

Violence Against Women in Sri Lanka in the Civil War and Post-Civil War Periods

Dr. Sreya Maitra

Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations,
Jadavpur University, Kolkata

Abstract

Women in Sri Lanka hold multiple narratives. They are free citizens enjoying adult suffrage since independence, but the post-colonial political trajectory of Sri Lanka has challenged their liberty repeatedly, particularly harsh to women from minority communities. Women from Sinhalese and Tamil communities were severely affected by the civil war in Sri Lanka and the legacy of war continues to impose hardships. Seeking to set the agenda for reforms, women lack of information on missing relatives, face displacement from their land, suffer from economic deprivation, psychological trauma, vulnerability to sexual violence and exploitation, along with a militarised environment that reinforces the victimization on an everyday basis. Promises by the central government to the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2015 have failed to materialise even as the urgent economic and psychosocial needs of all conflict-affected groups remain unmet. As women carry the legacy of war as a burden in their everyday lives, their role in shaping transitional justice policies cannot be ignored. The government largely has ignored the report of its Consultations Task Force (CTF) on national reconciliation processes, which conferred widely with women, particularly those women who reside in conflict-affected areas. This gap in expectation of rights and delivery of justice stems largely from

the lack of representation of women in Sri Lanka's political affairs. For decades after independence, the proportion of women in Sri Lanka's parliament stagnated at around 4 per cent. This has contributed to reinforcing conservative and patriarchal perceptions of women in Sri Lankan society. As women continue to grapple with gender-based violence, the UN Population Fund reports that 90% of Sri Lankan women and girls have faced sexual harassment in public buses and trains, while 1 in 4 women report having experienced physical and/or sexual violence since age 15 (Department of Census & Statistics, 2019). Efforts to end violence against women often face barriers, including legal gaps and social stigma. The lecture would connect the gendered narratives of the past and present for women in Sri Lanka and seek to find answer to the one pressing question: is the Sri Lankan democracy doing enough for the rights and security of its women?

Keywords: *Sri Lanka, women, Sinhala women, Tamil women, civil war, violence*

Introduction

Sri Lanka has the distinction of electing the first woman Prime Minister in the world as early as in 1960. Despite a post-colonial nation, with a history of three successive colonial powers ruling the island-the Portuguese (1505-1658), the Dutch (1640-1796) and then the British (1796-1948), it has never legally subjugated its womenfolk to political subordination. However, the experiences of gender-based violence through the years of its internal civil war created a socio-economic schism in society, disempowering women across ethnic communities and dividing women across ethnicities based on their scales of victimization. In other words, Tamil women (Christians, Muslims and Hindus) were persecuted based on their 'Tamil-ness', along with their alleged or actual affiliation

to the LTTE. Sinhala women were affected as family members of the Sinhala military who became collaterals in the crossfire of the civil war.

This paper offers an analytical insight into the categories of victimization of women during the civil war and the continued injustices against them in the post-civil war period as well. The paper ends with certain normative recommendations for the future of civil society in the current left-leaning regime of President Anura Kumara Dissanayake. This paper essentially classifies these violent experiences of women into two temporal phases: the years of the civil war (1983-2009) and the post-civil war (2009 onwards). The paper broadly shows that during the period of the civil war, the violence unleashed on women scarred them as victims, unsettled them as survivors, pushed them into the role of peace activists, breadwinners of households (Sinhala and Tamil), and also created their agency as perpetrators of violence (mainly Tamil women). In the current period, Tamil women continue to be arbitrarily subjugated to atrocities and social marginalization. Additionally, women across ethnic categories experience exclusion from politically and socially empowering roles and suffer from inadequate public representation in real terms. There is significant participation of women in the transitional justice process (to amend war crimes), but the process itself continues to churn gendered notions of justice.

The key argument of this paper is that though women in Sri Lanka have enjoyed equal rights since independence, they have been conservatively envisioned since time immemorial and kept confined to the private sphere in terms of social roles. Rigid patriarchal norms have resulted in their suffering from lack of political and social opportunities. Within Tamil society, women were historically valued as the bearers of culture, responsible primarily for maintaining the home.

Parents carefully “protected” or controlled women from childhood until marriage, when authority over them would get transferred to their husbands. Since historically women’s domains did not typically extend beyond their households, they were generally excluded from the political process. Society rigorously maintained the image of women as sacred bearers of family and community, utilizing females as symbolic markers to measure purity and respect. This cherished image of women rendered the violent experiences which women faced during the war traumatic not only for them as individuals, but for the entire society as well. (Manoranjan, November 2014). In a way, it created a double dilemma for women; they were pushed out of their traditional roles as well as subjected to an abrupt public gaze.

When the country was in the throes of the civil war, the government, representing a Sinhalese majority was fighting the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which was striving for an autonomous Tamil homeland. Women on either side of the linguistic divide (Sinhala/Tamils) did not have agency when the war began; they were uniformly victims, either directly or as collateral casualties. But as the war unfolded, Sri Lanka’s internal/civil war created a unique situation for its women. On the one hand, it gave Tamil women an opportunity to participate in the violence against the state for their rights and for the sake of gaining ultimate independence from a Sinhala-Buddhist majority government, and from political, social and cultural repression. On the other hand, for both Sinhala and Tamil women, it was a compulsion to step into the role of breadwinners for the family, as their male counterparts joined the war, died or simply could not cope with the acute political instability. The coexistence of these dual facets, which women across the country were forced to embrace, ultimately shaped the gendered narrative

of the Sri Lankan civil war, bearing consequences for all women in the country. As the civil war ended, women were awaiting peace, justice and reparations. They were trying to be agents of reconciliation by participating in the process of transitional justice. But due to lack of political empowerment and the existence of social misgivings, women are still seen as ad-hoc agents facilitating the day-to-day functioning of a society on a temporary basis, as the hope of their male counterparts taking the reins soon still lingers. This points towards a lingering gender bias in society despite political equality. Narratives around war and peace are dominated by gendered expectations and representations of women. Transitional justice processes include public testimonies by women survivors. But it often brings forth re-traumatization in the wake of testifying in courts and public offices. They relive the disrespect and humiliation suffered, uncovering conditions of psychological ill-health and new post-war insecurities. This would be explored in a subsequent section in the paper.

Violence and Tamil women

Despite being one of the first Asian countries to gain Universal Adult Franchise in 1931, Sri Lanka's women do not enjoy a legacy of empowered roles in public places. Due to prolonged exposure to conflict, traditional gender relations have also shifted dramatically in the Tamil community. The violence which was unleashed by the war jeopardized minority Tamils because of their aspirations for independence from the state and possible links with the nascent LTTE. For the Tamils, war brought large-scale displacement from homes through forcible take-over of land, destruction of homes, loss of family members, physical injuries, deaths and numerous incidents of gender-based sexual violence.

“Tamil women have suffered disproportionately throughout Sri Lanka’s decades-long ethnic conflict. They have faced both the structural collapse of communities as well as the erosion of societal norms. In response, an increasing number of women joined the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) starting in the 1980s and throughout the years prior to 2009, and became an integral part of the armed resistance against the government” (Manoranjan, 2014).

Many evidentially joined the LTTE to avenge use for violence against them and their families.

Women as state and anti-state combatants

The Sri Lankan Women’s Corps which was established in 1979 mainly performed non-combative and supporting roles (clerical in nature). Women began to receive weapons’ training in the Sri Lankan military in 1984. Women were deployed in the combat operation in Operation Vadamarachchi in 1987. In the LTTE, Tamil women started joining the revolutionary movement from the early 1980s and received their first combative training in 1985. In Operation Vadamarachchi (1987), LTTE also used women fighters for the first time. The first female LTTE fighter Malathi was killed in action in face-off with the Indian Peace Keeping force in 1987. A brigade was named in her honour. The LTTE established the first all-women unit, the Sothiya Brigade in 1989. Women used violence as freedom from social confinement and socially ascribed roles. In fact, the women’s wing of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) - Suthanthirap Paravaikal (Birds of Freedom) had acquired almost as much notoriety as their male counterparts since a female suicide bomber killed the then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi (May 1991). Though female cadres had different personal reasons for enlisting, many joined after experiencing some form of

injustice at the hands of the Sri Lankan Army. Most women came from the heavily militarized north (Alison, 2003) The permanent insecurity of this environment inculcated a desire for freedom and statehood, which included the motivation to take up arms. Although most women initially joined the LTTE to find respite from this suffocating physical insecurity, their involvement in the armed movement had unintended, yet profound, cultural and social consequences. Violence was liberating as they stopped conforming to social expectations:

“Joining the militants [was a] liberating act, promising them more freedom and power.... Tamil society had always suppressed women into a subservient position... it was the war that has had a liberating role.” Many of the female Tamil cadres with whom I spoke expressed their desire to fight for the liberation of both their ethnicity and also their subservient position in Tamil society” (Response by a LTTE women combatant in Manoranjan, 2010).

Women had to demonstrate their strength and competence to earn the respect of male LTTE cadres; one cadre confessed that women were “challenged to lift bigger bombs” to prove themselves?. Female cadres eventually prided themselves on performing all tasks completed by their male counterparts. Women were not only responsible for protecting their own physical integrity, but also that of their children. Thus, initially women were seen as survivors of the war, as widows or mothers who had lost their sons. But in the 1990s, Tamil women were fighting for their liberation from any kind of subjugation and assertion of rights and security. Interestingly, in both phases, women were ‘masculinized’-their hair was short, bodies trained for physical combat and they were devoid of any overt markers of femininity.

War widows

Women also experienced violence as survivors-as widows and son-less mothers. The continuous context of violence has produced an unprecedented number of war widows and concomitantly women-headed households. While women-headed households are not an uncommon phenomenon in Sri Lanka, they increased in large proportions because of the decimation of the male population that has occurred as a result of ethnic riots, civil war, and anti-state violence. While such households are scattered across the entire country, the largest concentrations are found among displaced populations in the districts of Puttalam, Jaffna, Wanni, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, and Ampara.

There was a three-fold victimization of women in that they were not only traumatized by the violence they witnessed and the loss of their loved ones, but in that they also had to support their families financially and emotionally and nurture similarly traumatized and devastated offsprings who sometimes turned on their own mothers. The social stigma that surrounds widows in all ethnic communities has not made these women's tasks any easier and is a key contributor to their own lack of self-worth and confidence and their sense of guilt (for being alive, for being bad mothers) and victimhood. This sense of victimhood is also re-inscribed upon these women through relief and rehabilitation measures as well as programs on social health and trauma interventions in the conflict zones.

Social stigmatization of widows

The majority of widowed heads of households in Sri Lanka face a constant battle for economic stability, privacy, physical safety, and most importantly, self-worth and social dignity. In a society that has convinced itself that men

are the breadwinners and sustainers of their families and women ideally suited to the roles of housewife and mother, women-headed households are perceived as temporary aberrations that must soon be rectified through remarriage or consolidation within a male-headed extended family. Because of such assumptions, women-headed households have not become a topic of national concern or debate in the same way that women run garment-factory workers or women as foreign domestic aides have.

Warrior mothers

The 1980s and 1990s also witnessed the political mobilization of “motherhood” as a counter to violence, both in the context of the civil war in the north and east as well as the second Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (1989) uprising in the south for establishing socialism. In 1984, the Mothers’ Front was formed in Jaffna to protest against the mass arrest of Tamil youth by the Sri Lankan state. This organization was controlled by and consisted of women from all classes. They organized mass rallies in huge numbers and picketed public officials demanding their removal. Although the members of the Mothers’ Front had spontaneously mobilized their maternal identity in the face of state repression, they were also quick to criticize the blatant manipulation of such an identity when Tamil militant groups put up posters inciting women to have more babies in order to further the cause of separatism. The Mothers’ Front also inspired Tamil women in the east to inaugurate their own branch. In 1986, the Eastern Mothers’ Front took to the streets with rice pounders to prevent a massacre of members of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) by the LTTE. In 1987, one of its members, Annai Pupathi, fasted to death to protest the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) on Sri Lankan soil. She was subsequently immortalized by the LTTE, who went

on to offer a scholarship in her memory. It was finally the increasing hegemony of the LTTE and its suppression of all independent, democratic organizations that did not “toe the line” that pushed the Mothers’ Front in the north and east into political conformism and reduced its wide appeal and pushed it towards militancy (*Tamil Guardian*, April 2020).

Women for Peace

Since the 1980s, women feminists in Sri Lanka have also spent a great deal of energy on promoting a peaceful and politically negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict. Various feminist peace groups have spoken out against the increased militarization of Sri Lankan society, published articles and books on the ideological underpinnings of ethnic conflict, documented and protested human rights violations by the state as well as militant groups, set up peace education programs in schools, organized peace demonstrations, pickets, and vigils. The committed efforts of several feminist groups to call for an end to the war and to highlight the shared suffering of both Tamil and Sinhala women as a result of this war led to their stressing the shared histories and cultures of the Sinhalese and Tamils - through articles, songs, and videos and fostering greater understanding between the two groups by offering free Tamil classes, organizing goodwill missions to the north and east, and setting up various trauma-counselling and income-generating projects in the conflict zones (Hyndman and Alwis, 2003).

Women in post-conflict scenario

In 2015, the Sri Lankan government under Maithripala Sirisena promised to implement a range of measures to address the history of past abuses; to pursue truth, justice, and accountability; to provide redress to victims. These measures include four transitional justice processes:

- (i) a mechanism to search for the disappeared,
- (ii) an office for reparations,
- (iii) a truth commission,
- (iv) and a judicial mechanism.

The government's promises were affirmed in the United Nations Human Rights Council Resolution 30/1 of 2015. Till date, only one of the four promised transitional justice processes, the Office of Missing Persons (OMP), has been established. The OMP is significant because it is the first permanent body to address the issue of the missing and disappeared in Sri Lanka (Jayakody, 2017). However, its creation came after a series of commissions were established to investigate cases of missing or disappeared persons, but proved to be unsuccessful and failed to contribute to accountability (International Commission of Jurists, May 2024). The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in a report released on 17 May 2024, titled "Accountability for Enforced Disappearances in Sri Lanka", notes the near total impunity enjoyed by perpetrators of widespread enforced disappearances over four decades and a systematic failure to account for the fate and whereabouts of victims (United Nations Human Rights, May 2024).

The final phase of the armed conflict between the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was replete with serious international humanitarian law and gross human rights violations constituting crimes under international law by all parties. So far, the authorities have failed to conduct independent, impartial investigations into these crimes with a view to ensuring accountability. A draft Bill proposing the establishment of a Commission for Truth, Unity and Reconciliation which was gazetted in

January 2024 lacked transparency and was not adequately consultative, gender-responsive or victim-centered. Despite growing debate and discussion on reconciliation in Sri Lanka, Tamil women, including Christians, Hindus and Muslims, continue to be sidelined, with their perspectives not having been fully integrated into the mainstream discourse on justice and peace (Human Rights Watch, January 2024). There have been arbitrary seizures of land and Hindu religious shrines by some members of the Buddhist clergy with the support of the military and other government authorities. The Prevention of Terrorism Act continues to be deployed in violation of the rule of law. In the north and east, many families of the disappeared, former LTTE combatants, journalists, and human rights defenders have continued to face harassment, intimidation and surveillance in an atmosphere of heavy militarization. Women held in internment camps in 2009 and 2010 were subject to sexual violence. There have also been an estimated 3,000 captured or surrendered women LTTE fighters—many of them forcibly recruited—sent to military-run rehabilitation centers, where, again, there are credible allegations of rape and sexual abuse (Human Rights Watch, 2026). Ongoing militarization across the conflict-affected north and east has again put former LTTE female fighters at risk of sexual abuse and extortion. The wives and mothers of the disappeared, who have led years-long continual protests for truth and international justice, have faced threats, violence, and sexual harassment.

The environment of threat and insecurity prevails heavily for women, especially widows and single women in Sri Lanka. Successive Sri Lankan governments have failed to hold security force members accountable for wartime sexual violence or for other serious human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, torture, and enforced disappearances. Due to decades

of impunity in Sri Lanka, Tamil victims and advocates have lost faith in the domestic justice system and started looking for justice elsewhere (Manuel, May 2025).

The United Nations human rights chief has noted the importance of states “using all potential forms of jurisdiction,” including extraterritorial and universal jurisdiction, to investigate and prosecute international crimes committed in Sri Lanka to end “systematic impunity”? The UN Human Rights office’s “Sri Lanka Accountability Project,” which gathers evidence for potential prosecutions and other accountability processes can be another avenue. It was renewed by the UN Human Rights Council in October 2025 for two years. Tamil activists criticise the resolution by calling it hollow, government-praising and inadequate.

However, scholars have pointed out that public testimonies and even nostalgia about the civil war is largely gendered in nature in Sri Lanka. On the one hand, women who come forward are often retraumatized by recounting their experiences in public. It is not cathartic. Secondly, their historical recounting of events often does not fulfil the condition for factual evidence, which leaves them helpless in achieving justice for themselves. In minority women, recollections of traumatic events often involve blaming men from majority ethnic groups as perpetrators of violence. For example, Tamil women rarely level charges against the LTTE. They blame the Sinhalese in the Sri Lankan military for gendered atrocities. Witnesses in public truth-telling initiatives also develop expectations of reciprocity or compensation, for example in the form of reparations, which influence the stories told. However, when expectations are not fulfilled, truth-telling may reify existing power imbalances and reinforce perceptions of being marginalized (Hoguland, 2019). An analysis of the South African Truth and

Reconciliation Commission (TRC) distinguishes between two forms of testimonies by women that are common:

1. expert witnesses in relation to the men in their lives (sons, husbands, etc.), so-called secondary witnesses, and
2. witnesses as victims of sexually motivated crimes.

In essence, women testifying during transitional justice processes are likely to be influenced by the roles ascribed to women by the gendered constructs present in a particular social context. Post-war realities in Sri Lanka includes persistent militarization and manifest asymmetric power relationships between victims and perpetrators that influence witnesses also in more subtle ways. At the political level, official truth commissions with the explicit aim of contributing to reconciliation may be a means by which political elites evade accountability while still pursuing the ideas of co-existence. The launch of a public inquiry can also sometimes be a political strategy by a government, including to counter external pressure. At the individual level, individual fears of reprisal interplay with the politically polarized situation. Justice remains gendered in its notional construction and apparent or effective delivery (Hoguland, 2019).

Current political scenario

Women constitute 52% of Sri Lanka's population (UNDP, 2026). There are 22 women elected Members of Parliament in the National People's Power government of Anura Kumara Dissanayake. This is the highest number of female MPs in Sri Lanka's history, including the first female MP from the Malayagam community, which marks a historic milestone. The present government has pledged for 50% women's representation in politics. On March 8, 2026, in his message to the nation on International Women's Day, the

Dissanayake administration highlighted that International Women's Day is an opportunity to recognize the vital role of women in Sri Lanka's economic, political, social, and cultural development. He emphasized that women contribute significantly to the national economy and their appreciation should not be restricted to a single day. Beyond their unpaid role as homemakers, they are key contributors to varied sectors like garments, plantations, foreign employment, health, education, and other services. He expressed gratitude for the dedication and resilience of Sri Lankan women, noting that their efforts played an important role in the country's economic progress in 2025. He further noted that the Government is working to ensure gender equality, strengthen women's rights, and address violence and discrimination in all areas of life. The President also stressed the importance of empowering women through entrepreneurship in the digital and green economy, while commending this year's Women's Day theme, "In a Thriving Nation – She Leads with Determination," and inviting women to actively participate in building a progressive and just society (*Adaderana.lk*, March 2026). Since his swearing in as the President, Dissanayake has stressed that his government aims at providing social support for women-headed households and offering assistance to victims of gender-based violence. He plans institutionalize sexual and reproductive health rights of women and celebrate themes of gender equality like International Women's Day.

Concluding Comments

Sri Lankan women must claim agency. They must reshape the way society and the world perceive them in the present era. Their social stigmatization must be dispelled through consistent political and legal advocacy. Women must continue to demand greater representation in public spaces and active politics. Programs on empowerment and awareness must

be conducted at the levels of school and higher education to ensure development at the grassroots. Media advocacy must be carefully practised to regularly apprise the international community of women's issues and pressurize the government to take note of urgent developments. The interventions and audits by international agencies like the United Nations and Human Rights Watch must be tempered by complementary activities of dedicated local NGOs to elicit cooperation by the government for domestic requirements of women. Women must be a united force within civil society to empower themselves in a rapidly changing South Asia. Women cannot erase their past; but they can build a future for their girls which is unblemished by the patriarchal victimizations, social burdens of the previous generations and scars of war.

References:

Adaderena.lk. March 8, 2026. "President Dissanayake calls for expanding women's entrepreneurship in digital and green economy", <https://www.adaderana.lk/news.php?nid=119409>

Alison, Miranda. 2003. "Cogs in the Wheel? Women in the Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam", *Civil Wars*, Volume 6, No.4, pp.37-54. DOI: 10.1080/1369824042000221367

Friedman, Rebekka and Hannah Partis-Jennings. March 24, 2025. "Gendered Nostalgia and Post-War Sri Lanka: Women's Perspectives on Loss and Violence", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2025.2472218>

Hogulund, Kristine 2019. "Testimonies Under Threat: Women's Voices and the Pursuit of Justice in Post-War Sri Lanka", *Human Rights Review*, Volume 20, pp.361-382. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12142-019-0549-3>

Human Rights Watch. 2026. "Sri Lanka: Events of 2025." *World Report 2026*, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2026/country-chapters/sri-lanka#:~:text=The%20United%20Nations%20human%20rights,rights%20and%20religious%20rights%20violations.>

Human Rights Watch. January 29, 2024. "Sri Lanka: New Transitional Justice Process lacks Credibility: UN Human Rights Council Engagement Remains Vital to Ensure Justice for Atrocity Crimes." <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/01/29/sri-lanka-new-transitional-justice-process-lacks-credibility>

Hyndman, Jennifer and Malathi de Alwis. Fall/Winter 2003. "Beyond Gender: Towards a Feminist Analysis of Humanitarianism and Development in Sri Lanka", *Women's Studies Quarterly*, Volume 31, No. 3/4

International Commission of Jurists. May 23, 2024. "Sri Lanka: 15 years after end of war, victims and survivors still await justice and accountability." <https://www.icj.org/sri-lanka-15-years-after-end-of-war-victims-and-survivors-still-await-justice-and-accountability/>

Malathi De Alwis. 2002. "The Changing Role of Women in Sri Lankan Society," *Social Research*, Volume 69, No.3.

Manoranjana, Tasha. November 16, 2014. "Gendered Genocide: Sri Lanka's War Against Tamils", *Tamil Guardian*. <https://www.tamilguardian.com/index.php/content/gendered-genocide-sri-lankas-war-against-tamils>

Manoranjana, Tasha. "Beaten but Not Broken: Tamil Women in Sri Lanka", *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 11, No.2, Summer/Fall 2010.

Manuel, Stacey-Leigh, May 16, 2025. "Sri Lanka's Tamil Women Await Justice 16 years Since War's End: United Nations should Renew Critical Accountability Efforts", *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/05/16/sri-lankas-tamil-women-await-justice-16-years-wars-end>

Nadesha Jayakody. December 13, 2017. "To Prosecute or Not to Prosecute: The Need for Justice in Post-Conflict Sri Lanka", *United Nations University, Centre for Policy Research*. <https://unu.edu/cpr/blog-post/prosecute-or-not-prosecute-need-justice-post-conflict-sri-lanka#:~:text=The%20current%20government%20led%20by,investigate%20and%20prosecute%20alleged%20perpetrators.>

Rivero, Kate de. June 2000. "War and its Impact on Women in Sri Lanka", *Refugee Watch*, published by the Mahanirban

Calcutta Research Group. <http://www.mcrp.ac.in/War%20and%20women%20in%20Sri%20Lanka.pdf> UNDP, Sri Lanka. 2026. 'Gender Equality', <https://www.undp.org/srilanka/our-focus/gender-equality>

Tamil Guardian. April 19, 2020. "Remembering Annai Poopathy: 1932-1988",

<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/remembering-annai-poopathy#:~:text=Breadcrumb,Eelam%20Tamils%20across%20the%20globe>.