

Healing and Reconciliation for War-Affected Children and Communities: Learning from the Butterfly Garden of Sri Lanka's Eastern Province

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1. Introduction

This paper is a brief account of seven years of project work in Sri Lanka that began as a Canadian university-led initiative in support of the Convention for the Rights of the Child. The work resulted in the formation of the Butterfly Garden, an innovative program of accompaniment and healing for war-affected children, and reconciliation at a community level. The principles and practice of the program are described, and important operational and paradigmatic considerations are highlighted vis-à-vis undertaking a community development approach to 'wage peace' and accompany children affected by war. The early but noteworthy success of the Butterfly Garden as a 'zone of peace for children' also raises questions about current development assistance / humanitarian aid policies and practices. The paper outlines an alternative model by which Canadian (international donor) resources could improve conditions for war-affected children.

2. Health Reach: "The Health of Children in War Zones Project"

In 1992 the centres for international health and peace studies at McMaster University, in Hamilton, Ontario co-founded the Health Reach Program to 'investigate and promote, within the framework of international covenants, the health and well-being of civilian populations and children in zones of armed conflict'. In 1994 Health Canada funded the 'Health of Children in War Zones' project in support of the International Convention for the Rights of the Child. The three years of project work in former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Palestine, and Afghanistan focused on psychological distress in war-affected children. The McMaster office also organized consultations and methods workshops bringing together researchers from the various projects and also catalyzed participation of youth in Canadian high schools and universitiesⁱ.

Health Reach collaborated with local organizations and researchers in survey projects generating reliable information on conditions facing children and to strengthen local capacities to address the problems. This was articulated as "Health Initiatives as Peace Initiatives", whereby knowledge about the effects of war on children, and initiatives to improve their well being could advance peace building, locally and internationally^{ii iii}.

3. Health Reach in Sri Lanka

Health Reach's Sri Lankan project led to a survey of over 300 school children affected in three different districts by armed conflict. This was the first investigation of the 17-year war's psychological impact on Sri Lankan children. During the 100-day cease-fire in 1995 a month of field work took survey teams of trained local women into Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim communities with histories of armed conflict to interview 9-11 year old schoolchildren (year 6) over a four-day process that included home visits. The study's methods, findings and recommendations were published and disseminated in Sri Lanka^{iv}, and elsewhere^v.

Four study sites were Batticaloa District in the Eastern Province (population 330,000) where 30,000 government armed personnel control most thoroughfares and towns while an estimated 1,500 militants operate in 'uncontrolled areas' and villages^{vi}. Major fighting in 1989-1993, including the failed Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) operation, was followed by waves of communal violence and displacement (first along Sinhalese/Tamil, then ethnic Tamil / Muslim lines), killing thousands of combatants and even more civilians. Up to the present, the Batticaloa area is held in a low intensity militarized stalemate with government army and police camps, checkpoints, security operations, with underlying communal ethnic tensions, armed gangs, and severe economic contraction. In Batticaloa, a child's family life typically involves household displacement, separation and loss from death, refugee migration, and extreme poverty. As well, thousands of care providers (mainly women) work in the Gulf States. The district is known for high rates of suicide and child recruitment to militant groups. Nevertheless, school attendance, highly valued throughout Sri Lanka's post-colonial history, is highly esteemed and relatively well maintained.

The Health Reach partner in Batticaloa was a Jesuit priest and trained counselor who had started a small counseling centre for ex-detainees and war widows. The team trained and supervised 30 young women to conduct fieldwork in four affected villages interviewing 170 children. 41% had personally experienced conflict related violence (e.g. home attacked or shelled, being shot at, beaten, or arrested). 53% had direct family members killed violently, including 'disappearances' of family member following abduction or detention. 95% of the children recalled events for which the definition of PTSD applied (i.e., personal experience or witnessing event(s) of actual or threatened death, serious injury, threat to integrity of self or others); 92% of these events were directly conflict-related, as distinct from domestic violence, or accident. Severe (20%) and moderate (39%) levels of post-traumatic psychological distress were found, as well as similar levels of depression and unresolved grief reactions. Many children disclosed experiences withheld from adults.

4. The Butterfly Garden

Parallel to the study project, explorations for a suitable approach to psychological healing for Sri Lankan children led to consultations and Canadian-Sri Lankan workshops with the Spiral Garden program at the Bloorview MacMillan Rehabilitation Centre, Toronto, an outdoor summer creative play program for children, both able-bodied and those with disabilities.

After Health Reach's three-year funding ended, a transitional committee of local Batticaloa Health Reach team members and volunteers worked with Paul Hogan, Canadian artist and founder of the Spiral Garden, and in 1995, the Butterfly Garden opened its gates as a peace garden for creative healing of affected children, with seed funding from the Peace Fund, Canadian High Commission. Since the end of its first year, operational funding has been generously provided by HIVOS (Netherlands)^{vii}.

The war ethos of violence and destruction is replaced with the gentleness and creation in the Butterfly Garden. Both those aspects of the child which are wounded and those which remain resilient are addressed. By tending to the garden within the human heart as well as the outer garden of earthly experience with equal imagination and compassion, children can heal and become healers within their communities.^{viii}

For five years the Butterfly Garden has provided after-school and weekend creative play programming to over 600 schoolchildren from 20 communities around Batticaloa representing local ethnic groups (ethnic Tamil and Muslim). Schoolteachers are introduced to the Butterfly Garden in presentations at school. Children with difficulties are selected to

attend weekly for a nine-month program; on a given day 50 children attend from 2-4 villages of different ethnicity. The program offers a rich choice of play and art activities (claywork, drama, storytelling, music, arts and crafts) is facilitated by a dozen staff animators, local men and women from the different ethnic groups. Staff animators develop skills through mentoring, hands on experience, attention to his/her own personal healing work, and training workshops arranged with visiting Sri Lankan and international resource people.

The Butterfly Garden invariably opens the children to new experiences: formative relationships with the animators, befriending children from other villages, exploring the garden and its resident creatures, and discovering the energetic and imaginative world of childhood. The animators and the program's process uphold the child's creative spirit and inherent goodness, modeling non-violent behaviour and alternative ways to resolve conflict and disturbing emotional issues. Children with personal distress are welcome to take part in a stream of reflective and expressive activities called the Amma Appa ('Mother-Father' in Tamil) Journey, developed around culturally indigenated rituals built around constructing the child's genogram that honours deep feelings and promotes healing and reconciliation. Through this children experience healing insights into their lives, and their connection with within and with others, past and present.

The program evolves responsively to the maturity and creative growth of the children who come to consider the Garden as part of their world, real and imaginal. The program endeavours to accompany the children through to young adulthood, providing follow-up session cycles, as well as planning days of performance and play in village exchanges.

At the community level, the program explores ways the children's positive experiences as witnessed by teachers and families may foster community reconciliation. Program cycles close with a grand environmental opera inspired by the children's invention to which over a hundred community members attend. Ongoing collaboration with schools and dialogue with village leaders is encouraged. A pragmatic outreach program has emerged, based on the strengths of the Butterfly Garden's work with children and opportunities for greater presence in the villages.

The list below summarizes principles of the Butterfly Garden program felt to be important in its relative success, and which may differentiate it from other programming for war affected children. While some are unique to the local community setting and staff skills, other features may be generalizable to a model of 'zones of peace for children'.

- The program accompanies children within their communities over the years of adolescence (versus foster care / residential, or single / brief encounters)
- It aims to 'give childhood back to the children' providing opportunities to play and have fun, a sanctuary and a positive counterbalance to their stressful and impoverished lives.
- It offers an alternative 'culture of caring', fortifying the eroded social and cultural supports available to children in a highly stressed community.
- It provides opportunities for creative healing emergent with local culture values, that are neither stigmatizing or medicalized.
- The program is staffed by local young adults with creative talents and skills with children.
- As a local organization it maintains a responsive relationship with its community and has become a resource for schools and local orphanages.
- It promotes dialogue about ongoing local communal tensions and offers an approach to reconciliation.

A timeline for full evaluation would be to follow the participating children into their adult years. Nevertheless, at the early stage of five years, the program has shown to have a very positive effect on the participating children, with more tentative signs of success as a peace building and reconciliation measure. Documentation and research on the Butterfly Garden was recently published with project support from Sri Lanka Canada Development Fund (SLCDF) and Primates World Relief and Development Fund (PWRDF)^{ix}. The principles and practice of the Butterfly Garden are described in greater detail and 20 case studies of participating children.

5. Lateral Developments in Sri Lanka and Batticaloa: 'Inside'

There has been keen interest in Sri Lanka in the Butterfly Garden's as a peace garden for children. The Butterfly Garden has steadily received requests for consultation and possible collaboration with related humanitarian programs and project sites in Sri Lanka. Preliminary steps are underway to assist in a program at a residential home for orphaned boys. In Colombo artist volunteers also ran the Serunguli Walakale ('Kite and Clouds') project for street children out of donated space at the municipal zoo for a year.

The challenges and the extent of local need in Sri Lanka is daunting. Assuming 40% of Batticaloa's population are children, with the conservative estimate that 10% have significant war-related psychological sequelae, less than 1% of those in need have access to the Butterfly Garden. Yet this is one of few, in any, community resources for children, excepting a few orphanages. Levels of exposure to war violence are generally higher in the Jaffna and the Wannai jungle areas of the Tamil areas, throughout which an estimated 30% of all 900,000 children in the North and East have been displaced^x. The enormity of the problem in Sri Lanka in both Sinhalese and Tamil, and other ethnic groups is well detailed elsewhere^{xi}.

Since the project work reported here began in 1994, international and government agencies, NGOs and humanitarian assistance funding in Sri Lanka have directed greater attention to the rights of children in difficult circumstances, children affected by war violence, psychological trauma and other relevant themes. While some projects are admittedly in preliminary phases, however, there remains virtually no local programming for war affected children, and less evidence of penetration or continuity at a community level. Below are other observations about the gap between calls for advocacy and meaningful action.

In general, the Butterfly Garden's primary focus continues to be the children of Batticaloa, protecting and fostering space for 'the poesia of the garden', ensuring that the intimacy of contact through art and play emerge without scrutiny and spectacle. While outsider interest may be well-meaning, e.g. to support and learn in some way, it taxes the program's resources diverts attention away from the Garden's primary work. Arrangements come with heavy administrative responsibilities, arranging security clearances, travel, and communications in addition to the managerial challenges of the running the daily program.

6. Lateral developments in Canada and elsewhere: 'Outside'

Stepping out of the local context of Sri Lanka's war zone, there have been interesting lateral developments in Canada and internationally since the project work began as a Canadian university-based study. The developments highlighted here illustrate the potential for cross-fertilization with other initiatives for children affected by war and difficult circumstances.

Health Reach's simultaneous projects in Palestine, Croatia, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka led to fruitful consultations and collaboration with a wide network of humanitarian field workers, peace educators, medical, public health, and psychological professionals. This network outlived the three-year funding of the Health Reach project; research and academic activities continue as the Peacebuilding and Health committee at the Centre for Peace Studies, Faculty of Humanities, McMaster University. Plans are underway for a "Community Rituals and Healing" conference bringing together diverse approaches to healing in societies affected by war and violence, including aboriginal native communities in Canada and the Butterfly Garden in Sri Lanka.

For example, since 1995 explorations in Afghanistan included two site visits drawing together proposals to help three Afghan university medical faculties improve training in priority areas. Projects focussed on rehabilitation of landmines victims and child health needs, in collaboration with local NGOs and community committees. A working group of Canadian Afghan community members and Health Reach developed project proposals that merged the themes of income generation and community based rehabilitation of physically disabled with the tradition of women's gardens in Afghanistan. In contrast to the Butterfly Garden, ideas included primary literacy, physical health and nutritional needs, horticulture, village garden plots for agricultural diversification and environmental rehabilitation (e.g. tree planting in cleared minefields).

There was good discussion as to how aspects of trauma healing and child creativity could be adapted to the social and religious facets of Afghan culture. Unlike the Sri Lankan project work, where participation of Canadian Sri Lankan individuals and organizations was not promoted in the interest of maintaining neutrality, the Canadian Afghan community, many of whom are underemployed health, educational and agricultural professionals, would be a vital resource for acceptance and implementation of projects.

However, despite some years of persistent effort, funding for community projects remained unattainable due in part to the ambivalent Canadian and international policy for development and humanitarian funding in Afghanistan. Ironically, such health initiatives might be most influential as a peacebuilding / post-conflict restoration initiative in the woefully under-serviced, but largely peaceful, provinces during these years of limbo nationhood before there is formal recognition of Afghanistan in the world's eyes. Just recently, however, "Promoting the Culture of Peace in Afghanistan" project received CIDA Peacebuilding funding to develop school curriculum materials and children story books and hold conflict transformation workshops.

In Ontario, Canada, the Spiral Garden (the Toronto program that inspired the Butterfly Garden) germinated a second site through a provincial merger of child rehabilitation centres, and, recently a third site in Hamilton, Ontario will open. Consultation and networking with international dimensions has led exploring child garden projects in Palestine, Colombia and within Canadian immigrant communities many from war torn homelands. Medecins Sans Frontieres (led by MSF Canada) consulted extensively with the Butterfly Garden and the Spiral Garden as part of their new project: More than Bandages: Creative Resources and Training for Psycho-Social Rehabilitation of Children Affected by Armed Conflict^{xii}.

7. Operational, Organizational, and Ethical considerations: a discussion

This section offers critical observations about the obstacles and opportunities encountered in the Health Reach-Butterfly Garden project work as seen as a community-based initiative focusing on war affected children. The comments are not intended to be categorical or dismissive of other priorities, recognizing that Canadian and international

development assistance is predicated on a variety of agendas. It does, however, advance the critique that the solutions for the causes and effects of Sri Lanka's war, particularly as it affects children, must be sought and developed at a local level. By this calculus, there is a widening gap between rhetoric and reality in Sri Lanka as well as within Canadian policy and action in general.

'Inside': local considerations

Tangibility Who will benefit and in what way? The degree by which school officials, parents, and community leaders see the Butterfly Garden program as worthwhile grew significantly once there was tangible evidence that children indeed benefited from participating. Their estimation of the program's longer-term objectives of community reconciliation is in contrast more tentative; this has been a far more treacherous and complex issue for two decades. This also reflects a pervasive skepticism about the espoused goals of aid/ development assistance projects and what comes to show of them. There are numerous instances of hollow gestures, broken promises and uneven distribution of resources that reinforce this attitude of passivity. In the face of this, the Garden's increasing numbers of well-wishers is encouraging.

Community Acceptance: The preliminary Health Reach study of war trauma in schoolchildren proved useful to put forward a case to school principals and education officials to collaborate with the Butterfly Garden. With formal endorsement by the schools, most parents who had initial concerns about their child's participation were reassured. No doubt, the program's association with well-known members in the community (the Jesuits at St. Michael's college and Fr. P Satkunanyagam's psychological counseling centre) has also been critical to community acceptance. Batticaloa's community life is divided along ethnic lines, 70% ethnic Tamil (80% Hindu, 20% Christian) and 30% ethnic Muslim. While the Butterfly Garden program is respectful of all religious faith traditions, the local association to a Christian institution has been contentious for some Muslim village leaders. Local religious tensions have been a divisive tool used by both sides of the ethnic war and with entrenched communal distrust.

What is evolving in the Butterfly Garden is a culturally appropriate approach to healing and community grown out of a universal quality inherent in all children and expressed through play. This creative spirit may be as sacred and affirming as religion is for adults. This might be seen as a form of lay spirituality that all people of good will may endorse, a secular morality alongside the religions respecting this value for children. It has been important to articulate this and to communicate these principles to all parties, inside and outside Batticaloa.

Security: The Butterfly Garden maintains good relations with local security forces and militants as there is call for, which has led to some opportunities for personal dialogue. The Butterfly Bus is allowed through checkpoints without harassment, respecting it as a 'weapons-free zone': observing and exemplifying neutrality, respect for basic child rights, non-violence, transparency and open dialogue are seen as the best protection for the program and its staff on site and in the community. Its profile as a program with Dutch, Canadian associations and an international reputation offers a certain level of protection, but unsolicited media coverage has at times led to problems.

The Butterfly Garden endeavours to reflect the same attention to process in its community relations as it does with cultivating trust with the children. As noted by a UNICEF case study^{xiii}, "Given the depth and intensity of war-experience that each child brings with him or her into the Garden, it would be impossible to even begin nurturing the self-healing process unless a relationship of trust was established between the child and the animator. By building relationships with the children

themselves, the space is created for the development of a more intimate relationship. Physical and emotional presence is a necessary - but by no means sufficient - requirement for the development of trust. As importantly, relationships of trust are cultivated with communities themselves - on all sides of the ethnic, religious, and political divides. The Garden thrives within a network of trust: between: children; animator and child; between animators; between the BFG and the community. Any weakness in the net, compromises the programme."

Training and program management Building the personnel team takes a lot of dedicated effort. Staff are all from the local area, and all aspects of developing a program and office started essentially from scratch. The main input from 'outside' has been the Canadian artistic advisor, and co-founder, Mr Paul Hogan, who resides there much of the time. The prospects of finding qualified Sri Lankan professionals prepared to relocate to this district are slim.

In working with the children, the staff animators learn to offer unmediated 'presence' to respond creatively and spontaneously, as the child probes various means of expression. This empathetic presence can catalyze self-healing in the animators and in the children^{xiv}. It is important to remark that staff have lived through war trauma also; this heightens their sensitivity and empathy, but may also interfere or distort responses to the child. Programming for war affected children needs to have built in healing potential for those who work with children.

The Child-Driven Logic of the Butterfly Garden Everything in the Garden is shaped for and by children -- the physical layout; the play structures; the program; the food; the art work. As one animator put it, "children are the Alpha and the Omega of the Butterfly Garden." The result is a sense of ownership, comfort, and security, an oasis from the war-littered space beyond the walls of the Garden. The structure and process are derived from the children, not dictated by adults 'outside' or by what adults think children need or want. It is within this physical and psychic space that the opportunity for healing arises, allowing the child to leave the narrow - and often constricting and violent - world of adults and enter into the "sacred space" of play. It is through play that children are able to touch their own originality and to see the originality of those around them^{xv}.

From this, a critique emerges about donor-driven efforts 'targeting' war-affected children which has led to a 'commodification' of traumatized children and short-term programs of limited usefulness. Community programs should see children as children first and be given opportunities to be just that before being categorized.

'Outside': Canadian / international considerations

The project work here described began with one-time funding to strengthen Canadian support to the Convention for the Rights of the Child, and was primarily geared to a Canadian public audience. In a few short years the initiative successfully crossed over in the form of the Butterfly Garden, a local Sri Lankan NGO, a programmatic metamorphosis worthy of its name, but not without obstacles encountered between and within different Canadian government offices. In seven years no less than six different funding sources were involved. Before the Dutch funders (HIVOS) came forward with an open approach tailored to the needs of the program to achieve its strategic objectives, there were repeated, largely unsuccessful efforts to access Canadian funds. Restrictions included short (1-3 year) durations; coverage limitations (only Sri Lankan but not Canadian-side activities, or vice versa could be considered), or funds were designated to specific project themes only delivered in large-scale vertical-impact projects. There may be good rationale for these features in funding policies and procedures, but the notable lack of accommodation led to frustrations and lost opportunities on the Canadian side as well.

Much of Canadian humanitarian and development assistance is channeled to multi-million dollar thematic initiatives of 3-5 years duration, with heavy investments of time and resources in planning and consulting. Waiting to build big infrastructure and then starting the program can be a waste of time. Children grow so fast and they need help right now. The immediacy of their needs has to be taken into account while planning the programs for them.

In the developing country, the bidding process creates a frenzy among a relatively small number of organizations and professionals competing against each other; local community groups rarely have the sophistication to apply. There is legitimate concern how many children will actually benefit in the inevitable trickle-down of resources; penetration to affected communities is thin or absent. The view presented here asserts that definition of program needs should come from the community as opposed to the community responding to the funders' agenda. Strict adherence in project implementation to result-based outputs defined a priori is antithetical to what is necessary to build trust and practical approaches in this kind of project work.

When Butterfly Garden began in 1996, nothing of its kind had been attempted in Sri Lanka, or elsewhere. There were no models. Donor aid, where directed to children in war, addressed the child's urgent physical needs but long-term psychological healing was left unaddressed. The reasons for this are purely speculative. However, it might be surmised that the subtle and intricate nature of psychological healing does not lend itself easily to the calculus of development and humanitarian aid projects. In CIDA, and particularly in HIVOS, the Butterfly Garden has found allies willing to take risks with their funding, realizing perhaps, how very urgent the need is to find innovative models that will at least begin to address the psychological healing of children in war zones^{xvi}

The underlying global and local factors fuelling wars like the one in Sri Lanka are grim and complex. There is a tendency to 'commodify' trauma and children in war zones by humanitarian relief organizations to a (largely) secure and affluent Canadian domestic public^{xvii}. While this approach may catch public attention, it may not change the realities children suffer as long as the situation remains unchanged. Advocacy efforts can be well-intentioned, but there is great risk that actions fall short of words.

8. Future steps- a proposal

While concern for war affected children is high, a survey of Canadian capacities reveal the breadth and depth of program experience is disproportionately low^{xviii}. Nevertheless, there are many ways Canadians could contribute to the design and implementation of programs, drawing from best practice examples of summer camps; foster homes, native community healing rituals, community based rehabilitation, social skills and play therapy programs.

This calls for a more reciprocal relationship in the interface between local project and donor. As a donor, Canada may have greater resources, but we do not hold all the answers. There is much to be learned as both 'north' and 'south' find solutions to pressing problems facing children in difficult circumstances in war zones, inner cities, aboriginal reserves, and immigrant ghettos.

There is an important need for capacity building human resources and personnel to make a greater contribution. There are compelling ways educational institutions such as universities and non-profit organizations can provide experience and develop training capacities.

A network of like-spirited projects, with locally determined programming could mobilize activities, strengthen and validate the "zones of peace for children" model. Local projects need to adopt and adapt what works best, but they can also benefit from other

project experience. Various program elements, e.g. nutrition, physical rehabilitation of children with disabilities, non-formal education, and environmental rehabilitation could be integrated into gardens as zones of peace for children. 'Sister' projects in different cultures and contexts would strengthen the universal humanitarian nature of the work and open dialogue around community concerns. For example, linkages to a project in Afghanistan could well ease concerns by Batticaloa Muslims about the program's Christian affiliations. Projects in other Asian countries (Burmese refugee camps in Thailand, Cambodia, and Tibetan resettlement communities in India) could influence some of the Buddhist religious undercurrents in Sri Lankan society fuelling the war. These scenarios have been discussed to varying levels of detail with interested Canadian and Asian parties.

Canadian-based support groups or voluntary sub-committees, could adopt and support different initiatives. Groups could include individuals, classrooms, faith-based organizations, Canadian immigrant community organizations, and unions, coordinated through a common office administering project development and communications between projects, a function beyond the capacity of the local projects. Appropriate mechanisms for government co-funding such as matched funding from peacebuilding funds, with longer-term funding provisions and reasonable reporting processes could be explored.

There are questions as to the kind of umbrella organization to best oversee project exploration, ideas exchange, collaborating with universities, NGOs, funding agencies, policy makers, and the public. A framework is called for, built on long-term objectives, working principles, codes of conduct to unify the overall program. Linkages between local projects through e.g. shared training approaches, exchanges, and program evaluation would strengthen the coherence of the model as applied to children in difficult circumstances.

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ⁱⁱⁱ article series by Santa Barbara J et al. *Helping Children Affected by Armed Conflict, Medicine Conflict and Survival* Vol 15 No 4 Oct-Dec 1999

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^{vi} Jeyaraj DBS, *Lions and Tigers*, and Rohan Gunaratna, *Tamil Tigers: Burning Bright*, HIMAL magazine 12/4 April 1999

^{vii} HIVOS: Humanistische Instituut Vorr Ontwikkelingssamenwerking Stichting, a Dutch government / church-based humanistic sociocultural funding agency

^{viii} Butterfly Garden brochure, 1999

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- ^{ix} Chase, R *The Butterfly Garden, Batticaloa, Sri Lanka: Final Report of a Program Development and Research Project (1998-2000)* Sarvodaya Vishva Lehka Printers, Ratmalana, Sri Lanka 2000
- ^x UNICEF, Colombo, A program for Special Assistance for Children and Women Affected by Armed Conflict, 2000-2001, 1999
- ^{xi} Bush, Ken Stolen Childhood- The Impact of Militarized Violence on Children in Sri Lanka, in preparation, 2000
- ^{xii} see Medecins Sans Frontieres Canada's website <http://www.msf.ca> and follow links to More Than Bandages project
- ^{xiii} Ken Bush, case study: The Butterfly Peace Garden of Batticaloa (Sri Lanka) Overview of Issues for Technical Workshops, 10th Anniversary of the Convention for the Rights of the Child Florence, 10 December 1999, UNICEF
- ^{xiv} *ibid*
- ^{xv} *ibid*
- ^{xvi} Butterfly Garden program report, 1998
- ^{xvii} The gap between the rich and the poor according to the UN Human Development Report 2000 stand at 72 to 1 in favor of the wealthy industrialized nations. Our daily experience here in Batticaloa is one of unending poverty and injustice. Are these two not related? Paul Hogan, personal communications
- ^{xviii} Survey of Canadian Programming For Children Affected by Armed Conflict prepared by Christopher Lowry, Political and Social Policies Division (YR) Policy Branch, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) February 1999