Human Security as an Approach to Achieve a Social Stability: Its Importance in the Context of Sustainable Human Development in Post Conflict Sri Lanka

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Introduction

After the end of thirty years of tragedy, Sri Lanka has extended its development arena with great concern for its sustainability. Pre-existed civil war has led to the collapse of the entire social, economic and political system of the country and it is difficult to return to normalcy after long-term war torn experiences. In addition to the death of nearly 100000 people, the issues to be addressed are dislocation of mass population, high levels of insecurity of the affected people, grow human rights abuses with serious health consequences and wide spread destructions of infrastructure reformulated over weighted responsibility of the government after the conflict. Since the end of the war in2009, three years have passed. Now we are in the second phase of conflict. Therefore, strategies that are adopted during this phase should prioritize theensuring of social stability and development.

In this backdrop, human security is an essential and inevitable component of sustainable human development. Without ensuring the security of the people, achieving sustainable development is not a reality. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure human security after a conflict. In this context, sustainable sense of home, constructive and social family networks and of acceptance the past and the positive grasp of the future can be considered for the purpose of ensuring human security. In the process of sustainable development, it is necessary to identify, adopt and implement specific strategies, policies and laws in order to overcome the issues that we are facing today. In this scenario, human security is emphasized as a state of being that must be attained prior to and as a precondition for achieving sustainable human development.

What is Human Security?

Presently, many conflicts in the world have reshaped its nature from inter-state conflicts to intra-state conflicts. Those changes have been characterized by the predominance of irregular armed combatants rather than regular professional state forces, conflict or fighting moving in to civilian areas such as towns and villages, casualties being predominantly civilian rather than military, and conflict being visible around the world through information technology advances.(Wells 2003).Due to this changing nature, the security concerns have made a paradigm shift from focusing on the state to focusing on human beings with in the state. As a result, human security comes in to present discourse through the*Annual Human Development Report in 1994* published by United Nations. (UNDP 1994:22). According to that report,

> *"The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation states than to people...who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolizes protection from the threat of disease,*

> *hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environ-*
> *mental hazards."*

The above statement reflects seven distinct categories of human insecurity which are health, food, and economic, personal, community, political and environmental. Further, UN concept of human security has aimed humans first in the process of developing implementing long term security strategies. Therefore,the major task is to accomplish security goals to minimize or eliminate negative consequences against people who live in the world without any discrimination.

Since 1995, Canada who was the leading contributor of the human security dialogue has provided a safety oriented definition of human security. It defines one view of the discussion on the international arena about the priority to attach issues of population protection in war and complex emergencies. (Leaning2000: 9)

> *"In essence, human security means safety for people from violent and non- violent*
> *threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from perva-*
> *sive threats to people's right, their safety or their lives. ...From a foreign policy*
> *perspective human security is perhaps best understood as a shift in perspective or*
> *orientation. It is an alternative way of seeing the world, taking people as its point*
> *of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of territory or gov-*
> *ernments. Like other security concepts-national security, economic security, food*
> *security-it is about protection. Human security entails taking preventive measures*
> *to reduce vulnerability and minimize risk, and taking remedial action where pre-*
> *vention fails."(Government of Canada 1999:5-6)*

In this scenario, human security has played a crucial role in the context of war and post war particularly the process of peace building and development.

Human Security in Post Conflict Scenario

As a consequence of civil war societal disruption cannot be prevented. This leads to dissatisfaction and multilevel (individual, group, communal and national) insecurity that have profound implications for peace building efforts in war torn areas.(Morgan 2005 :69) In a peace building process , three sources of human insecurity (which are individual, institutional and structural and cultural sources)need to be considered,due to the fact that feelings of insecurity can exist after a conflict.

Individual sources of Human insecurity- harmful actions directed against people or property with visible and immediate consequences include banditry, lootings, and intercommoned strife, among others. The worst affected are women, children, and the elderly.

Institutional sources of Human insecurity are harmful actions and neglect of institutions that undermine human rights and human security. These include, among others, the collapse of welfare systems, the politicization and neglect of the military, the unprofessionalism and paramilitary and police forces that were once an integral part of the neo-patrimonial system. The specific examples are reduced wages, layoffs or a freeze on hiring, and workers (even soldiers) going for months without pay. Medical institutions such as hospitals without drugs and facilities, dilapidated schools and

teachers with low morale, and increasingly corrupt civil servants are some of the consequences of the neglect of institutions.

Structural and Cultural sources of human insecurity- harmful actions and results linked to the new modes of thinking and cognition in society at large, include international society. This results from the decline of the old social security/neo-patrimonial systems and the ascendance of a neo-liberal morality that is more suitable to the societies of the advanced industrial states. The consequence is that tensions heighten between groups within a country, along with an increase in cross-border crimes and violence. The fresh outbreak of old diseases, lowering of life expectancy, and an increase in infant framework mortality, among others, also abound.

If the government fails to address these insecurities, social stability cannot be achieved. Sierra Leone, Liberia and Democratic Republic of Congo are indicated as the best examples. The trauma associated with crisis greatly contributed to the escalation of rebellion against authority. The consequence in Sierra Leone in particular was a blatant disregard for communal values such that individuals and groups were forced to take violent actions against people or organizations believed to be agents of insecurity.(SL News Archives: 1999)

The issues of cultural integrity and identity, interethnic dialogue, social empowerment and collective intentionality are all necessary conditions for the attainment of human security. In post conflict societies an efficient human security sector is crucial for achieving in state re-building and construction governance reform in the long run. Granting physical integrity is the most important responsibility of the state from a human security perspective.

Human Security and its Relevancy of Post Conflict Sri Lanka

At the end of three decades of war about 300000 persons internally displaced. More than 100000 people were subjected to death and more than 350000 houses were damaged and destroyed. Infrastructure facilities were severely destroyed due to attacks.As a result of these negative consequences of the conflict many issues have arisen relating to human security.At present, there is no sustainable sense of home for the majority of war victims and they have been living in IDP camps for a long time.However the IDP's who stillremain to be resettled have reduced further to 622 from the original number of about 300000 in May 2009.

In this backdrop, high-level of physical insecurity of affected people is another issue. Two fold factors have contributed towards this growing feeling of insecurity among IDP's. One reason is life threat that arises due to landmines. However demining process is continuing with progressive results. After the war, 2061.53sqKmswerecontaminated with landmines.80% were cleared and 124.5 Sq Km remain to be cleared. Residential areas which are identified for resettlement and livelihood purposes have been given priority.Another reason is that the people living in those areas feel insecurity due to heavily militarized environment. Condition has become worst in the case of widows. After the conflict, many families have changed *patriarche*to female headed households. They lost their husbands and sons due to the war. Without having any male member of the family and presence of the army havecreated an environment of insecurity and fear.It has limited their movement from outside their homes.

But it is an essential to emphasize the fact that although the international community alleging excessive presence of the military in the North, presently tension has reduced considerably. Now it is in line with national security interests. For instance, the reduction of high security zones has decreased by 40%.

Sri Lanka has achieved greater success in issue regarding reintegrating ex combatant. Initially, there were 12000 ex- combatants. Among them, 10949 have been reintegrated and now only 629 are undergoing rehabilitation. Only 403 are under legal procedure or remands. However the impact of economic security still exists. They are struggling to meet their daily basic household needs. They could be able to earn Rs.300 per day. Though they engage with cottage industries like viewing, fishing, those are not catering atmeeting minimum basic needs.

Therefore, in this context it is vital to ensure human security for the utmost purpose of restoring human dignity of all affected persons with ability to live free from fear.

Human Security and Sustainable Human Development

The Bruntland Report (1987) defines sustainable development as *"a form of development which satisfies the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."* According to the same report, the above definition brings out two key concepts ,the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.(World Commission on Environment and Development. "Our Common Future, Chapter 2: Towards Sustainable Development)According to this definition, environmental, economic and social well-being for today and tomorrow is emphasized.

The concept of Sustainable development has broadened and centralized the view of human factor as a core of development process. In elaborating this notion, sustainable human development is coming to discourse. About presenting*2011 Human Development Report* Eva Jespersen has proposed the following definition of sustainable human development.

> *"The preservation and whenever possible expansion of the substantive freedoms and capabilities of people today while undertaking reasonable efforts to avoid risks that would seriously compromise the capability of future generations to have similar or greater freedoms."*

There are five aspects to sustainable human development - all affecting the lives of the poor and vulnerable:

- *Empowerment* - The expansion of men and women's capabilities and choices increases their ability to exercise those choices free of hunger, want and deprivation. It also increases their opportunity to participate in, or endorse, decision-making affecting their lives.

- *Co-operation* - With a sense of belonging important for personal fulfillment, well-being and a sense of purpose and meaning, human development is concerned with the ways in

which people work together and interact.

- *Equity* - The expansion of capabilities and opportunities means more than income - it also means equity, such as an educational system to which everybody should have access.

- *Sustainability* - The needs of this generation must be met without compromising the right of future generations to be free of poverty and deprivation and to exercise their basic capabilities.

- *Security* - Particularly the security of livelihood. People need to be freed from threats, such as disease or repression and from sudden harmful disruptions in their lives.(Governance for Sustainable Human Development: A UNDP Policy Document, Good Governance - and Sustainable Human Development 2005)

It means development that promotes the integral human development of each and every human person today without compromising the integral human development of people tomorrow.

In post conflict situation, people are vulnerable in three ways mainly socially, economically and politically. Security is one of the major aspects that affect vulnerable people in any post conflict society. Therefore, the above ideas of sustainable human development suggest security as a precondition of achieving development.

Further, according to Marslaw's hierarchy of human needs each human beings is to safety basic physical and physiological needs such as safety and security the need physiological well-being; the need for self-actualization (self-esteem ,social responsibility)need for self-giving to others which if lived to heroic degree. But in a post conflict society, fulfilling basic human needs is a most difficult challenge.

Why Sustainable Development is important for Post Conflict Countries?

In a post conflict country, severe insecurity, social economic and environmental challenges can easily lead to replace conflict. Therefore understanding the conflict is very important.It is required to address multiple challenges simultaneously in order to prevent further insecurity and conflict.In a post conflict country, sustainable development is a best strategy to overcome these challenges in a progressive way, such as:

- Tackling poverty, marginalization and vulnerability which are often closely connected to conflict as they create inequalities between different religious, social or ethnic groups;

- The management of natural resources since their exploitation and resultant income often finance armed groups and have detrimental effects on the livelihoods of local communities by destroying ecosystems;

- Controlling insecurity, militarization and lawlessness which are driven by weak state security institutions, still active armed groups and criminal networks and undermine the legitimacy of the state(Mass and Riitinger:p3)

Undoubtedly, sustainable development can offer more than general development schemes. For instance, poverty reduction and enhancing livelihoods are considered as core features of sustainable development. Sustainable management of natural resources has helped to promote equality among all the groups who live in the area. Therefore, dual functions which are peace building and economic development can be achieved at the same time.

> *"Whilst parts of the country, such as Darfur, continue to require complex humanitarian operations in which early recovery operations are underway, in other areas recovery interventions are complicated by local insecurity, natural disasters and political tensions. Even in formally peaceful areas of the country, sporadic violence fuelled by a combination of political tensions, natural resource competition, and the availability of small arms and light weapons regularly interrupts development programming and brings the risk of wider escalations of violent conflict."(Capacity Development in Post Conflict Countries, UNDP 2010: p 5)*

The above statement symbolizesa fact that inequality has escalated the conflict in Sudan. Preventing this, Sustainable development has provided a strategy to overcome the challenge.

Sustainable Development can be broken down in to three core dimensions which are economy, society and environment. In a post conflict society, eradicating poverty through enhancing livelihood opportunities, equal access to resources and optimal and efficient use of natural resources will gain economic sustainability. By improving access to basic health and education, fulfilling minimum standards of security; and enhance grassroots level participation social stability can be achieved.

Among all other things, managing a sustainable development process play a vital role in post conflict countries. It is based on specific principles which are participation, long-term thinking, iteration and improvement. (Developing National Sustainable Development Strategies in Post Conflict Countries,UN)

In this context, sustainable development provides platform to achieve human development in the post conflict society while meeting internationally recognized standards of development.

Existing Challenges Regarding Human Security and Sustainable Development in Post Conflict Sri Lanka and Government Responses

One of the major tasksin achieving sustainable development through human security is to address dislocated population due to conflict by ensuring their security and protection of them. Shelter is one of the priority issues that need to be addressed. It was estimated that at the end of the war there were approximately 300,00 Old IDPs which includes Northern Muslims, Tamil IDPs affected by the Jaffna High Security Zones, Sinhala IDPs from the North and border villages, and IDPs from all communities in the East. Among them, only 6.647 IDPs now remain to be resettled at the end of 2011. The remaining IDPs will be resettled once the demining has been completed. The Government has spent USD 360 million on its resettlement programme. In addition, UN agencies and other donor partners have also provided assistance regularly complementing the efforts of the government.But as mentioned earlier, resettlement cannot be completed due to the demining process that is continuing.

Another serious issue is the ownership of lands. This issue also link with the resettlement issue. Some land owners have died. Some of them have disappeared. Therefore now the situation is very complicated. Many complexities have arisen after the conflict such as loss or destruction of title deeds and problems of establishing ownership,displaced owner wishing return to property occupied by another,displaced tenant or lesee wishes to return to the property previously he occupied,and completely or partially damagedproperties that are and unable to be occupied .(Skandarajah,Karunakaran,Sumanthiran:P12-63)Given the complexity many challenges have arisen concerning the fundamental importance of land to multiple processes including reconstruction of permanent houses, rehabilitation of war-affected families, return to one's land, development and strengthening co-existence. Therefore, there is an urgent requirement for the Government to provide a policy framework to deal with the issue of land taking on board the rights, vulnerabilities and needs of affected communities in line with legal obligations and human rights standards.According to UN guiding Principles of Internally Displaced Persons, no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of property and possession andthe property and possessions of internally displaced persons shall in all circumstances beprotected (UN Principles of IDP's: Art 21) In line with this principle the government has introduced land circular titled 'Regulating the Activities Regarding Management of Lands in the Northern and Eastern Provinces' (Circular No: 2011/04)

Accessibility and availability of basic human needs such as food, water, health, sanitary are severe constrains. In addition, the destruction of public infrastructure, absence of adequate medical services, livelihoods support and access to basic services are exacerbating the situation. To date, those needs still remain unmet at a considerable level. Regional disparities on health indicators are compounded in the conflict affected districts. Maternal mortality rate is five times higher than those at national level. However, the government has taken several progressive steps towards solving this issue. Developing hospitals in the Jaffna districts is one of the examples. Government allocated 3.2 million for uplift health in Jaffna district.

Further, many people are without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation. Humanitarian measures are necessary to prevent the possible health deterioration of the communities that could be triggered by poor water and sanitation conditions. The JH-ERU reveals that a total of 12,560 toilets and 9,842 wells have been cleaned, repaired or constructed in the North by the agencies as of January 2012.

As a developing country, economic constrains are still a challenge for war affected areas.Improving livelihood opportunities is a challenge.Samurdhi poverty alleviation program was not operational in Kilinochchi, Mannar and Mulathive districts before the ceasefire of war due to the collapse of administrative structure. Due to war situation railways and roads have been severely destroyed. Closure of A9 road led to disconnect the war affected region from the rest of the country and it gave negative impact on the livelihood of the people through the loss of market.After ending war roads and other related infrastructure are now being developed under *UthuruWasanthaya* and *NegenahiraNavodaya* development programmes.

The Way forward

While there is a need for new policy initiatives to address issues related to land in a post-war context, there are many concerns with the present process. These concerns need to be addressed immediately by the Government, ensuring that any process established to decide land claims is fair, just and equitable and is not perceived by communities as favouring any particular group.Efforts need to be made in order to ensure that this policy initiative does not exacerbate land-related tensions and that solutions are found to address land needs of affected communities. In moving forward with the present process and any other land related initiatives, it is paramount that the authorities implement existing constitution and legal obligations, take on board the needs of communities and be transparent and inclusive in the formulation and implementation of any initiatives.

Special attention has been given to the inclusion of vulnerable groups such as female-headed households, people with disabilities and unemployed youth. These initiatives support local enterprises and growth sectors, by establishing hitherto unavailable market linkages with the private sector and co-operatives. They also provide linkages to essential banking and financial services, and facilitate job placements. For purposes of capacity building and coordination, emphasis is placed on supporting employers through partnerships with employers' organizations and local Chambers of Commerce. Developing economic opportunities together with infrastructure enhances the potential of local markets by cresting employability. To achieve this end, it is necessary to invest more on financial commitments to create more economic opportunities. Expansion of enrolment to primary and secondary education including systematically guiding process and more opportunity for vocational training would enhance employability of members of the war ruined society.

War is a man-made disaster and a very sensitive issue. So it is necessary to have a comprehensive and pragmatic plan to reintegrate war victims and IDP's in to civilian life in order to make sure, they are a potential element in the process of reconstruction and reconciliation process. The reconciliation and reconstruction proposals should be targeted the following categories during the reintegration process: ex-combatants, members of non- paramilitary groups who have already demobilized, affected / host communities.

Improving livelihood opportunities in a short term development project is necessary. In that process, harbor, roads and tanks should be reconstructed. Livelihoods should be rehabilitated through promoting sustainable use of natural resources.Resource related agencies and institutions should be re-established and managed effectively.

Strengthening the role of local government has been viewed as fundamental to increasing the quality and coverage of services to citizens, fostering local development and strengthening participatory governance at the local level. Nepal, Aceh Indonesia, Timor Leste and Sierra Leone have strengthened their local level governance structures and it has emerged as a key instrument for both national and international partners in managing the implementation and the long term consolidation of peace and stability.

Conclusion

Presently, development has become a main task of Sri Lanka. For achieving meaningful development process, physical development is not sufficient. People should be core of it. Therefore, the paper suggests sustainable human development is a best strategy to overcome existing challenges after a conflict. As well, economic and social vulnerability of affected people do not fully recover yet. As paper discusses, some existing challenges are symbolized the feelings of insecurity among war victims.Continuation of this feeling may be a negative sign of a future conflict. Therefore, it is essential to address these issues progressively. In this background, paper concluded with the idea of human security must be attained prior to and as a pre-condition for achieving sustainable human development.

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