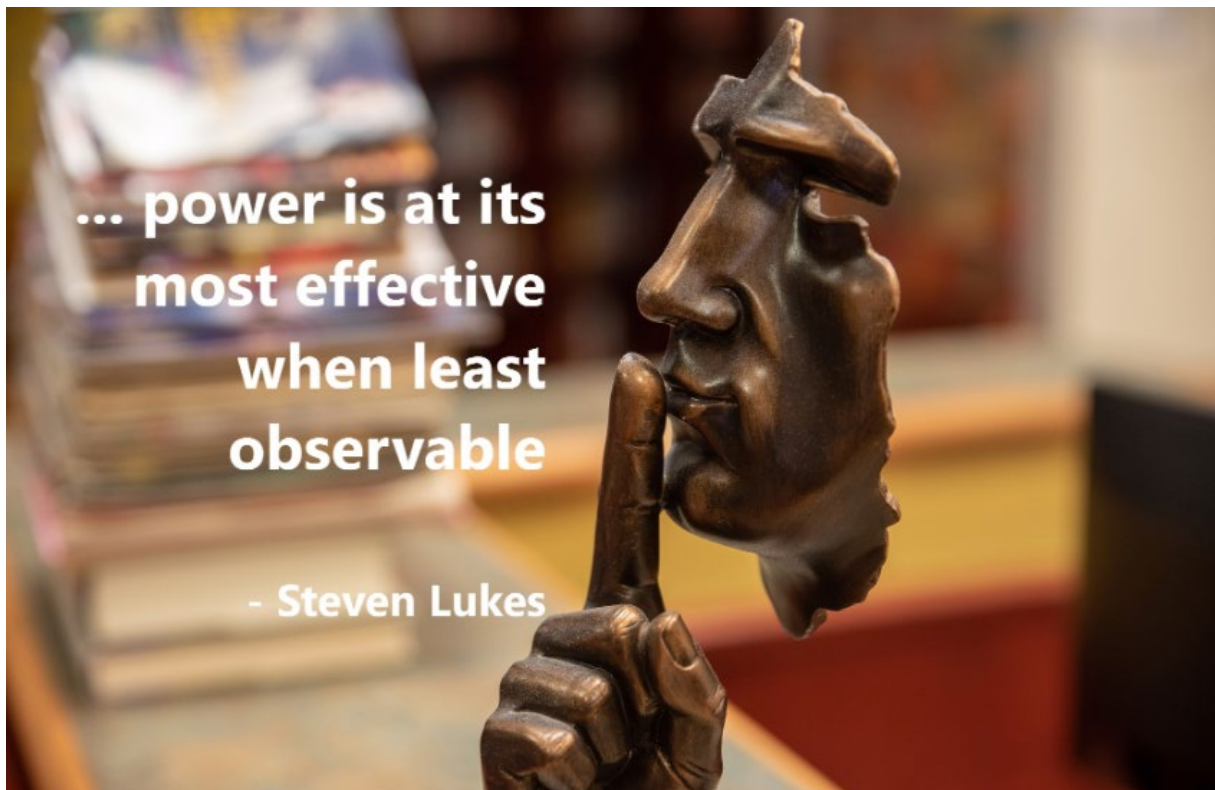


Business Management Authority After Years of War.

Post-War Rehabilitation as the Foundation for Legitimate Relationships
with Business for Peace Managers at the Workplace.



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Summary

Since the war-conclusion in Sri Lanka 2009, rehabilitation camps were set up to rehabilitate ex-combatants into 'good and useful' citizens. Contemporary, Virtusa Corporation cooperated with the Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation (BCGR) for the integration of vocational training and labour into the rehabilitation program. With the provision of labour and vocational training, these so called 'business for peace' corporations claim to have worked on a win-win-peace scenario for states, corporations, and rehabilitated citizens.

However, liberal peacebuilding still subdues individuals to relations of domination. In post-war rehabilitation programs aimed at economic rehabilitation, people are being rehabilitated into such relations with business for peace management authority. All the while vocational training and labour positions were provided in cooperation with the victorious military of Sri Lanka.

Thereby, the unitary presentation of interest in business and peace fails to consider conflicting interests on power in peace. After years of war, it can be questioned how rehabilitation is going to leverage the perceptions on legitimate management authority while having conflicting interests regarding power in the orchestration of peace.

In particular, the joint venture between the militarized BCGR and Virtusa Corporation sparks questions about the legitimacy of the business for peace management authority once Virtusa is associated with the militarized rehabilitation program. In the first place, how did the rehabilitation strategy aim to construct a sense of legitimacy towards business for peace management authority among the rehabilitees? A group that had previously been perceived as hostile by the military organization. Then, how do the rehabilitees legitimize the business for peace management authority under the conditions of rehabilitation camps? By exploring these questions, this study aimed to explore the formation of legitimacy towards business for peace management authority amidst of the post-war rehabilitation camps.

To elucidate the rehabilitation strategy, I constructed four hypothetical explanations on legitimacy. First, coercion aimed at bodily control. This includes strategic actions that impede the autonomy of rehabilitees. In theory, coercion enforces compliance but does not construct legitimacy. A second explanation focuses on returnment. Rehabilitees receive something in return for their subjection. However, subjection based on returnment depend on conditional factors. It can be questioned how ingrained the experienced legitimacy remains if these factors change. A third explanation concerns deception. Rehabilitees disguise their grievances and express themselves in such a way that they have internalized the outlook of subordination to give the very impression of accepted legitimacy. The fourth explanation is a mixture of all of above. The process of socialization should discipline the behaviour and later convictions of rehabilitees resulting in a constructed understanding on legitimate management authority to the extent that the authority is perceived as naturally.

The study is built on some theoretical conceptualizations. First, I do elaborate on the conceptualization between corporations and rehabilitation to clarify corporate behaviour in alignment of state-led rehabilitation. Once conceptualized, I establish a theory of conflict between rehabilitees and business for peace managers. This explains why managers are required to seek for legitimacy to maintain their authority. Prior to this, I explore the nature of legitimate authority. For some, authority is understood by normative justifications. However, I adhere to the anarchist theory that perceives the individual human being as inherently autonomous. Therewith, authority does not need justification, but it needs legitimacy.

In the analysis, I observed a constant alternation of arguments on business and peace. On one side, rehabilitation authorities express a view on labour in which labour is seen as a solution or

blessing in the interest of the rehabilitees. This is alternated with an understanding in which a person that practices labour is seen as 'a good citizen.' So, the economy is serving the interests of rehabilitees, but simultaneously rehabilitees are expected to serve the economy and national development by practicing labour and vocational training.

Another observation concerns the justification of power. A lot of systems and tools are deployed on behalf of the rehabilitee's interest but simultaneously install mechanisms of control and surveillance. Therefore, means of coercion are combined with supportive means that provide something in return in support of the rehabilitee's well-being. Strikingly is that the justifications derive from an understanding in which "ex-combatants" are perceived as 'deprived' or 'brainwashed' in need of support. By contrast, voices of rehabilitees on what they perceive as 'well-being' are not included and further attention on legitimacy is absent in the rehabilitation strategy.

Therewith, the rehabilitation discourse misaligns with the data for the second question. In the eyes of rehabilitees, the strategic efforts are mainly perceived as forms of surveillance and regulative measurements that detract from the legitimacy towards management authority connotated with the militarized rehabilitation program.

Therewith, normative justifications used for rehabilitation strategies pale in comparison with the experienced legitimacy in the perspective of rehabilitees. This mismatch takes place between the normative justification for power interventions and the experienced legitimacy of rehabilitees. The observed compliance is rather explained by the hypothetical explanation about deception in relation with coercion and conditional returns during the program. Based on the available data, no evidence is found to support the hypothetical explanation on 'successful' socialization.

For corporations and business for peace managers, the recommendation follows to pre-assess the dynamic between normative justification and experienced legitimation. Therewith, it is inadequate to align the corporate statement with formal narratives on rehabilitation in similar cases as in Sri Lanka. Corporations should consider how joint rehabilitation efforts are being perceived by those subjected to it. If not considered, the case study of Sri Lanka demonstrates that efforts could lead to misaligned discourses on labour and management authority once the corporation is connotated with militarized and feared state-led rehabilitation. Efforts that rather lead to detraction on legitimate management authority in the view of rehabilitees.

Acknowledgement

During my master specialization in Conflict, Territories & Identities, I became acquainted with the concept of Business for Peace. With my former education in business administration and a later voluntary course on Political Power, the theoretical combination of this study was formed.

From this theoretical interest, I started searching for appropriate case studies to inquire my theoretical questions on business, peace, and power struggles. Therefore, I have considered and explored multiple post-war environments.

I would like to thank everyone who participated the informal and exploratory interviews during my search for case-studies. In particular, the informants who were willing to provide advice on doing research.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction of the topic

In Sri Lanka, a civil war occurred between 1983 and 2009. The war occurred between Sri Lanka's Army forces, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who held control over the northern regions. Even before 1983, the Tamil minority upheld a sense of grievance in which they felt constrained in social and economic rights (Ganguly, 2018). Later during the war, the LTTE became known for their suicide attacks (Roberts, 2008). Foreign papers reported in secular understanding of the LTTE as it was assumed that their fanaticism is born of indoctrination from childhood (Idem, 2008). The secular understanding was challenged by Roberts who certainly observed ideological and ritual expressions concerning motifs of rebirth, fruitful afterlife, and self-sacrifice. Evident is that by the end of war, different views on former LTTE combatants circulated, including different explanations for their actions and status by the end of the war in 2009. In May 2009, the LTTE admitted their defeat what formally brought an end to the warring parties. Since then, rehabilitation camps were set up by the Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation (BCGR). As ex-combatants were perceived as being brainwashed, the BCGR aimed to rehabilitate 'ex-combatants' into 'good and useful citizens' (BCGR, 2013).

From the beginning of the camps, economic growth and business had been an integral part of the rehabilitation program (Ministry of Disaster Management and Human Rights – Sri Lanka, 2009). Therefore, the rehabilitation program was set up in cooperation with private partners. Four years later, the UN Global Compact granted a Business for Peace Award to the international Virtusa Corporation for the provision of vocational training and labour positions in cooperation with the BCGR (Un Global Compact Reports, 2013).

These formal UN institutions involved in business for peace uphold the liberal idea that peace is brought by productivity and economic growth. They claim that corporations can contribute make the world a better place and argue that business for peace is a win-win scenario for corporations and citizens (Business for Peace Foundation 2022; UN Global Compact, 2024).

However, peace brought by economic wealth still subdues the individuals to relation of power and hierarchy (Pugh, 2005). All the while 'Business for Peace' presents the desire for peace and business as a unitary interest. Although peace and business can be desired by all actors, the unitary presentation fails to consider differences and conflicts within the aligned interest in business and peace. Conflict that can detract from the experienced legitimacy towards management authority.

This ignorance is problematic as business for peace management authority requires a degree of legitimacy to function well. Namely, 'The body becomes only a useful force if it is both a productive body and a subordinated body' (Foucault 1977 p. 26, cited in Knights & Collinson, 1987). It is therefore that managers need to be concerned about the dynamics of legitimacy and authority.

In the case of Sri Lanka, the required legitimacy cannot be taken for granted. First, the business for peace activities are conducted in a joint venture with the militarized rehabilitation program. As the military had previously been at war with the rehabilitees, it remains questionable to what extent this hostility can be overcome by rehabilitation efforts. Second, post-conflict environments include alternatives to the prospected peace and labour by the joint venture. For example, informal labour, criminal activities and re-organisation of violent endeavours provide alternative forms of livelihood (Nilsson 2005). And third, a military apparatus acting as a conduit

for the organisation of economic relations raises concerns on fair economic competition, human laws and balances of power (Law & Society Trust, 2017).

This raises extra concerns about the legitimacy of business for management authority that cooperates with such militarized authorities on rehabilitation. Therefore, this study inquires how the legitimacy towards business for peace authority is anticipated by the rehabilitation strategies and how the implementation of the strategy is perceived by the rehabilitees.

For the first question, the study examines the strategic deployment of rehabilitation techniques in the rehabilitation camps between 2009 and 2011 towards four theoretical explanations on legitimacy. The four explanations enable to elucidate a degree of (il)legitimacy. This can be contrasted with data from rehabilitees on how they perceived the business for peace management authority, all the while being exposed to the rehabilitation techniques.

1.2 Social Relevance

This study is specifically relevant for business for peace corporations that contribute to rehabilitation programs. Corporations that pursue productivity and thereby recruit loyal employees amidst people that are being rehabilitated in post-war rehabilitations programs. Namely, 'The body becomes only a useful force if it is both a productive body and a subordinated body' (Foucault 1977 p. 26, cited in Knights & Collinson, 1987). Generally, most corporations should pursue a degree of legitimacy to their management authority to work with productive employees.

However, this legitimacy in the relation between managers and employees is not limited to the corporate environment but is rather mutually related to socio-economic conditions. In the context of post-war Sri Lanka, this entails that corporations should anticipate the dynamics on legitimacy in rehabilitation programs aimed on economic rehabilitation.

For the corporations, the post-war rehabilitation camps are aimed at potential employees. Once a corporation starts to cooperate with authorities on rehabilitation, the operational in and outs of the rehabilitation program are likely to be associated with the cooperating corporation. This makes the rehabilitation program of direct concern for corporations as the socio-economic conditions in the camps can affect the legitimacy in the relationship between managers and future employees.

It is therefore relevant for corporations to obtain a well-defined understanding on how the ideas on business for peace authority are being educated in rehabilitation programs and whether the management authority is perceived as legitimate. As this study inquires the rehabilitations techniques in comparison with how the techniques are perceived by the rehabilitees, the study provides a useful framework to reflect on historic and future joint ventures with post-war rehabilitation programs.

The hypothetical explanations on legitimacy are also relevant for the rehabilitees. Namely, some of the explanations focus on subtle forms on power aimed to prevent overt conflict from arising (Lukes, 2005). Such a process of socialization makes it impossible to overtly observe conflicting interest once conducted successfully. Although the methodology cannot determine someone's real or rather shaped interest, it is able to provide understanding on the structural context under which certain relations of power and legitimacy are formed. Therewith, the methodology provides a framework for reflection on labour relations with business for peace authorities that are formed under the conditions of rehabilitation.

1.3 Scientific Relevance

Essentially, this research integrates three scientific disciplines concerning Power & Political Theory, Conflict studies on Business for Peace, and Scientific Management studies.

Components of the study Power and Political Theory form the foundation of this research on legitimacy, power, and authority. To one extent, the study contributes to discussions concerning the consequences of normative and anarchistic reasoning about authority. Furthermore, the study contributes to the analysis of power grounded on the third-dimensional view of Lukes. According to Lukes, 'A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but A also exercises power over him by influencing and shaping B's very wants' (Lukes, 2005 p. 27). Therewith, the approach touches missing element in former and pluralist theories on legitimation. (Gaventa as cited in Lukes, 2005 p. 131).

The study of Power and Political Theory is applied on the empirical level at the workplace. The integration of political theory to management studies is not unique and explored by many scholars referred to in the theoretical framework. However, management studies do mainly collect data in stable societal business environments. As corporate behaviour is affected by historic-contingent conditions (Prechel, 2000), and as management relations with employees change under different socio-economic circumstances (Myers, 2013), it becomes relevant to apply these studies on post-war rehabilitation programs. This because the post-conflict environments include alternatives to labour concerning informal labour, criminal activities and even re-organisation of violent endeavours to develop a form of livelihood (Nilsson 2005). Therewith, the role of legitimate management relations with employees becomes relevant for studies on conflict and peace.

For studies on conflict and peace, Business for Peace is increasingly explored and becomes a standardized component for the United Nations Global Compact (Miklian & Schouten, 2014). Schouten points out in his conclusion that the concept of business for peace requires better theory and research instead of the compartmentalization business operations and Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives of multinational corporations that engage in post-conflict and peace environments (Miklian & Schouten, 2014). Therefore, this study conceptualizes the corporation's relation to Sri Lanka's state-led rehabilitation program that aims to orchestrate peace. Then, the win-win scenario claimed in United Nations Global Compact Awards (Business for Peace Foundation 2022; UN Global Compact, 2024) is critically assessed resulting into methodological insights on implications for corporate joint ventures with state-led rehabilitation programs on business and legitimacy.

1.4 Research objective and research questions

The concept of business for peace claims a win-win scenario in the alignment between corporations and rehabilitation program for states, corporations, and rehabilitated citizens due to the provision of labour and vocational training. However, labour in peace still subdues individuals to relations of domination. The unitary presentation of interest in peace fails to consider these conflicting interests on power. Nonetheless, corporations gain from securing a rehabilitees reality in which business for peace management authority is perceived as 'legitimate.' However, with the former events in war, a legitimate perception towards an authority that cooperates in a militarized rehabilitation program is not to be taken for granted. Therefore, this study aims to explore following questions:

How does the joint ventured rehabilitation strategy (2009) of the BCGR and Virtusa attempt to construct the rehabilitees' perception on legitimate business for peace management authority?

- a. To what extent does the rehabilitation strategy leverage coercion?

- b. To what extent does the rehabilitation strategy leverage returnment?
- c. To what extent does the rehabilitation strategy leverage socialization?

B: How do rehabilitees legitimize business for peace management authority under the exposure of rehabilitation strategy between 2009 and 2011?

- a. To what extent do rehabilitees experience coercion?
- b. To what extent do rehabilitees experience returnment?
- c. To what extent do rehabilitees experience deception?
- d. To what extent do rehabilitees experience socialization?

Both questions are supplemented with sub-questions concerning the four hypothetical explanations on legitimacy. For question A, the rehabilitation attempts can be elucidated by the theory on coercion, returnment, or socialization. As the explanation on deception is not something to aim for by rehabilitation officials, it is excluded for question A. However, forms of deception can certainly occur amidst rehabilitation programs and can be revealed in the data for question B.

1.5 Reading Guide

Chapter one has introduced the topic and a brief indication on the war-termination in Sri Lanka 2009. It has been argued how the rehabilitation events in Sri Lanka can provide new insights for inconsistency between different scientific debates. For social relevance, it has been explained how this study aims to be useful for business for peace corporations and rehabilitees. Two main question is posted and supplemented with sub questions about the hypothetical explanations on legitimacy.

Chapter two presents the Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Model. The theoretical framework commences to discuss literature on business for peace followed by a conceptualization of business in relation to state-led rehabilitation. Then, the conceptualization is contrasted with critical theories on peace. The theoretical framework follows with elaboration on the nature of authority to elucidate the concept of power and legitimacy. Shifting from these discussions on macro-level, the theoretical framework is narrowed down to the empirical level of the corporation, discussing critical literature on business management and labour relations. Finally, the theoretical framework leads to the development of the conceptual model concerning four theoretical explanations on legitimacy. Of these, the fourth explanation is hypothesized.

Chapter three concerns the Methodology of this research. The research questions are reflected to what they require for finding valid answers. Grounded on the research questions, an appropriate methodology is developed and structured. The chapter continues to present what data is collected followed by a section on limitations and ethical considerations. Then, the methodology is subjected to a reflection on how the observations can be interpreted and how inferences can be drawn. The chapter ends with a practical explanation on how the observations are coded.

Chapter four presents a selection of data-results from the analysis in Atlas.ti 9. For question A, the inductive data is presented first. In a second section, data what is related to the four explanations on legitimacy is presented. The chapter ends with data for question B.

Chapter five builds on chapter four in which the data-results of all questions are discussed in triangulation with the theoretical framework and the four hypothetical explanations on legitimacy. In the discussion, relations are interpreted and formulated into conclusions. The conclusion ends with a recommendation and an interpretation about the significance of the conclusions for the societal and scientific relevance.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Business for peace and state-led rehabilitation programs.

Around 1995, formal institutions such as the United Nations (UN), the World Economic Forum (WEF), and a selection of executives from multinational corporations (MNC), started to formally recognise the role of corporations in warring environments. The renewed insights compared to the former more passive 'do no harm' attitude led to the founding of the UN Global Compact in 1999 (Bennet, 2002). Henceforth, intention statements are publicly signed, and corporations can now participate in the formal business for peace initiatives of the UN Global Compact (Business for Peace Foundation, 2022; UN Global Compact, 2024). Until today, formal ceremonies are held, and corporations can win the Business for Peace Award. As such, corporation like Virtusa and Nestlé have been praised by the UN Global Compact for their contributions to peace in Sri Lanka after the end of the war in 2009.

Previously, the corporation was conceptualized as a docile and detached entity. However, with business for peace, it shifted towards a conceptualization in which a business can be construed as an entity inherently part of the social-political life (Prechel, 2000). In this definition, corporations can no longer be perceived as detached but rather as mutually intertwined with socio-economic conditions. An approach which is today also known as stakeholder management.

Externally, a corporation can act as a political actor in response to social-economic conditions. They can align their internal agendas with the public policies and social-economic developments, or they can attempt to influence institutional arrangements and social developments for overcoming constraints to their profit-making (Kolko, 1963; Prechel, 2000 p. 10). In this case of peace, corporations develop an interest in social stability for means of production, labour, and other requirements for profit accumulation (Mitchell, 2002; Prechel, 2000).

Internally, capitalist and managers can discipline their internal organization onto certain achievements. Using this theoretical approach, it makes sense to see corporations as actors that respond economically to conditions as violence, peace programs and major opportunities on resources and labour. Then, the corporate interests can coincide as both the state, citizens, and capitalists depend on each other to ensure stability and peace (Levine, 1988 as cited in Prechel, 2000). Once aligned, business for peace can be presented as a universal win-win situation for the state, citizens, and the corporations.

In this understanding of corporations, business activities can either foster peace as contribute to war. To focus on peace, scholars found viable examples in which economic growth and business activities deprived the incentives for violence (Oetzel et al, 2010). However, the relation between business productivity and peace can be understood in two different currents. On one hand, adherents of the doctrine Milton Friedman perceive maximum profit making and free market principles as inherent contributors to peace (Bennet, 2002). The inference includes that if individuals strive for maximum profit throughout organizational structures, the overall macro-economic growth will benefit everyone (Miklian & Schouten, 2014).

However, Oetzel et al also acknowledges the counterfactual of business exacerbating wars. The corporation's relation to social spheres of life is not automatically a guaranteed formula towards peace (Oetzel et al, 2010). A stronger case can be made by theories that highlight the relation of socio-economic conditions and the corporate behaviour to foster peace or rather war (Oetzel et al, 2010; Prechel, 2000). This other current is called 'positive liberal peace' and finds more merit

in the constructability of social-economic conditions to make peace happen (Miklian & Schouten, 2014).

This positive liberal peace focusses more on the requirements for liberal peace to work out properly. The idea is that a corporation is able to foster peace provided that they take 'corporate social responsibility' or work under codes of conducts (Bennet, 2002). Another key point of this current is the focus on the constructability of a society. Herein, NGOs, rule of law, (governmental) institutions and code of conducts are seen as pivotal elements in ensuring a successful relation between business and peace (Miklian & Schouten, 2014). The inference is that once the conditions are met, peace seems plausible and therefore corporations, NGOs, and state institutions should join forces to accomplish the conditions.

The above stated inference explains the joint venture of Virtusa and the state-led rehabilitation program. In this form of positive liberal peace, Virtusa Corporation and the BCGR state institution join forces to orchestrate peace. By doing so, both actors adhere to ideas on the constructability of peace. A peaceful post-war society what can be achieved by rehabilitation and supplemented rehabilitation techniques targeted on society and citizens to be rehabilitated.

However, the corporate behaviour to respond to peace and rehabilitation programs is economically driven. Therefore, I argue that the business for peace commitment should not be mistaken for mere altruistic motivations. Although the state, corporation and citizens might share an interest in the stability of peace, the underlying motivations for commitment are not identical. In the next section, I will explore more on the conflict within peace and the question whether peace can be assumed to be pursued by all actors involved of the win-win presented business for peace.

2.2 Conflict within peace

The concept of business for peace is promoted by the UN Global Compact and corporations are even rewarded with formal Business for Peace Awards (Business for Peace Foundation, 2022; UN Global Compact, 2024). However, the previous section made evident that the aligned interest in peace includes different motives. Therewith, the argument for the pursuance of peace is not equal to all actors.

According to Confucius, peace comes from social harmony and equilibrium and should be pursued by humanity (Barash & Webel, 2018). Yet, the argument is insufficient to support the win-win claim of business for peace once considered the following definitions on peace. Namely, in the definition of Tacitus, (inner) peace becomes empty at the end and rather mislead the individual into a false quietude (Idem, 2013). Furthermore, 'peace is not isolated from power and domination,' for what he even perceives power and 'real peace' as mutually exclusive (Luhman, 1969 p.157 cited in Penta, 1996).

This is telling as the unitary interest of business and peace can include a false quietude in a synthesis with the struggle on power and domination. According to Pugh, peace still subdues the individuals to relation of power and hierarchy (Pugh, 2005). This results in the definition of peace to what I adhere to for this research. *'Peace is still war, fought by other means'* (Foucault, 2020). A distinction which is also made by Galtung what he describes as positive and negative peace (Barash & Webel, 2018). Herein, positive peace moves beyond the mere absence of violence and considers structural violence in social-economic issues. (Idem, 2013).

Once applied, the concept of business for peace falls under positive liberal peace what incorporates such social-economic issues and structural violence. In case of Virtusa, the provision of vocational training and labour positions are considered to serve the interest of

rehabilitees (Un Global Compact Reports, 2013). Nonetheless, the conflict within peace remains to exist in two ways. First, business and economics inherently include contradictions between the interest of employees and managers. In section 2.4 I will elaborate on this inherent conflict within business and peace. Second, business for peace assumes that values concerned with business and economic wellbeing are universally pursued by rehabilitees. This brings a burden to the struggle on power and authority in who defines the values to be pursued. After years of war, it cannot be taken for granted that rehabilitees pursue values concerning economic wealth and well-being under business for peace management authority. Let alone that the peace prospect initiated by the joint venture of Virtusa and the BCGR is the only alternative to war.

In post-war environments, informal labour, criminal activities and even re-organisation of violent endeavours provide ways to develop a form of livelihood (Nilsson 2005.). Alternatives that are not unthinkable for Tamils that felt constrained in social and economic rights within the peace situation before 1983 (Ganguly, 2018). Whether the initiated peace prospect including the renewed relations of power and hierarchy is worth to be pursued by rehabilitees is then rather decided by the degree of experienced legitimacy in the eyes of rehabilitees. For this reason, I continue explore the nature of legitimacy authority.

2.3 Nature of legitimate authority

In one approach to power, authority can be understood in the lens of biopolitics. Formerly, power of a state was based on life and death where the sovereign was able to 'take life,' what served to reinforce, control, monitor and organize force (Foucault, 2020; Foucault, 1980). Parallely, power moved towards 'fostering live and disallow death' (Foucault, 2020; Foucault, 1980). Herein, 'administrative power emerged to maintain, develop, and foster life whereby life becomes the object of precise control and comprehensive regulations' (Foucault as cited in Campbell & Sitze, 2013 p.42). A phenomenon that corresponds with rehabilitation and business for peace efforts that claim to act in the interest of rehabilitees. Then, the authority is justified as it aims to improve (economic) wealth and foster peace on behalf of the people. However, this orchestration of power relations to improve the wealth of the citizens simultaneously subjects them to comprehensive regulations (Campbell & Sitze, 2013 p.137). Regulations that reflect the relations of domination and power in peace.

Once applied on the case of Sri Lanka, the provision of vocational training and labour positions are presented in the interest of rehabilitees. Problematic is the taken-for-granted authority once it claims to serve the interest of rehabilitees. Namely, the inference of business for peace assumes that the provision of labour and vocational training is the interest of rehabilitees. This, without considering values and perspectives of the subordinated group on what they themselves prioritize as their interest. Under the LTTE, ideological expressions were observed from the Tamil combatants by Roberts (2008). The observations concerned motifs of rebirth, fruitful afterlife, and self-sacrifice. Values that had less to do with values concerning economics and business. After years of war, it can be questioned whether biopolitical justifications related to the economic values are accepted by the rehabilitees as justification for comprehensive regulations and the renewed power relations within peace.

The argumentations in the concept of business for peace correspond with Hobbesian theorists. They perceive power and authority as an 'a priori normative standard' (Waskan, 1998). In different ways, Hobbesian scholars like Raz and Green seek different groundings on which the authority of can be justified. Their arguments are based on the idea that a certain need for authority pre-exists in a complex society which can only be effectively exercised by administrations (Waskan, 1998; Raz, 1990). These scholars commonly share the absolute idea

that authority should exist, yet they differ slightly on how and on what grounds the authority is justified.

However, in the context of post-war rehabilitation, even the normative argument recalling on effective administration of a complex society can be questioned. Sri Lanka had experienced war for almost 30 years including younger people that grew up without an alternative reality to war, or without trust in society (Thoradeniya, 2022). In that respect, it remains unlikely that normative argumentations should legitimize the authority of a joint venture of which the militarized BCGR had been perceived with enmity by former Tamil combatants.

Therewith, the *a priori* and normative arguments is incompatible with the central notion on which the anarchist approaches emanate. Anarchistic theories derive from the individual human being which is perceived as inherently autonomous. In reaction to Hobbesian theories, they will reject the claim for justified authority even if it claims to foster the wealth and well-being of those subordinated. According to anarchistic approaches, a person always remains autonomous by nature (Wolff, 1990). However, a person can still find good reasons to obey to certain authority. According to Wolff, an individual remains autonomous even if a person is threatened with severe consequences of violence. In that case, the individual remains free to weight the consequences of violence against the consequences of obeying (Wolff, 1990). The inference is that obeying a directive does not mean that the commanding person obtained any normative right for obedience. Vice versa, autonomy does not mean that someone is obstructed to obey to any authority (Raz, 1990). Neither does it mean that an employee who is obeying management restrictions or accepting labour conditions does automatically consent the situation the person is embedded in.

The anarchist notion on authority seems supportive to the claim of Hannah Arendt who said, power does not need justification, it needs legitimacy (Lukes, 2005 p. 32). According to John Schaar, legitimate authority exists if people hold the belief that the authority is appropriate (Schaar cited in Waskan, 1998 p. 33 - 38). In theory, this means that sustainable relations of labour and authority inherently depend on the experienced legitimacy by those who are supposed to subordinate, rather than normative justifications.

In the context of militarized post-war rehabilitation, it remains to be questioned how former hostile perceived military personal contributes to legitimately accepted authority of the cooperating Virtusa management. However, I argue that legitimate Business for Peace management authority inherently depends on the acceptance of rehabilitees. In the next section, I will elaborate why legitimacy is an inevitable issue for business for peace managers. Therewith, the theoretical conflict in peace is narrowed down to the empirical level of the corporation and relation between business for peace managers and rehabilitees.

2.4 Theory of social conflict at the workplace

The conflict within peace is further reflected within the internal politics of corporations. Yet, the inference that business leads to peace is not to be rejected completely. In a post-conflict environment both workers and the corporation can have an aligned interest in economic growth and the provision of jobs. On one side, the corporation is able to provide job opportunities and income for employees. On the other hand, the employee depends on resources, tools, and machines to become productive (Prechel, 2000). Therewith, the labour relationship appears to be a mutually advantageous deal between the corporation and the employee wherein they need each other for different reasons to establish a peaceful and economically developed society.

However, an individual's relation to production is also a relation of domination (Donzelot, 1991 p. 253). The employee's relation to the production process involves systems of regulations,

rewards, and penalties which are exclusively set by the head of the corporation and its management (Idem, 1991; Prechel, 2000). Therewith, a preliminary foundation is set for the theory of conflict on power within the workplace despite the assumed aligned interests in the orchestration of business productivity and peace.

A first indication of conflict can be found in the managerial behaviour. Managers constantly seek for techniques and methods to control and regulate the internal process of social activities (Prechel, 2000; Myers, 2013). To do so, business management studies seem to constantly seek for renewed approaches to engage with potential employees (Myers, 2013). This is necessary as according to Foucault; *'The body becomes only a useful force if it is both a productive body and a subordinated body'* (Foucault 1977 p. 26, cited in Knights & Collinson, 1987). This explains why managers and management studies are generally concerned with justifications and legitimacy of their authority. However, the underlying question is why employees who are supposed to subordinate do not automatically do so? (Burawoy, 1979 as cited in Myers, 2013).

In a Marxist view, it is not without reason that managers constantly need to legitimize their authority. Namely, the employees must produce more value to the purchased materials than they receive in wages to become profitable for a corporation (Marx, 1977 as cited in Myers, 2013). 'Regardless of market prices, capitalist have an interest in maximizing the employee's output by convincing them to perform at a particular speed and according to particular standards' (Myers, 2013 p. 225-226). Therewith, the ambiguity lies in the definition of expected outcomes and the definition of a proper day at work, including labour conditions and salary (Braverman, 1974 as cited in Myers 2013). It is this what brings the employees in a constant conflict with management (Myers, 2013).

The conflicting forces continue to exist outside the workplace environment on a socio-economic level. Namely, the relation between employer and employee is further affected by the degree of material dependency (Rousseau, 1987). For example, the majority of people decide to work for salaries due to a lack of a better way of living (Idem, 1987). Then, the dependency on income forces an employee to comply enough with management directives to remain hired (Myers, 2013). Conversely, the power position of the employee is manifested by the availability of other jobs (Myers, 2013). Herewith, Myers demonstrates that managers need to constantly seek for obedience to the directives and should thereby encounter socio-economic conditions beyond the borders of the company (Myers, 2013). In a study on management handbooks extended over almost a century, Myers strongly demonstrates that the attempt for legitimation constantly adjust to social-economic circumstances and contingent equilibrium between demand and supply in labour. More specifically, his research resulted into a conclusion which claims that in times of labour scarcity, managers tend to highlight values such as 'trust- and teambuilding' to legitimate their authority. Conversely, excess labour availability removes the need for legitimation whereby managers become more transactional (Myers, 2013). In this case, managers have the ability to be less concerned about labour conditions for employees.

What becomes plain from the theory of Myers is that external forces do not only affect the establishment of the relation but also on how the relationship is substantively defined. Therewith, meaning given to labour is difficult to define universally due to changing socio-economic and political circumstances (Donzelot, 1991). For example, meaning given to labour and productivity under the fascist regime in Italy was primarily focussed on the ends of productivity and its contribution for the state apparatus (Donzelot, 1991). Meanwhile in the modern French society, notions like pleasure and self-realization are much more significant in decisions on labour (Idem, 1991).

In a post-conflict situation, the options for individuals are not limited to formal positions of labour. As explained earlier, the informal labour, criminal activities and even re-organisation of violent endeavours are alternative ways to develop a form of livelihood (Nilsson, 2005). Once reflected to the theory of Myers, it is this discourse on labour and different rationales preceding decisions on labour and management authority which should be accommodated by managers who seek for genuine legitimacy.

On top of that, the considerations on legitimacy should include circumstances beyond the mere labour market, as the origins of discourses are not limited to the workplace environment (Knights & Collinson's, 1987). Knights and Collinson's observed a management discourse what misaligned with 'machoism' and 'down to earth' practical sense of reality of manufactural workers (Knights & Collinson, 1987, p. 459). In this case, managers placed emphasis on 'managerial psychology' while the employees adhered to values on enterprising, the self-actualising individual, self-dependency, and freedom (Knights and Collinson, 1987, p. 474). The study is telling because the experienced reality corresponded with discourses formed beyond the walls of the manufacturing hall. Namely, the discourse upheld by the workers was rather aligned with governmental discourses on financial independency than the linguistics used by the managers (Knights and Collinson's, 1987). Something that caused a major misalignment between the employee-management discourse (Idem, 1987).

These theories are telling for businesses that contribute to peace by the provision of labour to rehabilitation programs. Namely, a mismatch is easily made once the rehabilitee's meaning associated to labour and management authority is not understood. Furthermore, the theories provide that socio-economic developments that originate from a war and the orchestration of peace can affect the relationship between managers and potential employees. Vice versa, labour conditions and relations of power and hierarchy in the orchestration of peace can affect the legitimacy of business for peace. It is at this point that the conflict within the orchestration of peace is reflected in the conflicting forces within the corporation between workers and management authority. The inference of 'business for peace' as a unitary interest is thus not to be separated from the struggles and conflicts within corporations and renewed power relations in peace.

So far, the theoretical conflict within peace is narrowed to the empirical level of the corporation and rehabilitation. It is explained why business for peace management authority should be concerned about legitimacy and how the dynamics on legitimacy evolve under rehabilitation programs. With the convictions in constructability in positive liberal peace, it is evident that rehabilitation efforts anticipate on the problem of legitimacy. On the other hand, it remains to inquire how these efforts are being received by the rehabilitees. To elucidate this, I developed four hypothetical explanations on how the joint ventures rehabilitation strategy relates to the formation of legitimacy towards business for peace management authority. Explanations that can later be rejected or confirmed with data on how the strategy is received by the rehabilitees.

2.5 Theoretical Model: Hypothetical Explanations on legitimacy.

Based on the theoretical framework, I developed four hypothetical explanations on how the rehabilitation efforts relate to the formation of rehabilitee's legitimacy towards business for peace management authority. The four explanations concern; Coercion, Returnment, Deception, and Socialization. Therein, techniques deployed by authorities are discussed in relation to legitimate subjection to authority.

Explanation 1: Coercion

A rehabilitation program might use techniques that include forms of coercion. Coercion can be

indicated as an impediment to an individual's autonomy (Owen, 2015). In case of contradicting interests, conflict is overtly expressed, observable, and the subordination to management authority is enforced. With the overtly expressed conflicting interest, power is likely to be met with resistance (Foucault, 2020; Lukes, 2005; Penta, 1996). Therefore, power is the ability to constrain the choices of others, coercing them or securing their compliance by impeding them from living their own nature and judgement (Spinoza as cited in Lukes, 2005). This form of power can also be aimed to take away the resources to resist (Tilly as cited in Lukes, 2005).

In this view on power, compliance is mainly focussed on the capacity of the dominant actor. The capacity of this dominant actor is used to deprive 'the subjected' from means to escape or aims at bodily control of the subject (Spinoza as cited in Lukes, 2005). As power is more concerned with *compliance* to authority, less attention is given to the experienced legitimacy. Namely, once the authority is not recognized, it can hardly be perceived as legitimate (Bachrach & Baratz as cited in Lukes, 2005 p. 22 - 28). This is in line with the warning of Machiavelli that while coercion can lead to results, leaders should avoid being hated (Machiavelli, 1999 as cited in Myers, 2013).

To understand the deployment of coercive means in relation to legitimacy, it should be noted that legitimacy is different than justification. Namely, coercion can also be exercised in favour of the receive whereby A thinks that intervention is better for the interest of B (Lukes, 2005). For instance, A exercises power to enforce B to stop smoking unhealthy cigarettes. Therewith, a valid argument is made to justify the intervention, claiming that coercion is not always against someone's interest. Yet, the intervention remains to impede someone's autonomy (Owen, 2015). Then, if A decides what is good for B, it might fall in paternalistic behaviour or false consciousness about B's interest (Lukes, 2005). For instance, B might not pursue the value of 'health' but rather value 'enjoyment' over 'health.' Moreover, it remains difficult to distinguish whether A is pursuing the interest of B or rather A's own interest, or a mixture of both (Lukes, 2005). This problem corresponds with the *justifications* in biopolitical power in which 'the state' or 'the business' is going to foster the lives of individuals while defining what is good for them (see Chapter 2.4). Initially, this theory of biopolitics is limited to the *justification* of coercive means and so does not guarantee that the inferences are accepted and legitimized by those confronted to it. Thus, what is justified by argumentations is not automatically perceived as legitimate. Therefore, means of coercion will not be a productive form of power as long as the authority is not recognized (Bachrach & Baratz as cited in Lukes, 2005). It is rather important to consider *the mind* or experienced legitimacy of the subordinated. To revisit the example, it is about to convince someone valuing health over enjoyment.

Business for Peace in rehabilitation can be understood in a similar way as the example about smoking. Means of coercion in rehabilitation are not automatically against the interest of rehabilitees, neither automatically in favour. In rehabilitation for the improvement of economic well-being, coercion might be justified. However, it is important that the justifications for coercion are recognized by the rehabilitees. If not, it is likely to be met with covert or overt forms of resistance as it remains to impede the autonomy of rehabilitees (Foucault, 2020; Lukes, 2005; Penta, 1996).

On top of that, it remains hard to distinguish whether and to what extent the rehabilitation strategy serves the interest of rehabilitees, Virtusa, the BCGR or a mixture of all. Moreover, even if coercive means in rehabilitation genuinely serve in the interest of rehabilitees, it remains to fall in paternalistic behaviour in deciding what is good for them (see Chapter 2.3). A presumption can be made by the rehabilitation authorities on the value of economic well-being and business. It is important that rehabilitees are convinced on valuing economic well-being over ideological values that were adhered to during the war or under the authority of the LTTE.

This, to such an extent that it justifies the coercion in the perspective of rehabilitees. If not, the power exertion is not legitimate.

Explanation 2: Returnment

The second explanation considers profound motivations for subordination from the perspective of the rehabilitees. Namely, the rehabilitees receive something in return for the subjection to authority, or the rehabilitees become entangled in the relation of domination by the pursuance to values as esteem or identity in the practice of labour (Tilly 1991 p. 594 as cited in Lukes, 2005). The explanations rely on materialist and culturalist rationales for individuals to subject themselves willingly (Lukes, 2005). However, it does not remove the characteristics of exploitation in the relation of domination as it remains a trade-off (Tilly as cited in Lukes, 2005). Nonetheless, the subjected individual is autonomously able to define and weight its own interest in a consideration of the disadvantages of subjection. This explanation corresponds closely to the *theory of social conflict in the corporation* where corporations and managers try to accommodate material and cultural benefits for their employees (see Chapter 2.4).

This materialist and cultural explanations underly a pluralist approach on power (Lukes, 2005). Therefore, I argue that the observation of material and cultural satisfaction needs some caution in understanding legitimacy. The provision of material and cultural motivations can become a justification instead a legitimation from the perspective of managers and rehabilitation authorities. For example, a business for peace corporation that justifies their corporate activity based on the claim to offer fair salaries. I argue that it is not *salary* alone what legitimizes the relationship but rather because an individual agrees that *salary* is a reasonable motive to subject to a certain relation of authority. To revisit the example of smoking again, someone can be rewarded with fees if he or she stops smoking. Then, someone might value the rewards sufficiently to obey the idea to stop smoking while upholding the desire to smoke. Therefore, the observation of whether certain requirements are met or not, or whether or not certain benefits are provided is not sufficient to examine the experienced legitimacy. Therefore, it should be inquired if the offered benefit is perceived by the employee as sufficient reason for subordination to authority.

What is further problematic with a pluralist view on interests and formal representation is the following: According to Dahl, power is a successful attempt by A to get B to do something he would not otherwise do (Dahl, 1957 as cited in Lukes, 2005 p. 16). Lukes sharply notices that 'a successful' attempt is about the exercise of power observed in decision-making instead of the capacity to do. In this pluralist view, power is measured by assessing a series of decisions that take place in the political spheres (Polsby as cited in Lukes, 2005 p. 17). This will entail for this research that the balance of power can be observed in labour union organizations or formal representations about the rehabilitee's priorities in the pursued positive peace. So, the pluralist methodology on inquiring power is concerned with observable data on decision-making and actual behaviour.

Although the pluralist methodology fits the canons of science mostly, it fails to account for more subtler information beyond the political environment (Merelman as cited in Lukes, 2005 p. 17). This because power what is not exercised might still have the capacity to do so but will remain undetected as it did not happen (yet) (Lukes, 2005). Furthermore, power can be exercised to prevent B from participating in the political environment and decision-making (Bachrach and Baratz as cited in Lukes, 2005) Third, Bachrach and Baratz also demonstrated that intentional non-decision-making can have greater consequences than actual decision-making. Formal justifications and formal representation of interest studied in a pluralist approach will likely ignore these forms of unobservable power. Then, the justification of

authority by material and cultural motivations can easily misalign with how the legitimacy is experienced.

Applied on the example, it was pre-assumed that the benefits of 'fees' would outweigh the desire to smoke. The representation of financial and health interest seemed justified, yet they miscalculated the meaning attached to the desire of smoking or enjoyment compared to values on finance and other returns. Therefore, returnments for subordination to authority do not guarantee that the relation is perceived as legitimate or natural. Furthermore, even if the authority is perceived as legitimate precisely because of the provided returnment, it can be questioned how ingrained the experienced legitimacy remains if these returnments change overtime.

In the aftermath of the war in 2009, many people were displaced, injured and in need of basic needs (Doctors Without Borders – USA, 2009). The rehabilitation camps are in the position to anticipate such shortcomings by providing basic needs as part of the rehabilitation program. However, it is to be inquired whether the returnments weigh enough to comply with the authorities considering the consequences of subordination. Nor is it guaranteed that the provision of vocational training, salaries, and basic needs, actually legitimize the authority. It is plausible that rehabilitees accept the authority because of the returnments but remain resistant to the authority. Similar as accepting the fees to stop smoking yet upholding the desire to smoke.

Explanation 3: Deception

A third explanation is that rehabilitees appear that they have internalized the outlook of subjection to give the authority the very impression of subordination (Scott as cited in Owen, 2015 p. 10). According to the explanation of Tilly; 'the premise of successful subjection is incorrect: subordinates are actually rebelling continuously, but in covert ways' (Tilly as cited in Lukes, 2005 p. 10). Therewith, the mere focus on observable productivity and subordination is incomprehensive as those who are assumed to subordinate can make it appear that they have internalized the outlook of subjection (Scott as cited in Owen, 2015 p. 10). If Scott is right, the appearance of 'legitimate subjection' concluded from the observation of vocational practice and active participation in the rehabilitation program can be explained by deception. Then, grievances or other dissatisfaction over the renewed relations of power and hierarchy can be held covert by individuals for strategic reasons (Lukes, 2005).

These 'invisible' forms of power and covert forms of grievances cannot be observed in a pluralist approach. According to Bachrach and Baratz, the observer is able to determine whether the has any overt or covert grievances beyond the pluralist and formal representations (Bachrach & Baratz as cited in Owen 2015). Therefore, it is important to verify as much data strive for direct or reliable data on the expression and utterances from individuals to render a judgement on the potential involvement of covert grievances. If data indicates any disguise of internalization on the outlook of subordination, observations that appear to indicate legitimate authority must be questioned.

The explanation of deception is plausible considering the former enmity towards the military that is in charge of the rehabilitation camps. If coercion is combined with the provision of returnments, it can autonomously be decided to comply with the authority for strategic reasons.

Explanation 4: Socialization, three explanations intertwined.

In a recap of the former three explanations, power is understood as a relation of domination. Although the focus is mainly concentrated on the dominant actor, the relation is mutual to the extent that the individual is an autonomous being able to weight the consequences of obedience or rather disobedience (Wolff, 1990). Therefore, it became evident that justification is not

sufficient to understand legitimacy. However, the observation of legitimacy is not always trustworthy either.

Now, suppose that the expressions and utterances of subordinated rehabilitees portray a degree of experienced legitimacy in alignment with the business for peace justifications. Then, first hypothesis on coercion can barely be perceived as legitimate and cannot explain how legitimacy is experienced in *'the mind.'* The second hypothesis returnment is more likely to explain a contingent dependent legitimacy. So, if the third explanation can be rejected with any certainty, the relation of power between the dominant actor and the subordinated appears to be legitimate. Then, if both actors are satisfied in their position within the relation of power and perceive it as legitimate, why should I continue to question how rehabilitees legitimate it?

Yet, according to Lukes, 'A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but A also exercises power over him by influencing and shaping B's very wants' (Lukes, 2005 p. 27). Therewith, the fourth explanation is about subjection as a result of mystification, repressions, or the sheer unavailability of alternative ideological frames (Tilly, 1991 as cited in Lukes p. 10). Therein, it is assumed that subordinates are socialized and remain unaware of their true interest. Herein, power to influence and manipulate is exercised to prevent people from having grievances by shaping their perceptions. So, it is a form of power to prevent *conflict* from arising in the first place (Lukes, 2005 p. 27). Then, perceptions are shaped to a degree that individuals perceive their relations of power, such like the authority of business for managers, as natural (Lukes, 2005)

Lukes's theory relies on a structuralist approach where power shapes perceptions and actions of individuals through individuals and its environment (Lukes, 2005 p. 91). Therein, disciplinary techniques are used to not only produce the behaviour of compliance but also to produce the very perception of business for peace authority being legitimate unconditionally. This socialization process internalizes the idea what is desired or should be pursuit to the extent that individuals act in self-constrain and self-surveillance in their subjection to their (shaped) understanding on labour and peace (Lukes, 2005 p. 137 - 138).

The theory of Lukes is able to provide an interesting insight for examining the win-win frame of business for peace in which relations of domination and latent conflict still exist. If Lukes is right, it provides an explanation for how people tacitly acquiesce to certain relations of power and domination in the orchestration of peace.

To understand how this process of socialization works, Tilly added an extra explanation that claimed, 'all of the above' (Tilly, 1991 p. 594 as cited in Lukes p 10). It means that the four hypotheses are not exclusive to each other. Disciplinary power and the constitution of knowledge are not restricted to one of the explanations but are in interrelated (Gaventa, 1980; Tilly as cited in Lukes, 2005). The use of disciplinary and coercive techniques can contribute to the internalization of values and determination of someone's very wants. Therewith, the first explanation can relate to the fourth. According to Sen;

"...underdog learns to bear the burden so well that he or she overlooks the burden itself. Discontent is replaced by acceptance, hopeless rebellion by conformist quiet, and... suffering and anger by cheerful endurance" (Sen 1984: 308-9).

This underwrites the very structuralist expression of Hacking that it is possible to *'make up people'* (Hacking 1986). According to Foucault, policing the normal and abnormal and systematic surveillance can *'mould the soul'* (Foucault 1980, p. 119; Lukes, 2005 p. 191). The inference follows that although in a mundane form, disciplinary means, punishment, and surveillance

govern the environment in which individuals shapes their own selves (Lukes, 2005; Owen, 2015).

The second explanation can relate to the fourth as well. Subordinates can come to accept, and even to legitimate, the arrangements that justify their subordination (Scott as cited in Lukes, 2005 p.129). According to Scott, this is due to the prospect of upward mobility or escape from low status what I see in conjunction with the cultural and material justifications (Idem, 2005).

For the third explanation, deception can eventually lead towards genuine legitimacy. This deception was described by George Eliot as '*acting a mask*' what was answered by Scott that '*acting the mask will eventually find that their faces have grown to fit the mask*' (Scott & Eliot as cited by Lukes, 2005 p. 131).

The fourth explanation encompasses all of the three former explanations in case individuals perceive their relation as a legitimate win-win. Then, the data should serve to detect argumentations and ideas of self-surveillance and the internalization of values in alignment of business managers and rehabilitation officials who intentionally and intellectually exercise power. The inference underlying the fourth explanation is that the individual becomes the principle of his own subjection (Foucault 1978 as cited in Lukes, 2005).

Considering the convictions on constructability of business for peace in positive liberal peacebuilding, this fourth explanations can be hypothesized for the joint ventured rehabilitation what attempts to construct the rehabilitee's perception on business for peace authority. Thereby, the second question of this research, concerning the rehabilitee's perspective, aims to reject or confirm whether the hypothesized fourth explanation had been successfully exercised or not.

3 The methodology

3.1 The method

The methodology of this study aims to answer question A according to the four theoretical explanations on legitimacy. Explanations of which the fourth explanation on socialization is hypothesized. The latter is to be confirmed or rejected by the rehabilitees perception on legitimate authority as asked for in question B.

Question A:

How does the joint ventured rehabilitation strategy (2009) of the BCGR and Virtusa attempt to construct the rehabilitees' perception on legitimate business for peace management authority?

- i. To what extent does the rehabilitation strategy leverage coercion?
- ii. To what extent does the rehabilitation strategy leverage returnment?
- iii. To what extent does the rehabilitation strategy leverage socialization?

Question A requires a method to determine underlying values and assumptions of the rehabilitation authorities on rehabilitation, business for peace, and management authority. Therefore, the method on Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough is concerned around the dynamics of construction and re-construction of values, desires by the mutual interaction in the discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Therewith, the CDA-method is adequate for interpreting expressions and utterances concerning the assumptions that underly the legitimacy to management authority in rehabilitation programs.

However, the fourth hypothesized explanation on socialization incorporates tools and mechanisms to be deployed for the construction of naturally perceived legitimacy. The theory on socialization presupposes that power shapes perceptions and actions of individuals through individuals and its environment (Lukes, 2005 p. 91). With the focus on the constructed environment in rehabilitation camps, the CDA is inadequate to encompass the effect of rehabilitation techniques and the perception of rehabilitees.

Thus, a method is required that focus more on the *source of desire and believe* and encompasses the social structures under which it has emerged (Lukes, 2005; Owen, 2015). Therefore, I use a synthesized CDA with the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) proposed by Pechtelidis & Stamou (2017). The combined model of CDA-FDA better incorporates the *sources of desires and beliefs* as meant by Lukes. The model enables to put more emphasis on the formation of the rehabilitee's discourse on legitimacy in relation to the deployment of strategic techniques in rehabilitation programs. Concurrently, it better encompasses the functionality of coercion, returnment, and other means deployed by the rehabilitation officials. Functionality that must be understood in order to draw conclusions on legitimacy according the four hypothetical explanations.

Therewith, the results for question A applied on the four hypothetical explanation, can be compared to the data for question B. The results of question B can be used to reject or confirm the hypothetical explanations on legitimacy.

B: How do rehabilitees legitimize business for peace management authority under the exposure of rehabilitation strategy between 2009 and 2011?

- a. To what extent do rehabilitees experience coercion?
- b. To what extent do rehabilitees experience returnment?
- c. To what extent do rehabilitees experience deception?
- d. To what extent do rehabilitees experience socialization?

3.2 Case-study Sri Lanka 2009

Sri Lanka's rehabilitation program is selected due to the private partnership with Virtusa Corporation. In 2013, Virtusa won the Business for Peace Award of the Business for Peace Foundation for their contributions to peace (Business for Peace Foundation 2022).

These formal institutions claim that corporations make the world a better place and argue that business for peace is a win-win scenario for corporations and citizens (Business for Peace Foundation 2022; UN Global Compact, 2024). Simultaneously, the rehabilitation program in Sri Lanka is self-praised by the rehabilitation officials for their generosity (BCGR, 2013). However, the inconsistency with theories that indicate conflicting interests between rehabilitees and officials, sparks questions concerning legitimacy and the win-win frame. Thereby, the case of Sri Lanka becomes relevant for the examination of legitimacy.

Despite the complexities of war, the implementation of the rehabilitation program is relatively concentrated and applied on a specifically targeted group, in a demarcated environment. In theory, this renders the case for a detailed analysis on the formation of legitimacy.

3.3 CDA-FDA and Data Indicators

Pechtelidis & Stamou tested the CDA-FDA model on a study on the formation of knowledge on children and the use of different curricula (2017). A similar use of the model can be applied on the rehabilitation strategy and the formation of the rehabilitee's perception on legitimate business for peace management authority,

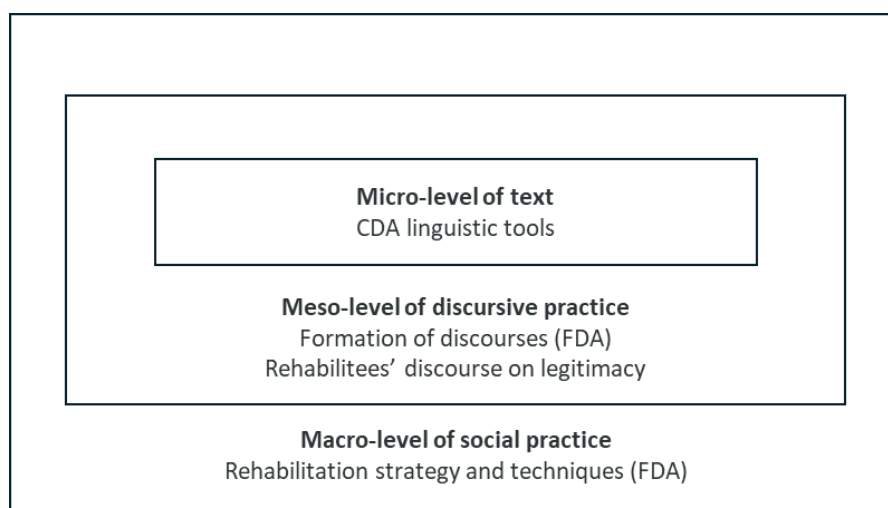


Figure 1 Author: inspired by the model from Pechtelidis & Stamou (2017)

First, it is possible to deconstruct the knowledge and assumptions underlying the rehabilitation strategy by using the CDA-method. Herein, it aims to deconstruct the meaning given to labour, business, and peace in relation to rehabilitees, legitimacy, and authority.

Subsequently, these values and assumptions determine the implementation of rehabilitation techniques to achieve the desired definition of business and peace to which they adhere. Using the FDA, objects and systems deployed by the rehabilitation officials can be observed in relation to the formation of legitimacy. For the first and fourth hypothetical explanation on coercion, systems of punishment and surveillance can be observed. For instance, in the form of agreements or rules. For the second and fourth explanation, material rewards and cultural returnments e.g. salary or status can be observed.

Finally, data for question B should confirm or reject the hypothetical explanations on legitimacy applied on the data found for question A. For question B, data includes direct utterances and expressions of rehabilitees. Within the possibilities of the available data, attention is given to the argumentations, logics, reasonings, myths, gossips, rumours. In contrast to the CDA applied on deconstructing the rehabilitation strategy, more attention is given to the formation of the rehabilitees discourse. For this reason, attention is given to direct references from rehabilitees to elements of the rehabilitation strategy.

The explanation on coercion and bodily control entails a repressive understanding of power (Lukes, 2005). Initially, I aim to observe objects and physical techniques that constrain the bodily behaviour. However, objects can play a role in a positive way for the explanation on returnment. In a productive understanding of power, objects and techniques are characterized by tools that empowers rehabilitees for the ends of productivity in peace. Therefore, I also aim to observe tools and other means for productive or supportive practices. For the third explanation, indications for covert grievances or disguise should be revealed by utterances and expressions from rehabilitees.

Indications for the fourth hypothetical explanation on socialization are not to be observed directly. According to Lukes, it is a form of power to prevent conflict from arising in the first place (Lukes, 2005 p. 27). If successful, it is not possible to determine whether the rehabilitee's legitimacy towards the authority is real or shaped (Owen, 2015). However, with the FDA-method, it is possible to consider the social structures and environment in which a discourse was formed.

Therefore, the combined CDA-FDA methodology enables to compare the rehabilitation strategy and techniques with the rehabilitee's discourse. Due to the FDA-synthesis, it is possible to incorporate the deployment and functionality of objects and systems in relation to the formation of legitimacy. Herewith, it becomes possible to examine a degree of alignment or misaligned between the intentions and implementation of the strategy and the rehabilitee's discourse on legitimacy towards business for peace management authority.

3.4 Data collection

Data Question A

The study is concentrated around the report of the BCGR (Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation) and the formal NAP-NFP (National Action Plan of the National Framework Proposal for Reintegration of Ex-combatants into Civilian Life in Sri Lanka 2009).

- I. *Document : Rehabilitation of Ex-Combatants. Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation Department of Government Information (2013).*
- II. *Document: National Action Plan of the National Framework Proposal for Reintegration of Ex-combatants into Civilian Life in Sri Lanka. Ministry of Disaster Management and Human Rights (2009).*

The report from the Bureau of the Commissioner General Rehabilitation Department of Government Information (BCGR) represents the official narrative on Rehabilitation reporting on the progress and results of the program. The BCGR-report includes textual and visual data on rehabilitation activities. The BCGR document is published in 2013 by the Bureau of the Commissioner General of Rehabilitation (BCGR) and reported on the final stage of the war in 2009 and the subsequent rehabilitation camps.

The design of the program is compiled in the National Action Plan of the National Framework Proposal for Reintegration of Ex-combatants into Civilian Life in Sri Lanka (NAP-NFP) and was published by International Labour Organization (ILO), and the Ministry of Disaster Management and Human Rights. The report represents the intended strategic implementation. The NAP-NFP (2009) is written amidst the closure of the war at the end of May and was further supported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). ILO and one author involved in the making of the NAP-NFP are approached by email for additional data. Yet, both did not reply.

The NAP-NFP is divided into social rehabilitation and economic rehabilitation and implemented during 'rehabilitation' inside the camps (centre-based) and 'reintegration' after release (community-based). The NAP-NFP focusses on rehabilitation, reinsertion, social and economic reintegration, small arms, and light weapons (SALW) control. Social reintegration refers to social education and skills required for civilian life. These are identified in the NAP-NFP as language proficiency, problem-solving and critical thinking skills, building self-esteem, knowledge of civic rights and responsibility.

The first objective of the NAP-NFP concerns safeguarding of human rights. The second objective focuses on the contribution towards sustainable peace, reconciliation, and social cohesion. The latter objective aims to increase the employability of adult ex-combatants minimize their risk of socio-economic marginalization and to create opportunities for economic revitalization in post-conflict Sri Lanka.

In addition, secondary sources that include direct data in the form of interview scripts represents the authorities of the rehabilitation strategies. This data is used to verify and supplement the analysis on source *I.* and *II.*

- III. Interview script: Brigadier Darshana Hettiarachchi: Commissioner General, Ministry of Rehabilitation. (*YouTube: connections.youngasia.tv 2012*).
- IV. Interview script: Commissioner General of Rehabilitation Major General Chandana Rajaguru. (Ranil Wijayapala, October 2011).

The verification of the relationship between state-led rehabilitation and corporations is grounded on the following data that represent Virtusa as a business for peace corporation. This specific corporation is selected because they are praised with the Business for Peace Award for their contributions to peace and rehabilitation in Sri Lanka. In theory, Virtusa holds valuable data for inquiring the rehabilitees discourse towards management authority. Therefore, Virtusa is approached by email in which additional data is requested. However, Virtusa did not reply. For this reason, other sources have been consulted, whereby source *V.* and *VI.* serve only as verification for the alignment with the BCGR.

- V. Document: Responsible Business Advancing Peace: Examples from Companies, Investors & Global Compact Local Networks) United Nation Global Impact 2013 [Virtusa Corporation 66 – 69]
- VI. Webpage: Virtusa contributes to peacebuilding in Sri Lanka through the post conflict rehabilitation process) Virtusa Foundation

Data Question B

Due to limitations (see Chapter 3.5), no primary data is available for question B. In respect of the representativity of data, sources are selected once they include direct expressions from rehabilitees. In addition, data from scholars that ground their claims on direct information from rehabilitees are considered supportive but should be weighed in terms of how directly the data represents the rehabilitees.

- VII. Report: Sri Lanka's Rehabilitation Program: A New Frontier in Counter Terrorism and Counter Insurgency Author(s): MALKANTHI HETTIARACHCHI Source: PRISM, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2013), pp. 105-121 Published by: Institute for National Strategic Security, National Defense University Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26469814>

The source of Malkanthi Hettiarachchi is selected as some parts of the study are grounded on a follow-up survey that indicates greater aspirations by beneficiaries (rehabilitees) to engage in vocational training and self-employment. The source; KAC Karunarathna, 'Transformation in Thinking on Aspirations for Employment' (report, June 22, 2012), is not directly accessible but is used and cited in the study of Hettiarachchi. Therefore, some elements of the study meet the criteria for selection. The data is relevant as the survey is conducted during rehabilitation. Contact details for further contact with Malkanthi Hettiarachchi could not be found.

- VIII. Article Statement: 'Confronting the Truth about Sri Lanka's Post-War 'Rehabilitation' Program – a reply to an academic whitewash' (2019). Sri Lanka Campaign.

Source VIII. is selected for two reasons. First, it is endorsed by Ilankai Tamil Sangam, Association of Tamils of Sri Lanka in the USA and therefore representative for Tamil diaspora in the USA. Second, the article is published by Sri Lanka Campaign, an organization that is committed to the rights of people in and beyond Sri Lanka. The article advocates for Tamil people that underwent rehabilitation and critically respond to the study of Hettiarachchi. Therewith, it is a useful source to assess the source of Hettiarachchi. Despite the representation of Tamil people, direct utterances are less frequent in the article. Ilankai Tamil Sangam, Sri Lanka Campaign, PEARL, Adayaalam Centre for Policy Research, Law and Society Trust, Netherlands Tamil Sangam, are approached with an interview request. Law and Society Trust replied but could not provide data. All other contacts did not respond.

- IX. Report: Arbitrary Detention in Post-conflict Sri Lanka (2012). In WordPress.com

- X. Academic Article: Arbitrary Detention in Sri Lanka: Internment, Rehabilitation, and Surrenderedees in the Prison System. (2012). Groundviews:

<https://groundviews.org/2012/02/14/arbitrary-detention-in-sri-lanka-internment-rehabilitation-and-surrenderedees-in-the-prison-system/>

Source IX. And X. include many direct utterances and expression from rehabilitees. The interviews are conducted by Calleigh McRaith, located in Colombo and Vanni in Januari 2012. McRaith was approached with a request for additional information on the interviews which was replied. However, the request could not be accommodated due to research ethnics on confidentiality. McRaith explained that she could not provide more information than the data included in the report and article.

- XI. Research Paper: Kate Macfarlane, Protection gaps: child soldier rehabilitation and militarized governance in Sri Lanka, International Affairs, Volume 100, Issue 3, May 2024, Pages 1131–1147, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiae069>

Direct utterances and expressions from rehabilitees could be found extensively in the study of Kate Macfarlane who conducted interviews with former child soldiers under the LTTE who went to rehabilitation camps.

- XII. Research Paper: Rebekka Friedman, Remnants of a Checkered Past: Female LTTE and Social Reintegration in Post-War Sri Lanka, International Studies Quarterly, Volume 62, Issue 3, September 2018, Pages 632–642, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqy019>

Direct utterances and expressions from rehabilitees could be found extensively in the study of Rebekke Friedman who conducted interviews with Female (former) LTTE about social reintegration.

- XIII. Academic Article: Croos, Fr. J., Deanne Uyangoda & Ruki Fernando 2011 “Threats, Harassments and Restrictions on Former Detainees and Their Families in Vanni,” 11 May <http://www.srilankaguardian.org/2011/05/threats-harassments-and-restrictions-on.html>

Direct utterances and expressions from rehabilitees could be found in the academic article of Croos which was grounded on conversations with 15 former rehabilitees in the region of Vanni 2011.

- XIV. Academic Article: Response to Michael Roberts’ ‘Turning Former LTTE Personnel into Sri Lankan Citizens?’ (2011). By Ambika SatKunanathan. Groundviews. <https://groundviews.org/2011/11/27/response-to-michael-roberts%E2%80%99-%E2%80%98turning-former-ltte-personnel-into-sri-lankan-citizens%E2%80%99/>

More indirect data from rehabilitees could be found in the article of SatKunanathan in which statements were grounded 49 interviews with former rehabilitees.

- XV. International Truth and Justice Project (2016). ITJP Submission to the Committee Against Torture.

Direct utterances and expressions from rehabilitees and converged results could be found in the report from the ITJP committee against torture

3.5 Limitations and ethical considerations

The data used for question A is consulted from official publications directly from the responsible authority BCGR and the International Labour Organization. The data is verified with secondary sources with interview scripts from interviews with BCGR officials. Therefore, this part can be considered representative. Additional data from Virtusa is considered useful to assess the alignment of Virtusa Corporate operations for peace and the rehabilitation program. As none of the requests was replied by Virtusa, data is limited to official statements on the webpage of Virtusa Foundation.

Beside Virtusa, other private partners to the BCGR could be found in the sewing industry. Visual data in the BCGR is screened using Google Lens to determine other private partners to the rehabilitation program. In theory, data from employees and former rehabilitees would be valuable for this study. However, after informal consultation with contacts who are known to the author, it was confirmed that many rehabilitees entered the labour market for the sewing industry in the North of Sri Lanka. However, they expressed methodological concerns on accessibility and transparency in the sewing industry. Therefore, I decided not to contact these organizations for two reasons. First, I could not logically assess the sensitivity of this issue for both corporations and employees (former rehabilitees). On top of that, I considered the likelihood of cooperation to this research to be low.

Ideally, data for sub question B is collected directly to improve the trustworthiness and validity of the data. However, for reasons on sensitivity, I decided not to engage in field research. Difficulties were expressed about the application for visa for activities beyond touristic purposes. Taken with the sensitivity of the research topic and minor experiences in field work, I decided not to engage in field research in conjunction with the fact that I had limited financial resources available to solve unforeseen circumstances.

Therewith, the research is limited in the collection of data compared to the ideally directly collected data from interviews. However, to answer question B, direct data from rehabilitees is crucial to the representation and credibility of the data. Therefore, secondary data was filtered and selected based on how expressions and other data were directly cited from interviews with rehabilitees.

On this part, some new limitations occurred in the collection of secondary data. To find secondary data, I often requested permission for referrals to contact them. For each of them, I conducted a brief check of someone's online profile to assess their contribution to the study. In some cases, profiles were reported on by Amnesty International due to their involvement in legal conflicts about detention. Based on my knowledge about the persistent surveillance, I decided not to contact these individuals as I consider the importance of this research inferior to the safety of these individuals.

Furthermore, I cannot reject that war and other experiences have any relations to the formation of knowledge on legitimate business for peace management authority. Yet, the study is demarcated to the scope of this study what is concerned with the rehabilitation strategy.

To explain this further, it should be noted that the discursive practice is not constituted in an aseptic environment within a specific timeframe. Rather, a hyper-dynamic environment including different historical experiences of individuals. It is beyond the possibility of this study to incorporate the complete complexity of the environment and historical experience. However, preceding war-related events cannot be detached from the constitution of discourses. Although this study specifically aims to inquire the strategy in relation to the formation of discourse, it includes war-related or other events only if it is specifically addressed in the data and is considered to be relevant for the formation of discourse in relation to the strategy.

It further entails the omission of other perspectives on the strategy or rehabilitees. For instance, other citizens that are not directly involved in rehabilitation including different public opinions on rehabilitation or rehabilitees. It is therefore and by no means the intention to assess either the intentions of the strategy or the discourse of rehabilitees on political and/or legal correctness. The research rather aims to understand, deconstruct, and compare the observed discourses.

Lastly, different terminologies are used in different sources to describe individuals that spend time in rehabilitation camps. It is strived to describe this definition accurately without any judgements or connotations. Therefore, the term 'rehabilitees' is used. However, for the accuracy of the analysis, the terminology used in the analysed data is taken over exactly. This entails that the formerly used term 'rehabilitees' is replaced by 'ex-combatants' for quotations. Both terminologies refer to people who spend time in rehabilitation camps. It is by no means the intention to judge or imply whether these individuals have actually engaged in combat or not.

3.6 Implications and reflection of the methodology

On one hand, observation can adhere to the assumption that 'discourses construct the experienced world' (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). On the contrary, observation can adhere to materialism and mechanical reproduction wherein 'the world constructs discourses' (Idem, 2002). In a very utmost side of this continuum, discourses are determined by economics what makes it more logical to proceed with an economic analysis for inquiring the first and second hypothetical explanations on legitimacy (idem, 2002). However, such an approach will be too pluralistic and pre-assumes a certain effect of an object, strategy, or other systems and techniques.

According to Laclau and Mouffe, physical objects do not possess meaning in themselves; meaning is something we ascribe to them through discourses' (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) Laclau and Mouffe derive from this inference to conclude that all social practice can be understood by language (Idem, 2002). This implies that for the observation of objects, strategies, and concepts I am not able to conclude about the functionality of that object in relation to the discursive practice and the formation of legitimacy.

Allow me to explain by using the following example: Suppose there is a fence repressing the autonomous mobility of a person. I initially argue that the observation of 'a fence' is sufficient to comprehend the functionality of the object. However, according to Laclau and Mouffe, it is not the fence but rather the ascribed idea of the impossibility to escape what prevents someone from escaping (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Moreover, someone can perceive the fence as very impressive while others can be more callous for the imposed threat, punishment, reward, etc. Therewith, the observation of the object or strategies alone seems insufficient to understand the relation towards the discourse and should be observed via the analysis of language (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Although I agree with their inference, I argue that the mere observation of language is also insufficient. If I am solely observing language, I might find the idea about the fence wherein someone is convinced to escape even despite the real consequences of the fence. Laclau and Mouffe are right to the extent that the idea might determine the actions of an individual to escape or not. However, I do argue that the fence itself is certainly able to prevent someone from escaping. In a positivistic or foundationalist interpretation, I would argue that I can objectively comprehend the functionality of the object. Based on the arguments given by Laclau and Mouffe I reject a complete positivistic interpretation. Nonetheless, I remain to argue that I am able to comprehend the functionality of the object yet, with the inclusion of my subjectivity. Due to infinite plurality of possible interpretations, it is practically impossible to verify all interpretations of objects by those confronted with it. Therewith, I claim that I can assume the relation towards the discourse on for example 'the possibility to escape.' Different than positivism, I do argue that I should account for my subjectivity in the interpretation. Firstly, by explaining the inference and secondly by the provision of context. Nonetheless, the principle remains that directly addressed meanings to objects better represent the discourse and thus enhance the internal validity. Simultaneously, it remains possible to analyse objects regarding to the functionality provided that the subjectivity is reflected, context is described, and is backed by the theoretical framework.

Lastly, official data on strategies are representative as they are written by the authorities of rehabilitation. However, the representation of rehabilitation inferred to the representation of business for peace corporations includes an assumption on the alignment between corporations and state-led rehabilitation authorities based on the theoretical conceptualization. If data is found on alignment between rehabilitation and corporations, it will foster the internal validity of this study.

3.7 Coding circles

Question A is to be coded by a combination of inductive and deductive coding. In principle, all underlying values and meaning in the strategy can be coded. However, the BCGR report and the NAP-NFP include chapters that do not fall within the scope of this study. Simultaneously, this chapters can still indicate values and meanings that are relevant for research question.

Subsequently, a second coding circle is to be used deductively using all concepts of the theoretical framework and the four explanations on legitimacy. Descriptive coding is used to

analyse linguistics and argumentations in detail (Saldaña, 2013). Therewith, it aims to find patterns in argumentations and to determine the significance of values in contrast to other addressed values.

Then, deductive or concept-driven coding as meant by Saldaña, is used to detect features of the strategy that relate to the four explanations on legitimacy (2013). Descriptive coding on a linguistic level is used to comprehend the functionality of the coded objects and systems and so is more aimed at the structural context for the FDA-method.

For question B, inductive coding is used in a first coding circle. Subsequently, codes are categorized and related to the findings of sub question A and the four explanations on legitimacy.

4 Results

4.1 Inductive results question A: Rehabilitation Strategy

The combination of inductive and deductive coding results into four topics significant topics presented in the rehabilitation strategy. First, the perception on ex-combatants by the rehabilitation authorities. Second, the self-perception of rehabilitation officials on what kind of effect they assume to bring about with the rehabilitation. This is followed by how the use of power is justified in the rehabilitation strategy. Chapter 4.1 concludes with the topic concerning legitimacy.

Perception on 'ex-combatants.'

The NAP-NFP rehabilitation strategy aims to transform 'ex-combatants' (rehabilitees) to 'civilian life.' The strategy further aims *'to promote constructive and productive alternatives to the present life.'* The word *'civilian life'* is mentioned 110 times and included in the title. However, what is understood as a 'civilian life,' and how do the writers perceive the targeted audience?

The NAP-NFP consistency writes 'adult ex-combatants and children formerly associated with armed groups. The NAP-NFP acknowledges the 'terrorist nature of the conflict' but does not use any linguistics referring to terrorist actors. The document rather refers to '...eligible for social and economic reintegration.' With the exception of the contextual introduction, the name 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)' is not used to refer to the targeted audience.

The BCGR describes the ex-combatants more firmly at different stages in the report. The report commences to refer to 'terrorists' (10 times). The name LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) is mentioned 28 times but is often used to refer to the period of ex-combatants under the LTTE. These references are often followed by a comparison to their improved situation under the BCGR. In other cases, the name is mentioned in conjunction with 'terror' or 'terrorism' and adjectives coded as negative. For example, *'Dangerous'* or *'diehard ruthless.'* Beside the firm descriptions, the group is also described as follow; *'terrorists are human beings whose minds were distorted, and hence misguided, could be reformed and could be rehabilitated'*. For the BCGR, ex-combatants are seen as *'brain washed'* what constitutes the qualification for rehabilitation.

Although the NAP-NFP is more moderated in the value-judgement on ex-combatants under the LTTE, both documents perceive the present lives of ex-combatants in need of improvement, *'social healing'* or other expressions related to recovery on social, psychological, and economic aspects. In this context, it can be interpreted what is meant with civilian life.

The meaning of civilian life is not exclusively concerned with labour and economy but is combined with social reintegration. The NAP-NFP aims to *'...transform into productive and active citizens.'* A similar phrase is used in the BCGR; *'...to guiding them on correct path and transforming them into to be peace loving and useful citizens of this country.'* Therewith, peace and 'useful' are related in the view of the BCGR. Similar linguistics are taken over by the private corporation Virtusa (*...the rightful path ... peace-loving and productive citizens...*). Yet, the NAP-NFP and the BCGR do not express the meaning of *'useful, productive and active'* directly to peace or to labour. Nonetheless, the relation can be observed in in the structure of the documents and devotion to economic-related aspects. In contrast, the private corporation Virtusa relates their support for vocational training directly to peace-making (Virtusa, 2024).

For the relation between sustainable peace and labour, two prominent argumentations styles alternate multiple times. This becomes most evident in a comment of Brigadier Darshana Hettiarachchi: Commissioner General, Ministry of Rehabilitation.

'We have spoken to the Bureau of Foreign Employment about finding suitable jobs for these people, especially in Middle Eastern Countries. The Tamil Diaspora can help them start self-employment, find jobs suited to their vocational training, or help them find work abroad, the way they prefer, in a suitable way. By understanding this and understanding the need for this, they can play a vital role in helping these people become good citizens who can help with the development of their country. I see this as a responsibility of the Tamil Diaspora.'

*"Brigadier Darshana Hettiarachchi: Commissioner General, Ministry of Rehabilitation."
(YouTube: connections.youngasia.tv 2012).*

In the comment of Brigadier Darshana Hettiarachchi, ex-combatants are seen as useful or '*good citizens*' for development of the country if they become productive. Thus, the ex-combatants serve the interest of economic development. This inference is interspersed with a reversed inference. Therein, economic opportunities, labour, and business is seen as vital part to establish sustainable peace (Give quotation). In this inference, the economy serves peace and a livelihood for ex-combatants. The constant alternation of these arguments expresses a view on labour in which labour is seen as a solution or blessing in the interest or '*benefit of*' of the ex-combatants. Simultaneously, a person that practices labour is seen as '*a good citizen.*'

The NAP-NFP adheres consistently to the first definition of economy serving ex-combatants. It clearly aims to achieve '*economic independence*' for employees for sustainable reintegration. As the NAP-NFP is targeted on the individual ex-combatant as well as at communities, it takes a step further what indicates their conviction in liberal peacebuilding. The NAP-NFP declares that;

'In situations where employment opportunities fail to correspond with the training and skills available, the provision of small grants will facilitate the creation of linkages between communities and development agencies.' (NAP-NFP, 2009)

This is reflected in the NAP-NFP chapters on '*economic reintegration*' on community-level in which two development programs are initiated and eight economic sectors are appointed for supportive measurements for rehabilitation purposes. In conjunction with proposed objectives on capacity building and community-centred assistance after rehabilitation, the NAP-NFP indicates to rely on convictions underlying positive liberal peace.

However, the NAP-NFP must be understood in the entire enrolment of the strategy. A key intervention of the NAP-NFP is concerned with religious and spiritual values "*...to make their personal lives meaningful and to bring about a positive change in their character.*" Endeavours on sport, religion, and other social-psychological aspects fall under social reintegration and are presented in isolation of the economic rehabilitation. However, the BCGR shows that in reality the program is provided holistically and is less divided into social and economic reintegration. Although the NAP-NFP is less concerned with the connotation between good citizenship and practice of labour, it is noteworthy to indicate that this distinction is not that obvious in the enrolment of the program.

The BCGR on the other hand demonstrates a summary of '*successful*' social and economic events. The events are still yet less divided into social and economic themes. Therewith, the connotation between '*good*' or '*civilian life*' and economic productivity appear to be lesser distinguished in the BCGR. The BCGR posted a series of pictures in a sequence from "*then*" followed by '*transformation*' and closed by '*now.*' For other pictures the terminology for the sequence was '*Then > Change of Mindset > Future.*' The pictures exclusively express militarized personal (former LTTE soldiers) transformed to students in uniforms or labour workers. It is the

most evident expression of the idea on future peace and labour as the pictures are explained as *'A responsible partner contributing to the Prosperity and Development of the country.'*



Figure 2 Change of Mindset, BCGR 2013

Thus, the BCGR encompasses both convictions on labour and peace. First, ex-combatants serving the economy, prosperity, and development by their productivity and second, the economy serving them in opportunities for self-dependency. The latter is similar expressed as in the NAP-NFP. There is an ostentatious display of contributions from private and public contributions. For example, vehicles sold by companies on credit, facilitation in water pumps, vocational training, and infrastructures. Just like the vocational training of Virtusa, products, labour, and other vocational trainings are perceived by the rehabilitation officials as contributing factors to peace.

The (self)perception on rehabilitation strategy

Naturally, a strategy and implementation like the NAP-NFP is meant to affect a certain environment to achieve a certain outcome. Therein, the NAP-NFP is no exception in use of linguistics like *'Goals, Objectives and Outcomes, Activities, Responsible Agencies and Key Partners.'* Both, the NAP-NFP and BCGR report on their conviction about the *'constructability'* or *'transformability'* of ex-combatants. Therefore, they embrace a holistic approach to the extent that they incorporate the influence of communities to this *'transformability.'* However, verbs referring to actions taken by the actors of the program are extensively coded as *'intention of effect (110 times).'* The presumed effect of actions taken by the program is noteworthy and indicates a high degree of conviction in the constructability of the mind and actions of ex-combatants. A similar self-perception is reflected in the BCGR. The BCGR perceives ex-combatants as *'brain-washed'* in need of transformation, complemented with an explanatory picture where a person is being adorned with cosmetics.

The BCGR reporting on rehabilitation confirms the convictions on constructability retroactively. They conclude that due to the rehabilitation and their *'Generosity'* ex-combatants are reintegrated sufficiently to return to *'...peaceful and contented life...'*

How....?

By synchronizing their
Brain - Heart - Limbs

Knowledge - 
A Heart to work - 
Skills - 



Figure 3 Adorned with Cosmetics, BCGR 2013

Justification on power & intervention

The rehabilitation and reintegration actions in the NAP-NFP and the BCGR are extensively justified in both documents. Argumentations that directly or indirectly justify a kind of intervention or power, targeted at the ex-combatants or their environment, are coded as 'justification' (123 times).

For both documents, only three acts of intervention are justified in reference to international laws. All other arguments include the following consistent pattern in how the argumentations are built up. First, the arguments are grounded on the author's perceptions on ex-combatants, business, and peace (see results for question A). Therein, ex-combatants are perceived as formerly 'brainwashed,' 'deprived,' 'incompetent,' or 'psychosocially instable.'

They justify the necessity of mechanisms, power, or other forms of intervention to provide an improved situation. In some arguments, the improved situation is referred to a better situation for the nation of Sri Lanka (including ex-combatants) and peace. Many other justifications are applied on the individual situation of an ex-combatant.

Within the argumentation-pattern, the expected 'effect' of the rehabilitation strategy presupposes to make the difference between the undesired and desired situation in the benefit of the nation or individual well-being of ex-combatants. With the assumptions on labour and peace, actions taken in advancing labour practice and training are seen as *necessary* for the well-being of ex-combatants. Subsequently, to advance the author's definition of 'civilian life.'

Legitimacy

BCGR is not concerned with risks and does not report any complains or negative outcomes of the rehabilitation program. The BCGR concludes that the rehabilitation program had been a successful enterprise based on *de facto* participation of ex-combatants and the absence of any complaints from ex-combatants.

Nonetheless, the NAP-NFP discusses some risks that indicate the incorporations of legitimacy from the perspective of ex-combatants beyond the justifications defined by the authorities. On page 36 of the NAP-NFP, a brief table is dedicated to foreseeing risks and risk management. Herein, reluctance, regrouping, recruitment, and returnment to violence are of concern. However, it is not explained what should cause these potential risks. Furthermore, the risk management strategies include linguistics of equivocation. Utterances as 'Comprehensive information,' 'appropriate mechanisms,' 'appropriate law enforcement' are not explained. Second,

the few and briefly explained strategies are mainly concerned with constraining measurements such as law-enforcement or disarmament. Other strategies rely upon the earlier mentioned justification of rehabilitation strategies such as “income-generation activities or ‘education’ but do not explain why ex-combatants should reject the potential risk scenarios like ‘regrouping.’ Overall, no discussion is reflected in the document on self-determination of ex-combatants for priorities and values in the rehabilitation-program and prospected peace.

4.2 Results question A: according to the four explanations

Instruments

Objects are inductively coded for both documents. Mechanisms or instruments that are coded require to have an ‘intended effect’ by their deployment whereby the code-name is designated according to the presented functionality of the object.

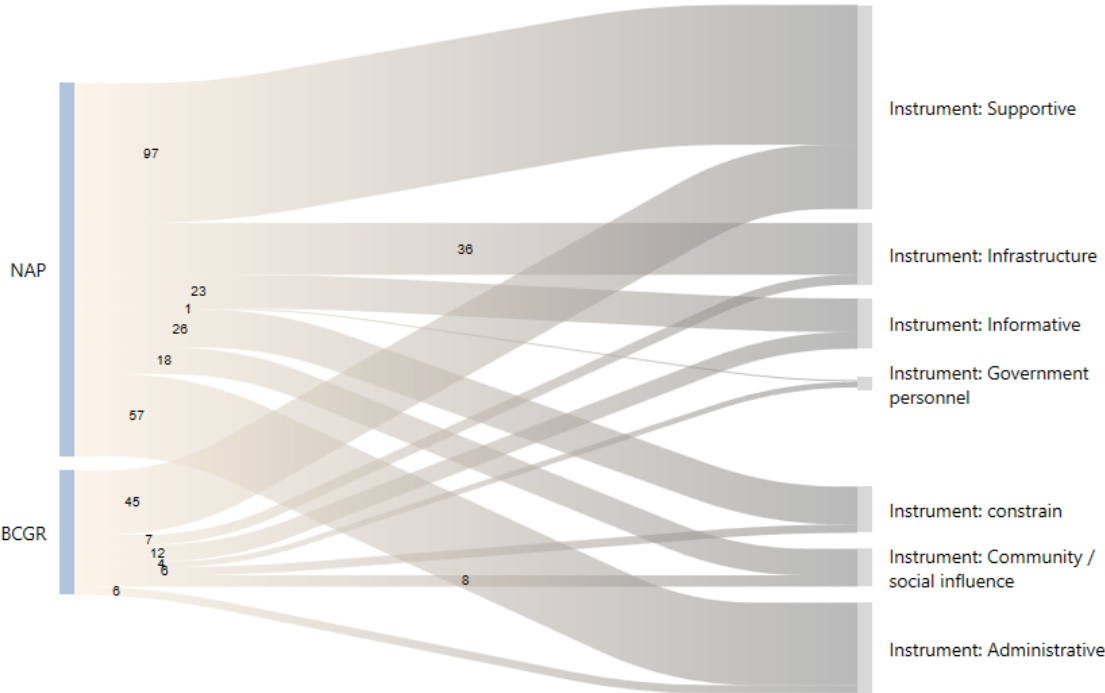


Figure 4 Author, from Atlas.ti 9

Supportive (returnment)

For both documents, most instruments aim to improve or support the life of communities or ex-combatants. Supportive objects concern tools and mechanisms on Education, Spiritual and Religious Culture, Social Community and Family affairs, Psychological Therapy, Vocational training and Livelihood, Sport, and Rehabilitation Awareness. Furthermore, events of entertainment are organized around theatre, dance, traditional marriage, and music. For example, a marriage event is organized and paid by the rehabilitation program (BCGR, 2013). Noteworthy is that definition of what is ‘supportive’ is defined by the authors of the report in which they for example perceive ‘labour and economy’ or ‘psychosocial stability’ as a good value to be pursued.

Informative and administrative

The informative and administrative instruments adhere to the same ‘supportive’ justification, yet in a more indirect way. Informative instruments are deployed to inform ex-combatants

about the rules and responsibilities within the rehabilitation program or to inform communities about the reintegration efforts.

Administrative measurements are aimed at the measurement of strategy outcomes or on managerial and regulatory aspects. Some administrative means are deployed to measure outcomes of economic reintegration to ensure the well-being after rehabilitation. Other administrative functions are more directly concerned with the behaviour of the individual ex-combatants. For instance, screening and selection for specific rehabilitation course and duration, documenting the psychosocial situation and degrees of terrorist-affiliation. Certification of vocational training and accomplishment of the rehabilitation program, and lawful documentation such as ID-cards.

The NAP-NFP describes that ex-combatants are going to be asked for their preferences and other input for the assessment on (the necessary deemed) rehabilitation period, the career, educational choice, and the psychosocial support. However, other values seem to be weighted in the decision-making process beyond their own input. For vocational trainings, the market-demand for labour is weighted. The same applies to the psychosocial support whereby the degree of radicalisation is taken into account. It cannot be concluded from both of the documents to what extent values are weighted. Yet, it is evident that ex-combatants do not enjoy autonomous decision making over the issues of concern.

Coercion

These administrative functions cannot be coded as supportive only. A good example is the process of screening and psychological support. The offered therapies are presented in the interest of the ex-combatant to overcome trauma and experiences of war. Yet, the administrative function of profiling is also used to determine the level of radicalization and the deemed necessary duration for rehabilitation. In that sense, the 'supportive' function of administration and profiling simultaneously serves bodily control over ex-combatants in a restrictive manner. The majority of supportive instruments cannot be understood in isolation of restrictive ones. The BCGR praises the enrolment of the program because of '*...decision to rehabilitate and reintegrate them into society without prosecuting or jailing them.*' Therein, the rehabilitation is understood as a boon for the ex-combatants compared to the alternative prospect. The BCGR underwrites the voluntary character of participation as '*letters of consent*' were obtained after the surrender of ex-combatants amidst the end of the war in May 2009. However, the portrayed alternative of '*prosecuting or jailing*' sparks questions on the voluntary character in the context of 2009.

The voluntary character was confirmed in an interview by Ranil Wijayapala with Commissioner General of Rehabilitation Major General Chandana Rajaguru in October 2011. However, issues concerning the duration of rehabilitation indicates a contradictory narrative in comparison with the presentation of voluntary participation. General Chandana Rajaguru responded:

'Whenever we felt that certain people had to be kept for longer, if they were not properly de-radicalised, they were kept for a further period with the consent of the Ministry of Defence (MOD). That's why one year was compulsory and then three-month extensions four times, running into another year.'
(Ranil Wijayapala, October 2011)

In addition, at the outset of the NAP-NFP, ex-combatants are being screened and assigned to a category that determines the necessary deemed duration of rehabilitation, starting with a minimum of three months up the maximum of twelve. Further linguistics in the NAP-NFP and BCGR indicate equivocation in the argumentation between voluntary participation and the deployment of constraining measurements.

This is further reflected in constraining measurements within the rehabilitation programs. As general Chandana Rajaguru also mentioned; *'One thing we stopped for these people was to possess telephones.'* (Ranil Wijayapala, October 2011)

Similar contradictions can be found in the presentation on voluntary participation and constrains on mobility. According to General Chandana Rajaguru, ex-combatants were allowed to engage in creative activities, sports, and family visits as *'they were not kept under detention'* (2011). However, family visits are restricted to a maximum of once every two weeks (NAP-NFP). So, despite the provided possibilities on such activities, permission has to be granted and depends on the authorities.

Military Display

Less directly restrictive but rather disciplinary measurements are found in the analysis on visual representations in the BGCR-report. In many of the pictures reflecting social events or labour-related activities, military personal is simultaneously present (30 times). Once Ranil Wijayapala questioned on the issue of military presence, General Chandana Rajaguru responded,

As I said earlier, although the staffers are from the military, they are not entirely military personnel. National Cadet Corps officers who handle the rehabilitation are basically teachers in schools although they wear uniforms. They do not handle these people like military recruits. They are handling them in a cordial way. (Ranil Wijayapala, October 2011)

In a sense, the effect of military display is denied and simultaneously justified because of the treatment method. However, in a subsequent explanation, the argument underwrites the need for this military effect.

'When they are engaged in vocational training, they are only with instructors. Although we are there, there is no interference in their activities; we only ensure that their routine is adopted. These beneficiaries were the people who really fought against the military, yet they were so polite. At the same time, this set-up cannot entirely be handled by civilians. That may not have much of an effect because this is an accelerated program. If they were kept here for a long period, a civilian organisation may have been able to handle them. Of course, the military was assisting in an accelerated rehabilitation program.' (Ranil Wijayapala, October 2011)

Although the ambiguity on military display in combination with proper treatment remains, it is evident that the military personal attempts to ensure adoption to routines and whereby it is believed that the military personal is more effective than civilian organisations.

A similar trend can be observed for measurement after rehabilitation. According to General Chandana Rajaguru: *'There is no case of any individual being released without background being checked'* (2011). Similar endeavours are described in the NAP-NFP on support for pre-release and further support after rehabilitation. As for administrative and informative functions, most instruments and systems on monitoring claim to support the well-being of ex-combatants while subjecting them to monitoring and surveillance.

Conclusive thoughts

Derived from convictions affiliated with liberal peace, business and economic activities are understood in relation to peace and good citizenship. On these groundings, rehabilitation efforts are justified on behalf of the ex-combatants and to foster their well-being. Meanwhile, informative, and administrative instruments are deployed into the program to manage the actions and behaviour of ex-combatants to the desired transformations. The deployment of informative and administrative systems and supportive measurements on labour, vocational

training, education, and social aspects is accompanied with the deployment of constraining measurements.

Despite of the wide-ranging governmental impact on communities and the population under rehabilitation, self-determination explained from the perspective of ex-combatants is absent in the NAP-NFP and BCGR.

Furthermore, no data implies that the social elements of rehabilitation were directly aimed at the stimulation of business and labour practice. Yet, the rehabilitation in its totality certainly perceives labour and business as a decisive factor for peace what was translated into the deployment of means. The idea of peace and civilian life are understood in relation to labour and productivity. Therefore, instruments that constrain, support, and administrate are deployed and attempt to construct complicit behaviour towards labour and economic activities.

Contemporary, coercive and disciplinary measurements are deployed with equivocal explanations. Although the rehabilitation efforts evidently aim to legitimize subjection to the idea of business and peace. The aim to legitimize Virtusa's management authority is not mentioned explicitly but can be inferred from the data due to the extensive reliance on economic rehabilitation, labour, and business for peace.

4.3 Results for question B: The rehabilitees discourse

Discourse of rehabilitees on business for peace management authority

A reflective study on the rehabilitation program was conducted by a Clinical Psychologist Malkanthi Hettiarachchi who worked in psychosocial skills training and rehabilitation. Grounded on surveys taken during the rehabilitation program, she concluded that the rehabilitation successfully lowered the level of extremism, increased the sense of personal significance, and increased feelings of goodwill towards the government of Sri Lanka. According to a follow-up survey, the desire for vocational training even increased during the program.

'The beneficiaries (ex-combatants) were motivated to engage in vocational training that would help them secure future financial stability and dignity by engaging in a vocation that would help them-selves, their families, their communities, and their country.' (Hettiarachchi, 2013 p. 110)

The data of Hettiarachchi indicates a view in which rehabilitees perceive labour as supportive to their own well-being as well as for national development of 'their country.' This supports the hypothesis of successful socialization in which the rehabilitation efforts increase the subjection to the idea of labour, business, and peace. However, no data is found that explicitly refers to the authority of Virtusa's business for peace management.

Although the surveys were held in direct access to rehabilitees, the data does not provide a reflection on desirability bias. Therefore, the study of Hettiarachchi is heavily criticized by (Sri Lanka Campaign, 2019) that represent diaspora of Tamils that found refuge after the end of the war and rehabilitation programs. The data from Sri Lanka Campaign (2019) points out research errors in Hettiarachchi study that neglect human rights violations in rehabilitation camps, arbitrary selection process for rehabilitation, and inconsistent criteria for release.

The contrasting discourse on rehabilitation experiences is also reflected in other scholars that use direct interviewing with rehabilitees after rehabilitation. In the study of Croos et al, 15 ex-combatants express that they received little vocational training (2011). In another study of McRaith, rehabilitees were asked how they had spent their time instead. All twelve ex-combatants replied that they spent their time 'watching tv' or had to practice labour to produce handicrafts which were sold while the rehabilitees were compensated poorly (McRaith, 2012a p. 28).

McRaith wrote that none of her interviewees reported that any of the vocational trainings led to actual employment, and many have struggled to earn money since being released. In a study of Friedman, one of the interviewees expressed her desire to become a teacher while facing social difficulties in becoming so (Friedman, 2018). Others express complaints about the non-commitment of promised supportive instruments such as financial loans and sewing machines to establish a livelihood. The data indicate that ex-combatants were not reluctant to the practice of labour. Nonetheless, none of the interviewees provide data about labour that is desired because it should support the economy or national development. Expressions are rather concerned with motives on livelihood and family.

The mismatch on labour is further expressed in the study of Friedman. Rehabilitation efforts were concerned with traditional gender roles on labour and the woman's role in relation to motherhood and marriage (Friedman, 2018). Interviewees of Friedman expressed that they rather adhere to values on respect, status, and egalitarian attraction that they enjoyed under the LTTE (Friedman, 2018 p. 638). Although the data does not refer to management authority explicitly, it proves again the misalignment in meaning attached to labour and business. On one hand, the values upheld by rehabilitees and on the other hand, motives about national development and peace upheld by the BCGR and Virtusa.

Selection and voluntary participation

With the exception of the reflective study of Hettiarachchi, the data from Tamil Sangam and all six studies which are grounded on direct data from interviewees highlight concerns on the selection procedure and misrepresentation of the voluntary characters of rehabilitation.

'Child soldiers ... who were accused by the Security Forces responsible for their abduction of not handing themselves in to be sent to "rehabilitation" camps.' (ITJP, 2016 p.7)

The quotation from International Truth and Justice Project (ITJP) is grounded on data from 33 interviewees, all having Tamil origins. All of them reported experiences concerning acts of killings, torture, and sexual harassment which were verified by the ITJP (ITJP, 2016).

In the study of McRaith, none of the interviewees was aware about the voluntary choice about rehabilitation. People were selected according to the government's own classification and even people that spend little time under the LTTE were qualified for a disproportionate period of rehabilitation (McRaith, 2012b). The data further aligns with data from the research of Kate Macfarlane in which interviewees addressed experiences with violence and torture at the hands of Sri Lanka Security forces preceding and during the rehabilitation. All four studies reported experiences and emotions concerning 'fear' leading to what is accurately described in the following quote.

'Most surrenderees felt that they were being closely watched, and that feared that they could be sent to prison at any time from rehabilitation, so most chose to censor their speech and tried to keep as low profile as possible during their time in rehabilitation.' (McRaith, 2012b).

Ceremony

Further misaligned discourses expressed from the view of interviewees was reported in a discussion between Michael Roberts and Ambika Satkunathan (2011) on Groundviews. Roberts put forward the question 'how do ex-Tiger fighters and their kinfolk view such moments?' Based on 49 interviews, Satkunathan pointed out that for example the graduation ceremony was experienced as:

'...sense of relief to be released from what they, at one point, felt would be a never ending ordeal, and reunite with their families' (Satkunathan, 2011).

Surveillance and militarized state-apparatus.

Most of the data consistently report on experiences about surveillance and militarized governance during and after the rehabilitation. Roberts reported on army visits once a week leading to *'frustration and resentment'* what he describes as *'paranoid surveillance methods'* (Satkunanathan, 2011).

Also, the interviewees from McRaith expressed their concerns over home visits and subsequent fear to Army visits that *'might show up at any time'* (McRaith, 2012b). A consistent experience that is also endorsed in the study of Macfarlane wherein interviewees express to *'feel watched closely'* and leading to a sense of limitation to their existence (Macfarlane, 2024 p. 1146).

The consequences of these surveillance and militarized governance are evidently presented in the study of Friedman. Interviewed woman in the study of Friedman experience difficulties *'to have a voice'* and fear civilian life. Some woman reported that joining the LTTE was *'a chance to escape'* from traditional gender roles that are again opposed in the rehabilitation programs (Friedman, 2018 p. 638). Women tend to experience the post-war civilian life as *'disempowered'* and express further concerns on a lack of self-determination and autonomy compared to their positions under the LTTE.

Beyond the consequences for how they experience legitimacy and self-determination, the surveillance of the Sri Lanka's security forces reflected in most of the data leads to decisions on vocational training. Some interviewees of Friedman decided not to enrol in state-supported training due to their concerns on security and military association (Friedman). Of those who participated, Friedman reported nine out thirty drop-outs due to concerns on trainings associated with the military.

Furthermore, Satkunanathan reported on a sense of *'trepidation about the future.'*

'...about their ability to find employment and re-build their lives free from harassment and surveillance in an environment in which they were still viewed as persons who have to be watched and monitored by the state.' (Satkunanathan, 2011).

Based on secondary data selected on direct representation from interviews with rehabilitees, a relatively coherent narrative emerges on how the rehabilitees experienced the rehabilitation efforts in relation to business for peace practices. Overall, the data indicates a shared sense of fear and distrust due to the pre-phase of the rehabilitation program followed by surveillance and militarized connotations during and after rehabilitation. The data does not prove reluctance directly to the practice of labour but reflects difficulties in the self-determination and suspicion towards the feared surveillance and military association.

Only a few references are made directly about the business for peace management authority. However, other data do reveal a misalignment in values attached to labour and business practices that fall under the business for peace management authority. For example, the former LTTE woman who express concerns about labour and the traditional gender roles.

5 Data Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Data discussion

Concept on values underlying the strategy

The rehabilitation strategy in a joint venture with business for peace corporations perceives rehabilitees as misguided, brainwashed and in need of rehabilitation for the development of a meaningful, useful, and productive civilian life. Therefore, the provision of labour and vocational training is assumed to serve the interest of rehabilitees. The argumentation is alternated with a reversed inference in which ‘ex-combatants’ who practice labour under business for peace authority such as Virtusa are perceived as good citizens that contribute to the nation’s development and economy.

In this conceptual understanding of business and peace, rehabilitees are perceived as individuals in need of support and rehabilitation to achieve this concept of civilian life. Therewith, the strategies justify systems, regulations, and other instruments for the achievement of these goals on behalf of the interest of rehabilitees. The justification pattern aligns with an understanding on power in biopolitics and normative assumptions on authority. As the deployment of rehabilitation techniques are assumed to eventually serve interest of rehabilitees and thus serve a win-win scenario. Furthermore, the strategies adhere expressively to convictions on constructability and transformation of the mind.

A triangulation of data between all questions and the theoretical explanation on legitimacy is explained below. Data found on question A represent the rehabilitation strategy. Data found on question B represent the discourse of rehabilitees. All data is examined towards the four explanations on legitimacy leading to the table below. The table demonstrates whether data is found in support of the explanation on legitimacy to answer all sub-questions. Thereafter, all combinations of the matrix are discussed.

	Strategy (A/B)	Rehabilitee’s Discourse (C)
Coercion	x	x
Returnment	x	x
Deception		x
Socialization	x	

Figure 5 Matrix of Four Explanations. Author, 2024

Strategy on Coercion and Rehabilitee’s Discourse on Coercion

The military display, restrictive rules within the program, monitoring after the program, and the disarming program, are interpreted as coercive means that constrain the autonomy of individuals. Inferred from the linguistics of equivocation using the CDA-method, the linguistics reveal restriction on movement and communication what is further interpreted as coercion.

Thes less overt data on coercion is interpreted as follow. First, family visits and visits to vocational training, health centres, or events are conditional upon granted permission. The self-praising on granted permission concurrently reveal that permission is necessary in the first place. Second, data proves detailed information on the duration and compulsory elements of rehabilitation determined by the rehabilitation authorities. Therewith, the voluntary presentation and letters of consent are inconsistent with for example, the administrative permissions.

Furthermore, the self-praised mercy to rehabilitate people instead of sending them to prison, does not indicate autonomy as it forces the rehabilitees into two scenarios; rehabilitation, or prison. Second, despite the duration is '*deemed longer*' in favour of the rehabilitee, it still keeps them longer whereby the decision is determined at the hands of the authority. Third, although military personal is claimed to behave '*so polite*,' it remains to be a military display on which only rehabilitees can state whether they perceive them as polite or differently. Fourth, it is expressed that '*There is no case of any individual being released without background being checked*' (Ranil Wijayapala, October 2011). Although authorities claim to do so to ensure and monitor successful integration after rehabilitation, the release remains conditional.

In comparison with the rehabilitees discourse, act of violence, torture and sexual harassment are addressed in relation to the BCGR authorities. Some data even demonstrate that rehabilitees did not know about the voluntary character of rehabilitation. Furthermore, a sense of fear, frustration and resentment are consistently addressed among the different sources. Data reveals further misunderstanding on the military personal that is directly connotated with fear in the source from Friedman. The data also reveals some expressions on lacking autonomy and lack of self-determination.

Therewith, data on the strategy and rehabilitates discourse both reveal the deployment of coercive means, yet in different forms and perceptions on the functionality. In the understanding of rehabilitation officials, coercion is justified whereas rehabilitees rather express concerns about the coercion. Thereby, the rehabilitees discourse does not reveal any acceptance of the deployment of coercive means. Once reflected to the theoretical framework, it means that without the recognition, means of coercion will not be a productive form of power and can hardly perceived as 'legitimate.'

Strategy on Returnment and Rehabilitee's Discourse on Returnment

The strategy considers deliberately the importance of returnment in support of the rehabilitees. Supportive returns concern education, spiritual and religious activities, facilitation of family visits, psychological therapy, vocational training, and sports. However, the supportive endeavours are perceived by the authorities as 'good' as they praise themselves for their '*generosity*.' The strong self-praise and lack of considerations on rehabilitees perspectives, indicate a pluralist and normative representation of the rehabilitee's interest. Furthermore, many of the administrative and informative instruments that are presented as supportive measurements do simultaneously entail mechanisms of enforcement to achieve the desired outcomes.

In comparison with the rehabilitees discourse, some data indicate shared values on means of returnment. In some sources, the expectations on supportive means for production are mentioned. However, the non-delivery of promised returnment and low compensations for labour have led to expressions of complaint.

Further data on returnment indicates that the values attributed to returns are outweighed by the trade-offs. This is evident in data from Friedman whereby the military enforcement outweighs the accepted benefit of vocational training. Furthermore, the interviewed women do not share the values in traditional marriage and traditional labour roles provided by the strategies. Therewith, data indicates that the values attached to the provided economic returns are pre-assumed by the authorities and misalign with values to which rehabilitees adhere.

Nonetheless, both discourses converge most closely on the explanation of returnment as rehabilitees are not reluctance to labour. However, discourses do not align on the substance details and conditions for labours relations during rehabilitation. The latter is partially due to

the inseparable connection to military and other coercive means of the rehabilitation that led to a sense of fear. Therewith, the strategy indicates to have fallen into normative reasoning on the value of returnments without consideration on how the values on returnment are weighted by the rehabilitees. Therewith, the misalignment and complaints on non-delivery do not strongly support the development of legitimacy towards the business for peace management authority.

Strategy on Deception and Rehabilitee's Discourse on Deception

Within the NAP-NFP, brief data reveal the consideration of covert resistance. However, solutions refrain from clear descriptions and fall into linguistics of equivocation. Nonetheless, the solutions to the risks suggest increased measurements on coercion; '*Comprehensive information,*' '*appropriate mechanisms,*' '*appropriate law enforcement.*' However, no data is found in the analysis of the strategies to conclude on deception.

In contrast, data from rehabilitees reveal that rehabilitees ' *censor their speech and tried to keep as low profile as possible during their time in rehabilitation*' (McRaith, 2012b). This provides strong evidence that rehabilitees act as if they have internalized the outlook of subordinations to give the very impressions towards the authority (Scott cited in Lukes, 2005). Acting in compliance to the authorities is a reasonable consideration as '*they feared that they could be sent to prison at any time from rehabilitation*' (McRaith, 2012b).

Nonetheless, the data on the rehabilitee's discourse indicating forms of deception is very limited. Thereby, it is difficult to conclude on active, yet covert forms grievances that represent all rehabilitees. Nevertheless, voices on frustration and resentment within the context of widely shared fear due to torture and surveillance observed in different sources, certainly reveal a degree of deception. Thereby, the data in consideration of the context certainly supports the explanation on deception.

Strategy on Socialization and Rehabilitee's Discourse on Socialization

The strategy assumes to establish an effect on the '*transformative mind*' of "*brainwashed*" to shape the strategies concept of values on civilian life and labour. The convictions on 'effect' and justifications of deprived and incompetent individuals in need for rehabilitation strongly reveal the strategies aim for socialization. Herein, the strategy alternates coercive, administrative, and disciplinary means with supportive and informative instruments in a way that corresponds to the process of socialization. Socialization aims to prevent conflict from arising by influencing the very wants and perceptions of targeted rehabilitees (Lukes, 2005). This is reflected in the terminology of used in the strategies on 'transformation of the mind' and visual expression on 'make up people.' These expressions precisely correspond with the understanding on socialization of Hacking who stated that it is possible to '*make up people*' (Hacking 1986). And Foucault that claims that policing the normal and abnormal and systematic surveillance can '*mould the soul*' (Foucault 1980, p. 119; Lukes, 2005, p.91).

Herein, the military display, restrictive rules within the program, monitoring after the program, disarming programs, and the inferred linguistics of equivocation that reveal restriction on movement and communication, are interpreted as coercive means. Concurrently, 97 coded supportive instruments on social and economic aspects reveal an extensive emphasis on instruments to foster the well-being of rehabilitees. As these biopolitical support adheres to values determined by the authorities of the strategy without consideration of the values of rehabilitees, it reveals that the supportive means are aimed at socialization towards their definition of civilian and productive life.

In comparison of the rehabilitees discourse, the data analysed in this study does not reveal any evidence for successful socialization. Although compliance can be observed in the strategies

BCGR-report, the disciplinary techniques and methods of surveillance are extensively addressed by rehabilitees and described in relation to a sense of '*fear, frustration and resentment.*' As rehabilitees felt '*closely watched*' and censored their speech, natural perceived legitimacy remains unlikely.

5. 2 Conclusion

The business for peace corporation Virtusa and the BCGR rehabilitation authority cooperated for the provision of vocational training and labour for rehabilitees. The joint venture was mainly aimed at economic rehabilitation in combination with aspects on social rehabilitation. Rehabilitees were subjected to rehabilitation strategies that aimed to transform them into useful and productive citizens for contributing to the prosperity and development of Sri Lanka.

The strategy perceives business and labour as beneficial for and on behalf of the interest of rehabilitees. Thereby, the strategy indicates that the joint venture with private corporations is a win-win for all actors. Simultaneously, the strategy expects rehabilitees to practice labour in contribution for the nation's wealth, peace, and development. However, this form of liberal peace still subdues the rehabilitees to relations of domination and hierarchy. After years of war, a legitimacy towards these relations, containing business for peace management authority that cooperates with a militarized rehabilitation program, is not to be taken for granted.

For the construction of such conception on legitimate labour and business in relation to peace, supportive measurements are deliberately presented in the strategy. In addition, informative, administrative, and coercive measurement are included in the strategy. Instruments are expected to have a transformative impact on the mind of rehabilitees to transform them into a meaningful and productive civilian life. The strategies aim for a process of socialization in which coercive and supportive means are alternated. Therein, data reveals a strategic aim for *socialization* to construct legitimate relations of labour and participation in vocational training under business for peace management authority.

However, the BCGR derives from a perception about deprived and incompetent rehabilitees that are in need of BCGR support. Subsequently, the strategies adhere to self-defined conceptions on values about a good civilian life and labour. These conceptions do not reflect considerations on how this is perceived from the perspective of rehabilitees. Yet, the strategy rather justifies the interventions and deployment of necessary deemed means in a normative approach.

In consideration of the theoretical explanations, compliance and the accomplished results of the strategy are more likely to be explained due to, coercion, returnment and deception. Overall, no evidence is found that rehabilitees have strongly internalized a perception in which they have legitimized the business for peace management authority.

The coercive means are likely to explain compliance in combination with deception as rehabilitees censored themselves and kept themselves low profile. However, even coercion did not lead to socialization in which individuals *bear the burden* resulting into acceptance and endurance. This because the suffering and frustration that should hypothetically transform into acceptance and endurance are still consistently expressed in the data on the rehabilitees discourse.

The explanation on returnment did not lead to socialization either. This, despite the strong commitment in the rehabilitation strategy to supportive measurements. Admittedly, the assumed need for supportive economic measurements concerning labour, business, and products aligns with the needs expressed by rehabilitees. However, rehabilitees express to

associate different values to labour is pursued for than the values anticipated by the rehabilitation strategy, resulting into misaligned understanding on substantive issues on labour.

Furthermore, the desired returnments did not outweigh the supplementary coercive character of the supportive measurements. Moreover, the delivery of supportive measurements fell short, resulting in disappointment. And finally, fear and resentment towards the military involvement obstructed the process of socialization.

The same applies for deception that theoretically should have led into socialization. For similar reasons, no evidence is found for that claim either. The mask of deception what should have found that faces have grown to fit the mask, is not supported by the data. Thus, no evidence is found that reveals the claim for socialization whereby rehabilitees are transformed to perceive the business for peace management authority as unconditionally legitimate and natural.

Yet, due to a lack of data referring directly towards business for peace management authority, it cannot be concluded strongly that legitimacy is absent for business authority once isolated from rehabilitation. Nonetheless, the data sufficiently supports the rejection of the hypothesis on socialization in consideration of the associated rehabilitation program. This, because of the misalignment between the strategic aims in the rehabilitation program and the rehabilitee's discourse.

This leads to the conclusion that future rehabilitation programs need to prioritize experienced legitimacy and the perspectives of rehabilitation over justification if they truly seek to establish relations of legitimized authority. For corporations and business for peace managers, the recommendation follows to pre-assess the dynamic between normative justification and experienced legitimation. For corporations, it is inadequate to merely align the corporate statement with formal narratives on rehabilitation in the contexts of Sri Lanka's. Not without considering how joint rehabilitation efforts are being perceived by those subjected to it. If not considered, efforts can lead to misaligned discourses on labour and management authority once the corporation is connotated with militarized and state-led rehabilitation. Rehabilitation efforts that rather lead to detraction on legitimate management authority in the realities of rehabilitees.

For the scientific aim of this study concerning the analysis on power, the results support that the observation of actions and behaviour in compliance is insufficient for the observation of legitimacy. Although rehabilitees complied with the practice of labour and vocational training, socialization did not succeed to internalize the conceptions underlying the strategy. Namely, compliance is rather explained by deception. Therewith, the case is not sufficient to validate the Lukes approach on power to influence the mind and very wants as the hypothetical explanation on socialization is rejected. However, deception supports Lukes claim that pluralist views on observable behaviour are inadequate due to negligence to unobservable resistance and lacking legitimacy explained by deception.

Further research is necessary to explore the formation of legitimacy towards business for peace management authority in post-conflict societies. For comparative purposes, the legitimacy of labour and business for peace authority can be reevaluated in post-conflict societies once formed in other environments than rehabilitation camps. Such a comparison can enhance the knowledge on post-war environments and legitimacy towards business for peace management authority.

5.3 Reflection

Lincoln and Guba's idea of 'trustworthiness' based on the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this section, the actual conduction of this study is reflected towards the indicators of Lincoln and Guba.

Credibility includes a reflection into what extent the collected data can be considered as 'truth' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This is slightly evaluated in the section on data collection for the source VII from Malkanthi Hettiarachchi (2013) because of the critical reactions on the report. Noteworthy was the use of the term 'beneficiaries' and other terminologies that indicate pre-assumptions on the account of the author. Nonetheless, the source is considered useful as it can be explained by the conclusion on deception.

For the representation and credibility, the other sources turn out to be more representative as they extensively cite direct expressions from interviews with (former) rehabilitees. Most of the other sources used interviews after rehabilitation. Therewith, possible deception and desirability bias is less likely, improving the credibility of the data.

Then, conclusions can be manipulated by the author by overrepresenting some sources at the expense of others. In reflection, I aimed at a diverse data collection considering different sources on the matters inquired in this study. However, and as explained in the methodology, some data was not accessible or did not sufficiently outweigh the ethical considerations. On top of that, some of the approached actors did not reply on the request for data and cooperation.

Therewith, direct data from former rehabilitees who are currently employed in business for peace corporations is limited. It is likely that this population has developed different views on the questions inquired in the study that change the outcome of the study. Although the resentment and fear towards the associated military rehabilitation is evident, it can not be concluded that rehabilitees perceive business for peace that is not associated with rehabilitation as illegitimate. Therefore, it is important to note that the conclusion of this study applies only on business for peace in a joint venture with militarized rehabilitation.

The data that was accessible is considered to be representative for the rehabilitees discourse. Secondary sources are selected on the directness of data from interviewees with former rehabilitees and most sources contain a variety of respondents. During the final stage of the research, more data was found that met the requirements on directness and representation. However, in a preliminary assessment of these later found sources, the sources aligned with the collected data. Thereby, I considered the later sources as confirmative to the saturation of data.

Transferability concerns the degree to what extent the conclusions apply on other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In principle, case studies are context dependent. On top of that, this study aims at specific discourses concerning the strategy and rehabilitees in Sri Lanka between 2009 and 2011. Therewith, caution is necessary in the application to different context with different war-endings, populations, or different rehabilitation programs. Nonetheless, the conceptual model could be assessed deductively in different contexts where business for peace corporations align their activities with state-led rehabilitation efforts. Although different outcomes are likely, the model remains useful for the examination of legitimacy in consideration of other contextual differences.

Dependability is about consistency of the findings once repeated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In consideration of the implications addressed under *credibility*, the study can be repeated partially. Namely, the CDA-FDA included some subjectivity in the interpretations of discourses and functionality of objects and systems. Nonetheless, many of the linguistics are overtly

expressed in the strategy and sometimes exactly matches the linguistics used in theoretical explanations. For the rehabilitees discourse, the functionality and experiences of the strategy, objects, and systems are directly addressed in many of the sources. Therewith, I argue a sufficient degree of dependability if the study is repeated with the same data.

Confirmability concerns a reflection on what extent the conclusions are inferred from the data instead of the researcher that risks falling in bias, certain motivations, or personal interests (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Drawing on the explanations under *dependability*, some subjectivity on the account of the author is included. However, in many cases I could take over the expressions exactly what fosters the confirmability. In other instances, the inference could be made due to the consistent reference to values or due to the context in which expressions were situated. To account for the subjectivity in the interpretations, I described the implications for the observation method in the methodology.

For the use of component from FDA and the triangulation with theoretical framework and developed conceptual model, I consider it necessary to reflect on the internal validity beyond the indicators of Lincoln & Guba. I do this to account for the relations drawn between the rehabilitation strategy, the corporations, and the formation of the rehabilitees discourse on legitimacy towards business for peace management.

The first assumption that derived from the theoretical conceptualization concerned the alignment of the rehabilitation strategy and the business for peace corporations. Based on the online official statement of the corporation, the relation is considered to be valid but not grounded on many sources. More data from the corporations can improve the validation of this relationship.

Second, it cannot be concluded that the formation of legitimacy is exactly caused by the efforts of the rehabilitation strategy due to the implications on observation and causality in the analysis on power as discussed in the theoretical framework. However, discourses are described and compared resulting in the observation of misalignment between the strategy conceptions and the perceptions of rehabilitees. Although relations to causations are sometimes directly addressed, the data remains insufficient to conclude on causality due to the complexity of the formation process. As this study aimed at the conditions under rehabilitation and the strategic efforts, it did not consider other events in time or at personal level that account for the construction of ideas and values. Nonetheless, the analysed data is sufficient to triangulate with the four explanations in the conceptual model. Therewith, conclusions could be drawn on how the data aligned or misaligned with each of the explanations. It is important not to reverse the inference and drawing an excessively assertive conclusions on causality without putting it into perspective to the complexities of formation and socialization.

Lastly, I declare not to have any personal interest in the outcome of results other than finishing my master's inquiry to obtain the master of science. Furthermore, the study is positioned in anarchist theories on legitimacy and thereby focus intentionally on the perspective of rehabilitees. Therewith, other views on the rehabilitation strategy and rehabilitees from other actors than the BCGR authorities, the corporations, and the rehabilitees, are not consulted as they fall beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, I have strived to act to the best of my ability to interpret both of the discourses accurately and precisely for comparative reasons. It is by no means my intention to politically support or to disadvantage certain populations in respect for ethical considerations in doing research.

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Appendix 1: Coding Scheme

Code	Grounded
Instrument: Supportive	142
Justification of Power	123
Intention of "Effect"	110
> Concept (Idea)	77
Instrument: Administrative	63
Business for peace	57
> Concept: Framing and definition	43
Instrument: Infrastructure	43
LINK	41
> Concept: Inference / Argument	37
Practice/triaing of labour	36
Instrument: Informative	35
Instrument: constrain	32
Friends of peace	30
legitimacy and labour	30
Military presence	30
Instrument: Community / social influence	26
Norm: Civilian Life	26
Dependency	13
Adjective: positive	12
Concept: Value	11
Stakeholders	11
LINK Answer	9
Instrument	8
Adjective: negative	7
Structure	7
C: perspective of ex-combatants	6
Instrument: Government personnel	5
Voluntary	4
Conflict rootcause	2
Peace building/ Cohesion / transformation	1
Positive Symbol	1
skill levels	1

