Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department of Peace Studies

Peace and Conflict Studies

NEGATIVE PEACE IN SRI LANKA: WHAT IS PREVENTING POSITIVE PEACE?

Jillian Taylor Wiedemeier

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2016

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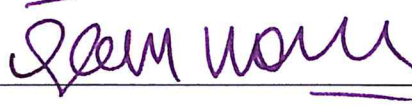Department of Peace Studies

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Master's Thesis

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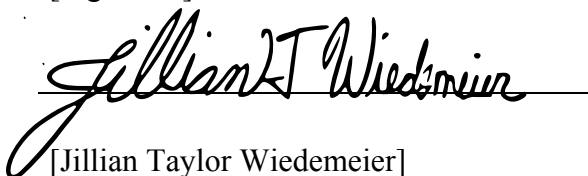
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ABSTRACT

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The island of Sri Lanka has suffered from a long history of conflict. In May 2009, a 26-year civil war was ended by military defeat of the separatist group the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) by the Government of Sri Lanka. Human rights organizations have accused the GOSL of committing war crimes at the end of the war and of violating human rights violations in the post-war context. The GOSL refuted all claims and declared there is peace now that the war ended. The main question has been: Where is the peace?

The aim of this thesis is to identify what was preventing Sri Lanka from transitioning from a state of negative peace to positive peace as it was defined in Johan Galtung's peace theory. The study of the historical background of Sri Lanka and the Pillars of Positive Peace developed by the Institute for Peace & Economics have aided in determining how positive peace was undermined during President Rajapaksa's post-war presidency. The thesis found that negative peace was sustained due to a lack of accountability, restrictions placed on civil society and identity politics. The thesis concluded that there were three main blockages to positive peace.

Key Words: Sri Lanka, post-war, positive peace, negative peace, structural violence, conflict transformation.

ÖZET

Sri Lanka adasi uzun yillar boyunca agir savaslar gecirmistir. 2009 Mayis'inda, ayrilikci grup Tamil Eelam Ozgurluk Kaplanlari'nin (LTTE) Sri Lanka hukumeti tarafindan yenilgiye ugratilmasiyla 26 yil suren sivil savas sona ermistir. Insan haklari organizasyonlari, savas sonunda Sri Lanka hukumetini savas sucu ve savas sonrasi sartlarinda insan haklari ihlali ile suclamistir. Sri Lanka hukumeti tum bu suclamalari reddetmis ve savas sonrasi baris sartlarinin olustugunu beyan etmistir. Asil soru ise barisin nerede oldugudur.

Bu tezin amaci Sri Lanka'nin, Johan Galtung'un baris teorisinde tanimlandigi sekilde negatif baristan pozitif barisa gecis surecini engelleyen etmenlerin belirlenmesidir. Sri Lanka tarihi ve Institute for Peace & Economics tarafindan belirlenen "Pillars of Positive Peace", Baskan Rajapaksa'nin savas sonrasi hukumdarligi esnasinda pozitif barisin nasil bozulduguna isik tutar.

Bu tez; denetim eksikligi, sivil topluma getirilen kisitlamalar ve kimlik politikalari sonucunda negatif barisin surduruldugunu ortaya koyar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sri Lanka, Savas Sonrasi, pozitif baris, negative baris, yapisal siddet, kriz donusumu.

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INTRODUCTION

Describing the Situation

The destabilization that followed decolonization in the ninetieth century has led to many intrastate conflicts. This effect is especially true of heterogeneous nations such as Sri Lanka. The country is composed of a Sinhala Buddhist majority and a Tamil Hindu minority along with other small minorities of Christians and Muslims. The country suffered a devastating civil war that ended in a military victory on May 18, 2009. The post-war era that followed was extremely vulnerable and still far from reaching an all-inclusive peace. The combination of ethnocentric nationalism and a demand for justice in post-war Sri Lanka has kept the country divided.

Extreme ethnic tensions emerged after the British granted the island independence in 1948. From then on, parties of the ethnic majority have dominated subsequent governments. The Sinhalese nationalist governments passed many laws that discriminated and disadvantaged minorities. The Sinhalization of the state prioritized Sinhalese Buddhists and created an ethnocentric society that put minorities at a severe socioeconomic and political disadvantage. The discriminating policies passed by the ethnocentric government changed Tamil prospects indefinitely. Anti-Tamil legislation especially affected the Tamil youth of that time who were no longer able to find or keep jobs. Tensions between Sinhalese and Tamils escalated as identity politics continued to enforce cultural narratives of one another as "the Other" that were invaders and a threat to their existence. Violent clashes and riots between ethnic groups broke out throughout the late 70's and early 80's. The combination of social, political and economic injustices with the reoccurring violent communal attacks fueled the idea of the need for a separate Tamil homeland[1]. This was the main goal of the ethnic Tamil separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). In 1983 a civil war broke out between the LTTE and the GOSL and lasted for 26 years.

By eliminating rival groups, the LTTE was able to achieve their goal in becoming the sole voice of the Tamils. The LTTE's use of child soldiers, suicide attacks and

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[1] The LTTE wanted this homeland to be exclusively for Hindu or Christian Tamils. LTTE commited many attacks against Muslims living in the North and East to get them to move out of the area.

assassinations of politicians was enough ammunition for the GOSL to label the LTTE as a terrorist group. This allowed the Sri Lankan military and security forces to extend their power in the name of anti-terrorism. The Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) of 1979 was enacted to curtail LTTE activity. However, the harsh methods used by security forces later proved to be counterproductive. The ongoing harassment Tamils suffered from because of the PTA ultimately pushed many towards the LTTE seeking protection (Raghavan 2012, p. 48). Peace talks and negotiations were attempted between 2002-2006 but they failed to hold a cease-fire. After failing to come to a peace agreement the war continued for another three years. At this point the LTTE had managed to hold many Tamils hostage in the northeast, using them as human shields. The GOSL continued to shell these areas full of civilians. At the end of the war approximately 300,000 Tamils were internally displaced and in desperate need of humanitarian assistance. The Oakland Institute's research (2015) reported 147,000 persons were unaccounted from one Tamil-homeland region (p. 4). Even after the violence of warfare ended, Tamils continued to be victims of forced disappearances, unlawful killings, and detainment (U.S. Department of State, 2011).

Unfortunately, violence of this scale has not been atypical of identity-based conflicts. In many post-conflict and post-war settings, mass direct and physical violence ends; however, the prejudice and inequality that previously existed is often still present within the society. Peace researcher Johan Galtung has identified such a state as negative peace. In other words, negative peace is the absence of direct violence but not of cultural and structural violence. Structural violence refers to a form of violence where some social structure or institution may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs, while cultural violence refers to aspects of a culture that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence, and may be exemplified by religion, ideology or language (Galtung 1996, p. 2). This has been the case for Sri Lanka before and after the civil war. Extreme ethnic politics, democratic regression and a growing authoritarian governance are all contributing factors that have enabled Sri Lanka's continued state of negative peace after war. According to Galtung (2011), this is better than the situation is better than violence, but it is considered to be fully peaceful because positive peace is missing in the conceptualization (p. 1). The ultimate goal is for negative peace to be able to

transform into positive peace. Briefly put, positive peace is a condition where nonviolence and social justice remove the causes of violence. It is achieved when social institutions of peace are in place that make the idea of using war or other violence unlikely to occur" (MacNair, 2003 p. 80).

Sri Lanka's negative peace has been stagnant because social justice has not been a priority of the government's post-conflict agenda. President Rajapaksa was in power for the last four years of armed conflict and five years post-conflict (November 19, 2005 - January 9, 2015). During his time in power, nepotism and cronyism were especially abundant in government. According to Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace and Justice, President Rajapaksa and his three brothers controlled 45% and 70% of Sri Lanka's budget and managed five of the largest government ministries. A total of 29 members of Mahinda Rajapaka's extended family held senior positions in the government, civil service, media, or industry (Colombo Telegraph 2013). Rajapaksa replaced impartial officials to create a loyal regime (Devotta 2010a, p. 335). The combination of nepotism and authoritarian rule resulted in high levels of corruption and the impunity of an opaque government. The lack of checks and balances enabled the regime to consolidate and protect their power for 5 years after the war had ended. Much of the global attention on post-conflict Sri Lanka focused on alleged human rights charges and war crimes committed by its own government in the final phases of the war against the LTTE (Bandarage, 2012 p. 104). The international community was unsuccessful in trying to use economic aid as an incentive for liberal peacebuilding due to Rajapaksa and his regime's increased ties with illiberal countries such as India, China, Iran and Pakistan (Goodhand & Korf 2010, p. 10). This allowed the GOSL to focus on economic growth and sideline political and institutional reforms. Human rights defenders were treated as emenies of the state. Accountability inquiries were not popular among Sinhalese who viewed their military and president as hereos.

President Rajapaksa and his regime spent a great deal of effort preventing independent human rights investigations from taking place. The GOSL explicitly stated that it had no interest in pursuing punitive justice and ruled out a policy of prosecution in respect of crimes committed during and after the war (Anketell, 2013). After a great deal of international pressure the GOSL attempted to appease the

international community by forming an internal commission to address reconciliation and accountability concerns. The commission produced a report in 2011 called the *Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission* (LLRC), which was highly criticized and essentially ineffective at bringing any change. Preventing proper accountability became a roadblock in Sri Lanka's peace process.

Legitimate transitional justice mechanisms for truth and reconciliation were desperately needed. Reconciliation is needed for the population as a whole come to terms with the past and provide assurances to victims that past atrocities will not reoccur. Reconciliation often includes international criminal tribunals, national prosecutions, community courts, truth commissions, reflections and rehabilitation. Truth is a key component to these processes. Government support and involvement is needed in order for the reconciliation to have a chance of success (Shubert 2013, p.5). With this being said there was no hope for President Rajapaksa and his regime to transform Sri Lanka to a positive peace.

Overview of Thesis

Within this framework of negative versus positive peace, the main purpose of this study is to analyze the continuous negative peace after the military victory of the LTTE in May 2009 and discover what was preventing positive peace. In other words, this study will examine the structural and cultural violence that is continuing in place of violence from war. It is important to examine which institutions are preventing Sri Lankan minorities from meeting their basic needs (structural violence), as well as why and how their society allowed for this (cultural violence). Identifying the specifics of structural and cultural violence will provide insight on which peacebuilding strategies would aid in guiding a transition to positive peace. Since the war was won through military victory it is likely that similar minority grievances from before the war reoccurred in the post-war context. Therefore this research will include a historical background to demonstrate the role European colonization had on shaping an ethnocentric society that enabled a future of democratic regression and the legitimationan of an authoritarian power in government run by only Sinhala Buddhist elites rather than the Westminster-style parliamentary democracy that was instated after independence from the British. In short, it is necessary to examine the roots of

the conflict to address the original root causes of what spiraled into a civil war that lasted nearly three decades.

The research question to be answered around which this thesis will be built is the following: What is sustaining negative peace in post-war Sri Lanka? What role has identity politics played in the negative peace in Sri Lanka? The thesis will seek to identify what factors were compromising positive peace. It will then look at how reconciliation and peacebuilding were carried out in post-war Sri Lanka and analyze what was successful in addressing structural and cultural violence and what failed to.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on Johan Galtung's positive and negative peace theory as is applicable to the case of Sri Lanka. Under this theory positive peace is the end goal for post-conflict Sri Lanka. Understanding and identifying aspects of negative peace in Sri Lanka will guide the research to uncover the roots of the conflict. Once the roots have been determined it will be possible to understand what post-war mechanisms will aid Sri Lanka's negative peace transform to a positive peace. The framework will also apply the Institute for Economics and Peace's (IEP) pillars of peace, which adopts Galtung's lens of positive peace by presenting eight factors that create peaceful societies.

The thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 constitutes a literature review, which provides a conceptual analysis of the negative and positive peace in peace research. This will also include the analysis of factors that can compromise and support negative and positive peace. This chapter will also further define the different classifications of violence as they pertain to this research. The last section of the chapter will discuss post-conflict peacebuilding, reconciliation and accountability.

Chapter 2 aims to provide a historical background of Sri Lanka's intrastate conflicts. In order to analyze the country's negative peace, the root issues that originally triggered conflict should be acknowledged and analyzed. This allows for a better comprehension of what factors and circumstances triggered conflict and violence. It will then be possible to look for patterns in the post-war context. The first section of the historical background will briefly examine the effects European colonization had on Sri Lanka. The influences of European politics left lasting impressions on Sri Lanka's balance of power.

The next section of the chapter examines the effects British colonization. The section will discuss the great success the British had in developing infrastructure, schools and plantations, in addition to contributing to ethnic competition in these developing sectors. This was accompanied by the creation of new class divisions and as well as a new elite class. English language education would create a social divide among the population. The section will conclude by discussing the movement for independence from the British in 1948 and the ethnic divisions that ensued post-independence. A shift from democratic based politics to identity-based politics will become apparent in post-independent Sri Lanka.

The last section of the chapter will discuss the discriminatory policies of newly independent Sri Lanka. These policies benefitted the majority Sinhalese while severely disadvantaged the minorities. Political, linguistic and religious discrimination began what would eventually spiral into a 26 year civil war that would cost the island a great deal of lives. This section will end with a short description of the human rights crimes both the GOSL and the LTTE committed. A UN Panel of Experts on Sri Lanka created an independent report to advise the UN secretary general. The report contains evidence that both the LTTE and GOSL have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity. Other testimonies, photos and video footage support the claims. This information will be important to comprehend so that it can be applied to the aspects of reconciliation and accountability that will be discussed in later chapters.

This chapter covers a considerable time span that aims to provide enough background and historical information so that the reader will better be able to comprehend how the roots of the conflict affected the post-conflict peace in Sri Lanka.

The link between identity based politics and the prevalence of structural and cultural violence depicts a formula for poor governance and minority and opposition repression. The questions that guided the research in this chapter are: what are the key events in Sri Lankan history that have contributed to a societal divide? How did these divides escalate to ethnic violence?

Chapter 3 acts as a peace landscape by giving an overview of peace progress in post-conflict Sri Lanka while President Rajapaksa was still in power until January 2015.

The chapter will begin by examining how he and his regime responded to the end of the war. It will analyze the post-war events and it will call into question how the regime used their power and for whose benefit. In other words, it will reveal which requirements of positive peace were omitted. The information from the historical background in chapter 2 should provide a link to recognize similarities from the original roots of the conflict to the post-war negative peace.

The next section of the chapter will discuss the effects that militarization has had on the post-war reconstruction. This section will seek to point out how militarization aided in conducing a state of negative peace and contributing to structural and cultural violence. It will shed light on who benefitted from this and whom it negatively affected.

The chapter will conclude with a case study that will examine the peacebuilding projects and activities of local NGOs, focusing mainly on the National Peace Council (NPC) but will also discuss the contributing efforts of other organizations from 2009 through 2014. The study will discover how civil society has been able to aid in efforts of a transformation to positive peace and how they were also prevented from doing so. This research will reveal how the CSO's became extremely limited in their capabilities to carry out peacebuilding work due to restrictions and constraints placed on them by the GOSL.

Chapter 4 analyzes the factors of positive peace and show how they have been blocked in Sri Lanka's post-war reconstruction. The obstructions of these factors are obstacles to positive peace. This will explain why the peacebuilding work reported in the previous chapter faced many challenges. This chapter will provide an explanation of the perpetual negative peace by examining how the factors for positive peace are compromised. The chapter will show how the governance of President Rajapaksa and his regime were responsible for many of the obstructions to positive peace.

Chapter 5, which is the last chapter, breaks down the analysis from the previous chapters and discusses the main findings of the reasons why positive peace has been blocked. The chapter will also explain how reconciliation could not have been successful under those circumstances.

The conclusion provides a general overview that emphasizes the major outcomes that were discovered within this thesis. It will reflect on what was successful in bringing change for Sri Lanka and what failed and continued to contribute to negative peace. It will then discuss the link between the root cause of conflict and the post-war context. It will conclude with two short sections. The first will discuss suggestions that could aid in the transition to positive peace and the second will briefly discuss the limitations and advice for future research.

Chapter I

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ANALYSIS OF NEGATIVE PEACE

In order to discuss peace and its progress, it is necessary to explain what peace means as it pertains to this thesis. In this thesis peace will be discussed as either a positive or negative state. Peace researcher Johan Galtung's concepts of positive and negative peace and the Institute for Economics and Peace's (IEP) conceptual framework of pillars for positive peace have shaped the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Peace researcher Johan Galtung is well known for coining the terms negative and positive peace. The word 'peace' has often had various meanings throughout history and across cultures. Before peace research, a common idea of peace was often thought of as the end of a war or end of a period of mass violence. In other words, 'peace' referred to the absence of a direct physical violence. However, Galtung's studies in peace research led him to find a problem with this definition of 'peace'. He found that there were multiple forms of violence that played a crucial role in peace. Galtung classified three categories of violence: direct, structural and cultural. Direct (or personal) violence was defined as violence that was committed by one or more actors therefore making it a visible violence. Peace was then categorized according to the presence or absence of these types of violence. With that being said, Galtung defined negative peace as the absence of direct violence, emphasizing that cultural and/or structural violence were still ongoing. This meant that negative peace should not be the ultimate end goal in resolving conflict. In a post-conflict negative peace, if structural and/or cultural violence are present, then there are many that are still suffering from conflict due to the unresolved roots of said conflict. When these roots are recognized and social justice becomes a priority, a positive peace can transform.

The Institute for Economics and Peace (2013) developed a holistic framework that describes the factors that make a country more peaceful. In other words, rather than mainly focusing on determining causes for different types of violence, this research of the IEP aimed to deepen the understanding of factors that create and maintain a peaceful society (p. 3). The following factors are:
- Well Functioning Government

- Good Relations with Neighbors
- Equitable Distribution of Resources
- Low Levels of Corruption
- Free Flow of Information
- Acceptance of the Rights of Others
- Sound Business Environment
- High Level of Human Capital

The IEP believes these factors are pre-requisites that are necessary for peace as well as human development. Without peace, simple activities such as acquiring basic education, starting a business or community group, and speaking freely become more difficult (p. 5). These types of frustrations in a state contribute to structural and cultural violence. Strengthening the eight interdependent factors the IEP developed help in guiding an identified negative peace to a positive one. The pillars of peace work to stop and prevent cultural and structural violence. When these factors are blocked a negative peace resumes.

The chapter will explain the previously mentioned terms in greater detail so that they can later be identified in context to Sri Lanka's conflict situation.

1.1 STRUTCURAL VIOLENCE

Johan Galtung introduced the concept of structural violence in 1969. Galtung (1969) explains the term as violence that was built into a society's structure and revealed unequal power and resulted in unequal life chances (p. 171). Galtung's research enabled others to continue research of structural violence and it's effects.

> Structural violence is injustice and exploitation built into a social system that generates wealth for the few and poverty for the many, stunting everyone's ability to develop their full humanity. By privileging some classes, ethnicities, genders, and nationalities over others, it institutionalizes unequal opportunities for education, resources, and respect. Structural violence forms the very basis of capitalism, patriarchy, and any dominator system (Hathaway, 2013).

Being able to identify and recogonize structural violence is essential in the process of building peace and resovling conflicts. It is important that structural violence be differentiated from direct violence. Direct violence can be physical or pyscholgical and most importantly intentional. It often receives more attention because it more visible. For example, a person that has been the victim of direct violence would most likely be able to display physical evidence such as injuries or they might display post-traumatic behavior that others that recogonize. This is a clear difference from

structural violence which can often go unoticed as it is often reoccuring and often invisible. According to Galtung (1969) the suffering and harm caused by structural violence and direct violence should not be compared for doing so would be a "disservice to man" (p. 185). The problem is that the suffering and harm that results from structural violence is not taken as seriously as that of direct violence. The social institutions and structures hold great power and create structural barriers that indirectly control peoples access to basic human needs and prevent them from meeting their potential in life. For example, dying from a prevntable disease because the person was not been educated about a vaccine or do not have acccess to proper healthcare.

Galtung (1969) noted that inequality and distribution of power can be measured once they are accepted as the general formula for structural violence. A society can look at "which factors, apart from personal violence and the threat of personal violence, tend to uphold inequality?" (p. 175). There are many forms of inequality that make up structrual violence. Not having access to proper healthcare, nutrition, education, jobs and positions of leadership keep marginalized communities in a continuous state of struggle to improve their lives. Macnair (2003) notes that the jobs that are available to marginalized groups are often dangerous or under exploitative conditions that ultimately prevent them from being able to improve their lives. Violence of this nature "severely differs from that of an acute crisis faced in direct violence." Instead victims are facing chronic conditions (p 39). These chronic conditions often lead to extreme psychological effects such as a pervasive sense of powerlessness. Until there is enough momentum for a movement of change, often times, victims of structural violence have just accepted their poor conditions as the norm. The invisibility of structural violence becomes routinely apart of the grounds of everyday life. In ethnic based conflicts victims of structural violence are often minority groups and since they are the minority their grievances often go ignored.

Politics also have a prominent connection with structural violence. Those who have political access have the power to keep those who do not powerless. Identity politics in particular set up conditions for politics to be ethnically, linguistically, culturally and/or religiously based. Orjuela (2014) explains that identity politics appeal to people's innate need for belonging. Identity based political groups can easier

mobilize large groups and claim power (p. 755). These groups form for power in resistance as well as in oppression. When identity politics favor a particular group, corruption and structural violence will follow. Those that benefit from structural violence will protect the structure when it is threatened (Galtung 1969, p. 179). Corruption allows those in power to misallocate resources, manipulate or change laws and not be held accountable for the negative impacts that result. This gives a group economic, political and social power over others simply because of their ability to mobilize the power of their identity and therefore enabling the discrimination and marginalization that occurs during structural violence. It is important to note that when identity politics, corruption and structural violence are present in a state, the government is not truly democratic despite what they may claim. Democratization and political reform are structural changes that can protect minorities from structural violence. However, a state that is run by identity politics will be able to use its corrupt power to turn the masses against true democratic ideas because it would negatively affect the interests and power of the ruling party. The result is bad governance, political exclusion, inequitable distribution of resources and human rights violations.

Structural violence is often present in both pre and post conflict contexts. This means that structural violence can be both the cause and result of direct violence. Rowson (2012) makes an important link between development and the occurrence of structural violence. He notes how the western concept of development was meant to industrialize states claiming they would become "wealthier and healthier," (p.12) however, when reviewing the history of development it reveals that structural violence was often the result after economic, political and social changes (p. 11). Meaning that structural violence was not just caused by local forces. Colonization had extreme impacts on developing countries. Western imperialist influence and power over developing states altered their dynamics and gave root to many intrastate conflicts. For example Sri Lanka, Rwanda and Kenya all suffered due to colonial favoritism towards particular ethnic groups that ultimately stored up conflict for the future (Rowson 2012, p. 88). The roots of inequality will portray the structural violence in a society.

1.2 CULTURAL VIOLENCE

According to Galtung (1990), "cultural violence is defined as any aspects of a culture such as religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence" (p. 291). Galtung also suggests that cultural violence changes societies "moral color" to accept acts of structural or direct violence and view them as normal or justified. Like structural violence, cultural violence is also referred to as invisible because of how ingrained it becomes in society. Racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination and prejudice are also used to justify violence (Fischer 2007, p. 188). One example is when prejudice against people of certain races, religions or genders is normalized in a society and prevents those people from finding good jobs. This thereby prevents them from being able to take care of themselves and their family.

Another example is the use of violence in the name of ones country could be justified and accepted due to nationalism or ideology (Galtung 1990, p. 292). When nationalism becomes embedded in culture it often excuses and/or justifies, violent actions with language that makes the act seem less violent and/or necessary for the protection of the nation. Brokate (2009) points out that cultural violence disguises itself in language by making terms like "collateral damage" and "friendly fire" softer and thereby masking the extreme suffering due to war that they cause (p. 78). By using the word 'friendly' instead of 'accidental,' 'unintentional' or 'ally' fire, the violent action can be better accepted by a society due to the positive connotation that the word 'friend' is associated with. The same can be said for 'collateral' damage, which can desensitize people from a distance to the reality of the victims affected on the ground.

Cultural violence is also evident in the way that violence is recounted in history. Cabezudo and Haavelsrud (2007) assert that when violence and human suffering are excluded or altered in education material it serves to legitimize it and "makes it difficult to develop an understanding of the causes of violence…" Preventing the study of violence and its causes is also considered a form of cultural violence (p. 281). When people are not able to question without fear or think freely it makes it extremely difficult for them to be objective and stand against injustices.

Cultural violence is essentially the manipulation of what a society approves of as acceptable behavior and actions. This is what makes structural violence invisible and perpetuates suffering of others as acceptable.

1.3 NEGATIVE PEACE

Now that structural and cultural violence have been explained, they can be understood in the context of better defining negative peace. Negative peace is the absence of direct physical violence, but not of cultural and/or structural violence. Galtung (2011) notes that negative peace is preferable to the violence of war, but it is not fully peaceful because positive peace is missing in conceptualization (p. 1). Simply put, negative peace is not meant to be ideal. When mass violence has come to an end, many will be more than satisfied with negative peace and will try to return to their everyday lives, on the contrary, there are many others that will never be able to return to normal lives and will continue to live in a state of social injustice fearing threats of personal violence and continued restrictions or limits of access to basic human needs. A great deal of work still needs to be done so that everyone in society can live in peace. Negative peace is a process that needs to be treated as a curative/healing phase. During this time it is necessary to address and analyze what specific events and actions occurred that created the present state. Ideally, during negative peace cultural and structural violence will decrease and the root causes of conflicts will be identified and addressed. These issues can then be included in peacebuilding and reconciliation. This will aid in implementing systems that will prevent those conflicts from reoccurring and less likely for actors to respond to conflict with violence in the future.

1.4 POSITIVE PEACE

Positive peace is the end goal of conflict and violence. It is the absence of direct, structural and cultural violence. "Well-developed Positive Peace represents the capacity for a society to meet the needs of citizens, reduce the number of grievances that arise and resolve remaining disagreements without the use of violence" (Institute for Economics and Peace 2015, p. 9). According to Galtung (1996) there are six tasks that need to be completed in order to reach positive peace: "eliminating the direct violence that causes suffering, eliminating the structures that cause suffering through

economic inequity… and eliminating cultural themes that justify one or the other."
The last 3 tasks are to build direct, structural and cultural peace (p. 173).

> *Direct positive peace* would address all basic needs, survival, well-being, freedom and identity... *Structural positive peace* would substitute freedom for repression and equity for exploitation, and then reinforce this with dialogue instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and participation instead of marginalization… *Cultural positive peace* would substitute legitimation of peace for legitimation of violence; in religion, law, and ideology; in language; in art ad science; in schools, universities, and the media; building a positive peace culture (Galtung 1996, p. 32).

Some scholars associate the idea of positive peace as unrealistic and "too good to be true." Positive peace is a long term goal and process that is by no means easy to achieve and requires a great deal of change and growth in a society. It is important to note that during the course of the process there should be a decrease in the number of people suffering which makes the process worthwhile. The important question now is what has to happen next to complete Galtung and Fischer's six tasks to reach positive peace?

Now that negative and positive peace have been explained, it will now be possible to further examine specific factors that compromise one another.

1.5 FACTORS OF POSITIVE PEACE

The study of positive and negative peace in peace research provides a great deal of insight into the dynamics of post-war peace. It can be better understood what paths to peace will have a greater probability of reaching positive peace or a continued stagnant negative peace. The presence or absence of certain factors will ultimately determine this. The Institute for Economics and Peace (2013) report *The Pillars of Peace* reported eight factors they believe create positive peace. They are: well functioning government, sound business environment, equitable distribution of resources, acceptance of the rights of others, good relations with neighbors, free flow of information, high levels of human capital and low levels of corruption (p. 1). "These eight Pillars were found to be associated with peaceful environments and are both inter-dependent and mutually reinforcing, such that improvements in one factor would tend to strengthen others and vice versa" (p. 2). The Pillars of Peace framework is a long process that will pose many challenges across various post-

conflict situations. Working towards achieving the goals of each pillar during negative peace will gradually aid in the progression to positive peace. Each post-conflict situation is unique and needs to be treated as such. There are multiple peace and state building strategies that can be exercised according to the needs of the specific situation. The level of cultural sensitivity needed will depend upon a societies level of development (Institute for Economics and Peace 2013, p. 2).

The Pillars of Peace contain factors of both negative and positive peace. Democracy, accountability, freedom of press and information, and human rights abuses are all factors that play a major role in having the ability to compromise one another and lead to serious future consequences. For example, a democracy can both contribute to a negative peace as well as contribute to positive peace. Participatory and liberal democracies have the power to improve the well functioning of government, lower corruption, protect individual civil liberties and provide equal political participation. On the other hand, authoritarian, electoral and hybrid democracies can be manipulated with high levels of corruption and have become known as sham democracies. Such types of democracies were implemented with the aim to please western powers by demonstrating their ability to hold "free and fair elections" however, due to the increasing development and growing power and influence of illiberal states such as China and Russia, regimes have been able to gain and hold control of governments because of their high levels of corruption. Sham democracies fail to apply the rule of law, control the flow of information to the people and lack mechanisms in accountability. This ultimately results in an ineffective democracy (Inglehart and Welzel 2009) and prevents a transformation to positive peace.

These factors will be identified in the post-conflict setting of Sri Lanka later on.

1.6 CRITICS OF GALTUNG'S PEACE THEORY

While this thesis supports Johan Galtung's peace theory, it does recognize that there are also critics that do not fully agree with him. Galtung's critiques generally consist of disagreements regarding how he defines violence and peace. Economist and fellow peace researcher Kenneth Boulding (1977) calls Galtung careless in his definition of positive and negative terms. He notes that what Galtung considers positive peace is simply "the state of affairs which gets high marks on his scale of goodness" (p. 78).

Boulding also finds Galtung's definition of structural violence troubling. He does not agree with Galtung's inclusion of "poverty, destitution, deprivation, and misery" (Boulding 1978, p. 84). In other words, the point is that these factors that supposedly prevent people from reaching their potentials in life are important to research, but are not structural violence. Maley (1985) agrees by criticizing Galtung for equalizing direct physical violence, (such as those that cause physical pain and harm) with structural violence that includes "being deprived of 'cultural stimuli'" (p. 582). For Maley, these two types of violence are not equal. Both Boulding (1977) and Maley (1985) find Galtung to be idealistic and unrealistic in his beliefs that a truly peaceful society must be equal in all aspects; benefitting everyone with no one succeeding others.

While these scholars have valid concerns in Galtung's idealistic theory, this thesis argues that Galtung's theory on negative and positive peace is effective and useful. By not accepting any inequality in his theory for positive peace Galtung has forced peacebuilders to dig deeper when analyzing the roots of conflict so that even the most challenging of issues can be identified and made a goal to resolve. For example, while poverty is extremely difficult to alleviate it does not mean that the suffering that occurs from it should not be a long-term goal for peacebuilders.

1.7 POST-WAR ACTIONS

What happens after violent conflict varies depending on what brought an end to the violence or war. Whether it is due to peace negotiations or military force, post-conflict peacebuilding, state building and accountability mechanisms include some form of demobilization, democratization, reconstruction, reintegration and resettlement. The mechanisms by which these are achieved will vary but they are necessary in addressing the immediate needs of a post-war society. Once conditions have stabilized on the ground institutional reform, reconciliation and peacebuilding initiatives can begin.

1.7.1 Peacebuilding and Statebuilding

The terms peacebuilding and statebuilding are found quite frequently in post-conflict peace research. It is important to understand their functions individually as well as the effects they can have on one another.

> Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives (Peacebuilding Support Office 2010, p. 5).

Peacebuilding is widely recognized as a necessary component in handling conflicts. According to Lederach (1997) approaches to peacebuilding take place across three levels: top level, mid-range and grassroots, each with corresponding leaders and influence over society (p. 39). Depending on the approach to taken peacebuilding can take a top down or bottom up approach. It is essential that all levels include, coordinate and recognize activities and efforts across all levels. If certain groups are excluded are not recognized in peacebuilding efforts it could create room for spoilers to sabotage the efforts. Lederach (1997) emphasizes that the mid-range level has the greatest potential to establish an infrastructure that can sustain the peacebuilding process over the long term (p. 60). Empowerment of the mid-range level can lead important impacts across all levels by engaging and communicating between local NGO's (non governmental organizations) and civil society with top leaders such as government agents, religious leaders and politicians.

Statebuilding is also a post-conflict process that gained traction with the involvement of international actors. During statebuilding "actions are undertaken by international or national actors to establish, reform, or strengthen the institutions of the state and their relation to society." (Call 2008, p. 5). International Organizations (IOs) and bilateral donors have a vested interest in rebuilding a functioning state they believe can sustain peace. This also includes aiding in establishing an effective government, encouraging democratic reform and stabilizing the region.

Peacebuilding and statebuilding may function parallel to one another but recently, studies have taken a closer look at how these processes can work together for post-conflict peace. In order for peace to be possible there should be a minimally functioning state. Statebuilding aims to aid fragile and weak states in addressing their developmental needs. These needs can sometimes overlap with the needs of

peacebuilding especially after violent conflict. Haider (2014) notes the tensions that could potentially arise between combined peace and state building approaches.

> If the central government is corrupt and predatory and/or was a party to the conflict, strengthening the state is unlikely to contribute to peace and may fuel resentment instead. In such circumstances, there is a need to reform the state. Attempts to challenge an exclusionary political settlement, however, can lead to short-term instability or conflict (p. 6).

This is why it is important that statebuilding approaches fit the needs of the state. International actors need to consider factors of corruption and bad governance when they become involved in statebuilding and when they distribute donor aid. The local forces will not want to cooperate with international interventions that involve sustaining negative peace and empowering those that have oppressed them in the past. Donors need to be truly informed and committed to statebuilding if they want to aid in creating a long-term sustainable peace. Peacebuilding will not be fully successful if the state does not support it or if the people do not support the state. Both peacebuilding and statebuilding promote conflict prevention, socio-economic recovery, security sector reform, national resilience, strengthening civil society and good governance measures. However it is important to keep in mind that the two processes also have the ability to undermine one another. Decision makers must be sensitized about this and analyze how they could possibly comprise one another. Implementing clear and compelling goals for peace projects among the involved actors can help mutually reinforce future processes.

1.7.2 Linking Reconciliation and Accountability

After violent conflict, many peace researchers agree that reconciliation is necessary for a sustainable peace to evolve. It is especially needed after violent conflict such as a civil war. The division among people that war creates is by no means an easy process to repair. However, over time reconciliation can aid in future social cohesion. David Bloomsfield (2006) notes that while reconciliation is generally recognized as important counterpart in post-conflict contexts, a dispute among its actual meaning and relation to other concepts and processes, such as justice, peacebuilding, democratization and political development still remain (p. 3). According to Bloomfield, Barnes & Huyse (2003) the reconciliation process needs to encompass the search for truth and justice alongside processes of forgiveness and healing so that

the affected society can learn to cooperate, coexist and build better lives together than they had in the past separately (p. 12). Addressing past grievances, sufferings and injustices are imperative to reconciliation. It allows for root issues of conflict to be revealed, addressed and acknowledged in a non-violent space that can occur within multiple levels within a society. When a truth has been exposed accountability and justice must follow in order for the reconciliation process to continue on a path to positive peace.

According to Bassiouni (1996) accountability measures fall into three categories: truth, justice, and redress" (p. 18). Addressing accountability aids in the prevention of future conflicts while also seeking justice for victims. A common issue with accountability is reaching justice for victims without compromising peace. The practice of impunity and amnesty in the context of political settlements often prevents justice from being reached in order to secure an end to violence. However, impunity and amnesty bring their own sets of consequences in the long term. When perpetrators of violence are not punished victims can loose trust in the peace process and disengage. This is especially true in crimes of genocides, ethnic cleansing, torture, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Bassiouni (1997) believes acknowledgment of victimization is crucial for all those affected by violent conflict. This includes public condemnation of wrongs committed against victims and punishment of either criminal perpetrators, or at least their leaders. He notes the importance of the implementation of a system to aids in preventing and repeating similar violence and crime for the future (p. 26). If truth is absent or manipulated from the previously mentioned processes not only will history become distorted and inaccurate, but the alleged lessons learnt from conflict become essentially meaningless.

According to Fischer (2011) there are four different methods to recover truth. Objective or forensic truth provide evidence and facts about human rights violations and missing persons; narrative truth produces multi-layered experiences to a wider public by including personal truths and storytelling by victims and perpetrators; social or dialogical truth is truth of experience that is established by interaction, discussion and debate; and healing or restorative truth the documentation of facts and acknowledgement to give dignity to the victims and survivors (p. 411). Truth recovery can then be used to create a common memory that can be acknowledged by

all, including "those who created and implemented an unjust system, those who fought against it, and the many more who were in the middle and claimed not to know what was happening in their country" (Boraine 2006, p. 22). The creation of a common memory can allow a society to truly reconcile and aid for the rebuilding of trust.

CHAPTER II

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF DEMOCRATIC REGRESSION: THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA

Before its independence, the small island of Sri Lanka was under colonial rule for 500 years. These colonial powers played a key role in shaping Sri Lanka. Colonization introduced new language, culture and religion that left a lasting affect on Sri Lankan societal class structure. After the British granted independence to the island that was previously named Ceylon,[2] politics began to divide the population. The aim of this chapter is to provide a historical background of Sri Lanka in order to demonstrate that specific events occurred which in turn caused a civil war that lasted nearly 30 years.

Understanding these historical roots will provide aid in understanding the identity-based conflicts and politics Sri Lanka faces. Having an understanding of the initial triggers and events that led to direct violence is more useful than the graphic details of violence that took place during the civil war. Actions have motives and understanding the actor's interests and motives for violence can better help to prevent the violence from reoccurring in the future.

This chapter will seek to discover which key events in Sri Lankan history created an ethnocentric based divide and why this led to direct violence. It will then be possible to better examine the motives of the GOSL and LTTE's structural, cultural and direct violence.

This chapter covers a considerable span of time beginning with a brief description of European colonialism starting with the Portuguese in 1505, the Dutch in 1660 and the British in 1802. The chapter will then examine the peaceful transition of power from the British to the Ceylonese Elite, who were left to govern the island after independence in 1948. The growth of ethnic based politics in post independent Sri Lanka played a critical role in the system of socioeconomic inequality that developed.

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[2] Ceylon was the name the British gave the island. The name later changed to Sri Lanka after it became a republic in 1972.

The chapter concludes by summarizing the events that were catalysts of the start of the civil war in the 1980's and ends with post conflict Sri Lanka after May 2009. A connection between identity-based politics and the prevalence of structural and cultural violence will be made clear.

The outcome of decades of corruption and inequality in Sri Lanka is a system that is ruled by elites who continue to ignore the root issues of their countries conflicts.

2.1 HISTORY OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM

Fig 1. (Peebles 2006, p. 54).

   The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit Sri Lanka in 1505. They arrived to an island composed of Sinhalese Buddhists, Tamil Hindus and Moor and Malay Muslims. The Portuguese built a fort in Colombo and continued to extend control to coastal areas. KM de Silva (1998) claims that the Portuguese brought intolerance to the island when they began encouraging and eventually forcing coastal Muslims to convert to Catholicism. Catholics and especially converts were given more privilege. Temples were destroyed and temple properties were confiscated and turned over to

the church. The Dutch arrived in 1602 and controlled all the land outside the kingdom of Kandy by 1660. The tables turned on the Catholics who were then persecuted by the religious intolerant Protestant Dutch. Both the Dutch and Portuguese used a combination of "force and material benefits" to increase the population of converts they needed to hold power. This demonstrates how Europeans shaped Sri Lanka to use religion as a determinant for social status and opportunity. European colonialism also created a new ethnic group called Burghers that resulted from European and Sri Lankan marriages. Burghers adapted the English language and a western culture.

2.2 THE EFFECTS OF BRITISH COLONIZATION

The British were the last to colonize Sri Lanka. According to Wenzlhuemer (2008), it was not the initial intention of the British to take complete control over the island when they first arrived. French occupation in the Netherlands sparked concern for the British to protect their interests in India. In early 1796, the British were able to overpower the Dutch and take control of the previously colonized maritime areas along the coasts of the exterior. The interior of the island, called Kandy, had managed to keep autonomous from all Europeans and was ruled by the Kingdom of Kandy. After two wars with the Kingdom of Kandy, the British were able to take control of the interior and renamed the united island Ceylon. It was then added to the British crown colony in 1815. This was the first time the entire island was united under one rule. Classifying identities of "race" became even more cemented into society when the British began to rule through categories of what they considered the natural groups in the population. The Low Country Sinhalese, (Sinhalese who had been under Portuguese and Dutch colonial rule), Kandyans, Tamils, and Moors (also referred to as Muslims,) were distinct races to the British, and each was treated differently" (Peebles 2006, 53).

The British greatly benefited from the switch of agriculture to plantation economy. It provided the British an opportunity to gain allies among the native people by rewarding those who cooperated with land grants, titles and administrative offices. The local elites formed a new anglicized elite group. They maintained order and became increasingly distant from the people as they assimilated to their British rulers (Peebles 2006, p. 55). The anglicized elite often discouraged from learning Sinhala or Tamil. They were very wealthy and very well educated.

Tea plantations were extremely successful in adding to the growth of Ceylon's economy. Indian laborers were brought from Tamil Nadu of Southern India to work the plantations. These laborers were socially classified as Indian Tamils to distinguish them from the Sri Lankan/Ceylonese Tamils. The maintenance of separating identities prevented immigrant communities from fully assimilating and the creation of a solid Lankan identity (Peebles 2006, p. 6).

2.2.1 Importance of English Education

In the ninetieth century English education became essential for success. Many elite schools were created with intensive English programs. Vernacular education was available in Sinhala and Tamil for the larger population but was unevenly spread throughout Ceylon depending on ethnicity, religion and caste. Peebles (2006) notes that although the English elite schools were some of the best, they were not the only schools for English Education. He believed that some of the best schools in Asia were in the Tamil majority Jaffna Province in the North (p. 63). Christian American missionaries opened schools for converts and were very successful in educating Sri Lankan Tamils. Their English education made it possible for Tamils to get jobs in professional careers in government and the private sector. DeVotta (2003) notes that just 2 years before independence the 11 percent of Sri Lankan Tamils were not only excelling in the fields of higher education but also advanced to fill 33 percent of positions in the elite Ceylon civil service and 40 percent judicial service. British favoritism of Tamils resulted in Sinhalese protests. A large class barrier had formed between that there was a large gap between the English educated and the Vernacular educated. A push for swabasha (Tamil and Sinhala) education emerged with great support from the increasing non-English speaking middle class. English was viewed as a way to prevent the middles classes from advancing. The British made English the exclusive language of opportunity and thereby disadvantaged the majority of the islands population that only spoke Sinhala. The separation of the population through language education further aided in maintaining a divided population that was unlikely to join together and overthrow the elite power. This created a debate over national language as well as feelings of resentment towards British rule and consequently created a quest for homogenous sovereignty. After centuries of colonization, the importance of racial superiority and identity were cemented in

Lankan society, which resulted in the two opposed nationalisms Sinhala and Tamil (Peebles 2006 p. 53).

2.3 SRI LANKAN INDEPENDENCE

Independence played a key role in shaping the nations future. Sri Lanka gained its independence from the British on February 4, 1948. Power was transitioned to the anglicized elite consisting of both Sinhalese and Tamil to govern the new British-style parliamentary democracy. On the surface level, the future of Sri Lanka looked promising with universal suffrage granted in 1931 and an elected assembly. Ceylon appeared to be a model colony that was ready to self-govern. However, this was not the case. According to Sivanandan (2010) post-independence "turned out to be the trapping of capitalist democracy superimposed on a feudal infrastructure – a democratic top-dressing on a feudal base..." (p. 60). In other words, the power was still in the hands of the feudal elite and not with the people as it was meant to be. Sivanandan claimed that colonial capitalism was responsible for the malformed democracy that ensued. It underdeveloped some parts of the country while the parts it did develop, were not consistent with the country's needs or growth. It also did not provide institutions or structures that could sustain democracy. Capitalism in the periphery, as opposed to capitalism at the center, would not produce an organic relationship among the political, economic and cultural instances (p. 60). This became evident in first Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake's policies that will be discussed later in the chapter.

2.3.1 Identity Politics After Independence

After independence identity based politics took hold of Sri Lanka. The United National Party (UNP) and Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP) dominated the political system. Both parties initially favored a secular political stance, however it became clear that the best way to win elections was to appease Sinhalese groups since the majority could sway the power balance in their favor. Therefore both parties resorted to "symbolic emotional agendas to outbid their opponents" to demonstrate which party could best promote Sinhalese preferences (Imtiyaz 2013, p. 318). This resulted in the strengthening of ethnic identities, ethnic competition and high levels of ethnic-based inequalities. Religion, ethnicity and language were all tools used to gain party support.

After independence, most Sinhalese felt they were an economically disadvantaged and socially underprivileged group due to the British favoritism of Tamils therefore new discriminatory policies that would benefit the Sinhalese at the expense of Tamils received Sinhalese support. Minorities never had a chance to gain protection of their rights because minority rights were never properly dealt with. In 1946 Tamil and Sinhalese elites passed the Soulbury Constitution which included article 29(2) that merely required the government to treat all ethnoreligious communities dispassionately (DeVotta 2010b, p. 118).

Religious national propaganda united the Sinhalese population by promoting the island of Sri Lanka as the Buddhist promise land. Buddhism became highly politicized. The SLFP won the 1951 election by mobilizing Sinhalese-Buddhist extremism. Buddhist clergy were politically and socially influential. These forces lobbied to make Buddhism the national religion, and opposed political concessions to the Tamils (Itimiyaz 2010, p. 157). The 1972 and 1978 constitutions gave Buddhism "foremost status" and gave the state the duty to protect and foster Buddhism. While the clause also included assurance for all religions it still prioritized one over others making all other religions second-class.

2.4 TAMIL DISCRIMININATION AND MARGINALIZATION

After independence Tamils experienced a great deal of discrimination and marginalization. These actions created further ethnic tensions throughout the island and left Tamils feeling extremely frustrated and insecure.

2.4.1 Ceylon Citizenship Act

The Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 was introduced to parliament only 6 months after independence. This act was meant to deprive the Indian Tamils that had been recruited by the British, of citizenship in the newly independent Ceylon. According to Imtiyaz (2010,) "by 1921, Indian Tamils comprised 13.4 percent of the total Tamil population, which in turn represented 24.8 percent of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka" (p. 148). The result was a significant decrease of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka. At this point, it is necessary to explain that Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils were not considered to be one Tamil group. The difference between Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils was that Sri Lankan Tamils are believed to be indigenous to the

island, where as the Indian Tamils had immigrated within the last 100 years to work on plantations. The Citizenship Act was the beginning of identity politics that aimed to protect its ethnic majority strong hold in government. The act was justified by claiming that Indian Tamils were an "unassimilated alien population with no long-term interest in the island" (Shastri 1999, p. 66). By denying Indian Tamils citizenship there would be a decrease in the number of Indian Tamils that could vote resulting in weakening Tamil minority parliamentary strength. When 90,000 Indian Tamils lost their voting rights, the parliamentary strength of the Sinhalese increased from 67 percent in 1947 to 73 percent in 1952… Tamil representatives were outnumbered and unable to prevent the passage of discriminatory legislation aimed at the Tamil community (Manogaran 1987, p. 40).

2.4.2 Colonization Schemes

The Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 foreshadowed the future for minorities. Tamils felt extremely threatened by government resettlement colonization schemes in dry zones that were considered Tamil homelands (North and East regions). The government claimed the schemes were implemented to contend with stateless low ranking farmers but Tamil's in the North and East perceived this as the governments attempt to alter the ethnic composition of Tamil majority regions (Sivanandan 2010, p. 60). Sinhalese presence in Tamil homeland was interpreted as an extreme threat to the Tamil communities due to their lack of protection by the state. State aided colonization schemes are examples of structural violence hidden in the façade of development projects. According to the Peoples Tribunal on Sri Lanka (2013) the intentions of such schemes were meant to deprive the physical space which was fundamentally necessary for any population group to exist, while simultaneously manipulating and altering the existing demographics and thereby gradually disintegrating the economic, social and cultural existence of the oppressed population (p. 4).

2.4.3 Sinhala Only Act

In 1956 the "Sinhala Only" act was created to replace English as the official language. The act was put forth by the SLFP and its founder and first introduced by the newly elected Prime Minister S.W.R.D Bandaranaike. This affected the minorities

composed of Tamils both Christian and Hindu, as well as the Muslim Moors who all spoke Tamil. This created a severe problem for the Tamils that worked in civil service. English was once considered the bridge language among Sinhalese and Tamil people, however after independence subsequent governments decreased the need for English by promoting the use of native languages only. The English language was most useful in university education and government employment. The act became a symbol of oppression and began to divide the island. Sinhalese and Tamils began to find each other's presence threatening to one another. For Tamil's it was becoming clear that the government's priorities were to keep their majority strong hold and to protect the majority vote.

For the Sinhalese, the Tamil language was seen as a threat because of the link it shared with the Tamil language in neighboring Tamil Nadu of south India. Tamil Nadu is the origin of the ethnic Dravidian group of the Sri Lankan Tamils as well as Indian Tamils. Tamil Nadu produced a great deal of Tamil language media and publications that was easily accessible to Sri Lankan Tamils. Even the first Prime Minister Don Stephen Senanayake, expressed his fear the Sinhala language could become extinct if Tamil gained equality in with Sinhala (Peebles 1990, 98). Sri Lanka is the only home to the Sinhalese language and ethnicity. The population of Sinhala speakers is significantly smaller than the population of the Tamil speakers from Tamil Nadu and the North East Sri Lanka. This instilled a fear that if the Tamil language gained popularity the Sinhala language could become less relevant and gradually fade away. In 1958 Prime Minister S.W.R.D Bandaranaike passed a language provision that added Tamil as an official regional language but the damage to between Sinhalese and Tamils relations was already done.

2.4.4 Anti-Tamil Education and Employment Policies

Many believed that the Sinhalese government used the Sinhala only act to give Sinhalese people better opportunities for education and state employment. For example, in 1955 the civil service was largely Tamil and by 1970 it had become almost entirely Sinhalese due to the fact that thousands of Tamil civil servants were forced to resign due to their lack of fluency in Sinhala (Tambiah 1984, p. 62). The government next implemented university admission policies that put quotas to limit the number of Tamils accepted into Universities as well as requiring Tamils to get

higher scores for admittance. This caused many Tamil youths to view the government as a means of oppression. They were left very frustrated after many lost their jobs and could not continue their hard work in education. Lange (2013) contends that the period during which Tamil students organized the LTTE (1974–75) directly correlated with the period in which admissions policy most dramatically affected Tamil university admissions (p. 139). The student's angst gave fuel to communal riots and violence. These discriminatory policies effectively caused the Tamils to loose all faith in the Sinhalese government that was openly oppressing them. Ethnic clashes followed and intensified with growing frustration. In many cases police did not respond to reports of attacks on Tamils leaving them unprotected and vulnerable.

Supporting the LTTE separatist movement appeared to be the only option to protect themselves and counter the injustices that Tamils had been continually fighting and losing against. Tamil's tried to respond with political protests but at that time violence seemed to be the only mechanism that was bringing attention to Tamil issues.

2.5 CIVIL WAR

The civil war was a result of pent-up frustration over the structural and cultural violence that transpired after independence. The LTTE wanted control over an independent Tamil homeland in the North and East and the GOSL wanted to keep the island united. Tamils responded to repression with non-violent tactics that were ultimately unsuccessful and violent outbreaks began to take place across the country.

The civil war is considered to have begun during the 1983 riots. Forced disappearances began taking place due to the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The act gave the police the right to detain arrest and search a person for up to 18 months. Detainment often lasted longer especially if detainees were taken to private torture cells before being brought and registered in state run prisons. Tamil youth were the main targets as they were considered to be likely apart of or affiliated with the LTTE but journalists were also considered major threats to the GOSL. The conditions of prisons were beyond unsanitary and over crowded. Detainees were frequently physically and sexually abused and many died due to injuries. Mass direct violence continued between the LTTE and the GOSL for 26 years. The LTTE and the GOSL have both committed war crimes that need to be addressed. The LTTE openly

recruited child soldiers to use as suicide bombers and held their own people as hostages in hope of deterring military strikes. The Sri Lankan military was accused of committing crimes against humanity. In the last phases of the war the Sri Lankan military lured Tamils trying to escape combat zones to government protected No Fire Zones (NFZs). These zones were continuously shelled resulting in the estimated deaths of thousands. According to the United Nations Panel of Experts (POE) (2011), the exact number of civilian deaths is not known but multiple sources of information indicate the estimate could be as high as 40,000 (p. 41). The POE also reported that hospitals were also targeted by the SLM, which violates International humanitarian law. The GOSL opposed all requests regarding war crime inquiries claiming their soldiers did not violate the human rights of civilians.

War crimes cannot be discarded. The GOSL's refused to acknowledge its part in the tragedies as well as its connections to the roots of the conflict. No peace process could be successful if these crimes against humanity are ignored. A culture of impunity has saturated post-war Sri Lanka.

CHAPTER III

3. BUILDING PEACE AFTER CIVIL WAR: THE BEGINNING OF NEGATIVE PEACE

On May 18, 2009, after 26 years of conflict and violence the Government of Sri Lanka declared victory on the war of secession and terrorism. The following day President Rajapaksa gave a speech addressing the end of the war and promised a better future for all citizens of Sri Lanka. This chapter will examine if the GOSL under President Rajapaksa was able to aid in the post-war peace process. This chapter will portray a peace landscape of the post-war peace process that will also include the affects of international actors and civil society.

There are many factors that shape the complexity of a post-conflict society. As mentioned in chapter one, the critical issues regarding demobilization, resettlement, accountability, democratization, peacebuilding, power sharing and trauma healing need to be included with reconstruction and reconciliation. Failure to include these elements in a post-war peace process will produce a stagnant negative peace and recurrent suffering. The main objective of this chapter is to present the post-war peace process and determine what was successful in building peace and what was unsuccessful. This research will reveal the structural and cultural violence that continued throughout Rajapaksa's presidency (throughout January 2015.) The chapter will highlight the GOSL's failure to address root issues that lead to conflict in the past as well as, the failure of the Lessons Learnt Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) report of 2010 that was formed internally to address post-conflict concerns. Heavy military presence in the North and East has had multiple impeding effects to the peace and reconciliation initiatives.

The following questions will guide the chapter in building the research into a peace landscape: how did the GOSL respond to the end of the civil war and what was the GOSL's plan for long-term peace? What problems did minorities face after war? Did new policies focus on human rights or national security? Overall, this chapter seeks to understand the peace progress of Sri Lanka.

3.1 Rajapaksa's Response to the End of the Civil War

> "The war against the LTTE is not a war against Tamil people; Our aim was to liberate our Tamil people from the clutches of the LTTE; Our heroic forces have sacrificed their lives to protect Tamil civilians; The victory we have gained by defeating LTTE is the victory of this nation and the victory of all people living in this country. Protecting the Tamil speaking people of this country is my responsibility. That is my duty. All the people of this country should live in safety without fear and suspicion. All should live with equal rights. That is my aim. Let us all get together and build up this nation… We have removed the word minorities from our vocabulary three years ago. No longer are the Tamils, Muslims, Burghers, Malays and any others minorities. There are only two peoples in this country. One is the people that love this country. The other comprises the small groups that have no love for the land of their birth. Those who do not love the country are now a lesser group" -President Rajapaksa (Sri Lanka Ministry of Defense 2009).

The excerpt above is apart of the speech given by President Rajapaksa on May 19, 2009 at the ceremonial opening of parliament to celebrate their victory and discuss Sri Lanka's new peaceful future. The speech was vague in articulating a plan or strategy on how the government would aid in creating a lasting peace for the nation. The speech idolized President Rajapaksa and the Sri Lankan military as the heroes of the nation that were finally able to defeat the LTTE while concurrently portraying those who opposed the "heroes" or had differences of opinions regarding the state as threats to national security. The type of language used in this speech instilled and encouraged strong loyalty in people and a nationalistic mentality that encouraged a pledge of unconditional support for their government that was able to finally end the war.

Critics such as Wickramasinghe (2009) pointed out the speech's underlying emphasis of a new patriotism that expected the people to prove their loyalty and love of country by supporting their president and government under any and all circumstances. This type of blind patriotism made it simpler for the GOSL to label civil society groups that openly spoke out against human rights violations as "those who have no love for their country," and therefore not deserving of the publics support (p. 1047). The implication in President Rajapaksa's speech essentially labeled those who criticize the government as threats to the nations peace. This included Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), human rights activists, journalists and various members of the international community that worked to bring awareness to issues regarding

accountability and justice. Government controlled media encouraged intimidation, threats, organized mobs and was silent on reporting attacks against civil society.

The following will describe the problems with how the GOSL responded to the issues of the post-war period.

3.1.1 Internal Displacement

The first major problem the GOSL needed to respond to was internal displacement. Amnesty International (2010) estimated the total number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the end of the war was approximately 289,000. The Sri Lankan military controlled the camps in northern and eastern Tamil regions. Approximately 264,000 IDP's were in civilian camps. The conditions were overcrowded and lacked adequate water, medical facilities, and sanitation standards. A testimony to the European Parliament Sub Committee on Human rights by Andrew Stroehlein on October 1, 2009, revealed that the military was preventing humanitarian organizations from undertaking effective monitoring and protection in the camps. Media was under government control and journalists were banned from IDP areas making it very difficult at the time to get accurate information of current conditions of IDPs.

Stroehlein also reported that IDPs had very little to no information on how long they would be there. It was reported that the reason the GOSL was not allowing IDPs to leave the camps were because the military needed to first demine the grounds and IDPs needed to be screened for ex-LTTE affiliates (IDMC 2009; Stroehlein 2009). Stroehlein argued that both claims were mere excuses to continue to extend control over IDPs. He suggested those that had passed their screenings, could have been released to live with host families that live in villages or towns free of mines. Fifty percent of IDP's could had friends or family they could have stayed with if they were allowed to leave, which could have alleviated the pressure of the large population inside the camps (IDMC 2009). Instead the IDP's were treated as either fighters or LTTE sympathizers under conditions of internment (IDMC 2009).

Crisis Group Asia (2010) reported that approximately 10,000 individuals that were allegedly involved with the LTTE were detained in separate camps with no outside access under full military control. (Numbers vary; Amnesty International (2010)

reported a higher number of 12,000 LTTE affiliates that were separately detained). The Crisis Group Asia report argued the detentions were unlawful and "posed particularly grave risks given the government's history of alleged enforced disappearances and torture" (p. 6). The Amnesty International (2010) report found that the detainees were held in isolated facilities, some in undisclosed locations, which were not intended to house prisoners. This is supported in the evidence produced in the Human Rights Watch (2013) report *We Will Teach You a Lesson*. It reported the prevalence of rape, abusive interrogation, sexual torture and overall violence that was committed by Sri Lankan security forces from 2006-2012 against men and women in state custody (p. 2).

Displaced Tamils were treated as suspects not as victims of war. This further damaged the already fragile relationship between Tamils and the GOSL that was doing nothing to protect those in custody. The GOSL has a responsibility to abide by international law, which includes protection against sexual violence. The GOSL's unwillingness to acknowledge such trauma and seek justice for victims will contribute to a collective trauma and atmosphere of distrust.

3.1.2. Land Disputes and Corruption

By the end of 2010 most IDPs were released to areas in the North and East. However, most homes were either destroyed or damaged. The return process of IDPs lacked the independent monitoring it needed in order to avoid bribery and corruption regarding disputes over land claims. The IDMC (2012) claimed that at the end of September 2012, more than 115,000 IDPs were still living in camps, with host communities or in transit sites, or had been relocated, often against their will, to areas other than their places of origin (p. 1). Housing became very competitive. According to Lindberg and Herath (2014) in order to qualify for the Indian housing construction schemes beneficiaries were required to possess clear land titles in order to qualify for assistance. However, many documents that proved ownership of land were either lost during displacement or permanently destroyed due to the destruction of the government institutions that contained the documents. Therefore disputes over land, especially situations where there was more than one claim for a particular peace of land, were often settled with bribes further contributing to the already corrupted government.

3.1.3. Elections of 2010

The defeat of terrorism left the majority Sinhalese with feelings of triumph and victory. Rajapaksa regime initially received a great deal of praise for putting an end to the war. In November 2009, Rajapaksa announced his plan to hold presidential elections early on January 26, 2010, only 7 months after war had ended. The president's official term was not due to be over until December 2011. Uyangoda (2009) and Behuria (2011) both noted that Rajapaksa's strategic change of the election year was so that he would be able to get re-elected to a second term while the victory that he brought to the country was still fresh in the nations mind (p. 110; p. 740). War hero General Fonseka ran as Rajapaksa's opposition and was arrested and charged with treason shortly after Rajapaksa won the election. Devotta (2010a) believed that this sent a message to the people of Sri Lanka that any other individuals that stood against Rajapaksa could be effortlessly silenced (p. 335). When it was time for the parliamentary elections in April 2010 Uyangoda (2011) noted that Fonseka's arrest after January elections hindered the momentum of the opposition making it even easier for Rajapaksa to consolidate his power in both the legislative and executive branches (p. 133). The passing of the 18th amendment in 2010 allowed President Rajapaksa to repeal the 17th amendment, which now permitted unlimited presidential terms.

Rajapaka's post-war agenda was focused on unifying his political party not unifying his country. He clearly abused his power by changing the year of elections. Elections are generally needed after a civil war but they should have happened during a more stable time. Many IDP's were not yet resettled or in the process of doing so, not to mention the many Tamil's that fled Sri Lanka for refuge abroad had still not returned.

3.1.4. Inquiry on War Crimes and Human Rights

The United Nations and other western liberal nations posed many inquiries regarding the allegations of war crimes and human rights violations that took place during the final phases of the war. The GOSL refused to cooperate with the United Nations and other human right organizations that wanted to advise the country on accountability issues. The GOSL claimed the inquiry investigations were a threat to their sovereignty. The Rajapaksa regime had been strategically building diplomatic and

economic ties with non-western countries such as China, Japan, Pakistan and Russia to avoid pressure to address issues of accountability issues (Uyangoda 2010, p. 107; Goodhand 2012, p. 136). The aid from illiberal states meant that western powers could not use donor aid as an effective incentive to encourage the GOSL to cooperate in independent investigations of human rights abuses. The aid from illiberal states enabled the continuation of corruption, undemocratic structures and policies in post-war Sri Lanka. China was Sri Lanka's biggest donor and it is clear that they believe that it is the right of sovereign states to deal militarily with internal threats such as terrorism and surpass concerns for human rights (Lindberg, Orjuela, Wezeman & Åkerström 2011, p. 10). Therefore due to their policy of non-intervention in internal affairs, China was able to use their veto to prevent a UN Security Council investigation regarding the governments conducts during the final phase of the war (Mampilly 2012, p. 190). Chinese support meant that the GOSL could choose to focus on economic development instead of reconciliation.

As pressure mounted for independent investigations of war crimes and crimes against humanity the government responded by threatening and limiting journalists and civil society. The US Department of State's Human Rights Report of Sri Lanka (2011) reported that the GOSL often criticized NGOs and tried to prevent them from obtaining work permits when they proposed projects in the north and east that addressed psychosocial counseling, good governance training for local citizens, and legal aid (p. 27). Such NGO proposed projects threatened the Rajapaksa regime because they have the ability to strength civil society. Civil society advocates for the reduction of structural and cultural violence by promoting the importance of citizen participation in policy making as well as democratic political ideal such as transparency and accountability (Teets 2014, p. 2). Rajapaksa and his regime used their patriotic agenda to turn people against civil society groups that worked to report human rights issues in war zones as well as in the south where the media continued to be suppressed. The connection between civil societies and the international community was a threat to the Rajapaksa regime, therefore it became necessary to categorize civil society as those that do not love their country instead of those "who want higher standards in their country and who practice a form of 'constructive patriotism' imbued with critical loyalty" (Wickramasinghe 2009, p. 1047). In order to

avoid further issues with the international community, the Rajapaksa regime decided they would create their own internal investigation and produce the results accordingly.

3.1.5. Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission

Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) was an internal commission appointed by President Rajapaksa in 2010 in response to UN Secretary General Ban-Ki-moon's announcement of his formation of a Panel of Experts to investigate human rights violations in the last phase of the war to advise the Secretary General on the issue of accountability. The LLRC's focus was to investigate the failed ceasefire in 2002 and the events that followed up until the end of the civil war in May 2009. The Sri Lankan Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011) reported that the commission held 57 public sessions and carried out 12 field visits at over 40 locations to hear testimony from people in the North and East and in other affected areas of the country. The President chose the committee members, which included only one Tamil (who was also the only woman) and one Muslim out of eight members leaving the minorities underrepresented once again. The report was made public in English only, in December of 2011. The National Action Plan (NAP) was designed to implement the LLRC recommendations. The NAP was announced in July 2012 a month before the Sinhala and Tamil translations of the LLRC report were made public.

The LLRC received a great deal of criticism from the international community regarding gaps in accountability, independence and implementation. Critics claimed the commission did not meet international standards or offer witness protection to witnesses. The UN Panel of Experts found credible evidence supporting that both the LTTE and the GOSL had committed war crimes and crimes against humanity. The LLRC claimed that civilians were not the targets of shelling in No Fire Zones but did admit that government security forces had killed civilians. The number of dead is disputed. The LLRC commission "repeatedly suggested that the state's violence was inherently in defense of the larger principles of the nation-state, unlike the violence of the LTTE, and thus it could not be held to account" (Thiranagama 2013, p. 102). Statements such as this reinforce the culture of impunity in Sri Lanka.

Despite the problems with the LLRC, the report did produce recommendations that would aid in reconciliation process. The report recommended addressing missing and disappeared persons, promoting a trilingual society (Sinhala, Tamil and English), providing compensations to those affected by security force civilian casualties and the establishment of an independent police commission, among others. The international community, CSOs and human rights activists encouraged the GOSL to implement the recommendations that were put forth in the NAP, however not much action followed the action plan.

> [T]he LLRC recommends establishing 'an independent permanent Police Commission...empowered to monitor the performance of the Police Service and ensure that all Police officers act independently', the action plan simply claims that an 'Independent Police Commission has already been established'. This flies in the face of the LLRC's findings and the 18th amendment to the constitution, adopted in September 2010, which removed many of the Commission's powers and gave the president the job of appointing all its members (Keenan 2012).

It was also recommended that the GOSL grant appropriate redress to those affected by shells that fell on hospitals. The GOSL responded by providing compensation to any person affected that applied to the REPPIA (Rehabilitation of Persons, Properties and Industries Authority). The problem was that "no information is available in the public domain to confirm that the GOSL informed the general public that it will be paying compensation for persons affected by shelling and asking such persons to apply to REPPIA" (Center for Policy Alternatives 2014, p. 5). In other words, the GOSL tried to appear as though they had been cooperating with the LLRC recommendations but in reality they have done the bare minimum at most, found loopholes and taken short cuts when possible.

Overall it can be seen that the LLRC is not a fully effective accountability mechanism or significant contributor to reconciliation.

3.2 Structural and Cultural Violence Through Militarization

Heavy military presence in the North and East regions has been continuous since the end of the war. This has created an atmosphere of fear amongst the minority communities. Since the PTA and state of emergency were still in effect through 2014, police and military personnel had a great deal of power over the civilians. Security forces needed little to no reason to interrogate any citizens. The GOSL responded to

concerns about state militarization by claiming military presence was a necessity for national security and to ensure that an insurgency cannot and will not reoccur. The International Crisis Group (2012) reported the effects militarization has had on the north and east.

> The heavy militarisation of the province, ostensibly designed to protect against the renewal of violent militancy, is in fact deepening the alienation and anger of northern Tamils and threatening sustainable peace. Major new military bases require the seizure of large amounts of public and private land and the continued displacement of tens of thousands. The growing involvement of the military in agricultural and commercial activities has placed further obstacles on the difficult road to economic recovery for northern farmers and businesses. When challenged by public protest, the military has shown itself willing to physically attack demonstrators and is credibly accused of involvement in enforced disappearances and other extrajudicial punishments (International Crisis Group 2012, p. i).

The military presence is a large contributor to the negative peace in Sri Lanka. The triumph of war and victory remain in the minds of many Sinhalese who view the military has heroes. Therefore the presence of military in the north and east was viewed as a measure of reassurance to the Sinhalese. However as noted above, the minority Tamils and Muslims viewed the military as occupiers that threatened their freedoms. For example the checkpoints throughout the region have caused a great deal of fear therefore limiting the ability of minorities to travel freely. Due to the lack of monitoring of the military, minority communities were extremely vulnerable. The military occupation shrunk the already small space for minorities to voice their dissent due to their fear of repercussion. The presence of the military was a barrier for individuals to exercise everyday freedoms.

Both the BBC and the New York Times reported on the Sri Lankan Military's business ventures of luxury resorts and hotels built on Tamil land that was seized during the civil war (Rowlatt 2015; Harris 2015). Not all land was returned after the ward ended and many were still displaced while the military occupied land and gave employment opportunities to other military personnel. Their involvement in the private sector is controversial to many that believe now that the war is over the military should downsize. In July 2009 the military had over 200,000 personnel despite having already won the war, having no known external enemies and a population of just 20 million (Samarasinghe 2009, p. 437). The Tamil people that

were trying to restart their lives should not have felt fear or intimidation from military or government presence.

The presence of government officials was to military even when their presence was requested. For example, in 2013 Resources for Peace (RPR) of Mannar started their ceremony for the International Day of Peace with the raising of the Sri Lankan flag by the invited government agent and the singing of the national anthem sung in only Sinhala. Dr. Perera reported on the event and commented on how it was unfortunate that the Tamil speaking people of Mannar could not participate in singing their national anthem even though Tamil is also included as an official language. He believed the Tamil speaking people feared that singing the national anthem in Tamil in the presence of a Government Agent could have been misinterpreted negatively and could have potentially caused problems in the future. People feared they could be accused of sedition, or be attacked by national extremists for simply singing their national anthem in their own language. After increased militarization of the North and East concerns arose over which language the national anthem should be sung in (Perera 2013). It is important to note that even though there was no law preventing a Tamil language national anthem, the mere presence of military and government officials instilled a fear that was strong enough to cause Tamil speakers to opt to exclude their language in their plans. The GOSL could have easily resolved issues like this one by implementing the 2010 LLRC recommendation that called for the national anthem be sang in both Sinhala and Tamil. The instilled fear in Tamil speakers to speak their language hurts social cohesion by making Tamil speakers feel linguistically alienated.

3.3 CIVIL SOCIETY PEACE ACTION

The work of civil society after war is very important. Civil Society Organizations have the ability to reach citizens on a more personal level through many different mediums. They also have the capacity to influence the factors of positive peace and encourage social justice in a post-war setting. Peace research on post-conflict environments has noted the counter productive friction that often occurs between CSOs and the state. The lack of trust and tension between CSOs and governments are exacerbated due to post-conflict uncertainty. What it all boils down to is a fear over

the distribution of power (Maulden 2012, p. 30). Civil society can only do so much, without the aid and cooperation of the state. Positive peace requires the cooperation of both the state and civil society. Maulden (2012) notes that a without a reasonably functioning government peace will remain in its negative form where direct top-down violence may have halted, but structural and cultural violence will increase (p. 30). This is the result when civil society and the state have different visions of peace. Cox, Orsborn & Sisk (2014) suggests that the GOSL was more interested in supporting and facilitating projects that involved service delivery and improving the capacity of the state and less encouraging of activities seeking to strengthen democracy and ethnic reconciliation. Cox et al, believes that interests and engagements in peacebuilding or human rights work was discouraged due to as it would contradict the GOSL's projected image of the state stabilizing and returning to normalcy (p. 1). The GOSL interpreted these interests as a threat to how Sri Lanka would be perceived to the rest of the world.

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, the response of the post-war response of the GOSL encouraged a blind patriotism that labeled civil society and those who wanted to work towards justice and truth as disloyal to the state. The following case study will discuss the work and progress of CSOs from 2010 through 2014. Analyzing CSO's annual reports provided insight on their abilities to function, who their projects targeted, the challenges they faced and what they were able to accomplish. The case study will also highlight the work of the NPC, an NGO that has been working for peace in Sri Lanka since 1995. Further information about CSOs and their work in post-war reconstruction was obtained through a phone interview with the executive director of the NPC, Dr. Jehan Perera.

The work of these CSOs had the potential to significantly aid in a transition of negative to positive peace. If the government had supported the work of CSOs, or even ignored them instead of putting restrictions and limitations on them, Sri Lanka could have made more progress towards positive peace. Instead the following case study of CSO's post-war activity will exhibit how the GOSL blocked them from reaching their full potential of making positive change.

3.3.1 CASE STUDY

The National Peace Council of Sri Lanka is an independent and impartial NGO. Their have focus has consisted of peace education advocacy, research, mobilization and dialogue. From 2010 to 2014 they organized many workshops, trainings and publications that have contributed to peacebuilding efforts. In order to make their work more effective the NPC had to work around the government limitations and restrictions. Throughout 2010 the NPC gave priority to empowering and strengthening its district network of committees, especially its inter-religious committees and partner organizations to carryout peacebuilding work themselves (NPC 2010, p. 8). By training committees and other NGOs the NPC expanded their ability to reach more people. The NPC set up a network of local District Action Coordinators (DACs) throughout 17 (of 25) districts to function as a strong base to promote the people's participation in peace initiatives (NPC 2010, p. 19). This enabled the NPC to better engage with civil society leaders and various grassroots communities.

Another area of focus during 2010 was on youth. The children that grew up during the times of war were becoming the emerging youth of the post-conflict era. The NPC recognized the importance of involving them in the peace and reconciliation processes. This was important to include in reconciliation efforts since frustration among youth was a part of the roots of the civil war. With that being said, the incorporation of youth will help for them to grow together instead of divided. Island wide youth oriented projects and activities were organized for inter-ethnic and inter-religious programs to take place. This provided the youth with opportunities for dialogue and an introduction to peacebuilding. The NPC was also able to organize North-South youth exchanges. The first was for youth of the South to visit youth in the North. The visit was a positive one that strengthened the bonds between the participants and gave many southern youth the chance to better understand the issues faced by the minorities in the North. A second exchange was successfully arranged for northern youth to visit their southern counterparts (NPC 2010, p. 15). These visits gave participants some insight on each other's lives and on the struggles in their communities while promoting inter-ethnic understanding and cooperation. The NPC also collaborated with Lanka Youth Organizations Network (LYON) to organize

youth forums to strengthen young leaders and improve their knowledge in human rights, democracy, principles of good governance and power sharing.

Other areas of focus throughout the year were human rights education and advocacy in the North and East. The NPC organized human rights quiz competitions for youth to help educate them in human rights. Every winner of the competitions conducted independent activities and projects in schools to further educate students on human rights. These programs were considered successful and tripled in size to almost 3,500 students, 45 schools and expanded in 2 new districts (NPC 2010, p. 22). The NPC's projects involving youth had promising potential for promoting social cohesion, human rights, reconciliation and good governance in the future. Projects like these will aid in the promotion of the acceptance of the rights of others and in turn can then reduce cultural violence. When the rights of others are accepted and expected by youth the society will be more accepting of other changes that come with building positive peace.

The GOSL responded to civil society's peacebuilding efforts by treating them as a potential threat. In April 2010, President Rajapaksa gave the Ministry of Defense the control over registrations of NGOs, both local and foreign. Human rights and peace-seeking NGOs particularly those willing to document abuses of human rights or promote accountability such as the CPA (Center for Policy Alternatives), The NPC, and the local/domestic branch of Transparency International, were subject to surveillance, smear campaigns, threats, and criminal investigations into their funding and activities in 2011 (Freedom House 2012). The negative connotation attached to NGO led work suppressed their ability to move beyond the horizontal connections that could only really link communities and prevented the vertical connections that could have strengthened civic participation thereby holding at least the local government accountable to its communities. The combination of both horizontal and vertical connections would pose a severe threat to the GOSL and it's strategy to avoid accountability.

In 2011 the NPC reported that the year under review was one of the most challenging they had faced. The organization was unfortunately subjected to police investigations. They recognized that their project emphasis on creating awareness and advocating for minority rights, institutional reform and a political solution to the ethnic conflict was

regrettably not in congruence with government policy (National Peace Council 2011, p. 11). Despite the challenges the NPC and other NGOs did their best to continue to work towards peace. In 2011 one of the NPC's focuses was to contribute to the establishment of District Inter-Religious Committees (DIRC) that held 116 action committee meetings in 12 (of 25) districts that helped build peaceful relationships between multi-religious communities. According to Dr. Jehan Perera, the executive director of the NPC, working with religious affiliated groups was key to carrying out their inter-communal peace work since religious groups were not required to register with the government. Working with them enabled the NPC to work around some of the restrictions and limitations that were put on NGOs. The DIRC was able to collect information on the needs of various war-affected communities and make corresponding recommendations.

Despite the challenges, other organizations were also able to carry out peacebuilding activities. Communities without Boundaries International (CWBI) and US Embassy of Sri Lanka and the Maldives ran a series of introductory non-violence peacebuilding workshops in universities across the island for Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim youth from January to March. The NPC also provided support for this project. Follow up programming continued into the year. The US State Department estimated that over 13,000 individuals received the introductory training (Communities without Boundaries.) The trainings spread across six of the eight provinces in Sri Lanka, reached diverse groups including university students, faculty, university administrative staff, youth groups, religious leaders, and grassroots communities. Considering the role youth had in the roots of the civil war, one can understand the strength and potential they have in the future of Sri Lanka.

Coincidently or not, the GOSL also implemented youth trainings in 2011. The Ministry of Higher Education and Ministry of Defense worked together to organize and carry out the trainings in May of 2011, which was mandatory for all for university undergraduates. The trainings were conducted across the island at various military camps for 3 weeks and shortened to 2 weeks the following years. Protests followed the announcement of the proposed training and the Supreme Court recommendation to suspend the trainings was ignored. Many were concerned the training would promote Sinhalese nationalist viewpoints and discourage political

dissent and respect for ethnic diversity (Freedom House 2012). Higher Education Ministry Secretary Dr. Sunil Navaratne claimed the training was also an orientation program that was meant to provide all university entrants with a universal education (Ministry of Defense May 2011). At this time the war had only ended two years ago and it was more than understandable if people feared the possibility of harm or disappearances. Even if the leadership training programs had good intention to teach students useful skills, the way the program was implemented could easily be interpreted as an assertion of authoritarian power. The creation of this training as a university prerequisite for impressionable youth could be viewed as a means for the GOSL to further normalize militarization, which is counterproductive to peacebuilding.

In 2012 the NPC focused on promoting democracy and reconciliation through transitional justice. The NPC wanted to bring awareness to the LLRC and mobilize civil society to assist the government to implement the recommendations (National Peace Council 2012, p. 17). The council found the lack of information about the LLRC to be a roadblock to reconciliation. While this thesis finds that the LLRC is not up to international standards and lacks independence, it is understandable why the NPC would still want to bring awareness to the LLRC and its findings so that they may be informed and able to participate in the future reconciliation processes. The NPC created guidebooks, with the assistance from the Marga Institute, to help spread awareness of the LLRC and its recommendations. The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) also created LLRC report guidebooks with translated versions in English, Tamil and Sinhala. Creating guidebooks made the positive LLRC recommendations more comprehensible to the public and mobilized inquiries on disappearances, language rights and land, amongst other issues.

In 2013 the NPC implemented a two-year project called Partnerships for Peace that was funded by the European Union. The project focused on reaching inter-ethnic communities that suffered tremendously due to the long years of war and aimed to help them overcome their post-war suspicions and divisions. Partnerships for Peace provided training and workshops to 8 partner grassroots organizations to strengthen their capacities for future community peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts. Each partner organization was provided funding for a small project to contribute to

community healing (National Peace Council 2013, p. 12). By strengthening grass roots organizations NGOs were better able to support the needs of local communities.

Throughout 2013 and 2014 CSOs continued to carry out projects to build peace, however, the lack of top-down support for ideals such as democracy, freedom of expression and reducing corruption are still major challenges that needed more support. While CSOs worked to promote these ideals they were limited in their work and would have been more successful if there was government support. Government support could have aided in increasing participation in peace and reconciliation programs. According to the World Corruption Perception Index (CPI), corruption in Sri Lanka increased significantly ranking 79th in 2012 to 91st in 2013 (Transparency International Sri Lanka 2014, p. 3).

In November 2013 CIVIVUS the World Alliance for Citizen Participation collaborated with the CPA to produce a report on the harassment that Sri Lanka's civil society organizations (CSOs) have faced. The space in which CSOs and NGOs operate became not only limited but also extremely dangerous. Expressions of government dissent were often met with threats as well as retaliation in some situations.

> Members of CSOs and individual activists exposing human rights violations committed during the civil war by Sri Lankan security forces and activists working on governance issues have been abducted to prevent them from continuing their work. The threat of abductions of civil society activists, journalists and dissidents remains a constant threat to citizen participation in post war Sri Lanka, especially in a context where little or no progress has been made in to the investigation of these incidents (Civicus and CPA 2013, p. 4).

The use of violence, threats and intimidation in response to dissent portrays the GOSL's resemblance into an authoritarian state. Freedoms regarding access to information and speech became limited and damaging to peacebuilding. In May 2013, Civicus and the CPA reported that the Supreme Court ruled that Internet freedom of expression was not an absolute right and could be restricted. Journalists and activists were both targets of the Rajapaksa regime because of their potential to expose corruption and reveal damaging information about the government. The situation was made worse on July 1, 2014 when NGOs were issued warnings from the government ordering them to desist from conducting workshops, trainings for

journalists, press conferences and press releases. From then on those activities were considered unauthorized and beyond the mandate of the NGOs. Despite this, CSOs and NGOs did not stop working for peace however; due to their continued sabotage and restrictions they also were not able to expand to reach their full potential.

In a phone interview, Dr. Jehan Perera said the post-war period under President Rajapaksa was permeated with fear. Many members of CSOs, those involved in their work and journalists feared they could be harmed for their involvement in civil society. A fear psychosis developed throughout the society that had the power to dissuade many from becoming involved or being associated with anything that was not approved (officially and unofficially) of by the government. Dr. Perera noted the threat heavy presence of military in the North and East is to positive peace. He believes the attempt to normalize militarization has been counterproductive to CSO's visions for a peaceful future (personal communication, December 17, 2015). Unfortunately, because of Sri Lanka's history of colonization, international interest and intervention, the governments that developed after independence defended their actions in the name of protecting sovereignty and national security. Democracy and human rights were undermined for majoritarian power. Their foreign relations with illiberal countries such as China protected them from further international investigations.

CHAPTER IV

**4. ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS OF POSITIVE PEACE IN
POST-WAR SRI LANKA**

The post-war peacebuilding of Sri Lanka has been extremely complex. The international community was keen on providing support to guide Sri Lanka on a path to justice and peace however, as noted in chapter 3, when allegations of war crimes became the focus of concern President Rajapaksa and his regime responded by centralizing their power in government and further strengthening their relations with illiberal states to protect themselves from having to answer to inquiries regarding human rights and war crimes. The research from chapter 3 clearly demonstrates that the alleged peace in Sri Lanka proclaimed by President Rajapaksa was solely a victor's peace. This peace was won through military force and enabled the continuation of an asymmetrical power imbalance. The GOSL tried to portray the post-war era as an image of peace, progress and economic growth. However, the reality was different. The GOSL promoted a negative peace, which ended the war but did not resolve conflicts. The government's actions blocked positive peace in an attempt to create a militarized society and an entrenched rule. This kept Sri Lanka in its perpetual negative state of peace.

The following sections will analyze how the factors of positive peace described in chapter 1, were compromised and therefore preventing positive peace and its efforts.

4.1. WELL FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT

While the definition of a "well functioning government" can be argued to be considered essentially subjective, UN member states are expected to abide by international laws and exhibit a well functioning government that is effective in meeting the needs of the people, and provides a clear and accepted rule of law. During times of conflict states have a responsibility to protect the lives of civilians and their human rights. If a state violates international law and does not hold itself accountable they should expect investigation inquiries.

Maintaining a well functioning government for Sri Lanka has been especially difficult. As chapter 2 recalls, the island was only fully united as one after British colonization and after independence, the Sinhalese majority used their power to take control of the government to act in favor of the ethnic majority and disenfranchise the minorities. Therefore it is not surprising that successive governments became more authoritarian. In many ways the post-independent government resembled their previous European colonizers by favoring their own language, religion and ethnicity. The post independent governance of Sri Lanka shaped the society to normalize ethnonationalism among the majority Sinhalese, while resistance and injustice became a normalized reality among Tamils and minorities. Despite what President Rajapaksa had claimed, the governance did not progress or change to protect human rights and equality for all citizens of Sri Lanka before the war, during or after.

High levels of corruption have enabled soft authoritarianism to develop and democracy to diminish. President Rajapaksa's centralization of power enabled him to act in the regimes best interest and not that of the people. If a government is unwilling to protect the rights of all citizens then positive peace will not be possible.

4.2. LOW LEVELS OF CORRUPTION

A society that has low levels of corruption will enhance trust and confidence in it's institutions (Institute for Economics & Peace 2015, p. 10). The nepotism and cronyism of the post-war government ensured that power would stay centralized and corruption could continue. Sri Lanka's major problem regarding corruption is that there are very little if any checks and balances in the government. The country had sufficient laws and regulations to counter corruption, however enforcement was inconsistent and weak. The levels of corruption are vast in Sri Lanka due to the lack of enforcement and transparency. Civilians often fear standing up to corruption due to its prevalence throughout state levels. The Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) was made permanent in 1982 and gave police and security forces broad powers over suspects and those they detained. When the war was declared over the PTA was still intact and police continued to detain and torture people on the grounds of suspicion of unlawful behavior. Police and security forces have been viewed as one of the most corrupt sectors. When individuals wanted to report corruption it could be risky based on the history of police conduct. The continuation of corruption has made it

impossible for positive peace to emerge because corruption does not foster a society where rights are respected or considered important.

4.3. EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES, ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS AND FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

The undermining of these three factors overlapped in the post-war context and therefore have been categorized for discussion together. Sri Lanka has never equally distributed its resources so it is not entirely surprising that it continued into the post-war era. As noted in chapter 2, resources were distributed based off of social position, ethnicity, language and religion. This was a large component of the root of conflicts in Sri Lanka. The biggest threat to President Rajapaksa and his regime was unity of the people. The inequality in Sri Lanka has essentially kept the people divided. Economic disparity and racial discrimination has limited minority access of education and employment. The GOSL was able to take advantage of the societal divide by threatening civil society and controlling media and news within the country. The GOSL appeared to be preaching unity but their actions did not solve the obstacles that were diving their people.

Bottom-up grassroots led reconciliation efforts were incomplete due to the restrictions placed on civil society and their inability to address top down structural violence. A national top-down promotion of reconciliation could have created the conditions to change local dynamics to accept and pursue a reconciliation process. By developing an understanding for the other and the acceptance of the rights of others, a better understanding of the true root causes of the civil war would be learned and this understanding would aid in preventing future violent conflict. The LLRC recommendations and the National Action Plan (NAP) were façades to appease international pressures and made the GOSL seem as if they had interests in reconciliation, however it is well known that neither the recommendations nor the NAP the were fully implemented.

Structural and cultural violence continued into President Rajapaksa's post-war reign. Prejudice, suspicion and distrust were pervaded within society. President Rajapaksa promoted nationalism, militarization and economic development that would work with his plan to keep calls for equality and accountability silenced. By labeling CSOs

as a threat to national sovereignty the GOSL was able turn people against civil society. The GOSL and Sinhalese ultra nationalists did not view CSOs and their promotion of the acceptance of the rights of others, and equal distribution of resources and information in a favorable light.

Throughout President Rajapaksa's presidency it is clear that his government transparency continuously diminished and increasingly authoritarian. The GOSL's actions did not act in the best interest of the country as a whole. By controlling the flow of information the government stifled and discouraged any other alternative views. When the GOSL chose not to use their power and influence (and also the influence of CSOs and media) to promote human rights and equality of all Sri Lankan citizens they made their stance clear that justice and truth were not a priority or focus. Reconciliation cannot take place when practices of inequality continue and information is manipulated or made unavailable.

4.4. SOUND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT AND GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

After nearly 30 years of war Sri Lanka's economy and foreign relations have taken severe tolls. High public debt tolls required large investments to rebuild infrastructure and increase their GDP. The European Union was unsuccessful in imposing human rights sanctions due to China and India's competitive interest in regional power. The sanctions had the potential to pressure the GOSL in the direction of accountability and political reforms if they did not have other resources for loan investments. The increased economic and political influence of China has strained Sri Lankan relations with India and became a major concern to the international community. The GOSL's decision to focus on economic development and sideline political reform and reconciliation strained relations with India and drew great concern from the international community. To allow Chinese investors to bypass government tenders demonstrated a business environment that was unsound and not transparent.

Unemployment was high for the war-affected people of the North and East. The Sri Lankan Military became the competition of local businesses by getting involved tourism and agriculture. Land was seized for Chinese infrastructure projects as well as military businesses. Local grievances included displacement without consultation or compensation and using Chinese and military laborers instead of local people that

were in desperate need of jobs (Wheeler 2012, p. 25). The GOSL's refusal to engage in post-war accountability affected both their relations with neighbors and exposed corruption in the business environment in the North and East.

4.5. HIGH LEVELS OF HUMAN CAPITAL

The development of human capital is essential in a post-war environment. Sri Lanka's greatest challenge to improving human capital has been combating inequality. These disparities portray the roots of the conflict that have yet to be nationally acknowledged. Sri Lanka's control of information and democratic space also challenged human development. How can human development in the North and East improve when poverty is rampant and resources have not been equitably distributed? While these conditions are of course favorable to war but human development needs to be considered as important as economic development.

Youth and education development did not get the full attention they needed from the Rajapaksa regime. Education is highly valued throughout the Sri Lankan society, but it was uneven in quality and access. Schools in the rural areas of the country had significantly less resources than those in the Western Province. Youth need to feel confident in their chances to find employment after completing their higher education, if not the same grievances and frustrations of the 1980's could reoccur. Many youth with university degrees, especially from the North and East, have struggled to find employment. According to the United Nations Development Programme Sri Lanka (2014), the youth unemployment has been about 40% for those between the ages of 20-24.

The military presence in everyday civilian life may have had effects om youth development. Youth is the time where a person is meant to question and challenge the aspects of life (within reason) and explore different ideas in order to learn and grow into an informed adult. Many youth did not have this luxury because of President Rajapaksa's militarized watchdog security. Group meetings could have been interpreted as a problem for security forces and professors and students could not speak their minds freely and tended to censor themselves for their safety.

Without reconciliation the nation will not be able to unite and build a resilient society. Civil society worked to the best of their ability to educate people in political

participation, anti-corruption mechanisms, human rights and conflict prevention. If the government had given support to civil society and worked with them instead of against Sri Lanka's human capital could have been much higher.

CHAPTER V

5. OBSTRUCTIONS TO POSITIVE PEACE

During Sri Lanka's negative peace, a transformation to positive peace was blocked. Chapter 4 analyzed how the factors of positive peace were blocked. It noted a centralization of power in government that was lead to corruption and poor governance. The GOSL was able to evade accountability, undermine democracy and suppress dissidence. The question that remains is how was it possible for these factors to continually block positive and what could have unblocked them.

This chapter will explicitly outline the blockages to positive peace in Sri Lanka and make suggestions in how obstacles to positive peace can be over come.

5.1 FEAR

Fear has had many psychological affects on the people of Sri Lanka. President Rajapaksa and his government instilled a fear that permeated Sri Lanka during his post-war presidency. During the war the people suffered from fear due to the extremes of the LTTE. For nearly two decades the LTTE was in complete control in the North and carried out many attacks against the GOSL and civilians. Tamils who did not abide by LTTE leadership were also subjected violence or even killed. The people of the South feared impending attacks that often included suicide bombs. This fear is unfortunately apart of the Sri Lanka's history. Before independence European colonization divided the people of Sri Lanka and after it, they divided themselves out of fear of loosing power. These ethnic tensions continued after independence and manifested themselves into communal violence and ethnocentric politics. Long periods of uncertainty and violence created a social conditioning for generational fear and uncertainty that will be a challenge to overcome.

Under President Rajapaksa violence and threats to journalists and the media forced many of them into self-censorship. This meant important information and news was being withheld from the public's attention. As mentioned earlier, fear also played a key role in preventing civil society from reaching their potential while also

dissuading many participants. The increase in military and security presence throughout the island seems to be the biggest contributor to post-war fear. It is unlikely to find many that are willing to protest the post-war injustices when it is well known that it could end their lives or that they could end up in prison being tortured for an extended period of time. Both Sinhalese and Tamils could be subject to harassment and violence from security forces. Those who believed in social justice and shared opposing views than the government, including the opposition party, feared they could fall victim to violence or detainment. This fear also caused many to become bystanders and prevented them from seeking change in their society. In other words, the fear forced a majority of the society into submission. The militarization throughout the North and East continued to stress and scare the Tamils that survived the trauma of war. Human rights organizations reported the harassment, intimidation and abuse of many forms from the hands of various Sri Lankan security forces including the military, military intelligence, and the police, Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and Terrorism Investigations Department (TID).

President Rajapaksa acted hypocritically by proclaiming a new unity while continuing to instill fear in the nation. As president his influence on his people held great weight. He had not only the power but a responsibility to protect human rights and encourage his people to humanize each other. Instead he used his power to increase support for the ruling party and continued to enjoy the perks of corruption. It is clear that President Rajapaksa and his regime were also affected by fear. They feared being held accountable for war crimes and crimes against humanity and ultimately of loosing power.

Peacebuilding will not be successful if civilians cannot bring voice to their issues and live in a climate of fear. Reconciliation efforts would also be unsuccessful in reuniting the divided island if President Rajapaksa and his regime stayed in power. The efforts of positive peace will fail as long as this fear in existed in Sri Lanka.

5.2 LANGUAGE BARRIER

The language barrier in Sri Lanka has also been an ongoing issue in its history. Without a common language it was extremely difficult for Tamils and Muslims to interact with Sinhalese. Despite the fact that Sinhala and Tamil are both official

languages, the Tamil language has not been yet shared parity with Sinhala in society. The language barrier has effectively segregated the people of Sri Lanka and limited their accesses to news, information, jobs and educational opportunities. A nation cannot reconcile when they cannot communicate. While translators have been of help in civil society projects, the very need of them demonstrates the confines of a project's reach. The language barrier ultimately hindered local ownership of reconstruction.

The phasing out of English as a bridge language between Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese was initially meant to separate the newly independent state from it's colonial master, however it is clear now that it was a political tactic to form Sinhalese majoritarian control of government. According to the CIA Factbook (2013), only about 10 percent of the population can speak English and it is most commonly used in government. While government interactions are supposed to be available in both Sinhala and Tamil that is often not the case making it more challenging for Tamils who seek government assistance. Sinhala names were given to Tamil areas in the former northeastern war zone after the war ended added to further grievances.

It is understandable that native language is very important in both ethnicities identities but it should not have prevented a bi/multi-lingual society. Language has the power to unite and divide people and should not be a tool to exacerbate post-war conflicts. The medium of education has been either Sinhala or Tamil. "It's a tool that is used to divide children and to actually feed [Tamil and Sinhalese] nationalism," says Tahirih Qurratulayn, director of the Sri Lankan Institute of Human Rights (as cited in IRIN, 2012). Less than 15 percent of the 15,000-strong police force stationed in the North could not speak the language of the areas residents further aggravating distrust and frustration. A bridge language like English could have solved many of these grievances.

President Rajapaksa and his predecessors used language to divide the people so that there was a control on outside information. The same can be said for the LTTE who wanted to keep Tamils under their control. The English language could have better spread international information and opinions and contradict those in power. The initial release of the LLRC report in only English is a clear demonstration of the GOSL use of language to control access to information.

Positive peace cannot be achieved if contributing factors to negative peace are not first addressed. The reality of inequality in post-war Sri Lanka is reflected in the way language disparity contributed to structural and cultural violence. Sri Lanka's history of colonial control and the large presence of Tamils in government jobs at that time created a negative connotation with the English language. This fueled political nationalism to promote the use of only native languages in order to shift power. The reassertion of native languages made English less popular thereby setting up clear paths to sufficiently divide the island ethnically and linguistically. The people of post-war Sri Lanka have all suffered in one way or another due to the war. The peace projects discussed in chapter 3 demonstrate that a significant amount of the population are interested in peace and reconciliation. In order to achieve the long-term goals of positive peace the children and the youth of the country must be able to sufficiently communicate with one another so that they can build the future of Sri Lanka together.

Moving foreword it would be in the best interest of the people of Sri Lanka to alleviate language grievances that have caused issues and distress throughout the nations history. Inequality needs to be addressed and Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims need to have equal access to education and job opportunities. A trilingual society will give the people of Sri Lanka a better future.

5.3 ILLIBERAL SUPPORT

Sri Lanka's close ties with "illiberal international powers (i.e., those not subscribing to the liberal peacebuilding ideals of reconciliation, democratization, and accountability for human rights violations)" (Höglund and Orjuela 2012, p. 91), have protected the GOSL from international intervention. Permanent Security Council members China and Russia opposed the UN Security Council from discussing the alleged violations in Sri Lanka thereby blocking international efforts to seek justice for victims and accountability. Both nations have expressed their support to the GOSL to resolve their conflicts internally.

Illiberal peacebuilding has blocked positive peace in Sri Lanka by creating a peace that is "based on domination and control" (Lindberg et al. 2011, p. 39). The GOSL was able to avoid war crime inquiries and continue their façade of post-war

reconstruction and peace. They selectively chose the aspects of liberal peace they thought would appease the international community while still benefitting the regime. For example, reconstruction and development in war torn areas was a priority in the GOSL's post-war strategy, which was positive. However the projects did not often consult the concerned residents and caused further tension and distrust. A second example is the LLRC, which many believe was only created in response to international criticism. The report and National Action Plan were never taken seriously and the recommendations have yet to be enforced.

The Illiberal support of China allowed President Rajapaksa and his regime to centralize power and shift to authoritarian rule. There was no incentive for President Rajapaksa and his regime to cooperate with western democratic reform when China allowed them to stay in power and reconstruct the nation to their desire. Positive peace cannot be built under authoritarian rule because positive peace requires transparency, equality and accountability. Even if the country was able to stabilize, if the original roots of the conflict are ignored the peace will not transform from negative to positive and conflict will be more likely to reoccur in the future.

Sri Lanka is under new leadership as of 2015 but the nation still has to deal with the consequences of the previous presidents decisions. Moving foreword the new President Sirisena needs to remove the blockages to positive peace. He needs to cut and/or limit future engagement with illiberal states. It will also be necessary to build a new transparent government to earn back the trust of the people. Lastly the new government needs to work with civil society to help reconcile the nation and build a peaceful future that can incorporate and sustain the factors of positive peace.

CONCLUSION

This study of post-war peace in Sri Lanka has identified how positive peace was being prevented. After the end of 26 years of war many questions remained: Why are there still reports of disappearances, torture in detainment and land seizures? Why hasn't the military downsized after the government claimed they defeated internal terrorists and has no external enemies? Where is this peace that was proclaimed?

This thesis posed the questions: (a) What is sustaining negative peace in post-war Sri Lanka? (b) What role has identity politics played in the negative peace in Sri Lanka? The research was qualitative in nature in seeking to discover what was preventing positive peace and sought to understand the underlying factors that allowed it.

I found in answer to research question (a) that the sustained negative peace was due to the ongoing structural and cultural violence. There were no effective top-down mechanisms in place to reduce structural or cultural violence. The LLRC report and recommendations could have been of help but the GOSL downplayed the findings. When civil society organizations attempted to work on reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts the government met them with threats and constraints. Increased militarization was one of the strongest strategies to prolong negative peace. By trying to normalize militarization the GOSL was also asserting its power to ensure any type of resurgence could be met with force. This is counterproductive to post-war reconstruction which encourages demobilization. The Sri Lankan military well out numbered the former LTTE, which was now broken up. Heavy military presence in the North and East created furthered grievances and problems for Tamils. Tamil civilians were treated like suspects instead of the victims they were. The military land seizures displaced many Tamils and added to inequality.

In research question (b) I found that identity politics heavily influenced the state of negative peace. Identity politics exacerbated conflict before, during and after the war. It opened the door for ethnic and religious mobilization to gain and hold political control and power. President Rajapaksa depended on identity politics to mobilize nationalist political support for the Sri Lankan military to take whatever action he deemed necessary in order to end the war. Strong political alliances formed and an ethnonationalist mentality prevailed into the post-conflict era that had little interest in

accountability and justice. Identity politics created ideal conditions for nepotism, cronyism and corruption to flourish in government. The regime centralized their power and transformed from a control democracy to an authoritarian government which positive peace cannot exist under thus sustaining a negative peace.

Once the answers to the research questions were made clear, the thesis applied the Institute of Economics and Peace's pillars of peace to Sri Lanka's negative peace. This research found that the factors of positive peace were compromised. The government was becoming more authoritarian and lacked an effective system of checks and balances, which allowed corruption to increase. The history of Sri Lanka demonstrated that the acceptance of the rights to others is something the country has and continues to struggle with. In order to maintain power the GOSL strengthened its relationships with illiberal countries that would give them support without concern of human rights issues. Resources were not equally distributed and information was not free flowing. Since the nation was still recovering from war unemployment was high in the North and East. While Sri Lanka has potential to develop into a sound business environment the time in question was still extremely fragile and venerable. These factors are all inter-dependent and mutually reinforcing showing that Sri Lanka's negative peace has a great deal of work to do if it wants to transform to positive peace.

This thesis concluded that there was 3 key blockages to positive peace. The first was due to the fear psychosis that permeated into the post-war era. CSO's, journalists, politicians, activists, academics, lawyers and influential businessmen were all potential threats to the President and his regime. The GOSL also used their victory to gain supporters for defeating terrorism. The public was well aware of the consequences of dissent and criticism and this fear controlled the society and kept it divided. The second reason positive peace was blocked is that there is a large language barrier that prevents a majority of the islands population from communicating with one another. This language gap is the result of identity politics after independence. It shaped Sri Lanka to develop with two separate populations who, for the most part, could not communicate and could easily assign blame to one another as the reason for conflict. The last reason is due to the support from illiberal countries such as China and Russia among others. Not only did they help protect the

GOSL from having to answer to war crime accusations, they also provided the necessary economic and military support that made it possible for President Rajapaksa and his regime to reconstruct and militarize the North and East of the country.

In order to come to these conclusions this research began by studying Johan Galtung's theory on negative and positive peace and the different types of violence he defined. This led the research to question how the factors for positive peace were being blocked. In order to find out it was first necessary to research the history of the origin of conflict in Sri Lanka. It became clear that long periods of colonialism and rigid class systems never allowed for all Sri Lankan citizens to view one another as equals. The same inequality that was felt throughout the history of Sri Lanka continued into the present. Inequality was a trigger for many of the conflicts in Sri Lanka. In post-war Sri Lanka many of the same inequalities from the past still exist. For example, government services in most of the country are conducted in Sinhala making some citizens of their own country need translators. The post-war polarization was different due to the government's extension of power. Their ability to silence civil society, ignore human rights and fix the 2010 presidential election was daunting.

My work contributes to the literatures on positive and negative peace by showing how positive peace was blocked in Sri Lanka after military victory. The research demonstrates the consequences of counterinsurgency and its effect on the peace process. This research also contributes to post-conflict development and reveals what prevents Sri Lanka from positive peace. The findings of this thesis could be of interest to researchers who want to study and compare Sri Lanka's peace progress in the coming years under new governance.

My recommendations are as follow. The current government of Sri Lanka should allow an independent investigation and monitoring of war crimes and crimes against humanity. This is important for victims and can instill a new trust in the government that such actions will not go unpunished. The government should work closely with civil society so that their relationship mutually benefits everyone. The state should provide a trilingual education so that future generations will be able to solve conflicts through mediation instead of violence. Since it will take time for the government to

gain back trust from all citizens a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding. This better engages the people and aids in a more natural social cohesion. With that being said the government should equally distribute resources and promote equality of all aspects. Youth should be actively involved in reconciliation efforts so that they can understand the faults of the past and how to move past and prevent them in the future. Lastly. It would be beneficial if Sri Lanka could create a new identity that celebrates and focuses on the parts of culture that all people of Sri Lanka share. The national anthem should be written and composed in both Sinhala and Tamil so that it reflects its multi-lingual nation. The creation of new public holiday such as youth and sports day could help unite society by providing a day that is not identity based and brings communities together to celebrate their future as one.

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