

Peace Governance in Post-war Sri Lanka (2009-2012): Challenges and Possibilities faced by the Individual and Society

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Introduction

Ever since to the Westphalian nation states, the term of peace has created more importance due to its relevance and components for the modern survival. In one hand, it has a coherent relation with security, while linking with development, poverty. Also war cannot be distinguished from term peace. In this respect, the term peace has become in international relations both a binding and a dividing factor. As a binding element, to attain peace, involvement, facilitation, mediation and assistance become inevitable for the various actors in international relations. On the other, it has made absence of peace as a threat for the state sovereignty, continuity, stability and problem of the survival in international system. At the same time it has scrutinise the international actors' involvement for the peace building through intervention, and enforcement due to policies that, they have adopted to fetch the peace. These critical factors related to the peace have made different activities one by another. However, needless to say that peace is the most necessary element in the stability of the state as well as world. Though "absence of peace" at state level has been disturbed by the national compartment of country, the threat and effects can spread and bring more problems over the international order in the age of globalization, with the involvement of interest groups. Given the inherent fragility of civil war times for the peace, innovative approaches must be taken to ensure the successful resolution of these conflicts. Strengthening peace in post-war states provides both analytical frameworks

and a series of critical case studies demonstrating the effectiveness of a range of strategies for keeping the peace (Matthew. and Caroline A. Hartzell, 2010: p. 3). Sri Lankan post-war situation can be regarded as a most impressive example of how domestic issues have spilled over to the region as well as world to take initiatives towards creates durable peace. In this manner, this paper will intend to analyse the post-war peace situation in Sri Lanka by applying the new phenomenon of “Peace Governance”, with the aim of ensuring the correct understanding of the challenges and possibilities to build up a solid peace concept.

Basically, before entering into the subject, refer to the two major features which are relevant to the peace governance in Sri Lanka, there are numerous arguments can be highlighted. In one discourse arguments, even GoSL has been end the conventional war in Sri Lanka still its lacking the building peace in sense of Negative as well as Positive in post-war scenario. Because of the weakness, inefficiency of the policies, mistrust, lack of CBM measurement etc., also on the other hand other hand, GoSL and some groups are claiming on defeating the LTTE by conventional mean as a permanent peace in Sri Lanka. Keeping both arguments in mind this paper will attempt to define the peace governance in Sri Lanka in order to marginalise the both controversial statements. However its visible factor and reality that peace can not to define as an absence of war. In this manner need of the more comprehensive approaches towards the peace governance in Sri Lanka need to take more serious attention in post-war scenario.

The Governance is the term having more association with the politic to explain the political actions. It has been derived most of the humanities subject to explain the continuity, manage, utilization, survival, rule, and sustainable. In this respective it has built many concept from the Political Governance, Environmental Governance, Global Governance, Resource Governance, by making separate level of governance, cooperative Governance, Individual Governance, Social Governance, National Governance, Collective Governance etc. in all aspect its discussing about the how it should and why?. Therefore specially transforming from the War to Peace is needed to more responsibly manage and keep it alive. In this respective term of Peace

Governance can be trace as an element to the protection of peace. The major level of Peace-making, Peace-building and Peace-keeping it can support more actively by functioning to keep the peace in transition situation like post-war Sri Lanka.

After 30 years of bloodshed in Sri Lanka, GoSL has decisively defeated LTTE in May 2009 from the state oriented perspective, GoSL declared peace by initiating the “absence of war” in the state which is need to more clarifications. In order to bring peace, government has taken the concept of “peace through coercive power.” Referring to peace studies, scholars have characterised it theoretically as a “negative peace” (Singh, 2003). But Government needs to address, however, more responsible manners towards “positive peace,” by introducing other paradigms of peace, such as so-called “peace trough conflict resolution,” as well as by using non-violence and community transformation. In this respect, peace can be distinguished on the basis of society, under the two major levels; i.e. Individual, Societal, levels, metaphor for facilitating the peace governance in any country. When dealing with social sciences, it does not mean that these elements are the only ones needed to explore in peace governance. Also, it must be highlighted that, due to the correlation between the different levels, they cannot be separated from each other.

➤ **Hugo Grotius**

Starting with the Grotius, “responsibility to make peace is more devoted to the State” (David, 2012: p. 2). He has mentioned the statement refer to state as a responsible actor of the creating peace. Since 2009, GoSL has brought the negative peace through conventional means. Being state an actor on the peace, Grotius explanation has more association with the building of the post-war peace in Sri Lanka.

Moreover he, he defined peace basically as an absence of war and direct violence. Grotius described peace in his book of war upon the ground of focusing on the rule of law concept. As he noted, there are three methods for settling conflicts, or particularly to bring peace. The first is conference and negotiation among two rivals or contestants. The second method is called compromise, which is a settlement in which each side gives up some demands or makes concessions. The third is that of single combat or choosing by lot. Grotius believed that it is sometimes better to renounce rights than to

try to enforce them. “When it comes to bargaining and mediation, he holds that for any of the three methods listed above; it is of extreme importance to select a judge with character and decency.” On his arguments these three methods are listed as a solution to achieving peace by ultimately providing justice (“Hugo Grotius 1583-1645”).

➤ **Immanuel Kant**

“No treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war” (“Immanuel Kant perpetual peace”). In our attempt to define peace, Immanuel Kant can be considered as a significant definer of peace and of the keeping of peace, though his contribution refers specifically to the inter-state level of peace governance. We believe, however, that those elements can be taken within state to bring peace. It must be held in mind that his explanation about peace is more optimistic and ideal than realistic, due to his use of the eternal peace concept. As he stated, “results depend not so much on what we do...nor what method we adopt to bring it about, but in what human nature does in and with us as to compel in into a path that we ourselves would not ready to follow” (Brauch, 2007: p8). This explication about human nature’s relevance for the peace building can be traced back to the two categories of internal and external peace. Whereby it can be underpins with the more liberal base 1. Democracy, 2.Representation, and 3. Universal Hospitality.

Moreover, in his explanation of peace fits within the liberal political ideology. Because of the concept of democracy, representation has more attachment in the liberal peace. In addition, his definition of peace points out that “the state of peace, must therefore be established, for the suspension of hostilities does not provide the security of peace and unless this security is pledged by one neighbour to another....the latter from whom such security has been requested, can threat former as enemy (*ibid.*, p9). This perception states that when it comes to domestic level, conflict or whatever violence brings disturbance to peace and needs to be addressed by both sides of the greater issue. The war/conflict within the state must be understood at state as well as at citizen’s levels ahead of the establishment of peace. Whereby in Sri Lanka this has not been realised in the post-war peace building process.

On the other hand, even though the state has achieved peace by exercising its

coercive power, it cannot yet be considered as a permanent peace because of the his contention of “war and victory cannot be determine the rights, and a treat of peace cannot end the state of war” (*ibid.*, p10). Because of this, even after the state (government) achieved the negative peace, it will still have the security dilemma about the further war. Hence, domestic peace and collective security is the solution which can help bringing the perpetual peace to the country or, in a broader dimension, to the international system. Summing up, Kant’s description of peace referring to peace governance process requires coordination among all conflicting parties.

➤ **Johan Galtung**

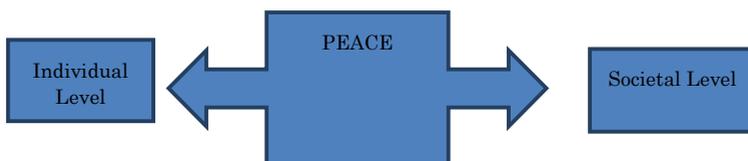
The father of modern peace studies, he has defined peace in a new fashion, aiming at a more comprehensive understanding. In his descriptions, peace can be categorised into three major features, called absence of direct violence, structural and cultural violence as peace. Second and third points can be classified as both negative and positive ones. Based on his description, cultural violence becomes an obstacle for commonalities, so he points at cooperation for the building of a solid peace. This is most highlighted in his definition. Therefore it is essential to look at an environment with absence of culture violence.

For Galtung, negative peace is defined as a state requiring a set of social structures that provide security and protection from act of direct violence, and committed to the individuals, groups or nations.(Galtung, 2002, p. 4) The emphasis is...in control of violence. The main strategy is disassociation, whereby conflicting parties are separated,...in general, policies based on the idea of negative peace do not deal with the courses of violence, only its manifestations. Therefore these policies are thought to be insufficient to assure lasting conditions of peace. Indeed, by suppressing the release of tensions resulting from social conflict, negative peace efforts may actually lead to future violence of great magnitude (Sandy, Leo R. and Perkins, Ray). With this understanding, the prevailing context in Sri Lanka can be taken as a important dimension to locate the peace building process. That way, GoSL conducted the war to protect the interest of the state. Through the conventional manner, it h achieved peace, according to the Galtung’s negative peace idea. As he noted, negative

peace cannot be taken as a lasting peace; and unless there is no positive peace, it will be difficult to bring the comprehensive peace which we refer to in this paper. To appreciate Galtung's positive peace, it could be narrowed down as a "pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups...it is about people integrating in cooperative ways; it is about social organizations of diverse people who willingly choose to cooperate for the benefit of all humankind; it calls for a system in which there are no winners and losers.. All are winners, such like its win-win situation for both subject and object groups for the conflict. It is a state so highly valued that institutions are built around it to protect and promote it (O'Kane, 1991: p. 3). It also involves the search for positive conditions which can resolve the underlying causes of conflict that produces violence.

The third element of positive peace refers to the association base social interaction. In order to bring the opportunities for real peace, decentralization of power and authority are suggested in his view about the positive peace to facilitate state level peace governance. Besides, explaining his small scale social organisation offers a better environment for peace while accompanying the inter-group interaction. Also, his positive peace includes patterns of relation between the centre-periphery. In this context, it can be inferred from Galtung's understating about the positive peace assert that justice implies a full enjoyment of the entire range of human rights by all people (Woolman, 1985: p26).

1. Level of analysis (Peace Governance)



Individual Level Peace Governance

Traditionally, the concept of peace has been more focused on the state level in the international relations, while neglecting the individual contribution and effort to the peace governance. After the Cold War, as actors on the international system changed, many non-state actors came to the main stream. In this respect, there has been an effort

to point out the possibility and challenges for the peace governance in individual level. As a major component of the state, individual level peace is more relevant than any other area these days. Even United Nation's Agenda for Peace has highlighted the importance of the individual contribution to peace.

Thus our intention is to highlight the importance of the individual level peace governance. Unless individual is taken into consideration when dealing with peace, it is very difficult to achieve satisfactory peace governance. In the individual level, concepts such as harmony, contentment or compassion are closely attached to the understanding of peace. Unless there is an improved understanding about peace in the individual level, it will be difficult to achieve a peace atmosphere in any level. In the case of Sri Lanka, individuals involved in ethnic conflict have played a vital role on the side of both parties to turmoil the issues. (Uyangoda, 2007: p. 4) Though it was in the war time as well as post-war situation it has more shaped the in the decision making level. It's worth to make awareness of the next levels of societal or collective peace governance. Therefore our emphasis will focus on creating awareness among individuals to orient the positive peace which can be strengthened at the societal level positive peace.

Moving from the conceptual basis to practical levels, it was an evident factor that many victimised individuals lost their identity after the war, as well as a right understanding of their rights and their needs. War has been highlighted as a zero sum game. As some scholars noted, the "winner takes all" theory led victims to be more distrustful about the peace. In the realist theory states' "perception is matter as much as for the reality" (Balasooriya) this fear has led to a majority of the individuals to not to associate with the peace process, a fact that questions the durability of the peace. The feeling of alienation has been increased because of the neglect of the people and their lack of involvement in the decision making level, something that has prompted a generalised loss of faith on peace. That is why we want to highlight that in the case of peace governance in Sri Lanka, as a minor part of the society, individual involvement is an essential matter when taking the right way towards a positive peace.

Narrowing further to another importance issue in the process of solving the

conflict in post-war time, special attention must be given to the vital role played by political leaders. Regarding the victimised side, TNA leader R. Sambanthan is playing a major role on the peace process and has highlighted the GoSL's failure give justice to Tamils, while they believe that they are the only caring for the Tamil community. The major challenges for the individual level in this particular case can be seen in the form of a lack of responsibility, collectivism, awareness, understanding and bargaining capacity, as the most relevant elements of the weakening of the current peace process.

With respect to the above and the Sri Lanka context, we can illustrate the major challenges for the individual level peace governance as,

Unequal demands of individuals

Irresponsibility

Lack of personality

With the Nandikadal tragedy in 2009, Sri Lanka is still far behind in its way towards the achievement of a positive peace. The horizon of the peace blundered by the many individuals involved to the peace process. This article does not intend to make blame or claim directly any of the involved groups, but it is a fact that some individuals from both sides have turned the peace governance more complex due to their unequal demands. As we noted above, Tamils demands have been taken by the GoSL as a challenge to the national interest. While from the Tamils side, it is believed that they have lost every chance to obtain justice and they accordingly want to separate from the majority systems. These unequal demands became a major challenge for the solving the conflict in Sri Lanka. ("Tamil Perspectives on Post-war Sri Lanka") There is a need to bring the individuals together with their deferent interests in order to create a permanent peace. In occasions, individual involvement was intended to divide the peoples for the sake of obtaining personal interests. Rigid policies from the individual political leaders became major challenges for the peace governance.

➤ **Irresponsibility**

It is commonly praised that GoSL was capable to bring peace to the state, but it is noteworthy that this peace has not yet reached all the peoples in Sri Lanka. Referring to the individuals, a lack of responsibility is commonly perceived by the peoples.

Among others, minority individual leaders have questioned the government blaming, while other side individuals practice quiet policy towards the mobilisation of the peace within individuals. Also, recently some political leaders have started expressing whatever they felt despite the fact of forgetting main importance components of the individual responsibility. Because of the lack of coordination, problems of awareness have become a visible factor leading to the creation of more challenges to the peace process. In this respect, most of the individuals' activities have ignored the means of the "peace through the peaceful manners", thus misguiding during the past three year public and state efforts to bring the positive peace.

➤ **Lack of Personality**

Those who occupy the main stream in the decision making process have been cramped with a conflict between personal and collective interests. This can be seen as a major factor of weakness in most of the peace approaches. In this respect, our strong contention that individuals need to focus more on what they want and how it can be achieved through the peaceful means.

1. Societal Level Peace Governance

In contrast to the above, the level of peace governance has contributed considerable challenges as well as different possibilities for the making environment of positive peace out comes.. Referring to the societal level issues which remain in the post-war era, they can be traced as inequality, social exclusion, violence, disparities, unequal resource distribution, lack of participation, ethnic superiority, education and fragmentation of the interest groups. They need to be explored further. For the examination purpose these broad issues can be divided and take to the discussion. Regarding specific elements in the Sri Lanka societal level, religion and religious role has been highlighted by many scholars in their research. Even after the war has been ended, the role of religion needs to be taken into consideration for the positive peace building.

➤ **Religion as an instrument for the peace governance**

In the above case of aftermath of the prolonged ruthless 30 years' war in Sri Lanka, building the peace among fragmented communities is a difficult task that could be supported by religion in order to transform negative peace into positive peace. However, in the Sri Lankan conditions are different, as to present the case that the existing linkage between the ethnic and the religious elements pledged more fuel to the conflict rather than feeding the peace. Therefore, it has been labelled as a negative contention for the peace, as well as a reference to the conflict times. Under these circumstances, there is a need to address religion as an instrument for the peace governance. For the examination purpose, we can see religion noted as a;

Cure and curse, Extremism, Misguide, Divisions, Turmoil, Exclusion

A variety of existing literature and projects have addressed the religious dimension of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. They have also highlighted how it has rooted top to bottom and bottom to top. This close relationship between war and religion in the case of Sri Lankan ethnic conflict brought many additional difficulties to the post-war peace process. Particularly Buddhism, being the majority religion, has been deeply associated with the Sinhala nationalism by creating divisions between the different ethnic communities. Undoubtedly, many scholars have featured religion as a both a binding and a dividing factor for any country. (Coward, H. G. and S.G. Smith, 2004: p. 7) Given that fact, specialists' research has scientifically led to realise the relation between Buddhism and war in Sri Lanka. The prominent specialist Ven. Deegalle Mahinda Thero states through his articles how Buddhism has been extensively involved in the conflict in Sri Lanka. In his critical analysis on how Buddhism, a tolerance-based religion become intolerantly supportive of the violence while fuelling further war as only tool for the achievement of peace in Sri Lanka. (Mahinda, 2006: p. 22) There is a need to bring light on how religious practitioners do change public opinion with the aim of making war a lasting goal for the peace. Under these circumstances noticeably religion become a cure and curse for the post-war peace-building situation. Sinhala nationalism perceived religion as a cure because of

the guidance, support and strong contention for the war, as well as due to its understanding of negative peace. At the same time, others have taken it as a curse for the peace process in Sri Lanka, looking back at the pre-conflict era.

The Buddhist involvement has very much been in relation with the historical context of making a strong argument of the possession to land. On the other hand Tamils consider it as a key element which makes them insecure while looking at their right to live in dignity. Therefore, these incongruities between the alluded communities build up more tension in the case of peace in Sri Lanka. From the Sinhala nationalist perspective, they feel legitimised to defend from those who purposely destroy and attack Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Because of these issues concerning cure and curse perceptions we must be more cautious when addressing the post-war peace building process in Sri Lanka. Keeping these disturbances after the war has become a challenge for the durability of the peace in Sri Lanka.

Referring to another point that we have already stated, it has become a fact that initially religion has brought more extremism than tolerance. Looking at the presence of the religious political parties in the political system, we note that they have tended to manipulate public opinion towards extremist ideology based interests. Principally, the last war started with the suppression from the Buddhist monk to wage a war against LTTE. However, from the media it was stated that the fourth Elam war started under humanitarian ground, in the form of a dispute over the water sharing. But behind the tragedy, we can narrow the incident of Buddhist monks involvement in the demand to GoSL to, “If GoSL not going to take imitative we will go to fight with them to get justice” (*ibid.*, p. 203) on behalf of the people that are ready to sacrifice their lives in the name of Sinhalese rights. Historically, every crucial time they have taken the first step towards war instead of peace. At last, GoSL wages war against LTTE. Also, during the war times, the parliament visibly pressurised the GoSL to defeat the LTTE only through military manners rather than wasting time in peace talks. (*ibid.*, p. 237) In this way, particularly Jatika Hela Urumaya (National Heritage Party) was the major political party which played a vital role orienting more aggressively public opinion towards the conflict in Sri Lanka.

Third and last, during the war time support to the war came mainly from Buddhist monks and Buddhist people and was rare in any other faiths present in the country. That way, blessings were given to protect army militaries who become disabled after they fought with LTTE. That active involvement in the war is what provoked violent attacks on Buddhism, such as massacre of monks or destruction of temples and Buddhist heritage like Dalada Maligawa incident. In this situation, our effort is to discuss how religion can be played as an instrument for the peace governance. It is a challenging task to change the attitudes towards the peace making and building harmony among the communities based on religion. On the other hand, Buddhism must be re-approached in a different way, completely free from violence support which has led to division of the society. This can be featured as one of the major challenges for the religious practitioners and leaders to change the attitudes from violence to peace in post war time.

Referring to other problem component, misguidance of religion can be sorted out as another challenge for Sri Lanka. In the aftermath of the war, we can see in many parts of in Sri Lanka Buddhist missionaries who have started slogan towards that direction, which bring challenges for the positive peace governance. Those important issues need to be brought to the discussion.

The issue started by the end of the war, when the people started travelling to see the war affected areas while they adopted and spread out many messages to the population affected by the war. One of those messages stated “Jati Agam bed nati Sri Lankawa Buddha Rajyak Wewa” in English translation “May Sri Lanka, without racial and religious divisions, be a Buddhist Land” (Dewasiri, 2012). On the surface it was a good message but at the same time it was as well as contradicting statement. The first part refers to a blessing to a Sri Lanka without religious division, due to the fact that most of the conflict was attached to ethnicity and religion issues. Striking aspect comes with the next part of the notice; i.e. that Sri Lanka be a Buddhist land. This simply cannot lead to making harmony understanding and to building up a peaceful environment for the positive peace.

Another example of how a notice can lead to misguidance to society, in

Sinhala “Ek Jatiyak Ek Ratak” (one nation one country) and “Me Gautama Buddha Rajjayai” (This is a land of Buddha) (*ibid.*). Here our aim is not to narrow each and every notice but to analyse the impact in the process of confidence building of those negative contentions, which can be very problematic in peace governance in Sri Lanka. Since the end of the war three years ago, there has been no positive peace adaptation in the societal level, but rather an increase of the division among communities. Those base demands and messages have brought people to assure the legitimacy of the exploitation to the Northern victims. It has given the clear messages of absence of privileges as well as it has created space for other voices. Unless these privileges are not in the main agenda, it will be a difficult task to address the positive peace concept in post-war Sri Lanka. Understanding from both sides in the society level - majorities and minorities - is the only possible way for the governing peace in more positive manner.

In contrast to the compulsive role of the Sinhala Buddhist majority it should be noted the presence of NGOs in the post-peace building process. NGOs have contributed grandly to binding societal level by facilitating, functioning, assisting and supporting the peace process in Sri Lanka, and have been key for the reconstruction and rebuilding the post-war developments. Buddhist groups revealed their hidden agendas mission and blamed the religious-converting missions performed by those NGOs in society. Particularly, western NGOs can be highlighted as major liable groups for that. In South Asia, perceptions of similar kinds of slogans to “Muslims in Danger” have led to the society to a discourse. (Yehiya, 2012). For supporting those who have worked for that, statistics data and information has been released through the latest report by the Census and Statistic Department of Sri Lanka. For them, declining of the Buddhist religious followers, rapid emergence of other religions followers and fragmentations of inter-religious secretion sect are the main empirical evidence that they have contributed against the argument of the others. These obligations took directions against Christianity, while the rest are in low risk, as Lisa Golden noted at the recent PRIO conference held in Sri Lanka (Perera, 2012). Arguing this religious transformation in Sri Lanka she stated “if a person needs spiritual salvation he/she

should have freedom to make an independent decision on a religion, instead of being manipulated or induced to select a particular faith or belief. There are many Hindus, Buddhist join to salvation they are not duty bound to convert others” (*ibid.*) therefore in order to build inter-religious dialogue “they have to have a better understanding and cooperation among them from the societal level to build peace together in society to strengthen the peace process”.

In the post-war time there are visible changes occurred in Sri Lanka. It is a noticeable fact that this hegemonic activities have significantly augmented over the country. Among the recent incidents, stand the Dambulla mosque attack as one of the most critical one. In brief, a group of Buddhist monks have threatened to demolish the mosque in sacred area of Dambulla, in the Central part of Sri Lanka. As usual this incident was mixed with politics, as revealed by the involvement of Prime Minister’s statement, telling that whatever is the solution it should be solved favouring the Buddhist community. According to the available documents that place belongs to the Mosque long time back. This issue has created strong anti-Muslim feelings among the people, while the media and other sources have interpreted and linked the issues to late monk Gangodawila Soma thero’s mysterious death in 2003, claiming blame to Muslims for the incident. Ultimately, political parties and nationalist movements have made considerable campaign against the Muslims. This has made a threat to the peaceful co-existence of the Muslim and Sinhala communities in Sri Lanka. This can be seen as another rhetoric situation that has brought further tension, as if Muslims also become in conflict with the Sinhala, it will be more dangerous to the peace in Sri Lanka, since Tamil’s conflict has been solved only Sri Lanka does not prefer to make space for another ethnic clash in Sri Lanka. Unfortunately this was not the only incident which happened in post-war times with a more or less religious dimension and that became a challenge for the peace governance process in the societal level. Most of these incidents/attacks are not reported from the public media, because of the bias of Sri Lankan journalism and as they are having the upper hand to control this reporting’s. General Secretary of Muslim Congress in Sri Lanka, Dr. Ameer Ali has criticised that “this could have broader impact on long term peace in Sri Lanka, just three years after

the war”. As he further noted “it is a concern because we thought after the victory of the Buddhist Sinhala nationalists, the majority community would be magnanimous and they would approach the minority communities and solve their problems amicably and have serious negotiations, and that is not happening,” (Douglas). Referring to this statement, it can be emphasised that those kinds of incidents can be seen as a serious challenge for the positive peace governance.

In reference to the above kind of challenges, this paper will explore the possible measurement of the religious involvement in the environment with the prospect of peace governance. Generally, intra-religious dialogue, tolerance, role of the transnational responsible religious leaders as well as building secularism concept in social level can be major suggestions for the noted environment for the positive peace. Lisa Golden pointed out that, “Christian point of men the real purpose of inter-religious dialogue is more than a way of posturing mutual knowledge and enrichment. It’s a part of the church ...ultimate mission...Christian bring to intra-religious dialogue the firm belief that the fullness of salvation comes from thrust alone and what the truth commonly to which try belong is the ordinary means of salvation... (Dammajothi, 2012: p. 4)” That way, intra-religious dialogue only can erode the mistrust and fear about losing followers among the different religions. Also we would like to highlight that there are a few positive events that have been taken by the religious party leader’s recent participation at Pallekelle “International Buddhist Conference”. Such like all religious leader conference recent held in Sri Lanka have ensured the potentiality to bring the peace in post-war times. In the conference all the religious leaders have witnesses that active participation and initiative for the peace in Sri Lanka by engaging as a unit in the societal level.in order to minimize the paradoxical and controversial image about the religion among the people they have highlighted the value of the intra-religious dialogue as an instrument.

Besides of the faith communities separating prior to bring they together can be more productive. This allows for bringing down the suspicions, miscalculation, and stereo types relations and dismisses lead to more productive and pro-active rather reactive in the peace governance in social level.

In our contention subsequent possibilities for the purpose of peace governance, highlighted the bring role of the religious leaders.in the process of connecting the peoples to people; collecting the people opinion role of religious leaders can play the rigorous for the building unity among the people. In the society post-war time whereby lack of coordination considerably made the missionary objects and peace requisites. Respective religious beliefs and spiritual resources, they can play vital role. On the other hand importance of complementary faith-based initiatives with other peace building effort they can be a bridge among the society and state. The government need greater expose to institution with religious instability in post-war time. Where religious leader the significant source of conflict. Less fear and more sophistication could allow for greater important. (Dammajothi, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

Furthermore they can be act as a messenger for the society. Through these prayers, practitioner's, religious leaders can engage to sustain the value of peace. At the same time they can act as a confidence building mechanisms through their teachings and practices to the society. Thus, in the case of peace governance "religious leaders themselves should stand on an equilibrium...reinforced and strengthen by common programme regarding which there is total consensus" ("The Role of Religious leaders for peace making") besides we don't want to make naive the difficult task. When in the initial phase being a fuelling factor to the conflict, how they can be work as a angels for the peace. But having such idealist base perception does not require the make system to fail in way head the peace governance. Nonetheless unless there is no any other alternatives Sri Lanka has to look more critically about the matter. Maximizing their effort to building peace through the joint workshop, programme, conference, when conflict arise mediate as a preventive mechanisms, dedication can be the best things to do. Though, it seems idealist in tentatively the practically it has more realistic features in the process of positive peace achievement. Furthermore enhancing all the work by re-orienting towards dimension of human oriented can be another success way to the fulfilment of peace process. Ven. M. Dammajothi thero pointed out from the Maddima Nikaya Vasetta Sutra... "With refer to the other surrounding things in the world...There is no distinctive sign pertain to sphere as in the case of

other species. This not seen among men individually on the bodies...and the difference among men is said to be their designations. Whoever among men subsist on cattle-keeping ...know vasetta...He is a farmer...an leaves by named carpenter...an artist subsist on the trade...a trader... like that who have sacrifice his all things for the for the betterment of the society he called priest.. a sacrificed priest. And he is free from grasping anything..." (Dammajothi, op. cit.) in the societal level peace initiatives Sri Lanka need to more empower those types of religious leader rather sponsoring the political actors.

The need of real religious leader in the main stream of peace governance necessary element for the Sri Lanka refers to the ethnic composition. Through building of the trust, tolerance, understating, harmony, confidence, secularism, can contribute to the lasting peace in any post-conflict situation around the word refer to the societal level peace governance. For the religious institutions cab ne utilize as a readymade operational centres for the dissemination above kind of humanistic people's views. Being the affecting have rooted top to bottom in Sri Lanka societal level they can be functioning more smoothly in the peace governance process.

➤ **Ethnic Superiority**

In spite of the negative peace was archived by the GoSL, ethnic superiority has been shine in many occasions by questioning the reconciliation process. It's needless to say that, this situation cannot be confine to only in Sri Lanka. In any post-war situation winners sides of the war have used their superiority over the victims and losers of the war. (Imtiyaz, p. 4) those incidents can be noted as a major obstacle for the positive peace governance. It has been contributed more challenges in Sri Lanka towards the positive peace the process of consolidation. Instead of the social integration, consolidation self-determination these practices made threat for the ethnic recognition in the societal composition in post-war Sri Lanka. Narrowing to the scenarios which succeeded, majority Sinhala community have started showing their hegemonic capability over the weaknesses communities by justifying their rights and means. In the circumstances of peace governance negative contention banqueted over the communities by challenging the consolidation.

Refer to above “ethnic superiority” concept is based on construction than the primordial one. In general, mainland or mother land bhumi putra hood can be consider as a superior, ethnic group over the past history build by the both Sinhala majorities and minorities Tamils in Sri Lanka. Since there is no coordination among the Sinhala and Tamils communities they have always exploited by one another. Getting support from the historical factors like Elara-Dutugamunu war over the protection of Sinhala-Buddhist Nationalism, south Indian invaders (define Tamils always threat for them), cultural clashes are the Major examples for that made threat for the consolidation process and peace negotiation agendas. Making such space for the folk’s to dividing the peoples by excluding the particular community can be noted as a major challenges for the positive peace in Sri Lanka.

Since as a majority who won the war and having more responsible for the making ethnic harmony Sinhala communities started bringing the superiority of them in post-war era to ensure their identity over the minorities. Through the various activities like resettling more Sinhalese peoples in those Tamils populated areas by making the legitimacy of the motherland of them can traced as a major issues which need to be address. So we can clearly realize, concept of the superiority that they have socially constructed among the peoples against another. On the other hand large no of military presence in the northern part of Sri Lanka in post-war era disturbed the normalcy of the day to day life of Tamils. Through the military presence generated uncertainty of the Tamils to think about the peace as an absence of violence, because of the minor population, ethnic characteristic political alienation, geographical isolation and ethnic disadvantage. These stand as a major component which remain in those areas need to be seriously undertake for the establish peace in a sense freedom of the peoples. Since during the past 30 years they have experienced the both sides violence and restrictions for the free movement of the peoples in this manner even after the war under the negative peace they have not given the share the peace environment. These deviations requisite to be assumed by take back to 30 years head because of unlikely other social situation in Sri Lanka have gaps refer to the above social structure. As Jessica Bromin 1988 (Wang, 2002) submitted that ethnic recognition is problem for

the tackling issues which remain in post-war states. Through the respect, recognition “response from the other not only make the feelings, intentions, and actions of the felt meaningful, but also to make the other meaningful whom we, in turn recognize as a person in his or her own right.” (Lindemann, 2011: p. 38) Likewise she pointed “to recognize affirm, validate, acknowledge, know, accept, understand, empathies, take in tolerance, appreciate, identify with find familiar, can minimise the egoistic attitude particularly in the post-war situation whereby one party is think that they are head on another. There is a unnecessary tension between self-assertion and mutual recognition that allows self and other to meet as souring equals (*ibid.*, p. 12) however the abandoned the tension would result in domination and submission for the purpose of peace governance.

With support to the Broman, Arcel Honneth 1995) argued that, significance of the mutual recognition rather than the supremacy or if envoy. She has been propose three major level of recognition respect, esteem, pre-immunes for scrutinise to social, building peace in the societal level in positive sagacity. Further, “the mutual recognition is a kind of subjective matter relationship in a society accepted community in which groups or social learn to appreciate the social norms of the generalize other, (Anderson, 1995: p. 4) subsequently she emphasis not for the struggle for self-preservation but rather the struggle for the establishment of mutual recognition as a precondition for the self-realisation. Last but not least Charles Taylor 1992 explained the system of minimise difference, because of the context of Sri Lanka it’s much more suitable than any other explanation. He emanated that “our identity is partly shaped by the recognition of others” non-recognition or mis-recognition cab ne harmful as we as oppressive misnomer someone in false, distorted and reduced mode of being. In this manner anti-ethnocentricity discourse in Sri Lanka only can be solve through the mutual understanding and recognition for the peace governance. Even aftermath of war, unless these superiority and immensity going to be the foremost consideration for the decision making level and social integration through process of reconciliation and active participation by the societal communities. In this respective making space for the other identities will only help to strengthen the peace governance in Sri Lanka vice

versa. When the people felt that they have given the social justice, consideration in the decision making level it can lead to positively participation for the peace keeping and peace building in post-war era in Sri Lanka.

➤ **Strengthen the Civil Society**

The first age of the civil society has come to play in central role in post-war peace and peace building agendas, mirroring its trajectory in the field of development and democracy. As many of the scholars and specialists have illustrated, it's a concept both normative as well as descriptive empirically observed. (Parver) The main importance of this concept is that it can be content and well counted in the process of peace governance. This normative and empirical concept of civil society alluded in an effort to create and neutral tool for process of peace governance predominantly in post-war situation. In this process civil society becomes used as a collective noun, aggregating multiple and diverse forms of associational life and assuming that what "it" ought to be is the same what "it" is. Emphasising the Colas explanations of "denied of context, no longer linked to a particular period or a precise doctrine, guessing out of every obeys mount all once, "civil society" acceded at the end of 1980 to sort of empty universally. (Edwards, 2011: p. 404) As he assumed utmost reputation fact that, "civil society allows peoples to speak without knowing what they are saying."(*ibid.*) Which intern helps them to avoid arguing with each other despite of above, our empathetic is to explain still in the process of peace governance, civil society can play a dynamic role. At the level of Peace governance articulating the importance, depending the possibilities of public disagreement and discussion contend the civil society as a vital for the orienting the people's attitude towards the positive peace. Primarily, in the present post-war situation in Sri Lanka through strengthening the civil society can traced the applicable and adoptable peace initiatives at social level towards the positive peace. As cox has assumed, (*ibid.*) potentially, the civil society has a deep gravitation with "peace", also its often uncontroversial terms as a simple" the absence of war on the other hand peace conceptualized as a highly complex idea that pertain to the human endure of building condition in which societies can live without violence. It is evidence that, like civil society peace is a site of disagreement as well as the capacity to reach

agreements themselves peace is “an activity cultivating the process of activities. Subsequently, orient the public opinion in systematic manner towards positive peace governance, civil society can be the instrument for the facilitating the process actively. Divert to the another importance aspect refer to the civil society role for the purpose of positive peace governance, without any hesitation it can be stated that role of the civil society towards the peace become a uncertain reality. A few NGOs have started questioning and manipulating the importance of the positive peace governance through the strengthening civil society. But still, because of the lack of awareness about the civil society role for the subsidising peace governance neglected by the state as well as societal level. Because of the in one hand, expectancy of justice from the majority people society made other minorities to look for the alternatives instead of integrating with them for the making positive peace. It has been visible outcome of the past three years that fragmentation of the public at societal level due to differences of the interests, mistrusts among each other. On the other hand they have realised that social gap between the communities as a major problem for the uniting together for the common interest.

In this respective these challenges have made more problematic environment for the peace governance at societal level. Also by defining the civil and uncivil differences, it is easy to realize that how civil society is crucial in achieving the positive peace. Refer to the civil means that inter-action based on the non-violence. In addition its state “non-violent forms of human interaction”, for instance it has to understand boundary for the idea of civil society in meaningful way to learn the peace governance. Another importance of the civil society is enduring that mainly build peaceful outcomes after the peace agreements or war, civil society has vital conceptual source of initiate to build relations around such norms whereby unlikely in Sri Lanka hitherto never materialize.

Moreover extend the examine the concept of the civil society for the peace governance as scholars denoted “civil” contain three major means; polite or courteous , is concerned with the law in non-criminal case , thirdly it is nor military or not religious. Emphasis the meaning of these elements can be concluded to the milieu of

positive sociality. That can be independence and reliable for the giving responsibility to the society to make harmony. To understand the fall attempts in Sri Lankan context following questions can be raised;

Is this civil society has been polite?

Are they harmony among others?

Did they work as independence?

Unpretentiously answer is no for in Sri Lankan context. Since war has been ended keep remain major task of positive peace as an unattained goal. Unfortunately in the structure of the Sri Lankan society not been materialising the social inclusion rather it has contributed the exclusion. At the level of peace building process attention can be trace by assuming the question of, under the above process which peoples can live without violence? Equally, the notion that the state unambiguously limits violence by persuading sociality of its right to monopolize its use has proven to be highly problematic.

Based on third meaning of civil society refer to the in “ordinary” give meaning that outside of the state, originally constructed around autonomy from military and religious power. Therefore it has become a very importance dimension of the concept of the “civil society at its birth....As on arena which would take absolutism and despotism. As well as it is rebirth in the late twentieth century in the course of challenges to authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and militaristic states.” (*ibid.*, p. 405) This effect of the civil society has impacted the Sri Lankan political culture to weakening the total system whereby in next level can be further explored. When the civil society becomes a weak, Government will be more undemocratic due to lack of pressure from the public. There is a perception in Sri Lanka in post-war era not only but because of the various reasons it has moving away from the democratic practices. Corresponding to the above “the normative concept of civil society consumes up the participation of everyday citizens in seeking freedom from arbitrary autonomy and other forms of coercion. And idea echoed in the peace movements that have organized against militarization and the weapons of war, as well as against war

itself”(“International Anti-Militarist Camp”) For the long term peace in Sri Lanka its need to focus adjust the weakness of the civil society to functioning more grassroots level organise the peoples opinion. Critically, there is need to make the independent and not for another instrument for the political violence and continue the personal agendas. Finally looking for the strengthen the civil society, it has challenge that transform it from the erroneous way to right way, can bring the possibility to create positive peace in Sri Lanka.

In addition focusing on the social level peace governance next aspect can be drawn as negligible of the inter-actions among the social communities. Though under the negative peace free movement has been significantly increased from the conflicted area to other sides stereo types of inter-action become difficult to contemplate in the peace process. Since lack of connectivity have contributed the mis-trust, suspicious, articulated the dividing the people each other in post-war situation.

Referring to the Gallner’s idea of “concept of module man” can emphasize connectivity. In order to make affinity among the peace and civil society he has explained, “They can provide precisely the kind and solidarities which can protect people from adversity. As well as underpinning the corporate shares that one important to a make positive peace. (Wadlow, 2011). Unlikely its major concern should need to give attention for the minorities to ensure their voice in the societal level peace governance.

Further he argued, “civil society can diminish and build kind of trust associated with peace only, when it actively contribute to the conditions for non-violence, encourages, non-violent forms of social interactions and promote process for imagining and constructively the common good ones social and other divides (Edwards, *op. cit.*, p410) When the society has more emotional impact with the conflict, war and peace its need to directly address with the society. Referring to the conflict history in Sri Lanka violence has practiced in the society. Because of every times conflict rooted in the society. In this respective societal level peace governance in post-war Sri Lanka need to be more focus on the approaches. In the year of 1997 United Nation secretary has made statement refer to post-war peace building in society

by confining the terms called, “Agenda for Peace” by the highlighting importance of civil society for the positive peace governance. (“An Agenda for Peace Preventive diplomacy”) Concluding above remarks through the protection, monitoring, advocacy, socialisation, social cohesion, facilitation, and serve the humanity are the major elements need to strengthen in peace governance of Sri Lanka.

2. Concluding Remarks

The term so called peace can be considered as a prominent phenomenon in any post-war scenario in the world. Mostly, the term “peace” has been defined as the absence of the war. But, now there is a growing consensus is to define the term in much broader manner. Therefore, the peace should be defined from a holistic approach which clearly reflects the ground realities of post conflict situations. In addition to that, post-war context should include security, development, human rights and democracy which are vital to achieve the positive peace. Since, the war is considered as one of most dangerous source of threats against the human kind. From this perspective, how negative peace can be transformed into positive peace in the context of peace governing.

This paper has made attempts to highlight the challenges and possibilities of the post-war peace governance at two major levels of analysis. Since, the continuation of the violence, human right abuses, mistrust, racial discriminations and culture of violence have become major obstacles to achieve the positive peace in Sri Lanka. Moreover, our strong contention is that, peace cannot be undermining only on state centric perspective. Since it has more sensitivity with the society, need of the holistic approaches are the necessary in post-war situation in Sri Lanka.

According to this paper, there is a clear distinction between the peace in theoretical and practical context. But, in the case of achieving peace at any level, state has to keep theoretical explanation about the peace as a lasting goal for achieving peace. In this manner, defining the peace and creation of the framework for peace is

more fashioned and systematic process which is required by the post war situations. Based on that, it is imperative to establish an appropriate frame work for positive peace with the well maintaining of the justice and order of the society, while allocating the more responsibility to winner party to build a culture of peace. Therefore, suggested framework for the peace in this paper has linked with the positive terms of the peace which bring out the real potential of the positive peace. Similarly, the paper has discussed the own difficulties, achievements and criticism towards Sri Lankan peace process. Further, this paper has discussed the following popular ideas regarding the peace:

1. Peace as the absence of war (and the absence of direct violence).
2. Peace as justice and development (the absence of structural violence).
3. Peace as respect and tolerance between people.
4. Inner peace, spiritual peace.
5. Peace as 'wholeness' and 'making whole'

However peace is cannot be restricted and also it cannot be explained in the passive sense, therefore it's an active concept which is to be understood by a comprehensive approach.

Divert to the second part, individual level peace is more important than the state level peace, unless individuals don't prefer to create the peace environment society, building peace will not be a reality. Particularly, in the scenario of post-war situation, by giving more responsibilities to the individuals can make more awareness and maximize the contribution towards the achieving peace through peaceful manner. Refer to the individual level, peace governance, transformation, then, involves the cultivation of a peaceful consciousness and character in individuals, together with an affirmative belief system and skills through which the fruits of "internal disarmament" and personal integration may be expressed. Transformation unites doing with being, task with experience. Inner freedom is felt in the midst of action, and sacred ideals are personalised for application by the individual. Peaceful behaviour is learned behaviour, and each individual is a potential and needed contributor to a culture of peace. Last not least it can more highlighted in individual level the concept of "If you want peace, be

peace. Be an instrument of peace.”

In the third level of analysis societal level of peace cannot be ignored equally in the process of peace governance. Since, these both level of analysis have interconnection with the religions and culture, incorporating such values as security and harmony as well as justice and human dignity. Every major system of faith and belief, whether religious or secular in character, has in some way or other promised peace as an outcome of the implementation of its precepts. Therefore for the peace governance cannot be distinctive to the any one level of analysis. All the levels are needed to concern the lasting peace. As we have seen the Sri Lanka, making more societal, and individual initiative successfully address to the peace governance in post-war scenario.

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No peace in the world without peace in the nation, No peace in the nation without peace in the town, No peace in the town without peace in the home, No peace in the home without peace in the heart.' (Tao TeChing)