level of surveillance of men by security forces due to the prevalence of drug abuse in the areas where the IDP camps are located.

In addition to household finances and safety and security concerns, there are significant differences in the asset portfolios of male and female IDPs. While 57 per cent of male respondents stated that they own assets, the corresponding figure for females was less than half of that. The most common type of assets held by women who own assets was jewellery, while for men it was vehicles. A higher proportion of female asset holders than males have cash and land or a house under sole ownership. However, none of the female asset holders have bank deposits in their name, while a small proportion of male asset holders do.

The survey indicates that overall, human contacts in the form of people talking to and helping each other have collapsed after the displacement. This negative impact seems to be felt more strongly by male respondents than females. While 44 per cent of the females reported that the number of people they could talk to decreased during displacement, the corresponding proportion is nearly double (84 per cent) for male respondents. Moreover, the proportion of males who stated that they do not have any key persons (such as religious leaders, government officials and village heads) to seek help from was four times higher than that of females.

Apart from gender-based disparities, some of the inequalities faced by IDPs in Jaffna seem to be location-based. For instance, respondents in Kopay and Tellippalai highlighted more issues with the availability of sanitary facilities than those in Point Pedro and Uduvil. On the other hand, half of the respondents from Tellipilai stated that they do not feel safe when accessing sanitary facilities, while all respondents from Kopay stated that they feel safe when accessing toilets and bathing facilities available for them.

Other than gender and location-based disparities, the survey results also shed light upon overall issues that apply to IDPs in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The vast majority of survey participants currently live in camps, and most of them arrived in these camps in the 1990s. The tragedy is that a large proportion of them arrived in these camps expecting this to be a temporary living arrangement, yet are still there after more than 30 years. The living conditions of most of these camps are deplorable. Half of the respondents do not have access to safe drinking water, and the vast majority do not have access to hygienic toilets and bathing facilities. Despite these difficulties, they continue to live in these places as they do not have other satisfactory options available.

These preliminary findings will be refined using the qualitative data that is being collected in the same locations. At the same time, the survey results have shone a light on directions of inquiry that the qualitative work should take. For example, two main gendered issues captured in the survey data, livelihood-related disparities and the safety and security concerns, warrant deeper examination in the subsequent work. Such thematic prioritisation based on what counts for the affected communities is only possible because of the survey. Further to this, the findings also highlighted concerns that are significant at the local DSD level. Such thematic and local level documentation/expositions of difficulties experienced by the IDPs can reliably inform policies of protection and assistance in resettlement and relocation in Sri Lanka. Community enumerations at settlement or neighbourhood scale are known to offer a practical and reliable policy engagement, especially in urban settings as in Jaffna.²⁰ Similarly, the issues regarding the host-IDP relations that were captured in the survey are critical for developing sustainable policy/practice interventions.

²⁰ D. Satterthwaite, D. Mitlin and S. Bartlett, "Is it possible to reach low-income urban dwellers with good-quality sanitation?" *Environment and Urbanization*, 27 (1) (2015): 3-18, DOI: 10.1177/0956247815576286

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