

Maintaining Cultural Identity during redevelopment in Cities, Post Conflict

Kester Bunyan

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Originality statement, and ethics approval

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed..... (candidate) Date

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Statement of Ethics Review Approval

This dissertation involved human participants. A Form TDE E1 and TDE E2 for each group of participants, showing ethics review approval, has been attached to this dissertation as an appendix.

Abstract

Jaffna, Sri Lanka is a city currently experiencing redevelopment on a massive scale after the Civil war ended with a victor's peace in 2009.

The paper examines cultural identity and heritage in cities post conflict, since this is discussed less than sustainability in redevelopment and begins by reviewing the literature on the concepts of resilience, heritage, identity and place attachment to explore how they relate in the context of development.

Fieldwork was conducted in Jaffna using semi-structured interviews to investigate the role of cultural identity and heritage in cities post conflict, through themes of place identity and attachment in a built environment that is rapidly changing. The findings from the interviews revealed some of the themes evident from the literature review coupled with distinct feelings of powerlessness and distrust, the notion of "wrong development" and participants seeing the current development as exploitative. Though there were ideas for development felt to be both sustainable and based in the traditions on which Jaffna was based, these were not being prioritised. Links between the changes in community and in architectural space are evident, with growing alienation from physical places and each other with psychological boundaries becoming expressed as physical barriers. Resilience seemed to be reduced through both a loss of identity and connection to place. The diaspora role and their influence over Jaffna's development and the people who still live there is complex, divisive and occasionally problematic. The interviews concluded that Jaffna could lose its identity, people and heritage while redeveloping and suggested that the lack of both a plan and community involvement in development must be addressed if Jaffna is going to maintain anything of its essence.

This study hopes to add to the discussion around culture and heritage in cities while developing and argues for their importance, as without them we risk uniformity, boredom and a significant loss of identity because of standardisation and globalisation.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to the many inspiring people that I met, interviewed and laughed with during my all too short stay in Jaffna in July and August 2018. Without them and the time and perceptions they gave me into Jaffna, this study would have been impossible. Thank you for sharing your stories and thoughts with me.

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Acronyms.

LTTE	The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
JMC	Jaffna Municipal Council
ACAAD	The Sri Lankan Archive of Contemporary Art, Architecture and Design
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
CCF	The Central Cultural Fund (Sri Lankan governmental organisation for keeping the cultural objects of Sri Lanka)
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TULF	Tamil United Liberation front
SCDP	Strategic Cities Development Project

Terms used in this dissertation.

Jaffna: Main city within the Northern Province, administrative centre of Jaffna district.

Jaffna district: One of 25 districts of Sri Lanka, covering most of the Jaffna Peninsula, made up of the four Northern regions of Valikamam, Thenmarachchi, Vadamarachchi, and the Jaffna Islands.

Northern Province: One of the 9 provinces of Sri Lanka, made up of five administrative districts: Jaffna, Killinochchi, Mannar, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya

Tamils: refer in this instance to Sri Lankan Tamils.

Diaspora: the one third of Sri Lankan Tamils who live outside of Sri Lanka

Sinhalese: the majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka

Sinhala: the language of the Sinhalese

Colombo: Capital city of Sri Lanka

Ceylon: the previous name for Sri Lanka.

Jaffna Cultural Centre: mixed use arts building, currently under construction being built as a gift from the Indian Government, drawn by a Colombo architect after winning a design competition.

Pogrom: a planned violent riot or mob attack, condoned or supported by the governing or military authorities, towards a distinct collective group, whether based on belief, race, or other identifiable characteristic, leading to bloodshed and devastation to homes and property (Jeyaraj, 2018).

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Map 1. Map of Sri Lanka from the Nations Online Project at http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/sri_lanka_map2.htm, Jaffna at top

1.2 Historic Background

This dissertation is set against a background of conflict, so before examining the context of contemporary Jaffna and the issues the city is facing, it is necessary to explain some of the history of Jaffna, the civil war and Sri Lanka as a whole.

Ceylon gained independence in 1948 from Great Britain, the final colonial power to control the island, following both the Dutch and the Portuguese (Wickramasinghe, 2015). Gradually, the Sinhalese majority (mostly based in the South and Buddhist) became the main force both politically and socially and the minority Tamils (mostly based in the North and Hindu) began to feel marginalised after a number of actions were made, including making Sinhala the only official language in 1956, in the Sinhala only Bill to boost the Sinhalese and Buddhist sentiment (Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 1990). Anti-Tamil riots left hundreds dead and thousands displaced. In 1972 Ceylon changed name to Sri Lanka and Buddhism became officially the main religion (Wickramasinghe, 2015).

As a reaction to the upsurge in Buddhist nationalism, and frustrations felt by the Tamil population at perceived on-going discrimination, voices in the mid 1970s began calling for the separation of the north and east, by founding an independent Tamil homeland "Tamil Eelam". This entered mainstream politics and was part of the election campaign for the Tamil United Liberation front (TULF), the main political party of the Tamils who became the formal opposition party after the election in 1977 (Wickramasinghe, 2015; Nissan and Stirrat, 1990).

Parallel to this various militant groups were formed ready to fight for independence, the most important being the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) formed in 1976 by Velupillai Prabhakaran (Britannica, 2015).

In 1981 the Jaffna Municipal library, a major cultural symbol for Sri Lankan Tamils was burnt down along with the market and a number of politicians homes by police after a policeman was killed in violence leading up to the Development Council elections, increasing tensions in Jaffna as the police at the time were composed nearly completely of Sinhalese Buddhists (Peebles, 2006).

The civil war started in 1983, following an attack on an army patrol by the LTTE leaving 13 soldiers dead. The 1983 pogroms, known afterward as “Black July” saw organised Sinhalese mobs burning Tamil homes and businesses, looting, raping and killing Tamils over the period of a week in Colombo. There are witness reports that Sinhalese owned shops remained undamaged, while the goods inside, owned by Tamil renters were destroyed, suggesting a planned and orchestrated action. In the week that followed the violence expanded to all areas where the Sinhalese were dominant (Peebles, 2006). During this week, there were stories of government sanctions and protection; the police ordered not to arrest rioters, and thugs were moved in vehicles belonging or related to the government, there were also reports of security forces supplying petrol to the rioters (Jeyaraj, 2018; BBC, 2013).

“This was not a spontaneous upsurge of communal hatred among the Sinhala people - nor was it, as has been suggested in some quarters, a popular response to the killing of 13 soldiers in an ambush by Tamil Tigers on the previous day, which was not even reported in the newspapers until after the riots began. It was a series of deliberate acts, executed in accordance with a concerted plan, conceived and organised well in advance” (Sieghart, 1984: 76-77)

It was several days before President Jayewardene spoke publically, putting the blame for the riots on Tamil separatists and describing the Sinhalese as victims, following this he enforced the Sixth Amendment to the 1978 constitution, forbidding the promotion of an independent state within Sri Lanka. This compelled the TULF to leave parliament, since this made their political platform illegal, removed from official politics the idea of Eelam and effectively left control of the separatist movement with the militant groups. The events of Black July in 1983 and these occurrences afterward acted as a catalyst for enrolment in the LTTE and other groups, changing ethnic conflict to civil war. (Peebles, 2006)

Tamils divide the civil war into three periods, the “First Eelam War”, ends in 1987 when the LTTE are forced back to Jaffna, with a ceasefire and an Indian peacekeeping force (IPKF). In 1990 the “Second Eelam War” started, and all Muslims living in LTTE controlled areas of the Northern Province were expelled. During this part of the war, bombings and assassinations of high profile politicians occurred periodically, including that of President Premadasa, until the peace talks of 1994 (BBC, 2018).

In 1995 the “Third Eelam War” started, and in 1996 the military gained control of Jaffna, a large portion of the civilian population having been displaced into the Vanni mainland (Wickramasinghe, 2015). Once in control of Jaffna, the military imposed an evening and night time curfew that had serious effects on the social lives and systems of Jaffna’s remaining inhabitants which ran until the end of 2009 (Bulathsinghala, 2010), (some effects of this will be discussed in Chapter Five).

Until early 2002, when a ceasefire was signed, conflict continued in the North and bombings occurred in both Colombo and Kandy (Peebles, 2006). Over the next few years, the ceasefire held and Jaffna was linked again with the rest of Sri Lanka. Violence increased again in 2006, and new peace talks failed (BBC, 2018). In 2008 the government withdrew from the 2002 agreement and initiated a huge assault. In early 2009 the government had control of most of Sri Lanka and dismissed UN calls for a ceasefire, this was wanted as there were many civilians caught in the warzone. The government declared victory in May having taking over the final area held by the LTTE and upon the LTTE’s leader Velupillai Prabhakaran’s death during fighting (Wickramasinghe, 2015).

Support from the Tamil diaspora for Tamil Separatism is still high today, the main reason for the peace is the tiny numbers of the LTTE left in Sri Lanka (Höglund and Orjuela, 2011) This tacit approval by parts of the diaspora was confirmed by some of the participant interviews, suggesting that the diaspora remains highly nationalistic.

The nine years since the war was declared over have seen a victor’s peace, where there is still evident a relatively large military presence and an amount of control exercised (Goodhand, 2010), there are also still a number of the original reasons behind the conflict that are unresolved. These issues will need to be addressed to prevent further conflict; the North need a conflict transformation, rather than the current uneasy conflict resolution, recognising that conflict is natural, can be a “motor of change” and on moving forward there will be the need to develop and build robust connections and societies (Lederach, 2014)

1.3 Jaffna Town

Jaffna as a town and surrounding area is undergoing rapid change with losses to both the built heritage and other cultural systems and traditions, due to the recent opening up of the Northern province after the conflict was declared over in mid May 2009. The townscape is almost completely low-rise with few buildings breaking through the abundant tree cover.

There is damage evident from the war, neglect that has been made worse by the massive migration away from Jaffna over the 30-year period of the conflict. The built heritage combines Portuguese, Dutch and British elements from the colonial time before independence in 1948, as well as many richly ornamented Hindu Temples, and small single level vernacular houses. Many of the larger public buildings are Colonial British, such as the main building of the University, and the rebuilt library also links to this style, while being described variously as both classical and in the local Dravidian style. There are also some interesting “tropical-modern bungalows” (researchers own term) built between 1930 and 1960, which resemble some of the mid-century modern buildings of America in Palm Springs and elsewhere.



Photo 1. “Tropical modern”

Despite Jaffna seeing a lot of damage due to the war, outside the centre and the places that were most heavily fought over, the lack of development in the three decades of conflict persevered many buildings that otherwise could have been lost sooner (Perera, 2016). In the opinion of Jaffna architect Shanthini Balasubramaniam, *“the lack of modernisation is not a direct effect of the war; rather, it reflects the inhabitants’ notions of modernity. Even before the war, the people of Jaffna did not invest much money in building grand houses. Savings usually took the form of land, a simple house to live in, houses for their children and gold.”* (Balasubramaniam 2005 in Perera 2016: 75)

These remaining tropical-modern houses and simple Dutch-influenced buildings with distinctive courtyards, entrances and large covered porches or verandas known locally as Thinnai are now at risk, both from large scale, regulated infrastructure development and from smaller private development. Of the regulated development, Governmental and World Bank supported road improvement widening schemes have been the most damaging to the older buildings and streetscape. The road development has happened because it was suggested that welfare and livelihoods depend on the repair of the infrastructure; the idea being that the increase in connections and the ability to move leads to better access to markets, schools and hospitals, delivering in the future “development”. However the exposure of Jaffna to external forces without building up the local markets, which then faced increased competition, has resulted in the opposite, namely a reduction in livelihoods (Menezes & Kadirgamar, 2017). This infrastructure development is part of the “Strategic Cities Development Project” (SCDP) authorised in 2014 which added Jaffna to the cities of Kandy and Galle with an additional \$55 million loan for upgrading urban services, preservation of the environmental and the cultural resources and to improve the standard of living (World Bank, 2016).

1.4 Aims and Objectives

The principal aim of the dissertation is to examine the role of heritage and cultural identity in cities’ post conflict.

To succeed in this aim, the dissertation looks at the following themes:

- The issues surrounding loss of culture and heritage with regard to the population’s sense of place and identity in a rapidly changing built environment.
- How the people of Jaffna define culture, heritage and development.
- How the built environment and the society is changing due to effects resulting from conflict, leading to a loss of resilience.

It is hoped that this dissertation will add to the understanding of how Jaffna is currently changing and developing. In future it is hoped that this dissertation will be altered and made into an article, so that in a small way the voices of the people of Jaffna can be heard as part of the dialogue on redevelopment and gain a role in shaping the Jaffna of the future.

Though the research is limited to a single place in northern Sri Lanka, making this a geographically specific study, development of cities after conflict and disaster is a global phenomenon and less is written on cultural heritage when redeveloping than about sustainability. I believe more research is needed in order to avoid further modernisation of cities to a standard international plan, by examining these themes and using the sense of place and culture to inform future development makes this study relevant.

1.5 Overview of Dissertation

The dissertation divides into the following Chapters.

Chapter 1 covers the introduction to the dissertation with a background to the conflict, a brief historical context of Jaffna and explains the choice behind choosing Jaffna as the primary focus for the dissertation.

Chapter 2 is a discussion of the current literature on the topics of resilience, heritage and cultural identity, with the intention of linking these elements together.

Chapter 3 explains the chosen methodology of the study, with its limitations and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 explores the results found from the mapping conducted in the interviews, examining them together in a “collective map”, as well as highlighting individual maps that deal with heritage, change, loss and memory.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the semi-structured interviews carried out in Jaffna in August 2018 and examines the particular themes that came out of them, discussing how the architecture of Jaffna is altering due to the changes in the social fabric, and the issues that are reducing the resilience of Jaffna.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a study summary and an evaluation of the findings.

Chapter Two- Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the literature that has informed the dissertation and the thinking around the research question. It covers themes of resilience, cultural heritage, sense of place, identity, and conflict.

2.2 Resilience

Resilience means different things to different people, in “Resilience, Development and Global Change” Brown (2016) lists three dimensions that this paper uses as its definition of resilience, firstly is the capability to withstand, endure and bounce back in defiance of a shock or stress, secondly is having the capability to adjust to changes and thirdly to grow and transform. These are processes which are sustainable, given they cover, coping, adapting and moving forward, developing while experiencing problems or shocks.

In terms of culture and identity, resilience is the ability of the existing cultural system to manage change while experiencing challenges and continuing to be valid and develop (Holtorf, 2018). For a city, this means that it needs to evaluate, have procedures in place and take steps to both be prepared and react to all forms of hazards. In doing this, cities can improve lives, develop and move forward. This is becoming increasingly important as over 50% of the world’s population already are living in cities, with this number projected to be 70% by 2050 (UN-Habitat, n.d).

A large part of the studies examining cities post-disaster have focused on resilience and city sustainability, but have spent little time on the cultural aspects or the sense of place of the inhabitants. There is less discussion on the link between resilience and heritage, despite the fact that any successful urban space and redevelopment should do more than simply be functional, it ought to connect with the aspirations, wishes and patterns of the local people. After disasters, *“not only the authenticity of the architectural substance, but the restitution of a cultural identity of urban space should be justified”* since there is a need to bring together a damaged community (Jelenski, 2018: 1-2).

Protecting what is special about a place is a beneficial, but often forgotten way of making the local community more resilient, since after a disaster cultural heritage can act as a motor to repair the confidence and the social links of the community, as well as creating work and lasting economic development (Rao, 2014).

2.3 Cultural heritage

Globally for many decades, heritage and the specific special cultural aspects of societies have been recognised as something to be cherished, important for both the population living with them and for the wider world. This has been enshrined in the strategic objectives of the World Heritage Convention (WHC) for “Credibility, Conservation, Capacity building, Communication and Communities” and as a document is significant for linking the ideas of conserving both nature and built environment by acknowledging how people relate with their environment and the necessity of maintaining the balance between them (UNESCO, 2018). The fifth “C” for community was added to the other four, as it recognised that involving the local communities and their commitment was key, and during the process to rectify any conflict of interest (UNESCO, 2007).

In 2015, the sustainable development goals (SDGs) were taken up by the UN General assembly, and included a specific heritage target as part of it’s goals. In Goal 11, “Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” target 11.4 has the intention to “Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage” (Hosagrahar et al., 2016).

The cultural heritage, lived in and experienced, is what gives people their connection to their belief systems, practices and their personal and communal identities, heritage can also be a driver for “*climate-resilient and sustainable solutions for tomorrow’s urban environments preserving yesterday’s wisdom*” (Bizzotto, 2018:11). Cultural heritage is however, comprised of more than single iconic buildings and monuments; it includes the local vernacular housing, the historic and the natural (such as the ponds of Jaffna). Less physically permanent traditions such as food, crafts, languages, make up a large part of the traditions and understanding of a place, especially in urban areas, due to the interaction between people and their environment (Jigyasu, 2011). The cultural heritage discussed in this dissertation comprises both the physical built urban heritage; the buildings, spaces and natural world, and also those relating to identity, memory, traditions and language for the people of Jaffna.

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With the current speed of urban growth, it is essential that the urban heritage be protected against risk in order to make cities more resilient. Every piece of urban heritage is part of what makes up the inhabitants identity, so in any post disaster construction, it is incredibly important to bring back the feel and individuality of the place (Minguez Garcia, 2016). Though Minguez Garcia here is talking about disaster, this would equally apply to damage from protracted conflict or the development with rapid urbanisation and the concurrent loss of the existing built environment. The content and values of cities alter with unplanned development as well as with an increase of tourism and growth. Though most experts focus on megacities (London, Delhi, Tokyo etc.) the key to adapting or reshaping the role of cultural heritage is in the medium sized cities, those with a strong mutual relationship with the nearby rural areas. Resilient city systems at this middle scale rely on this association, the weaving together of land use, goods and services, livelihoods, as well as religious, cultural and familial ties (Jigyasu, 2011).

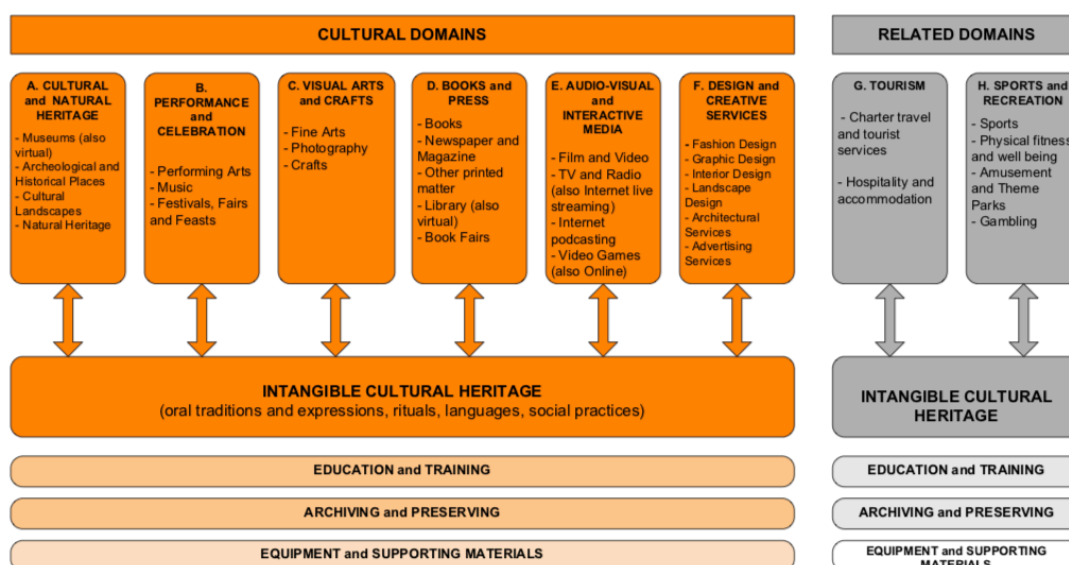


Diagram 1. Framework for Cultural statistics domains (UIS, 2009)

When looking at culture (of which the built heritage is a part), UNESCO in the “2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics“ suggests that it must be seen and understood as part of “social and economic processes”. In the above diagram, buildings and landmarks are in the first column “Cultural and Natural Heritage” and they cover a wide variety of attributable values containing, but not limited to “symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance” In terms of economy, heritage has a value in that it can be increased or decreased based on maintenance or by neglect.

When looking at these social aspects, the symbolic importance must be examined and the part it plays in defining the identity, commonly held principles, belonging, attachment and stability (UIS, 2009).

Decisions made about heritage and cultural capital must be seen as part of a long-term strategy, having gained an asset from the past, we maintain it, (or not) for future generations. If demolished or destroyed, there is no way of regaining it (Ginsburg & Throsby, 2006) and our cities and societies can be the poorer for it.

2.4 Relating the city to a sense of identity and place attachment

Cities are integrally linked with the relationships occurring between people and groups, whether friendly, unfriendly, interest based, close or separated. The intensity of more people living closer together, gives urban life it's distinct qualities of innovation, dynamism and energy. These relationships change based on who and where you are, whether people know each other or not, and the level of anonymity. Additionally, other groups or organisations can be important as entities who the public rely on, whether they are religious, like churches and temples or local government departments or businesses (Massey, Allen & Pile, 1999).

In cities the most important component are the people who use the city. A factor affecting their sense of place and attachment to the city is the level they engage with it (Ujang, 2012). This doesn't mean that people have to understand everything about their city, the functions of the buildings or be educated or interested in architecture, but the architecture around them should make them feel part of something, comfortable in their surroundings and connected. The architectural expression and the relationships linking all the different buildings and spaces give the city its identity and particular personality (Higgins, 2004). This place attachment is an emotional bond people have with where they live or work, and generally implies a sense of kinship, nearness and a need to come back when elsewhere (Lewicka, 2014). Generally it doesn't include the whole city, but it involves the neighbourhood, as place attachment comes with an intimate knowledge of a place, where lives happen, people interact with each other and the environment, and events occur that influence them directly and personally, in short at home (Walljasper & Fried, 2007).

Spaces become places once they become defined and interpreted; location is given by co-ordinates, but “it is interpretation and narrative that give identity and it is identity that transforms space into place” (Hague, 2005:3). Both personal identity and the community identity are linked with things that happen and the history of the physical environment, which can be linked with the shared values of a group of people (Stephenson, 2008). This “cultural values model” has been developed for landscape, but I feel equally applies for an urban environment. The model has three sections, the tangible section “forms”, the “practices”, which include both human activities and natural processes and finally the interaction between people and the physical environment in “relationships”. The continual interactions between these three parts make up, create and change the environment.

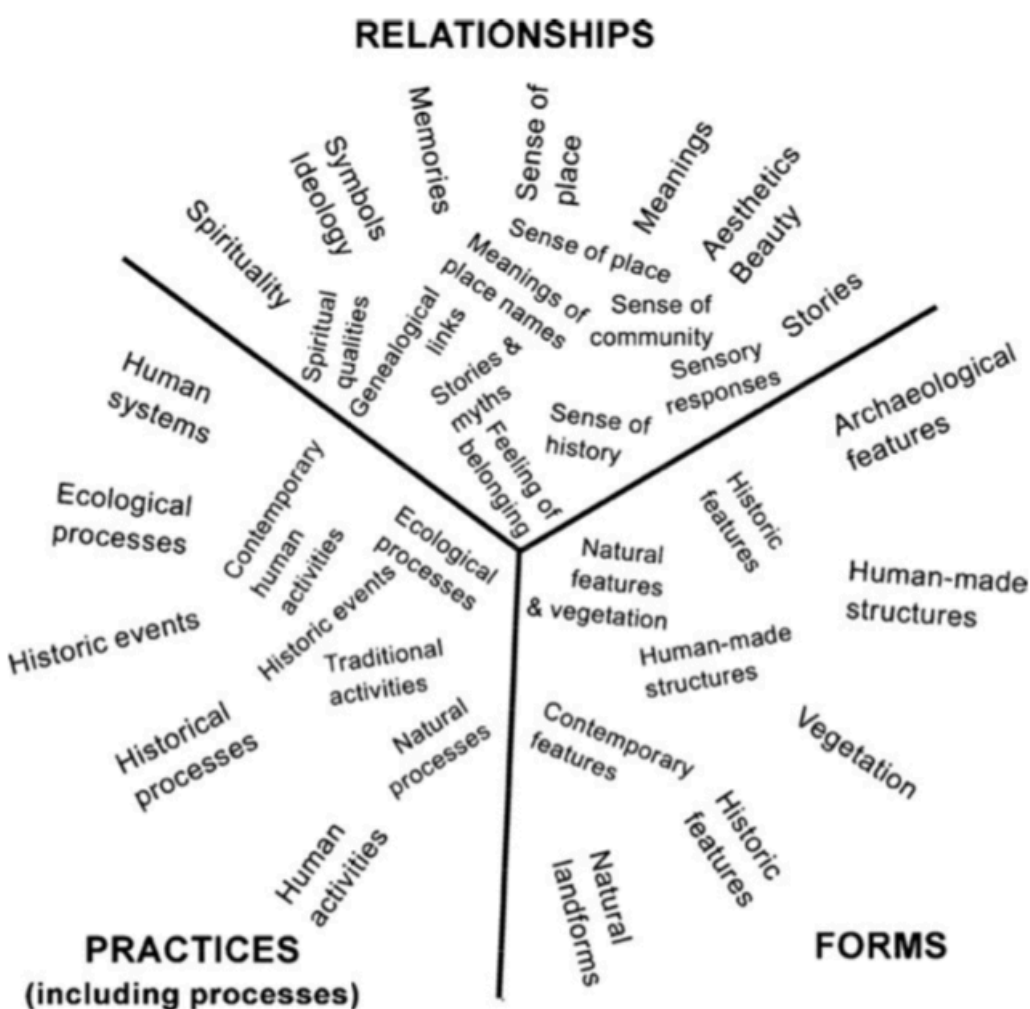


Diagram 2. The three components of landscape: forms, practices and relationships
 On the outside interests from landscape evaluations (experts from the outside) and the inner ring representing the values of the communities (From Stephenson 2008, p 134)

On top of this, is layered a notion of time, that these three components are themselves affected by the things that have happened in the past and carrying that past into the future. Individual relationships with the area differ here too, the people belonging to an area for a shorter amount of time discuss the physical values of a place, those features which are easily perceived and on the surface, whereas those with a greater sense of belonging and more experience of the area describe memories and the embedded values of a place (Stephenson, 2008) see diagram 3.

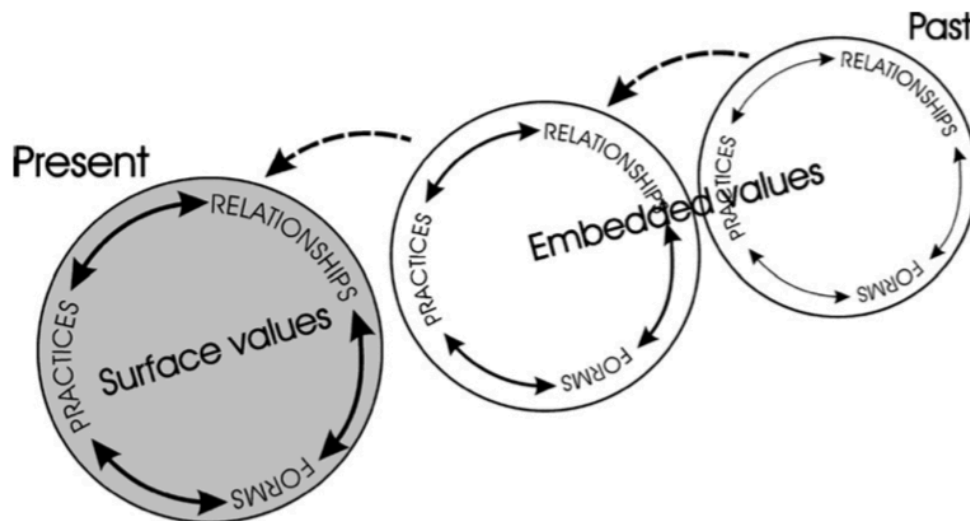


Diagram 3. The Cultural Values Model (From Stephenson 2008, p 136)

2.5 Culture, Heritage and Conflict

Conflict sometimes goes further than simple violence, by targeting landmarks and iconic buildings to remove or affect the cultural integrity of a place, a recent example of this would be the destruction of the (now rebuilt) bridge in Mostar, or the Bamiyan Buddha statues mentioned later in this section. The careful balancing of what to bring back from history and what to allow for the future of renewal is a difficult problem, which needs to be discussed for each place affected by war and it needs to be rooted in the specific culture and heritage of the city and people that live there in order to help reconciliation and recovery. Without culture, a city loses its meaning (Wahba & Minguez Garcia, 2017).

There are potential negative issues to be aware of in a post-conflict setting such as Sri Lanka, since by promoting cultural identity or heritage and the notion of belonging, comes the possibility of loyalty to one ethnic group rather than another which is divisive unless an understanding is developed of the values of difference and diversity (Maalouf 2012 in Holtorf, 2018), bringing the process of conflict resolution no further.

As mentioned earlier, heritage and culture are dynamic; they change when society changes, objects, buildings and customs become more important or not as people react to them, so our understanding of these evolves over time. Changes to cities, through conflict or disaster alter the heritage, adding to the history that is important for the understanding of place. This authenticity is lost if history is deliberately rebuilt, or whitewashed, and arguably demonstrates the absence of cultural resilience (Holtorf, 2018). Whitewashing and memory is discussed further in respect of Jaffna in section 5.3.

As an example Holtorf uses the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha statues, blown up in 2001 by the Taliban, where there has been an on-going discussion about whether to rebuild them or not. The Afghanistan government have officially requested that at least one statue is rebuilt (UNESCO, 2016). Holtorf argues that a plan to rebuild in order to demonstrate defeating the Taliban would show that cultural resilience is missing, through the implication that the upset and disorder caused by the Taliban can only be fixed by pretending that the statues were blown up at all. He postulates that the absent statues can bolster resilience in the area without them being there, developing stories and by communicating and absorbing change. Any cultural heritage that cannot change and adapt, is in itself not resilient and in the long term unsustainable (Holtorf, 2018).

2.6 Social and spatial identity, a crisis of development

With globalisation, there has come increased global uniformity within cities; this has also meant an increased quest for identity. The areas in towns and cities with history are spaces for identity, a kind of memory for the urban fabric, offering stability and calm within the otherwise changing environment (Hosagrahar et al., 2016). In general, people tend to think that historical neighbourhoods as more significant to themselves than newly developed places, and this helps anchor them to the place, giving them part of their identity (Lewicka, 2008). When these spaces are demolished or changed beyond the recognisable toward the uniform, this leads to a loss of local identity (Erickson & Roberts, 1997 cited in Saleh, 1998). Part of this may be because of the difficulty when planning to balance between the market forces on one side and the social needs on the other, by understanding better the importance and meaning people place in neighbourhoods. By using something like the Cultural Values Model above, to *“generate improved understandings of localised significance...As the basis of good practice, it could provide better ways of accessing the myriad values heard as whispers when development is threatened, and as shouts before it is too late to*

prevent the wrenching of these fundamental connections. It could underlie analytical tools to help determine how future development should occur, so that cultural values are maintained and enhanced. It could assist planners to “design with culture” as well as with nature, and to better incorporate place identity into the decision-making mix.” (Stephenson, 2010: 19)

In Jaffna, the development process post-war has not been inclusive, and certain of the important reconciliation projects are still being overlooked, such as residential development, counselling, settlement, which is affecting different groups in different ways, one of these is the high level of unemployment in the young, resulting in increased social problems (Bowden & Bins 2016). For Urban areas and the successful planning for future development that is in line with community wishes, and to maintain the distinct values of place identity and culture, I would argue for adding a “future circle” to the Cultural Values Model with the same three components, to visualise combining the wants of the market and the needs of community that live there and avoid the disconnect visible between the two in so many modern developing cities.

Place attachment or detachment varies with time, through what occurs to either the place or the people, since both can be wounded through changes, Till (2012) describes the “wounded-city” as “densely settled locales that have been harmed and structured by particular histories of physical destruction, displacement, and individual and social trauma resulting from state-perpetrated violence” (Till, 2012: 6). The displacement and on-going development is altering the connections and identities in Jaffna; and when people return, the relationships are changed.

Identity is about shared association or inclusion within a group and what separates a person from others (Weeks, 1990). The Tamil identity was common to everyone, inclusive and associative, but is now split, one side local and the other diasporic (Gerharz, 2010). This difference requires a conscious realisation for it to occur and happened with the diaspora visits, changing the opinions and awareness: The Jaffna local, in becoming aware of the financial differences as a division gained a feeling of inferiority coupled with the suggestion of their relatives as westernised.

The diaspora on the other hand, by keeping a memory and image of Jaffna that has diverged from the reality has also given itself a different identity, as they are not part of the local any more (Gerharz, 2010).

Despite these differences, the diaspora remittances are seen as an essential source of capital to fund community development, but paradoxically the money that is sent to young people from the diaspora is often used for purchasing luxuries, so may actually be hurting development (Bowden & Bins 2016). *“A surge in outsider investment is needed from both the Sri Lankan government and overseas actors to drive the reconstruction and development of industries that will power the rehabilitation and growth of the war-torn northern regions of Sri Lanka”* (Bowden & Bins 2016: 214).

There have been many cities and places that have changed and developed post conflict, or after being re-unified, some more successfully than others. In East Germany following re-unification, rapid progress and development has sacrificed charming small streets for broader roads for more traffic, as car ownership was seen as an indication of an improved standard of living (Mai, 1997 in Massey, Allen & Pile 1999). The historic centre of East Berlin was frozen in time; the areas neglected or cleared before reunification, lay suddenly in the centre of the new development, with the transformation from a socialist to a capitalist system, and with a new market economy that Häußermann describes as “Marketizing”, transforming the physical landscape through changes in planning, ownership with the redistribution of property, and a new power structure (Häußermann, 1997).

These types of change leave people with a feeling of alienation, of being “strangers at home”, both with the transformation of the cityscape and also new experiences of other cultures, tastes, smells etc. that weakens the familiar. The streets were renamed from places that had previously a socialist meaning, named after *“local communist heroes, Karl Marx or anti-fascists.”* This leads to subverting the notion of being at home, since when the recognisable place-names are no longer in use, there is a reaction in the form of alienation, since everyone during the course of socialisation *“learns to appropriate the environment by being able to name it, so that it becomes a part of his or her identity”* (Mai, 1997 in Massey, Allen & Pile 1999: 67-70). This loss of identity and feeling of alienation would be reduced if the importance of the cultural symbols and vernacular elements were recognised, since these contribute towards self-identity and the impression of community and place (Hull, Lam & Vigo, 1994).

In a study of Charleston, it was concluded that people appreciated the place they were living for more than just practical and commercial reasons. Those involved with renewal and development projects often ignore this, because of the difficulty of measuring these abstract meanings. Accordingly, being not seen, the consequence of this is the creation of bleak, indistinct surroundings that can increase the disassociation that people feel from the community and place (Hull, Lam & Vigo, 1994).

The move towards placelessness, suggests modernity breaks the emotional ties with a place. This standardisation of areas is a triumph of the power of corporate values, capital and economy over the previous shared meanings and values, for example religious beliefs or family ties (Arefi, 1999). The implications of this are far-reaching and serious, since beyond the effects of capitalism and modernism, leading to the new "*geographies of nowhere and otherness*", there is also a crisis of identity. This is exacerbated by the reduction of public life and the associated reduction in public interaction. Arefi suggests there is some hope in that although motorised transport is in charge of much of our planning today and has been a major cause of the decline in the quality of city environments, it does offer the opportunity of access. This means that more people can experience what is special about a place and its people, so it is important to see the opportunity here and understand that concerns for keeping cultural diversity are not a wish that everything remain the same, or that everything must be preserved, or that a naive motive to move backwards to a simpler age lies behind it (Arefi, 1999).

In section 5.3 this dissertation will examine this spatial change, in that Jaffna is developing as a motorised city from an architecture and structure of bicycles and pedestrians. In a walking city, the choices made of where to walk, and the relationships formed to place by what people like, can "*condemn certain spaces to inertia or disappearance*" while creating both here and there (de Certeau, 1984: 99). With the loss of walking, and the motorisation of a city, though theoretically you can arrive at places more quickly, (so you should be closer), part of the experience of the city is further altered by disappearance, the inhabitant is more removed from their surroundings and cannot experience them as fully anymore, as the city is divided up into separate planned experiences with space or gaps between, the net effect to the individual is to be further distanced from the city and to lose their relationship to it.

Chapter Three. Research Methodology & Ethics.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter demonstrates the methods used to collect the primary research data while in Jaffna, which informed this dissertation. These methods are semi-structured interviews and mental mapping combined with observation within the built environment, done by walking in particular neighbourhoods (see map 3). A short section outlining the secondary research carried out by literature review is also included. Since there are always limitations for any kind of research, these concerns and challenges are addressed towards the end of the chapter followed by a discussion of the ethical considerations in doing qualitative research in a post conflict setting.

3.2 Primary research

To accomplish the aims and objectives outlined in section 1.4, primary research was performed in Jaffna over a 13-day period. This primary research took the form of 11 individual semi-structured interviews with people of different ages from 28 to 78 with different occupations in Jaffna. It was considered important that participants had a relationship to and experienced first hand the changes and developments in Jaffna during and after the conflict. These interviews were performed in various locations convenient to the interviewees, offices, hotels and one restaurant, in each case these were recorded with permission and later transcribed in a private space. The interviews were divided into two sections, an introductory mapping part (see method in section 2.4) followed by questions.

Face to face, semi-structured interviews were done so that the participants could talk around the subject as they wished and it allowed them to be more in control, having more flexibility than either questionnaires or structured interviews (Walliman, 2011).

Some contacts were made and the interviews set up loosely by email before arriving in Sri Lanka, other contacts and interviews were made during my stay in Jaffna. Snowballing from the first interviewees, by asking about other people who ought to be contacted for the research was also used. This led to a spread of occupations being represented, including academics, small business owners, people working with NGOs, activists and artists, with a wide range of opinions and different ways of thinking about development, traditions and identity. An overview of the participants can be found as an introduction to Chapter 4 with a diagram showing how they link to each other.

The risk from snowballing is ending up with a sample which is not typical of the whole of the population, since it starts with a small number of people that then advise on who else ought to be part of the study which also generally favours those who are willing to be involved than those picked randomly (Magnani, 2005). Fortunately a number of the people interviewed had no links to any of the others, being found through fortuitous other meetings, such as an invitation to a gathering of part of the diaspora following attendance at a photographer's presentation at the Sri Lankan Archive for Contemporary Art, Architecture and Design (ACAAD).

In addition, architectural observation within the built environment by walking residential neighbourhoods was done to better understand the type of physical development and changes Jaffna is currently experiencing, looking particularly at how new construction differs from old, in size, material, colour etc. and the relationship with the street and other houses.

A final interview in Colombo to aid understanding of the context and built environment was added, to assess an outsider's concern when developing context-sensitively in Jaffna. For this interview it was important that this participant also had relevant experience of Jaffna, since I wanted to interview them using the same questions as for the other participants, in order to be able to use the answers in the same way, rather than as separate specialist knowledge from a new set of questions.

3.3 Secondary research

Secondary research was conducted by a literature review of articles, online articles, books and other case studies. While in Jaffna, some newspaper articles and some extra books from people connected to Jaffna were given for the research, which helped gain a background to the conflict and the setting. Given the context of a conflict setting and who is presenting or writing the history or memories, and the agenda they may have in doing so, it was important to consider the intentions of the authors and sources. I have endeavoured to be without bias, and some articles have been not been used because of an obvious political slant or because they were felt to be very polemic, despite giving an insight into some of the politics and opinions currently being discussed. This literature review is detailed in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

3.4 Mental mapping and analysis

For the population of Jaffna, what does the urban form mean and what is important? Mental mapping for the purposes of this study is defined as a personal and individual understanding of space and symbols in the built environment from an insider's viewpoint. Since all of the people participating in the interviews have lived and worked in Jaffna over many years they can be described as having a good general sense of the townscape. The five main elements that make up a mental map are paths, edges, districts, nodes and Landmarks (Lynch, 1960) all of which were drawn by one or more participants.

To begin each semi-structured interview, the participant was asked to draw a map of Jaffna to begin to understand the importance of the town, region and symbols within, and asked to explain what they were drawing for later analysis with the audio recording (See Appendix A: interview guide). By asking participants to draw a map of Jaffna, it was hoped that this would naturally focus the thoughts of the interviewee on the place they live and work and have felt change over time in a different way to simply questioning and open up a dialogue on how they identify themselves in relationship to Jaffna.

When the individual maps were grouped together into a "collective map" made using a correct map of the city, it can give a snapshot of what the group consider symbolic and expresses more than whether people are focused on the local area, centre or the district, it can give an outline of how people gather, arrange, recall, and alter their surroundings (Reinders, 2007 in Nas, de Groot & Schut, 2011). This method was used to look at Colombo relating to the same conflict by Schut, Nas and Hettige to show emotions and feelings and whether respondents were open or tolerant, for example by participants drawing many religious buildings of different faiths (Schut, Nas & Hettige, 2011).

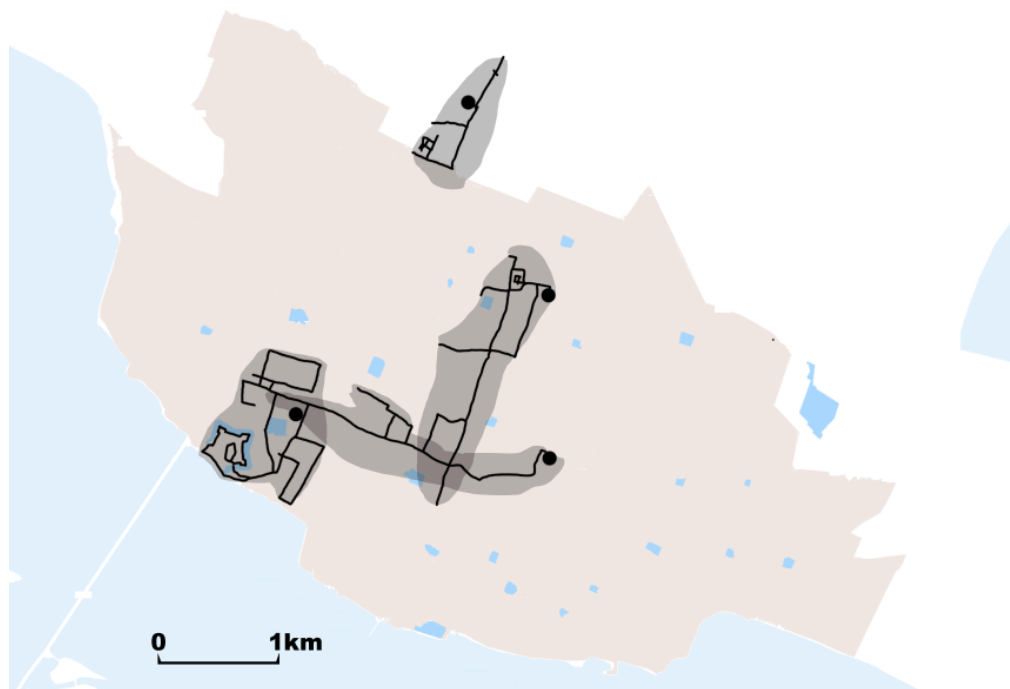
3.5 Analysing the Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews were transcribed in their entirety, it was felt important to have the "voice" of each participant as closely as possible reflected in the written text. Since the participants were using English, (their second or third language) meaning could have been lost with a quicker method. This also allowed me to gain greater familiarity with the data (Robson C, 2010). As a first step, a coding notebook was made while transcribing the interviews in order to begin the process of data reduction. Analysis broadly followed the thematic coding analysis detailed in

Robson's "Real world research". Sections of each interview were collected. When added as quotes in Chapter Five in the findings chapter, these are verbatim, but have been cut down and edited to make as much sense as possible, the order altered, punctuation has been added and the quotes are corrected for grammar and English usage (Frisch, 1990 and Holliday, 2002 in Thody, 2006).

3.6 Observational data while walking in different neighbourhoods.

While in the city of Jaffna only two methods of transport were used: the ubiquitous tuk-tuk and walking. Walking different neighbourhoods and staying in different locations allowed for a more complete understanding of what the interview participants were talking about when discussing change, identity, development and tradition within the city. This also taps into my belief that any space designed for people ought to be experienced on foot, to allow a fuller understanding of space and scale, needing to experience the city as one of de Certeau's walkers, the inhabitants who write the urban story, but cannot read it, rather than as an observing voyeur (de Certeau, 2002). I stayed in four different locations while in Jaffna, one in a residential area seeing individual house development, one in the immediate area next to the Nallur Kovil (temple), one in the central business district, where the largest buildings are currently being developed, and finally one in the peri-urban area out of the centre, which is experiencing a more unplanned development, due in part to the road widening, to which I return in Chapter Five.



Map 3. Map showing the exploratory walks to understand better the nature of Jaffna's neighbourhood development

3.7 Limitations of the research:

Limited length of time spent in Jaffna

The biggest challenge for this research was the limited time available in Jaffna. In total, two weeks were spent in Jaffna, had this period been extended by an extra week, I believe this would have given me extra insight and opened up a further avenue of research, due to one of the final interviews being the result of a chance meeting ending in interviewing a young woman living in Jaffna, snowballing from this participant would have likely given a better gender and age spread for the research.

Number of interviews

Due to the timeframe, the total number of interviews was limited, so opinions and answers cannot be seen as representative, however given the qualitative data collected, it does allow an exploration of the general concepts from the literature review.

Timing and freedom of speech

The visit to Jaffna coincided with the 35th anniversary of Black July (see section 1.2 in Chapter One), and was nine years since the end of the conflict was declared. This time period has been sufficient for some recovery and an amount of visible development to happen, however some answers rely on memory from the time of conflict, which can over time become less clear, so may be limited or unreliable.

Though improving, there are still issues of freedom of speech in Sri Lanka, particularly in the North, including reports of beatings of journalists and rights activists, interrogations and harassment (Tamil guardian, 2017; Fernando, 2018), some potential interviewees may not therefore have been willing to come forward and talk, despite the confidential nature of the research. Indeed some participants during their discussions asked to not be quoted on specific topics, underlining their concern.

Language

Since my interviews were conducted in English, this reduced both the number of potential participants and the demographic breadth of the sample, resulting in a group who are educated and could be termed elite. The interviews conducted ran from 45 minutes to over two hours depending on how people chose to answer the questions and their own time constraints. Had a different sample been chosen, it would have necessitated an interpreter and the time taken would have become excessive to gather the same amount of material. It would also have been difficult to ask people to give up so much time.

Jaffna as the Place of research

Jaffna is a distinct and unique place, in terms of geography, culture and history. Having experienced a long and difficult civil war, followed by a challenging peacetime with many conflicting voices and interests, it may be that little of the study can be transferred easily to other places or studies. However, Jaffna has been isolated for so long there are gaps in knowledge which could and should be studied, such as the lack of documentation of what the specific Jaffna architecture is, mentioned by Participant A1.

3.8 Ethical considerations.

The information gathered explores people's actions, memories and opinions, which raises ethical questions for both the subject of the research and the researcher. "Critical ethical consciousness" needed to be used before, during and after each interview since the subject matter discussed is subjective and personal. Ethics have to protect the participants and also must think about whether the research is reasonable and socially acceptable (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012).

Interviews took place at a time convenient to the participant, to ensure the minimum of disruption. Participants were given a physical copy of the participation sheet or were sent a copy by email later if preferred.

The nature of the research, how it was to be used and what it was for was explained to each person and the statement for informed consent was read out prior to starting the interview. This included making it clear that a participant could withdraw at any time for any reason if they so wished.

Due to the focus of research being on change and development during and post conflict so time dependent, it was decided early on that it was unnecessary to interview anyone below the age of 18.

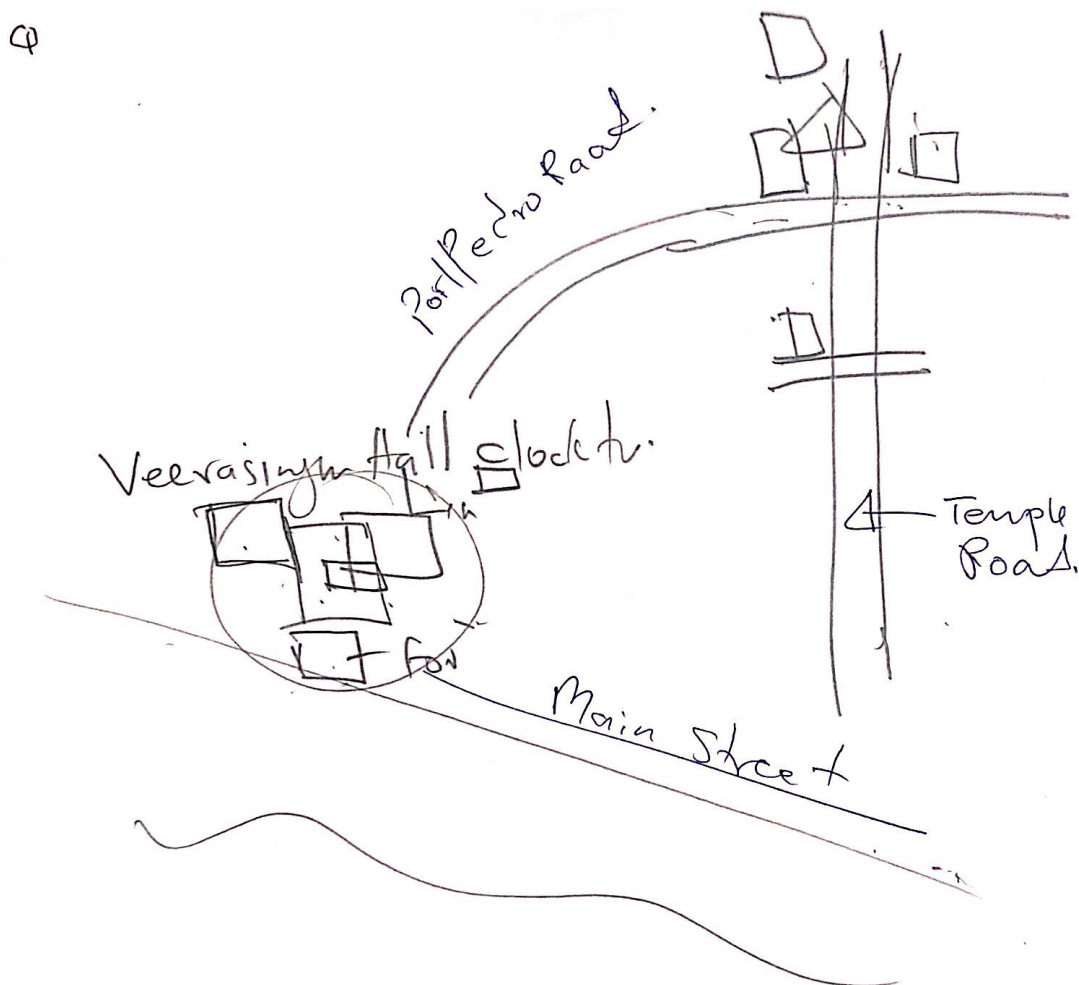
As mentioned in section 3.2, each interview was carried out in a place in which the interviewee felt comfortable, some in public, some in offices and some in private homes. During the interviews participants were encouraged to ask questions about the research if they were curious or wanted more information. Discussing anything personal in a post-conflict setting has risks and potential that some participants could be upset or react angrily, fortunately during the research interviews this didn't happen, despite themes of displacement and the loss of possessions, family homes, land, family and friends in many of the answers.

The interviews conformed to the Oxford Brookes ethical guidelines and ethics approval was obtained prior to contacting any of the participants. A copy of the ethics forms are attached in Appendix E, and the informed consent statement read out before each interview may be found in Appendix C.

Chapter Four- Mapping

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the main information gathered from the ten maps drawn in interviews and the observational walks done in Jaffna. This information was then analysed by putting the maps together in different ways. These thoughts are then continued as part of Chapter 5, with regard to the information collected and the themes developed from the semi-structured interviews. The chapter begins with a simple introduction to the participants below, which is hoped to give an overview to explain why they may have chosen to answer in the way that they have. It also allowed the mapping section to be organised by job description to examine whether people fundamentally thought about their city differently, however there was no appreciable difference observed, probably because of the small sample size.



Map 4. Mental map drawn by Participant G1: Tolerance indicated by mentioning both Buddhist and Hindu elements. The clustering of the two main centres is also interesting demonstrating the idea of a religious centre and a separate commercial heart, with a notion of distance between the two

4.2 Introduction to the participants.

The 12 interviews conducted can be split in to 4 main groups: Academics, Professionals, NGO workers and business owners.

Academics:

- A1. Academic focus within the arts, Jaffna based (40+) did not map.
- A2. Academic focus within economy, Jaffna based (declined to give age)
- A3. Academic focus within the arts, Jaffna based (40+)
- A4. Academic focus within Languages, Jaffna based (60+)
- A5. Academic focus within Social Sciences, Jaffna based (declined to give age) did not map

NGO workers:

- N1. Jaffna based (40+)
- N2. Jaffna based (40+)
- N3. Researcher, Jaffna based (20+)

Small business Owners (Guesthouses):

- G1. Jaffna based (40+)
- G2. Jaffna based (40+)

Professionals:

- P1. Building professional, Jaffna based (40+)
- P2. Building professional, Colombo based (60+)

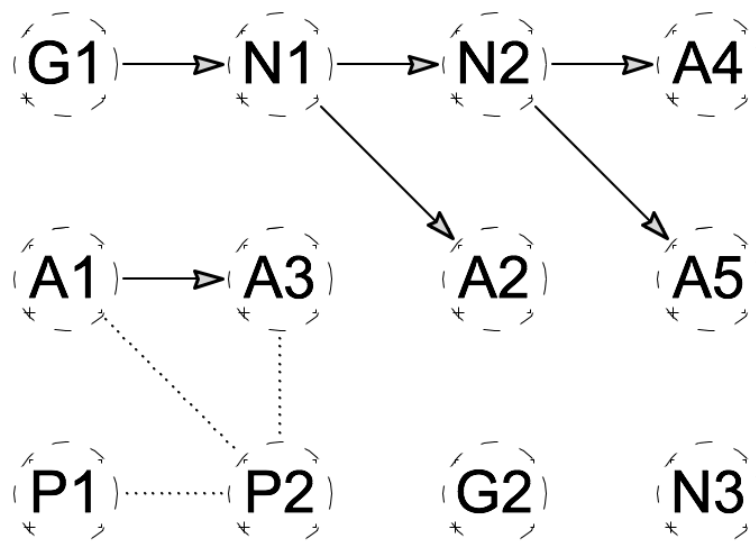


Diagram 4. Showing snowballing links between participants, dotted lines show that during the interviews it was mentioned that participants know each other. Some of the academics may also have connections with each other

4.3 Mapping

The aim of mapping was to gain an overview of place identity and understand the attachment to the places that were considered symbolic and important for the participants. Despite explaining this, two participants refused, suggesting that a map would not encompass the true Jaffna. Eight participants started with drawing the peninsular suggesting it was difficult to divide the city from its surroundings. This reflects the medium-sized city and its strong economic, familial, livelihood, religious connections with the immediate surroundings as mentioned earlier in the Literature review (Jigyasu, 2011). Finding where the city stops is also difficult using a western architect's eye, Jaffna merges into the surroundings unlike any other place that I have encountered. This is a distinct quality of the city and part of Jaffna's identity and place, which is being eroded with the current development of a different scale. The experience on the ground is chaotic like many developing cities, the transport, the people, the noise, but the low-rise nature of the city makes everything peri-urban, non-centric and sprawling. From above, the ponds and the amount of tree cover, make for a completely different experience (Photo 2). Future development needs to combining with the surrounding areas as during the interviews, many participants had ideas for development and could not understand why they were not being addressed; these will be discussed in Chapter Five.



Photo 2. Jaffna from above, new central development, international style (Jetwing hotel, new banks etc., but the rest of the city covered in trees

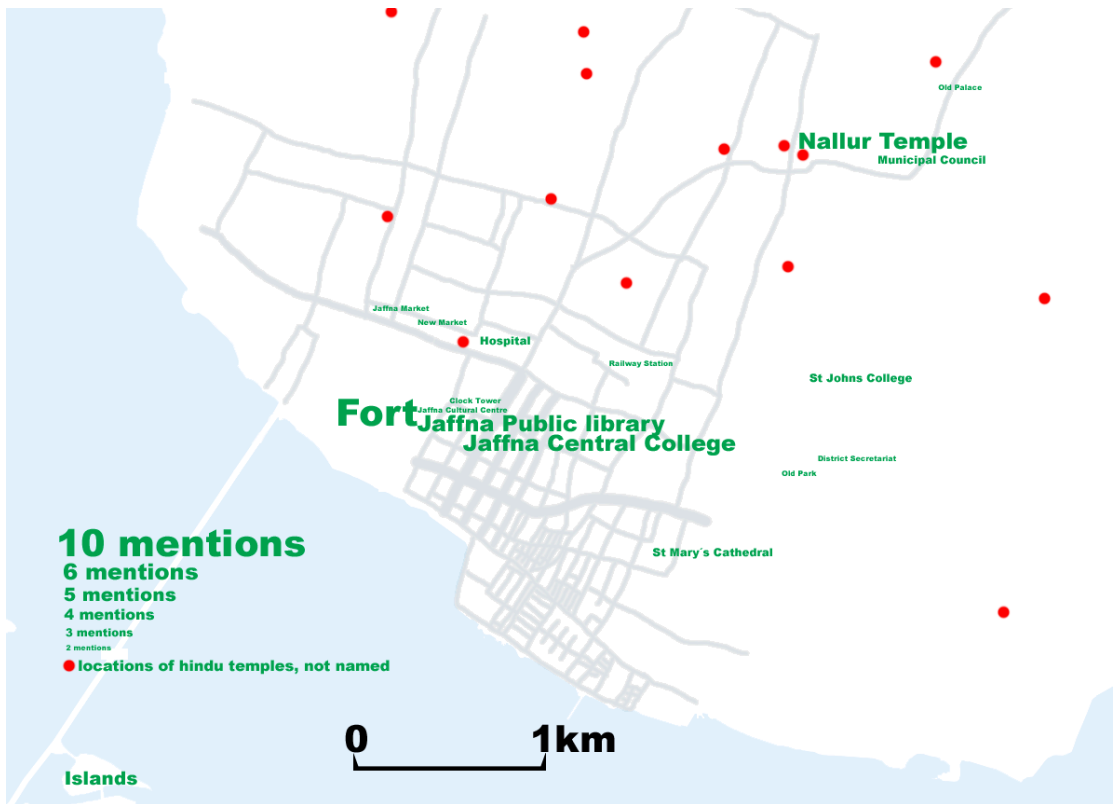


Photo 3. The more chaotic experience from the street in an area that has seen road widening and "development"

Maintaining Cultural Identity during redevelopment in cities, post-conflict



Map 5. Google map of Jaffna



Map 6. Collective Map.

The findings when all of the participants have been put onto a collective map are striking. There are a number of buildings which register as far more important than others. For legibility only buildings or places that have been mentioned by two or more people have been added. The only exception to this is that Jaffna's many Hindu Temples were mentioned three times, as a general feature, but there are so many of these, that for legibility, it has been chosen to mark these with a red marker, since these were not mentioned by name, except for the Nallur Temple, mentioned by six people. This suggests a shared attachment to the tangible cultural heritage and the intangible culture mentioned relating to education and different religions. Few modern buildings were mentioned, though there are many, which implies again that the connection to the historic neighbourhoods is stronger in the population, as theorised in section 2.6 in the literature review and that these areas and buildings ought to be taken more into account when developing Jaffna further.

On the map the size of the text, or the size of the lines in the case of roads, demonstrates the relative importance of each feature based on number of responses. In the case of roads and streets, the gridded street pattern was mentioned in two interviews, so that has been filled in graphically as I see the gridded city, and if the line is thicker, those streets were also mentioned by name. A full list of buildings and areas mentioned can be found in Appendix D.

The only feature that all ten of the participants mentioned was the Fort. This is unsurprising as it dominates the city in size, is historically important, and is still being fought over; according to participant A4, the Sri Lankan army, who still have three army bases within the town, are currently suggesting they move out of these and take over the fort again. Following this came the Public Library, Nallur Temple, Jaffna central college, and then natural or larger more general features such as the islands, coastline and the town centre with the gridded streetscape. The full list (see appendix D) includes arguably all the main historic buildings and sites in Jaffna, suggesting that the sample of people interviewed are both aware of and interested in the heritage of the region, recognising that they have both a power and importance to them. This is too small a sample to definitively say that everyone in Jaffna feels this way and during the interviews that followed, it was suggested that unfortunately the opposite is the case and that the *“average Jaffna man of the present day, he has no sense of architecture in him”* (Participant A4).

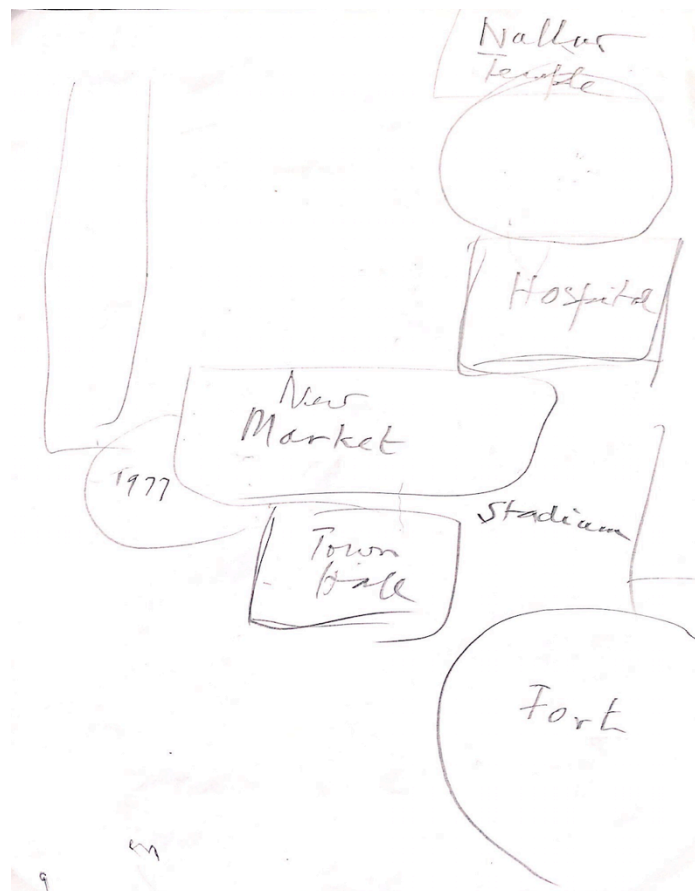
I find this map interesting for a number of reasons; it is a drawing of our discussion, with the participant trying to make me aware not of what Jaffna is now, but *why* it has become precisely this Jaffna. This discussion moved in time and location from the early history, describing the layering of the different religions influencing Jaffna's identity throughout the Colonial times, the clashes that this brought and the cultural changes forced on Jaffna by the colonial powers. Beyond the physical manifestations of this seen in churches and temples, the map contains labels which relate to religion and the repression of Christians in contemporary Jaffna, who are not being allowed to develop new sites of worship by the local government, this is a new division, occurring after the war, and their opinion here was that though these differences were present during the war, the notion of a common enemy meant that people were united. Without this, they felt the society was splintering. Given the way Jaffna is developing by being controlled and told what to do by the governmental bodies, despite clearly expressed needs by the local people, suggests that resilience is currently weaker than previously. Resilience can be changed however and the same participant later discussed the optimism that he felt with the future generations and that they hoped that there would be greater social ownership of development, but as yet they felt that Jaffna wasn't fully developed in line with what people wanted.

A final thing discussed in this map, was caste. Participant N1 described this by saying that in wartime *"this caste system doesn't really come out, earlier Jaffna was highly strong in the caste systems, with several caste, but after the war, the caste fanaticism is evolving."* So not having the common enemy of the Sinhalese majority, Jaffna seems to be moving back towards an internal conflict. An example given was an isolated area where armed youth gangs, drug addiction and violence were escalating. The area was described as low caste, one allocated previously for lepers by the British. The community here is still facing stigma and there has been little development in the area; the unemployment is high and the neighbouring areas do not employ people from this region, even if they have studied or gained a technical skill. Though this was only an example, in the participant's opinion these types of social issues were emerging all over the Jaffna peninsular, and that the return to a dominant caste system was one piece of cultural heritage that Jaffna ought to be working on to remove. To conclude the mapping, the participant said that they feared that Jaffna was going backwards. Caste came up in many of the interviews which followed the mapping, but was often discussed with a shrug, as part of the society which was simply there, not wanted by any of the participants, but that couldn't, or was simply too ingrained to be addressed.

Another theme was the drawing of things that were missing (but were seen as things that ought to still be there), or the drawing of memories. This links with Stephenson's Cultural Values Model in section 2.4, where people with the greatest place attachment describe the embedded memory and meanings of a place.

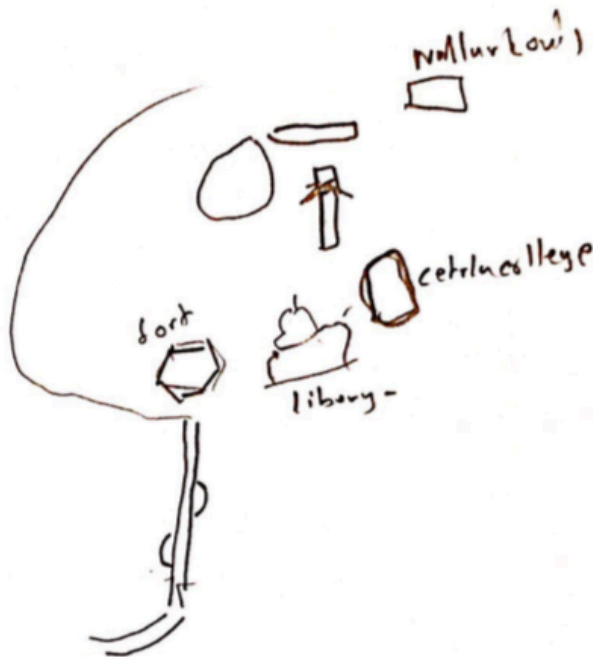
Participant A4 drew things and discussed places that were no longer there, such as the old town hall, and the traditional tailoring or medicine shops, or a pond which had been filled in to build on, described as an important part of life that they remembered from their schooldays. During mapping, each place was described fully, with regard to meaning and memory, demonstrating the strong link to Jaffna, bound up in their personal history and heritage with the sense of place.

"We have the market area, that is the heart of the town, the market has transformed itself over the last few decades. I remember in 1977 when the market was burned down by the police, they had some quarrel or provocation in the market area. That was the old market, it had a lot of mats, Palmyra leaves, they catch fire easily, so they started it there. The old market also brings memories of the past, not the distant past, but the recent past, independence and so on...the market has become the new market, it holds a lot of shops, fancy shops, clothes, drapery, things like that."



Map 8. Map drawn by Participant A4, simple, but the description of places with respect to meaning and memory was detailed. Much of their interview was also spent discussing memories of an earlier time, with a sense of people working together, and a Jaffna in harmony

The map by Participant G2 was also notable for drawing of memories, which I found peculiar, since this participant was most ready to embrace change; and least interested in maintaining any form of traditional culture or heritage. Their map though sparse in the detail and number of important buildings and places mentioned is the most pictorial, indicating despite their wishes for a new Jaffna, a subconscious knowledge that whether they are old or new, distinct built forms and differences are important; the dome to the library roof, the shape of the fort, the clock tower, all were seen as meaningful as they related to their own sense of pride and identity. The coast and road with small passing places leading to the islands was discussed with fondness of a childhood spent looking at the vehicles and the fishing nets along the coast, which is now lost due to the infrastructure development which they believe ought to continue, speed up and remove any remaining heritage, since *“the Jaffna house style is gone, the heritage is going nowhere, ruined, what is the younger generation gaining out of it?”*



Map 9. Map drawn by G2, memories and form.

This mapping component demonstrated the strong sense of place and identity between most of the participants and their shared heritage in Jaffna and served as useful introduction to the semi-structured interviews, which are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five- Discussion and analysis of the Semi-structured interviews

“What is home? What does house architecture mean? What does a building mean? What does my environment mean? These questions are not addressed or answered well” (Participant A1).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the semi-structured interviews; the main themes that came out of the discussions relating them back to the research question and associated aims. It was clear that for the participants, culture and heritage was more than just the built environment, and their idea of development was also more nuanced than just physical structures, which seem to be how the World Bank and the Sri Lankan Government are talking about development.

Heritage and culture included education, the traditional ways of life, family structure, buildings, livelihoods and industries, as well as other things to do with Jaffna's uniqueness. Development or redevelopment included changes to the physical environment, to family, the altering education and their rights.

After transcribing the interviews fully and coding by cutting, sorting and editing the data, several main themes presented themselves:

- The “wrong kind” of development. Not in line with Jaffna's traditional industries, needs or heritage.
- Family and the feeling of alienation from place and each other
- Boundaries; psychological becoming physical
- The diaspora as both potential saviour and enemy
- Distrust or disbelief of established power
- The lack of a coherent plan with regard to development and heritage
- The realisation that Jaffna could lose itself, its people and its heritage while redeveloping

Given this list it is impossible to look at a narrow definition of heritage, culture and resilience. For Jaffna it is necessary to look at what is currently affecting resilience, and whether the cultural identity and traditions of both the people and the city are being respected, nurtured and maintained.

5.2 The “wrong kind” of Development

With redevelopment after any form of disaster, it is good practice to put the affected community at the centre and ask them what they want. In the case of Jaffna, it is clear from the interviews that this isn't happening:

“This has always been the story of our life with people making decisions for us, there is not even basic consultation when a decision is made, whether it is a political party or a company or organisation, it's always somebody else's decision. They don't even consult with locals. If they did, it could have been a different story” (Participant N3).

The World Bank has suggested that people were consulted about what they wanted when it added Jaffna to Kandy and Galle in the Strategic Cities Development Project (SCDP) (World Bank, 2016), but again and again in the interviews, the common thread was that though there are meetings, that every year they discuss the same things, the local communities who come with their prioritised lists of needs are not listened to and nothing is changed for the community as the money from central government is to be allocated elsewhere.

It also comes through strongly that the development currently happening is seen as the wrong kind of development, it is not really for Jaffna, as it does not tap into the traditional sectors that Jaffna is built upon and this reduces the general resilience and uniqueness of Jaffna by not developing Jaffna's traditional strengths. Even the infrastructure developments and the widening of roads, was seen as a way of controlling the Northern population, by facilitating easier and quicker movement of troops, *“it is not out of love for us, but to facilitate things for the forces and to keep the place under control”* (Participant A4).

Other developments such as the many banks appearing and what sectors were invested in or developed were also questioned, suggesting that the Southern investors were not interested in investment for generating employment, but instead just coming in to take what Jaffna had left, syphoning off money to the South. *“Private banks, they are also developing, they are developing their bank but not our city”* (Participant P1). Even in development within education, described by many participants as culturally more important than everything else, there was the feeling of a hidden agenda, that the suggestion of changing from Tamil studies and Philosophy to the development of new IT courses, was *“because they need the new Coolies, if they hire us it is cheap labour”* (Participant A3). Note that in South Asia this word is used as a term for labourer, believed to come from the Tamil word “kuli” for wages and isn't always meant as derogatory (Britannica, 2011). These issues

can be seen as a consequence of the victor's peace as mentioned in section 1.2, in that there are still underlying problems and grievances needing to be addressed.

Urban planning and Government policy was described by Participant P2 as being *"focused on the intrinsic character of Jaffna"* but went on to say that a lot of development was occurring driven by commercialism which was distorting the vision of the policy makers. Participant A2, who felt that the whole identity of Jaffna was bound up with the heritage and that there needed to be a plan going forward to maintain that cultural identity, echoed this. Also on the subject of character Participant N2 suggested, *"if you take the Jetwing and others, they have built the same building everywhere, they should think that Jaffna is a unique place and that they have to develop different kinds of buildings here, but when other hotels come, they will also be the same, like this, boxes."*

The traditional areas that people wished to see developed were often related to fishing and agriculture and remained untouched. Other challenges are evident here for the future; these industries are seen as cultural and important to create a strong region (and to be more resilient) by being less dependent on the Southern markets, but some suggested that these couldn't develop anyway, as the young people were not willing to do this kind of work anymore. *"The neglect of farming and fishing, these two things are the very life of the Jaffna man...development has to include these youngsters who are not doing anything, they are not doing farming, they are not doing fishing and we have to depend on the south for our foods"* (Participant A4). Some of the reasons for this were linked to the familial financing from the diaspora and some of the current social issues developing through notions of class and caste, which will be discussed more fully in section 5.5.

The traditional industries around fishing were things like ice factories, prawn and crab factories, or sea cucumber, and were destroyed during the war. Given that the war created more women headed households, it was felt that since these community-oriented industries previously had employed a lot of women, that this could be a sustainable way of development by increasing the resilience of the community through livelihood development, using a model both traditional and culturally appropriate, but when taken up with the local government as an idea the community was told that investments were not for this type of thing, reinforcing the idea that development is for pulling money from Jaffna to the south. *The development didn't really feel like development, to me it felt more like an exploitation, what has*

happened here, most of these companies are from the south, it's not the local companies" (Participant N3). Participant P2 saw the disconnection between how Jaffna is being developed and how it could be, as a series of missed opportunities and suggested "the way they responded to this city, the first thing that was done was to widen the streets, and this was a cycling and walking community and this was a fantastic opportunity to take that and put the vehicles on the periphery, but instead they went complete opposite which was political."

5.3 Family, alienation from place and each other, less resilience and changing architecture

The clearest message from the interviews was the change to the structures of society, the gradual loss of trust and the resulting changes to the family and neighbourhood. People felt that they did not know their neighbours. This happened both through displacement during the war years and upon the diaspora selling land, having decided not to return from abroad.

"Not changed, the neighbourhood is lost. Those who are living here are not my relatives...much of the illness, the main reason is the destruction of community life" (Participant A5). This damage to the social fabric came up often, that the war has created fear and mistrust of each other, that people are "becoming more closed off, reluctant to open our gate and even greet the neighbours" (Participant N1).

The experience of space was also seen to be changing, Participant N3 said *"there is a distance among people and also places, where I live and Nallur used to feel so close, but now it feels so far away, even the closest place, it feels so far away. It is this invisible kind of distance, it is something to do with the community, that we all feel distanced from each other."* This distancing reflects notions raised in section 2.6, with the creation of placelessness and nowhere-ness, and that the neighbourhood, the space most intimately known, where place identity ought to be strongest is breaking down, which is then altering the culture heritage and built form in Jaffna, and will be discussed further in section 5.4.

The changing relationships affected the understanding of place and belonging: Participant A1 suggested that they were *"not in the same place, I am displaced without a physical displacement, I am in a mental displacement"*. They also suggested due to the length of the war, the generation of Tamils who created new lives abroad and who move back to Sri Lanka after 30 years, are not the same

people anymore either. Jaffna could therefore rebuild, or be reimagined, but it was felt that remaking the society was impossible, that everything was both changed and somehow not authentic. To illustrate this in the cityscape an example was discussed by a number of the participants; by rebuilding the library as it was before, but without admitting the memory of the fire, what is the meaning to the people, since you cannot replace what was inside the library?

There was general agreement that it was necessary to rebuild the library in some form, since it was an important symbol of Jaffna and represented education, heritage and culture, but the deliberate whitewashing of history in how it, certain churches and Jaffna Fort are being rebuilt without reference to the experiences that the buildings have been through is problematic, demonstrating precisely the lack of cultural resilience discussed in section 2.5. This was articulated socially in terms of the younger generation not knowing their history, that the older generation was not spending the time to educate them about it and suggesting that the community needed this for maintaining their identity (Participant N1), while also contextually in the suggestion that *“you have to have something to reference, you have to have something to mourn, you have to have something to remember, otherwise this is a totally different kind of a city all together”* (Participant A1).

A further issue in the process of the rebuilding of the library discussed was the lack of local ownership felt in the process of redevelopment; before the fire the collection was public and the library was a public project, and after the fire it became a 100% government collection and building under the municipal council, with many decisions (including employment) now being made directly by the mayor. This bureaucratic development was seen as a worrying precedent for the new Cultural centre being built next door: the largest development project currently under construction, due to be finished in 2018/19, when ownership will transfer from the Indian government (who are building it as a gift to Jaffna) to the municipal council. As Participant A1 explains: *“Since it did not come from the public, but from the administrators and the politicians, how they are going to activate this building is a real problem. There is no community around this project. With this amount of bureaucracy, how can you run a cultural centre? If you have to go to the mayor for a play to be sanctioned how can he understand if it is good or bad? And who is he to decide that? And the things that are going to come are very international, the quality and infrastructure is to cater to the international requirements. But locally we don’t know how to handle it. It is too early for us. You should have a proper body to run this.”* This lack of community

involvement in development and the disconnection from projects changing their cityscape will increase if the issue isn't addressed, continuing to reduce the sense of identity and belonging, further eroding the ties that draw people together.

Smaller scale urban development and housing was also seen to be changing by Participant P1 due to a knowledge gap; the people moving in and contractors from elsewhere not understanding Jaffna traditions and introducing new styles resulting in cultural detail being lost, further increasing the disconnection from the local environment. When giving planning approval, it was felt that the planners were only looking at technical things, not the context of the neighbouring buildings, and that over time the neighbourhood would suffer, as new housing would change the light or ventilation requirements for the neighbouring traditional buildings, slowly making the traditional buildings obsolete. This technical concern from Participant P1 was echoed by others in a more emotional way, *"it is about the neighbourhood, the street, it's about the whole village, when the thing changes in a very ad-hoc way without any logic it affects you, that strangeness is also rooted in that, so I have made myself insensitive to these things."* (Participant A1) This desensitising of the self demonstrates some level of distress over what is happening to their city and neighbourhood and suggested a feeling of powerlessness. Even details are being sold as trophies in the south, Participant P2, said that the *"Jaffna door, taken from buildings in Jaffna is a prized trophy in Colombo houses. So, the reverse you see is houses in Jaffna with holes, so first the bombs made holes in the walls and then greed made holes in the walls"* In Jaffna they don't do this, as *"Hindu belief is that things also have a soul and they bring with them their past memories, so a Jaffna person who builds a new home doesn't want any extra baggage."* I think this belief in the new, and not wishing for the "baggage" with things associated with memory, is one of the reasons there are issues with preserving the heritage for many residents of Jaffna, as there is a sense of having moved on.

In the limited time of the research study in Jaffna, it wasn't possible to observe or understand these societal changes except through the opinions of the people that were interviewed, but it was possible to see some of the manifestation of this disconnection in the urban landscape, since construction and demolition were happening everywhere. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Maintaining Cultural Identity during redevelopment in cities, post-conflict



Photo 4. Road widening and destruction of traditional housing



Photo 5. Road widening and destruction of traditional housing

5.4 Psychological boundaries becoming physical barriers.

Walking through neighbourhoods demonstrated that development was happening in a very piecemeal fashion, there was little respect for the local style, and heritage was disappearing. One of the most dominant things was the amount of high walls and gates, demonstrating the change from a social system based on trust and family and everyone gathering together to talk or have lunch, to the current one of “mental displacement”, *“what happens here is that people build their wall taller, If I built a tall wall, my neighbour would build a taller one, that is the Jaffna thing about walls now. My father said that explains the trust we have in each other”* (Participant N3).



Photo 6. Jaffna's new walls

Due to the social breakdown in trust, boundaries were being created everywhere; previously in front of the Nallur temple was a large public space, that recently has been fenced in, Participant A1 suggested that they are slowly closing all the public areas where people met, played cricket, had political meetings, learned bicycles, had weddings. However now that the neighbourhood was divided and people don't know their neighbour anymore, they felt that most people felt this was fine, since before when they knew everyone, while inhabiting the space together you were around friends and relations, whereas now strangers will inhabit it with you, so perhaps it is safer to close it off.

This lack of cohesion within society and the privatisation of space, suggests that it will take many years to build trust again, and that until then there is little chance of Jaffna being resilient against outside pressures making it change. However I also wonder if this is simply that the extended family unit has changed, not that society is fundamentally further apart, as the same participant earlier in the interview discussed that when looking at the geography of the Northern Province, it should be seen as a series of islands, which only became a peninsula after the British made the bridges and *“even now the cultural identity of this place is divided in four or five pieces, in terms of marriages, until my parents generation, they do not cross these geographical barriers, the geographical boundaries become cultural boundaries”* (Participant A1). Others felt that this could change with a generational change, that it would take time to stabilise community in order to regain their culture and society, but saw *“when observing my children, they start to think, form their own ideas and discuss with their friends, and we are able to observe they are trying to take away the separations and doubt and confusion. So I am optimistic.”* (Participant N2)

New development, such as the new large international hotels, was seen to be *“only for Sinhalese and white people and that doesn’t really respect anything”* (Participant N3). So a mental distance to buildings that are seen as the “developed Jaffna” and a lack of ownership of the centre is developing: *“In my area buildings are approved and big hotels are built, close by all the houses, they have built a big building, I have now bought land, far away from Jaffna because this is a kind of building jungle. We can’t live here, this is like Colombo and other places, in our culture we live in a small house, an old house with all the facilities, we never want to live in flats, flats are a totally different culture, we feel in ten years we can’t live here in Jaffna”* (Participant N2).

The image and the lack of understanding when confronting a building jungle is particularly apt, since my first impression on arriving in Jaffna was of a city within a natural jungle, one that I didn’t recognise. Worryingly however the interviews seem to suggest that Jaffna in a short space of time will be recognisable to me, but not the population that live here.

5.5 Diaspora

“We don’t need to be dependent on the government for all the assistance, we have people from Jaffna Peninsula migrated that are financially well off, running financial institutions, there used to be restrictions for the diaspora to come, but that isn’t true under this government, but we do not see them as being wholeheartedly involved in the development. In the international arena the diaspora is trying to create an image that is highly cautious” (Participant N1).

The diaspora is involved in changing Jaffna and affects directly the architecture of both the society and the city. Within the interviews, the diaspora were seen as beneficial, or potentially so with regard to investment potential, but also seen as the originator of some of the problems occurring in Jaffna to the society, architecture and the culture. The uneasy relationship based on difference and identity as discussed in section 2.6, came through clearly in many of the interviews.

An intriguing suggestion for Jaffna was that the diaspora or being partly dependent on outside finance is nothing new. Participant A1 suggested that this reached back to when American missions set up an education system. This massive influx of schools and small tutoring places meant that the Jaffna Tamils because of the English education could find work within the colonial administration and with the missionaries, so money came back to Jaffna from Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, as well as from Colombo and other places within Sri Lanka. This reached a peak in the 1880s where financial documents show that 50% of Jaffna’s income was coming from outside sources, and again now they felt that Jaffna was incredibly dependent on money from the diaspora and that this *“dollar economy is affecting the development in terms of architecture and that is a major economic or class background to that”* (Participant A1). As a simple example of this alteration of the architecture and cultural heritage, they suggested to look at the temples, saying *“they pump the money into the temples, you see all the colourful temples expanded, ugly sculptures, ugly works, there is no aesthetics. Why are they using these things? This is a problem to heritage, the temples which were in good condition with important material, they destroy it, just because they have got some money and some diaspora man wanted to mark his presence in that temple. They may not even realise it, their intention is good, but how it is working in this place is in a totally negative way.”*



Photo 7. The Nallur Kovil (Temple), owned by Sri Lankan's, not ruined by diaspora money, one of the most important buildings according to the responses to the mapping exercise

The power of influence that the diaspora wield is seen as disproportionate, leading to even more separation since culture and heritage is being changed without the input of the people who live there. In addition the diaspora money is supporting a societal cultural change that is not at all popular; Participant P2 suggests that the remittances have meant that people are getting used to easy money and so have no need to do the hard work, and Participant A4 is concerned that this *“affluence of those who are doing nothing, not realising the worth of money, they are unemployed, they seem to be drifting aimlessly”* and goes further to suggest that this has led to sword-wielding gangs, which *“though a minority, they are holding the law-abiding population to ransom”*. Clearly this is the most extreme form for societal breakdown, seen to be leading directly from the cash supplied by the diaspora. In addition to this it would suggest that some of the reason that young people are not farming or fishing and other traditional occupations (as mentioned in section 5.2) is this extra money coming in.

5.6 Development, Cultural Heritage and the lack of a plan

The lack of a cohesive plan was highlighted by a number of participants, particularly in regard to losing heritage or the random way Jaffna was being developed.

Participant P1 highlighted the road development was done without addressing the drainage of the roads, so now they were having to deal with that in the rainy season.

Participant A2 felt that in future developments that the government institutions ought to concentrate on the cultural identity, since the traditional architecture was suitable for the climate, living in the heat and the dust. They felt that *“the cultural pollution started with the tourist centres, for 40 years they concentrated on only making money, not in regional stability, identity or heritage, they only expect profit, profit, profit, it is a neoliberal economy.”* Others said that there was no long-term plan, that the development was random and not thought through.

There was concern by participant G1 that everywhere there was *“rapid change, new structures, new buildings, the way we are going on now, the old buildings are just demolished. We had buildings built with Coral stone, public buildings that belonged to the populace, without thinking of restoring them, most are demolished, they should keep them as an identity, we have been losing the essence of Jaffna”*.

Participant N1 suggested that Jaffna was losing its authenticity, culture, and that while they realised that because of Globalisation *“we cannot say we are a closed village,”* wanting the culture and heritage to evolve and move forward. They suggested that Jaffna was losing its ethics and morals and famous authenticity, this was due to increased social problems, alcoholism and drug use, and if it continued the only thing left will be language.

Chapter Six- Conclusion

This dissertation sought to understand the links between resilience, heritage and cultural identity within a context of redevelopment in Jaffna in the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. Drawing on a large amount of primary data in the form of semi-structured interviews and mental maps with inhabitants of Jaffna, it was possible to gain an insight of the personal perspectives on these themes, as well as finding out how much further there is to go before Jaffna can be called resilient. Even with the limitations mentioned in Section 3.7, a number of insights can be made which do demonstrate the links discussed in the literature review, as well as highlighting the evolving and complicated situation within Jaffna in 2018.

During this study, I began by looking at the heritage of Jaffna and expected to see this a strong feeling of loss for the inhabitants, due to how it is currently being developed. While I was examining the place attachment and identity, I was surprised at how strongly the disconnection was felt between the participants and the city and how powerless most of them felt about how Jaffna was being changed. The effects of how society seems to be splintering and the social problems developing along with the associated grievances left unaddressed in the victor's peace paint a bleak picture for the future for keeping the particular identity of Jaffna and its people.

Many of the symbols and situations discussed are specific to Jaffna and reflect the participants long association with Jaffna. It is possible though to offer some simple observations that seem relevant in a wider context of development, city planning and design after a city has experienced conflict and a victor's peace.

The mapping and listing of the many religious buildings, educational buildings and the fort, suggest that these are valued, and therefore most likely to get looked after. As such the most important buildings will continue to be valid, keep their identity and will help create a sense of place for the inhabitants of Jaffna. However, the loss of so much of the general vernacular buildings and the changes to the structure of society coupled with the privatisation of public space are extremely worrying developments. In addition the imbalance created by the diaspora and the distrust that is evident between the Tamil minority and Sinhalese majority is concerning despite the hope evident two years ago when the coalition government was formed and are areas that will need attention.

Jaffna has significant challenges for the future. There are many discussions that ought to be taking place but are not, there is a need for both education to increase citizen awareness of the loss in the built heritage and a robust system of citizen advocacy, to slowly build the agency and trust of the people, perhaps leading to re-energizing the community within the newly privatised open spaces which used to be common for all. Increasing the transparency of local government is needed to slowly build the trust in the systems that are in place.

Despite the erosion of place-identity in Jaffna and the social systems tied to it that are affecting the current psychological health of it's inhabitants, I am hopeful that Jaffna and it's people will solve these issues, as Bernard Bate, a Professor of South Asian Studies said to Participant A3; *"if a culture has deep roots and deep experience it doesn't fall easily, so even if it goes down, the root is there and after 10 or 50 years it builds back up. This I expect here too."*

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Appendix A- Interview guide

Introduction:

Participant is given the Participation information sheet (see Appendix C) and the researcher reads the introductory written statement for informed consent.

The researcher notes down name age, profession etc., this is kept separately to the interview notes.

Mapping:

The researcher asks the participant to draw a map of Jaffna, the participant is made aware that it doesn't have to be accurate, and that it is to gather their ideas of what Jaffna is, what is important about Jaffna. Throughout the mapping the participant is asked to explain what they are drawing and why.

Semi-structured interviews.

The list of questions was added to as needed to flesh out or understand an answer more fully and if a participant answered a question already while answering another question, that question was left out.

“Some of these questions may feel like repetition, please answer them as fully as you can in your own way.”

Questions:

What is your relationship to Jaffna?

(Have you lived here all your life, work here, what kind of work etc.)

Do you see Jaffna as different to other cities?

(If so) What are the important elements that make Jaffna unique?

Describe how Jaffna (and your neighbourhood) and the built environment was affected by the war

How did the conflict affect you and your relationship with Jaffna?

How has Jaffna developed after the war?

How do you see the new development in Jaffna?

Would you like anything to be different?

How do you feel Jaffna is changing?

How has this affected you?

Does Jaffna improve with these changes?

Do you feel it loses something?

Can Jaffna cope better with change because of the current developments?

Do you feel the changes respect the culture and heritage of Jaffna?

There are important symbols in Jaffna, some of which you have drawn on the map, why are they important?

What do you think of the new cultural centre being built in the centre of Jaffna next to the library?

Can you tell me about your life in Jaffna?

How has this changed over time? Or is changing?

Looking at your neighbourhood, what changes have you seen?

How is Jaffna important to you? Why is this important?

Does the development of Jaffna works for the people who live here? Examples?

Is the local community involved in planning and development? Do you feel decisions are made by the people who live here? Who makes the decisions?

How much is the development in line with what you want?

Should recent history and the conflict become part of the heritage seen and remembered in Jaffna?

Jaffna has a long and important history in Sri Lanka, how do you see this developing in the future?

Does current development link to any cultural history of Jaffna?

What are your hopes for Jaffna?

Do you think this will happen?

Do you know of anyone else I ought to speak to? And why do you think this?

Appendix B- Participant Information Sheet



Participant information sheet

Maintaining Cultural identity in Cities during post disaster re-development

You are being invited to take part in a research study for my written dissertation as part of my Masters degree in Development and Emergency Practice. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

The principal aim is to examine whether heritage is a key factor in making cities resilient. The study is in two parts, a mapping or drawing part followed by an interview with some set questions.

The study will research the links between culture, identity and resilience. It will look at your sense of place and to what level culture and memory or heritage link to resilience. The study will explore this from a viewpoint relating to the reconstruction and redevelopment of Jaffna post conflict. Jaffna has been chosen for the research as it is historically important, and is currently an area post conflict that is being rapidly developed. It is the city of most cultural significance for the Tamil population of Sri Lanka.

You have been asked to be involved in this study as you have particular knowledge on Jaffna, either technical, cultural or other knowledge having lived in Jaffna for a long time. It is expected that the study will involve between 10 and 20 people, and the interviews will take place between the 23rd July and the 4th of August. After this time upon returning to Oxford, the data will be analysed and the interviews coded.

Taking part in the study is voluntary, it is up to you whether you want to take part or not, if you do decide to take part, you will be given this sheet to keep and I will read out a short information statement which you will be asked to consent to. If you decide to participate you can still choose to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and your information will be destroyed.

You will be asked to draw a map or drawing of Jaffna showing the things that you think are important, or that you relate to in the city, then when you are ready we will have an interview based on some prepared questions. The total length of the study isn't fixed, but the interview is expected to last between 45 minutes to an hour.

The benefits of the research are adding another layer to the discourse around Jaffna's redevelopment, and in general add to the discussion on resilience specifically linked with culture and identity.

All the information will be confidential; transcripts of interviews will be kept securely on Google drive and not printed out. Names will be coded to ensure anonymity. The material will be published in my dissertation. After the dissertation is finished the raw data will be destroyed. The processed data will remain, but as this will be anonymised for the dissertation, any future presentation of the data as a talk or in an article will remain confidential.

If you are willing to take part, please suggest a day and a time that works for you and I will try my best to be available.

If you are interested in receiving a pdf. file of the finished dissertation please contact me on the address below.

I am conducting the research as a student of CENDEP (the Centre of Development and Emergency Practice), part of the Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment at Oxford Brookes University.

The Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment Ethics Officer has approved the research.

If you have further questions, contact:
Kester Bunyan
c/o CENDEP, Oxford Brookes University, Headington Campus, Oxford, OX3 0BP UK.
E-mail: 17033721@brookes.ac.uk

If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Thank you for reading this information sheet.

Appendix C- Introductory written statement to be presented orally for Informed consent

The aim of my study is to examine how Jaffna is being developed, and the roles of culture and heritage in making a resilient city.

The information gained here today is to be used in a written dissertation for a Masters degree, and could also form the basis for a presentation or an article.

Participation is voluntary. Names will be coded to ensure anonymity.

Participants can withdraw from the research for any reason and at any time. If anybody does withdraw, all data referring to you will be destroyed.

Contact details are provided in the participant information sheet that you have been given, in case there are any further questions about the research.

Are you happy for the interview to be recorded? The audio recordings are only to be used for this research to transcribe the interviews. The audio files will be stored securely online, removed from the recording device as soon as possible, upon completion of the dissertation these files and transcripts will be destroyed.

Transcription will take place in a private space, and the transcriptions will not be printed out.

Any drawings or maps made during the discussions will be photographed. Some of these may be used as illustrations to the dissertation.

Permission for any other photos will be requested at the time.

At the end of the discussion (or at any point during the discussion) you can ask me questions about the research.

Appendix D

List of buildings and places mentioned during the mapping exercise within Jaffna town, in order of importance. List does not include places mentioned around the peninsular; for example other towns such as Point Pedro, or areas such as Mannar, or features like Elephant pass that are not part of the Urban centre of Jaffna. Many of the single places mentioned were by participant P1, who mapped much more consequently from place to place than the other participants.

Mentions	Place/building/feature
10	The Dutch Fort
6	Jaffna Public Library, Nallur Kovil/Temple, Jaffna Central College
5	Main Street (A9 middle), 1st Cross Street, the Islands
4	Jaffna Centre, The sea/shoreline, 2nd Cross Street, 3rd Cross Street
3	St. Mary's Cathedral, the Hospital, the Municipal Council Building, Hospital road, 4th Cross street,
2	Point Pedro road, Straight/gridded roads, the Esplanade, the Clock tower, Jaffna Cultural Centre, the District Secretariat, Old Park, the Lagoon, the Old Palace, the New Market, the Railway Station, the Market, Nallur area
1	Temple road, the lake next to the Cultural Centre, Virasigam Hall, abandoned buildings, the Old museum, fence to the sea, the high security zone, the Kandy-Jaffna road (A9), Bastion Junction, KKS road, Kasthuriyar road, Thadu theru? junction, Hospital junction, Christian settlements, Jaffna's ponds, the Old Police station, the Municipal council, Chundikuli girls school, Jaffna Hindu College, Jaffna Hindu ladies college, Vembadi girls High School, Jaffna Courts Complex, Big hotels, Cargill's square, Jetwing hotel, Jetwing Northgate, US hotel, the Bus station, Jewellery shops, the Stadium, Green grass hotel, the Old town hall (demolished), a filled in pond, Cinema halls, Tamil memorial, the Causeway, Lake view hotel, Fisherman's housing by the shore, Sangiliyan statue, Tailor shops, native medicine shops, the Valumpuri hotel.

Appendix E- Ethics Forms and Approval



TDE Form E1

Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment - Ethics Review Form E1


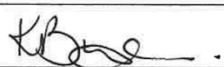
- This form should be completed jointly by the **Supervisor and Student** who is undertaking a research/major project which involves human participants.
- It is the **Supervisor** who is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review.
- Before completing this form, please refer to the University **Code of Practice for the Ethical Standards for Research involving Human Participants**, available at <http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics>, and to any guidelines provided by relevant academic or professional associations.
- Note that the ethics review process needs to fully completed and signed **before fieldwork commences**.

- (i) **Project Title:** Maintaining cultural identity in Cities during post disaster re-development
- (ii) **Name of Supervisor and School in which located:** Cathrine Brun, CENDEP (the Centre for Development and Emergency Practice)
- (iii) **Name of Student and Student Number:** Kester Bunyan, 17033721
- (iv) **Brief description of project outlining where human participants will be involved (30-50 words):**
Interviews and mind-mapping on identity and tradition. Interviewees will be

		Yes	No
1.	Does the study involve participants who are unable to give informed consent (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities)?		X
2.	If the study will involve participants who are unable to give informed consent (e.g. children under the age of 18, people with learning disabilities), will you be unable to obtain permission from their parents or guardians (as appropriate)?		X
3.	Will the study require the cooperation of a gatekeeper for initial access to groups or individuals to be recruited (e.g. students, members of a self-help group, employees of a company)?		X
4.	Are there any problems with the participants' right to remain anonymous, or to have the information they give not identifiable as theirs?		X

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5.	Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge/consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places?)		X
6.	Will the study involve discussion of or responses to questions the participants might find sensitive? (e.g. own traumatic experiences)	X	
7.	Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants?		X
8.	Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?		X
9.	Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?		X
10.	Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety?	X	
11.	Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing of participants?		X
12.	Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		X
13.	Will deception of participants be necessary during the study?		X
14.	Will the study involve NHS patients, staff, carers or premises?		X

Signed:		Supervisor
Signed:		Student
Date:	300618	

What to do now:

1. If you have answered 'no' to all the above questions:
 - (a) The student must **send** the completed and fully signed E1 form to their **Dissertation Module Leader**.
 - (b) The student must keep a copy of the E1 form which must be bound into their dissertation as an appendix.
 - (c) The supervisor must keep a copy of the E1 form as they are responsible for monitoring compliance during the fieldwork.

2. If you have answered 'yes' to **any** of the above questions:
 - (a) The supervisor and student must complete the TDE E2 form available at <http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Ethics-review-forms/>
 - (b) Note that the information in the E2 must be in **sufficient detail** for the ethical implications to be clearly identified.
 - (c) The signed E2 and signed E1 Form must be emailed to Bridget Durning (bdurning@brookes.ac.uk) who is the Faculty Research Ethics Officer (FREO) for review. Please allow **at least two weeks** for this review process.
 - (d) If/when approved the FREO will issue an E3 Ethics Approval Notice.
 - (e) The student must send the E1, E2 and E3 Notice **to the Dissertation Module Leader**.
 - (f) The student must also keep copies which must be bound into their dissertation as an appendix.
 - (g) The supervisor must keep a copy of documentation to monitor compliance during field work.

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Ethics Review Form E2

This form is only for graduate (MSc) and undergraduate students on taught programmes. Before completing this form, Form E1 should have been completed to establish whether a Form E2 is required.

The E2 Form should be completed by the Principal Investigator / Student undertaking the research. Reference should be made to the University **Code of Practice for the Ethical Standards for Research involving Human Participants**, available at <http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/>, and to any guidelines provided by relevant academic or professional associations.

Please complete the form and email it and the E1 form to the TDE Faculty Ethics Officer (Bridget Durning – bdurning@brookes.ac.uk). Please ensure this is done well in advance of fieldwork as ethics approval is needed before data collection can commence.

-
1. Name of Principal Investigator / Supervisor: Cathrine Brun
 2. Name of Student: Kester Bunyan
 3. Department/School. CENDEP (the Centre for Development and Emergency Practice)
 4. Dissertation Module Number. P30399
 5. Project Title: Maintaining cultural identity in Cities during post disaster re-development
 6. Project Type:
 - MPhil
 - Master's
 - Diploma
 - Undergraduate
 - Other (please specify)
 7. Project funded by (if applicable): None

5th January 2016

Maintaining Cultural Identity during redevelopment in cities, post-conflict

8. Summary of proposed research:

The study intends to collect primary research in Jaffna, a town in northern Sri Lanka, to examine the links between culture, identity and resilience. There are a number of studies looking at sustainable cities and what makes a city resilient pre and post disaster, but less on people's sense of place and to what level culture and memory or heritage link to resilience. The study will explore this from a viewpoint relating to the reconstruction and redevelopment of Jaffna post conflict.

Jaffna has been chosen for the research as it is historically important, and is currently an area post conflict that is being rapidly developed. It is the city of most cultural significance for the Tamil population of Sri Lanka. Additionally, the city experiences a number of interesting issues in how the city is being developed and by whom that add a number of complex layers to the redevelopment discussion.

The Aims are:

To examine whether heritage is a key factor in making cities resilient.

To investigate through the specific case study of Jaffna, the relationships of the population to their changing sense of place through important cultural symbols within the rapidly changing built environment.

To find out whether Jaffna is being developed sustainably, with the inhabitants playing an active part in the process by examining neighbourhoods seeing the largest changes.

There are two main methods of data collection involving participants:

The first method is through mental mapping: detailed in "Cities full of Symbols" Schut, Nas & Hettige 2011. Using this method, it is possible to gain a personal take on changing Jaffna and some of the emotions linked to this. Maps can be read together and collated, based on what people identify as important, to form a collective mental map, this can be divided by different factors to find out what is important for different sections of the community.

The second method is by semi-structured interview. Through this it is hoped to gain a deeper understanding of the situation. Please see attached the draft questions to be asked.

Photography will be used as a method of documenting neighbourhoods and buildings. This will not involve or focus on people, however if people are photographed within any pictures, they will be pixelated/obscured. This may be necessary in places where it is difficult to take a photo due to large numbers of people, for example at the newly restored train station

9. Participants involved in the research:

Participants will include professionals involved in developing Jaffna, people who live in Jaffna and understand the context and people who have been involved in some of this type of work previously through art and social development projects. The number is likely to be around 10-15 semi-structured interviews, with a higher number for the mapping.

Participants are hoped to include, but not be limited to:

a representative from the architectural office in Colombo who is developing the Jaffna Cultural centre.

A representative of the Indian Consulate: funding Jaffna Cultural Centre and various redevelopment projects.

The World Bank press officer in Colombo: with regard to the "Strategic Cities Development Project",

Representatives of the "The Sri Lankan Archive for Contemporary Art, Architecture and Design" (ACAAD)

and others who have lived in Jaffna through the conflict and afterward.

Extra participants are to be found through discussion (already initiated) with ACAAD, who have suggested that I come to their fortnightly talks while in Jaffna, as there are a number of people who will be interested in my research. Snowballing will also be used: asking each participant whether there is anyone else they would suggest to speak with.

People thus invited will preferably be a cross section of society, from different backgrounds, education, ages and gender, but most importantly have a connection with Jaffna over a longer period of time.

Invitation to participate in the first instance where possible will be through email contact before arrival in Jaffna on the 24th of July.

10. Estimate of the risks and benefits of the proposed research:

There are certain risks associated with the research, due to being in a post conflict setting with a potentially vulnerable population and discussing change. There is potential for some participants to get upset or angry about things they have lost or things which are happening that they disagree with. In opening each interview it will be made clear that any participants can stop the interview, or have a break from it, if they need to or are feeling uncomfortable at any time. See attached form. All participants will be over 18

5th January 2016

Maintaining Cultural Identity during redevelopment in cities, post-conflict

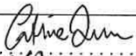

There are no perceived risks to the researcher, beyond those common to any traveller to Sri Lanka with regard to health, sanitation, mosquito bites etc. vaccines are up to date and precautions to prevent mosquito bites will be taken. Interviews are planned in public places, offices etc., but if any have to be conducted in private homes, then I will tell an emergency contact beforehand where I am going and how long I expect to be there. Interviews will be done during the day.
The benefits of the research are adding another layer to the discourse around Jaffna's redevelopment, which is hoped to be of interest to ACAAD and other parties. In addition it will in general add to the discussion on resilience specifically linked with culture and identity.

11. Plan for obtaining informed consent:

Informed consent will be sought from each participant. However, written consent/signing a form is usually viewed with distrust in Sri Lanka and as such ought to be avoided, so as to not alter the natural flow of the interviews. Because of this it is proposed to have a written statement available to be read by the participants before each interview (in both English and Tamil) this will cover what the research is for, how it will be dealt with and the nature of anonymity (see attached). Permission will also be sought for interview recording and any photographs needed.

12. Steps to be taken to ensure confidentiality of data:

Transcripts of interviews will be kept securely on Google Drive and not printed out. Names will be coded, to ensure anonymity. The material will be published in the dissertation. After the dissertation is finished the raw data will be destroyed. The processed data will remain, but as this will be anonymised for the dissertation, any future presentation of the data as a talk or in an article will remain confidential.

13. Signed:  Principal Investigator / Supervisor
Signed:  Student
Date: ³⁰⁰⁶¹⁸
Date:

5th January 2016

Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment

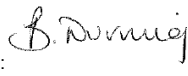
Decision on application for research ethics approval

The Faculty Research Ethics Officer has considered the application for research ethics approval for the following research:

Project title:	Maintaining cultural identity in cities during post disaster re-development
Name & Department of Principal Investigator:	Kester Bunyan (School of Architecture)
Name of supervisor (if student):	Catherine Brun (CENDEP)

Please check the appropriate box:

1. The Faculty Research Ethics Officer gives ethics approval for the research project. **Please note that research protocol laid down in the application and hereby approved must not be changed without the approval of the Faculty Research Ethics Officer.**
2. The Faculty Research Ethics Officer gives ethical approval for the research project subject to the following:
3. The Faculty Research Ethics Officer cannot give ethics approval for the research project. The reasons for this and the action required are as follows:
4. The research will also require approval from:
 Another external Research Ethics Committee

Signed: 

Date: 5th July 2018