Migration Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA

MRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

Research Response Number: LKA34842
Country: Sri Lanka
Date: 25 June 2009

Keywords: Sri Lanka – Ceylon Tamils – Kandy

Questions
1. Please advise what the situation for Ceylon Tamils is like in Kandy?

RESPONSE

Note: Ceylon, or Sri Lanka, Tamils are described as such to distinguish them from the Indian (also known as Plantation or Upcountry) Tamils, the descendents of Tamils brought from India in the 19th century to work on highland tea plantations. Most reports referring to the situation for Tamils in Kandy do not distinguish between Indian and Sri Lanka Tamils.

1. Please advise what the situation for Ceylon Tamils is like in Kandy?

With regard to the demography of Kandy, information sourced from the Sri Lankan Department of Census and Statistics indicates that Sri Lanka Tamils make up a small minority of the population in the Kandy District: 4.1% of the population is of Sri Lankan Tamil background, while 8.1% are Indian Tamil, 13.1% are Sri Lanka Moor (Muslim), and 74.1% are Sinhalese. Reports which specifically address the position of Sri Lanka Tamils in Kandy have proven difficult to locate, as the majority of the reportage on the Sri Lankan civil conflict focuses on: the conflict zones in the north and east of the country; the treatment of Tamils in Colombo; or specific incidents of violence in areas ostensibly unaffected by the conflict. In addition, media reports on Tamils in Sri Lanka do not often specify whether the Tamils involved are Sri Lanka or India Tamils, as the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) found in a 2006 research report on Plantation Tamils (for the demographics of Kandy District, see: 'Number and percentage of population by district and ethnic group' 2001, in *Census of Population and Housing 2001*, Department of Census and Statistics – Sri Lanka website http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PDF/Population/p9p8%20Ethnicity.pdf – Accessed 19 May 2009 – Attachment 1; for areas with high Tamil populations, see: UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report – Sri Lanka*, 18 February – Attachment 2; for the IRB report, see: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, *Sri Lanka: Plantation Tamils; their number, location, relations with Sri Lankan Tamils, legal status and treatment by members of the government security forces and police (2004 – 2006)*, 22 December – Attachment 3).

With regard to the issue of security in Kandy there is also very little information available. A 2005 report from *The Christian Science Monitor* reports that Kandy "doesn't have the simmering tensions between Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority like the capital, Colombo, whose ethnic composition is similar". Nonetheless, in June 2008 the *Daily News* reported on several security disturbances in the Kandy area. On 7 June an article reported on a bus bombing in the Kandy District which killed two people, and referred to another bombing in May which damaged rail tracks, as well as to an attempted bombing of an electricity transformer two days later. A March 2008 article by Sri Lankan lawyer Basil Fernando, director of the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), reported claims from a Tamil resident of Kandy that repressive measures targeting Tamils were being introduced in the lead-up to a regional summit meeting and a popular Buddhist festival. The pro-Tamil *TamilNet* website also catalogues reports of incidents in Kandy involving Tamils, including threats to Tamil businesspeople, arrests of Tamils for pro-Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) activities, and non-resident Tamils being detained because they could not provide sufficient reason for being in Kandy (for *The Christian Science Monitor*, see: Raman, N. 2005, 'How one Sri Lanka city stays above the ethnic fray', *The Christian Science Monitor*, 12 August http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0812/p07s01-wosc.html – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 4; for the 2008 reports on Kandy, see: Fernando, B. 2008, 'Tamils targeted by security rules', *UPI Asia*, 7 March http://www.upiasia.com/Human_Rights/2008/03/07/tamils_targeted_by_security_rules/1999/ – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 5; and Wijayapala, R. & Kuruluwansha, A. 2008, 'Bus bomb at Polgolla kills two', *Daily News*, 7 June http://www.dailynews.lk/2008/06/07/sec02.asp – Accessed 25 May 2009 – Attachment 6; and for the *TamilNet* reports, see the sub-section titled *TamilNet reports* below).

The information in this response is provided in four sections, titled: Demographics of Kandy District; Ethnic/Communal relations in Kandy; TamilNet reports; and recent Research Responses on Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Demographics of Kandy District

The Sri Lankan Department of Census and Statistics website provides information on the demographics of the Kandy District. According to the 2001 census, Sinhalese make up almost three quarters of the population of Kandy, and Muslims (or Moors) thirteen percent; Sri Lanka Tamils make up 4.1% of the population, and Indian Tamils 8.1%:

> **Kandy**: Total: 1,279,028;
>
> Sinhalese: 947,900, 74.1%;
>
> Sri Lanka Tamil: 52,052, 4.1%;
>
> Indian Tamil: 103,622, 8.1%;
>
> Sri Lanka Moor: 168,049, 13.1%;
>
> Burgher: 2,128, 0.2;
>
> Malay: 2,668, 0.2%;
>
> Other: 2,609, 0.2% ('Number and percentage of population by district and ethnic group' 2001, in *Census of Population and Housing 2001*, Department of Census and Statistics – Sri Lanka website http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PDF/Population/p9p8%20Ethnicity.pdf – Accessed 19 May 2009 – Attachment 1).

The UK Home Office's February 2009 *Country of Origin Information Report* for Sri Lanka states that "[t]he districts of Colombo, Ampara, Gampaha, Kandy, Puttalam and Nuwara Eliya have a high concentration of Tamils", although it does not distinguish between Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils (UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report – Sri Lanka*, 18 February – Attachment 2).

A December 2006 research report produced by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada provides background on the relationship between Plantation (or Upcountry, hill, tea estate, or Indian) Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils. Sources quoted in this response state that Indian Tamils make up "between five and six percent of Sri Lanka's population", while "Sri Lankan Tamils reportedly account for close to 13 percent of the country's population". :

> Plantation Tamils [also referred to as Upcountry Tamils (Refugees International 15 Sept. 2004; ICG 28 Nov. 2006, 1), hill Tamils, tea estate Tamils, and Indian Tamils (US 8 Mar. 2006, Sec. 5)] are the ancestors of Tamils who were brought from India by the British to work on tea plantations in Sri Lanka in the 19th century (UN 1 Oct. 2004; Refugees International 15 Sept. 2004). There are approximately one million plantation Tamils in Sri Lanka (Ottawa Citizen 20 Nov. 2006; US 8 Mar. 2006, Sec. 5). According to 2005 and 2006 news sources, the ethnic group represents between five and six percent of Sri Lanka's population (EIU 17 July 2006; PNG Post Courier 17 Nov. 2005). Sri Lankan Tamils reportedly account for close to 13 percent of the country's population (ibid.).
>
> …According to Sri Lanka's 2001 Census of Population and Housing, the largest concentrations of plantation Tamils are found mainly on tea estates in the districts of Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Kandy, Ratnapura and Kegalle.
>
> …According to a 20 November 2006 article in the Ottawa Citizen, which was written by a former high commissioner of India to Sri Lanka and of India to Canada, in the last century, "[t]here has been very little social interaction between [Sri Lankan] Tamils and Indian Tamils."
>
> …According to the article by Refugees International, plantation Tamils have long been marginalised in Sri Lanka and have lacked political power (15 Sept. 2004). Country Reports 2005 notes that plantation Tamils, as well as Sri Lankan Tamils, have "suffered longstanding systemic discrimination in university education, government employment, and in other matters controlled by the government" (US 8 Mar. 2006).
>
> …Sources consulted by the Research Directorate generally do not make the distinction between Sri Lankan Tamils and plantation Tamils. Specific reference to the treatment of plantation Tamils by members of the government security forces and police was scarce among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate.
>
> In June 2006, the government of Sri Lanka reportedly announced that Tamils living in the capital city and its suburbs, as well as Tamils in the hill country, would be required to register with the Sri Lankan police in their residential area (TamilNet 30 June 2006). According to the Deputy Inspector General of Police (IGP) in Colombo, cited in a 30 June 2006 TamilNet news article, Tamils visiting relatives and those temporarily living in boarding houses must also register with the police (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, *Sri Lanka: Plantation Tamils; their number, location, relations with Sri Lankan Tamils, legal status and treatment by members of the government security forces and police (2004 – 2006)*, 22 December – Attachment 3).

Ethnic/Communal relations in Kandy

The Christian Science Monitor produced an article in August 2005 which claims that "Kandy, Sri Lanka's second largest city, doesn't have the simmering tensions between Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority like the capital, Colombo, whose ethnic composition is similar". Various reasons are suggested for this, including: Kandy's geographical distance from major conflict zones in the north, east, and Colombo; the economic dependency of Tamils on the Sinhalese in Kandy; "cross-cultural respect" and recognition of a "common Indian heritage" between Sinhalese Buddhists and Tamils; lack of overt LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] presence; a greater sense of "community" attributable to Kandy's relatively small population compared to Colombo and smaller flow of economic migrants from rural districts; a more educated populace; and the relatively high proportion of "estate Tamils" (Indian Tamils), who "pose less of an economic threat to the Sinhalese than the northern Tamils":

> The only thing that slows traffic between Sri Lanka's capital and the heartland city of Kandy are the winding uphill roads. There are no checkpoints, no police, no soldiers pointing rifles – none of the security precautions, built up after years of ethnic conflict, that clutter roads heading farther north into ethnic Tamil strongholds.
>
> But Kandy, too, has a significant Tamil population. The Tamil and Muslim minorities account for 20 percent of the population. Yet, Kandy, Sri Lanka's second largest city, doesn't have the simmering tensions between Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority like the capital, Colombo, whose ethnic composition is similar.
>
> Kandy has stayed above the fray partly by occupying the geographic middle ground, making it difficult for the two warring factions – southern Buddhist hard-liners and the Tamil Tigers – to gain a foothold. Also, Tamils here are more economically dependent on the Sinhalese, dulling competition between the two groups.
>
> But cross-cultural respect also plays a role, with Tamils speaking Sinhalese and Buddhists recognizing a common Indian heritage with their Tamil neighbors.
>
> "Twenty-five percent of the reason could be that there's no LTTE here," says R. Selvarani, a Tamil restaurant owner, referring to the Tamil Tiger organization. "Kandy politics is also much more moderate than [in] Colombo or the south."
>
> If the militarism of the Tigers is absent from Tamils here, so is the dismissiveness of minority culture by the majority. Many Buddhist Sinhalese in Kandy acknowledge their Indian-Hindu influences.
>
> "We, too, have Indian blood because 2,500 years ago our first king came from India. Our kings married Nayak [an Indian kingdom] women," says Wimal Ranasinghe. He adds that when he lived in Canada and California he adopted an Indian pronunciation for his name by dropping the final "e". His home altar has statues of the Buddha as well as Hindu gods, whom he says he has great faith in.
>
> One of the few times Kandy saw bloodshed and violence was during widespread riots of 1983 which set off the ethnic war in Sri Lanka that still has not ended. However, rioting was less intense here and local Tamils have not bitterly nursed memories of the event, which remains a rallying cry in northern Sri Lanka.
>
> Some attribute it to Kandy's sense of community. "Everybody knows each other here. It's a small town, so it's friendlier," says Selvarani. "We don't have so many people migrating to Kandy [as to Colombo]. Even if they come from other places, they have their roots here."

> Residents of Kandy are also more educated than in other Sri Lankan cities and therefore more cultured, she says. "Most people here are educated. Even estate workers spend most of their time and money on education," she says.
>
> The estate workers Selvarani refers to are Tamils whom the British brought from India as indentured laborers to work on Kandy's rolling tea plantations. Most of these Tamils of recent origin, as they're called in Sri Lankan census classifications, have lived in the country for three generations and have never been to India. They don't have much connection with northern Sri Lankan Tamil culture, either because even the Tamil they speak is different.
>
> Nonetheless, this Tamil population does face considerable disadvantages: high dropout rates, alcoholism, drug addiction, domestic violence, and sexual abuse. These Tamils of recent origin constitute two-thirds of the Tamil population in Kandy and their aspirations are much more mundane and immediate than Tamils in northern cities like Jaffna.
>
> The basic goal of much of the plantation community is to move out of the estates to better living conditions.
>
> "I'm sending my children to school so that they're not in the same situation," says Velan Asokan, a Tamil of recent Indian origin, who works in a boarding house.
>
> Indeed, the estate Tamils pose less of an economic threat to the Sinhalese than the northern Tamils, whose ancestors played a dominant role in colonial times. The separatist war began when Sri Lanka's Constitution was changed to give the Sinhalese priority in jobs and education (Raman, N. 2005, 'How one Sri Lanka city stays above the ethnic fray', *The Christian Science Monitor*, 12 August http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0812/p07s01-wosc.html – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 4).

An March 2008 article by Sri Lankan lawyer Basil Fernando, director of the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), reports claims circulated in an email from "a resident of Kandy" that oppressive security measures targeting Tamils were being introduced in the lead-up to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Summit, held in July-August 2008, and to the Esala Perehera Buddhist festival. The article, sourced from the *UPI Asia* website, also quotes the email claiming that: "In the coming months the security controls will be much worse and roads may be closed":

> Last week a resident of Kandy, Sri Lanka, sent an email to many people asking for advice about the legality of security measures recently introduced in the city, which is located in the hilly central part of the country. The measures appear to be targeting the Tamil population.
>
> The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Summit is scheduled to be held in Kandy from July 27-Aug. 3 this year, to be followed by the popular Buddhist festival, the Esala Perahera. Both events will bring large numbers of visitors to the city.
>
> The email reads: "With the plans for the SAARC summit to be held in Kandy in early August with visitors arriving from late July along with the Kandy Perahera, the security situation has taken a new turn. Last week each family in the area was given three forms by the police to be filled out and returned within two days. One form has to be signed by the Grama Sevaka (the local village government servant).
>
> "Police officers are handing over the forms personally but the instructions have not been made clear. Most of the Grama Sevakas are refusing to sign the forms of the Tamil residents and the people have no way to return the forms to the police special investigation unit.

> "Arrests are being made of persons not yet registered. Six Catholic seminarians were recently arrested from their religious formation house (the major seminary for the priestly formation of Catholics is based at Ampitiya), for the reason that they were not registered. After much dialogue the police agreed to release them the following morning on police bail, without producing them in court. However they said that they will file action against the formator (priest) for not registering them and the fine is Rs 5,000 (US$46).
>
> "The same night the news was received that the police had arrested six suspected LTTE personnel from Ampitiya, referring to these six seminarians. Several Tamil people from the vicinity were arrested and remanded for the same reason.
>
> "In the coming months the security controls will be much worse and roads may be closed" (Fernando, B. 2008, 'Tamils targeted by security rules', *UPI Asia*, 7 March http://www.upiasia.com/Human_Rights/2008/03/07/tamils_targeted_by_security_rules/1999/ – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 5).

Few reports were located of communally-based violence in the Kandy District in recent years. Nonetheless, a June 2008 report from the Sri Lanka *Daily News* provides details of a bombing on a bus travelling from Matale to Kandy which killed two people, as well as referring to the bombing of a rail bridge near Kandy two weeks earlier, and the attempted bombing of an electricity transformer two days later:

> At least two people were killed and 20 people injured when a bomb exploded inside a private bus plying from Matale to Kandy via Wattegama near the Polgolla Open University just 500 metres away from the Polgolla dam across the Mahaweli river, Police and Military sources said.
>
> …Meanwhile, our Kandy South Group correspondent S. M. Jiffrey Abdeen reported that this area had been brewing with possible threats during the past two weeks.
>
> Two weeks ago a bomb was placed on the rail track at the rail bridge at Nawayalatenna in Katugastota damaging to the bridge slightly. This resulted in the suspension of train services for four days.
>
> Two days later, a bomb found near a transformer at Madawala has diffused due to the timely action taken by police and Army (Wijayapala, R. & Kuruluwansha, A. 2008, 'Bus bomb at Polgolla kills two', *Daily News*, 7 June http://www.dailynews.lk/2008/06/07/sec02.asp – Accessed 25 May 2009 – Attachment 6).

***TamilNet* reports**

Note: *TamilNet* has been criticised as a pro-LTTE mouthpiece, although it also has the support of media freedom monitoring groups such as *Reporters Sans Frontieres* (RSF) (for RSF support for *TamilNet*, see: 'Sri Lanka' 2004, Reporters Without Borders website, 22 June http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=10775 – Accessed 25 May 2009 – Attachment 18; for the perception that *TamilNet* is an LTTE propaganda organ, see: 'Sri Lanka gov't blocks access to Tiger website: media watchdog' 2007, BNet Australia website, (source: *Kyodo News International*), 25 June http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0WDQ/is_2007_June_25/ai_n19313967/ – Accessed 25 May 2009 – Attachment 19).

The Tamil affairs news website *TamilNet* provides reports of recent incidents involving Tamils in the city of Kandy and the surrounding district. Several of these reports involve allegations from security forces that detained Tamil civilians had been involved in LTTE activity, while other Tamils who are non-residents of the Kandy district have been detained for failing to provide a satisfactory reason for their presence in Kandy. Two other articles report claims that Tamil traders are the victims of extortion, with one report quoting a "Member of the Central Provincial Council" who claims that "Sinhala gangs in Kandy are continuing to threaten Tamil traders and extorting money from them", while the other cites "media reports quoting Kandy Tamil Traders' Association", which claims that "Tamil traders in Kandy town are reported to have been threatened by paramilitaries of Karuna group":

- On 20 May 2009, an article claimed the arrest of a Tamil civilian "on a report that he had arranged accommodation for LTTE cadres to stay in Kandy area" ('Tamil civilian arrested in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 20 May http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=29418 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 7).

- A 9 May 2009 report quotes "Mr.S.Rajaratnam, Member of the Central Provincial Council", who claims that "Sinhala gangs in Kandy are continuing to threaten Tamil traders and extorting money from them". According to Mr. Rajaratnam, "police had refused to reveal information about Sinhala gangs and also to take action against them", and "[t]he inaction of the law-enforcement officials have allowed the criminal gangs to continue to threaten the traders" ('Sinhala gangs threaten Tamil traders in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 9 May http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=29303 – Accessed 20 May 2009 – Attachment 8).

- An article dated 23 April 2009 cites "media reports quoting Kandy Tamil Traders' Association", which claim that "Tamil traders in Kandy town are reported to have been threatened by paramilitaries of Karuna group by telephone, demanding extortion from one hundred thousand rupees to five hundred thousand rupees per head". The report goes on to state that "the secretary to Minister Vinayagamoorthy Muralitharan, alias Karuna Amman, had denied the allegation" ('Extortion demands petrify Kandy Tamil traders' 2009, *TamilNet*, 23 April http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=29141 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 9).

- On 23 February 2009, an article claimed the arrest of "four Tamil youths in a cordon and search operation conducted in the Kandy town", on suspicion that "they had been involved in terrorist activities" ('Police arrest 4 Tamils in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 23 February http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=28509 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 10).

- On 28 January 2009, six Tamils, all from the north and east of Sri Lanka, were reported to have been detained by Kandy police "as they failed to provide satisfactory reasons for their visit to Kandy and the stay in location" ('6 Tamils arrested in Passara, Kandy' 2008, *TamilNet*, 28 January http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=24455 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 11).

- On 9 January, a Tamil youth was arrested in Kandy "as his movement in the town had created suspicion" ('Tamil youth arrested in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 9 January http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=27959 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 12).

- A 24 October 2008 report states that a "Tamil Saiva priest was arrested on Wednesday in Teldeniya in Kandy district, and is being detained in police station for interrogation by the Police Intelligence Unit". According to this report: "The priest was allegedly associating with other Saiva priests and businessmen in Kengalle, Sengalle and Kandy for the purpose of collecting funds for the LTTE" ('Saiva priest arrested in Kandy' 2008, *TamilNet*, 24 October http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=27265 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 13).

- On 14 October 2008, an article states that: "A 50-year old Tamil ENT (Ear, Nose, Throat) surgeon working in the Kandy Teaching Hospital is reported missing since 11th October after he left his residence", and that "Kandy Police said it has commenced investigation into the complaint lodged by hospital administrative officer" ('Tamil Surgeon reported missing in Kandy' 2008, *TamilNet*, 14 October http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=27191 – Accessed 21 May 2009 – Attachment 14).

Recent Research Responses on Tamils in Sri Lanka

Three recent research responses provide information which, while not directly relating to the situation for Sri Lanka Tamils in Kandy, may provide pertinent contextual information on the treatment of Tamils in Sri Lanka generally in recent years:

- Question 1 of *Research Response LKA34693*, of 7 April 2009, provides information on the recent conflict between the LTTE and Sri Lankan Armed Forces in the north and north-east of the country. Question 2 of this response addresses travel restrictions on Tamils, particularly those travelling from the north and east, while question four provides an update on Tamils being detained on suspicion of LTTE involvement (RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response LKA34693*, 7 April – Attachment 15).

- Question 4 of *Research Response LKA34481*, of 11 March 2009, provides an overview of recent events involving Tamils with specific reference to the Colombo and Batticaloa districts, and an overview of recent sources providing information on the treatment of Tamils in Sri Lanka (RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response LKA34481*, 11 March – Attachment 16).

- Question 3 of *Research Response LKA31674*, of 11 May 2007, provides background information on Tamils in Sri Lanka (RRT Country Research 2007, *Research Response LKA31674*, 11 May – Attachment 17).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Google search engine http://www.google.com.au

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)
RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. 'Number and percentage of population by district and ethnic group' 2001, in *Census of Population and Housing 2001*, Department of Census and Statistics – Sri Lanka website http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PDF/Population/p9p8%20Ethnicity.pdf – Accessed 19 May 2009.

2. UK Home Office 2009, *Country of Origin Information Report – Sri Lanka*, 18 February. (CISNET UK Home Office Reports)

3. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, *Sri Lanka: Plantation Tamils; their number, location, relations with Sri Lankan Tamils, legal status and treatment by members of the government security forces and police (2004 – 2006)*, 22 December. (REFINFO)

4. Raman, N. 2005, 'How one Sri Lanka city stays above the ethnic fray', *The Christian Science Monitor*, 12 August http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0812/p07s01-wosc.html – Accessed 21 May 2009.

5. Fernando, B. 2008, 'Tamils targeted by security rules', *UPI Asia*, 7 March http://www.upiasia.com/Human_Rights/2008/03/07/tamils_targeted_by_security_rules/1999/ – Accessed 21 May 2009.

6. Wijayapala, R. & Kuruluwansha, A. 2008, 'Bus bomb at Polgolla kills two', *Daily News*, 7 June http://www.dailynews.lk/2008/06/07/sec02.asp – Accessed 25 May 2009.

7. 'Tamil civilian arrested in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 20 May http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=29418 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

8. 'Sinhala gangs threaten Tamil traders in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 9 May http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=29303 – Accessed 20 May 2009.

9. 'Extortion demands petrify Kandy Tamil traders' 2009, *TamilNet*, 23 April http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=29141 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

10. 'Police arrest 4 Tamils in Kandy' 2009, *TamilNet*, 23 February http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=28509 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

11. '6 Tamils arrested in Passara, Kandy' 2008, *TamilNet*, 28 January http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=24455 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

12. ‘Tamil youth arrested in Kandy’ 2009, *TamilNet*, 9 January http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=27959 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

13. ‘Saiva priest arrested in Kandy’ 2008, *TamilNet*, 24 October http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=27265 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

14. ‘Tamil Surgeon reported missing in Kandy’ 2008, *TamilNet*, 14 October http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=27191 – Accessed 21 May 2009.

15. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response LKA34693*, 7 April.

16. RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response LKA34481*, 11 March.

17. RRT Country Research 2007, *Research Response LKA31674*, 11 May.

18. ‘Sri Lanka’ 2004, Reporters Without Borders website, 22 June http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=10775 – Accessed 25 May 2009.

19. ‘Sri Lanka gov’t blocks access to Tiger website: media watchdog’ 2007, BNet Australia website, (source: *Kyodo News International*), 25 June http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0WDQ/is_2007_June_25/ai_n19313967/ – Accessed 25 May 2009.