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Article 05

The Modern Role of the Military in Ensuring National Security from Fighting Insurgency to Human Security in Sri Lanka: A Case Study of the Northern Province

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Abstract

The military plays a crucial role in national security, varying based on a nation's size, capacity, and economy. Sri Lanka, independent since 1948, prioritized national security but only began strengthening its military after the late 1980s insurgency. Since then, the military has addressed internal and external threats, including extremism, terrorism, pandemics, and economic challenges. This study examines institutional changes in the military during the postwar period in Sri Lanka's northern province, focusing on its impact on displaced people during the civil war's final stage. Research centred on Kilinochchi district, using data from 200 participants through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, analyzed using thematic and descriptive methods. Findings reveal that despite significant military contributions to human security in the northern province, local satisfaction remains limited. The study concludes that sustainable peace and development in the region require economic and social progress, as military capacity alone cannot achieve lasting stability.

Keywords: Civil War, Human Security, National Security, Post-Conflict, Sri Lankan Military

Introduction

National security for any country is considered one of the main concepts for preserving peace and security in that country. According to Bajpai (2002), realistic schools emphasise the importance of state security in ensuring the safety and well-being of people. The concept of national security has changed significantly with these multidimensional changes. The concept of security is considered a complex and multifaceted one that has not yet been given an exact definition by scholars and policymakers because it has been subjected to many interpretations. The simplest definition is that mitigation is the mitigation of threats to human values that consist of political rights, physical safety, and economic development. Insecure states pose significant risks to the citizens of the country. According to Paul D. Williams, security is a powerful political concept for drawing attention to basic issues in the consideration of state resources (Williams, 2008).

The first instance of using the military came from ancient civilisations, where the army was used to protect the citizens and expand the territory (Black, 2004). But, at the contemporary level, the military uses it to engage in peacekeeping and nation-building efforts (Gates, 2007). As of today, the military role has been debated by the national and international communities in both positive and negative ways. According to the moderate scholars who emphasised that the military provides defence against external threats for maintaining the security of the people (Janowitz, 1960), on the other hand, military interventions can result in unintended outcomes, such as increased violence (Kaldor, 2007). In the 21st century, the military as an organisation faces a range of challenges due to new technology, the expansion of non-state actors, and climate change (Singer & Brooking, 2018). Moreover, the military must be ready to play the crucial role of the country in international disputes by investing significant resources in the international peace operation (Ruffa, 2017: 395).

As a result of this struggle, the LTTE began fighting for Tamil Eelam. The government imposed an emergency rule for six months after the 1971 JVP rebellion (Jonathan, 1990). According to Jonathan (1990), Wijeweera was released from prison by the UNP government after entering national politics. The JVP later reached a significant agreement with the Tamil insurgency (De Silva, 1981). The JVP also led anti-Tamil riots, which resulted in the party being banned (Jonathan, 1990). Tamil people formed political parties due to pressure from Sinhala leaders (Shastri, 2001). According to Silva (1981), certain parties, like the TULF, are known for their opposition to the Sinhala people. These disappointments contributed to the 1983 civil war. Sri Lanka's long-standing conflict has influenced its policies towards China and India. The country has had to repeatedly respond to India about domestic politics and Tamil human rights concerns. Despite Indian pressure, Sri Lanka has maintained a democratic government since independence, whereas India established a socialist government for its people

(Shastri & Wilson, 2001). The Maldives had multiple military coups, whereas Sri Lanka remained committed to democratic norms. Sri Lanka was preparing to become a republic in 1972, with local politicians adopting a constitution allowing for constitutional revisions. During that period, regional politics had grown significantly in importance.

The Elam War (1983–1987) marked a watershed moment in Sri Lankan history in terms of ethnic conflict. There was a purpose behind the onset of this battle. The fundamental reason was the LTTE attacks on government troops (Jonathan, 1990). Because of communal conflict, terrorism and its actions benefited ethnicity and spiritual underpinnings, while LTTE recruitment surged dramatically. The Indian government closely monitored this occurrence in response to Tamil Nadu demands. During this time, the LTTE employed automatic firearms against Sri Lankan citizens (Wickremasinghe, 2014). These episodes resulted in widespread violence and outbound migration. Now it's time to consider India's attitude toward Sri Lankan warfare. Although Ceylon made every effort to suppress this Tamil insurgent group at the outset, it was unsuccessful. By 1985, Tamil secessionist organisations were armed and prepared to battle the Sri Lankan government. In this regard, with the support of Pakistan, Israel, and Singapore, the Sri Lankan government was able to become militarily strong. During this period, violence in the north and east peaked. As a result, the government troops were forced to undertake the Vadamarachchi Operation, which targeted LTTE positions in Jaffna (Rajapakshe, 2014). The government of Sri Lanka spearheaded this operation by utilising all of its hard work to remove terrorism within Sri Lanka.

The final war stage between the government and the LTTE occurred in 2009. During this case, the Indian role became vital for Sri Lanka. Although China and Pakistan helped Sri Lanka, they couldn't have forgotten the role of India as a pacesetter at the regional level. India's stance during this was critical due to Chinese closeness to the country, never before. China not only helped Sri Lanka financially but also militarily assisted Sri Lanka. On the other hand, it had been important to the role of the Indian leader and the strength of his respect for Sri Lanka. During the ultimate stage of the war, the Indian government was led by the Indian National Congress, which governed India (Pant 2017). The party's leadership was led by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Rajiv Gandhi's widow, Sonia Gandhi, who became the party leader (Pant, 2017). But in all other wars against the LTTE, the Indian government became the cruellest to the country. In the last phase, China took on a far stronger role in supporting the Sri Lankan government (Blanchard, 2018).

India had to face internal and external challenges over the ethnic issue in the country. Touching on Putnam's (1988) two-level scientific theory, India's domestic win-set limited the opportunities due to state pressure, and India also wanted to be a "chief negotiator," just like the national government had to create strong relations with Sri Lanka. Indian involvement in the ultimate stage of the war was somewhat minimal because of the

LTTE's actions and violations of human rights standards during its time in Sri Lanka. China, in this regard, was playing a critical role in the given space thanks to the LTTE's declining popularity by the Indian government; however, the international pressure wasn't much given to the Indian government, as predicted at the ultimate stage of the war (Pant, 2017). As with other terrorist organisations, the LTTE used its air capability and complicated weapons to fight with the government of Sri Lanka.

India saw this as a good threat to its national security that could cause damage to the neighborhood. Thus, India not only openly helped Sri Lanka but also didn't provide military assistance like radars to the safety forces of Sri Lanka to fight against the LTTE. Due to human rights violations, the USA failed to provide such military support (Pant, 2017). Indian involvement was passed at the tip of the war in 2009 regarding the displaced people. Though it's insufferable to mention what percentage of people died as a result of the war, it's estimated by some that approximately 100,000 civilians were killed, most of whom were Tamils (Kilavuz, 2017: 712). It had been estimated that the number of individuals who were displaced and became refugees was very high. "As the ultimate stage of the war came to an end in Ceylon, the northern and eastern provinces recorded the very best number of migrants, a number of whom went abroad" (Amnesty International, 2009). Besides that, there have been thousands of internally displaced people, migrants, victims, child soldiers, former LTTE combatants, etc. who needed immediate attention. Nearly 80,000 civilians lost their lives during the ultimate stage of the war, while 29,551 were disabled (Karunaratne, 2014: 97; Rajapakse, 2013: 143). This study's main purpose is to investigate an under-examined area of the research for the inquiry: the ways in which the military contributed to maintaining national and human security in post-war Sri Lanka.

Literature Review

The literature study has been topically organised to help readers comprehend the essential ideas of national and human security, as well as the military's role in post-conflict Sri Lanka. This literature review is organised around three major themes: the military's involvement in national and human security, the definition of national security, and the impact of globalisation on the human security concept.

Conceptualization of National Security

National security has not yet been given a universally accepted definition, but several scholars have attempted to provide various definitions accordingly. Heywood (2011) said that security is basically understood as a necessity for all states to ensure self-defence, and every state might have potential threats from each other in the global context (P. 45). In addition, Barry Buzan (1991) defined national security as the territorial integrity, national unity, and sovereignty of the nation, including the confluence of the social,

legal, economic, military, political, and ideological elements (P. 35). In addition, Nabilo (1994) stated that countries were expected to ensure the national security and physical survival of their citizens while achieving social development and political independence. The United Nations held the conference in 1994 and advocated for national security as a broad concept that transformed from state-centric to human-centric. According to the United Nations Development Programme, national security should consist of different fields, including community security, environmental security, food security, health security, personal security, economic security, and political security (Human Development Report, 1994).

Impact of Globalization on Human Security

As a result of globalisation, human security has become a new idea in the study. Human security has to be redefined again as a result of the changes in the global context. In history, human security was understood as a more state-centric one than a people-centric one. However, after the 66th session of the UN, the general assembly decided to implement the idea of freedom from fear and freedom from want (the 66th session of the UN). In order to protect the people from difficulties, the UN has defined freedom from fear as the safety against terrorism and violence. The role of the military has been playing a key role at the global stage due to security senses. Nation-states used to ensure military power in national defence, including peacekeeping and nation-building purposes. In recent times, the military has been engaging in disaster management and humanitarian affairs (Banks, 2017).

The Role of the Military in National and Human Security

Sri Lanka, as a South Asian nation, has a history of ethnic conflict that emerged during the 1980s with the LTTE in the northern and eastern provinces due to economic, social, and political disputes among the main ethnic groups. Conflict has resulted in serious threats to the country's stability until the end of 2009. During the three-decade-long conflict, the LTTE used brutal activities to escalate the fear of war for everyone in Sri Lanka (Hoglund & Svensson, 2007). As a result of the conflict, the Sri Lankan military utilised its hard power to destroy the LTTE and then establish normalcy throughout the country (Karunaratne, 2014). Sri Lanka's military had to be responsive to threats posted by the LTTE. Terrorism marked the tensions everywhere in Sri Lanka since independence, and national security had been jeopardised (Silva, 2007). When it comes to national security and the role of the military, two theories can be applied, including realism and liberalism. According to realism, the use of force in states is necessary to ensure security (Mearsheimer, 2001). In addition, realism is often associated with the notion of balance of power, and realism further believes that military strength is essential to face any challenges from adversaries (Walt, 2011). On the other hand, liberalism claims that diplomatic and cooperative approaches are essential tools to

achieve national security (Keohane & Nye, 1998). This idea further justified the idea that international organisations play a key role in maintaining the peace and security of a country.

Post-Conflict Sri Lanka and the Role of the Military

There have been various authors who have studied various issues on national security and the role of the military. Williams's book, "Security Study: An Introduction, published in 2008, focused on an in-depth analysis of the role of the military. This study has basically concerned matters related to national security and human security perspectives. Thus, this book concerns the main theoretical background of realism and liberalism. Finally, this study has focused on matters related to terrorism and ethnic conflict in the country. In addition, Bishnu, U., Bhattarai, G., and Sharma, W. (2013) have written a book entitled Human Security in Nepal: Concepts, Issues, and Challenges, which provides insider information on matters related to war and vulnerable factors that contribute to human security and national security in the South Asian region. Kristine Hoglund and Camilla Orjuela studied sustainable peace and human security in post-conflict Sri Lanka. This study basically focused on Sri Lanka in the post-war situation in terms of the international actors and how they reacted during the war and in the post-war situation. This study further critically examined some untouched areas such as demilitarisation, justice, power sharing, reconstruction, economic development, and reconciliations for sustainable peace.

Materials and Methods

This study used mixed-methods research, combining quantitative and qualitative methods, to provide a thorough examination of the military's role in Sri Lanka's Northern Province. In this study, quantitative data were obtained from 200 persons aged 35 to 50, including both civilians and former LTTE militants, using random sampling in the Kilinochchi district's Karachchi and Kandawalai divisional secretariats. The data gathering technique comprised delivering a survey questionnaire to capture respondents' war experiences in the last stage of the civil war, their perceptions of the military's present role, and other demographic factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, education, and occupation. In addition to the quantitative survey, this study collected qualitative data through focus group discussions in Kilinochchi, both towns and villages where LTTE activities were most prevalent, as well as semi-structured interviews. These methodologies provided more in-depth insights into participants' personal combat experiences as well as their perspectives on the military's conventional and modern roles in post-conflict security and community support. The data was analyzed using descriptive and thematic approaches. The quantitative data were examined to uncover trends and patterns connected to the impact of the military's shifting role, whereas thematic analysis of qualitative data provided a more nuanced understanding of

individual and collective experiences and views. This mixed-methods approach allowed for a thorough assessment of how the military's role has shifted from counterinsurgency to human security, capturing both statistical patterns and deep personal perspectives.

Results and Discussions

The Sri Lankan military is playing a special role in ensuring national security in Sri Lanka. Before the end of the war in 2009, the military used its soft and hard power to gain complete freedom. However, the military was able to support the civil administration to restore the war-affected areas. The role of the military has been considered a critical and debated topic in the country due to the emergence of war-related issues. The traditional role of the military is to basically rely on the security of the country from internal and external threats and ensure the safety of the country's physical assets. Here, traditional military roles played a limited role that did not touch on human security. However, government and military could be seen as a collaborative mechanism between civil administration and military. As soon as the war ended, the Sri Lankan government had to find a solution on how to reconstruct the areas where the war took place due to the huge damages. That reconstruction program aimed to provide housing for the displaced people due to the final stage of the war and provide economic growth in the Northern Province. During this situation, the military faced major challenges, including security, engineering for the reconstruction of buildings and infrastructure, and logistics. The military also supported the demining operation in the areas where heavy bombs were implanted in the Northern Province. In addition, the military, as a closely linked organization, had to work with the people in Northern Province more than the government's civil administration before and after the war. The military was able to identify the needs and interests of the people going back to their usual homes in the Northern Province. In addition, the military had provided training and support to the families to uphold their livelihoods.

The military had to face critical challenges during the reconstruction process, including rebuilding the telecommunications network, repairing the irrigation and canals in the Northern Province, and providing power supply for rural areas (Rajapakse, 2014). One of the major challenges the government had to face during the civil war was how to maintain the public's buildings and reconstruction through the ongoing war. But after the end of the war, infrastructure, including roads, telecommunication networks, irrigation canals, and power stations, needed to be reconstructed again (Rajapakse, 2014). Basically, reconstruction started in 2007 with the program of the "northern spring initiatives," but this program was expected to resume in the eastern province because the government completely liberated this province from the LTTE in 2007 (International Fund, Staff County Report, 2009). During this entire process, people in the Northern Province have shown positive and negative comments about the role of the military in the impact of the reconstruction. Here are the positive signs of the reconstructions.

Improved Security

This is another basic task that military plays the for the people in northern province. “The military's contribution to the Northern Province's part in reconstruction has improved security there, and it is clear that locals have seen this as a good indication for the region. In this way, the military has been able to guarantee public safety” (R-01). The military's security assistance has also made it possible for other actors, such as NGOs and government agencies, to start their operations throughout the region. According to research on the military's role in reconstruction, one of the locals claimed that this development would not have been possible to see without the military's support and contribution to enhancing security, and the military has rebuilt roads, wells, bridges, and cleared the area in the demining process (Ministry of Defense & Urban Development, 2012). The military presence in the Northern Province has also helped to build trust among the people in the province. The military is in fact expected to restore law and order, resume provincial council elections, resume utility services, and restore civil administration for the vulnerable community in the Northern Province (International Monetary Fund, 2009). According to the research, one of the respondents said that military involvement has been very supportive of the civil administration in making the Northern Province a more peaceful, stable, and prosperous region. However, several respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the military's presence in the Northern Province, claiming that the forceful occupation of some territories for security purposes had caused unrest and mistrust among the populace (R-03). The military security strategy had a detrimental effect on the Northern Province's long-term stability and development, as discovered during the research. In conclusion, the military has been crucial in enhancing security in the province's north. As it might have effects on the military. But there have also been mixed signals for the Northern Province as a result of the military presence.

Infrastructure Development

The military role is debated in this significant area, where the Sri Lankan military has contributed to developing the infrastructure in the Northern Province in the field of the transportation and communication industry. The civil administration had not been in the position of building up such huge development initiatives again. Thus, the military has reconstructed roads, bridges, and other essential development areas to enhance the isolated locations.

According to the report issued by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 300,000 people were badly displaced in the Northern Province at the final stage of the war (OCHA, 2009). Herein, the military provided that shelter for the newly resettled people. Not only the military in Sri Lanka but also UN agencies conducted humanitarian operations to provide quick assistance for the reconstruction of the area

(Asian Development Bank, 2007). In addition, the government set up welfare villages throughout the Northern Province, including Vavuniya and Mannar, for displaced people. But some internal stakeholders claimed that these camps were internment camps (Sri Lanka's Humanitarian Effort, 2011). Although the military supported the people in the Northern Province for infrastructure development, including water, sanitation, and electricity, approximately 350,000 people were not enough to facilitate such things (UNDP, 2010). To help the people, the military has helped the people in collaboration with UN-affiliated organizations.

Employment Opportunities

As a result of the military role, some of the people have received employment opportunities for the long term with the collaboration of the military in reconstruction projects in the Northern Province. Some of the former LTTE card holders received vocational training and entrepreneurial skills from the government of Sri Lanka. According to the respondents to the research, they pointed out how they received working experience in the short term. The military has provided some business opportunities and short-term working opportunities for road construction projects (R-180). This quotation further ensured that the military must collaborate with the local communities and NGOs to operate well in the interests of the local people. In this research, it was pointed out that another angle of the role of the military in providing employment opportunities for the local population as the respondent said, the military has been involved in creating job opportunities in the province; the military has prioritized its own military-related matters over the local population's interests, leaving many individuals without jobs" (R-12). Although the military has played a significant role in the reconstruction, most likely some negative effects were also observed during the research. Here are some negative impacts as a result of the military role in the Northern Province.

Dependency in the Military

One of the most prominent negative impacts of the military is that the people still seem to be dependent on the military for security and other services. This can be a loss of the authenticity of the local residence and, finally, a lack of the sustainability in the reconstruction work. According to the respondent, "we, as people of the northern province, are happy with the role of the military, but we don't want to rely solely on them for the work; we want to work together for a sustainable future for us" (RR-87). As this question highlighted, the people want to be independent from the army for their own rule.

Human Rights Abuses

The military has been consistently charging human rights abuses by the military in the Northern Province. Some cases were recorded during the research, including forced displacement, civil casualties, and violations of human rights. So, international human rights organizations, including Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, were charged to the Sri Lankan military over the human rights violations since the security of the war in Sri Lanka.

Divisive Politics

As a result of the military involvement and presence of the army, there has been an expansion of the division between different ethnic groups. One of the respondents said that the military presence in civil affairs and local politics in the Northern Province has created tension within the communities (R-44). According to the religious leader in the Northern Province, even though the military supported our community, we are no longer interested in having the military dictate the election results or control the political process in the Northern Province (R-200). While the military engaged with the government in the Northern Province, the military has therefore been able to create the problem, but by working with the military, it has helped the people rebuild trust, sustainability, and reconciliation.

Role of the Military in the Resettlement in the Northern Province

Sri Lanka's civil war ended after 26 years, leaving the entire country with huge losses, including the displacement of many people from their homelands and livelihoods, as well as significant economic losses. However, the Sri Lankan military has played a significant role in resettling and establishing normalcy, as well as providing support and infrastructure development in the northeastern province. However, the role of the military in the resettlement process has not been debated yet, and there are positive impacts of the role of the military in the Northern Province.

Infrastructure Development

As a result of the military involvement, reconstruction projects started back in these projects, including roads, bridges, and public buildings in the Northern Province. According to the Ministry of Defence in Sri Lanka in 2012, as many as 280,000 displaced people were living in IDPS camps at the end of the war (Ministry of Defence, Sri Lanka, 2012). People in the Northern Province had to face economic challenges due to significant reasons, so the military supported revitalising the agricultural lands, fisheries, livestock, and tourism in the coastal areas (Ministry of Defence Sri Lanka, 2012). According to the research, respondents said that the government had provided them financial assistance and loan schemes for the poor families to resume their lives and

upgrade their small businesses to start their businesses again (R-181). According to the finding, the resettlement became more successful if the government could provide assistance in rehabilitation, including roads, hospitals, and schools, for vulnerable communities due to the war. Then, of course, the government faced several issues pertaining to electricity, providing water, rebuilding public buildings with proper sanitation, and healthcare (Kanpathipillai, 2018). However, there were some demands from ordinary people in this resettlement process. According to the representative, who said that "although we appreciated the military role in the resettlement, it must be transparent and inclusive for everyone that we have control over our own resources" (R-167),

Community Building

During the civil war, most of the public buildings were heavily damaged by the attacks of the LTTE and government forces. Therefore, after the end of the war in 2009, the government supported the military to repair and reconstruct the public buildings for the community. Security and stability are necessary conditions for community building (Kawachi, 2010). Educational development in the Northern Province is a major challenge for the government and military. However, the conflict that prevailed over the years had an adverse impact on the people.

According to the research, the shortage of qualified teachers and resources in the Northern Province is the main issue in properly migrating the education system to ordinary people. Due to the research, one of the respondents said that "the military has been particularly effective in promoting education development through infrastructure development" (RR-100). In addition, vocational training centres located in the Northern Province were built by the military in the Kilinochchi district to train the former LTTE carders (Karunarathna, 2014). As a result of the government technology program, LTTE carders and children have been given the chance to go back to school, as the 2000 former LTTE carders also had the chance to go back (Rajapaksa, 2013). After the post-war period, the military has been able to provide security for the people in the Northern Province. During those wartime times, the military provided emergency security facilities with centres for insurgency operations and peacekeeping operations in government-led areas. According to the research, it was pointed out that "the military has been instrumental in security-related activities and preventive operations in the high war zone in the northern province. Some previous studies also pointed out that security is an essential prior condition for the development of the Northern Province (Kawachi, 2010).

Practically, research has shown that the military has been providing patrols for the school areas and making a big contribution to the development of education in the Northern Province. However, some scholars have criticised the fact that military involvement in the education sector in the Northern Province can lead to militarisation

of the detection system further in the other province. The protracted conflict in the Northern Province resulted in the deaths of a thousand people in Sri Lanka. When it comes to the negative impacts of the role of the military in resettlement, this is another key concern. There have been several responses issued by local and foreign scholars who allegedly charged the government and military with those who should be responsible for the war-related crimes and mal-practices for the militarisation of the entire Northern Province due to the military-related government program. This significant program had several adverse impacts on the communities in the Northern Province. Those are below, including

Land Occupations

There have been many responses that show that the military has by force occupied some lands that are used by ordinary people in the Northern Province. Therefore, the military has to be responsible in this regard; these land disputes and forced evictions have been recorded in the post-war period. According to the respondents to the research, the Army has occupied a large number of the lands in the Northern Province; those lands cannot be used or accessed by the traditional owners. But another respondent said that the justification for the land occupation of the northern province was, as said by the research respondent, "the lands occupied by the military aimed to prevent insecurity in the areas and ensure the safety of the community" (R-44).

Political Interferences

During the research, people said that the military indirectly involved local politics in the northern provinces by involving the district and forcing the people to participate in the entire democratic administration. Some respondents said that the military interfered with local politics, and most probably the military tried to be a politician in power (R-48). In this context, respondents said that military activities therefore go beyond the traditional role in the Northern Province by supporting certain candidates who remain of local interest.

Role of the Military in Rehabilitation in the Northern Province

After the end of the war, the government had to face another challenge: the rehabilitation of the people and former LTTE carders from the war mentality from the many years in the war tone due to the high impacts of the war experiences. The military played a significant role in this whole process. This process has become a debatable topic. Some people viewed it as a necessary thing to be done, but others said that it was the necessary thing that was not to be done and that it was the responsibility of the civilian authority. There have been positive impacts of the information recorded during the research on the reintegration process in the Northern Province. There have been

some negative and positive impacts on the role of the military in these rehabilitation processes.

Infrastructure Development

The military role in the rehabilitation process has been positive, according to some respondents, who stated that the military has been involved in the development of roads, houses, bridges, and other utility services, but some of the respondents said that too much military involvement created a sense of fear and intimidation among the people in the Northern Province. The government has been using the military as an oppression tool to extend the traumatic experience in the Northern Province.

Rebuilding the Hospitals and Schools

After the end of the war, the military had to join the development sector due to the insufficient workforce in the Northern Province. During this entire process, the military has been involved in various rehabilitation programs. This has not been done only by the government; therefore, the military has also taken support from the government to initiate some of the rehabilitation programs. One of the respondents said that "the military provided people like us with vocational training programs and helped us start new businesses and programs to resume our lives" (R-12).

Job creation for the villagers

As a result of the war, there was no room for the local population in the Northern Province to resume their lives. As a result, people in the northern provinces experienced significant impacts on their daily lives and economies. According to the respondents, "firstly, I received proper vocational training, then I was able to join the civil defence force, where I was able to secure a position" (RR-22). According to the study made by Peris in 2017, the vast majority of the former LTTE card holders reintegrated successfully. But some of the respondents said negatively about the role of the military, saying, "When I first came to the rehabilitation centre in the Kilinochchi, it was very hard to live. I felt that there was anoxia, trauma, and emotional pain" (RR-74).

The Role of the Military in Reintegration Processes in the Northern Province

Sri Lanka's three-decade-long war had social, economic, and political ramifications. During this entire war, the Sri Lankan military has played the key role of the people in rescuing the terrorism and security of the war. During this time, the military provided a variety of services, including vocational training and financial assistance, to former LTTE carders. Then, of course, former LTTE carders received employment opportunities and support for education development, offering physician care for the training of the former

combatants to enable them to acquire qualifications that are needed for the jobs (International Alert, 2017).

Improved connectivity in the areas

This caused the development of connectivity throughout the region, which supported economic growth. For example, if the military developed transportation in this region, then people could travel to work and school more conveniently. One of the respondents said that during the research, the improvement of connectivity has been essential for the economic growth of the area and has enabled people to take advantage of new opportunities for good services (R-12).

Decreased Crime Rates in the Area

Due to the military work, people felt that area was safe for their lives now due to the military involvement in the Northern Province. This positive impact has developed the economy and improved the quality of life. There are also negative impacts on the reinterpretation of the role of the military. Some of the respondents have been extensively discussed by others during the research. These are the negative impacts that have impacted the physical and mental health of the local population.

Limited Access to the Basic Services

One of the respondents said that they still lacked water and other housing facilities so far. No government has addressed the need to provide adequate services to the people; this can contribute to the growth of poverty (R-112).

Land Issues for the Traditional People

Another issue people had to face was due to military activities in this area. Soe Pope said during the research that military presence had led to land being forcefully occupied and many people having to be displaced. This has also still not been sorted out by the government and has become the prevailing issue for the ancestors. Some areas in the Northern Province seemed to have unequal development compared to urban areas. This has resulted in the establishment of marginalisation among the local population.

Lack of meaningful participation

The local population in the Northern Province felt some tokenism and a lack of meaningful participation in the decision-making process. One of the respondents said that most military officers participate in our village for meetings, but the military never listens to us (R-155).

The Role of the Military in Reconstitution in the Northern Province

Reconciliation has been a widely discussed topic among the local population in Sri Lanka after the war-ending government made a lot of efforts to establish reconciliation in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. However, reconciliation became an essential process for former LTTE carders who wished to rejoin society. According to the report of the commissioner general of rehabilitation, Sri Lanka was able to rehabilitate the former LTTE carders with the help of the military. (Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation, 2022). When it comes to the positive impacts of the role of the military in recognition, some of the respondents said that the military has been able to provide many services, including

Organising community events

The military has been able to involve the recreation program in some community-related events, sports activities, and multi-cultural programs during important religious and cultural events. According to some respondents, "the military has been able to organise several events that have been able to bring different communities together and break the barriers that existed before." (R-100).

Development of Facilities in War-Affected Areas

This included military-led activities such as building homes for the displaced and making facilities for the vulnerable communities; these all have contributed to improving the quality of life in the Northern Province.

Demining projects and forest clearance projects

The military was able to provide the services, including enforcing and learning unexploded ordinances in villages and public areas. There're also some negative impacts recorded regarding the role of the military in recognition, such as the military's efforts to improve the public image and their insincere work. One of the respondents said that the military in this area only selected several communities and focused on rebuilding selected areas other than the needy area (R-37). Human rights abuses are the main other crimes arranged against the Sri Lankan military, including the enforcement of disappearances, sexual violence, and extraordinary killings.

The Military's Role in resettlement in the Northern Province

The role of the military in resettlement after the end of the war has been contested, and there have been many effects of the military's presence in the Northern Province on the resettlement of the war-affected people, but there has still been some concern among the northern people.

Infrastructure Construction

Because of the military presence, rehabilitation work began. These initiatives have resulted in the construction of roads, bridges, and public buildings throughout the Northern Province. According to the Ministry of Defence in Sri Lanka in 2012, at the end of the conflict, up to 280,000 displaced people were living in IDPS camps (Ministry of Defence, Sri Lanka, 2012). People in the Northern Province faced considerable economic issues; thus, the military assisted in rejuvenating agricultural fields, fisheries, and cattle, as well as tourism in coastal areas (Ministry of Defence Sri Lanka, 2012). According to the survey, respondents stated that the government gave financial assistance and loan schemes to poor families in order for them to continue their lives and modernise their small companies in order to restart their operations (R-181). According to the findings, relocation would be more successful if the government could provide support in rehabilitation, such as roads, hospitals, and schools, for war-affected towns. The government then had to deal with various concerns, including energy, water, reconstructing public buildings with adequate sanitation, and healthcare (Kanpathipillai, 2018). However, there were several requests from regular people during the resettlement process. According to the spokesman, "while we appreciate the military's role in resettlement, it must be transparent and inclusive for everyone that we serve" (R-167).

Community Development

During the civil war, the LTTE and government troops severely damaged most of the public buildings. As a result, following the end of the war in 2009, the government assisted the military in repairing and reconstructing public structures for the population. Community formation necessitates scarcity and stability (Kawachi, 2010). The growth of education in the Northern Province is a key problem for the government and military. However, the years of conflict had a negative impact on the inhabitants.

According to the research, the primary challenge in efficiently migrating the education system to ordinary people is a lack of trained teachers and resources in the northern area. According to the findings, "the military has been particularly effective in promoting education development through infrastructure development" (R-100). Furthermore, the military established vocational training institutes in the Northern Province's Kilinochchi region to teach former LTTE carders (Karunarathna, 2014). As a result of the government technology initiative, LTTE carders and children have been given the opportunity to return to school, as have 2000 former LTTE carders (Rajapaksa, 2013). Following the conflict, the military was able to ensure security for the residents of the Northern Province. During the war, the military supplied emergency security facilities as well as centres for insurgency operations and peacekeeping operations in government-led areas. According to the study, "the military has been instrumental in security-related activities

and preventive operations in the northern province's high war zone." Previous research has also found that scarcity is a necessary precondition for the growth of the Northern Province (Kawachi, 2010).

In practice, research has revealed that the military has been providing patrols for school zones and has made a significant contribution to the growth of education in the Northern Province. However, some academics have argued that military involvement in the education sector in the Northern Province may lead to more militarisation of the dual system in the other province. A thousand people were killed in Sri Lanka as a result of the ongoing fighting in the Northern Province. Another major concern is the detrimental consequences of the military's engagement in resettlement. Several responses have been issued by local and foreign scholars who allegedly charged the government and military with war-related crimes and mal-practices for the militarization of the entire Northern Province as a result of the military-related government program. This big program had a number of negative consequences for towns in the Northern Province. Those are listed below, including

Occupations on the Land

Many comments indicated that the military had forcibly occupied some lands utilised by regular people in the Northern Province. As a result, the military must have responsibility in this regard; these land conflicts and forced invitations were documented in the post-war period. According to survey respondents, the Army has occupied a huge amount of land in the Northern Province that cannot be used or accessed by traditional owners. However, another respondent stated that the Northern Province's land occupation was justified. According to a research respondent, "the lands occupied by the military were aimed to prevent insecurity in the areas and ensure the safety of the community" (R-44).

Violations of Human Rights

Many examples of human rights violations and intimidation have been reported as a result of military work in these war-torn areas. Indicating that the military has been charged owing to the treaty of citizens in the Northern Province since the military victory in 2009.

Political Squabbles

People argued that the military indirectly involved local politics in the northern regions by involving the district and pushing the people to participate in the complete democratic administration throughout the research. Some respondents stated that the military intervened with local politics and that the military most likely attempted to be a politician in power (R-48). Respondents stated that military actions in the Northern

Province go beyond the customary function by backing some candidates who remain of local interest.

The Military's Role in Rehabilitation in the Northern Province

Following the end of the war, the government faced a new challenge: rehabilitating the people and former LTTE carders from the war mentality that had developed over many years as a result of the significant consequences of the war experiences. The military was heavily involved in this entire operation. This procedure has become a contentious issue. Some saw it as a necessary thing to do, while others saw it as a necessary thing that should not be done and that it was the responsibility of civilian government. The findings from the research have had a favorable impact on the reintegration process in the Northern Province. According to research that has pointed out some positive impacts of the involvement of the military in the rehabilitation process, there have been both negative and positive consequences for the role of the military in the rehabilitation process.

Infrastructure Development

Some respondents stated that the military was involved in the development of roads, houses, bridges, and other utility services, but others stated that too much military involvement created a sense of fear and intimidation among the people in the Northern Province. The administration has used the military as an oppressive tool to prolong the horrific experience in the Northern Province.

Reconstructing Hospitals and Schools

Due to a lack of labour in the Northern Province after the war, the military was forced to enter the development sector. The military has been involved in numerous rehabilitation initiatives throughout this entire process. This has not been done only by the government; thus, the military has received government funding to launch some of the rehabilitation projects. According to one responder, "the military provided people like us with vocational training programs and helped us start new businesses and programs to help us resume our lives" (R-12).

Job Creation for the Locals

As a result of the war, there was no way for the Northern Province's residents to continue their lives. As a result, residents in the northern provinces' daily lives and businesses were severely impacted. "First, I received proper vocational training, and then I was able to join the civil defence force, where I was able to secure a position," respondents stated (R-22). According to a Peris survey conducted in 2017, the vast majority of former LTTE card holders successfully reintegrated. However, several respondents criticised the

military's role, stating, "When I first arrived at the rehabilitation centre in Kilinochchi, it was very difficult to understand." (R-74).

The Military's Role in the Northern Province's Reintegration Processes

During this time, the military provided a number of services to former LTTE carders, including vocational training and financial aid. Then, of course, former LTTE carders received work possibilities and educational development support, including physician treatment for former combatants' training to help them obtain qualifications required for jobs (International Alert, 2017).

Improved connectivity in the affected areas

This resulted in the expansion of communication throughout the region, which aided economic growth. For example, if the military constructed transportation in this area, individuals would be able to get to work and education more easily. During the research, one respondent stated that improved connectivity was critical for the area's economic growth and allowed individuals to take advantage of new options for good services (R-12).

Crime rates in the area have decreased

Because of the military engagement in the northern region, residents felt that the area was now safe for their lives. This favourable impact has helped to grow the economy and improve people's quality of life. There are also negative consequences for the redefinition of the military's function. During the research, some of the respondents were widely debated by others. These are the detrimental effects on the physical and mental health of the local population.

Access to fundamental services is restricted

According to one of the answers, they still need water and other living facilities. There has been no government response to the requirement to provide basic services to the people, which can lead to the spread of poverty (R-112).

Traditional Peoples' Land Issues

Another issue that civilians had to deal with as a result of military activity in this area was that during the investigation, some respondents stated that military presence had resulted in land being forcibly occupied and numerous people being displaced. This has likewise been unresolved by the government and has become the dominant problem for the forefathers. Some parts of the Northern Province appeared to be developing at a different rate than urban centers. As a result, marginalisation has developed in the local community.

Inadequate and Meaningful Participation

The Northern Province's residents perceived some tokenism and a lack of substantive engagement in decision-making. According to one respondent, most military officers attend our village meetings, yet the military never listens to us (R-155).

The Role of the Military in Reconciliation in the Northern Province

After the war-ending government made significant attempts to promote reconciliation in Sri Lanka's northern and eastern provinces, reconciliation became a hotly debated topic among the local populace. However, reconciliation became a necessary procedure for former LTTE carders who wanted to reintegrate into society. According to the commissioner general's report on rehabilitation, Sri Lanka was able to rehabilitate former LTTE carders with the assistance of the military. (Rehabilitation Commissioner General's Biennial Report, 2022). When it comes to the beneficial effects of the military's involvement in recognition, some respondents stated that the military has been able to provide a variety of services, including

Putting Up Community Events

During key religious and cultural events, the military has been able to involve the recreation program in some community-related events, sporting activities, and multi-cultural programs. According to a number of participants, "the military has been able to organise several events that have been able to bring different communities together and break the barriers that existed before" (R-100).

Construction of Structures in War-Torn Locations

This included military-led efforts such as building homes for the displaced and creating amenities for vulnerable communities, all of which contributed to an improvement in the Northern Province's quality of life.

Projects for Demining and Forest Clearance

The military was able to perform services such as enforcing and learning about unexploded ordinances in villages and public spaces. There have also been some negative effects noted about the military's role in recognition, such as the military's efforts to boost the public image and their disingenuous work. According to one respondent, the military in this area only chose a few localities and focused on rebuilding areas other than the needy (R-37). Human rights violations are the most common crimes committed against the Sri Lankan military, including enforced disappearances, sexual violence, and unusual killings.

Conclusion

Although the military has played the usual role, it has not been sufficient to cover the responsibilities of the northern people. Military duties may be considered crucial for the people after the war. Following the end of the war in 2009, the military provided various additional resources to improve the situation in Sri Lanka. Prior to the end of the war in 2009, the military's contemplative role comprised various novel approaches rather than military performance. The majority of the military's operations and methods have been related to strengthening community development in the Northern Province. However, the contemplative role of the military in the Northern Province seemed to be more complex and challenging in the human rights, governance, and reconciliation fields. Kilinochchi, as an admissions division of the Northern Province, has been widely recognised to ensure the civil-military relationship in the post-war period. The military has provided a significant role with several responsibilities, in addition to providing security areas and humanitarian assistance. The current military performance in the Northern Province has become more debated by local and foreign scholars.

Maintaining security in the northern region remains a major concern for the Sri Lankan government. Even though the military had secured the areas before the end of the conflict, they still intended to maintain law and order in the Northern Province after the battle. The military's goal has been to reduce crime rates in the Northern Province. Some people expressed interest in the military relocating to the Northern Province to improve security, but others objected to the military camps and their frequent involvement in residents' activities by charging for militarisation of the areas, claiming military activities are excessive and intrusive. Another job made possible by the military's expanded position in the Northern Province is humanitarian assistance. This humanitarian support comprised numerous programs, such as rehabilitation and rehabilitation of former LTTE commanders; consequently, wounded persons needed medicine and healthcare for the rescue operation from the war's last stage in 2009.

Disaster is another critical sector that is strongly linked to humanitarian help and then delivering relief programs in the Northern Province rendered by the army. However, other respondents stated that the military intervention in humanitarian assistance in the northern region had a negative impact on the Sri Lankan military during the research, since whatever it appropriated for the security forces on behalf of the civil administration. Another new role for the military in the Northern Province is the development of the war tone. The military has been operating in war-torn areas to develop infrastructure and assist development in collaboration with government operations. The Northern Province, as an area of Sri Lanka, had suffered a number of setbacks as a result of the civil conflict. However, the military expects to restart areas such as roads, railways, bridges, and agricultural lands to increase the connectivity of the population and territories in Sri Lanka.

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