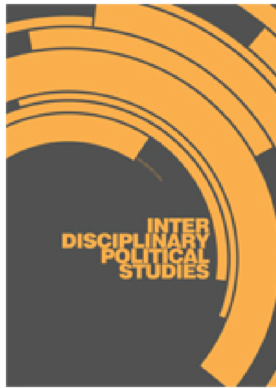

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Violating the State Body: Sexual Violence and Control in the Sri Lankan Civil War as Nation-Building in the Body Politic

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the use of sexual violence and rape during the Sri Lankan civil war by the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL), as well as the control of sexuality by the insurgent force by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). While in both circumstances male bodies were also victims of sexual violence by the state, particularly when in custody, or forced celibacy, I specifically examine the political imaginaries which surrounded female bodies during and since the defeat of the LTTE in 2009 as forms of nation-building and state cartographic practices. Following Matthew H. Edney's (2007) observation on the connected imaginaries of mapped bodies and female bodies, as they can be claimed and controlled in much the same way, I argue that sexual violence and/ or control becomes a form of nation-building. I suggest that the Sri Lankan civil war can tell us much about the violence required in nation-building.

KEYWORDS: Postcolonial; Nation-building; Sexual Violence; Sri Lanka; State Violence

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1. Introduction: the (Female) Body Politic in Civil War

It has come to light that during the 26 year, ethnic-religious civil war between the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) that the Sri Lankan police and armed forces used rape and sexual violence as a form of torture against Tamil detainees (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2015; Pinto-Jayawardena & Guthrie 2016).[1] Elisabeth Wood (2009) notes that during the war that common forms of sexual violence as a form of torture included, "rape with plantain flowers soaked in chilies, bottles, or other objects; electric shocks or the application of chilies to the genitals; piercing of male genitals; forced sexual relations with other prisoners; and slamming testicles into a drawer" (p. 145). Sexual violence as a form of torture was particularly associated with the last phase of the war, when President Mahinda Rajapaksa put increased pressure on the insurgent group between January and May 2009 (Kodikara & Emmanuel 2016). The "Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on Promoting Reconciliation, Accountability and Human Rights in Sri Lanka" (2015) specifically noted that there were:

> "reasonable grounds to believe that rape and other forms of sexual violence by security forces personnel was widespread against both male and female detainees, particularly in the aftermath of the armed conflict. The patterns of sexual violence appear to have been a deliberate means of torture to extract information and to humiliate and punish persons who were presumed to have some link to the LTTE" (p. 6).

Several other reports were published at the end of the conflict by international non-governmental organization, and Chulani Kodikara and Sarala Emmanuel (2016) point to three reports which have identified the use of sexual violence and rape during the conflict: "Sri Lanka: Women's Insecurity in the North and East" (International Crisis Group 2011); "We Will Teach You a Lesson': Sexual Violence

[1] My discussion in this article follows Wood's (2009) definition of rape as "the penetration of the anus or vagina with any object or body part or of any body part of the victim or perpetrator's body with a sexual organ, by force or by threat of force or coercion, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment, or against a person incapable of giving genuine consent", but concedes that sexual violence is a broader category which could include "rape, sexual torture and mutilation, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, enforced sterilization, and forced pregnancy" (p. 133).

against Tamils by Sri Lankan Security Forces" (Human Rights Watch 2013); and "An Unfinished War: Torture and Sexual Violence in Sri Lanka 2009–2014" (Sooka 2014).

Rohini Mohan notes that feminist scholars have analyzed wartime rape in many different contexts and geographies, "as a weapon of war, a reward for troops, a consequence of masculinity, effects of social breakdown, or an expression of male trauma and frustration" (2016, p. 260). For example, the documentary *Sri Lanka's Killing Fields* from the UK's *Channel 4* additionally depicted such examples of violent hypermasculinity as soldiers goading one another to shoot the back of a naked woman and asking others to comment on the female corpse's breasts (Mohan 2016). State military and police forces were also accused of raping Tamil women and girls at established checkpoints. Other reports have looked at rape of Tamil soldiers, including male on male violence as a form of torture, even contemporarily 'after' the war (Mohan 2016; Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah 2016; AFP 2017; Cronin-Furman 2017).[2] What these reports and documentaries confirm is that, first, sexual violence was perpetrated mainly against Tamil women by security forces, but particularly in custody, men were also victims, and that "[t]hese men and women were targeted because of their actual or perceived involvement with the LTTE" (Mohan 2016).[3]

The civil war was divided along ethnic-religious lines between the majority Sinhala-Buddhist government and the separatists, the minority Tamil population that sought to create their own territorial state, Eelam, within the geography of the island. Tariq Jazeel (2009) has investigated the cartographic imagination of the Sri Lankan nation-state and how it continues to represent the idea of 'Sri Lankan island-ness' from Western, specifically British, colonial mapping practices. A part of this cartographic imagination includes the assumption of island space as a singular,

[2] In this article references such as 'post' civil war and 'reconciliation' are placed in quotes to recognize that although the LTTE were declared defeated by the GOSL in May 2009, the process of reconciliation and post-war ethnic tensions is ongoing.
[3] Although the scope of this article cannot appropriately discuss the nuances, debates, and controversies surrounding them, these reports and documentaries are listed here to validate observations that sexual violence and rape were used by state officials.

coherent political entity. The Constitution of Sri Lankan declares that "The Republic of Sri Lanka is a Unitary State", and it was this coherent and unitary state which the LTTE threatened with their pursuit of a separate Tamil state within island space. Fundamentally, this was a war about territory (Jazeel 2009; Kodikara & Emmanuel 2016). But now, or at least since 2009, "Sri Lanka's geographical and political island-ness is a matter of fact; one that the LTTE has violently contested since its formation in the mid-1970s, but nevertheless a fact recognized by the United Nations, and one that has now been militarily secured" (Jazeel 2009, p. 400). This article contends that the 'naturalization' of the body politic, here seen in the coherent and unitary Sri Lankan island-state, produces particular forms of anxieties, both gendered and racialized, that are made to *fit within* and be *controlled by* such 'frames' as internal and external borders.

This article, therefore, investigates wartime and postwar rape and sexual violence, as well as, the control of sexuality during civil war and nation-building. I maintain that these particular violences indicate much about the nation-state itself as a territorial body in the threat of penetration. Examining the imagined spaces of the state during civil war, I am concerned here with the ways in which rape, sexual violence, and control of sexuality are violent and discursive modes of state mapping practices and nation-building. In all the various cases, the connections between geography, gender, and the state are implicated in the humiliation and feminization of Othered bodies.

Bringing these conversations together, I examine what sexual violence and the control of sexuality can tell us about the cartographic imaginaries of the state, particularly during civil war. I am concerned with the role that the mapped nation-state, specifically the geography of the island-state of Sri Lanka played during the civil war from 1983 to 2009. But I ask more specifically, how might have the imagined geographies of the island-state been 'mapped' onto feminized bodies by a hypermasculine state as a form of nation-building, as seen in acts of sexual violence by the GOSL or in the control of sexuality by the LTTE?

This additionally implicates the imperial and colonial histories of mapping, place, and gender. For example, Anne McClintock (2013) begins her postcolonial investigation of race, class, and gender, which she argues come into existence "in and through relation to each other--if it contradictory and conflictual ways", with a map (p. 5). The map is from Henry Rider Haggard's novel, *King Solomon's Mines*, which for McClintock, serves as a parable of Western imperialism, including white patriarchal power (particularly over colonized women), hegemony of knowledge production, and command of commodity capital. The map graphs the ground that the white men must cross to enter the diamond minds, but if inverted it reveals the diagram of a female body, and the only parts drawn indicate female sexuality, including the 'nipple' of a mountain named for Sheba's Breasts and Solomon's 'treasure chamber' (McClintock 1995, p. 2-3). McClintock notes that both the map and the drawn female body do not exist without the other. The patriarchal right to claim, access, and penetrate space parallels the feminized territory and bodies, and, therefore I suggest, indicates the continued legacies of imperial power within the exclusionary mapping practices of the modern nation-state. This investigation of the Sri Lankan civil war reveals further the implication of the nation-state in the relationship between mapped territory and feminized bodies.

Cartography and the nation-state developed parallel, notably during the period of Western expansion, and as maps "were being transformed by mathematical techniques, they were also being appropriated as an intellectual weapon of the state system" (Harley 1988, p. 59). That is, maps not only allowed the metropole to claim and map the colonies during Western expansion, but simultaneously helped to define the modern nation-state. Cartography is a practice of nation-building, and a practice that historically developed through colonialism and imperialism. Following work that is concerned with the connection between cartographic and geographic practices and the colonial present (e.g. Harley 1988; Sparke 1998; Gregory 2004; Edney 2007; Jazeel 2012), this paper continues to question the dynamic and historical relationships between imperialism, the state, and mapping, but additionally examines how bodies are implicated in these

articulations of power, particularly female bodies, as the patriarchal, Euro-masculine gaze perpetuates in the scientific knowledge production of both the state and its geography. For example, Doreen Massey (1994) has also argued the "intersections and mutual influences of 'geography' and 'gender' are deep and multifarious. Each is, in profound ways, implicated in the construction of the other: geography in its various guises influences the cultural formation of particular genders and gender relations; gender has been deeply influential in the production of 'the geographical'" (p. 177). Matthew H. Edney (2007) takes this intersection of geography and gender one step further and looks at the "intersection of maps and bodies, in the ways in which bodies have been mapped, or maps superimposed on bodies" (p. 85). Specifically, he means here the female body, and as such that "they can be represented – and explored and perhaps controlled – in the same manner" (Edney 2007, p. 85).

Maps are both products of and produce power (Kitchin & Dodge 2007). I also argue that sexual violence during civil war is also a form of cartographic practice which maps the territory of the state (or would-be state) onto marked bodies. Therefore, the act of sexual violence is also a product of violence and power as it also produces violence and power. This cartographic-corporeal practice also indicates the form of power that produces the nation state but is also a product of the nation state. Sexual violence during civil war not only indicates anxieties of identity politics and internal antagonisms of the state, but it also reflects the imperial and masculine politics of vision and space from the development of cartography during the period of Western expansion and colonialism.

This is, of course, not to suggest that violence against women or other identified bodies did not occur before colonialism, but it is to highlight and suggest that the violence on politically gendered bodies in the process of nation-building should also consider how gender has historically been produced within and as the mapped state, which must consider both its Western origins and colonial processes. Additionally, rape and sexual violence are older than the nation-state, and they will likely survive past this contemporary territorial-political governing structure.

Likewise, "Rape is not inevitable in war", as Wood states (2009, p. 153). But I maintain that the changing conditions of power in civil war can indicate how sexual violence is used by the state, or as we will see in the case of the LTTE, the would-be state. In other words, civil war does not necessarily tell us something about sexual violence, but sexual violence can tell us something about the state during civil war, and the imagined cartographies and violence necessary in the process of nation-building. Nation-building is a violent act, and this violence can take on many different forms. The use of sexual violence during civil war is one form of nation-building that indicates a patriarchal, hypermasculine cartographic anxiety of the state as bodies overtly become both the site and practice of nation-building.

I maintain that the state and the body are seen in dual spatio-political imaginaries, each revolving around the notion of mapped territories where the nation-state is understood as a body, and bodies are understood within or as the territory of the state. Therefore, looking at violences done to bodies within the context of civil war, when the body politic is imaginatively severed (or in threat of severing) can also tell us much about the imaginaries surrounding the state and the violence necessary in nation-building. In concerns of postcolonial violence, the emphasis should not be placed on violence in *postcolonial* states, but on *violence* in postcolonial *states*. The postcolonial is the specific political history, but it is the state itself which is the precondition for violence through exclusionary identity politics of nationalism (Mouffe 1994), but also through exclusionary productions of space. That is, looking at acts of rape and sexual violence during the Sri Lankan civil war can also tell us about the conditions and precarity of minorities during inter-state violence.

A couple of caveats are necessary to establish before overviewing the paper. First, I am not providing new empirical data to the ongoing research on sexual violence in Sri Lanka. Nor do I mean to use the case study of the Sri Lankan civil war to reiterate just another example of sexual violence during war time. Instead, I am concerned with what the research already done on sexual violence in Sri Lanka teaches us or indicates about the politics of the state and nation-building

as a dual cartographic and corporeal practice. Second, questions regarding sexual violence, in general should not just be limited to violence against women, but should be concerned with violence against transgender, male, and queer communities. The use of sexual violence of male bodies, for example, does not negate these patterns and connections of political-spatial imaginaries, but such instances allow for us to question or challenge further the feminization of bodies as a practice of state power. Pinto-Jayawardena and Anantharajah (2016) maintain that "[r]egardless of the gender of victims of violence, it remains singularly important to look at sexual violence as a starting point rather than just a 'by-product of war', even as we acknowledge that conflict-related sexual violence also has significant symbolic value" (p. 43). It is exactly the symbolic value of the body as intimately connected with the fight for state territory during civil war that I investigate below. But focusing on the female body, as the primary concern of this article, addresses larger patterns of representation and violence in Sri Lanka, as well as engages the historical connection of place, territory, and the female body as sites and practices of imperial conquest and the ways in which these imaginaries continue in politics of the contemporary nation-state. Additionally, I wish to be very clear that the state was not the only actor to engage in sexual violence or gender-based violence, and as Kishali Pinto-Jayawardena and Jeannine Guthrie (2016) point out, not all victims were Tamil. And the civil war from 1983–2009 was not the first instance of sexual violence being used by the GOSL (Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah 2016).[4] The issue of sexual violence and gender-based violence in Sri Lanka (as elsewhere) is not limited to the civil war itself. It is estimated that nearly half of all domestic violences cases in Sri Lanka go unreported (Pinto-Jayawardena & Guthrie 2016). Kishali Pinto-Jayawardena and Kristy Anantharajah (2016), therefore, argue that to only look at sexual violence connected to the war "risks oversimplifying the problem of gender-based violence in Sri Lanka", and that "Sri Lanka's endemic sexual violence

[4] For more information on the case of Premawathie Manamperi and her "punishment" and the first time wartime rape "stamped itself on the country's conscience" as part of the government's response to the to the southern insurrection of the early 1970s by the Sinhalese Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP, or People's Liberation Front) (see Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah 2016, p. 37-38).

is more complex in nature, demanding that the correlation between sexual violence and the state be delineated beyond sole reference to the ethnic conflict" (p. 36, see also Thangarajah 2016). Their own study looks at the more pervasive societal attitudes and state impunity that occurs in everyday life and maintain that sexual or gender-based violence "is rooted in a deeply entrenched culture of impunity that pervades across the ethnic spectrum" (Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah 2016, p. 37). It has also been argued that it was because of these entrenched practices and everyday experiences that allowed for the brutalized treatment of the ethnic 'other' during the civil war, particularly in its last phases (Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah 2016). These experiences and practices of everyday life should also be considered when investigating the political and geographic imaginaries of the state during and even after 2009. While acknowledging, therefore, that this is a very narrow experience of sexual violence and the state, I argue that we can learn much about the political, and even moral imagined geographies of the state by looking at sexual violence during the Sri Lankan civil war (Shapiro 1997). Specifically, as Michael Shapiro (1997) states:

> "in the case of Sri Lanka, ethnic strife is read by the dominant Sinhalese Buddhist faction as an assault on the 'nation,' and thus on the moral integrity of persons and of the unity among persons embodied by the state. Ideological contention is moralized in this instance because it is drawn onto an ontological ground, derived from Buddhist moral geography" (p. 21).

In what we might call 'lessons learned in nation-building', I examine in the sections below the imagined relationship of territory and the violence and control of female bodies. By connecting theoretically the maintenance and control of national borders and bodies, I do not mean to suggest that these connections were consciously apart of the active use of sexual violence by the state, or the justifications or reasons behind it. I merely wish to connect the matters of control and exclusionary practices of both the state and the spatial imaginaries of the female body to the state.

In what follows, I first look at the use of sexual violence and rape by the GOSL, including security forces and police as both means of torture and punishment, as well as violence, disappearances, and even murder by state officials

at government checkpoints. The use of sexual violence in this section indicates either systematic or causation of state impunity. Second, I look at anxiety of nation-building through the lens of the LTTE and their strict control of sexuality for both cadre members and civilians. I argue that both the GOSL and the LTTE in these instances indicate the connection between the imagined cartographies of the state and female sexuality, where bodies become both the site and practice of nation-building, at times in its most violent manifestations.

2. The GOSL: Sexual Violence as Punishment for the Threatened State Body

John M. Richardson (2005), describes the "history of post-independence Sri Lanka, from a Sri Lankan Tamil perspective" as a history "of lost privileges, intensifying discrimination failure of democratic institutions to protect their rights and, finally, coercion by an overwhelmingly Sinhalese security establishment" (p. 29). Perhaps, unsurprisingly, ethnic tensions developed in Sri Lanka during the British colonial period, as Tamils were increasingly disproportionately represented in professions and government (Richardson 2005; Wang 2011). As the country gained independence there was an evident push to 'reestablish' island spaces as Sinhala-Buddhist, seen in legislation designed for a majority government. Although the 13th Amendment of the 1978 constitution did recognize Tamil as an official language, the relationship between Sinhala and Buddhism to the state was already established. For example, in 1957 Sinhalese was already established as the official language of the country, which did more than just offend the Tamil communities but caused economic strain and unemployment (Wood 2011).[5] Nationalism engages both real and symbolic representations and practices. The associations of language, identity, and the state are ways that state space is mapped through practices of exclusion and inclusion. Gender, as well as ethnicity, is implicated in these identity politics, including the territorial associations of bodies, particularly feminized bodies, in the production of nationalist identity politics.

[5] For a more nuanced discussion of cultural nationalism and language in postcolonial Sri Lanka, see de Mel (2001).

Practices and representations of language, gender, and identity as modes of nation-building come from historically developed Western associations of state mapping practices. Nation-building for many postcolonial states, particularly after the second World War, involved navigating and establishing the ideal collapse of identity, territory, and polity, indicating what has been referred to as 'cartographic anxiety'. Speaking specifically of India, Sankaran Krishna (1994) has defined cartographic anxiety as "a facet of a larger postcolonial anxiety: of a society suspended forever in the space between the 'former colony' and 'not-yet-nation'. This suspended state can be seen in the discursive production of India as a bounded, sovereign entity and the deployment of this in everyday politics and in the country's violent borders" (p. 508). But it is important to note that this delineating of internal and external borders is not unique to postcolonial states like India or Sri Lanka, but establishing borders is a part of nation-building. Arguably postcolonial violence arises in such circumstances when historically plural societies attempt to create an ideal body politic, but I contend here it is less the status of the postcolonial which precludes violence, but it is the process of exclusionary politics required by nation-state itself. Michael Shapiro (1997), for example has argued that:

> "[a]long with various ethnographic imaginaries – the ethnoscapes that are a part of geographic imaginations – it constitutes a fantasy structure implicated in how territorially elaborated collectivities locate themselves in the world and thus how they practice the meanings of self and Other that provide the conditions of possibility for regarding others as threats or antagonists" (p. xi).

It is the geo-ethnographic imaginaries of the mapped state as political territory which help to determine the historically developed conditions of possibility towards violence. In Sri Lanka this geo-ethnographic body was established as a Sinhala-Buddhist island space, and we can further understand the violence necessary in the process of nation-building by looking at the relationship between bodies and territories when the unitary state as body politic is imaginatively and politically understood to be *penetrated*.

Sri Lanka gained independence from British rule in 1948. The 1950s and the 1960s saw the establishment of an independent country under Dominion status

within the British Commonwealth. However, by 1972 Sri Lanka would declare itself an independent socialist republic. In the decades of post-independence nation-building the state increasingly became a majoritarian, hegemonic Sinhala-Buddhist paternalistic state at the expense of the minorities on the island, including Sri Lankan Tamils. Between the 1972 and 1978 constitutions, Velupillai Prabhakaran, the eventual leader of the LTTE, which would become the most prominent separatist group, carried out the first assassination of a state official in 1975, and in response "[s]tate forces engaged in increasingly draconian tactics" (Wood 2009, p. 144). The ethnic riots of July 1983 would spark the 26-year civil war. During the civil war women often became vulnerable to the majority group, including potential acts of rape and sexual violence (Ahmed 1988; Maunaguru 2009).

It is difficult to assess the exact frequency of sexual violence of Tamil women by security forces and police at checkpoints and other state-controlled spaces. The number of incidents vary drastically between reports. According to Chulani Kodikara and Sarala Emmanuel (2016), D.B.S. Jeyaraj found 37 documented cases of rape by security forces between 1990 and 2001. While "The Sri Lanka Monitor of the British Refugee Council" reported more than 45 cases between 1996 and 1999. And Women's Rights Watch documented 37 rapes by security forces in 1998 alone (Kodikara & Emmanuel 2016, p. 6). The differences between a 10, 3, and 1-year period should indicate not only the difficulty in calculating these kinds of reports, but, perhaps, also the issues surrounding underreporting. There have been several works that look at the issue of underreporting due to the continued stigma surrounding rape and the associations of female sexuality (Kodikara & Emmanuel 2016; Mohan 2016; Thangarajah 2016). The work here is extremely important, because sexual violence, like many places around the world, does not only occur in interstate conflict, or other exceptional times, but is a part of the daily reality for many individuals. My interest in looking at sexual violence as connected to civil war is to specifically see what the imaginary of geography and bodies can tell us about violent politics of nation-states. Therefore, the kind of silence surrounding sexual violence that I am interested in is silence

perpetuated by the state, either represented by individuals or systemically through institutions. Even when such instances of violence are not directly carried out by official orders, they are often done without fear of state punishment (Sooka 2014; Mohan 2016). As Kodikara and Emmanuel contend (2016), "[i]mpunity and lack of accountability for sexual violence have been entrenched features of the war in Sri Lanka" (p. 7; see also, Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah 2016; Thangarajah 2016).

Moreover, I maintain that the conditions possibility of sexual violence by the state are also historically situated in the cartographic practices of the nation-state. Again, while the politics of mapping could never account for sexual violence in general, the use of sexual violence and rape as a tool and instrument of civil war alludes to the complex associations of bodies, territories, and power within statehood. Others, many referenced throughout this article, have looked at various discursive modes of nation-building in Sri Lanka. Sexual violence is another mode of both overt and epistemic nation-building as both a form and product of a historically developed imperial and hypermasculine state. Under such circumstances sexual violence simultaneously works as a mapping practice of the state. Likewise, in civil war the internal/external imagined penetrated state is compensated by or with penetration of feminized territorial-bodies.

For example, in Negombo, police officers arrested Yogalingam Vijitha on 21 June 2000, and used torture, including sexual torture to force a signed confession that she was a paid suicide bomber. This confession was not read or explained to her, and it appeared at first that her detainees would even be held responsible for this 'mistake'. According to Kishali Pinto-Jayawardena's (2009) report on The Rule of Law in Decline, when the plea was filed in the Supreme Court her treatment was considered under 'the strongest terms', but it was not made clear whether the confession she was forced to sign would also fall under equal scrutiny. In many cases, as Pinto-Jayawardena (2009) suggests, the circumstances of confession are not given enough examination during court. Moreover, what is of interest to my study is the abuse of the female body in the hands of state representatives, most especially the perceived right to use sexual torture, in this case, by the police. In

such circumstances, both the confession and sexual torture enabled state police to place this marked and 'unruly' body back under the control of the state. As discussed above, language in these spaces works parallel to state mapping practices through inclusivity and exclusion. For example, state space was determined and produced by the inclusion of Sinhala. State space was also marked by the exclusion of Tamil. Additionally, bodies are also marked and mapped by sexual violence as both a practice and product of the nation-state through hypermasculine power relations. Vijitha's detainees did not just misstep protocol, but they used sexual torture to (re)establish her body as state space or property of the state. Sexual violence can be at times an act of cartography and mapping practice of the state. At times this cartographic practice of sexual violence can even result in death, as was the case of Ida Carmelita.

About a month before her body was found, Ida Carmelita had surrendered herself to security forces and confessed to be a former LTTE cadre member. After a very intense questioning, Carmelita was permitted to return home by the intelligence unit with a temporary stay pass in the Pallimunai village on Mannar Island. According to reports, five masked men broke into the 21-year-old woman's home while she and her family were sleeping, ganged raped, and killed her. It appeared to the district medical officer (DMO) that her lips and breasts were bitten off and had been shot through the vagina. At first, justice for Carmelita appeared to be moving along when the Mannar magistrate ordered an identification line up, and her brother and a neighbor were able to identify two officers from the security force and were arrested. Things got more difficult, however, after the body was requested to be sent to Colombo and the DMO was declared to not be a qualified judicial medical officer (JMO). The JMO of Colombo did discover a second bullet in Carmelita's chest that matched the gun of one of the arrested men, but the trial became more difficult as the witnesses were increasingly threatened by security forces. Two witnesses fled to India, and her mother was one of the last ones to leave, only doing so after the lawyer in the case was killed in 2000. When the case

was transferred to Colombo, the accused were released on bail, and the progress on the case has since all but halted.[6]

Sivamohan Sumathy (2016b) observes that "[g]ender inserts into the story of nationalism through certain discursive sets of identification: of woman and land, territory and nation" and this is true for both the GOSL and the LTTE (p. 371, more on the latter below). These are instances where the violent cartographies of the nation-state get mapped out onto the bodies of Others. Rape becomes a diffracted version of the modes of violence from one cartographed identity group to another. In the context of Sri Lanka there were two simultaneous geospatial imaginaries at work within the violence of the ethnic civil war. One was of a coherent, uniform island state, Sri Lanka, and one was of two states within one island, Sri Lanka and Eelam. It is within the act of rape that we can see how the bodies of victims and survivors get mapped onto or as state space. The act can be a way to enact justice for severing the state or be a way to claim space for one's nationalist cause. In these various circumstances the body of the raped individual comes to represent the body of the state, and rape and sexual violence become ways to stake claim, territory, that is to say, it becomes a form of nation-building itself, particularly in instances of ethnic and nationalist violence. Additionally, the cartographic imaginary of the nation-state also helps to answer for why these particular acts of violence occur within ethnic and nationalist conflicts. For example, Ahmed (1998) and Maunaguru (2009) note that because the nation-state comes from liberal, Western politics it is also based off of exclusionary identity politics.

Sexual violence against women in Sri Lanka, again, is an ongoing issue. Most of the cases of sexual violence at government check-points by security forces were likewise against women. But one of the more interesting facts to come out of the Sooka report, mentioned previously, was that when torture was used men and women "were equally vulnerable to rape in custody, and the violence was equally

[6] The details of the case primarily come from Kodikara and Emmanuel's (2016) "Global Discourses and Local Realities". See also Pinto-Jayawardena (2001) and UTHR (2001).

brutal" (Kodikara & Emmanuel 2016, p. 15). The body in such circumstances is a site and project of power. Arguably, the violence of sexual torture for both male and female detainees is also justified as the body is feminized. Investigating Hindu nationalism, Dibyesh Anand (2007) argues that "an anxious masculinity lies at the heart of right-wing nationalism" (p. 257). Although a hegemonic Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism might also fit under such an analysis, I contend that through the gendered political imaginaries in the development of the state, including particularly the mapping of territory and borders as state space, that the state itself indicates a political form of hypermasculine anxiety. When rape and sexual violence are utilized as acts of civil war they also serve to symbolically, politically, and corporeally establish the territoriality of the state.

As noted, most cases of sexual violence go unreported, particularly when state officials are involved. Even rarer are cases where the accused is sentenced through the legislative process. One prime exception was the disappearance of Krishanthi Kumaraswamy on 7 September 1996. When Kumaraswamy did not return home from school, her mother, brother, and a neighbor went searching for her after receiving information that she had been detained at the Chemmani checkpoint. Her mother, brother, and neighbor subsequently disappeared, as well. Kodikara and Emmanuel (2016) note that unlike hundreds of other disappearances these four disappearances caught unprecedented attention, from the media, feminist activists, international human rights networks, and the United Nations. With an intervention by the president, eight soldiers and three policemen were arrested. The trial "proceeded at an unprecedented pace", and on 3 July 1998 six of the original eight were found guilty on multiple counts of murder, rape, and conspiracy. Those found guilty were given the death penalty, which was automatically converted to life sentences, as there have been no executions in Sri Lanka since 1976 (Kodikara & Emmanuel 2016, p. 11).[7]

[7] Kodikara & Emmanuel (2016) cite here Death Penalty Worldwide (2011), "Death Penalty Database: Sri Lanka", http://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/country-search-post.cfm?country=Sri+Lanka.

The difference between Kumaraswamy's case and hundreds of others might have to do more with the attention it was given and the expectations of the state, here as a protector of the body politic. As seen in the previous two examples, sexual violence was a means of mapping and reestablishing state space, where the imagined penetrated body politic is revenged with penetration of the individual cartographic-corporeal body politic. However, Kumaraswamy becomes no less politically symbolic as a cartographic representation and extension of state space. Here it is the paternalistic and patriarchal stewardship of the state as protector of the body politic which maps Kumaraswamy under or as the body of the state and whose rape and death must now be accounted for.

Likewise, Pinto-Jayawardena and Anantharajah (2016) argue that the 'success' of the Kumaraswamy case should not be considered a turning point in the narrative of impunity of the GOSL, but a positive outcome of a single case. They also note that only lower-ranking soldiers were convicted, and that the "[e]fficacy and feasibility of prosecution of members of the security forces should not diminish with elevated rank" (p. 95). Additionally, Sumathy (2016b) states of the few cases, like Kumaraswamy, that garnered public outrage, that they have done so as 'Tamil' deaths, "as a violation of the Tamil woman's body, a rape of the land" (p. 380). Moreover, I suggest that Kumaraswamy's case and the expectations of the state further indicate the geospatial imaginary of the state body as a cohesive whole and the anxiety of the potential penetration of the outside international community.[8] That is, if the state did not take control of the punishment for such violation, it was in threat of a second violation by interference from the outside. Again, nation-building requires ongoing maintenance of internal/external borders. Therefore, the Kumaraswamy case arguably became a cartographic practice and representation of sovereignty.

Sri Lanka is not just another example of sexual violence happening during or as a form of war, instead the work that has been done emphasizing territory,

[8] For more in-depth analysis on the legislative processes supporting state impunity see Pinto-Jayawardena & Anantharajah (2016) and Thangarajah (2016).

gender, and the state in Sri Lanka can teach us about the spatial and political imaginaries of the state during civil war. Jazeel (2009) has argued that "Sri Lankan island-ness is the prism through which all that pertains to the nation-state is refracted" (p. 407). The different political imaginaries of island space during the civil war, unitary island-state vs. separate countries sharing island space, indicates the ways in which gendered bodies, territories, and identity politics manifest within the historically developed imperial and masculine nation-state. As I'll indicate next, if the GOSL used sexual violence as punishment, then LTTE controlled sexuality. Both are corporeal-cartographic practices of the nation-state.

3. The LTTE: Controlling the (Feminine) Body Politic in Nation-Building

Jennifer Hyndman and Amarnath Amarasingam (2014) note that before 2009 if a foreigner wanted to enter Tamil territory, they would need to show a passport: a right and practice of nationalism, even if it was not recognized internationally (p. 563). A part of nation-building is the establishment and regulations of borders. Borders also work as simultaneous inclusionary and exclusionary practices that regulate and perform the unitary entity of the established territorial polity. A passport might indicate the opening of borders but is also only necessary as we understand and agree that borders are closed prior to the appropriate signals and signs of entry. Passports establish a site and performance of territorial practice and power. Controlling the sexuality of its own military force also appears to be another way that borders are protected, as a site and practice of territorial bodies.

As noted above, the Sri Lankan civil war was about territory, "at its most basic level was about land" (Sumathy 2016a, p. 302-303). Early on, post-colonial Tamil leaders had hoped to bring on another minority onto their nationalist cause, Sri Lankan Muslims, who were also largely Tamil speaking. However, Farzana Haniffa (2016) has argued that this project was doomed to fail from the beginning. Although there was a sizable Muslim presence in the Eastern province, 70% of the community lived among Sinhalese, not to mention that the leadership, wealth, history, and culture was also located in the South of the country. Muslim leadership,

therefore, supported the centrist state project endorsed by the majority (Haniffa 2016). In the 1980s relations between the Tamil and Muslim communities increased, just as with the Sinhalese, with notable armed riots in 1985 and 1987, and by 1990 the LTTE had displaced the Muslim community from Jaffna and parts of the Northeast.[9] The purifying and cleansing of territory, as a form of nation-building, is not unconnected, as the argument of this article indicates, to the LTTE's own control of sexuality. Therefore, the GOSL was not the only entity that we can look at during the civil war to investigate the link between mapped territory and female bodies. LTTE recruited female members to its forces, allowing many of them to ascend to ranks and titles. However, the LTTE also demanded celibacy of its members, and placed high value on female chastity (Pinto-Jayawardena & Guthrie 2016).

Starting with its inception in the mid-1970s, the LTTE was vocal in its celebration of its cadres' celibacy. Celibacy was originally for its male members, until the organization began to recruit female members in the 1980s. Celibacy became an important portrayal of control and morality, particularly when appealing to Jaffna society (Sumathy 2016b). In a society which required its unmarried women to be chaste, the military was faced with a particular problem when her sexuality was solely under their protection (Sumathy 2016b). Units were separated by gender and were forbidden from romantic entanglements. That is, until the higher-ranking officers began to marry, and had to relent to allow its own members the same privilege. Romance was allowed then between members, but only with prior approval and in-person meetings between partners were supervised. Therefore, the stance on celibacy eventually changed to allow for pre-approved marriages. However, as relationships had to not only be approved, but also supervised, the boundaries of bodies and sexuality were still highly regulated by the (would-be) state.

[9] Although it is not precisely the scope of the present article, see Haniffa (2016) for an investigation of sexual violence and Muslim masculinity in Sri Lanka, particularly post 2009.

Although Eelam might now be considered a 'failed' state, I contend that at the time through practices such as passports and celibacy it was not only an imagined state but an acting one, as these practices simultaneously established borders and regulated bodies through the mapping of state space. The relationship between the control of sexuality and the modern nation-state is not a new connection to make. Although Michel Foucault (1978) argued that power was effective and more efficient when it worked through discursive, disciplinary-mechanisms of power, this overt control of sexuality by the state indicates that:

> "[i]t was essential that the state know what was happening with its citizens' sex, and the use they made of it, but also that each individual be capable of controlling the use [s]he made of it. Between the state and the individual, sex became an issue, and a public issue no less; a whole web of discourses, special knowledges, analyses, and injunctions settled upon it" (p. 26).

For a state that was in the process of establishing and mapping borders, the relationship between territory, (female) sexuality, and state space manifested itself in an overt and at times violent control of its female cadre members' bodies. The control of sexuality of the LTTE was both a state mapping practice and a mode of nation-building.

Women fighters were, therefore, only as valuable as they were also 'pure'. Pinto-Jayawardena & Guthrie (2016) even note that women who had been raped were also coerced into becoming suicide bombers, in order to maintain their 'integrity'. The most infamous of these cases was that of Dhanu. Dhanu had allegedly been raped by members of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), and 'avenged herself' by assassinating Rajiv Gandhi, the former prime minister of India with a suicide bomb. Through sacrifice, a suicide bomb "metaphorically or otherwise, was an act of purification of both the body of the woman and the body of the land-nation" (Sumathy 2016b, p. 375). Once again, in the politics of the nation-state the body politic is simultaneously the political territory and the political body. As such the body politic, as the female body and territory, had to be maintained and protected as a process of controlled, anxious nation-building.

Although unlike the GOSL, the LTTE did not systematically participate in the use of sexual violence as an act of war. Wood (2009) has even used the LTTE as an example of a group, that while engaged in other forms of violence against civilians, rarely engaged in sexual violence. And while Wood does note that it is impossible to say in such cases that rape or other forms of sexual violence never happened, the LTTE were an insurgent group that did not systematically use sexual violence as a means of war. Wood (2009) also points out that the LTTE did not even engage in systematic sexual violence when they forcibly displaced thousands of Sri Lankan Muslims from Jaffna in 1990. Given the connection between the feminine body and the state in the process of nation-building, a compromise of the integrity of sexuality meant a compromised state. Therefore, Wood suggests that "commanders may fear that sexual violence against civilians may evolve into sexual violence against fellow group members, undermining group cohesion and morale" (2009, p. 141).

The connection of territory, land, and the female body can take various discursive and violent forms, and for the LTTE the "rise of nationalist militancy was accompanied by the objectification of the Tamil woman as nation and as land; yet this 'object' does not necessarily remain objectified. The coming into subjecthood and subjectivity of the object forms the curious figure of the woman as agent and as victim within nationalism" (Sumathy 2016b, p. 371). The Tamil woman was simultaneously "virgin, mother, victim, traitor, and freedom fighter" (Sumathy 2016b, p. 371). Additionally, in the fierce control of the gendered national body, although female cadre members could wear uniforms, civilian women were expected to dress in 'traditional', modest dress in LTTE controlled territories.

In terms of perceived deviations of normative and controlled sexuality, transgender men and women were also under threat within the LTTE, as they "posed a threat to state formation by the LTTE and the formation of the nation" (Sumathy 2016b, p. 388). Therefore, even though women liberation might have been a secondary goal after achieving the territorial Tamil Eelam (Wang 2011), it is also apparent that the two cannot be separated. The politics of the nation-state and

nation-building remains connected to its mapped and cartographed status of the feminine body. The territory of the state is played out in the corporeal power relations of feminine sexuality. And feminine sexuality directly represents the integrity and status of the nation-state.

4. Conclusion: the Sexual Politics of Imperial Mapping practices

In the GOSL the potentially severed state is treated as an outside and external enemy. The act of rape then becomes about revenging the body of the state. Not only does the feminine body in this instance take on a form of nation-building, it is a part of the imagined cartographic or geospatial imaginary of the nation-state. However, for those that were not attempting to prevent the severing of the body politic, but establish their own, the female body or female sexuality again becomes a practice and site of power, albeit in different articulations. In the case of the GOSL, sexual violence and rape became a justified punishment over the Other's territorialized body. In the case of the LTTE, corporeal-cartographic anxiety manifested in a heavy-handed control of its members' sexuality. In both circumstances the protection of the (female) body politics falls under the paternalism of the nation-state. For example, Cynthia Enloe (1993) has observed:

> "Rape and prostitution have been central to many men's construction of the nationalist cause. They have permitted men to hear the feminized nation beckoning them to act as 'her' protectors. The external enemy is imagined to be other men, men who would defile or denigrate the nation. Too often missing in this gendered nationalist scenario are the voices of the actual women who have suffered rape or have been compelled to seek an income from prostitution. Thus, Bangladeshi women who had been raped during the war of session from Pakistan were rarely asked to help build the identity of the new nation, though news of their rape had the effect of mobilizing the anger of many Bangladeshi men. Likewise, today, women who have been raped are more symbols than active participants in countries such as Sri Lanka and Kashmir" (p. 239).

Rape survivors are often then written out, or remain unrepresented, in the politics that aided in their rape in the first place. Their bodies are cartographed as the nation-state and become a site of nation-building, but these same individuals are not often asked to build that nation-state as agentic political actors. Ahmed (1998) states

that this implies "that even when women become targets of violence and contribute towards the construction/protection of the nation; the nation makes no effort to free itself from the practice of male/misrepresentation" (p. 28). Indeed, Enloe (2014) also observes that "nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope", and thus "[w]omen haven't had an easy relationship with nationalism. Even when they have suffered abuse at the hands of colonialists and racists, they have often been treated more as symbols than as active participants by nationalist movements organized to end colonialism and racism" (2014, p. 42-44; see also Maunaguru 2009 on the gendered politics of nationalism). In the organization of the LTTE, however, it appeared as if women were given an opportunity to be apart of the nation-building of Tamil Eelam, including the recruitment women cadre members. As noted in the section above, Sivamohan Sumathy (2016b) purposefully connects the nexus of 'land' and 'woman' when it comes to Sri Lankan civil war and maintains that while this formation predates this conflict specifically that the Tamil militancy produced a very specific articulation of it with the woman freedom fighter. Women LTTE members were encouraged to look men in the eye and wear uniforms as they received promotions and rose in ranks. But their sexuality was also a source of anxiety for the LTTE.

Again, there is still evidence that sexual violence is being used against Tamil detainees, particularly for male prisoners. Additionally, sexual violence, impunity, and possible retaliation by the state are still everyday experiences of many Sri Lankans. Perhaps with mounting international pressure, in January 2016 the GOSL endorsed the Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict (Pinto-Jayawardena & Guthrie 2016). However, even with this public commitment to end impunity under the new administration of President Maithripala Sirisena, many still have lingering questions and concerns. For example, even though the checkpoints are gone, army and navy camps are still located close to villages in the Northeast (Mohan 2016). Moreover, the progress that is often discussed with the democratic removal of Rajapaksa was clouded in November 2018 when Sirisena

appointed him briefly back as Prime Minister, before being declared unconstitutional.[10] Sivamohan Sumathy (2016a) has observed that "[f]or the state, the war was one of attrition, conquest, triumphalism, and at the same time, one of shame, denial, and consequently renewed repression of dissent at many levels" (p. 338).

While considering the very specific and particular experiences of Sri Lankans that have had and continue to live under such circumstances, explorations of postcolonial violence, might do well to consider the process of nation-building itself and the implications of exclusionary practices that seem inevitable in the cartographic imaginaries of a unitary state. These cartographic imaginaries, described by Krishna (1994) as cartographic anxiety, work by delineating clearly marked internal and external borders. But these imagined political cartographies also allow for the paradox of the internal-external figure when state identity is clearly marked, in this example, as Sinhala-Buddhist. The paradox of the internal foreigner, perhaps, comes to its most extreme in the violence of civil war, when the coherence of the state is threatened of serving from within.

What the Sri Lankan civil war additionally indicates, as a part of the internal-external paradox of the state, is the connection between the imagined territory of the state body as a feminine body. At times the body politic must be protected from potential violations that would penetrate the integrity of the state. This can be seen through the GOSL's punishment of Tamil cadre members, but it was also seen in the fierce practices of celibacy by LTTE members, as they too sought to establish their own coherent state. The sexual and gendered violence is, therefore, not unique to the GOSL alone, but the associations of the state and the feminized body are arguably seen in the process of nation-building itself. Through similar logics, the bodies that would violate the body politic also become the site and practice of power. As extensions of the mapped state, the bodies can be penetrated and controlled in much the same way. The state is a simultaneously a body that must be protected, and a body that can be penetrated.

[10] Ranil Wickramasinghe was then re-appointed as the Prime Minister.

Ethnic tensions in Sri Lanka are far from over, with the brutal defeat of the LTTE the establishment of the Sinhala-Buddhist state perhaps has only been further justified, as attacks surrounding the Muslim minority in 2018 have indicated (Mashal & Bastians 2018; Rasheed & Cader 2018). Sharika Thiranagama (2011) has also expressed concern that "[a] cultural invasion has begun, symbolically expressing the triumphalism and the possible emergent cultural conquest of the Tamil and Muslim periphery and the beginnings of a Buddhist nation" (p. xvi). The most recent iteration of what Qadri Ismail (2019) called the 'catastrophe' of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism was seen by the world on April 21, 2019 with the Easter bombings in Colombo, Negombo, and Batticaloa. The attacks targeted Christians and killed nearly 300 people. Those responsible appear to have an Islamic background, only further exasperating ethnic and religious tensions in the country. Since the attacks, Ismail (2019) observes that "[s]ubaltern Sinhalese harassed Muslims on the street, with covered women, hyper-visible, taking an unequal share of the torment", even though "every single bomber was male" (p. 3). The female body is not just mapped as a representation of state space through sexual violence or control of her sexuality. The woman in black is marked as non-Buddhist as she walks the street, which by its association means less, or even non-Sri Lankan. The connection between female bodies and state space manifests in various forms, practices, and prejudices.

I began this investigation with a claim that interrogating the imagined geographies of the state and the female body can tell us something about the continued violences of the nation-state. The circumstances surrounding the Sri Lankan civil war, from ethnic tensions established from the colonial period to the use of sexual violence by members of the state in and even after 2009 are specific to these conditions and yet are not unconnected to larger patterns of modern history of colonialism, exploitation, and nation-building. Urvashi Butalia, Laxmi Murthy, and Navasharan Singh (2016) ask why had "the end of the 25 years of violent conflict in Sri Lanka in May 2009 not resulted in an open and frank discussion about sexual violence as a weapon of war?" (p. viii). This question is particularly

relevant for the authors given that in other state conflicts, such as Rwanda, Yugoslavia, and Sierra Leone, rape was being discussed and was acknowledged "a weapon of war" and "an instrument of genocide" (Butalia et. al 2016, p. viii-ix; see also Jayawardena & Pinto-Jayawardena 2016). While discussion of sexual violence as a weapon of war and genocide increases in awareness and persistence, it is also equally important to consider the conditions of war itself in the capacity of nation-building, the role that sexual violence reveals and plays in the cartographies of the state. Such investigations acknowledge the violences in the body of the state and individuals, and the ways which feminizing these body politic allows for practices of particular forms of power. As has also been shown, sexual violence is not always practiced on biological female bodies, but sexual violence works to feminize and justify many acts of brutal aggression.

Edney (2007) maintains that "interesting parallels can be drawn between pornography and cartography, especially in terms of the unequal and abusive deployment of power" (p. 85). At these parallels of pornography and cartography there are violent intersections. During this civil war one side indicates the anxiety of a 'penetrated' body politic, and other seeks to establish new, untouched, perhaps 'virginal', boundaries. Patriarchal notions of sexuality and power persists within imperial cartographies. Sexual violence wielded by the state during a civil war indicates the political implications of such geographic imaginaries that are intimately apart of our contemporary realities.

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