Seen and Heard: Human Security of Youth of South Asia and Potential as Catalysis for Building Peace

Maneesha S. Wanasinghe – Pasqual

Department of International Relations, University of Colombo

1. Introduction

Youth are often portrayed as victims of conflict, perpetrators of violence, spoilers of potential peace, or silent beneficiaries of state decisions. They and their Human Security fears and wants are however, seen but rarely heard. This is especially evident in matters pertaining to security within a specified region such as South Asia. South Asia, with its diversity in the midst of homogeneity, has consistently focused on individual nation-state security. With transnational concerns such as terrorism, environmental, and health concerns, the more traditional focus of state security, however, appear moot. Indeed, what is required of South Asia is a conceptualization of security to be inclusive of social and economic security from the perspective of the individual. The coupling of traditional military security with human development, which has, as of the 1990s, been interpreted as Human Security, requires substantial investment from diverse stakeholders. However, it is vital to emphasize that Human Security, a concern for all, remains at cross-roads in South Asia.

Despite youth concerns with regard to security remaining relatively under-represented in South Asia security dialog – indeed this is self-evident since regional security within the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is constantly evaded – their needs and fears are crucial for transforming this region. Indeed, the youth will inherit a region steeped in tradition and scarred with pain. They will become heir to countries facing numerous environmental and other conflicts which transcend state borders. Youth of South Asia should have freedom from fear and freedom from want. Yet, their dissatisfaction with the status quo and their inability to

transform the situation due to lack of education and employment opportunities might result in successes in recruitment to militant groups, in ensuring indoctrination.

2. The Crux of the Argument

The crux of this paper is an argument that the youth of South Asia, who remains victims, perpetrators and inheritors of conflict also have the potential to become catalysts of building peace. However, only through addressing their fears and wants can their potential be unleashed. Herein lay the conundrum because without having assurances regarding their Human Security, they might not be able to become catalysts for peacebuilding but at the same time, without the empowerment gained through peacebuilding, their wants and needs often remain silent.

In making the above argument, this paper focuses firstly on the need to re-conceptualize Security to be inclusive of Human Security. The paper shifts from introducing the concept of Human Security to highlighting its link with Peacebuilding. Subsequently, the paper examines the youth of South Asia, their voice, their concerns, their fears, and their hopes. The paper concludes with the argument on how youth could become catalysts for peacebuilding.

The research into Human Security concerns of South Asian youth and their potential for building peace began with a number of objectives.

- To understand difference between the traditional concept of Security and Human Security
- To examine the link between Human Security and Peacebuilding
- To present the importance of Youth within the South Asian context
- To highlight the potential of youth as builders of peace within South Asia.

3. Security and Human Security

"Conventional analyses of the concept of security emphasizes the state as the referent object of security; it is the state that is to be secured. The association of security with the state seemed natural for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and reflected the dominant position of **realism** in the discipline of international relations."[1]

As noted at the outset, there exists both a traditional state-centric definition of security and a broader, less-easily definable definition of security. The former is the heir to a vast tradition while the former was named only in the 1990s. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Yearbook (2010), the nation-states of the world spend an estimate of $1.551 trillion for military expenditure. This is for the territorial defense of the nation-state from threats from within and without. As noted by King and Murray, these "funds spent on military security have been as large globally as the combined income from 49 percent of the world's people"[2]. Security and nation-state have been interlinked from the birth of the concept of nation-state in the 17th century. This relationship has gotten stronger over the centuries to the extent that nation-state and security are synonymous with one another. More and more money is spent in assuring a nation-state's borders. According to SIPRI, military expenditure for Asia and Oceania was $276 billion for 2009 and of that, $1851 billion was spent by India. Moreover, in Afghanistan, the overall expenditure topped at $12.8 billion. This included both Afghan and NATO expenditure for 2009.[3]

As Dillon emphasizes, "Security, of course, saturates the language of modern politics. Our political vocabularies reek of it and our political imagination is confined by it … Security is the first and fundamental requirement of the State, of the modern understandings of politics, and of International Relations"[4]. From time to time, the focus on threat has changed – from large armies to nuclear weaponry to terrorism. These merely in the 20th century when armies during the two World Wars (1914 – 1918 and 1939 – 1945) and internal and inter-state wars laid siege to and destroyed villages

---

[1] (MacFarlane and Khong, 2006: 1)
[2] King and Murray (2002: 588)
[3] (Perlo-Freeman, Ismail, and Solmirano 2010)
[4] (Dillon 1996: 12)

and towns throughout the long and bloody century; when nuclear threats became to dominant security concern after 1945 during the Cold War era (1945 – 1990); and when trans-national terrorism plots dominated the scene. In a post-Cold War era, security fears have not subsided. Indeed, even prior to the publication of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report on Human Security (1994), concerns regarding how to address security concerns[5] were voiced as they forestall the individual's human security. Indeed, as the overview of the UNDP report informed,

> The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives. Future conflicts may often be within nations rather than between them-with their origins buried deep in growing socio-economic deprivation and disparities. The search for security in such a milieu lies in development, not in arms.[6]

While traditional security focuses on ensuring territorial security of the nation-state, and through that, of the people living in that nation-state, as the above quotation illustrate this defines security in terms of achieving people's security and through that, the state. As King and Murray note, this is a broader concept of security which "calls to consider security for a global perspective rather than only from the perspective of individual nations and the idea of common security, more recently, writers have settled for the phrase human security to emphasize the people-centered aspect of these efforts"[7]. Moreover, this new notion of security remains "closely linked to the development of human capabilities in the face of change and uncertainty".[8] The new terminology of security focus on 'Human' security, thereby distancing itself from security and defense disciplines.

Prior to discussing the different interpretations of the concept, it is best to introduce Human Security as it evolved in the 1990s. At the outset, it is vital to stress that this concept is not completely new or unique. It is, as Paris inform, "the latest in a

---

[5] (Lynn-Jones 1991)
[6] (UNDP 1994: 1).
[7] (King and Murray 2002: 588)
[8] (O'Brain and Leichenko 2008:1)

long line …– including common security, global security, cooperative security, and comprehensive security – that encourages policymakers and scholars to think about international security as something more than the military defense of state interests and territory".[9] What makes this different from other interpretations of security is its focus on the universality, on the inter-dependency of components, on the prevention, and on being people-centered.

According to the UNDP,

> Human security is a universal concern. It is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor … The components of human security as interdependent. When the security of people is endangered anywhere in the world, all nations are likely to get involved … Human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention … is people-centered … concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities – and whether they live in conflict or in peace.[10]

The core concept of Human Security strives to ensure for the individual "safety from chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities."[11]

In a broader sense, Human Security is defined according to what threatens an individual: Community security; Economic security; Environmental security; Food security; Health security; Personal security; and Political security. In a broader sense, Community Security targets ensuring security from internal conflicts and protection of cultures while Economic Security indicators for example, focus on income (level, access, reliability, sufficiency, and standard of living) and employment. Environmental

---

[9] (Paris 2001: 87)
[10] (UNDP, 1994: 22)
[11] (UNDP 1994: 23)

Security looks into prevention in areas such as conservation of land, mitigation of natural hazards, assessment of pollution, as well as finding solutions to environmental issues. Food Security targets availability, access, and nutritional quality during normal times as well as in the midst of disasters while Health Security informs of the health concerns related to availability and quality of healthcare, safe water and other basic necessities, and availability of an environment safe from illegal drugs. Personal Security looks into protection from prevention of violence and abuse as well as awareness and access to information and institutions and Political Security examines how human rights protection ensures individual security.

While it is clear what areas Human Security as a concept focuses on, there are concerns regarding what is means and the definition. One concern is how broad this concept really is. Food security, for example, has 200 definitions according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Another is that while Human Security looks into how the individual, group, state, and system security is ensured, there are actually two understandings of Human Security. The narrow definition of human security examines freedom from fear or, in another sense, violence and freedom from want. As noted by Tadjbakhsh, to be secure in this sense entails,

> to be free from both *fear* (of physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death) and from *want* (of gainful employment, food, and health). Human security therefore deals with the capacity to identify threats, to avoid them when possible, and to mitigate their effects when they do occur. It means helping victims cope with the consequences of the widespread insecurity resulting from armed conflict, human rights violations and massive underdevelopment. This broadened use of the word "security" encompasses two ideas: one is the notion of "safety" that goes beyond the concept of mere physical security in the traditional sense, and the other the idea that people's livelihoods should be guaranteed through "social security" against sudden disruptions.[12]

---

[12] Tadjbakhsh (2005: 5)

More than the problem of how to define this concept – which is a concern in itself – is numerous other difficulties. For example, Human Security as envisioned by the United Nations organization (UNO) and its organs raises hopes without these hopes being achievable, while others perceive Human Security as merely a label with no real significance in real world policy-making. This is linked to another fear that with no real definitional boundaries, policy formulation remains impossible. More than this, the very fact that until recently, Human Security remained outside of the Peacebuilding scenario is a concern. The broader definition of incorporates all of the above seven sections and is inextricably linked to peacebuilding.

Despite these concerns, the very fact that Human Security exists as an alternative perspective to traditional security is an important step forward. Moreover, the significance of Human Security is that it can help reduce tensions which lead to conflict. As noted by McRae and Hubert[13], Human Security as a set of activities targets the protection of the people and promotion of peace.

4. Human Security and Peacebuilding

"Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a steep towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment -- these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national – security." (Annan 2001).

In a sense, the focus on Human Security appears similar to Peacebuilding, as both strive to find diverse avenues in order to transform society in an all-encompassing

---

[13] McRae and Hubert 2001

manner. From a conflict resolution perspective, the narrow definition of Human Security focuses on negative peace while the latter or broader definition of Human Security strives to achieve positive peace (Galtung 1971). This is similar to Peacebuilding, which aims to transform the entire society using diverse avenues to achieve peace. As noted in the *Human Security Now* (2003), Human Security targets protection of freedoms of individual – especially freedom from want, harm, fear, and to take action – which intern empower the individual.

The similarities between Human Security and Peacebuilding do not end here. Surprisingly, both these concepts emerged in the post-Cold War era and both apparently appear ill-defined. Or in another sense, there exists diverse definitions regarding each of these concepts. Peacebuilding as defined by Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992 focused on strengthening institutions, ensuring security and assisting in the economic recovery. Another approach, often called the DDR program focuses on disarmament, demobilization, and re-integration, which again has the United Nations as an integral actor. Peacebuilding as envisioned by Lederach enlarges the spectrum but focuses predominantly on internal actors.

Table 1: Three Types of Peacebuilding

Political peacebuilding	Formal negotiations, diplomacy and other legal aspects of transforming an existing conflict.
Structural peacebuilding	A means of encouraging a 'culture of peace' by constructing socio-economic, cultural and military mainly through education, disarmament, policing, and good governance.
Social peacebuilding	Ensuring a rebuilding of relationships through dialogue.

Source: http://imtd.org/cgi-bin/imtd.cgi

As Table 1 (above) and 2 (below) highlight, there are diverse ideas regarding Peacebuilding.

Table 2: Activity focus in Peacebuilding

Narrow idea of Peacebuilding – UN	Broader idea of Peacebuilding – Lederach
External and internal actor involvement	Internal actor involvement
Focuses on activities specific sets of	Multiple activities, including monitoring,

activities such as strengthening institutions, ensuring security, and assigning economic recovery	human rights, education, and especially empowerment.
Top-down	Multi-layers: top-down + bottom-up + use of the middle level who, according to Lederach, are 'the critical yeast'.
Short-term outcome	Long-term sustained dedicated outcome.
Ending direct violence	Ending Structural violence

Source: Adapted from Boutros-Ghali (1992); Lederach (1997); and McDonald and Diamond http://imtd.org

This paper utilizes the concept of Peacebuilding as envisioned by Lederach (1997) which, like Human Security, focuses on empowerment of people. In a perfect setting, this would entail focusing on the people rather than the political system as the primary concern. Peacebuilding, just as Human Security, strives to achieve a more lasting – albeit, sustainable – results. Another aspect of both these is to protect human rights, which in Peacebuilding is presented more subtly than in Human Security.

Despite the seemingly evident similarities between Human Security and Peacebuilding, Dulic notes with frustration that,

> in practice both peace-building and human security have been addressed separately, as demonstrated by the existence of distinct branches and experts within national governments and supra-national bodies, with a strict division of labor and hierarchy between them. The 'peace-building community' seldom refers to human security dimension as an integral element of overall nation-building and state-building strategies. Moreover, human security has been neglected or underestimated when international peace-building missions prioritized state-building, under the pretext that individual rights are best protected through a system of relatively strong states; and that among three variables - state, democracy and human rights, state is the most important as *conditio sine qua non*. (2008: 2)

This research paper addresses these two concepts as similar in terms of their outcome –

sustainable and individual-focuses, targeting positive peace as its overall outcome.

To ensure Human Security of the individual, people must become active participants in ensuring their safety. To achieve this, the whole of society must become empowered. Taking Lederach's three layer pyramid, this would involve all three – i.e., elite, middle and grassroots – levels (Lederach 1997). Thus, what this research paper strives to highlight is that without ensuring freedom from fear and want, it is difficult to enhance youth's peacebuilding potential.

5. South Asia

South Asia is among the world's most vulnerable regions to both natural and man-made disasters. The region recorded 15 out of the 40 major disasters in the world from 1970 to 2000. Over the last 25 years, disasters have killed nearly half a million people in South Asia besides inflicting colossal financial damages worth US\$ 59,000 million. Over 60,000 people were killed by Tsunami in India, Sri Lanka and Maldives. The October 2005 earth quake killed at least 73,000 people and severely injured or disabled another 70,000 and rendered 2.8 million homeless in northern parts of Pakistan. The rehabilitation cost of 2004 Tsunami disaster for India, Sri Lanka and Maldives is estimated to be US\$ 3 billion. (Hussain 2007: 2)

Map 1: South Asia Conflict Incidents according to World Bank
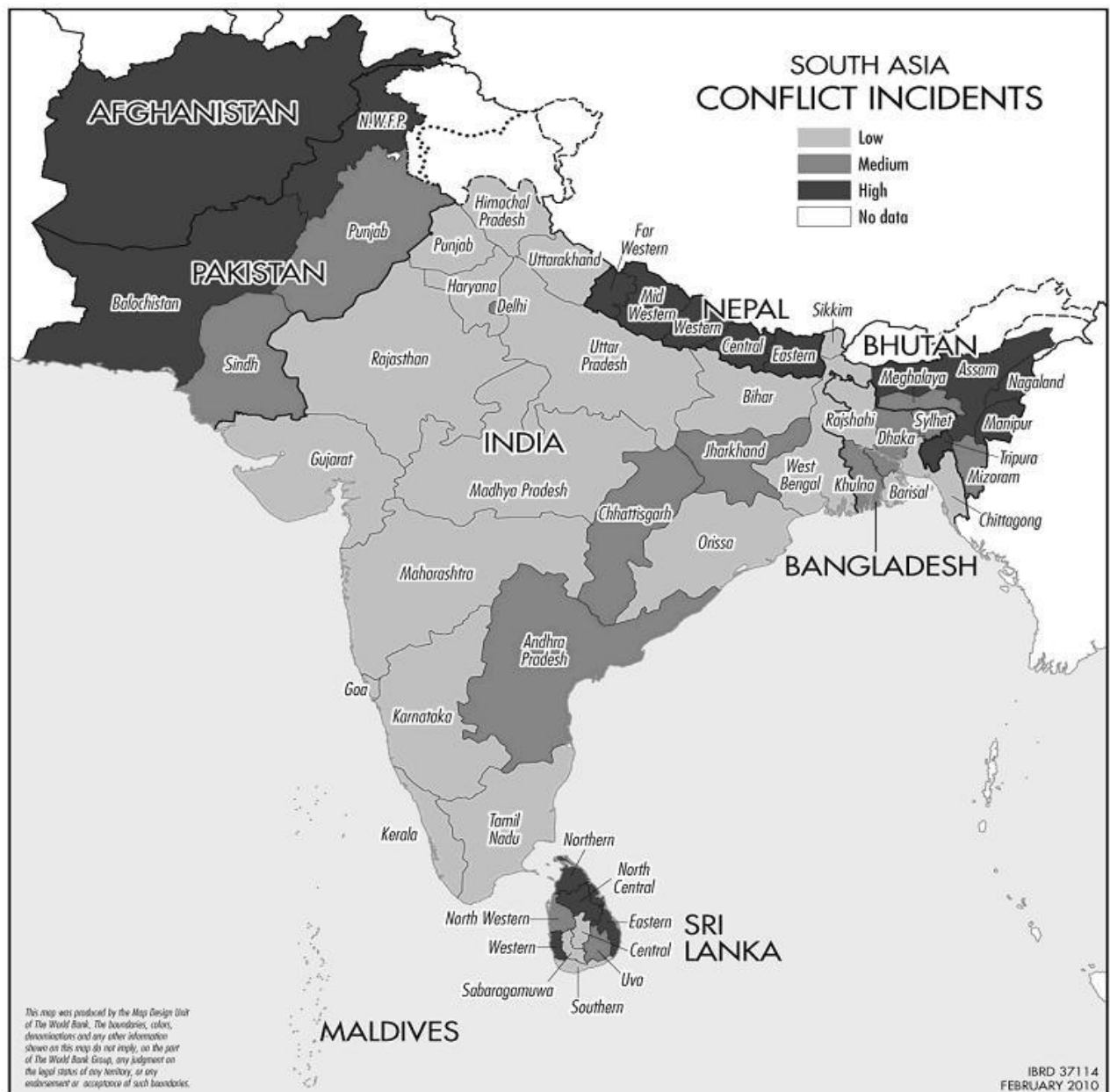
Source: World Bank. Cited in Ghani and Iyer 2010

It is possible to state that South Asia as a region is the second most volatile region in the world, next only to the Middle East. This is mainly due to a major war in Afghanistan which has pitted NATO forces along with Afghanistan government forces against religious extremists since 2003. It is also because of the long-standing inter-state conflict between India and Pakistan. It is also home to numerous internal conflicts,

some which have lasted for decades and some, such as the Sri Lankan separatist conflicted, ended with a military victory only after over thirty years of war. As the Map above emphasize, there exists low-level to high-level conflicts within South Asia (Map 1).

The India-Pakistan interstate conflict began in 1947, with the birth of these two nation-states. Since then, there have been two wars and several clashes between these two powers. Since becoming nuclear powers, the tension between these two countries has become more dangerous to the whole region. Other than inter-state conflicts, the countries of South Asia have faced numerous internal conflicts which have spilled over to neighboring countries. Afghanistan has faced invasions and religion-related conflicts since the 1970s. Pakistan has faced internal issues stemming from both politico-military nature as well as Sunni-Shia. These have exacerbated due to conflicts in neighboring Afghanistan. Meanwhile, India has religious (Hindu-Muslim; Hindu-Christian) as well as language (Hindu-Tamil), ethnic and sectarian (Sikh and Naxalite) while Sri Lanka faced both youth uprisings (1971, 1972, 1987 – 1990) and sectarian crisis which culminated in a thirty-year war. Bangladesh faced both tribal-related conflict as well as politico-military conflicts from its very inception in 1971. Bhutan faces identity and power-sharing conflicts while Nepal faced Maoist rebellion. The island nation of Maldives has to contend with environmental concerns.

As noted above, every country in South Asia faced some conflict issue or the other. From a Human Security perspective, this means that the people within each nation-state face challenges to their freedom from fear and freedom from want. More than that, while the leadership of these nation-states continues to focus on intra-state or traditional idea of security, there are concerns that transcend the traditional nation-state. These include terrorism and extremist activities as well as environmental concerns such as water disputes. Moreover, despite the fact that conflicts mentioned above have trans-border implications, the nation-states of South Asia continues to strive to ensure national security. Even under SAARC, the focus remains only on cultural and partial-economic integration. Regional human security remains utopian endeavor.

Terrorist and extremist activities – whether for religious reasons as in

Afghanistan and Pakistan, for separatist/identity reasons such as in Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh, and Bhutan, or ideological reasons as in Sri Lanka, Nepal, and India – appear to go beyond state boundaries. This entail challenges to personal, community, and political security. Youth either become members of these militant organizations or become victims of the violence. Youth here, defined by UNICEF as those between the ages of 15 – 24, become active participants for ideological, peer-pressure, economic, political, and identity reasons (USAID 2004).

Youth, as the future generation, also face numerous environmental concerns that would become more pressing in the coming future. Predominant in this is climate change, but other than this, environmental degradation due to development and, significantly, the demand for water, which is a major concern for South Asia (Verghese 1997). Youth here face environmental, personal, health, food, economic, and community Human Security issues.

6. Youth of South Asia

> The literature that touches on youth and violent conflict focuses on analysing the reasons why young people engage in fighting. It is often remarked that war would not be possible without youth – as combatants of any war, in any part of the world, are made up primarily by young people. (UNDP 2006: 17)

Youth of South Asia face both different challenges but also similar concerns due so socio-economic and cultural reasons. For example, youth in all eight countries face poverty, youth in all have to contend with modernity and traditional expectations, with peer pressure and family obligations, and most certainly with unemployment or under-employment and these lead to their own insecurity repercussions. These Human Security issues are not limited to any country. However, each country within South Asia also face and finds solutions to their own problems.

It is possible to assume youth concerns in Afghanistan, despite being the only

country which has not had a youth survey in recent years. With almost half of Afghanistan population living below the poverty line, youth faces economic concerns. Some who have the potential for education have to stop their education in exchange for finding menial jobs to assist their families. Indeed, according to UK-based Oxfam report on Afghanistan (2008), over 80% of population find employment in agriculture but at the same time, rural unemployment is over 50%. These figures become critical for youth of Afghanistan because

> 68% of the population of Afghanistan is below 25 years of age. This majority segment of the population is generally disfranchised, lacks educational and employment opportunities, and rarely participates in decision-making at community, province or national level. The situation of Afghan girls is of particular concern - under traditional pressures they enter early marriage and early pregnancy, contributing to Afghanistan's dire MMR and IMR. Youth literacy rates are low; 50% for boys and 18% for girls; secondary school enrolments are respectively 23% and 7%, and less than 1% of the Afghan population reaches higher education.
>
> Faced with these challenges, Afghan youth are at a major risk of oppression, unemployment, and low wages and therefore to induction into the narcotics industry, illegally armed groups, insurgents and terrorist organizations. (UNDP 2009)

They apparently face all seven Human Security challenges. Despite this, external institutions such as UNICEF, UNDP, and numerous NGOs have strived to empower and enhance their lot.

Indian youth account for 360 million or "35% of the total population of 1025 million" according to Sahni (2005: 75). The issues they face include poverty, pressure to perform in education, traditions, urban-rural divisions, and competition in a vast population. The challenges faced by youth regarding modernity are evident even in countries with small populations. Of a population of 900,000, more than 56% of

Bhutanese are under 25. The problems encountered by youth of Bhutan include facing the fast-pace socio-economic changes that occurred since 1961. Indeed, the youth here, like their counterparts in other South Asian countries (with the exception of Afghanistan) faced challenges with modernization and the open economy. The major concerns for youth in general involve unemployment and addiction to drugs. Even Pakistan has a large percentage of youth.

> Pakistan currently has one of the largest cohorts of young people in its history, with approximately 25 million adolescents and youth between the ages of 15 and 24 (Government of Pakistan 2001). As in most countries, there is awareness in Pakistan that this cohort is profoundly important for the social, political, and economic development and stability of the country. However, national programs aimed at addressing adolescents and youth tend to be narrowly defined and based either on policies developed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs or on programs implemented by the Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs Division. These programs have largely been formulated as a reaction to "problems" related to young people, such as child labor, low levels of education, and underage marriage. Based in a single sector, few of these programs addressed the holistic, multi-disciplinary nature of the lives of young people. (Sathar et al. 2002: 1)

Here the challenges faced, other than poverty, unemployment, health, and other traditional concerns, is whether to identify oneself based on nationality or religion. This conundrum is apparent in youth from Afghanistan and India as well.

Youth consists of 30% of Nepali population and all have been affected by conflict and unemployment. This is similar to Sri Lanka. Though youth do not constitute a large percentage as Afghanistan, Pakistan or Bhutan, they have been affected by conflict and unemployment. Indeed,

> Sri Lankan youth have figured prominently in the country's post-independence political landscape, particularly since the early 1970's. This is understandable

66

because rapid population growth in the country since the mid 1940's coupled with progressive social policies led to the emergence of a vast youthful population with high educational attainment and aspirations for social mobility. (Hettige and Mayer 2002:11)

Maldives has a largely young population, with approximately 40% of the population being defined as youth and they too face challenges regarding employment.

As noted in the quotation presented at the outset, "Young people face a number of critical life decisions between the ages of 15 and 24 that relate to a series of transitions to adulthood" (Sathar et al, 2002: 1). With individual countries perceiving security in terms of national security, there is less focus on youth and their human security concerns. Youth are often presented in terms of how they would harm the national security. Furthermore, whatever approaches are attempted, these appear to occur within the nation-state. Yet, as the above survey of different youth concerns indicate, the Human Security concerns of youth transcend boundaries. This is especially relevant when realizing that as inheritors of the land, they face trans-border concerns that affect them directly.

Only by examining Human Security concerns of youth can they be enticed away from militancy and rebellion to become potential activists for positive peace. The Human Security concerns of youth must be resolved within a nation-state and within a region, especially as it is apparent that their problems are often not limited to any nation-state. Poverty in Bangladesh, for example, result in youth migrating to India, exacerbating an already difficulty employment situation within India and increases tension between the migrants and locals. Moreover, instead of appearing as voiceless recipients of national policies, youth should be able to voice their concerns and become catalysts in an ongoing struggle to overcome their concerns regarding fear and in finding solutions. In the process, youth can become catalysts of positive change. By becoming activists for positive change, they can make a difference to their Human Security concerns, and vice versa, by benefiting from freedom from fear and freedom from want, they can become catalysts for peacebuilding.
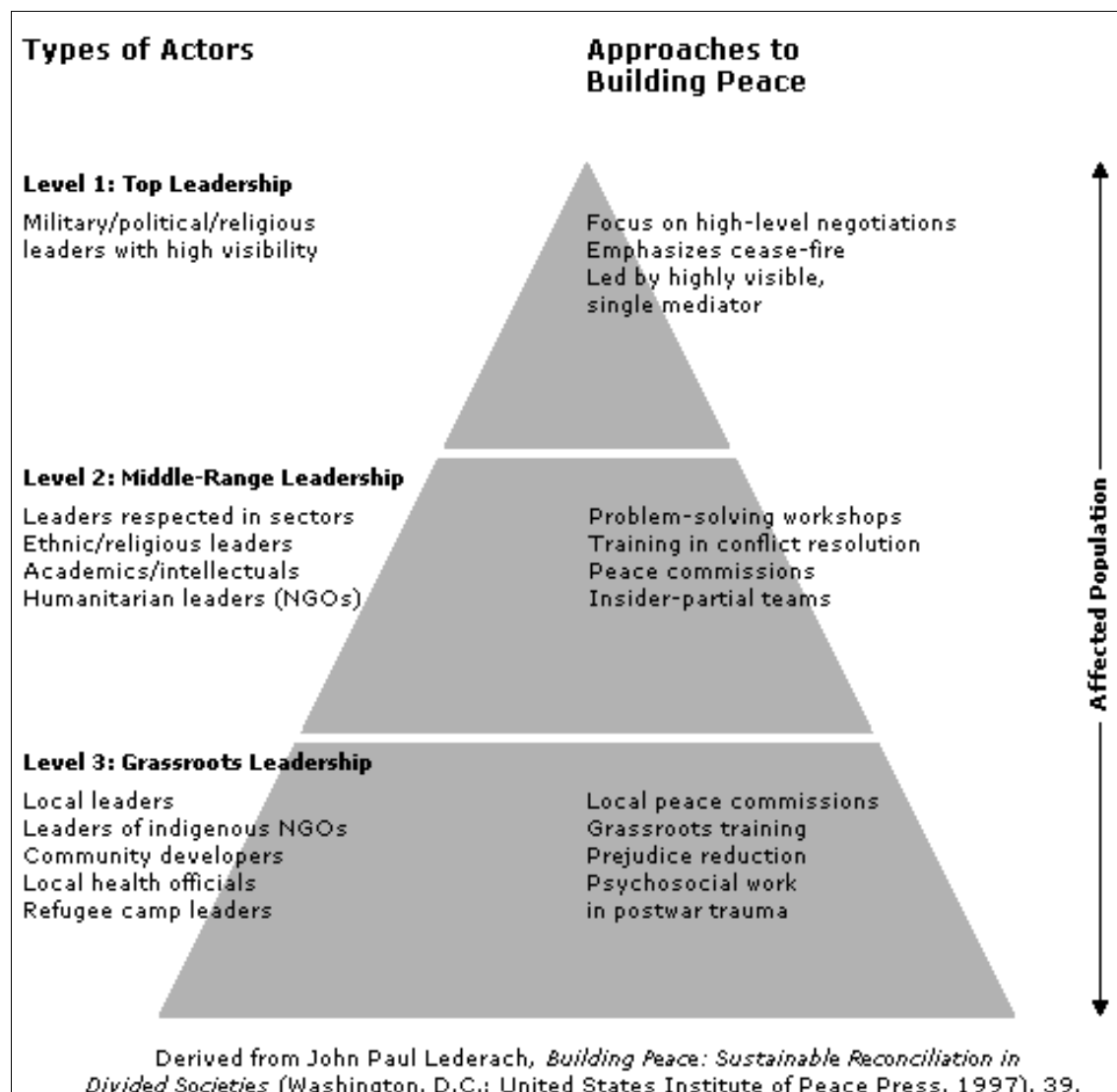
7. Youth as Catalysts for Peacebuilding

Youth as a cohort, do have the capability of becoming catalysts for peacebuilding. Even in the current context, youth in each of the South Asian nation-states have become active. To reiterate, the potential exists within youth as seen with the youth implemented Sano Paila plan under the Nepalese Youth for Climate (NYCA); the Bhutanese Youth for Climate Action (BYCA); the Afghanistan Social Aide Foundation (Active Afghan Youths); the Bangladesh Youth Environmental Initiative (BYEI); voicing environmental concerns as young activists in Kashmir or the more formal Indian Youth Climate Network (IYCN); Youth the Power of Pakistan; Beyond Borders Sri Lanka and the Green Movement, which are middle-level initiatives.

Youth can become catalysts for building peace either to achieve freedom from fear and freedom from want or to make use of these freedoms. However, they cannot achieve either objective without the assistance of all levels of society.

As noted by Lederach. Peacebuilding requires the participation of all levels of society (see Figure 1 below). That means youth as the grassroots along with the middle and elite levels. By becoming active participants instead of remaining silent beneficiaries or conflict victims or perpetrators because their Human Security needs were not secured, youth have the chance of making their voices heard. Within each of the nation-states depicted and even within the regional SAARC, most decisions regarding youth are top-down. The South Asia Youth Environment Network (SAYEN), which began in 2002, is one such example. This top-down attempt, whether within a country or as a region, does not take into account the real concerns of youth.

Figure 1: Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid

Types of Actors

Approaches to Building Peace

Level 1: Top Leadership
Military/political/religious leaders with high visibility

Focus on high-level negotiations
Emphasizes cease-fire
Led by highly visible, single mediator

Level 2: Middle-Range Leadership
Leaders respected in sectors
Ethnic/religious leaders
Academics/intellectuals
Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Problem-solving workshops
Training in conflict resolution
Peace commissions
Insider-partial teams

Level 3: Grassroots Leadership
Local leaders
Leaders of indigenous NGOs
Community developers
Local health officials
Refugee camp leaders

Local peace commissions
Grassroots training
Prejudice reduction
Psychosocial work
in postwar trauma

Affected Population

Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.

8. Conclusion

The nexus between youth and needs and conflict or, to rephrase, Human Security concerns and conflict and youth remains strong in all these countries. If youth do not have freedom from fear or want, they are liable to become participants of conflict.

Bibliography

Hettige, S. T. and Markus Mayer (2000) "Youth and Youth Research in Sri Lanka" in S. T. Hettige Markus Mayer, eds. *Sri Lankan Youth: Challenges and Responses* pp. 1 – 13 http://www.gdrc.org/sustdev/husec/z-indicators.html

Hussain, Syed Rifaat Syed Rifaat (2007?) "Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Challenges in South Asia" www.rsis-ntsasia.org/resources/publications/policy-briefs/.../rcss.doc

OXFAM (2008) "Afghanistan: Development and Humanitarian Priorities OXFAM REPORT2008" http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/conflict_disasters/downloads/afghanistan_priorities.pdf

Perlo-Freeman, Olawale Ismail and Carina Solmiranos (2010) "Military expenditure" in *SIPRI Yearbook 2010: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*

Sahni, Ashok (2003) "Stresses and Distresses in the Youth" in *Health Administrator* Vol: XVII, 1: 75-77, pg. (2005)   *UNDP National Joint Youth Programme (2009)* http://www.undp.org.af/whoweare/undpinafghanistan/Projects/dcse/prj_youth.htm

USAID (2004) "Youth & Conflict: a toolkit for intervention" http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/conflict/publications/docs/CMM_Youth_and_Conflict_2004.pdf

Verghese, B. G. (1997) "Water conflicts in South Asia" Studies in Conflict & Terrorism Vol. 20: Issue 2 April, pp. 185 – 194 www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000508.sgsm7382.doc.html> 08/27/01

Annan, Kof (2001). "Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia." Two-Day Session in Ulaanbaatar, May 8-10, 2000. Press Release SG/SM/7382

Annan, Kofi (2001) "Millennium Report, Chapter 3", p.43-44 in <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/full.htm> 08/22/01

Commission on Human Security (2003) *Human Security Now* (New York:

Commission on Human Security.

Galtung, Johan (1971) "Structural Theory of Imperialism" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8:2. pp. 81-117.

Ghani, Ejaz and Lakshmi Iyer (2010) "Conflict and development" http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/4794