Youth, Peace and Security in Sri Lanka

2017
Youth, Peace and Security Coalition – Sri Lanka

Member organizations:
World Vision Lanka
Search for Common Ground
Helvetas
United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)
United Nations Volunteers (UNV)
Open House International
Sri Lanka Unites
International Youth Alliance for Peace
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)
Hashtag Generation
Rotaract
United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)
WUSC Sri Lanka
Youth, Peace and Security Report Team

Main Authors:
Karim Farishta – Search for Common Ground
Leyla Radjai – United Nations Volunteers

Editors/Contributors:
Ramzi Deen – Open House International
Thevuni Kotigala – Open House International
Premjit Williams – World Vision Lanka
Lalindra Ranasinghe – World Vision Lanka
Ka Yan Leung – United Nations Population Fund
Bridgette Kennedy – United Nations Population Fund
Takashi Kogoma – United Nations Volunteers
Romeral Ortiz Quintilla – United Nations Volunteers

Translators and proofreaders:
Renuka Ranganathan – Online UN Volunteer
Patalee Weerasinghe – V-Force Volunteer
Anjali Nawarathne – V-Force Volunteer
Gajithira Puvanendran – Young Peacebuilder
Remo Shihan - CREATE initiative

Special Thanks:
Mr. Lakshitha Saji Prelis – Search for Common Ground
Youth, Peace and Security in Sri Lanka

ABSTRACT

Drawing on consultations with a sample of youth that took place from April to July 2017 in four provinces of Sri Lanka—that is, in the West, East, North and South: namely, Colombo, Batticaloa, Kilinochchi, and Matara, this YPS study aims to: (i) generate an understanding of the meaning of peace and security to youth in Sri Lanka; (ii) identify the obstacles and challenges faced by youth in peacebuilding efforts; and, (iii) recommends measures at the community, national, and international levels to create an optimal environment in which youth can thrive in peacebuilding. This report reflects the views of the youth participants to these consultations.
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1. Introduction

Sustainable development and peace is not possible without the involvement of youth in the process. Adaptation of UN Security Council Resolution 2250 expanded the scope of recognition and highlighted the importance of youth in peacebuilding processes. Sri Lanka, as a country that experienced 26 years of conflict, which decisively ended in 2009, continues to make strides towards maintaining peace and harmony. Sri Lankan youth in particular comprise a significant proportion of the country’s total population, and thus they can potentially play an important role in peacebuilding. This study aims to identify the obstacles and challenges faced by youth in peacebuilding efforts, and recommends measures at the community, national, and international levels to create an optimal environment in which youth can thrive in peacebuilding.

Demographics of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is a multicultural country that consists of several different ethnic and religious groups. Based on the table, approximately 75% of the population is Sinhalese who are mostly Buddhists. About 15% of the population consists of Tamils with the majority of Hindus and 9% of the population is Moors who are mostly Muslims.

Sri Lanka has 2 official languages: Sinhala and Tamil. Sinhala is spoken by about 74% of the population, whereas Tamil is spoken by about 18%. English is considered as a link language; however, it is spoken competently by only about 10% of the population.

Conflict in Sri Lanka

The country which was known as Ceylon became independent in 1948 after being colonized by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British for approximately 500 years. Its name changed to Sri Lanka in 1972. After independence, Sri Lanka experienced two insurrections in 1977 and during 1987/89. There was also a devastating civil conflict from the early 1980s to 2009. The ethnically divisive political and economic structure during

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British rule and after independence is often identified as the key factor influencing the conflict.

In the post-independence era, the issues around national language and reshuffle in state employment began to emerge. This resulted the rising nationalist sentiment which was magnified through the political system.

After the independence, the Sinhalese who believed that the Tamils had benefited under British rule, adopted discriminatory policies. This can be highlighted in the adaptation of the policy ‘Sinhala Only Act’ in 1956, which made the Sinhala language the only official language of Sri Lanka that caused many Tamils to leave their official positions because of their lack of fluency in Sinhalese language. These policies gave Tamil youth limited opportunities in terms of education and employment.

These ethnically divisive state policies and practices gave rise to the conflict in Sri Lanka as a minority fraction was deprived of their basic rights. While the policies have been reviewed over the years, the issues have not been adequately addressed. The feeling of alienation and discrimination continued to be felt by the minority and eventually resulted in the establishment of the LTTE (the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam) in 1975 to fight for an independent state for Tamils in the North and East of the island. The rise of insurgencies against the government in 1983 was the beginning of the conflict in Sri Lanka, which ended in 2009 when the Sri Lankan military defeated the LTTE.

The LTTE, however used child soldiers to be in the forefront and youth to be heavily involved in the battle field. Moreover youth were forcefully or voluntarily recruited to fulfill the vision of the movement that inevitably left the youth in the north deprived from society and victimized even after the war ended in 2009.

Parallel to the timeline of the conflict between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka, there was another significant issue that transpired to be a conflict between the Sinhalese youth and the government, which is known as the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna) insurgency. Many youth from the universities and schools were radicalized to stand against certain policies that marginalized rural communities. This issue was controlled by using military force without an adequate political solution, therefore this situation still reflects the vulnerability of youth and volatility which has been the base to create a negative perception of the capacity of youth, in the country.

The conflict lasted for 26 years and had—and continues to have—a major social impact, not only in terms of the direct costs of the war, but also on public opinion and on youths’ mindset and attitude.

However, the impact on youth may differ depending on their age and their regional and geographic background. Since the conflict was concentrated in the north and east, the youth in the northern and eastern regions may have been directly affected by the conflict,
whereas the youth in the western and southern regions might not have similar first-hand experiences of the conflict, although nevertheless, affected differently. The involvement of the family members and death of family members also shapes youths’ attitude and perceptions. Furthermore, as the conflict ended in 2009, some of the youth in today’s context may not remember the experience as they belong to the era of post-war climate.

The progress study on youth, peace and security

Sri Lanka in August 2016 was among the first countries to launch a roadmap in rolling out the socializing and popularizing UNSCR 2250 resolution, brought by bringing together UN agencies, International Non-Governmental agencies, youth-focused organizations, donors and government stakeholders to collaborate on a common agenda. One step in this process was to translate the resolution into the two official national languages (Sinhala and Tamil) followed by commemorating the one-year anniversary of UNSCR 2250 with a youth-friendly cartoon illustration of the five pillars of the resolution that was widely distributed via social media².

Subsequently, a network comprising UN agencies and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) was established to organize a series of youth consultations to contribute to the Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security (YPS). The YPS network consists of a number of UN Agencies: namely, UNV, UNFPA, FAO and UNICEF, CSOs and development organizations such as World Vision Lanka, Search for Common Ground, Sri Lanka Unites, Hashtag Generation, International Youth Alliance for Peace, Rotaract, Open House International, Helvetas and WUSC Sri Lanka. The initial discussions were made by the World Vision Lanka with Search for Common Ground and Helvetas to form a network for consultation process. Organizations’ representatives in the network, carried out several meetings and workshops to plan the consultation process and to conduct the consultation programs in 4 identified districts. The progress study report was developed by Search for Common Ground and UNV in consultation with the organizations in the network mentioned earlier.

Consultations took place from April to July 2017 in four districts of Sri Lanka, that is, in the West, East, North and South: namely, Colombo, Batticaloa, Kilinochchi, and Matara. Considering the language barriers between youths from different districts, and their different perspectives and livelihood experiences, in order to offer a comfortable and secure environment for youth to discuss issues related to peace and security, The YPS network decided to conduct the consultations by province rather than one national consultation. Due to the limited funding and resources of each organization, consultations

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Resolution 2250 in Sinhala Language (http://srilanka.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/United%20Nations%20RESOLUTION%202250_SINHALA%20%281%29_0.pdf)
Resolution 2250 in Tamil Language (http://srilanka.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/2250%20Tamil%20Translation%20_0.pdf)
were conducted only 4 times. Although the sample selected for this study may not be representative of the overall Sri Lankan youth perspective, this study is significant as it generates an understanding of the current situation of youth vis-à-vis peacebuilding in Sri Lanka.

The youth participants in this study were primarily recruited through the organization of YPS network. Also Participants ranged from 18 to 28 years of age, and an attempt was made to maintain a balanced mix of gender both female and male.

The details of the consultations in Sri Lanka are as follows:

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2. What Peace and Security Means to Youth in Sri Lanka

During the consultation, questions regarding peace and security such as ‘What do peace and security mean to you?’ and ‘What are the most important peace and security issues to you?’ were asked to the youth participants. The concept of ‘Peace and Security’ is very broad that it can be related to many aspects of individuals’ life, depending on their background, the history of their origin, their age, gender, ethnicity, and religion of the person to define.

After the analysis of their responses at the consultations, four major themes emerged in relation to the concept of ‘Peace and Security’ for youth in Sri Lanka. These may be identified as: ‘absence of violence, war and conflicts’, ‘unity’, ‘justice’ and ‘freedom’.

Absence of violence, war, and conflict

“Peace exists in an environment without violence, war, and conflict.”

“Peace is absence of conflict/division based on race, language, religion, where each individual enjoys the ability and right to express their opinion and action equally.”

“Peace is where conflict does not take place and you have inner peace of mind.”

In Sri Lanka, after 26 years of civil conflict ‘absence of violence, war and conflict’, which is called ‘negative peace’\(^3\) has been achieved in 2009 with the end of the conflict. However, the impact of the conflict still remains in many ways. Many of the Sri Lankan youth who have grown up over the past 30 years are experiencing life without war only since 2009. For some, the memory of the conflict might be still fresh in their minds when they mention ‘absence of conflict’, preventing violence activities from happening as what peace means to them.

Unity

“Respect for all ethnicities, religions, and languages coupled with togetherness and unity in a multicultural society.”

The 26-year conflict in Sri Lanka is often described as an ethnic conflict. It had a huge effect on youth not only in terms of the direct costs of war, but also in terms of how their attitudes and identities have been shaped over the years. In the National Youth Survey 2013, youth participants showed a strong awareness of ethnic identity, where 46 percent

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answered that after the conflict, their sense of belonging to their ethnic identity intensified 4.

“Socialization process is important for achieving peace. Understanding different cultures is important. In Sri Lanka, the main barrier is language and not understanding other cultures.”

In a multicultural country like Sri Lanka, mutual understanding and respect between various ethnic groups was identified to be very important. Communication is essential; however, language still remains an issue in many areas of the country. Each ethnic group speaks a different language and most of the youth are still monolingual. Language is a tool for people to communicate, understand, and interact with each other; however, without having a common language, mutual understanding would be more difficult. English is recognized as ‘link language’; however, it is spoken competently by only about 10% of the population. Community participation, corporation and partnership opportunity among different ethnic groups is thus hindered.

“Once I participated in a camp with students from different parts of the country, where I got to spend 6 days with Tamil students who could speak Tamil, English, and Sinhala. ... What they said was, from our ethnic group, Sinhalese, the only people they had engaged with were the soldiers ... and they had a different idea about us. ... We need to increase networks and communications among different ethnic groups.”

Justice

“Strength of the justice system reduces conflict between people and helps create a situation that can be called peace”

“Peace is equal distribution of resources and benefits”

Justice, equality, and equity are more aspects of peace and security that many Sri Lankan youth mentioned during the consultations. Justice here includes acknowledging the brutal incidences that had a serious effect on the civilians during the conflict and taking responsibility, and promoting equality and equity between different ethnic groups and genders. This helps protecting the human right of all individuals. The youth also stated that here won’t be real unity without Justice in society.

“Most of the northern people want to know what had happened to their disappeared families.”

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There are families of the victims of the enforced disappearance still waiting for an answer, justice, and truth about loved ones. There is no inner peace for them without receiving an answer.

**Freedom**

“The fundamentals of peace are preservation and protection of the ability for individuals to seek out their own needs, define themselves, and enjoy freedom of speech.”

“Peace is the absence of conflict/division based on race, language, religion, where each individual enjoys the ability and right to express their opinion and action equally.”

Youth identified ‘Freedom’ as having the opportunity and ability to seek and fulfill their needs in the community they live in. In order to feel free in a society, there needs to be quality education, employment opportunities, and democracy for people where they are confident that their voice will be heard, reflected, and represented in the public sphere. The human right has to be protected that people could able to exercise their freedom on participating in different issues, including policy making, according to their free will.

3. Challenges and Obstacles to Peace and Security in Sri Lanka

**Language barriers**

Language barriers remain the widest and most pervasive obstacle to inclusive youth peacebuilding efforts. Youth from the Southern and Western provinces, who primarily speak Sinhala, and those from the Northern and Eastern provinces, whose first language is usually Tamil, find it difficult at times to communicate with one another. English sometimes is the lingua franca but youth’s ability to converse in English is determined by the level of schooling they have obtained. Furthermore, national language policies are not properly implemented and resource distribution is partial and tilted.

Mostly the rural schools are deprived with lack of resources to maintain teaching standards. This included lack of infrastructure support in terms of classrooms, buildings, Library facilities, text books etc. also human resource, has been continued to be an issue as some schools only have the privilege to have 4-5 teachers to the entire school. This situation not only challenges the capacity of the teacher but also doesn’t compliment the qualification of the teacher to teach a particular subject.

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5 Thousands of people have been kidnapped and have disappeared after being detained by the Sri Lankan security forces during the conflict.
6 There is a greater funding for Sinhala language, and while both languages (Sinhala, Tamil) are national languages, they are not always used in tandem.
Social norms and taboos

Cultural traditions still pose sensitivity risks for youth to carry out their initiatives and participate in community. Long-held social norms and taboos generalize youth’s contribution and stereotype them even before giving them an opportunity to lead a community for social change. For example, popular culture references of youth color how they are seen in their respective contexts. Usually the representation of youth in media portrays them as lazy, irresponsible, etc., and these labels are placed on youth without them having a chance to show what they can do. Moreover, ability to maneuver these tricky preconceived notions is limited, so youth continue to be dismissed and tokenized. When youth take their grievances and problems to lawmakers, their concerns are not given the attention they deserve. Until and unless youth are no longer seen as ‘future leaders’ and their input is valued as ‘today’s leaders’, it will be challenging to change attitudes of the general community around this discrepancy. Youth still find the precarious situation around peace and security hard to navigate because voicing their opinions can also lead to physical, emotional, and societal threats, where their safety is not under protection as well.

Extremist messaging

Extremist groups and their messaging is prevalent and has, in part, reached out to vulnerable youth by welcoming them to their cause, creating alliances with other divisive strands, and isolating them from receiving and thinking about alternative forms of engagement. Ideas about peace and security have been imposed on youth without them having the opportunity to understand and make sense of what matters to them. Economic resources and discussion spaces remain limited or even restricted, causing youth to either disengage or be unable to engage in constructive ways of understanding their stake in the conversation. Here, the private and public media have a useful and powerful role to play in shifting the violent narrative to something more peaceful and supportive, but efforts to make such changes are severely influenced by political elites with their own agendas. The lack of access to diverse information is believed to have intensified the tension among community groups and threaten the social harmony.

Lack of access to smaller youth groups

Smaller, newly formed youth organizations find it difficult to aggregate funds and resources, even though there might be misuse or misallocation of funds to larger organizations. Younger organizations do not get opportunities to engage in larger projects, get less name recognition and therefore seem to have their worth devalued in a crowded space that they want to mold too. As a result, youth community engagement is segmented and same or similar groups of youth engage in activities whereas a significant portion remains sidelined. Particularly, young women leaders find it challenging to voice their concern in rise to leadership roles within structures that are dominated by young men leaders.
Access of groups inside and outside of the capital

The core-periphery divide, namely between Colombo and other places, demonstrates a stark disconnect between issues and priorities that matter for urban youth versus those in other parts of the country. This can be a result of varying languages, castes, religions, and ethnicities, etc. Without recognizing the disparity, marginalized groups are likely to be excluded from participating in decision making. Thus their interests are not reflected and protected in most situations.

4. Priorities and Recommendations for Peace and Security in Sri Lanka

Youth from four provinces – Northern, Eastern, Southern, and Western – offered their recommendations at the community, national, and international levels of governance.

Community:

Intercultural exchanges and training programs

Youth-led or youth focused programming should promote intercultural community exchanges and inform other youth and adults about their rights as citizens and what they can do to shape the peace and security landscape. Youth-to-youth sharing of rights and civic responsibilities can mobilize young people to see their value and worth despite the geographic, ethnic or language difference. It can also enable knowledge to spread quickly and to more like-aged and like-minded audiences.

Youth training programs can improve principles of moral and ethical leadership, which are eroding in the national discourse. More dialogue is needed around what it means to be a good, accountable, and equitable leader would be helpful. Through workshops and campaigns, youth can be shown examples of local, national, and international leaders and ways to increase awareness of what youth-led action can look like at homes, schools, and public transit.

Empathy and compassion

Building empathy and compassion starts at the community level. It begins with an acknowledgement of recognizing the role of other actors, youth and adults, respectively. As Sri Lanka continues to reconcile from its deep and divided past, listening to one another and hearing and valuing the perspective of others enables more growth. It could facilitate the participation of diverse stakeholders, encourage the idea sharing and thus enhance the social integration.
**Dialogue across dividing lines among peer**

Youth networks can build knowledge-sharing platforms and introduce other youth to the diversity of the country. Instead of reacting with fear or misperception, youth could share information about religious practices, eating habits, key phrases in different languages, etc. Mutual understanding helps to prevent conflict and violence activities in large extend. Partnerships opportunity for young empowerment may also be identified.

**Intergenerational trust building**

Intergenerational dialogue and thinking is absolutely crucial to change attitudes of senior citizens and general public. Elders yield a lot of power and authority in the Sri Lankan context, and often, their approval or acceptance permits or stops a project from taking place. Youth recognize the important role of older adults but also wish to inform them about new ways that youth can take action. The resistance that comes from adults about youth engagement is mostly long-held societal norms related to ageism. Misconstrued qualms about youth’s role need to be properly addressed before further groundwork can be undertaken.

Social networks should be used to educate and make youth aware of how to utilize these platforms to promote peacebuilding efforts and amplify their reach to untapped segments of the population.

**National:**

The Ministry of Education should prioritize:

1. **Teacher and counselor sensitivity trainings to hold them teach them about how to address issues of bullying, neglect, depression, etc.** Mechanisms should be set in place to hold teachers accountable to such sensitivities through directives from principals and zonal and provincial education leaders.

2. **Assurance of school and classroom diversity quotas.** Many areas that are predominately pertaining to homogenous ethnoreligious groups have excluded ethnoreligious minorities or offered parallel, but less-resourced classrooms.

3. **Scholarships for disadvantaged students.** This will give them more access to diverse, inclusive learning environments and enable them to meet and interact with students from other religions and ethnicities.

4. **Zero tolerance policy for hate speech content.** Biased content, especially in history class syllabi have been propagated in educational institutions but to the detriment of the students and their full comprehension of past events.
(5) *Peace education embedded in all aspects of curricula.* - Different religious traditions in Sri Lanka all teach elements of how to live a peaceful life in service to others. This theme resonates with youth too, but they have not had the opportunity to make essential links on how their upbringing has supported unity and working together.

**Compensation for youth of families of disappeared**

Youth and their families are drastically affected by unmet promises from the Office of Missing Persons, so especially compensation for youth of families of the disappeared should be addressed. Youth have been particularly interested in the Right to Information Act have collectively advocated and taken to the streets to get responses from the government on the status of compensation and disappearances. Youth are especially drawn to this cause because they have lost loved ones, and this has brought instability to their respective families.

**Access to and awareness of decision-making**

Legislative processes, bills, and acts often dictate new reforms that affect youth’s lives. Youth should be given the opportunity to voice their opinions beyond the National Youth Services Council and the Youth Parliamentary Council so that their perspectives are represented in meaningful ways, participates and contributes to shaping policy that is directed towards them. Local, provincial, and national monitoring of elections, corruption, and crimes could improve their role in democratic institutions. Introductions to these spaces will also help them understand the political climate, its levers, and how to best make headways into its rigid structures.

Elected, appointed, and civil public servants should be given required sensitivity trainings on gender and peacebuilding. This would help them understand see the valuable inputs that these young people bring and build to help amicable relationships between youth groups and themselves.

**Building employable and interconnected skillsets**

National initiatives should be targeted towards youth and aid them in employing and improving their skills. Starting with further discussions on where youth see their role the most beneficial, new measures can be taken to create awareness on how issues of peace and security are interconnected with issues of drugs, unemployment, lack of skills development, etc.

**Amplifying successful local initiatives**

Scaling up successful peacebuilding projects – with both funds and influence – particularly those that included interfaith, religious leaders, should come from the ground-up
strength, starting at the community level then transitioning towards regional and provincial levels.

**International:**

*Reaching youth audiences and substantiating data*

International bodies should support efforts that speak more powerfully to youth than formal lectures and rallies. Powerful mass media tools could be leveraged as community building tools reach the youth audiences where they are.

International organizations should be encouraged to partner with national experts to carry out research in conflict areas to fund and identify youth peacebuilding ideas.

*Working with international peacebuilders and religious clergy*

Building trust among religious leaders and youth from various parts of the world should increase and they should be encouraged to share messages that bring people of different faiths together rather than create more division.

*Communicating across barriers and ensuring feedback mechanisms*

Coordination, cooperation, and exchange of ideas between NGOs liaising with youth should be continuously facilitated so that the concerns of the youth community are not lost or forgotten during policy discussions.
5. Appendix

Appendix 17:

There is a strong tendency among politicians and researchers to see youth as a problem that is yet to be solved. However, many youth are peaceful and peace-builders. Youth are underestimated as positive agents of change and key actors in peace-building, both by policy-makers and academics. However, despite being equally affected by various forms of violence, many are stepping forward to act constructively towards building a culture of peace.

The United Nations Security Council adopted unanimously on 9 December 2015, a ground breaking resolution on Youth, Peace and Security which recognizes "young people who play an important and positive role in the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security." As part of a series of national consultations, The International Youth Alliance for Peace organized a consultation on "Youth, Peace and Security in Batticaloa," on 27th and 28th May 2017 in partnership with World Vision Lanka and the Youth Peace and Security (YPS) network, supported by British Council in Lanka Active Citizens Programme, which is part of the global effort to foster action on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 that calls for a greater role for young people in strengthening peace and security to help reshape the role of youth in peace building in communities, countries, across the region and worldwide for a safer tomorrow.

The consultation will feed into a global progress study on the positive contributions of young people in peace building. This will be presented to the UN Secretary General and the Member States of the United Nations at the end of 2017. Youth selected from 18-29 years from various organizations were invited to attend the two-day consultation. These consultations comprised of peer to peer discussions and experience sharing and many more.

International Youth Alliance for Peace is a youth-led organization that was founded to bring together a network of youth to work together towards Sustainable Social Development. IYAP hopes to inspire youth-led social movements in the peace building areas under the banner of Resolution 2250. "We need to do more to raise the voices and shine the spotlight on young people who are really advocating in this space," said President of IYAP Thilak Marasinghe Premachandra.

IYAP along with its partners and district committee organizations introduces such youth in other districts as well. If you want to join IYAP, email them on iyap@iiajp@gmail.com or follow them on www.facebook.com/IYAPorg for more details.

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Appendix 2:

"Two day consultation on Youth, Peace and Security held in Batticaloa."


"Two day consultation on Youth, Peace and Security held in Batticaloa.

Around the world, many young people are victims of conflict, violence, and structural violence and have themselves become carriers of that same violence, which often compounds victims to repeat such traumas on others. There is a strong tendency among policymakers and researchers to view youth as a problem that is yet to be solved. However, many youth are peaceful and peace-builders. Youth are underestimated as positive agents of change and key actors in peace-building, both by policy-makers and academia. However, despite being equally affected by violence terms of violence, many are stepping forward to act constructively towards building a culture of peace.

The United Nations Security Council adopted unanimously, on December 16, 2013, a ground-breaking resolution on Youth, Peace and Security which recognizes "young people who play an important and positive role in the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security."

As part of a series of national consultations, the International Youth Alliance for Peace organized a consultation on Youth, Peace and Security in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka on May 27 and 28 in partnership with World Vision Lanka (WV Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) network, supported by United Nation Sri Lanka Active Citizens Program, which is part of the global effort to bolster action on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2216 that calls for a greater role for young people in strengthening peace and security to help reshape the role of youth in peace building in communities, countries, across the region, and worldwide for safer tomorrows.

The consultations will feed into a global progress study on the positive contribution of young people in peace building. This will be presented to the UN Secretary General and the Member States of the United Nations at the end of 2017. Youth selected from 18 to 29 years from various organizations were invited to attend the two days consultations. These consultations comprised of peer to peer discussions and experience sharing and many more.

International Youth Alliance for Peace is a youth-led organization that was founded to bring together a network of youth to work together towards Sustainable Social Development.

YPF hopes to inspire youth-led social movements in the peace building arena under the banner of Resolution 2216. "We need to do more to raise the voices and place the spotlight on young people who are really advocating in this space." - Thirmuniar Prasadakumar, President, YPF.