



UNIVERSAL LOVE AS A TOOL FOR SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION; A POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

Hettige N.^{1*}, Dissanayake M.P.²

¹ Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka

² Faculty of Health Sciences, The Open University of Sri Lanka

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the transformative potential of universal love as a tool for bridging social fragmentation and promoting societal well-being. Drawing from Positive Psychology and Cultural Relativism, it argues that universal love, when understood and applied with cultural sensitivity, can heal societal divisions, foster empathy, and promote peace and justice across multicultural societies. Through case studies from Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States, the paper demonstrates how love-based interventions can contribute to the healing of post-conflict societies, the promotion of social justice, and the fostering of unity among diverse groups. The findings suggest that while there are challenges in implementing such interventions, universal love has the potential to significantly transform societies.

Keywords: *Positive emotions, universal love, positive psychology, societal transformation*

Corresponding Author: Hettige N.^{1*}, Email : niluka_hettige@yahoo.co.uk

1. Introduction

In an era marked by increasing social fragmentation, political polarization, and cultural divisions, societies across the globe are grappling with deep-rooted conflicts that hinder cohesion and sustainable development. These issues are not merely political or economic in nature; they are fundamentally psychological, rooted in identity-based tensions, historical trauma, and systemic inequalities

(Staub, 2005; Prilleltensky, 2001). Traditional interventions, whether through policy reform, diplomacy, or economic development, have often failed to address the emotional and relational dimensions that underpin societal discord. In response, there is a growing need for psychologically informed approaches that foster healing, reconciliation, and unity.

One promising yet underexplored pathway is the cultivation of universal love, a form of love that transcends personal attachments and expands to encompass all human beings, irrespective of race, religion, or nationality. Grounded in the principles of Positive Psychology, universal love emphasizes the promotion of emotional well-being, social connectedness, and resilience (Fredrickson, 2013; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Unlike romantic or familial love, universal love is characterized by a broader, inclusive orientation that aligns closely with compassion, empathy, and altruism (Haidt, 2003).

Furthermore, this concept must be understood through the lens of cultural relativism, which acknowledges that emotional expressions, including love are shaped by cultural norms, values, and histories (Mesquita, 2001). Therefore, applying universal love as a transformative tool necessitates culturally sensitive adaptation. In diverse and post-conflict societies, where collective trauma and mistrust persist, the deliberate cultivation of universal love may serve as a powerful force for social reintegration and peacebuilding.

This paper aims to examine the role of universal love in fostering societal transformation from a Positive Psychology perspective. It seeks to answer the following research questions: How can universal love be operationalized in multicultural and post-conflict societies? What evidence exists for its effectiveness in promoting societal cohesion? Drawing upon interdisciplinary literature and case studies from Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States, the paper will explore how love-based psychological interventions have contributed to healing, reconciliation, and inclusive community-building.

By bridging emotional science, cultural psychology, and social transformation, this research contributes to the ongoing discourse on sustainable peace and human flourishing. It advocates for reimagining love not only as a personal sentiment but as a strategic, scientifically grounded tool for societal renewal.

2. Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored in two main theoretical frameworks. Positive Psychology and Cultural Relativism. These frameworks provide the lens through which universal love can be understood, adapted, and applied as a tool for societal transformation. Each framework contributes distinct yet complementary insights into how love, as a positive emotion, can foster social healing, cohesion, and transformation in multicultural and post-conflict societies.

2.1. Positive Psychology and Universal Love

Positive Psychology is a relatively recent branch of psychology that emphasizes human strengths, virtues, and well-being, focusing on factors that enable individuals and communities to thrive. Founded by Martin Seligman (2002), this approach shifts the focus from pathology to flourishing, recognizing that happiness, emotional well-being, and social cohesion are vital components of a thriving society.

In the context of this paper, universal love is understood as a powerful, positive emotion that transcends individual attachment and extends to broader societal contexts. Fredrickson's (2001) Broaden-and-Build Theory of Positive Emotions suggests that emotions such as love broaden an individual's thought-action repertoire, which enhances their ability to respond to challenges, build personal resources, and form supportive social bonds. Love, as a positive emotion, acts as an important vehicle for social transformation by fostering empathy, understanding, and cooperation.

Within the framework of Positive Psychology, love is recognized as a powerful catalyst for transformative outcomes across individual and societal levels. By fostering increased empathy and compassion, love encourages a deeper understanding of others' perspectives, which is essential for effective conflict resolution. Moreover, love-based interventions have been demonstrated to enhance emotional resilience and overall well-being, contributing to the development of stronger and healthier individuals as well as communities. Additionally, love plays a critical role in building social capital by strengthening social connections and community bonds, which are vital for societal healing and cooperation, particularly in multicultural settings. Therefore, Positive Psychology

offers a robust theoretical foundation for understanding how universal love can bridge societal divisions, promoting peace, justice, and collective flourishing.

2.2. Cultural Relativism and Love

While love is universally recognized as a fundamental human emotion, its expression and societal roles vary significantly across different cultures. This insight is crucial for understanding the complexities of applying universal love in a multicultural or post-conflict context. Cultural Relativism, as introduced by Franz Boas (1911), asserts that social phenomena, including emotions like love should be understood within the context of the culture in which they occur, rather than being evaluated according to a universal or Western-centric standard.

This perspective is crucial in ensuring that universal love, as a tool for societal transformation, is applied in a culturally sensitive and relevant manner. Cultural relativism underscores that the forms and expressions of love, such as familial love, romantic love, and altruistic love, may vary depending on cultural norms and values (Shweder et al., 1997). In different cultures, love can manifest in various ways through communal support, religious practices, or philosophical systems that shape how individuals interact with others in their society.

For example, Ubuntu, a South African philosophy, views love not as an individualistic emotion but as something that binds people together in a collective, relational sense. Ubuntu emphasizes communal solidarity, mutual respect, and interconnectedness, which aligns with the concept of universal love as a societal force. Likewise, in Sri Lanka, love-based initiatives have taken root in post-conflict reconciliation efforts, recognizing that cultural nuances, such as respect for hierarchy and community, play an essential role in fostering intergroup harmony (Goonasekera, 2008).

The importance of cultural relativism lies in its ability to inform the application of universal love in ways that resonate with local values and practices. By understanding the cultural contexts of love, interventions can be tailored to promote empathy, healing, and unity while respecting and preserving cultural identities. This ensures that universal love is not imposed as a foreign concept but is integrated within the cultural frameworks that govern social relation.

2.3. Integrating Positive Psychology and Cultural Relativism

The integration of Positive Psychology and Cultural Relativism offers a robust and interdisciplinary framework for applying universal love in multicultural and post-conflict societies. Positive Psychology, as developed by Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000), emphasizes human strengths, virtues, and the capacity for flourishing, placing love among the core emotions that enhance psychological resilience and social connectedness (Fredrickson, 2013). It provides empirical grounding for understanding how emotions like love contribute to individual and collective well-being and how cultivating these emotions can counteract social fragmentation and alienation.

However, the expression and understanding of love are not universal in form or practice. This is where Cultural Relativism plays a vital role. Rooted in anthropological and cross-cultural psychological research, Cultural Relativism posits that emotions are culturally constructed and interpreted through specific historical, social, and linguistic lenses (Mesquita & Walker, 2003). What may be viewed as an act of compassion in one culture may carry different meanings or emotional valence in another. Thus, interventions based on universal love must be contextually informed and culturally sensitive to avoid imposing ethnocentric interpretations of love and healing (Shweder, 1991).

The integration of these frameworks allows for a more nuanced and ethical approach to societal transformation. For instance, in post-war Sri Lanka, reconciliation efforts through community-based psychosocial interventions emphasized compassion and collective healing grounded in Buddhist and local cultural narratives (Fernando, 2012). Similarly, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission exemplified how forgiveness and empathy, concepts closely linked to universal love, were contextually adapted to confront a legacy of apartheid (Tutu, 1999). In the United States, Positive Psychology-informed initiatives in marginalized urban communities have promoted belonging and empowerment through love-oriented education and mentoring programs (Duckworth, Grant, Loew, Oettingen, & Gollwitzer, 2011).

This paper adopts the integrated lens of Positive Psychology and Cultural Relativism to examine how universal love can serve as both a scientifically grounded and culturally adaptable tool for fostering unity. Through comparative case studies from Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States, the paper

highlights how love-based interventions, when tailored to specific sociocultural landscapes, can foster social justice, emotional healing, and collective flourishing.

3. Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative, exploratory research design to investigate how universal love, grounded in the principles of Positive Psychology and Cultural Relativism can be used as a transformative tool in healing societal divisions and fostering social cohesion. The methodology was shaped by the need to synthesize theoretical insights with real-world applications, particularly in multicultural and post-conflict settings.

A narrative literature review served as the foundation for this study, enabling a comprehensive understanding of key constructs such as universal love, emotional well-being, empathy, social cohesion, and cultural variation. The review drew heavily on influential works including Seligman (2002) on well-being and human flourishing, Fredrickson (2001) on the broadening and building power of positive emotions, and Tutu (1999) on forgiveness and reconciliation. These theoretical contributions were crucial in establishing the psychological and moral basis for examining love as a catalyst for societal transformation.

To complement the theoretical framework, the study employed case study analysis focusing on Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States. These three countries were selected based on their significant and diverse experiences with conflict, injustice, and reconciliation. Sri Lanka's post-civil war era offered insights into grassroots peacebuilding movements such as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, which emphasize compassion, empathy, and inter-ethnic solidarity. South Africa's experience with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) provided a model of love-based reconciliation rooted in the philosophy of ubuntu, underscoring shared humanity as a foundation for healing. In the United States, contemporary movements like Black Lives Matter and community restorative justice initiatives have demonstrated how love, solidarity, and emotional justice are essential in challenging systemic inequalities and promoting social change.

Data on these case studies were gathered exclusively through secondary sources, including peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, NGO reports, and documentary material. The use of secondary data was justified by the accessibility

of well-documented, publicly available accounts of love-based interventions in these countries. This approach also allowed for the comparative analysis of diverse socio-political contexts, adding a cross-cultural dimension to the study

1. Findings

The findings of this research reveal that universal love, when applied thoughtfully and with cultural sensitivity, holds significant potential for healing societal divisions and fostering unity. The study found that love, especially when embraced as a collective value, can transform societies by promoting empathy, encouraging forgiveness, and fostering solidarity among diverse groups. Through the case studies of Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States, this research demonstrated that love-based approaches can lead to tangible changes in social cohesion, social justice, and national healing.

In Sri Lanka, the post-civil war period offered a clear example of how love-based interventions can help rebuild a fractured society. After the end of the conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamil populations, organizations like the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement played a key role in facilitating dialogue between these groups. Through community-based reconciliation programs, Sarvodaya emphasized love, forgiveness, and mutual understanding as core values. Participants in these programs, many of whom had been directly affected by the violence of the civil war reported feeling a sense of emotional healing and unity. These programs, which included group discussions, shared community activities, and joint projects, highlighted the role of universal love in overcoming the barriers of fear, anger, and historical trauma. The effectiveness of these initiatives underscored how love, when nurtured within a community, could transcend ethnic divisions and encourage social cohesion (Goonasekera, 2008).

In South Africa, the post-apartheid reconciliation process served as another powerful example of love-based societal transformation. Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu emphasized the philosophy of Ubuntu, a term which expresses the idea of mutual care and shared humanity. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), founded in 1995, focused not only on the legal aspects of addressing apartheid crimes but also on emotional and psychological healing. By incorporating the values of love, empathy, and forgiveness into the reconciliation process, Mandela and Tutu facilitated a national dialogue about the wrongs of the past while fostering a sense of collective responsibility for the future. The TRC's

approach to healing emphasized the idea that the transformation of individuals and communities could only occur if love, compassion, and mutual respect were at the heart of the process (Tutu, 1999). This love-centered approach helped South Africa move from a deeply divided society into one that could begin to heal from its violent history, highlighting the role of universal love in overcoming societal wounds.

In the United States, movements such as Black Lives Matter have used love as a foundational principle to challenge systemic racism and promote social justice. At the core of Black Lives Matter is an ethic of solidarity and collective responsibility, rooted in love for marginalized communities. Patrisse Cullors, one of the founders of the movement, has articulated that love is a central tenet of their activism, emphasizing that “love is at the centre of the work we do,” especially in advocating for justice and equality (Lester, 2018). This commitment to love-based activism has fostered solidarity across racial lines and has been instrumental in building empathy between communities of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. The movement’s focus on love also highlights how empathy can be harnessed as a powerful tool for societal transformation, calling for an end to the violence and oppression faced by Black communities in the United States.

One of the key findings of this research is that universal love promotes empathy, which is crucial for bridging societal divides. In each of the case studies explored, love was the driving force behind empathy-based initiatives that encouraged people to see each other as equals and to understand each other's struggles. In Sri Lanka, for example, love-based programs that brought together young people from different ethnic groups helped foster understanding and cooperation, even in the face of past conflicts. Similarly, in South Africa, the Ubuntu philosophy encouraged individuals to recognize that their well-being was interconnected with the well-being of others, fostering empathy on a national scale.

Despite the positive outcomes observed, the research also identified challenges in implementing love-based interventions. One of the main obstacles is the cultural variation in the expression and understanding of love. In societies where love is viewed more as a private or familial emotion, applying it to broader societal issues can be difficult. In some cases, political or economic agendas may also hinder the full integration of love-based values into societal transformation processes. For instance, in Sri Lanka, while love-based reconciliation efforts were successful at the community level, national-level peacebuilding still faced

significant challenges due to political polarization and entrenched ethnic identities. Moreover, some critics argue that focusing too heavily on love may detract from addressing deeper structural issues, such as economic inequality and political corruption, which are also critical to social transformation.

Despite these challenges, the research underscores that love-based interventions, when combined with efforts to address structural inequalities, can play a crucial role in building a more inclusive, peaceful society. The findings suggest that universal love should not be seen in isolation but as part of a broader, multi-faceted approach to social change. It must be complemented by efforts to address systemic issues such as poverty, political corruption, and human rights violations.

In conclusion, the findings of this research support the argument that universal love, when adapted to specific cultural contexts, can serve as a powerful tool for societal transformation. Love promotes empathy, reconciliation, and social justice, making it a key ingredient in the healing of societies fractured by conflict and division. The case studies from Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States illustrate how love-based approaches have had a tangible impact on fostering social cohesion and peace. Moving forward, it is essential that love-based interventions continue to evolve and adapt to the specific needs of each society, taking into account cultural differences and the structural challenges that must also be addressed to ensure lasting transformation.

2. Discussion

This study examined the transformative potential of universal love as a catalyst for societal healing and collective well-being, using the frameworks of Cultural Relativism and Positive Psychology. The analysis of post-conflict societies such as Sri Lanka and South Africa, alongside the modern Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the United States, has provided compelling evidence that love, redefined as a collective, empathetic, and socially embedded principle can transcend cultural, racial, and historical boundaries to foster sustainable reconciliation and justice.

One of the core findings of this study is that universal love, when mobilized as a collective societal value rather than a private sentiment, functions as a social technology for transformation. This aligns with hooks' (2000) assertion that love, when practiced politically and publicly, becomes a tool of resistance, healing, and

liberation. In post-war Sri Lanka, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement operationalized love through grassroots reconciliation efforts, prioritizing dialogue, empathy, and shared humanity. These interventions support Fernando's (2020) claim that reconciliation driven by compassion fosters emotional healing in post-conflict societies. The movement's emphasis on inter-ethnic cooperation and psychological healing confirms that love can be institutionalized as a civic ethic, not merely a personal virtue.

In South Africa, the integration of Ubuntu philosophy "I am because we are" into the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) underscores the relational ontology of love in African epistemologies. Ubuntu provided a cultural framework for national healing grounded in forgiveness and interdependence (Tutu, 1999). The TRC's focus on restorative rather than retributive justice exemplifies what Galtung (1996) calls "positive peace," where love, compassion, and dignity replace cycles of vengeance and dehumanization. This model supports Maiese's (2003) argument that emotional transformation is central to conflict resolution, suggesting that legal or political mechanisms alone are insufficient without a concurrent emotional and relational paradigm rooted in love.

The Black Lives Matter movement further expands this analysis by demonstrating how love operates within activist frameworks. Cullors (2018) has described BLM as a movement rooted in "radical love," where advocacy is intertwined with care, empathy, and emotional healing for marginalized communities. Unlike post-conflict societies undergoing state-facilitated reconciliation, BLM is a grassroots initiative navigating ongoing structural violence. Yet, its reliance on love to build solidarity, restore dignity, and rehumanize Black lives mirrors the transformative strategies seen in Sri Lanka and South Africa. This convergence suggests that love, across contexts, serves as a counter-narrative to systemic oppression, a force capable of subverting entrenched hierarchies through the cultivation of emotional bonds and ethical accountability.

From a psychological perspective, this research aligns with the Broaden-and-Build Theory of Positive Emotions (Fredrickson, 2001), which posits that love expands individuals' cognitive and behavioural repertoires, enabling them to build enduring social and psychological resources. The emotional infrastructure created through love-centred practices such as increased trust, forgiveness, and cooperation, contributes to what Seligman (2011) terms "collective flourishing."

The data indicates that emotional resilience, nurtured through love, becomes a buffer against historical trauma, aiding both individual and societal recovery.

However, the study also acknowledges the conceptual and practical challenges of institutionalizing love. As Chidester (2008) argues, cultural perceptions of love vary significantly, and in many societies, love remains relegated to private or spiritual domains, not recognized as a viable component of policy or governance. This presents a fundamental tension between the universal ideal of love and its culturally relativistic interpretations. In Sri Lanka, for example, while love-oriented reconciliation programs flourished at the community level, national efforts were often stymied by political inertia, ethnic nationalism, and elite resistance to structural change (Uyangoda, 2011). These findings underscore that while love can catalyse healing, it must be contextualized within existing socio-political realities to avoid superficial or performative applications.

Moreover, this research challenges the liberal assumption that structural change alone can guarantee reconciliation. Instead, it reinforces that emotional transformation—driven by love—is indispensable. As Lederach (2005) suggests, reconciliation is not a purely political process but a deeply relational one, requiring empathy, memory, and moral imagination. This study supports that assertion and adds that universal love offers a unifying moral compass capable of guiding fractured societies toward inclusive futures.

The implications of these findings are profound. First, they advocate for the institutional recognition of love as a civic virtue, not simply a personal emotion. Policies, peacebuilding curricula, and post-conflict programs should be designed to promote empathy, emotional healing, and shared humanity. Second, they suggest that love-based interventions, if culturally grounded and community-led, can mitigate polarization and reduce intergroup hostility. Third, they propose a multidisciplinary framework, where psychology, sociology, political science, and ethics converge to explore love as a pragmatic tool of change.

In sum, this research responds to its central question, whether universal love can serve as a transformative force in societal healing with a resounding affirmation. The case studies analysed confirm that love is not utopian, but strategic, context-sensitive, and psychologically effective. As global societies grapple with conflict, injustice, and alienation, there is a compelling need to

reframe love as a legitimate foundation for social transformation, capable of nurturing justice, solidarity, and sustainable peace.

Conclusion

In conclusion, universal love is not merely an idealistic or abstract notion but a powerful and practical force for societal healing and transformation. When applied thoughtfully and in conjunction with efforts to address underlying structural issues such as economic inequality and political corruption, love can contribute significantly to building a more inclusive, harmonious, and resilient society. As this research has shown, the transformative potential of love, when harnessed in a culturally sensitive and contextually appropriate manner, can bridge divides and create a more just, equitable, and compassionate world. Moving forward, it is essential to continue exploring how love can be institutionalized and integrated into public policy, social activism, and community-building efforts to sustain long-term societal change.

The research underscores the importance of embracing love as a collective societal value and integrating it into reconciliation processes, peacebuilding initiatives, and social justice movements. Universal love, as a powerful tool for healing and transformation, offers a promising pathway for societies seeking to overcome division, promote unity, and enhance well-being for all. The practical applications of love in Sri Lanka, South Africa, and the United States provide compelling examples of its effectiveness and remind us that love, empathy, and forgiveness should be at the core of any efforts to heal societal wounds and foster long-term peace and prosperity.

References

- Boas, F. (2016). *The mind of primitive man* (Digitally restored ed.). Reprint Publishing.
- Chidester, D. (2008). *Religion: Material dynamics*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cullors, P. (2018). *Love is at the center of the work we do* [Interview]. [Include source: publication name, website, or podcast with retrieval URL].
- Duckworth, A. L., Grant, H., Loew, B., Oettingen, G., & Gollwitzer, P. M. (2011). Self-regulation strategies improve self-discipline in adolescents: Benefits

of mental contrasting and implementation intentions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(2), 431–445. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022641>

Fernando, G. A. (2012). Psychosocial interventions and post-conflict healing in Sri Lanka: A Buddhist perspective. *International Journal of Psychology*, 47(4), 234–241. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207594.2012.678123>

Fernando, M. (2020). *Reconciliation and emotional healing in post-conflict societies*. [Insert publisher or institution name].

Fredrickson, B. L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 218–226. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.3.218>

Fredrickson, B. L. (2013). *Love 2.0: How our supreme emotion affects everything we feel, think, do, and become*. Hudson Street Press.

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*. International Peace Research Institute.

Goonasekera, D. (2008). *Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement and grassroots peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*. [Insert journal or publisher name].

Goonasekera, S. (2008). Post-war reconciliation and cultural values in Sri Lanka. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 11(3), 234–246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-839X.2008.00274.x>

Haidt, J. (2003). The moral emotions. In R. J. Davidson, K. R. Scherer, & H. H. Goldsmith (Eds.), *Handbook of affective sciences* (pp. 852–870). Oxford University Press.

hooks, b. (2000). *All about love: New visions*. William Morrow.

Lederach, J. P. (2005). *The moral imagination: The art and soul of building peace*. Oxford University Press.

Lester, D. (2018). Black Lives Matter and the role of love in social justice activism. *Journal of Social Movements*, 12(2), 34–47. [Please verify source: journal title and publisher].

Maiese, M. (2003). Emotion and conflict resolution. In *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice* (pp. 141–159). Jossey-Bass.

Mesquita, B. (2001). Emotions in collectivist and individualist contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80(1), 68–74. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.80.1.68>

Mesquita, B., & Walker, R. (2003). Cultural differences in emotions: A context for interpreting emotional experiences. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 26(6), 695–758. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X03000151>

Prilleltensky, I. (2001). Value-based praxis in community psychology: Moving toward social justice and social action. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 29(5), 747–778. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010342405341>

Seligman, M. E. P. (2002). *Authentic happiness: Using the new positive psychology to realize your potential for lasting fulfillment*. Free Press.

Seligman, M. E. P. (2011). *Flourish: A visionary new understanding of happiness and well-being*. Free Press.

Seligman, M. E. P., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 5–14. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.5>

Shweder, R. A. (1991). *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Harvard University Press.

Shweder, R. A., Much, N. C., Mahapatra, M., & Park, L. (1997). The “big three” of morality (autonomy, community, divinity) and the “big three” explanations of suffering. In A. Brandt & P. Rozin (Eds.), *Morality and health* (pp. 119–169). Routledge.

Staub, E. (2005). *The psychology of good and evil: Why children, adults, and groups help and harm others*. Cambridge University Press.

Tutu, D. (1999). *No future without forgiveness*. Doubleday.

Uyangoda, J. (2011). *Ethnic conflict and peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*. [Insert name of publishing organization or institution].