

Conflict, Livelihood and Poverty in Sri Lanka: A Gendered Economic Analysis¹

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Abstract

The high level of poverty in the North and East of Sri Lanka has been linked to the nearly 3 decades of civil conflict. In this paper we examine the gendered aspects of impoverishment in Batticaloa district from the Eastern Province in Sri Lanka. We did extensive fieldwork in five Grama Sevaka (GS) divisions in Batticaloa district which yielded information on 153 Tamil households. There were 654 individuals in our sample consisting of 207 income earners (39 females and 168 males). The field visits were done in April, 2008, a few months after GoSL declared the Eastern Province under its control. The results show statistically significant differences in female and male income levels (female Rs. 8,190 males Rs.14,024). A closer examination reveals that this horizontal inequality is strongly related to education. We also examine the gendered nature of household level livelihoods by comparing the 22 female-headed and 131 male-headed households. These results indicate that the end of war will not automatically improve the livelihoods of the impoverished peoples as long as the educational differences are there. This result capitulate an important policy implication for the post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation of these areas.

Keywords: Livelihoods; Conflict; Poverty; Gender; Sri Lanka; Vulnerability; Education; Political Assets; livelihood framework

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1. Introduction

Violent conflicts have progressively threatened the protection of civilians more than the combatants. By the 1990s, for example, nearly 90 percent of victims of armed conflicts were civilian (Edmund Cairns 1997). Going beyond these immediate life threats, conflicts also pose other protection threats to at-risk-populations including displacement, destitution, rape, mutilation, *etc.*³ Their responses to these threats are now known to have significant feedback effects *vis-à-vis* their livelihood strategies (Susanne Jaspars, Sorcha O’Callaghan and Elizabeth Stites 2007; S. Narbeth and C. McLean 2003). This paper provide quantitative evidence of impacts of violent conflicts in (recent) past on livelihoods putting particular emphasis how this experience differs across women and men. The Sri Lankan context within which this is done is also significant: after the end of the country’s war in May 2009 livelihoods of the affected have taken center stage.

The study of conflict affected women is important for three reasons. Firstly, a large number of the at-risk-population is female. Secondly, the affected women have particular protection and assistance needs that exceed the needs of men (Erin Mooney 2007). Thirdly, even though conflict affected women may suffer more than men, they also have central roles in coping and recovery (Janet Henshall Momsen 2004: 130). All these gender aspects are projected and analyzed in the paper within the DfID livelihood framework. The framework alludes to how various livelihood assets can be used in various strategies within the context of various institutions to generate livelihoods. We examine here how the assets, strategies and institutions have been impacted by the past conflicts and importantly provide qualitative and quantitative evidence to support the assertion that this impact is gendered.

The literature discusses post-war poverty incidence and reconstruction (Sara Ahmed 2004; Julie Cupples 2004; Elaine Zuckerman and Marcia Greenberg 2004; Simon Harris 2004; Jasmine Whitbread 2004) (Saman Kelegama 2002; Muttukrishna Sarvananthan 2003)

³ See Jaspars *et al.* (2007) for a more comprehensive list of protections threats faced by conflict affected populations.

The main constraint in doing economic analysis in conflict affected regions is the availability of data (Robert Muggah 2008: 139; Anders Närman and Upali Vidanapathirana 2005: 14). For instance, to our knowledge, no reliable secondary data is available for the region we explore in this study after eruption of violent conflict in 1983. Then to perform any kind of economic analysis one has to rely on primary data. In that regard Bohle and Fünfgeld (2007) highlight another problem: the “need for protecting the security of research participants.” This is because Batticaloa district where we did field work was, at the time we collected data, a highly volatile and a dangerous location. In fact, security concerns forced us to divide our data collection process into two periods. By overcoming the data collection challenges our work has led to a significant and a unique improvement in the quality of data used in the relevant literature.⁴

Literature on feminist research methods is critical of ‘mainstream’ economic methods that rely only on quantitative data, as they are inadequate for analyzing feminist concerns (Lourdes Benería 1995; Jennifer C. Olmsted 1997; Michèle Pujol 1997). According to these critics “the survey data could tell only a very limited story, leaving out much important information” (Jennifer C. Olmsted 1997). Moreover qualitative techniques are useful to explore how market decisions and behavior interplay with non-market activities of a household (Diana Strassmann 2008). These techniques are effectively used to prove that non-market activities performed by women in a household are a decisive factor in determining market based—mostly male dominated household incomes. For these reasons we have gathered qualitative information on our sample based on limited ethnographic study as well as lived experiences. These measures have greatly enriched (some times even altered) our research experience and have answered different type of questions than our quantitative or statistical analysis did. As a result we were able to uncover many asymmetric burdens and impacts of displacement born by women. This input from IDP literature is a valuable, and a unique, addition to the feminist economic scholarship.

⁴ We believe that we got the proper balance of insider and outsider researchers with Tamil language skills, some exposure to firsthand displacement experience and regional navigational knowledge (both Sampur and Batticaloa). This research team therefore had a natural capacity to predict likely ethical issues, and security risks faced by the research participants (see Goodhand 2000).

In this work also contribute to the literature on female headed households. In theory and in empirical work, most attention has been on *de jure* lone mothers who constitute a relatively clear-cut category and usually predominate over other types of female heads (Kanchana N. Ruwanpura and Jane Humphries 2004). Our definition of female headed household is also the same. We also appreciate—and our sample confirms this—the importance of the finer differences within this broad definition. For instance our sample had in it lone mothers, female-headed extended households, and female-singleton households, *etc.* We did not distinguish between these female-head types in this work. In addition, “quasi-female-headed households”—because of the difficulty in identifying them, and *de facto* female heads—because we were informed that the males made the important household decisions even in absentia, were categorized as male-headed households (Kanchana N. Ruwanpura and Jane Humphries 2004).

This paper is unique in the literature for five reasons. Firstly, though the nexus of poverty, gender, and conflict has been looked into before these works do not provide quantitative data of the quality produced here. Secondly, the used of mixed methods would also be unique in the literature. Most of the existing work uses qualitative data. But ours use both quantitative and qualitative data. Thirdly, the growing literature on the Eastern Province, Sri Lanka, has so far not looked at the gendered implications within the backdrop of conflict. Fourthly, we have researched some areas that are marked as inaccessible even to UNHCR about the time we collected data. This was possible because of the unique approach used to collect data which guaranteed that research assistants are locals from respective villages in the sample. Fifthly, the paper looks at inequality within the Tamil populations which is rare in the conflict studies literature. That way the paper may be considered an important addition to the literature on horizontal inequalities across communities. Horizontal differences across gendered headships and female/male workers within the Tamil population in Batticaloa are looked into here.

The paper is organized as follows. The introduction is followed by the section on data and methodology where we reexamine the gender sensitive research methods used here as well as the data that has come out of that process. This is followed by two empirical sections which systematically analyses the quantitative data and provide detailed qualitative information on them as well. The final section provides some concluding remarks.

2. Batticalloa after 1983

Sri Lanka has a long history of communal politics operated along ethnic divides. Since 1915, Sri Lanka has experienced several incidents of violence among these ethnicities (Ameer Ali 1997). The worst happened in 1983, resulting in the deaths of nearly a 1,000 civilians of Tamil origin. Since 1983 the ethnic violence escalated into a civil war waged between the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which ended with all major combat operations ceasing in May 2009 after the military defeat of the LTTE. The civil war has mainly taken place in the Eastern and Northern Provinces of Sri Lanka while LTTE-orchestrated violence has created havoc in the rest of the country. The Batticalloa District located in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka (see Figure 1), is the focus of this work.

[Figure 1 about here]

The district and its main city are generally known as Mattakkalappu to its inhabitants. Batticalloa District covers an area of 2633.1 km² out of which 2403.9 km² is land and the rest is covered by the three lagoon systems of Batticalloa, Vaharai, and Valaichenai. Main part of the Batticalloa city is in fact a small island (Puliyantheevu approximately 10 km²) located inside the largest of the three lagoons, the Batticalloa lagoon. The map in Figure 1 shows that the district is divided into two geographic areas: The first is the coastal strip, where the urban areas of Batticalloa, Kattankudy, Valachchenai, Eravur and other towns and villages are located. Kattankudy DSD is known to have the highest population density in South Asia. It seems that nearly 90% of the district's population lives in this narrow band of land. Because of this high population density in the coastal the district was one of the most affected by the 2004 tsunami which devastated eastern Sri Lanka.

During the recent civil war, the district was politically/militarily divided in almost the same way Batticalloa Lagoon divides region (XXXX). Specifically, during the last half-decade of the conflict, the coastal strip was largely controlled by the Government and/or its militia proxies, in particular the TMVP. The interior was still controlled by the LTTE.

In 2006 the district's population was distributed as Tamils (Sri Lankan Tamils plus Indian Tamils) 421,496 (72.5%), Muslims 153,186 (26.6%) Burghers 5268 (0.9%), Sinhalese 1180 (0.2%), and others 93 (0.02%) (2006/7 Statistical Handbook– Batticalloa District, District Planning Secretariat Batticalloa). According to the 1981

census the ethnic composition of the country was: Sinhalese 74%, Tamil 19%, and Muslim 7%.⁵

The people are engaged primarily in either fishing or paddy cultivation or both. Most of the cultivated paddy land of 57,000 hectares lies to the west of the lagoon. A major highway runs along the coast from south to north, heading west towards Colombo about 50 miles from the northern most point of the district. The long strip of land along the coast of the lagoon consists of most of the population of 297,475 Sri Lankan Tamils, 4966 Indian Tamils, 100684 Moors, 2898 Burghers, 84 Malays, and 462 'others'.

3. Data and Methodology

The research was conducted in five of the 14 DSDs in Batticaloa district, selected randomly (UNOCHA 2009). In view of the objectives of this paper the villages were selected using a stratified sampling method. We randomly five picked villages from two segments of the district: (1) areas held by the GoSL, and (2) areas held by the LTTE.⁶ This categorization in fact refers to de facto jurisdictions of these areas a bit more than a year before we collected data in November 2008. All of the Eastern Province including the Batticaloa district came under the complete control of the GoSL on the 11/07/2007. The profiles of these villages are given in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here]

There seem to be a close relationship between the above distinction and when the people of resettled in these villages (UNOCHA 2008). So we cannot claim that the differences in the incomes are due only to histories of these areas. Livelihoods are likely to be affected by how long the people were resettled.

The sampling unit was the household. A total of 153 households were selected for this for comprising 10% of the number of households in the randomly selected five villages in Batticalao. Out of this sample 22 were female headed and 131 were males

⁵ A more recent census dated 2001 is available. However its enumeration was not complete for Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts. Most of these are Tamil dominated districts. (Source: DSC, 2009, Table 2.4).

⁶ The villages are Munaikkadu (Munaikkadu North, 133C), Thuraineelavanai (Thuraineelavanai South, 74C), Mahiloor (Mahiloor West, 110), and Iluppadichenai (Veppavedduvan, 186A), and Pasikkuda (Kalkuda, 204). The respective DSD followed by the DSD code are given in the parentheses.

headed. A structured questionnaire was also administered to collect specific quantitative data. Interviews with GS officers and other village level government officers, sometimes even divisional secretary level government officers, and also NGO officials who work in these areas were also important sources of information. Where relevant, we used such institutional information to triangulate the information furnished by the households. Field visits and observation methods were also used over a four-week period in April, 2008. Only one research team consisting of six field researchers was used and the team was guided by the first author who is able to work in Tamil language. All field workers were resident in the villages they gathered data from. As such we are able to contact them through mobile phone at any given time and immediately receive any clarifications.⁷

Though our sampling unit was the household, we obtained demographics of all individuals members of the households. Thus we, in this work, in addition to looking at household data, also looked at individual workers which consisted of men and women who earned in the households. Hereinafter all references to individual data should be deemed to refer to the data on these individual earners. The 153 households examined in this work were sustained by 207 individual workers. The rest of the household members, the dependents, added up to a total of 447 persons.

4. *Feminization of poverty: Livelihoods based analysis*

Figure 2 is an illustration of the gender differences found in the sample that we look into here. This is looked at from an individual angle as well as from a household angle. The latter angle construes the income differences across the gender of household headship. The 207 employed people, who are the subject of the former angle, are divided as 168 males and 39 females. The mean income of the females who are employed is Rs.5,834 (=Rs.14,024-Rs.8,190) less than that of the males. Table 2.A (hereinafter this form of cross reference will mean Panel A of Table 1) presents statistics comparing means of these two groups. These results suggest that the hypothesis that the means of these two groups are equal can be rejected at the 5 percent significance level ($t(205)=3.244$, $p=0.001$ with the Levene's test for equality of variance being $F=3.409$, $p=0.066$).

⁷ Elizabeth H. Campbell, Jean D'Arc Kakusu and Iddi Musyemi (2006) discuss the importance of telephones in conducting research in conflict areas.

[Figure 2 and Table 1 about here]

In contrast to the above, the mean per capita incomes of female (Rs.4,538) and male (Rs.4,766) headships plotted in Figure 2 are not significantly different from each other. This is brought out by the statistics in Table 1.B which cannot reject the hypothesis that the two means are equal. The individual level gender disparity does not reverberate at the household level mainly because of the effect of the numbers of household member. The average male headed households have 4.496 members compared to 2.955 in female headed households.⁸ The two groups, however, are economically different in an important way: the level of poverty. Figure 2 suggests that the female headed households' mean income is not significantly different from the official poverty line (OPL) while their male counterparts are comfortably above it. Thus in spite of the lack of statistical evidence to suggest that the mean incomes of female and male household headships are different, there is evidence that the latter at least in the population is more likely to be impoverished than the former. The impoverishment in female headships *vis-à-vis* the males are perhaps more clearly brought in the qualitative realm than in the quantitative realm.

Coming out of a protracted civil war, the many households in our sample had suffered mass displacement, property loss, physical and mental trauma, even death. 71 households in our sample had reported such direct war impacts. Though we have this information it is not clear as to how these impacted on the livelihoods at the time of the data collection. The gravity of the impact and the time since the impact are important variations that makes accounting for these impacts very difficult to account for in a small sample such as the household sample we have. That is why we sought to approximate these impacts with a easily ascertained, less ambiguous variable, namely whether the household lived in a GoSL held or an LTTE held area prior to end of war in the Eastern Province. The impact of this variable on the household as well as individual incomes is illustrated in Figure 3.

[Figure 3 about here]

Figure 3 along with Tables 1.C and 1.D quantify how the variable we have outlined above impact livelihoods. Household per capita income is shown in Figure 3 to have

⁸ The difference of these means is statistically different from 0 though not from 1. This is interesting as it suggest that in terms of the number of members, the female headship is only one less—the lost husband.

significantly unequal means in the two jurisdictions, the inequality favoring GoSL. The inequality is more pronounced for the individuals. The figure also illustrates that mean per capita income of households from LTTE held areas is not significantly different from the OPL.⁹ It is evident that though Batticaloa is taken to be a war impacted region in general, the impact had been more on the households in LTTE held areas. It must be noted that we are not alluding to a causal relationship to the effect the LTTE is responsible for the poverty in the area. These have typically been poor and remote from regional economic hubs in the coastal Batticalo. Coming back to Tables 1.C and 1.D, they statistically corroborate the evidence of unequal means that is produced in Figure 3. The Levene's tests reported there are worth closer examination. The tests provide statistical evidence of inequality of variance of household incomes across the two areas. This inequality is also visible for individual incomes (see Table 1.C). The high variance in household and individual incomes in GoSL areas can be attributed to the choice of livelihood options available to people in these areas. Another way to look at this comparison is to appreciate that in LTTE areas the livelihoods have slumped to the rock-bottom, wherein the variance by definition is minimal.

In this work we group educational achievements of individuals to establish whether education affects their livelihoods. Three education levels or groups are used here: (1) less than or equal to grade five, (2) between grade five and ten, and (3) equal to or above grade ten. One way analysis of variance was used to determine whether individual incomes differ across the three educational groups. The analysis show significant differences among groups. The one way analysis of variance found that the level of education has a significant effect on individual incomes ($F(2,204)=13.022$, $p<0.001$). Highest education group showed that the ANOVA analysis performed to to the the We try to measure education's impact on households we look at The impact of the level of education of the household head on the household incomes is also significant. We choose measure

By household and this section we seek to understand the factors that influence the average income or the per capita income of households. Some of the households had high educational background given by the educational achievements of the household

⁹ The figure construes information for a two-tailed t -test. With a one-tailed t -test the null of mean household income exceeding the OPL is even more resoundingly rejected.

head and other had low educational achievements. In addition things like household level or direct war impact and gender of the household head also matters. However, we are more interested in understanding whether the households who had lived in government controlled areas as opposed to LTTE controlled areas has experienced differing poverty levels. A two way analysis of variance found that the level of education did have a significant effect ($F(1,20)=22.232, p<.001, \eta^2$), the gender of the household head averaged Rs. 2000 lower than male headed households (see Table 1). The presence of an also had

In general, F statistics establish that there is or is not a difference between group means, and means plots suggest where the difference may lie.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7yvBYzAlho&feature=related>

5. Political assets and headship: the Batticaloa narratives

This section, using a panel of case studies, discusses livelihoods of some of the households in our sample. This approach, lay the groundwork for the cross sectional analysis which follows. For instance, it enables us to identify some of the relations we formalize later. Also the various hypotheses tested in this paper were mooted and developed using the case studies. The case studies are also important to emphasize the human tragedy behind the numbers (statistics) we have compiled. In what follows we select a stratified sample of four families out of the main sample of 153. Two strata are considered here: (1) whether GoSL or LTTE held and (2) the gender of headship of household.

Our first case study, the 24th household in our sample come from the village of Iluppadichchenai (Veppavedduvan GSD (186A), Eravur Pattu DSD). The household consists of father (aged 47 years), mother (40 years), three sons (26, 10, and 5 years), and three daughters (23, 16, and 13 years). Father and eldest son are laborers. They found work mostly in the agriculture sector. The work was seasonal and included tasks related to cultivation (preparing the land) and harvesting of paddy (Velanmai veddal, soodadiththal and varampu kaddal). Further, they looked after the PODIYAR's paddy field (20-30 acres) during every season. For this type of work Podiyar gave only Rs 500 per week but that time normal wage was Rs 500- Rs 600 per day. Family had two bicycles and one radio. Even though there was electricity in

the village, this family was not connected to the grid. House had mud walls, thatched roof, no well and no toilet.

Females in the household also earned less amount of money by engaging supportive work in the paddy field. They managed to store the paddy needed for food and therefore there was no inadequacy for rice at home. They collected firewood during the off seasons and sell the firewood in Chenkalady and Eravoor towns (see map in Figure 1).

The household was displaced in 18.03.2007 due to the intense fighting in the Eastern Province. During displacement they stayed in a refugee camp at Koralankehi, Kaluvankeni (see map in Figure 1). UNHCR provided small cottage type shelter. they lost some of their belongings due to the displacement. when they stayed at camp, Government and NGOs/INGOs such as UNHCR, ICRC, UNICEF, ZOA, CDF, and World Vision provided relief. during this period they did not get employment opportunities but they collected firewood in nearby jungle and sold the firewood in some days. They got sufficient relief and as a result they did not face food shortage. However, they mortgage their jewelry to meet other expenditures. When they stayed at camp elder son married and went separately. Other children did not go to the school during the period of displacement. Elder son and elder daughter both were school; drop out even before displacement.

When they return home on 20.11.2007, their house was damaged completely but UNHCR provided small cottage (made of Thakaram). At the initial stage of resettlement (about 3-4 months) they did not engage any livelihood activities due to fear. Since people did not start their paddy cultivation, this family members were at home without any job. Many NGOs helped them during this period and as a result they did not interest to work.

due to the normal situation of the area is conducive full scale economic activities. even Muslims are cultivating their paddy field. The household head is a laborer(Kooli) now. Now since farmers are using machinery for harvesting and winnowing, the income of normal laborers has declined. Fire wood collection also is difficult now. people from this village including the household head are going to Anurathapura and Polanaruva for harvesting when they have no employment opportunities in their area. Since they have lost the income from elder son, price increase of goods has increased their cost of living.

Children are going to the school but they have no interest in studies. They are interested in kooli work. The household is unable to realize the importance of education. Poverty and the situation may be the reason. Female children do not have any goal. the difference between pre and post displacement period is that they have got a house through Samurthy scheme and the World Vision has granted a toilet and two goats. help from the NGOs has declined but they receive Samurthy stamp. Prices are higher in the village than town by one or two rupees and as a result cost living is higher, they said. Thus they are borrowing sometime. The wage is Rs 700 or Rs 800 per day now.

6. Conclusions

Others have shown that the protracted conflict has hindered development and impoverished the North and East of Sri Lanka. Our work extends this material and look at the situation in Batticaloa district through a gendered lens. We are able to show that there is a statistically significant relationship between gender and the individual income. Interestingly the strength of this relationship fades when we introduce education as an exogenous variable into the analysis. Where the observations came from—whether from previously LTTE held areas or GoSL held areas—also proved to be a useful explanatory variable. This variable mostly captured the intensity of the war impact on the villages in question more than anything else. However the insignificance of the gender variable in the presence of the education variable and the space variable succinctly summarizes the conclusion of this work: that the income disparities can prevail even when the civil conflict's longer term impacts have been tapered out if the post-conflict rehabilitation work does not look into filling the gaps in education experienced in these areas.

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Appendix

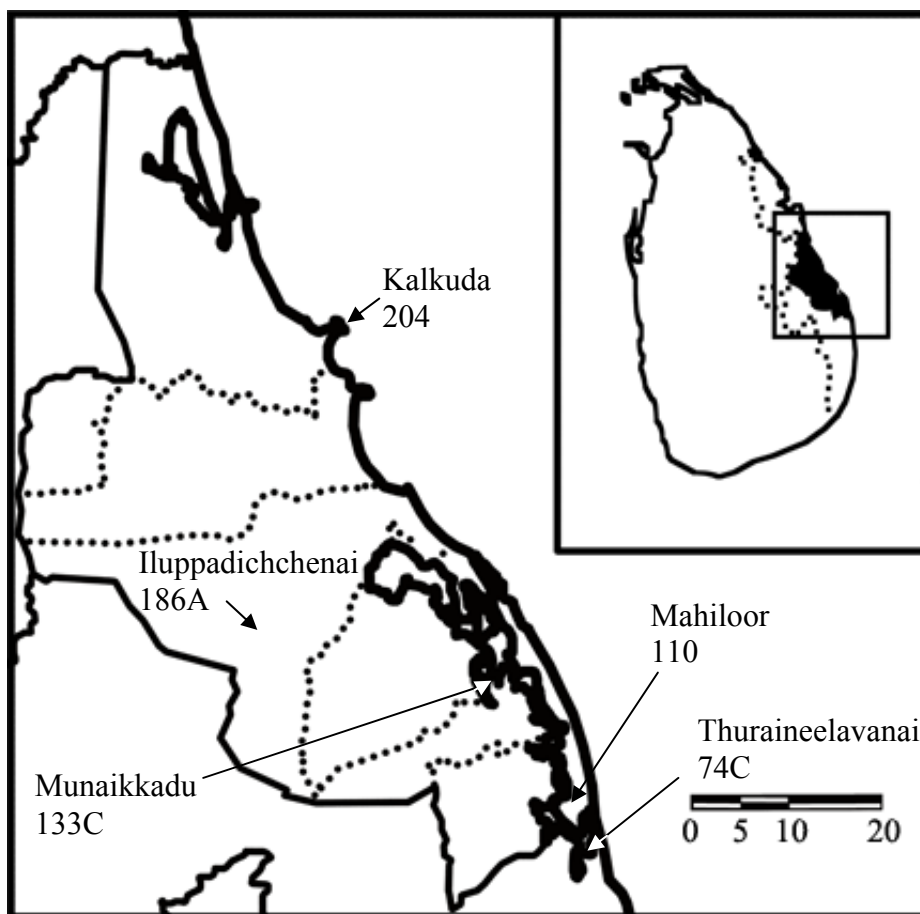
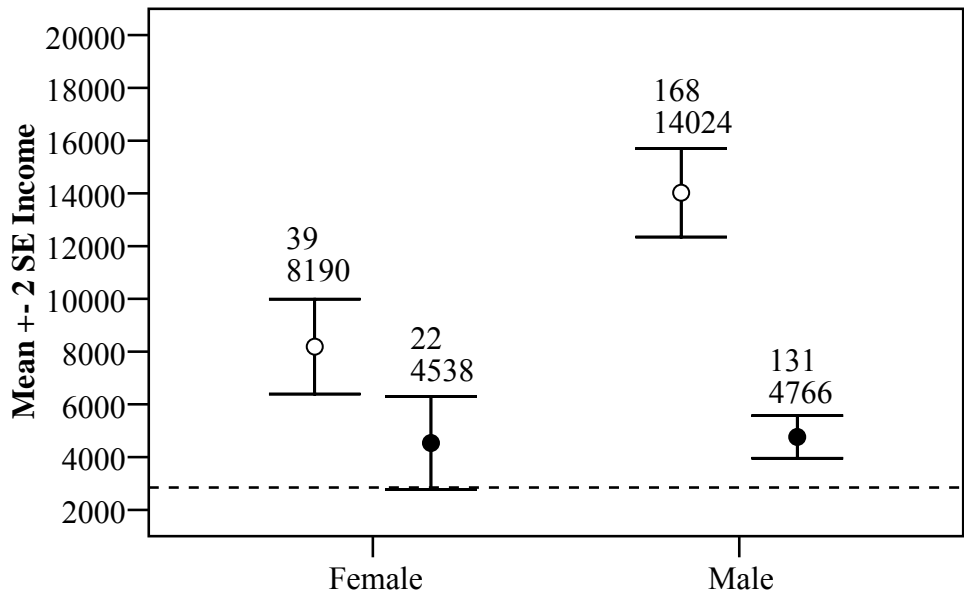
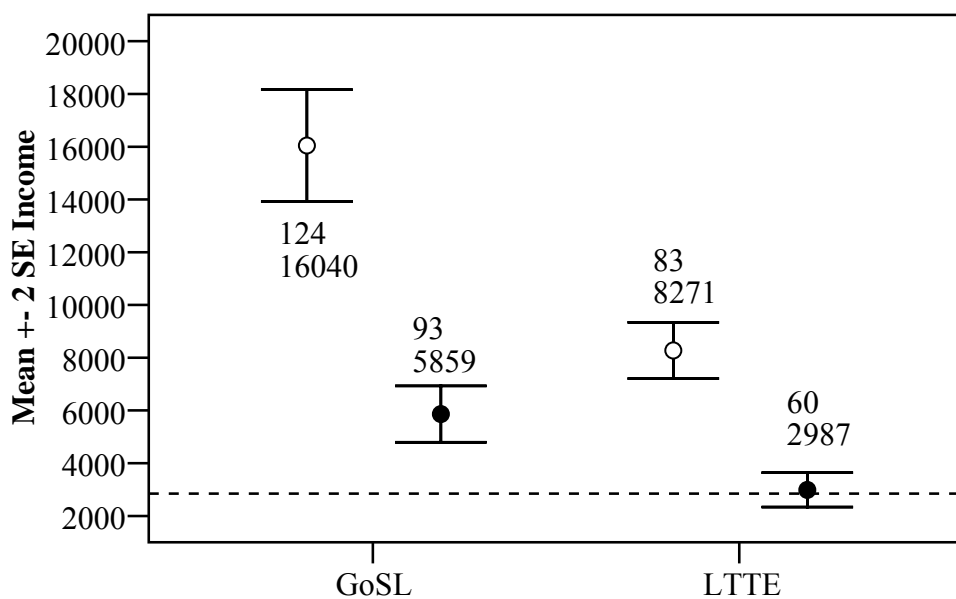


Figure 1: The location of six GSDs studies herein. The bold lines mark the district borders while the dotted lines mark DSDs of the Batticaloa district. The inset map highlights the map location, the Eastern Province (dotted lines), and Batticaloa district (darkened area).



Source: Interviews conducted in Batticaloa.

Figure 2: The gender comparison of mean and SD of incomes. The error bars with black circles distinguishes per capita household income according to the headship gender. Those with white circles distinguish worker incomes by gender. The 2008 OPL of Rs.2845 is indicated by the perforated line. The number of observations in each category and the respective means are given in the graph.



Source: Interviews conducted in Batticaloa.

Figure 3: The mean and standard deviation of per capita household income (error bars with black circles) and individual income (error bars with white circles) summarizes livelihood outcomes in various areas in Batticaloa district. The 2008 OPL of Rs.2845 is indicated by the perforated line. The number of observations in and the mean of each category are given inside the graph.

Table 1: The profiles of five villages in Batticaloa examined here.

Name (GSD, GSD code)	Ethnicity (Religion) [Caste]	Cleared or Uncleared	Experience of Violence	Impact on livelihoods	Other
Iluppadichchenai (Veppavedduvan, 186A)	Tamil (10 Christian families, the rest Hindus) [Mukkuvar]	1983-1991 LTTE 1991-1995 GoSL 1995-2007 LTTE 2007 to date GoSL	In 1990 nearly 50 people were killed. Fighting, search operations, and disappearances when travelling to the town are reported. In Feb 2007 displacement started and continued till 18.03.2007.	Jungle not accessible for livelihoods. Ban on fertilizer and barbed wire News will not go the outside if any thing happened. After 2007, many males have left for middle east.	The village was under the control of STF and Karuna faction.
Munaikadu (Munaikadu North, 133C)	Tamil (10 Christian families, the rest Hindus) [Vannakkar]	1983-1990 LTTE 1990-1994 GoSL 1994-2007 LTTE 2007 to date GoSL	In 1990, nearly 20 people from the village were among the 187 people killed in a prawn farm. Displacement from 10.03.2007 and resettlement on 17.05.2007	Economy, education livestock, agriculture were affected by war. After 2007, many males have left for middle east. Around 10 are in Western countries.	Alcoholism (male 90%, female 10%) Barbers and dhobis are a minority now.
Thurai Neelavanai (Thurai Neelavanai South, 74C)	Tamil (3 Christian families, the rest Hindus) [Seervatham]	Throughout GoSL except for 1 month of LTTE control in 1990.	If confrontation between army and LTTE occurred in the village, small scale displacement within the village but no major displacement	No large scale impact on livelihoods. In 1990, nearly 120 people had disappeared after being arrested. Many males left for middle east.	Alcoholism is a problem among males.
Mahiloor (Mahiloor West, 110)	Tamil (10 Christian families, the rest Hindus) [Majority Mukkuvar, the rest Vellalar and Kuyavar]	GoSL controlled. Limited LTTE infiltration at nights.	Nearly 50 went missing in 1990. Displacement was small scale in 1990. Currently the village is searched frequently by the army. This intimidates the households	No major impact on livelihoods. Most of the missing people were traders who went missing when travelling. Migrant workers (1 in Middle East, and 10 in Europe.)	Alcoholism is a problem.
Pasikkuda (Kalkuda, 204)	All Tamil excepting the 20 Sinhala families. (10 Christian families, the rest Hindus) [Vellalar and Kuyavar]	GoSL controlled. LTTE attacked the Police station and killed all but one police officer in 1990. Sinhalese were displaced after this. Those who remained were married to Tamils.	Communal clashes between Tamils and Sinhalese even prior to 1983. Sinhalese were displaced to Polonnaruwa district in 1990. The Sinhalese who remained in the village are married to Tamils.	Famous tourist destination but lost its importance during the war.	The displaced Sinhalese will be resettled soon.

Table 2: Panels A to D provide equality of means test statistics for various groups in the household and individual income earners sample. Each panel title gives the number of observations for each subcategory within parentheses.

Levene's test ^a		<i>t</i> -test for Equality of Means				
<i>F</i>	Sig.	<i>t</i>	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Panel A: individual income—female (39) vs. male (168)						
3.409	0.066	3.244	205	0.001	5834	1798
Panel B: per capita household income—female headed (22) vs. male headed (131)						
0.087	0.769	0.218	151	0.828	228	1047
Panel C: individual income—GoSL held (124) vs. LTTE held (83)						
13.423	0.001>	6.550	175.87	0.001>	7768	1185
Panel D: per capita household income—GoSL held (93) vs. LTTE held (60)						
12.251	0.001	4.860	138.38	0.001>	9944	2361

Note: ^a The Levene's test for equality of variance. The equality of means test reported is performed with or without the assumption of equality of variance depending on the outcome of the Levene's test.