Evaluation of Donor-Supported Activities in Conflict-Sensitive Development and Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka

Main Evaluation Report

Final Report October 2009

Prepared by

Nick Chapman

Debi Duncan

David Timberman

Kanaka Abeygunawardana

Preamble

This report describes the results of the first pilot test of the new draft OECD DAC guidance on evaluating conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities.

The evaluation was commissioned and financed by the Donor Peace Support Group in Sri Lanka, with the support of the Conflict, Peace and Development Co-Operation Network, Development Co-operation Directorate, OECD.

There are three outputs from the exercise: (i) this report which presents the results of the pilot exercise conducted in Sri Lanka in November-December 2008 to test the Guidelines, (ii) a lessons learned paper documenting the process of conducting the pilot evaluation, and (iii) edited comments on the OECD DAC Guidance.

Disclaimer

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Acronyms

A2J	Access to Justice Program (Asia Foundation/UK)
ACRP	Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AED	Academy for Education and Development
BCPR	Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery
CAARP	Conflict Affected Areas Rehabilitation Project
CAPE	Country Assistance Programme Evaluation
CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CEPA	Centre for Poverty Analysis
CFA	Cease Fire Agreement
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPCB	Civilian Police Capacity Building
CPPB	Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding
CRP	Childs Rights Project
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPSG	Donor Peace Support Group
DPSL	Development and Peace – Sri Lanka
DWG	Donor Working Group
EC	European Commission
EIDHR	European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
FCE	Foundation for Co-Existence
FLICT	Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation
GISP	Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project
GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
GTZ	German Development Cooperation Arm of German Government
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IIGEP	International Independent Group of Eminent Persons
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
JBIC	Japanese Bank for International Cooperation
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
JVP	Janatha Vimukti Peramuna or People's Liberation Front
LA	Local Authorities
LIFT	Local Initiatives for Tomorrow
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NECORD	North East Community Restoration and Development Project
NECRDP	North East Coastal Community Dev Project
NEHRP	North East Housing Reconstruction Programme
NEIAP	North East Irrigated Agriculture Project
NERF	Northeast Reconstruction Fund

NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPC	National Peace Council
NOK	Norwegian Krone
NWZ	No War Zone
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OTI	Office of Transition Initiatives
PA	People's Alliance
PRET	Project for Rehabilitation through Education and Training
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSP	Peace Support Programme
P-TOMS	Post-Tsunami Management Structure
RNCST	Resource Network for Conflict Studies and Transformation
RRR	Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation Programme
RSL	Regaining Sri Lanka
SCA	Strategic Conflict Analysis
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation
SEK	Swedish Krone
SIDA	Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation
SLPI	Sri Lanka Press Institute
TA	Technical Assistance
TAARP	Tsunami-Affected Areas Rebuilding Project
TALG	Transparent and Accountable Local Government
TP	Transition Programme
TOR	Terms of Reference
TRO	Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation
UAS	Unified Assistance Scheme
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
UNP	United National Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YATV	Young Asia Television

An Evaluation of Donor-Supported Activities in Conflict-Sensitive Development and Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka

Executive Summary

Introduction

(1)　　This report describes the results of the first pilot test of the draft guidance on evaluating conflict prevention and peacebuilding (CPPB) activities produced by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development – Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC).　OECD-DAC Members recognise that there is a need to improve understanding of how aid contributes to ending or sometimes sustaining conflicts, and by extension how to evaluate such development assistance for lesson learning and improved aid effectiveness.　The purpose of the test in Sri Lanka was to improve guidance, but also to provide useful lessons and recommendations for development actors in Sri Lanka as they develop new strategies for future engagement, or in some cases as they withdraw and take their experience elsewhere.

Methodology

(2)　　The evaluation concentrated on three tasks: (i) an assessment of donor strategies to examine how they approached working in and on conflict in Sri Lanka and their adherence to DAC evaluation criteria; (ii) a meta-evaluation of project evaluations to derive lessons on what worked and what didn't work, to examine how evaluations were done and draw lessons around process; (iii) a review of how donors have coordinated peacebuilding efforts so as to draw lessons for improving joint programming, funding, implementation and monitoring. Certain forms of CPPB activities were excluded as either being too sensitive in the current context in Sri Lanka, or beyond the scope of the team, including: Track 1 activities, diplomatic and political engagement and security reform.

(3)　　Instead of conducting a separate conflict analysis, as would be required by a full evaluation, the study used the existing comprehensive strategic conflict assessments (SCAs) conducted in 2001 and 2005 as its point of reference. The deepening nature of the conflict since 2005 is recognised, but our understanding as to the root causes of conflict remains as delineated in these earlier studies.

(4)　　The evaluation concentrated on three thematic areas of relevance to development practitioners in Sri Lanka: (i) peacebuilding, (ii) governance and human rights, and (iii) conflict-sensitive socio-economic development. The study assesses which theories of change are used in CPPB work in these three areas, and how well they have been applied.

(5)　　Ten donors provided a sample of 17 published strategies, covering both the post-ceasefire period and the return to conflict. For the meta-evaluation, 28 evaluations were made obtained from 13 donors including examples of country, sectoral and project evaluations; with an even mix of peacebuilding, governance, human rights and development interventions.

(6)   In sum, this pilot exercise aims to fit with the current political space to evaluate CPPB work in Sri Lanka, but at the same time to add value to existing analysis, test selected parts of the Guidance, and improve donors' understanding of their work as they plan for the future.

Context

(7)   Sri Lanka's multiple conflicts are the product of the formation of the Sri Lankan nation-state, particularly under British colonial policy, and of the reliance of the country's political system on patronage. State formation encompassed the evolution of policies that did not protect numerical minorities or prevent discrimination. Militant responses emerged in the 1970s through Tamil youth, which eventually formed the basis for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), but armed insurgency has not been limited to the LTTE in the North and the East, and in fact started in the South led by Sinhala youth.

(8)   For this study, three phases of the political and conflict setting in Sri Lanka are important: (i) the Pre-Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) period, (ii) 2002-2005, and (iii) 2005 onwards. In the first period, the country suffered volatility following three elections over 1999-2001, with deep political, economic and military crises. With the CFA in February 2002, the second phase started and the future looked promising – at least on the surface. The peace process generated much support but within a year the LTTE withdrew, despite international mediation efforts and donor conferences that led to $4.5 billion in aid pledges. The third and current phase since 2005 is one where the peace process has been abandoned in favour of a military solution to the conflict. The space for peacebuilding initiatives has reduced and with the abrogation of the CFA in January 2008, peacebuilding efforts at Track 1 and 2 stopped.

(9)   In terms of development status, Sri Lanka has reached lower-middle income status and while its health and education MDGs are on track, consumption poverty reduction has been modest and uneven. The December 2004 tsunami worsened poverty levels in the affected areas, and poverty distribution remains highly uneven with the wealthiest 20% accounting for 54% of total income. The situation in the North and the East is much worse than the rest of the country: the ongoing war has destroyed businesses, roads and other structures, while security issues, constant displacement and limited resources has left the area more devastated than the rest of the country.

(10)   While Sri Lanka is not regarded as aid dependent, since overall growth has outstripped aid growth, aid volumes in the past five years show a strong rise. The two development banks (the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank) and Japan together account for 60% of total aid flows (2002-07) but have no mandate to work on political issues and are reluctant to work on governance beyond public sector reform and decentralisation. Bilaterals are either exiting or reducing their programmes as they see Sri Lanka as a middle income country and a government with a less reform-minded development policy and uninterested in negotiated peace. A newer group of Asian development partners have emerged with a pro-government stance, particularly China (the largest lender), India, Iran and Pakistan.

(11)   While from 2002-04, the agendas of the donors and the GoSL converged, since 2005 their interest have diverged. Over the period, donors have recognised and better understood the significance of conflict, yet the space for engaging on conflict issues has reduced with the intensified war. Increased emphasis on global security and counter terrorism led to a change of attitude among some bilateral donors towards the LTTE and since 2006, the government has used this to muster support for it's "eradicating terrorism" agenda. European donors have attempted to use aid to promote peacebuilding and human rights, but tackling sensitive issues is more difficult with little financial leverage, and donors either seek to maintain good relationships and avoid difficult issues, or seek to withdraw completely from a bilateral aid partnership

(12)   Aid coordination though challenging in the face of huge inflows around the peace process and then with the post-tsunami humanitarian effort, moved to a higher level of donor-government coordination in 2002-04. Rising numbers of ministries and NGOs complicated coordination work. New donors like India and China generally do not have state development agencies and are not actively engaged in formulating more coherent joint donor positions, and are not with the exception of Japan, OECD-DAC members.

Relevance of Strategies

(13)   There has been an evolution of strategies over the 2002-08 period. In the post-CFA period, the rationale behind most strategies was couched in terms of protecting development assets and rehabilitation of war-damaged infrastructure, in the hope that such rapid and broad-based development would sustain and deepen peace.

(14)   The SCAs have judged that the Sri Lankan conflict is at root configured around state power sharing, but this has not been addressed directly by most donors. Likewise, less attention was paid to other politically-sensitive dynamics such as the nature of the political system and longstanding problems of injustice and impunity. Instead, most strategies implicitly view under-development - or ethnically inequitable development - as a major contributory factor.   Rather than focusing on the root causes of the conflict, they detail the "costs" – both social and economic – particularly on the North and East. We assess many of the interventions identified within strategies as not addressing the root causes but instead focussing on the consequences of conflict, on preferred government choices or on relief.

(15)   Protagonists from different sides in the conflict were highly suspicious of the motives and consequences of large inflows of foreign assistance. As a result, they were not prepared to make high-risk political concessions in exchange for the uncertain promise of 'development'. Peace had to be based on a political settlement, yet the international community found it hard to forego their assumption that offering a peace 'dividend' built on an expanding economy and improving livelihoods would resolve political differences and encourage such a settlement.

(16)   In most of the strategies reviewed, peacebuilding is addressed indirectly, implicitly or not at all. While power and governance issues are identified as central in the 2005 SCA, these issues are given less emphasis in strategies compared to socio-economic development and service delivery. Only a small number of donors provided direct support for the "peace process" (defined as Track 1 or Track 1½ processes). From 2005, some strategies reflect a

more cautious approach, under a context of growing conflict, with plans to exit or at least avoid new spending.

(17)   This prompted the use of <u>scenarios</u> in strategies as one tool to permit flexibility in uncertain conflict situations, however the mechanisms to track context to trigger adoption of different scenarios were left unclear. The devastating 2004 tsunami knocked many of the strategies off-track, and diverted them from long-term goals; but surprisingly strategies written subsequently do not acknowledge or mitigate the risk of such shocks. After 2005, donor strategies became increasingly unaligned and unharmonised reflecting the lack of a cementing peace process, the collapse of the government's poverty reduction programme and donor imperatives (often headquarters-driven) to either disengage or to remain engaged.

(18)   In nearly all strategies, there is weak explicit identification of a causal logic or <u>theory of change</u> between proposed actions and the achievement of peace. However, several strategies imply such logic especially those founded on building good governance (through stronger democratic institutions), public opinion (through media support), reconciliation (through community peacebuilding), individual behaviour (through training, dialogue) and community reintegration (through resettlement and housing). There is thus the basis for a causal logic in many strategies but few fully test their logic against an analysis of the conflict or extrapolate them sufficiently to explore their peace linkages.

(19)   Few donors appear to have commissioned explicit <u>conflict analysis</u> to inform their strategies. Notable exceptions are the USAID 2003-07 and SIDA 2009-10 strategy. While the jointly-commissioned 2005 SCA is widely referred to, it is not used to form the basis for positioning strategies to tackle conflict more appropriately.

(20)   While most strategies were strongly aligned to government, especially in 2002-04, there was <u>little recognition of the political risks</u> of (a) delivering aid through a 'state' that is a party to the conflict and (b) supporting the economic and political agenda of a government that represented only a portion of the political spectrum and was vulnerable to electoral defeat.

(21)   In general there was a weak approach to <u>conflict sensitivity</u> in early strategies (the 2002-05 period), but the trend was to consider this aspect more explicitly in the later strategies (2006 onwards), including introduction of a conflict lens by the World Bank and a set of rules to ensure sensitivity by the ADB.

(22)   Efforts to peace build or transform conflict over-emphasised the extent to which <u>civil society</u> and citizens could bring about transformation and peacebuilding. Some strategies are based on unrealistic aims and timeframes.

(23)   Strategies are generally not strongly <u>results-based</u> and strategic achievements are not thoroughly <u>evaluated</u>, although some good examples do exist.

Approach of CPPB programmes and projects

(24)   Most development and governance projects treat conflict as an external factor or risk to achieving the intervention aims, and in the immediate post-CFA period, adopted a post-conflict mind-set that saw them engage in reconstruction work under the assumption that the improved social and economic outcomes would support the transition to peace. From 2005, socio-economic development projects increasingly accepted the need for conflict sensitivity and "do no harm" principles, and dropped the notion of a "peace dividend" – as there was no peace process to underpin. Human rights and governance projects typically were conceived of as either contributing to peace or mitigating the political abuses generated by the conflict, but most did not address the fundamental political and governance issues upon which the success of the peace process depended.

(25)   For peacebuilding work, during the recent period of reduced space, there has been a concentration on supporting local initiatives through development approaches rather than more directly such as on human rights and at the "Track 1" level. Some donors saw development projects as providing the means by which they could explore doing peacebuilding work in a politically sensitive environment.

(26)   Several projects claimed to focus on conflict transformation through inter-ethnic initiatives and community peacebuilding, but there is little evidence of how they explicitly addressed the driving factors of the conflict. Very few programmes also worked directly at trying to address the "Sinhala south" or to build a constituency for peace within the southern polity.

(27)   After the tsunami, for many addressing the root causes of conflict was forgotten in favour of using humanitarian aid to achieve a peace dividend. Subsequently the understanding of the conflict as ideology-based appears to have been forgotten and largely replaced by the view that the conflict is an "ethnic one", leading to a proliferation of inter-ethnic/co-existence projects.

Findings and use of CPPB evaluations

(28)   Many CPPB evaluations tend to focus on results rather than outcomes, are based on partial evidence and are beset by a shifting context where project designs are changed as circumstances alter. The result is that evaluations are often premature and impacts are not given time to emerge. Findings are often sensitive in an ongoing conflict setting and this can limit their sharing and subsequent lesson learning. Evaluations have often been more concerned with lessons for future programmes than about the actual impact of the programme being evaluated. Some peacebuilding evaluations have been too conceptual and the findings hard to apply. Some have focussed more on organisational aspects than on the impact of the initiatives.

(29)   Despite the above, some evaluations have generated a number of useful findings around the effective delivery of benefits especially at the grassroots level, as well as other lessons on how conflict affects project performance. However the centralised nature of Sri Lankan politics creates a challenge for local level initiatives to have any real impact on peace processes.

(30)   Governance and human rights projects generally have been more successful at addressing individual and/or highly localized needs than at promoting broader group-based or systemic changes.

(31)   While there is a consensus among peacebuilding activities of the need for a "no peace without justice" perspective, the majority of peacebuilding activities take place where inequalities and oppression prevail and where conflict and violence have reinforced inequalities. Often it is hard to address justice, and when doing so the risks of repercussions are enormous. The dilemma of peacebuilding / conflict transformation work generally is the relevance of a peace project when injustice and inequality are not addressed.

(32)   Community based programmes aimed at building "capacities for peace" were more successful at addressing conflicts at the community level than in making the linkages from the local to the national. The most effective and sustainable results for peacebuilding at the local level have been achieved through (i) village level empowerment by fostering community based organizations; and (ii) local business strengthening by supporting chambers of commerce, farmers and youth employment. The impact of so-called "co-existence" projects is patchy.

Process

(33)   Donors' evaluation work in Sri Lanka has limitations even without conflict issues – in terms of ability to conduct evaluations and to learn from them. Some of the largest donors do little independent evaluation of their portfolios. The climate of mistrust in Sri Lanka also means that information sharing is reduced and the willingness to discuss results and engage in joint government-donor-civil society efforts to learn lessons is limited.

(34)   Most TORs prepared for socio-economic development evaluations don't call for CPPB aspects to be addressed. Those evaluations that did examine peacebuilding interventions mainly focused on relevance and efficiency questions and did not address impact.

(35)   Few evaluations conducted their own conflict analysis or were able to draw on a baseline against which to gauge impact, and there are only a few examples where there is an explicit use of theories of change.

(36)   Most evaluations were largely donor-managed exercises with some but limited consultation with the government. Opportunities have been overlooked by donors to conduct more joint evaluations, even where joint funding is in place.

(37)   A shortage of consultants with the right evaluation and conflict skills, and shortage of institutional guidance on conflict sensitive evaluations, has impeded the quality of evaluations.

Coordination and coherence

(38)   Coordination has declined from the relatively strong period around the ceasefire to a more polarized situation as the GoSL and LTTE moved back to a war footing. In general the level of coordination between donors and the GoSL has become increasingly difficult - and

for some pointless. Regular coordination events between donors appear to have reduced apart from those related to humanitarian action.

(39)   In terms of peacebuilding coordination, the Donor Working Group (DWG) was the leading mechanism, though in representation terms the most junior of the three main coordination bodies. The DWG aimed to demonstrate donor commitment to the peace process and help ensure appropriate action, but in 2005 the follow-on Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG) covered different topics including monitoring peace and conflict dynamics, advising on how to contribute to peace and identifying joint initiatives. The idea of collaboration between donors and the GoSL was no longer mentioned.

(40)   The DPSG has sub-committees on various themes but the design has received mixed reaction. Some favour the opportunity to pursue specific themes where common interest and expertise exists, while others regard the structure as over-elaborate and even irrelevant in a context where there is little or no space for peacebuilding endeavours. There is also a leadership vacuum in the DPSG as the full-time facilitator does not have the mandate to take decisions, while the rotating chairs have full-time responsibilities elsewhere.

(41)   In February 2008, more modest aims were introduced for the coordination arrangements: reducing the frequency of meetings and focusing on sectors. During a period when donors have been under increasing criticism from the government, there is a need for stronger coordination, yet the DPSG appears to have become weaker. The Trust Fund set up in 2004 to support the DPSG has produced some important analysis, but has been under-spent and not used productively in the recent past.

(42)   Some international actors have jointly supported the capacities of civil society, especially as the opportunity to collaborate with GoSL proved more difficult. There are good examples of donors pooling resources to reach beyond their individual limits to enhance coordination with local actors. There is limited evidence of gender being taken into account in terms of coordination.

Conclusions
(43)   An important overall conclusion to emerge is that explicit peacebuilding measures that emphasise security and dialogue are not necessarily more effective in mitigating conflict than long-term socio-economic investments, in say education or rural development. From the evidence studied, and under the conditions where one or both of the parties to the conflict see the continuation of war as being preferable to a negotiated political settlement, peacebuilding programmes seem to have had modest, if any, impact.

(44)   Although the study scope has been narrowed, this in itself is a useful lesson in piloting guidelines of this nature in a context of open conflict, where both government and development partners are sensitive to external assessment, and where much of the information is confidential. Moreover, despite the restrictions placed on the work, the material reviewed and interviews conducted still form a substantial evidence base. A separate report will be prepared to capture the lessons learned from conducting this Sri Lanka evaluation.

Lessons and Recommendations

(45)   The key lessons and recommendations are set out below, while a more detailed set is given in the main report.

Recommendations on Strategies for Development Partners in Sri Lanka

1. More rigorous use of conflict and political-economy analysis (individual or joint) will inform strategic choices for donor engagement in conflict settings. Joint analysis is preferable as it ensures greater ownership and wider understanding.

2. For both strategic and programmatic reasons it is important to be clear exactly which aspects of CPPB are to be addressed and what theories underpin how interventions are expected to make a difference.

3. Donors seeking to address the conflict need to look for strategic ways to address the fundamental issues driving the conflict, which in our view are the competing visions of the Sri Lankan state and disagreement over the distribution of power between the main political groups.

4. More careful consideration is needed of what can and cannot be achieved by offering or supporting a "peace dividend". Past experience in Sri Lanka indicates that centre-based political fractures were a key cause of conflict that local development improvements could not address.

5. More use of scenarios / flexibility helps strategies to be responsive and to manage risk. When scenarios are used, then better means of tracking context and achievements in relation to the chosen scenarios is required.

6. Individual donor strategies will be better grounded when they recognise and declare institutional capacity and comparative advantage to work on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

7. Improve the indicators to measure strategic outcomes on conflict, and specify how they will be measured and what resources will be available to collect the data.

Lessons / Recommendations Relevant to Projects / Programmes

Flexibility and coverage

1. Short-term programmes on CPPB of 1-3 years can have positive effects, provided they have a narrow focus, specific objectives and a clear strategy for withdrawal.

2. Flexibility in choice of partners, in types of peacebuilding support, and in funding channel (such as a grant facility) has proved effective in working on peacebuilding in a volatile conflict setting.

3. Programme strategies need to be rethought in response to major shifts in the political environment. Donor programmes often either carry on as normal or shift a little – few take a step backwards and rethink strategy and implementation.

4. There is need to address horizontal inequalities both between ethnic groups and between geographic regions more effectively. More conflict transformation coverage is for example needed to address dynamics within the Sinhalese population in the South.

Coordination and partnerships

5. There is a need to build strategic co-ordination across work at different levels (i.e. Track 1 to Track 2 to Track 3, and linking national and local initiatives) for any future peace work.

6. It should not be assumed that civil society can be a major force in support of conflict transformation in Sri Lanka. Indeed, the role of civil society in this regard has been overemphasised.

7. Delivering through community-based organisations rather than NGOs can nevertheless prove effective in terms of grassroots empowerment and conflict mitigation, since they may be more independent of local politics (though not always), can mitigate insecurity and may be more sustainable.

Organisational issues

8. Conflict resolution and transformation organisations need to invest in building a common identity within the organisation. It is important to work on internal staff dynamics and cohesion in organisations and recognise this is also a part of conflict resolution/transformation work.

9. Conflict resolution/transformation organisations need to be especially rigorous in who they hire. Anyone with links – however tenuous – to a political party or with political connections – may open the NGO to perceptions of political bias.

Gender

10. Gender aspects have often been weakly addressed in many CPPB strategies and projects, even though gender-based discrimination has been cited as a cause for women's recruitment into the military. Where grassroot interventions have targeted women, the results have often been positive.

Media

11. Media strategies for conflict resolution/transformation organisations should be developed earlier and in a more proactive way. Too often they are poorly developed and only done in response to negative publicity.

12. There is a need to expand programmes focussing on more analytical peacebuilding content in the mainstream media that reach a large audience, such as radio programmes and print media. More direct interventions in media economics will help address falling revenues due to the effects of conflict.

Lessons / Recommendations on Donor Coordination

1. Coordinated action and sharing of responsibilities can help donors reach beyond their limits.

2. However setting up a DPSG to improve joint understanding and encourage joint action can achieve limited success where donors have strongly polarised positions with regard to a government that has little interest in a negotiated peace process.

3. Lessons learnt can be more useful and acceptable if developed through joint work than by single agencies (e.g. SCA1 is not mentioned by many as it is a single country-led assessment but the multi-donor sponsored SCA2 is appreciated by many).

4. There is potential for more joint evaluation, for example on how partners have provided support to NGOs, and on analysing appropriate methods for evaluating conflict sensitive development in Sri Lanka.

5. For coordinated donor policies to have a real impact on the ground, both newer and the larger donors need to be convinced to engage with the others fully. This will require finding areas of mutual interest around do no harm principles, and may preclude wider discussion on more sensitive issues.

Emerging Lessons and Recommendations for OECD DAC Guidance

The pilot exercise in Sri Lanka produced lessons to improve best practice in conducting CPPB evaluations:

1. Recent practice in designing evaluations of CPPB efforts in Sri Lanka have suffered from a number of limitations. These include how the TOR are written, the lack of conflict analysis, the limited use of joint evaluations and a weak focus on impact. The DAC Guidance already discusses these points but needs to be improved to help to address these gaps better.

2. The draft OECD guidance offers no guidance on evaluating support for formal peace processes in Sri Lanka (or elsewhere) (Track 1): though perhaps it is too politically sensitive an area to be evaluated using normal DAC criteria.

3. Most evaluations fall into the *formative* rather than *summative* category. That is they are mainly conducted with the aim of adjusting the ongoing programme or for the next phase, rather than for drawing out evidence of impact. They are held sometimes after only 2- 3 years of implementation, and focus more on early results rather than on impact. This indicates a need to improve the means of measuring outcomes of strategy on conflict and to find better indicators at this level.

4. Evaluation guidance should be tailored to the different types of programmes undertaken by donors. For example, questions that may be relevant for evaluating national level peace processes may not be relevant for local level conflict resolution activities. The differences are even greater between programmes that are actively supporting CPPB and those that are 'conflict sensitive' or working around the conflict.

5. Evaluation TORs should outline, or request the development of, more explicit theories of change to explain how assistance will actually deliver intended outcomes. The Sri Lankan evaluation suggests others including: 1) Faster and more equitable socio-economic development will reduce the grievances that cause or fuel conflict; 2) Local government can be more conflict sensitive because it is 'closer to the people' and therefore is more sensitive and responsive to local dynamics; 3) protection of human rights and the improved provision of justice will reduce the causes of conflict and contribute to peace.

6. In terms of obtaining and using evaluators:

    i. The shortage of consultants with a suitable mix of evaluation and peacebuilding / conflict resolution experience means that evaluation commissioners need to <u>plan in advance</u> and be <u>flexible in timing</u> to ensure the best results.

    ii. Since conflict "experts" often bring their own understanding of conflict, when hiring consultants, donors need to <u>be clear about the 'school' of conflict expertise</u> they need.

iii. There is a potential to <u>moderate the biases that evaluators bring </u>their to the conflict setting, so as to mitigate how evaluators are perceived and how findings are collected and interpret.

7. Because of the additional difficulties of conducting evaluation fieldwork during an ongoing conflict, there is a need to <u>allow additional time</u> for preparation and to <u>expect delays</u> if more reliable and representative evidence is to be obtained.

Evaluation of Donor-Supported Activities in Conflict-Sensitive Development and Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka

1. Introduction

1.   This report describes the results of the first pilot test[1] of the new draft Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC) guidance on evaluating conflict prevention and peacebuilding (CPPB) activities. Members of the OECD DAC recognise that their ability to work more effectively in conflict affected environments is an important challenge in development efforts. There is a need to improve understanding of how aid contributes to ending or sustaining conflicts, and by extension how to evaluate development assistance where it is affected by or seeks to mitigate conflict. A draft Guidance has been prepared to assist development practitioners to improve their evaluation methods and lesson learning and this Guidance now requires further testing through fieldwork in conflict affected and peacebuilding environments.

Purpose of the Study

2.   The first purpose is to test in Sri Lanka the applicability of the draft OECD-DAC Guidance. The aim is also to provide useful reflective lessons for development actors working in Sri Lanka as they develop new strategies for future engagement, or in some cases as they withdraw from working in Sri Lanka and carry their experience to other contexts.

> "*The purpose of these evaluations would be to collect evidence on the applicability of the draft guidance that would enable its finalization, while at the same time provide targeted advice and support to DAC partners at headquarters and in the field to improve their effectiveness and positive impact. Sri Lanka has been identified as one of these studies, based on the large number of active DAC member countries and the ongoing conflict*". (TOR, page 1)

3.   The study was set up and guided by a Terms of Reference (TOR) drawn up in May 2008 between the OECD DAC Network on Conflict Prevention and Development Co-operation, now International Network on Conflict and Fragility and the donor group in Sri Lanka[2]. Based on these, the consultancy team were recruited in September 2008 by the OECD DAC Network and contracted through the World Bank managed Donor Trust Fund in Sri Lanka.

4.   An inception mission then took place in October 2008[3]. The inception found from meeting with a range of stakeholders that the original TOR would be difficult to achieve in terms of their scope and sensitivity. It was clear also that the scope would have to be narrowed if there was to be sufficient buy-in and confidence from the donors' side. Some donors would be unwilling to have their strategies (explicit or implicit) assessed, or results reported on. Other aspects of conflict prevention or peacebuilding would also be sensitive since either the GoSL or the donors would not be prepared to share information. This includes Track 1 activities, diplomatic and political engagement, security reform and some donors' internal analysis related to their strategies. As a result of these findings, the inception mission revised the Terms of Reference and these were shared with and approved by the

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[1] Sri Lanka is the first of four planned pilot tests – the others being in Sudan, Haiti and D.R. Congo
[2] The TOR were themselves founded on an Issues Paper prepared in 2007 for the OECD-DAC.
[3] Inception Report, October 2008

OECD- DAC Network and the donor peace support group. The revised final TORs are attached in Annex 1.

Approach

5.   Three areas of work were pursued following the revision of scope in the inception mission:

(1) **Review of donor strategies**: Assess a range of donor strategies for working in and on conflict in Sri Lanka by drawing on a sample of published donor strategies, and gather evidence on their adherence to the DAC evaluation criteria. The evolution of the strategies during the period under study would be an important focus: how they were or were not adjusted to changing events, and how they were able to maintain relevance.

(2) **Meta-evaluation of existing project evaluations**: Use a set of programmes/projects that have previously been evaluated, using questions based on the OECD-DAC draft Guidance. Such an evaluation will produce generic lessons on "what-worked" and "what didn't work" when designing and carrying out evaluations of both conflict prevention/peacebuilding initiatives and also of conflict-sensitive development. It would also extract and collate some evidence on the results and possibly impact of such donor interventions. Three sub-sections would examine (a) approaches to the conflict : how did projects approach working on or in conflict?, (b) findings and use: what were the results and possible impacts of the projects and how were such findings then used? and (c) process: how were the evaluations done, what problems met and what lessons can be learned?

(3) **Donor coordination and coherence**: Assess how donors have coordinated their efforts in conducting peacebuilding activities. Through studying a sample of such mechanisms against OECD guidance, the evaluation would draw lessons on how to improve coherence. Aspects covered could include joint programming, principles, funding, implementation, monitoring and assessments.

6.   Given also range of donors represented in the sample, and the team's comparative skills and experience, it made sense to look at a more focused set of areas of strategic and project engagement in CPPB in Sri Lanka that, while still capturing some of the most important channels of donor activity, are not so wide as to be unmanageable in the time available. The team also deemed it important to frame their inquiry in ways that would be as relevant and useful as possible to development practitioners in Sri Lanka. Bearing this in mind, the evaluation concentrated on three thematic areas:

1. Peacebuilding
2. Good Governance and Human Rights, and
3. Conflict-Sensitive Socio-Economic Development.

7.   In terms of the OECD-DAC range of CPPB work as shown in Figure 1, the approach in Sri Lanka was to examine public strategies and evaluate interventions that fit within the first, second and fourth circles. The third circle (justice and security) would not be covered. It is noteworthy that support for the formal peace process in Sri Lanka (or elsewhere) is not covered by the diagram.

Figure 1 Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Approaches
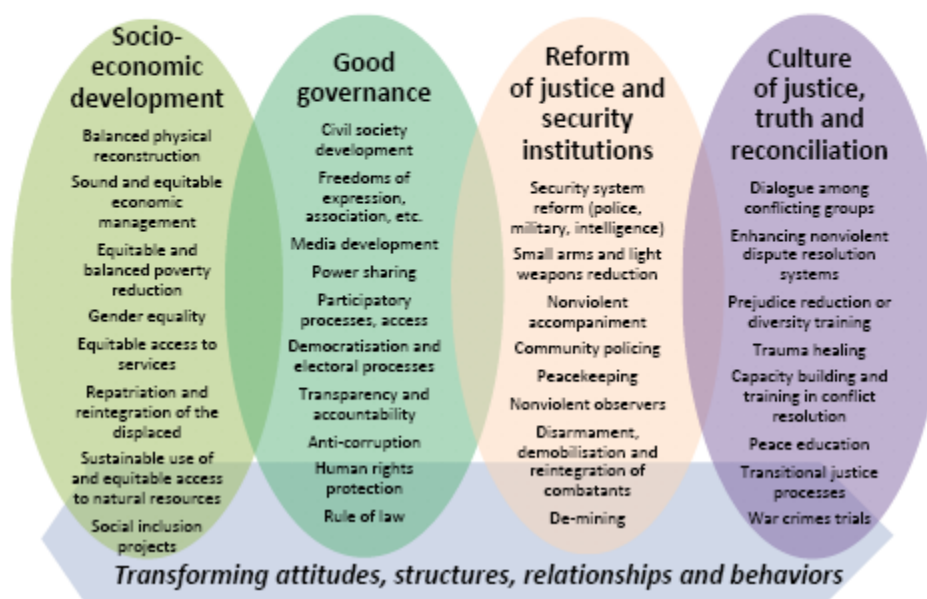
From: Guidance on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities, Working draft for application period, Development Assistance Committee, OECD, 2008 p.18.

Methodology

8.   The original TOR envisaged a wider and deeper analysis with supporting studies, baseline surveys and other additional work. However based on the inception, the scope was narrowed. With agreement of the donor group that was responsible for steering the study[4], certain forms of CPPB were also excluded as being too sensitive including: Track 1 activities, diplomatic and political engagement and security reform.

9.   Instead of conducting a separate conflict analysis, as would be required by a full evaluation, the study used the existing comprehensive strategic conflict assessments conducted in 2001 and 2005 as its point of reference. The deepening nature of the conflict since 2005 is recognised, but our understanding as to the root causes of conflict remains as delineated in these earlier studies.

10.   The study was conducted by a three person team plus a local coordinator with a field mission of 21 days to collect evidence, analyse and present initial findings. The team structured their interviews and analysis around a matrix of questions based around the OECD-DAC evaluation criteria for conducting evaluations into CPPB activities (Annex 2). Around 90 interviews were conducted mainly in Colombo (see Annex 3 for a list of persons interviewed).

11.   The study uses a set of donor strategies and evaluations as its principle raw material. The 17 published strategies in the sample were produced by ten donors, and cover both the post ceasefire period (2002-04) and the return to conflict (2005 on). For the meta-evaluation, 28 evaluations were included and cover different scales from country to sectoral programmes and local project evaluations, a fairly even mix of peacebuilding, governance / human rights and development

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[4] The Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG) commissioned the study, and appointed a group of 5 donor members to manage the process (Switzerland, UNDP, World Bank, Australia). Further support was provided by the DPSG Facilitator.

interventions, and a broad range of donors (13 including multilateral and bilateral agencies). The sample of strategy documents and evaluations represent the total number of relevant evaluations made available to the team by donors; however the team did <u>not</u> determine the size or mix of the sample.

12. **Limitations**: As described below, the country context in which this evaluation exercise occurred has placed limitations on the scope of work. As the GoSL is waging war with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), there was limited opportunity to meet with government officials to discuss the way that donor interventions have tackled peacebuilding or have been conducted in a conflict sensitive manner: discussions about how peace has been pursued were not welcome by most government officials[5]. Donors too were cautious about having their positions and activities publicly assessed given the strained relations with the government. that most have experienced. Access to the field was not possible because of both security concerns and time constraints.

13. Although a wide range of literature was consulted (Annex 4), some documentation was considered more confidential than others. The report, while highlighting those documents that fall into the more confidential category, still uses this material to provide evidence. This draft report will be reviewed by the partners who commissioned the study, and how this material is handled in the final version of the report will have to be agreed upon in due course.

14. In sum, this report represents an attempt to fulfil a useful pilot exercise that fits with the current political space to evaluate CPPB work in Sri Lanka, but that at the same time adds value to existing analysis, tests the Guidance – or selected parts of the Guidance – and that adds to donors understanding of their work in Sri Lanka as they plan for the future.

15. **Products**: There are four main products from the pilot:

   1. An *executive summary* of the main report for wider circulation

   2. This *main report*, which gives detailed evidence to support its findings on the quality of selected strategies, a meta-evaluation of project evaluations and on coordination issues.

   Under separate cover:

   3. Suggested *revisions to the draft OECD DAC guidance*.

   4. A report on the *lessons learned* about the team's experience in conducting the evaluation.

2. Context

16. Sri Lanka's multiple conflicts are the product of the formation of the Sri Lankan nation-state, particularly under British colonial policy, and of the reliance of the country's political system on political patronage. State formation did not include effective safeguards for numerical minorities or for the prevention of discrimination. Militant responses emerged in the 1970s through Tamil youth, which eventually formed the basis for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), but armed insurgency has not been limited to the LTTE in the North and the East, and in fact started in the South led by Sinhala youth.

17. The LTTE has been trying to establish a separate state in the North and East since the 1980s. To that end, they successfully introduced their own administrative mechanisms including police, legal and taxation systems. During the 2001 peace process and the ceasefire period, as the government accepted the LTTE as an equal partner, these mechanisms were allowed to expand and create parallel systems. Donor agencies operating in the region were compelled to consult and receive instructions

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[5] Although interviews were conducted with four serving senior officials and a retired senior official.

and advice from the central government as well as from the LTTE. Refer to Annex 5 for a more detailed view of the political and historical context. Annex 6 contains a timeline of events.

18. For this study, there are three important phases of the political and conflict setting in Sri Lanka that are important: (i) the Pre-Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) period, (ii) 2002-2005, and (iii) 2005 onwards. In the first period, the country suffered volatility following three elections over 1999-2001, with deep political, economic and military crisis affected by suicide bombings and military setbacks. With the CFA in February 2002, the second phase started and the future looked promising – at least on the surface. The peace process generated much support but within a year the LTTE withdrew, despite international mediation efforts and donor conferences that led to $4.5 billion in aid pledges. By 2004, reactions to the ceasefire and resentment to the United National Party reform programme led to elections that brought in the current government: the United People's Freedom Alliance. The third and current phase since 2005 is one where the peace process has been abandoned in favour of a military solution to the conflict. The space for peacebuilding initiatives has reduced and with the abrogation of the CFA in January 2008, peacebuilding efforts at Track 1 and 2 stopped.

19. The 2001 Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA1) and the 2005 Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA2) form in our view two comprehensive assessments of the conflict against which donor interventions may be judged. Both conceptualise the conflict in Sri Lanka as a crisis of the state, rather than an ethnic conflict. According to the SCA2: *"Violent conflict is...rooted in the "pathologies" of the state, and notably in its failure to institutionalise democratic politics...the crisis in governance also impedes the search for a solution. The peace process has exposed a continuing crisis in the identity, legitimacy and policies of the state..."*[6]

20. The SCA2 identifies the key political aspects of the Sri Lankan state that underlay the conflict as:

• The State remains exceedingly centralized and clientelistic;

• Democracy and intolerant nationalism have been organically linked: ethnic outbidding and democratic energies have translated into national chauvinist sentiments;

• Violent challenges to the state have emerged from the periphery, driven by a sense of exclusion and alienation. Ethnic divisions have tended to disable class politics;

• Though the state is centralized, it is also fragmented and it has become more so during the course of the conflict;

• There are pressures on the state from above (internationally) as well as from below. Transnational engagement interacts with and plays a role in shaping the nature of domestic governance.

21. The conclusion of the SCA2 is that this '*constellation of factors that contributed to the outbreak and sustenance of violent conflict - including the nature of the state, its political culture, the institutional framework of policy, uneven development patterns, and competing nationalisms - remains largely unaffected by the peace process*'[7]

22. **Poverty Status**: If the country is taken as a whole, Sri Lanka has reached lower-middle income status (see Annex 7 for more details). In human development terms its performance has been good with health and education MDGs on track. But consumption poverty reduction has been modest and uneven with the wealthiest 20% accounting for 54% of total income, and deep pockets of regional

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[6] SCA2, p.31
[7] SCA2, p.29

poverty outside of the more prosperous Western region[8]. The situation in the North and the East is much worse than the rest of the country. The ongoing war has destroyed the limited number of businesses in the North and East along with roads, bridges and other structures. Security issues, constant displacement and non availability of resources has left the area more devastated than the rest of the country. The December 2004 tsunami further worsened poverty levels here and in other affected areas.

23.   **Development assistance**: While Sri Lanka is not regarded as aid dependent, since its overall growth has outstripped aid growth, aid trends in the past five years show a strong rise in volume. Development assistance patterns have also shifted. The two development banks: Asian Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank, and Japan still account for 60% of total aid flows (2002-07) but have no mandate to work on political issues and are reluctant to work on governance beyond public sector reform and decentralisation. Bilaterals are either exiting or reducing their programmes as they see Sri Lanka as a middle income country and a government with a less reform minded development policy and uninterested in negotiated peace. A newer group of mainly Asian partners have emerged with a pro-government stance, particularly China (the largest lender).

24.   While from 2002-04, the agendas of the donors and the GoSL converged, since 2005 their interest have diverged. Over the period, while most donors have recognised and better understood the significance of conflict, the space for engaging on conflict issues has reduced with the intensified war. Increased emphasis on global security and counter terrorism led to a change of attitude among some bilateral donors towards the LTTE and since 2006, the government has used this to muster support for it's "eradicating terrorism" agenda. European donors and Canada have attempted to use aid to promote peacebuilding and human rights, but tackling sensitive issues is more difficult with little financial leverage over recipient governments, and donors either seek to maintain good relationships and avoid difficult issues, or seek to withdraw completely from a bilateral aid partnership

25.   **Aid coordination,** though challenging in the face of huge inflows around the peace process and then with the post-tsunami humanitarian effort, moved to a higher level of donor-government coordination in 2002-04. Rising numbers of ministries and NGOs complicated coordination work. New donors like India, China and Iran generally do not have state development agencies and are not actively engaged in formulating more coherent joint donor positions, and are not with the exception of Korea and Japan, OECD-DAC members.

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[8] Development is largely concentrated in the Western Province. For example, GDP grew by an average of 6.2% annually from 1997–2003 in W. Province, and by only 2.3% in the remaining provinces. Western Province's share in national GDP increased from 40% in 1990 to 48% in 2002, while that of Uva and Sabaragamuwa fell from 16 to 11%.

3. Relevance of Strategies

26.   This section examines the relevance of donor strategies to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. It is based on an assessment of selected documented strategies, supplemented by interviews with those who drafted the documents as well as other actors who were involved in reviewing or implementing the strategies. The sample includes ten donors who have published 17 strategies: two multilateral banks (World Bank, ADB), the UN and in particular the UNDP[9], the EC and six bilateral donors (Switzerland, Sweden, Japan, Australia, USA and Netherlands). Other donors were unable to share strategies in written form. Annex 8 provides a summary of each strategy including its title, period covered and main strategic objectives.

1.1.   How do strategic approaches correspond to peacebuilding needs?

27.   The over-riding approach of the strategies examined across the period is a focus on addressing the impacts – social and economic - of conflict, in particular in the North and East region of Sri Lanka and those populations directly affected by violent conflict. Most strategies cite - as a priority - efforts to address relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction needs in these areas. In addition, linkages are made between these types of programming and efforts at enabling the return of internally displaced people. In this respect the majority of strategies are primarily aimed at working in conflict or around conflict; and some claimed that the development objectives included in their strategy would contribute to attaining and/or sustaining peace. None fully claim to work directly on conflict – the Swiss strategy is the only one to specify conflict *transformation* as one of its components.

28.   The group of strategies can be grouped into two phases: the first phase covers the post ceasefire period from late 2002 to around 2005, and the second phase from 2005 onwards when political changes and the tsunami brought a focus on humanitarian work and reconstruction and less overt support for the peace process.

1. The Cease Fire Agreement and donor optimism

29.   The 2002-05 set of donor strategies reflected the hope engendered by the CFA that was signed between the GoSL and the LTTE in February 2002, and the donor's commitment to support the peace process that was then initiated. This commitment brought a range of intentions that aligned with the government's 'Regaining Sri Lanka' poverty reduction strategy. The largest donors were those who traditionally employed a range of development interventions in support of infrastructure and service delivery in poverty related sectors such as health and education, to economic reforms (World Bank, ADB, EC). Through these efforts there was a shared belief in achieving a 'peace dividend' - referring to '*the improved social and economic outcomes that are expected to materialise in the transition to peace'*[10] - that would underpin the political commitments to the peace process.

30.   The rationale behind the strategies, especially for the larger development actors, was couched in terms of protecting development assets and providing rehabilitation of war-damaged infrastructure, in the hope that such rapid and broad-based development would sustain and deepen peace. Yet according to the World Bank, it was not clear if peace was first required for sound development or the other way round: the argument appears somewhat circular:

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[9] Focus was placed on UNDP as the main development actor in the UN group of agencies. The scope of the evaluation did not include the humanitarian sphere of action.
[10] *Sri Lanka Development Policy Review*, World Bank, 2004 p.57

'In selecting the peace pillar, it was felt that a return to peace and restoration of domestic security were critical to create a framework for sustainable poverty reduction and growth, and make sure that the fiscal burden remained tolerable. In addition, peace was important to ensure that the most vulnerable poor groups-i.e. the displaced and the conflict-affected-were reached.'[11]

31.   Generally any contribution to peace was implicit in the strategies and the linkages or causal chain between the activities being funded and the achievement of peace were not documented. According to the ADB:

'Although peace was far from permanent, there was an implicit underlying intent by ADB to promote or help build peace in the North and East with development assistance, whether as a major party to the 2003 Tokyo Conference that linked external aid to peace progress or as a stand-alone institution keen to demonstrate the peace dividend to conflict-affected communities. The role of ADB in promoting peace, security, and stability for economic development and poverty reduction is within the limits of its mandated roles and functions.'[12]

32.   The dilemma for the donors with a substantially development-based approach was rooted in the fact that the potential impact of "development" on peacebuilding was very different depending on whether peacebuilding was viewed as a political process (Track 1) or as a social process (Track 3). So on the one hand: *'In Sri Lanka, donor aid conditionality failed as a mechanism of encouraging conflict resolution, in part because of donor misconceptions around the importance of different types of incentives to the different players. In particular, donors had inflated ideas about the importance of economic incentives, whereas for the LTTE the political factors were far more important.'[13]*

33.   On the other hand: *'Providing economic benefits rapidly in areas which have been badly affected by conflict can reduce grievances and strengthen communities' capacity to resist new calls for violence from spoilers. It is a key first step in building peace from below.'[14]*

34.   Only a small number of donors provided direct support for the "peace process" (here somewhat narrowly defined as Track 1 or Track 1½ processes). These included Germany, Norway, the Swiss, US, and others who supported the GoSL or Muslim Peace Secretariats. In most cases, the levels of funding provided were quite small.

35.   But the SCA2 notes that '*by shifting their priorities to the peace process, some donors arguably strayed too far from their core areas of competence. For these donors working on conflict meant applying peace conditionalities and/or providing a peace dividend. In practice this translated into conflict sensitive development in the North-East, while being conflict blind in the South*'[15] .

36.   While some Development Partners (DPs) recognised the primacy of politics and governance, the two multilaterals banks saw better governance (at national and local levels) as a means to another end: better management of public finances and services and of development programmes - especially in the wake of the Tokyo pledges and then the tsunami. They did not approach good governance as being a necessary condition for peace, but as part of a wider public sector reform process.

2. Failing peace and strategic adjustment

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[11] World Bank CAS Review 2006, p.2
[12] *Evaluation of Operations in Conflict-Affected North and East*, ADB, 2007, p.11
[13] *Development Dilemmas: Challenges of Working in Conflict and Post Conflict Situations in South Asia* DFID Conference, March 2007, London
[14] Ibid.
[15] SCA2 p.11

37.   With the change of government in April 2004, the devastation of the tsunami in late 2004, and the stalling of the peace talks, the political and security environments became increasingly challenging in 2005. This led to the discarding of the PRSP by the new government and a reduced commitment to the reform processes contained in the PRSP. In the post-tsunami period, the efforts to coordinate relief aid among donors and between the GoSL and LTTE, and put in place a joint GoSL-LTTE mechanism for aid allocation, proved unsuccessful as the Post-Tsunami Management Structure (P-TOMS) arrangement ultimately failed.

> *'Although the poverty reduction thrust of past and existing country strategies continues to be relevant to national priorities and to ADB's overarching goal of poverty reduction, several key components of the existing strategy (sector restructuring, deregulation, and privatisation of State Owned Enterprises) have fallen out of line with the new economic policies of the government. Another thrust of the current strategy —reconstruction and development in the North and East—was based on a peace dividend and post-conflict assumptions that are no longer realistic due to conflict resurgence in July 2006.'[16]*

38.   So there was a need for a strategic re-assessment. The repositioning of the group of donors has resulted in a proliferation and polarisation of strategic approaches. Some development partners have moved significantly away from a development role working with the government on poverty reduction, to one of working with non-government agencies on humanitarian aid, human rights, governance and reconstruction issues. A few have prepared a strategy for withdrawal from bilateral development cooperation (Sweden, Netherlands).

39.   The larger development partners providers (World Bank, ADB, Japan and the United Nations (UN) in contrast have adopted the new Rajapaksa government development framework, the *Mahinda Chintana*, as the basis for their own programmes, though their support is more cautious, focused and conditional than before.

40.   The belief that aid would be a strong driver of peace (with "peace" being defined principally as the attainment of a negotiated political settlement between the GoSL and the LTTE) was found to be false. As it turned out, both the LTTE and those in the South who saw the Tigers as a serious threat to the integrity of Sri Lanka were highly suspicious of both the motives and consequences of large inflows for foreign assistance. As a result, neither group was prepared to make high-risk political concessions in exchange for the uncertain promise of 'development'. In sum, peace had to be based on a political settlement, and the notion that offering a peace 'dividend' would encourage that settlement proved to be mistaken. This was especially true given that most donors did not focus on a transformatory approach to the conflict that would have involved tackling structural issues pertaining to the character of the Sri Lankan nation-state and the exercise of power within it.

1.2.   How is peacebuilding addressed in strategies?

41.   In most of the strategies reviewed, peacebuilding is addressed indirectly, implicitly or not at all[17]. While the term 'peace' and phrases such as 'support to the peace process' are prevalent in the strategies covering the time immediately after the CFA, few use the term "peacebuilding". In the early period from 2002, donors are seeking to stabilise conflict-affected communities and address needs of the internally displaced persons (IDPs). This would promote a 'consolidation of peace' (Japan); or 'contribute to conflict resolution and poverty reduction in the North-East' (European Commission (EC)). The World Bank included a 'Peace Pillar' in its 2003-06 Country Assistance Strategy (CAS), but this pillar delivered reconstruction, resettlement and reconciliation through education rather than

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[16] *Country Assistance Programme Evaluation for Sri Lanka*, OED ADB, 2007, p.iv.

[17] Note that the strategy of one of the most important actors in the peacebuilding process, the Norwegians, is not included in this discussion.

more explicitly and directly aiming to build peace through addressing political differences. The ADB saw its support as both underpinning the peace process, and yet also contingent on the success of peace process in terms of the amount and timing of its aid delivery.

42.   Where strategies refer to efforts to support peace, this is mainly treated as a cross-cutting theme or as an overarching objective to either 'support' or 'promote' peace. Strategies covering the post CFA period were largely based on the assumption that the country was in transition from war to peace and that the ceasefire created an opportunity to support this process and prevent backsliding[18].

43.   Support for peace is treated as a separate pillar or component in several strategies (World Bank 2003-06, Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC), SIDA, Netherlands, USAID). The Swedish 2003-07 strategy has two pillars – one directly tackling support for peace (as well as democracy and human rights) and one on pro-poor economic growth. The strategy emphasises that direct efforts to promote peace needed to be balanced by broader development activities. This was based on a consultant study which determined that "*explicit peacebuilding measures that emphasise security and dialogue are not necessarily more effective in mitigating conflict than long-term investments, e.g. education, rural development, aimed at structural impact*"[19].

44.   USAID's 2003-07 strategy was based on the assumption that the GoSL was "*poised to heal the nation and set it on a path to prosperity*". This rationale provided the backdrop for the overarching theme of "*creating a peace dividend in order to sustain the peace process*". However, in common with the approach of other bilaterals, there is no strategic objective that refers to working with the GoSL on peacebuilding (although there are at the programmatic level). USAID's scope was further limited by the US government ban on engaging with the LTTE.

45.   The Swiss and the Netherlands strategies are the only ones that make an explicit link between their approach and peace, and they are the only two that recognise the need to engage with the LTTE. For the Swiss, their approach is based on the assumption that they can "*contribute to the finding of a political solution to the armed conflict*". The Swiss have a specific thematic area that concentrates on conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Furthermore, activities under the third sector of "inclusive rehabilitation" also refer to conflict transformation. In this respect, it could be said that the Swiss strategy aims to mainstream conflict transformation across two of its three pillars.

46.   For the Netherlands (2005-08 strategy) "*The conflict, or rather the absence of any perspective for peace for the years to come, determines that nature of bilateral relations between the Netherlands and Sri Lanka.*" The Netherlands strategy focuses peacebuilding needs on the main conflict parties and their engagement in official political talks, as well as on the need to promote confidence building measures for the "Muslim faction". Their approach is to link ODA to progress in the official peace process through the promotion of a "principled approach" among donors, although it is not made clear what this meant in practice.

47.   <u>Governance, human rights and peacebuilding</u>. For those donors with strategies that addressed governance and human rights (Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), EC, Dutch, SIDA, Swiss, UN and USAID), human rights (and access to justice) are fairly directly linked to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Typically, human rights are seen as a casualty of the conflict and conversely respect for rights and access to justice are viewed as being essential for building and sustaining peace.

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[18] For example: United States Agency for International Development (USAID) 2003-07, Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation (SIDA) 2003-07 and EC 2002-06.
[19] Swedish Country Strategy for Sri Lanka, 2003-07, p9, para.2

48.   Tensions between human rights and peacebuilding were not seen as an issue in the strategies, but emerged more at the Track 1 level and at the time of the Tokyo meeting and had to do principally with the issue of how much pressure to put on the LTTE to improve their respect for human rights. Peacebuilding efforts in later strategies have reduced and been replaced by a focus on human rights.

49.   A less direct connection has been made between other aspects of governance and peacebuilding. Support for local governance typically has been justified in terms of some combination of (a) better local governance will reduce causes of local conflicts, (b) it will lay the ground work for post conflict decentralization, especially in the North and East, (c) the need to engage and strengthen local governments in tsunami-affected areas.

1.3.   Do the strategies address relevant causes or driving factors of the conflict?

50.   Careful conflict analysis has judged that the conflict is at root configured around state power sharing (including nature of the state, its political culture, uneven development patterns and competing nationalisms) (see Chapter 2 and Annex 5). But this has either not been widely understood by most donors or not addressed directly by them. Likewise, there is relatively little attention paid to other politically-sensitive causes and dynamics such as the nature of the political system and the longstanding problems of injustice and impunity. Instead, most strategies implicitly view under-development - or ethnically inequitable development - as a major contributory factor.

51.   Rather than focusing on the root causes of the conflict, the majority of strategies detail the various "costs" of conflict – both social and economic – with a particular emphasis on the impact(s) of conflict on the population of the North and East. Many of the interventions identified within strategies are assessed as not addressing the root causes but instead focussing on the consequences, on preferred government choices or on relief.

52.   Donors' strategic analysis tends to be based on how conflict contributes to under-development, weakened governance and the debilitating effect on economic livelihoods (World Bank, ADB). In some strategies, (e.g. EC 2002-06) the negative impact of conflict on the economy and commensurate lack of resources for development and social priorities is seen as contributing to political and ethnic unrest and violence. This is essentially an analysis based on the on-going dynamics of conflict and not on root causes as interpreted by the widely accepted SCAs (see Context Chapter above).

53.   For the multilateral agencies and Japan, the strategies do not seek to address root causes as they did not see their role or mandate as one that should challenge state or political structures, but instead were aiming to support or underpin a peace process that was being conducted by other actors, or other parts of the donor's government. Poverty and regional disparity is seen as a central factor contributing to tension, rather than political / state / rights issues,. While they note that Sri Lanka has seen continued economic growth, there are also sharp increases in poverty inequality as a result of years of conflict in the North and East compared to other regions. The opening of the A9 road, following the ceasefire, struck many as having considerable economic and social benefits, but this sudden increase in economic activity and improved access did not ultimately address the driving factors of the conflict.

54.   The strategies of most bilateral donor recognize the political dimension of the conflict and peacebuilding, but are less clear on how to respond. For example:

•   SIDA's 2003-07 strategy notes: '*The underlying cause of the conflict between the government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE is the policies pursued since independence in 1948 that have discriminated against Tamils*. It also states, '*One precondition for lasting peace is a democratic society with equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities for all groups*.'

•   The Swiss 2007-09 strategy acknowledges that: '*A solution to the political conflict in Sri Lanka is hampered by political power struggles between the main political parties in the south...by pressure from influential Sinhala nationalist hardliner groups (JVP and JHU) and a split and open fighting between the LTTE and the Karuna faction in the East*.'

•   USAID's 03-07 strategy makes an explicit connection between governance and ending the conflict: "*Protracted conflict and decline in democratic politics and governance are directly and powerfully linked—the conflict fuels democratic decline and vice versa*"… "*…strengthening democratic institutions is an important element both for bringing the war to an end and achieving lasting peace*."

55.   Even among those donors who recognize the strategic importance of politics and governance, there is little in the way of programmatic responses intended to address policymaking, parliament, political parties, public opinion, etc.

1.4.   Do the strategies have sound logic or theories of change?

56.   The OECD-DAC Draft Guidance identifies 14 possible theories of change, and in Annex 9 we attempt to assess the sample of strategies against these theories. Given the generally weak explicit identification or elaboration of a causal logic or theory of change between proposed actions and the achievement of peace in any of the strategies, it is not surprising that few theories are easily recognised. However, implicitly several theories are adopted. The most common involve community reintegration, building a culture of peace, governance and grassroots mobilisation. Four of the theories[20] find no home in the strategies reviewed, principally because support for peace negotiations and Track 1 were outside the scope of this study.

57.   For the multilateral banks, there is no explicit theory of how development activities would lead to peace, other than that reconstruction would redress years of neglect and poverty in conflict affected areas. The possible impact was largely indirect, and modelled on the links seen by the Wickremesinghe government in 2001 between poverty reduction, rebuilding lives and peace through its flagship Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation (RRR) programme which: '*has been initiated to address some of the immediate challenges arising in building a lasting peace. The RRR focuses on meeting the basic needs of the people affected by the conflict; improving economic conditions; and facilitation reconciliation among all ethnic groups. Our ability to build a peaceful and prosperous future ... depends on the outcome of the RRR process, which depends critically upon meeting the country's economic goals.'[21]*

58.   Even where governance and peacebuilding form key elements of strategies, the rationale for engagement only indirectly explains the link between interventions and achieving conflict resolution or peace. Theories of change tend to be superficial or not made explicit, and the presumed causality is rarely examined closely. In other instances theories can be complex and hard to translate into practical programming activity. An example is the USAID/OTI's Sri Lanka Transition Initiative programme, whose overall aim was to build support at the local level for the peace process. According to the

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[20] Support for: political elites, reduction of violence, withdrawal of resources for war, peace accords
[21] *Regaining Sri Lanka: Vision and Strategy for Accelerated Development*, 2002, p.5.

evaluation[22], the programme's theory of change was based on five hypotheses as set out in Box 1 below. These suggest that better OECD DAC guidance would be helpful to programme designers to clarify their underlying theory of change.

Box 1 USAID/OTI Sri Lanka Transition Initiative Evaluation's Outline of Theories of Change

~   "eventual referendum hypothesis": the promotion of a positive public acceptance of peace would result in Sri Lankan people supplying necessary political support to the peace process.

~   "passive calming hypothesis": through OTI programmes, communities previously in hostility-prone areas would be much more reluctant to engage in violence when an incident occurred.

~   "active containment": programmes to promote linkages, organised networks, committees and coalitions of local leaders would act to mitigate or prevent conflict from spreading.

~   "active advocacy and support for peace": programmes would empower local people to undertake initiatives within and between diverse groups, higher levels of governmental authority and political leadership

~   "people would be less prone to act on the basis of rumour or fear if better informed": through programmes based on improving the quality, timeliness, objectivity and relevance of media based information flows.

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59.   Three other points can be made about the theories of change explicitly stated or implicitly embedded in the strategies reviewed by the team:

- First, a variation of the "economic action" theory of change is that faster and more equitable **socio-economic development** will reduce the grievances that cause or fuel conflict. At its most simplistic level, this translates into "development will end conflict." Closely related to this is the notion of the "**peace dividend**," which was intended to reduce grievances, increase the number of supporters of peace and reduce and isolate the potential "spoilers."

- Second, a variation of the "good governance" theory of change is that decentralized and participatory **local government** can be more "conflict sensitive" than national government because it is "closer to the people" and therefore is more sensitive and responsive to local dynamics and needs (SIDA, UN, USAID).

- Finally, OECD guidance on the use of theories needs to be more precise, since there is much overlap and potential blurring between them. Also, the guidance need not imply that donor strategies and programmes need to somehow "fit" with these theories; it is enough that they are explicit about the assumptions they are making, the things they are trying to change/have an effect on and how they seek to do this.

1.5.   Are the strategies based on an accurate and recent analysis of the conflict?

60.   For the earlier set of strategies, there is almost no reference to the SCA in 2001[23], possibly because it was sponsored by just one donor, was less widely shared and was overtaken by the CFA and the ensuing peace process which drove most strategies at the time. There is wider reference to the 2005 multi-donor supported SCA (funded by Dutch, SIDA, UK, World Bank), but more often in reviews (SIDA), than in strategy documents. The Dutch 2005-08 strategy and the recent ADB strategy (2009-11) are exceptions in that they reference the second SCA. The SCAs moreover are mainly

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[22] Final Evaluation: The Sri Lanka Transition Initiative (2003-2007), USAID, 2007, p.15
[23] *Aid, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*, J. Goodhand, July 2001

referred to by way of context than in terms of drawing on them for lessons or guidance on how to deliver aid in a conflict setting. Despite sponsoring the second SCA, the World Bank and Netherlands do not refer directly to it in their more recent strategies.[24]

61.   Apart from the SCAs, only a few donors appear to have commissioned explicit analysis for their own strategy. USAID's strategy was informed by a conflict vulnerability assessment and a "democracy and governance" assessment. And in 2006 SIDA commissioned a set of background papers on politics and power to assist in the formulation of their 2009-10 strategy.

1.6.   How aligned are the strategies?

62.   The first round of strategies from 2002 were aligned with the then government's PRSP which itself promoted a reformist liberal economy approach to growth that matched the major development partners' policy stance (International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, ADB, Japan).   The agreement to support the peace process through multi-donor pledging conferences also re-enforced mutual efforts to link with other partners, and major joint needs assessments were carried out. Nevertheless even during this period there were limited joint sector approaches or use of budget support instruments.

63.   There was a strong sense of alignment around the need to provide a 'peace dividend', but some commentators viewed this as premature:

> *'The donor response following the ceasefire was in many ways remarkable, given the absence of any significant political settlement. In some respects they treated a no-war, no-peace environment as though it were a post-conflict setting. ...Added to this was the new government's economic policy platform that promoted rapid reform through liberalization towards a greater role for the free market and reduced state intervention. For a majority of donors, this policy portfolio was very close to the prescriptions that they themselves would have offered.'[25]*

64.   Donor alignment was affected by differing home government policies with regard to engaging with the LTTE[26]. The donors directly involved in supporting the peace process necessarily had to engage with the LTTE. Other donors, including the multilateral banks and some bilaterals, saw the LTTE as necessary local partners in assessing, planning and implementing their programmes – despite the fact the LTTE had been proscribed by some governments. Still other donors, like the US, recognized the importance of the LTTE's participation in the peace process but were prohibited by law or policy from engaging with them. Although this situation was not supportive of donor alignment, it did maintain a range of donor/government positions vis-à-vis the LTTE, which may have been beneficial in so far as it (a) created complementary "good cops" and "bad cops" among the donors and (b) it reassured more hardline Sinhalese that not all donors were prepared to help the LTTE.

65.   Alignment between donors also seemed to be stronger in the earlier part of the evaluation time period. The Needs Assessment conducted in 2003 by the ADB, World Bank and the UN formed a platform for a common approach to recovery and rehabilitation in the eight districts in the North and East. This also followed on the approach of the government's own RRR (relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation) programme. The 2004 Multilateral Group Strategy followed on and was an attempt to align approaches to rehabilitation between 14 agencies (the family of UN agencies, ADB, World Bank, International Organisation for Migration (IOM). Other joint approaches included the North East

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[24] The UK also may make reference to the SCA, but this strategy is not available.
[25] SCA Volume 2, 2005, p.16
[26] While at the time the GoSL was encouraged donor engagement with the LTTE.

Reconstruction Fund, which was to pool donor funds for reconstruction work, but was never implemented due to GoSL-LTTE disagreement over its shared management.

66.   With the change in government in late 2005, the domestic policy environment altered, and the same large donors found it harder to align with a government that took a a more cautious approach to reform and an emphasis on growth linked with redistribution, as reflected in the *Mahinda Chintana,* the new government development strategy:

> *'Sri Lanka's development plan for 2006–2016 (Mahinda Chintana – Vision for a New Sri Lanka) cannot be regarded as a national PRSP even though it is the Sri Lankan government's official development plan. This plan is not the result of a consultation process with civil society, nor does it contain any references to the conflict, precise regional objectives or concrete action plans. Therefore, it does not form the basis of Sweden's considerations in this strategy'.* [27]

67.   Increasing concerns about human rights violations prompted a significant multi-donor response in the form of the International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP). The IIGEP represented an effort by donors to engage with the Rajapaksa government to address human rights violations. But the poor performance of the government's Commission of Inquiry[28] (which led to the subsequent disbanding of the IIGEP) and the continuing climate of impunity led most donors to stop trying to engage the government on human rights issues.

68.   More recently, donors have been faced with the issue of whether or in what ways to "align" with the GoSL with regard to supporting the "stabilization" and development of the Eastern province. Different approaches have been followed, with the 'remaining engaged' group making assessments and investment plans to start new programmes there.

69.   Finally in terms of alignment to international donor practices, there has been a generally reducing level of compliance with good aid effectiveness. Since the 2003 Needs Assessment and the 2004 Multilateral Group Strategy already referred to, which were a high point of coordination and joint planning, there are generally few examples of greater coherence, co-funding or joint actions.

1.7.   How do strategies approach support for civil society?

70.   The strategies run the gamut from working almost exclusively with and through the government to working almost exclusively with civil society organizations (CSOs).   For the development banks, while civil society was consulted during strategy preparation, the government. is the main channel for aid, and is also the principal target of their governance work – in terms of public sector reforms and improving service delivery.   Indeed, there was for many donors little attempt to seek to strike a balance between government and civil society. Improving governance is largely seen as a 'supply side' question – reforming the public civil service is the principal governance target of the World Bank and ADB. Many strategies highlight both working through and capacity building for provincial and local authorities, mainly as a key partner for local reconstruction efforts (UN, USAID). The UN and USAID aimed to work both with government and civil society at the local level to improve local services and community responsibility for managing them, as well as in lobbying and advocating.

71.   For bilaterals, following the CFA, most sought ways of working with local civil society organisations as part of supporting the on-going peace process. The approach was essentially one of funding Colombo-based national organisations – either as a means to build links between grassroots

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[27] Sida Country Strategy, 2008-10, p.2
[28] Although the GoSL felt the IIGEP exceeded its mandate.

organizations with a specific remit on "peace" (such as with the Dutch) or mainly as a way of "opening up debate in society" in support of the peace process (for example SIDA 2003-07 and the Swiss support to media for strengthening social cohesion).

72.   Since 2005, most bilaterals have shifted to a position of providing minimal support through government. and to almost exclusively using non-government partners with or without the endorsement of government. As the space for peacebuilding with the government. has reduced, bilaterals have expanded their approaches in working with CSOs and NGOs on peacebuilding as they are seen as key actors in conflict transformation work.

73.   Some bilaterals who have chosen to work less with government, than face the paradox of trying to improve governance without working with the national government:

"*...the question immediately arose of how one might expect to positively affect governance without to some extent "working" with the Government. The question has persisted over nearly two decades. .. The interpretation of what might be acceptable has tended to vary most directly with the fortunes of the peace process and the level of human rights abuse*."[29]

CIDA has also approached this question by supporting the Official Languages Commission to promote language pluralism with a view to addressing one of the root causes of the Sri Lankan conflict.

74.   Very few strategies contain an explicit objective to enhance the organisational and technical capacity of civil society organisations or of strengthening the links between civil society and the state in furthering the peace process.[30] USAID is an exception under their 2003-07 strategic objective 9, as it saw both 'strengthening civil society and reforming government as critical to ending the armed conflict and achieving a lasting peace'. The later SIDA strategy (2008-10) does focus on the capacity building of grassroots and national organisations engaged in conflict transformation. However, this is an explicit part of the exit strategy.

75.   Only the Dutch mention an explicit aim to engage with organisations linked to the LTTE, i.e. the Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation (TRO) as a means of bringing the LTTE into the debate on "democracy and just development principles". The approach was indirect through a Colombo-based national partner with indirect links to the TRO and was also not couched in peacebuilding terms. This approach was dropped when it was recognised that attempts to bring about structural or behavioural changes in the LTTE organisation (including listing by EU) had had no impact (Dutch Strategy for 2009-11).

1.8.   Did the different strategies adopt a 'whole of government' approach?

76.   Several actors have moved towards whole of government[31] approaches (UK, Netherlands) but because of the nature of some parts of these (covering overtly political or rights based agendas, or security elements), the owners of these strategies were unable to make them available for analysis. This is unfortunate in the sense that there could be much to learn from their comparative experience in designing and executing such approaches compared to other partners whose security, diplomatic, humanitarian and development activities are conducted in a more parallel way.

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[29] CIDA Governance program review, box on pg 21

[30] This is not to imply that donors haven't supported CSO capacity building, only that generally it hasn't been identified as a strategic priority.

[31] This implies a bilateral approach that combines development, humanitarian, diplomatic, trade, security and defence approaches.

1.9. How have donors who focus on economic development designed their efforts to be conflict sensitive or contribute to peacebuilding?

77.   There was limited mention of the need for conflict sensitivity in the early phase of approaches to development work. 'Consolidation of peace' (Japan) encompasses support to both north and south to achieve regional balance, and avoid political reaction in the south, yet also conditional support depending on progress with peace. Statements are made in the strategy documents but no detailed explanation is provided on how the strategy or ensuing interventions would be made conflict sensitive.

78.   In more recent strategic approaches, greater detail is provided on incorporating conflict sensitivity. Though there is very little explanation of how such development activities would contribute to peacebuilding since by this stage (from 2005) there was less and less of a peace process to contribute to.

79.   The World Bank has developed a 'conflict lens' in its 2009-13 strategy, involving different levels. At the programme level, resources earmarked for the North and East would not be diverted, while at project level, interventions would be subject to a 'conflict filter'. This would highlight a number of issues which would 'mitigate reputational risk and enhance the effectiveness of the Bank's activities. These include[32]:

- *a broad stakeholder consultation,*
- *establishing impartial grievance mechanisms,*
- *making project management sensitive to inter-ethnic issues,*
- *identifying conflict-generated needs,*
- *taking opportunities to strengthen reconciliation and inter-ethnic trust*

The ADB recognises the need for conflict sensitivity in its strategy for 2009-11, and defines seven rules for ensuring that its interventions are conflict sensitive[33] :

1. *Projects should emphasize transparency and the involvement of all stakeholders and beneficiaries, while trying to ensure that public relations are not used by either side for political purposes.*
2. *Because of the complexity of the situation, several conflict analyses might be needed for one project if it covers several areas with different stakeholders.*
3. *Consultations have to be clear and simple, and all relevant documents must be shared up front.*
4. *During project implementation, all implementation partners and stakeholders have to be made aware of ADB's policies on ethnic, gender, environment, and resettlement issues, as well as how ADB procurement guidelines work.*
5. *Expectations regarding the benefits of a project need to be managed carefully.*
6. *All stakeholders must respect the project management staff, who in turn must be able to build trust between the communities.*
7. *Resources must be allocated equitably to ensure no community feels advantaged (or disadvantaged) compared with other ethnic groups.*

80.   It is worth noting that of these seven "rules" only numbers 2 and 7 are conflict-specific; the other five are generic good practice in the development field.

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[32] Box 4: Conflict Filter to Enhance Effectiveness and Reduce Reputational Risks, World Bank CAS 09-12, p. 70.

[33] *Country Partnership Strategy, 2009-11*, ADB, final draft, p.29

81.   However, according to the ADB's strategy, the Bank would work around the conflict if need be: *'If implementation in conflict-affected areas is not possible for security reasons, the relevant components would be put on hold until they can be implemented. If prospects for implementation remain limited, funds could be reallocated without changing the overall allocation to each province. If, despite reallocation, implementation remains impossible within a reasonable time frame, those components would be cancelled'[34]*.

82.   Overall, donors working on socio-economic development have increased their efforts to improve conflict sensitivity, by adding filters or rules and by conducting analysis. But their strategies remain unclear as to how they specifically link to peacebuilding.

1.10. Have strategies responded to changing circumstances over time?

83.   There has been a <u>clear evolution of strategies</u> over the past five years. The second round of strategies reflected a much more cautious approach for many – with plans to exit and not start any new spending commitments by SIDA, Dutch, and by others. Weak disbursement affected the big spending banks and prompted them to be more cautious in their commitments and adopt performance-based allocation models that incorporated a wider set of benchmarks to determine lending levels, including governance indicators[35].

84.   <u>The use of scenarios </u>has become a more common though not universal tool[36] to permit flexibility of response in an uncertain and volatile conflict situation (Table 1). Many donors referred to the scenario-building workshops conducted in 2006 as a joint donor group initiative to give them an understanding of how to introduce this tool. The 2004 tsunami was a major disrupting factor affecting the implementation of the 2002-03 strategies; however the subsequent scenarios developed for strategies from 2005 onwards do not include the possibility of major natural disaster as one of the scenario options.

85.   Where scenarios are developed, these determine the extent of engagement with government versus civil society. For example, the EC follows EU principles on aid giving in periods of conflict, e.g. that aid shouldn't pass through government budgets and shouldn't be fungible.

Table 1. Examples of Use of Scenarios

Sweden	(2003)	Scenarios: No War No Peace, Return to conflict One of the few strategies to consider what the repercussions might be of a collapse in the peace process, though the strategy did not outline specific choices to follow depending on which scenario occurred.
Netherlands	(2005)	Scenarios: Peace and Final Settlement , Muddling Through, Conflict The principal differences to the Dutch programme in the event of the different scenarios was in the speed of exit from Sri Lanka – whether 'planned' or 'rapid' – exit in any event was foreseen due to the small added- value of the Dutch aid programme, and Sri Lanka's middle income status
World Bank	(2006)	Scenarios: Muddling through, Drifting Back, Moving Forward As the Bank assessed its own performances as modest from 2003-06, there was a need to be more cautious. The scenarios would guide the level of Bank investment.

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[34] Ibid, p.29
[35] For example, ADB Country Strategy and Program 2004-08, p.38.
[36] Other tools also exist that can contribute to flexibility including: 1) having shorter-term strategies, 2) doing periodic strategic reviews, 3) having indicators that trigger a review or a change in direction and 4) including language in a strategy like USAID's "crisis modifier" which, if invoked, allows for a rapid and drastic revision of the strategy. These were not explored as part of this study.

		The new Bank CAS (2009-13) has avoided scenarios in favour of a fluid approach where adjustments are made on an ongoing basis.
EC	(2007)	Scenarios: Positive climate towards Peace/Uneasy Peace; Low Intensity Conflict; High Intensity Conflict The choice of scenarios helps the EC to guide resources either through government or non-government channels. The funds would switch from normal government funding under the first scenario, to completely non-government funding to humanitarian needs and resettlement work under the third.
Swiss	(2007)	Scenarios: Peace, No War No Peace, Conflict The scenarios help to guide the choice and the volume of assistance for the Swiss programme, for example whether support for Track 1 or 2 can take place. Some elements would remain constant irregardless of the scenario (such as human rights support).

1.11. Are strategies results-based or have sound monitoring and evaluation?

86.   The ability to evaluate strategies relies largely on the strategies themselves having clear and measurable objectives tied to indicators and an M&E system to capture the evidence to judge their performance. The sample studied in Sri Lanka have a mixed record in this area, with some either having no results framework or M&E system defined in the strategy document while others include results frames and indicators. Although results frames are specified in some instances, none of the strategies then specify in detail how and with what resources the M&E work is to be conducted.

87.   The most positive examples of results-based strategies include USAID, whose 2003-07 strategy has a well structured results frame with strategic and interim objectives, while the World Bank CAS for 2003-06 has a highly-structured set of objectives and thematic matrices containing outcome and intermediate level indicators. The 2006 CAS progress report points out though that there are too many objectives (thirty three in the original) and that many could not be accurately measured. Moderately good result frames are found in the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) which has a logframe with indicators for its three strategic objectives, and the EC national indicator programme for 2003-05 (that forms part of the 2002-06 country strategy) and includes expected results and some indicators (but none have SMART[37] attributes).

Summary: Relevance of Strategies

1.   Many strategies sought to promote **"peace,"** a small number of these strategies provided support for the **peace process**, and only a **few strategies explicitly addressed the 'root causes' of the conflict.** Larger 'development' actors either are not mandated to address political issues or prefer non-interventionist approaches. Power and governance issues are identified as central in the SCA2 but these issues are given less emphasis in strategies compared to socio-economic development and service delivery.

2.   In nearly all strategies, there is weak explicit identification of a **theory of change** or a causal logic between proposed actions and the achievement of peace, even where results frames are used. However, several strategies do imply such logic, but few fully test their logic against an analysis of the conflict or extrapolate them sufficiently to explore their peace linkages.

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[37] Specific Measurable Attributable Realistic and Timebound indicators

3.   In general there was a **weak approach to conflict sensitivity** in early strategies (in 2002-05 period), but the trend was to consider this aspect more explicitly by the second round of strategies (2006 onwards).

4.   Very few of the strategies were based on in-depth or recurring **analyses of the conflict**.

5.   There was a liberal use of terms and concepts like **'peacebuilding" and "producing a peace dividend'**. But apparently there was little serious consideration of whether a "peace dividend" could realistically be expected to change the attitudes and positions of LTTE and Sinhalese hardliners.

6.   There was little apparent recognition of the **political risks** of (a) delivering aid through a 'state' that is a party to the conflict and (b) supporting the economic and political agenda of a government that represented only a portion of the political spectrum and was vulnerable to electoral defeat.

7.   **Resources versus goals**. Efforts to peace build or transform conflict over-emphasised the extent to which civil society and citizens could bring about transformation and peacebuilding. Some strategies are based on unrealistic aims and timeframes.

8.   Some earlier strategies (2002-05) were designed under one context, but then implemented under another. Increasing use of **scenario based strategies** (helped by the Donor Peace Support Group) shows greater flexibility and recognition of uncertainty of context. But how to track context to trigger adoption of different scenarios is unclear.

9.   After 2005, donor strategies became **increasingly unaligned and unharmonised**: reflecting both lack of cementing peace process, collapse of the PRSP and headquarter imperatives (to disengage or remain engaged).

10.   **Whole of government approach** is an important strategic approach but at the same time difficult to evaluate due to confidentiality issues. Some strategies are driven more by headquarter and political concerns, and there is a tendency for less interaction with local actors or with the government, especially at central level.

11.   The 2004 **tsunami** knocked many of the strategies off-track, and diverted from long-term goals: but interestingly, subsequent scenarios do not include such shocks.

12.   M&E of Strategies: While projects are often routinely reviewed or formally evaluated, **strategies are generally not strongly results-based** and strategic achievements are not thoroughly evaluated by many, although some good examples exist, particularly the ADB and World Bank.

4. Effectiveness

88.   Given the limited evidence base provided by donor strategies, in order to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of conflict prevention and peacebuilding interventions in Sri Lanka, the evaluation team focused on programmes and projects undertaken by a range of donors. The team undertook a meta-evaluation or synthesis of 28 evaluations completed between 2003 and 2008, more or less equally divided between conflict sensitive development, governance and human rights and peacebuilding interventions (the division is shown in Annex 10). These 28 evaluations represent the total number of relevant evaluations made available to the team by donors; thus the team did not determine the size or mix of the sample. The sample includes four evaluations or reviews at the strategy or sectoral level (by the World Bank, ADB, Sweden and Canada). These are discussed in Section B.1.

89.   This meta-evaluation focused on three areas of analysis:

A.   **Recognition of conflict**: are the interventions 'working around', 'doing no harm' or involving 'transformatory' approaches?

B.   **Findings of evaluations**: what do they say about results, who benefited, what effects on conflict reduction, improved relations and security?

C.   **Process of doing evaluations**: how they were carried out, how have they been used?

90.   Out of the 28 studies, 7 we classify as strategic evaluations, and the rest are a range of project reviews and assessments[38]. A detailed outline of each project or programme in Annex 11.

A. Recognition of conflict

91.   This section examines the extent to which, according to the evaluations reviewed, the selected projects recognised the Sri Lanka conflict and how they approached working in a conflict context. The findings are presented in three groups: Conflict sensitive socio-economic development projects, Governance / Human Rights projects and Peacebuilding projects.

Development projects undertaken in a conflict setting

92.   As noted by the SCA2, '*the bulk of aid projects in Sri Lanka have been devoted to management of the economy and normal development interventions*'[39]. The majority of interventions studied in this category that have been implemented in conflict-affected areas have either sought to work around the conflict or to maintain delivery while operating within a conflict setting. Most focused on the recovery needs arising from the conflict such as housing, economic activity and

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[38] Of the 28 in the sample, five are entitled 'summary', 'strategic' or 'final' evaluations (UAS, PRET, OTI, CRP, EAJ, Berghof), two have a strategic scope (ADB's Country Assistance Programme Evaluation and World Bank's Country Assistance Strategy Completion Report), two are 'sectoral assessments' (Norway's Economic Programme Assessment and CIDA's Governance Assessment), eight are Mid Term Reviews or Interim Reviews (LIFT, NEHRP, EIDHR, CPCB, A2J, ACRP, FLICT, YATV and the rest are hard to classify as they are either termed 'assessments, operational summaries or implementation completion reports: SLPI, FCE, PFs, NEIAP.   The evaluations represent funding by two multi-lateral banks, the EC, the UN, and nine bilateral donors (Australia, Canada, Germany, Norway, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, USA).

[39] For example: '*a preliminary analysis of the projects for which aid was committed in 2003 shows that only 15 of the 62 projects were directly related to peace or had provisions for work in the North-East. The rest of the projects related to the normal development process*' SCA2, Volume 5, 2005, p7.

employment, in an effort to deliver a peace dividend, but there was little attempt to understand and address the root causes.

93.   Following the 2002 ceasefire, most projects immediately adopted a post-conflict approach, where the assumption was that the war-affected areas would begin to need recovery and that a peace dividend (see 1.1) would underpin the transition from a ceasefire to a peace agreement. The largest projects sprang from the joint Needs Assessment in 2003, and the Multilateral Strategy that emerged in 2004 sought to coordinate the transition process from conflict to peace through five thematic areas.

94.   Few of the projects in this group conducted a specific *conflict analysis*, though several have context sections describing the Sri Lankan conflict. Where peace and conflict assessments were conducted, they were found to be static, as with the ADB Country Assistance Programme Evaluation (CAPE) and not followed up on during implementation. Some but not all mention 'do no harm' principles. None of the sample of projects expounded explicit theories of change though one can say that implicitly the expectation was to further the peace process through providing economic gains in public or private goods, through re-settlement and thereby improved livelihoods and security (a reflection of the theory of community reintegration in Annex 9).

- The Local Initiatives for Tomorrow project (LIFT) – analysed and was sensitive to conflict but the aim was to build local capacity (empowerment) to improve livelihoods through farmer and savings and credit groups within conflict setting, so it was not transformatory or conflict resolving. Conflict was seen as a risk in the logframe, but its M&E did not measure the effect of project on CPPB.

- The Transition Initiative (OTI/ USAID) was designed to address peacebuilding and prevent conflict through local grants. Its focus shifted after a MTR in 2004 as it was recognised that since the peace process was deadlocked the notion of delivering the 'tangible benefits of peace' was no longer appropriate.

- The Unified Assistance Scheme (UAS) was a relief project for displaced persons with cash grants for housing and livelihoods. There was no explicit peacebuilding objective (since it was effectively designed as a post-conflict intervention), but tight targeting of conflict-affected persons and well managed disbursement reportedly led to confidence in and effective use of the assistance.

- According to the CAPE, the ADB in the North and East worked around the conflict before the CFA and then worked under post-conflict assumptions afterwards. Conflict assessments were undertaken for ADB projects but the CAPE found them to be static and while helpful for planning, were not updated and so were not useful for implementation or impact. In fact, the ADB has no policy for how to operate during conflict, though its projects sought to improve living conditions in conflict affected areas. However: *'The concept of promoting peace with development incentives did not fully examine the larger conflict dynamics and the protagonists involved that were not directly influenced by development aid. The assumption that a peace dividend would prevent the resurgence of conflict turned out to be insufficient.'* [40]

- For Norway's economic development programmes, to a large extent they responded to the government or relief priorities. The evaluation provides a sound outline of concepts involved in conflict sensitive programming, and concludes that Norway's cooperation in this sector '*cannot qualify as 'conflict-sensitive in the meaning that project interventions are analysed and*

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[40] CAPE Thematic Paper Evaluation of Operations in Conflict-Affected N & E, p.8

assessed at different stages of implementation considering conflict-related factors. The fact that Norway concentrated funding in the South from 1990s and onwards through HIRDEP, MONDEP[41] and later to the district chambers of commerce could however be seen as conflict-sensitive because it was working on one of the 'triggers' of violence, namely unemployed and frustrated youth in the South'[42].

Governance and Human Rights

95.   For those donors that deal with governance and human rights, human rights (and access to justice) are fairly directly linked to CPPB. Typically, human rights are seen as a casualty of the conflict and conversely respect for human rights and access to justice are viewed as being essential for peace. Several donors engaged with the LTTE in an effort to get them to improve their human rights track record. For example:

- UNDP's Equal Access to Justice project presumed that Sri Lanka was moving from conflict to peace. The project asserted that access to justice can contribute to the achievement of permanent peace. According to the evaluation, the project was '…*neither a peace initiative nor a human rights initiative*.' But many of the vulnerable groups exist as a result of the conflict so that conflict makes access to justice more critical.

- TAF's Access to Justice (A2J) programme was: '*set in the background of a promising peace process. It aimed to… remedy past and present injustices in order to assist the transition from conflict to peace.*' According to the programme evaluation, '*the relevance of access to justice heightened as the war progressed and the population suffered more infringements of their rights. Meanwhile, the feasibility of some of the envisaged activities has diminished, as fear of the authorities increased. .. Arguably, some activities planned for the 'war to peace' transition have become less relevant when the situation moved in the opposite direction.*'[43]

- The EC's European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Micro-Project Programme recognised that conflict exacerbates the erosion of human rights standards. The evaluation found that: '*Promotion of Human Rights and Peacebuilding are equally relevant in Sri Lanka and they are interconnected. The situation of grave human rights abuses and the worsening humanitarian crisis are closely related to the ongoing war*.'[44]

- CIDA Child Rights Project (CRP): According to the evaluation, in the North and East, '*it is clear that the tsunami and the resumption of the conflict since 2004 have had a significant effect on child rights violations.*'[45]

96.   In general, a less direct connection has been made between other aspects of governance and peace building. The multilateral banks tended to see better governance (at the national and local levels) as a means to another end: typically better management of development programmes. The ADB's *Evaluation of Thematic Governance Assistance* hardly mentions the conflict or the link between governance and the conflict. One of the few connections is noted on the penultimate page of the evaluation, when it observes that: '…*the resurgence of civil conflict, diversion of policy attention,*

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[41] Hambantota and Moneregala Integrated Rural Development Programmes
[42] Assessment of Conflict Sensitivity in Norwegian Assistance to Economic Development in Sri Lanka, Nordic Cons Group. 2007, p.31
[43] A2J Evaluation p. 8-9
[44] EIDHR evaluation, p. 28.
[45] CRP evaluation, p.11.

and politicization of the public service may impede progress in governance and economic management.'[46]

97.   Many bilaterals also were reluctant to address governance issues frontally. According to the evaluation of CIDA's Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project (GISP) '*CIDA sought to distance itself from parties to the conflict, including government, and to concentrate on what it perceived to be the "issues central to the resolution of ethnic conflict and the rebuilding of civil society in Sri Lanka…it saw these issues as the violation of human rights, the lack of open, accountable and participatory democratic processes, and the lack of dialogue and understanding between ethnic communities.'*[47]

98.   Donor support for local governance has been justified in terms of some combination of (a) better local governance will reduce causes of local conflicts, (b) laying the ground work for post conflict decentralization, especially in the North and East, (c) the need to engage and strengthen local governments in tsunami-affected areas.

99.   With regard to the media, according to the evaluation of SIDA's support for the Sri Lanka Press Institute (SLPI): '*the media has been a factor both in partisan political battles as well as the conflict that has plagued Sri Lanka for more than two decades.*' and '*In the context of the escalation of violence, journalists have been at the receiving end of the violence perpetrated by various armed actors.'*[48]

100.   The SIDA-supported Civilian Police Capacity Building (CPCB) project was developed as part of an effort to depoliticise key democratic institutions and to bolster the apparent move towards peace. The project evaluation noted that: '*The interest in fundamentally reforming the Sri Lankan Police and shifting the focus from national security to civilian policing dwindled with the onset of the war.*' [49]

101.   By 2006-07, many bilateral development partners had distanced themselves from the Rajapaksa government and there was a shift in focus to humanitarian aid and support for human rights. This disengagement was in response to the renewed conflict, but also to the government's apparent low interest in protecting human rights, media freedoms and civil society.

Peacebuilding

102.   The ceasefire agreement signed in February 2002 provided an opening up of the political space for peacebuilding initiatives in Sri Lanka. In response, there was a mushrooming of projects whose aim was to create an enabling environment for the formal Track One process. Donors supported a number of programmes implemented by civil society organisations designed broadly to build popular support to the peace process.

103.   The period from March 2004 ushered in a very different climate for peacebuilding work. In the East, the breakaway of the Karuna faction from the LTTE resulted in increasing violence, insecurity and instability. At the same time the collapse of the formal negotiations, followed by a change in government meant a different strategy towards the peace process and the conflict. The political space for NGOs and civil society to work on peacebuilding became much narrower as the government became increasingly hostile towards these types of initiatives. As the FCE evaluation notes: *"Donors and NGOs strategies had to change – scale down ambitions, re-focus on more*

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[46] ADB Thematic Evaluation p.26.
[47] GISP evaluation, p. 17.
[48] SLPI evaluation, p.11.
[49] SIDA evaluation, p.4.

immediate and local concerns, including protection of civic space at community level, mitigating effects of violence by providing aid or monitoring human rights abuses"[50].

104.   After the December 2004 tsunami, some commentators felt that humanitarian aid was viewed as a peace dividend and an approach of trying to address the root causes of conflict was forgotten in favour of the peace dividend approach. Subsequently the understanding of the conflict in Sri Lanka as ideology-based appears to have been forgotten and largely replaced by the view that the conflict is an "ethnic one", leading to a proliferation of inter-ethnic/co-existence projects. At the same time, very few programmes worked directly at trying to address the "Sinhala south" or to build a constituency for peace within the southern polity.

105.   In the current environment there are varying views on what is possible. On the one hand some donors feel that the space for peacebuilding has shrunk to the extent that it is only possible to do "fashionable" interventions such as carrying placards and marching for peace, with very little on substantive, more sensitive issues such as human rights and the rule of law. This follows a trend to look at the symptoms of conflict, as there is no space to engage in a more fundamental approach to addressing peace and conflict. There is a reluctance among donors to take opportunities where there is space because the willingness to expend political capital is not there. The challenge now is to find space to engage constructively – but some observers have concluded that, compared to the new players, "Western donors have nothing to offer" the Government.

106.   Other views contend that now is a good time for conflict sensitive and conflict transformation work: *"In such a context there is an overarching need for peacebuilding activities that focus strategically on addressing the underlying causes of the conflict. When the CFA was still in force, the SCA 2005 advised that addressing the root causes of the conflict could be more influential in the long term. Indeed, the resumption of military operations leaves this approach as the most viable and necessary option"[51]*

Types of peacebuilding activities

There have been three main approaches to peacebuilding:
1. **Build capacity for formal peace negotiations and track '1.5' or 'two' initiatives aimed at supporting the peace process politically.** This includes initiatives such as support for the Berghof Foundation and USAID's Peace Support Programme (PSP) aimed at the capacity building of peacebuilding mechanisms; supporting multi-stakeholder dialogues; facilitating meetings between politicians; exchange visits, providing training for key officials. During the formal peace process programmes could be termed as working directly on conflict; in terms of support to the political processes involved in peacebuilding as well as trying to address some of the structural dimensions of the conflict.

2. **Build or mobilise constituencies and capacities for peace.** This includes grassroots community mobilisation as well as support to civil society groups/actors (such as capacity building work) aimed at convincing people to support the peace process and combating potential spoilers by providing a peace dividend (People's Forum and the USAID Transition Initiative). This approach also includes media programmes. research activities, advocacy and public demonstrations. Organisations involved in these types of activities tend to categorise their approach as one of conflict transformation.

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[50] FCE evaluation, p.3
[51] Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme Mid Term Review, 2007 p.2

3. **Increase inter-ethnic harmony at community level or "peaceful coexistence" type projects.** This approach is often linked to community development programmes, in particular using economic development projects as an entry point for promoting inter-ethnic trust building and building support for the peace process. For the programmes in our sample (such as the Swiss Development and Peace Sri Lanka, and the Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme) this approach is viewed as working on conflict or conflict transformation as it attempts to build peace by addressing the causes or drivers of conflict at the community level. In this respect, (one of) the causes or drivers of conflict have been identified as inter-ethnic tensions.

Summary: Recognition of approaches to working in or on conflict

1. Most development and governance projects treat conflict as an external factor or risk to achieving the intervention aims, and in the immediate post-CFA period, adopted a post-conflict mind-set that saw them engage in reconstruction work under the assumption that the improved social and economic outcomes would support the transition to peace.

2. From 2005, socio-economic development projects increasingly accepted the need for conflict sensitivity and "do no harm" principles, and dropped the notion of a "peace dividend" – as there was no peace process to underpin.

3. Projects were still able to effectively target the conflict-affected population but generally worked in 'cleared' areas only, and suspended operations when insecurity became serious.

4. For peacebuilding approaches, during the recent period of reduced space, there has been a concentration on supporting local initiatives through development approaches rather than more directly - for example, pushing on human rights and at the "Track 1" level.

5. Some donors saw development projects as providing the means that they could explore for doing peacebuilding work in a politically sensitive environment. A lesson from this is that donors can use development interventions to address exclusion and ethnic issues – if they are put within a framework of broader discussion on social development rather than the more sensitive area of social policy of the GoSL.

6. Human rights and governance projects typically were conceived of as either contributing to peace (by protecting individual and group rights, promoting inter-group understanding, supporting the proponents of a negotiated settlement, strengthening democratic institutions, etc.) or mitigating against the political abuses generated by the conflict (by doing the same things.) As such, human rights and governance project are notable for seeking either to contribute to the enabling environment for peace or to contain the fallout from the conflict, but most[52] did not address the fundamental political and governance issues upon which the success of the peace process depended.

7. Very few programmes worked directly at trying to address the "Sinhala south" or to build a constituency for peace within the southern polity.

8. A number of projects focussed on inter-ethnic initiatives. While these and other community based peacebuilding initiatives are termed as conflict transformation projects, there is little evidence of how they are explicitly addressing the driving factors of the conflict.

9. After the tsunami, for many addressing the root causes of conflict was forgotten in favour of using humanitarian aid to achieve a peace dividend. Subsequently the understanding of the conflict as

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[52] A few such as the Centre for Policy Alternatives and the National Peace Council engaged with the government and called for the full implementation of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution

ideology-based appears to have been forgotten and largely replaced by the view that the conflict is an "ethnic one", leading to a proliferation of inter-ethnic/co-existence projects.

B. Findings and use of evaluations

107.   Since 2004, an increasingly more difficult political and deteriorating security environment has had a growing impact on the operating environment for most donors, particularly with regard to peacebuilding programmes. The collapse of the peace process, the new government's military approach to the conflict, increases in human rights violations, increases in numbers of IDPs, intimidation of NGO staff, have all militated to some extent against the achievement of objectives and effectiveness of projects. Not only is access and monitoring difficult, there is a growing climate of fear and intimidation in civil society groups working on peace and human rights. In addition, informal communications or back channel work with political leaders has been difficult. Contact with LTTE cadres, once a feature of the post CFA period, has become limited.

108.   In addition the impact of the December 2004 tsunami cannot be underestimated. The loss of life, livelihoods and destruction of property necessitated large scale humanitarian programmes. The situation on the ground changed the priorities of donors, NGOs and civil society organisations. Local organisations became more engaged in relief work in response to events on the ground and financial opportunities. Some went from a niche peacebuilding organisation to a multi-mandate one, operating at multiple levels in multiple sectors, focussing more on development projects and not on core peacebuilding activities.

1.12.   How effectively have strategic approaches and interventions supported peacebuilding?

Strategic level

109.   At the strategy level, our evidence base is limited to five donors[53]. The multilateral banks rated their overall strategic delivery as: 'partly successful' (ADB), 'mixed' (CAS Progress Report, 2006) and 'moderately unsatisfactory' (Independent Evaluation Group, World Bank, 2008).

110.   The World Bank, interestingly, rates its performance under the Peace Pillar as 'moderately satisfactory' compared to the Growth and Equity Pillars which were 'unsatisfactory' and 'moderately unsatisfactory'. The Peace Pillar outcomes were interpreted though in terms of gains in services and reconstruction – housing, water, agriculture and education – rather than in furthering of the peace process itself.

111.   The ADB's evaluation took an equally indirect view, noting firstly that the conflict critically affected the implementation of the Bank's programmes, and that ADB projects in different sectors contributed to a peace dividend in that they had helped to reduce '*entrenched sentiments of deprivation among conflict-affected communities*'. The CAPE found that ADB assistance in the North and East 'likely to be partly successful' but that the resurgence in conflict would reduce the probability of success. The evaluation called for better assessment of conflict sensitivity and of the ADB's influence on the conflict, greater flexibility and use of local capacity in delivery, a more balanced geographical coverage to promote inclusiveness and equal development, and a move away from a post-conflict mindset.

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[53] The World Bank and Asian Development Bank have done strategic level evaluations (and these relate to conflict sensitive development and not to peacebuilding), Sweden conducted a results assessment of its portfolio over the period 2003-2008, Norway assessed their extensive economic development programme and Canada carried out a broad assessment of it governance work.

112.   SIDA's comprehensive Results Analysis in 2008, though in a draft stage, examined the performance of 31 of its larger projects implemented between 2003-08, and found that 69% had positive results that justified the investment[54]. According to the Results Analysis, the impacts of the armed conflict <u>on</u> SIDA's programmes has been "considerable."[55]

113.   CIDA's review of projects in the governance sector concluded that: 1) CIDA's support to a number of Sri Lankan NGOs has sustained and strengthened civil society voices, especially those documenting human rights abuses by all parties; and 2) CIDA support has helped to protect fundamental rights, enable dialogue and conflict resolution, and strengthen democratic institutions.

Project level

114.   Across the set of 28 evaluations results are, as to be expected, mixed. Annex 12 summarises the objectives and results for each of the projects.

115.   For conflict-sensitive development, the programmes are judged from having modest results to being very effective in terms of delivering planned social and economic benefits whether implemented before or during the conflict periods. But there is little evidence as to the impact of these programmes on peacebuilding, and since the decline and finally the abrogation of the peace process, the theory of a peace dividend has been seen largely as ineffective in terms of supporting a widespread constituency for peace.

116.   In governance and human rights, most projects were deemed successful or partially successful in achieving their specific outputs, such as helping vulnerable populations, supporting NGOs, bolstering the media, improving local governance, etc. But the broader impact and sustainability were frequently questioned. Most of these projects were designed to either contribute to ensuring that nascent peace would become lasting peace or address some of the collateral damage caused by the resumption of the conflict. Few, if any, were designed to have an impact on the actors or dynamics directly shaping the conflict or the peace process.

117.   Overall the peacebuilding interventions studied have had limited impact beyond the local level. Community based programmes aimed at building "capacities for peace" or feeding issues into the formal peace process were more successful at addressing conflicts at the community level than making the linkages from the regional to the national. The impact of so-called "co-existence" projects is patchy. Although difficult to attribute and measure attitudinal and behaviour change, due largely to the absence of baseline date and effective monitoring systems, there is however some evidence that programmes working on inter-ethnic issues created some space for communities, with those working with youth the most productive.

118.   There is little evidence of the impact of those programmes working with local partners on conflict transformation and peacebuilding. In part this is also down to attribution, but also because the evaluations have focussed on the functionality of organisations with respect to their local partnerships and less on the impact of their work on the conflict. Attribution apart, it would also be very difficult to aggregate and make an assessment of the impact on conflict of the work of hundreds of different initiatives.

119.   The project supporting the official peace process showed good results until the peace process faltered. Initiatives aimed at influencing key actors through exposure to other contexts and insights

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[54] *One Billion and Change, Results Analysis of the Sri Lanka Programme 2003-2008*, G. Schill, SIDA, 2008.
[55] Ibid. p.4

from international experts were found to be positive at the individual level but there was no discernable impact on policy and the negotiations.

1.13.   How effective was building capacity for formal peace negotiations and track two initiatives?

120.   Both Berghof and the PSP-supported programmes were based on the assumption that key actors would benefit from the involvement and insights of international experts on conflict resolution and peacebuilding and exposure to lessons from other processes. This is based on a theory of change that people can be influenced by ideas, frameworks and concepts: a "rationalist approach". These initiatives were found to have a positive impact on the thinking of individuals during formal negotiations where the parties are receptive to ideas and policy frameworks, but the impact on policies and negotiations was not obvious.

121.   Initiatives aimed at strengthening the voices of other stakeholders, such as the Muslim community and Up Country Tamils, were based on the assumption that this would broaden and deepen the political process and thus lead to a more durable and sustainable peace. In the case of Berghof this was not proven to be effective as Berghof was not able to exert much influence on the closed peace process. The assumption that decision makers can be influenced by people of stature and credibility (Track 2) was not proven by the evaluation of Berghof:

> "*During the negotiations, Berghof actually had access to the government leadership (UNP), particularly those serving as representatives in the negotiation process, and also worked with the negotiation team on the LTTE side. Once the government and decision makers changed, however, Berghof lost influence, and they shifted their attention to developing greater capacity among like-minded intellectuals. These people had been essentially sidelined and what little influence they might have had under the UNP government was lost. At the same time, the extreme nationalist parties exerted greater influence in coalition with the SLFP government and mobilized popular opinion against foreign meddling, targeting Berghof in particular*."[56]

122.   But the FCE evaluation highlighted the importance of Sinhalese peace advocates engaging and challenging the nationalist discourse. "*though the ground realities have changed, the longer term goal of building a constituency for peace within the southern polity and engaging explicitly with political actors remains a valid one*" [57]

123.   The One Text multi-stakeholder dialogue[58] and Berghof's work assumed that building greater cooperation and synergies among like-minded people and key actors would exert influence on decision makers. The effectiveness of processes designed to build trust and encourage dialogue is difficult to assess; in particular when much of this type of back channel work is necessarily secretive.

124.   In the case of One Text the tangible outcome of the creation of the Peace Secretariat for Muslims was felt to be positive. But in the end its effectiveness was limited by three things: the absence of a robust formal process, the top-down decision making of Sri Lankan political parties, and shortcomings in the organisation and behaviour of those parties.

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[56]   *The Berghof Foundation in Sri Lanka: Resource Network for Conflict Transformation. Lessons Learned Evaluation Report*. June 2008. p.9
[57] *Assessment of Norwegian Economic Support to Foundation for CoExistence (FCE)*, Sri Lanka. July 2007. p6
[58] "One Text" was a Track 2 initiative, supported by USAID, CIDA and Switzerland, that was intended to allow political stakeholders to hold an ongoing, "behind-closed-doors" dialogue on issues of importance to the peace process.

125.   Berghof's work was also impeded by the difficulties Sri Lankan groups have in working together. The evaluation found that "*building coalitions or networks of these people was not found to have resulted in a greater impact on conflict structures and dynamics*". Most of the groups Berghof worked with as partners were not connected to grassroots organisations; Colombo-based organisations and intellectuals were not in a position to mobilise public support during the negotiations.

1.14.   How effectively did projects build constituencies and capacities for peace?

126.   Some commentators and practitioners have remarked on the tendency to overemphasise the role and impact of civil society on peacebuilding by adding a "conflict wrapper" to what are essentially community development programmes. There is also a tendency to overemphasise the role of civil society to influence the formal peace process and so a number of initiatives[59] aimed to build the capacity of civil society on the assumption that civil society organisations can positively influence and contribute to addressing the root causes of the conflict: *"Certain types of intervention at community level can avoid the violence that often accompanies civil wars. But the key question is, does the focus at community level allow such interventions to ignore the more powerful forces behind the conflict –the ruling elite? Fundamentally the focus on an amorphous category called the "community" ignores the power relations that underlie conflicts. In addition, when one looks at poor people caught in the middle of conflicts and trying to survive, it is not clear how justified is the demand for them to be leaders in conflict resolution".[60]*

127.   To some extent, the People's Forum (PF) programme illustrates this point. The programme was initially conceived as a means of feeding community level issues into the formal peace process (via the One Text). Although not explicitly stated, this is based on the theory of change that if enough people are mobilised and engaged in support of peace and thereby opposition to war, then political leaders will bow to the demands of their constituents and be forced to bring peace. This linkage was never developed and the original purpose of channelling people's views upwards into the One Text and the formal process neither achieved nor really tested.

128.   The mid term assessment of the PF states: "*The power of the PFs will be more significant when they become more organised and coordinated to coalesce around one national peace issue*" [61]. However, PF members themselves tend to view peacebuilding as necessarily being framed within local community needs, rather than being linked to the macro political process. This is echoed in the USAID evaluation: '*it is not clear that the People's Forum have the potential to become a grassroots "people's movement" in support of peace, democracy and development*' [62]. Thus it is an unresolved question as to whether the People's Forums (PFs) are really about conflict transformation and resolution or rather another means of community development. The evaluation does recommend introducing methods for non-violent resistance so implicitly recognising that this was not a focus of the programme[63].

129.   The means by which the Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation project (FLICT) assumes partners will be able to address the root causes of conflict is by building their

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[59] Several NGOs received support from multiple donors over the period in question. Collectively it is possible that this support enabled NGOs to mobilise constituencies and capacities for peace but the evaluations were not available to make this judgement. Included in this group of leading NGOs is NPC, CPA, FCE, CHA, Sarvodaya and YATV.
[60] Sunil Bastian, "Foreign Aid, Globalization and Conflict in Sri Lanka", in Mayer, Rajasingham-Senanayake, and Thangarajah, eds*., Building Local Capacities for Peace* (Colombo:2003), p148
[61] Quote from an Academy for Education and Development (AED) staff member, *Sri Lanka People's Forum: A Midterm Strategic Assessment*. June 2005. p19
[62] *Evaluation of the AED Peace Support Program (phase iii).* February 2007. p5
[63] *Sri Lanka People's Forum: A Midterm Strategic Assessment*, June 2007. p18

capacity to undertake conflict transformation. The early review highlighted the lack of a rigorous analysis or clear strategy for resolving or potentially transforming conflict within the projects supported by the organisation. One of the main reasons was that many of the groups supported appeared to have little or no practical experience of implementing conflict transformation projects. The evaluators felt that FLICT lacked conceptual coherence and clarity with respect to what they were trying to achieve, so that their work was limited by a lack of a "clear vision" of what conflict transformation meant and "how this could be pursued in the ..Sri Lankan context".[64] After the 2005 review, FLICT undertook major revisions and changes to focus areas and later developed a 'concept book' to guide partners.

130.   The later review noted that most of FLICT partners felt that their capacity to work on conflict transformation had increased and the effectiveness of FLICT's approach could be measured by the "*increasingly good quality of proposals received and funded by FLICT in the period under review*". FLICT guides proposals through a process involving training and awareness raising to enable partners "*to respond to FLICT's priorities in designing projects aimed at conflict transformation*"[65]. While it is clear that the impact of FLICT's work in accompanying partners is effective, what is not clear from the reviews is the effectiveness of those partners work on addressing and transforming the causes of conflict. One of the challenges in this regard is the difficulty in attribution of FLICT's capacity building work, plus the lack of indicators for monitoring and evaluating the direct effects of FLICT.

1.15.   Are the right people being addressed? [66]

131.   In the case of trying to resolve the conflict in Sri Lanka, the "right people" would appear to include assorted government and political leaders (including members of the JVP and JHU), the LTTE leadership, and other societal leaders and shapers of public opinion (such as Buddhist monks and the media). However, since the scope of this analysis excludes political and diplomatic interaction, the following assessment concentrates more on how donors worked with the government, NGOs and civil society, especially at the local level.

132.   In terms of engagement with GoSL, for the multilateral development banks the relationship was one of lending agency and borrower/client, and so largely on a technical planning and implementation level rather than political. Bilaterals' engagement with government has varied depending on their approaches to the provision of assistance, their strategies and the government in power. The evaluation of CIDA's GISP – a governance programme – criticized the project for not engaging government directly: '*To mount a governance program and leave out government is like writing a play and deliberately leaving out one of the main characters. One would have to have very good reasons to do so. Whatever case could be made in the mid 1990s for not engaging government makes no sense whatsoever in 2003*' [67].

133.   The range of interventions examined present contrasting answers. Some target specific groups (police, journalists or legal profession), others a broad conflict-affected population in a region, while a third group were national in scope. Some umbrella fund programmes supported parallel initiatives at the local, regional and national levels, and while this balance seems sound, there is less evidence that there was connectivity between these levels.

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[64] It should be noted that FLICT staff did not share this view but agreed to let the evaluation report include this opinion.
[65] BMZ Internal Review of FLICT. 2008 p14
[66] This question is intended to incorporate Mary Anderson's framework for analysing aid impact. See Do No Harm, by M Andersen, 1999, Ch. 6.
[67] GISP evaluation, p54

134.   In terms of scale and reach, the larger rehabilitation and resettlement programmes address large numbers of conflict-affected people although the beneficiaries still form only a small proportion of the total[68].

135.   Most development projects aimed to provide benefits across the population without bias towards one group or another, though in practice evidence suggests there has been mixed success in achieving this. This is partly due to the continuing conflict and therefore the rising numbers of affected persons that fall beyond the limits of assistance, as well as to the tsunami that exacerbated the impact of the conflict. Certain areas have remained inaccessible and so people in need in these areas cannot be helped[69]. As a result, outreach has been mixed: '*NEHRP has had a highly differentiated outreach to the conflict affected population in the North East. This constitutes a reputational risk to IDA and the EC.*'[70].

136.   Within a single area, the challenge of achieving equitable well-targeted distribution has been met by various methods – the grievance or redress procedures used in UAS and NEHRP have been reported as successful as a means for local groups to register and appeal against targeting that was perceived as biased or not to reaching the most needy[71].

137.   Evaluations of the immense aid flows during the post-tsunami period highlight the negative affects that too much money managed in a poorly coordinated manner can have, creating poor targeting, uneven standards of assistance and corruption. For example some post-tsunami assistance provides substantially higher housing support than the programmes offered by the ADB, EC and World Bank, and this has created increased tension[72].

138.   There also was the consideration of making sure that the "Sinhala South" felt that it was receiving a peace dividend—even though much of it is it is significantly better off than the war torn, heavily Tamil North and East. So from a political perspective southerners were the "right" people even though they may not have been from a purely developmental perspective.

139.   The following four examples from the pool of evaluations highlight other aspects of reach and diversity:

▪ FLICT supports a broad range of groups through its partners: youth, men, women, media, business community and religious leaders, with 75% of partners operating outside of Colombo. The 2005 review noted a lack of clarity about the relationship between target groups and the programme objective. For example, in media projects, training journalists did not necessarily link with the aim of using the media and the arts to support peacebuilding. Journalists and others were brought together to build networks and share projects, but journalists viewed themselves as professionals with a duty to report objectively on the conflict and as such had a role distinct from other members of the network.

▪ The EIDHR evaluation found the project was particularly relevant because the grassroots approach was complementary to macro-level initiatives: National Peace Council (NPC) worked with

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[68] For example, the North East Housing Reconstruction Programme (NEHRP) estimates that of the 290,000 houses destroyed or damaged by the conflict, the project would facilitate the repair of some 35,000.

[69] For example, NEHRP does not cover the high security zones in Jaffna, nor other IDPs in Amparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee who are unable to return. The deteriorating security situation and restrictions on construction materials in 2006 stopped project activities in Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu and several divisions elsewhere.

[70] World Bank NEHRP MTR mission, 2007, para 25

[71] Interview with S. Rangaraja, Chief Secretary, Northern Province.

[72] Noted in several donor reports including by the EC and World Bank.

villagers; CHA with journalists, RDF with women and children IDPs, FCE with child labour rights in Estates sector. But there doesn't appear to be any real connection or complementarity.

▪ The approach of Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme (ACRP) is to fund partner programmes addressing root causes in a flexible manner, and this has helped to target the right constituencies. The facility approach was assessed as successful and allowed support in key geographical locations across the country. The beneficiaries of the peacebuilding activities were diverse, ranging from regional chambers of commerce, village level organizations, communities and local government.

1.16. Have there been increases in people's security and in their sense of dignity?

140.   This analysis can only speculate on the answer to this given that projects may not have been designed with this as a goal and few evaluations address it[73]. Also, in the absence of reliable statistics on crime and/or human rights abuses or public opinion surveys, we can only speculate on what increases people's sense of security and dignity. That said, one can assume that security and dignity are increased by having a home and a job, or by an increase in the rule of law and justice, or through a decrease in armed conflict - unless the decrease comes because one side loses, in which case the decrease in conflict may not translate into an increase in security for the losers.

141.   Generally security has worsened in the conflict-affected areas as the hostilities were renewed from 2005, and this has limited the improvements offered by aid programmes. The conflict-sensitive development programmes show evidence of reducing poverty, especially in the immediate post ceasefire period and where implementation could continue due to better security. However there is less clear evidence that this has translated into improved security and dignity.

142.   Several evaluations such as the LIFT MTR argue that people's self-worth and security have increased through the successful empowerment activities. Also it judges that social capital has increased through village unity, local lending and self help activities, plus a decrease in local level interpersonal and intercommunity conflict.

143.   As the ceasefire broke down, those projects designed as post-conflict (reconstruction and rehabilitation, education, training, employment) may have proved less effective in the North and East where conflict continued. Some donors reacted by suspending operations in the hot conflict areas, and this delayed disbursement, reduced the reach and so weakened possible security improvement.

144.   Most of the assistance provided by the two multilateral banks was for public infrastructure improvements, but the housing programmes (NEHRP and other post-tsunami assistance) have increased security at the beneficiary level. The UNDP Transition Programme (TP) evaluation found that housing, though the highest priority from the community perspective, was the last component to come onstream due to delays in agreeing standards between UN agencies. Different build standards and financing levels has reportedly led to tensions within and between communities. Nevertheless, TP interventions have been seen as valuable in terms of providing IDPs, returnees and host communities with sustainable options for resettlement, rehabilitation and peaceful co-existence. The projects have also promoted good governance practices by working thorough local service providers, government departments, CBOs and NGOs.

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[73] The question is highly subjective and depends who is asking the question and of whom i.e. women, men , children, youth , elderly, soldiers, poor, middle class etc. These concerns need to noted in revising the OECD-DAC guidance.

145.   The Development and Peace – Sri Lanka (DPSL) programme appears to have had a positive impact on the behaviour and attitudes of young people, although no baseline survey had been conducted before the evaluation. There is some evidence that young men would not join the armed forces even if this provided a better income. Also, people reported being less afraid of other communities after exposure to the youth groups established by the programme.

146.   Another potential source of increased security and dignity is strengthened rule of law and access to justice. In this area, the results have been mixed. Based on the evaluations reviewed, efforts to support human rights and access to justice have been successful, but more at the individual level than at the group or systemic level.

1.17.   Have non-violent forms of conflict resolution improved?

147.   The stalemate combined with the eventual collapse of the CFA increased various conflicts over land, identity and resources; religious tensions increased as did conflict within the organised sphere of civil society – along ethnic, regional, class, language and gender lines. A number of evaluations noted the fractured, uncoordinated and generally uncollaborative nature of Sri Lankan civil society, and there is little evidence from the sample of how or if programmes were trying to address these issues.

148.   For the development interventions, the main evidence for conflict resolution is at the local level where following the ceasefire, space opened up for engagement with both government and LTTE around planning and implementation of investments. But these practical successes did not translate into new power sharing arrangements or removing the causes of conflict. The World Bank felt that they did strengthen administrative capacity at provincial and district level and partly restored access to education and irrigation services, but these gains were lost with the resurgence of violence from late 2005[74]. The expectation (and implicit theory of change) that the World Bank would be able to support the peace process through improved services and capacity building within traditional development schemes proved wrong as the political changes and renewed conflict (as well as the tsunami) trumped these initiatives.

149.   Three further examples of positive results are:
- The continuing success of local Mediation Boards in Sri Lanka, which have been supported both by CIDA and by the Asia Foundation (with funding from the UK and USAID), is an example of a project that has made a contribution to widespread, if low level, peaceful dispute resolution.

- The People's Forum programme does try to bring together national implementing partners under one overarching approach to peacebuilding. But the mid term assessment stressed the need to develop a clear strategy on how to manage ideological differences between the implementing partners which was hampering the effectiveness of the overall goal.

- The EIDHR, which sought to advance equality, tolerance and peace, made two grants explicitly for peacebuilding, one to NPC and one to the Centre for Poverty Analysis. A positive impact on conflict prevention between local communities was recorded by the EIDHR review, where the NPC sub-project prevented escalation of imminent conflict in Batticaloa in November 2007 through rapid response. Given the extremely volatile situation there, this may be regarded as a highly relevant project outcome. The project aims at building partnerships between two communities and 'celebrating diversity' but it was also noted that the activities

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[74] CAS Completion Report IEG Review, World Bank, 2008, p.4

'*do not address the present inequalities and past violence. This is precisely the main limitation of the project.. as it does not challenge the underlying flagrant inequalities. It is the dilemma of many peacebuilding / conflict transformation projects in different contexts and countries. What is the relevance of a peace project when injustice and inequality are not addressed?*[75]

1.18. Are there real improvements in relations among groups in conflict?

150.   The theory of change underlying this question is that if cultural and social norms, values and behaviours are transformed to reject violence and support dialogue then the fundamental causes of conflict can be addressed and thus build the long term conditions for peace. The connection between the evidence of local level changes and wider regional and national peacebuilding is where many observers see a critical gap. Evidence appears good for improvement in community relations, however, most of these appear unconnected with each other or with wider changes in conflict relations. A number of programmes have this assumption at the heart of their work, although not always explicitly stated as such. Four examples are discussed below: People's Forums, DPSL, FCE, LIFT.

151.   Establishing **People's Forums** was based on the assumption that participatory approaches involving heterogeneous stakeholders focusing on peace, good governance and development - rather than generic community development - could counter the root causes of violence. The PFs were successful in carrying out core activities in response to people's needs. 64 PFs were set up throughout all provinces and districts of Sri Lanka, and they brought together the four largest NGOs to work on the joint project. These were, however, predominately community development projects, tsunami relief and projects aimed across ethnic divides. Moreover, the selection of location for PFs was based on criteria that would ease the establishment of PFs, i.e. the presence of an office or partners to work with. There was no baseline survey or conflict mapping for the selection of where and whom to work with.

152.   By end of 2006, 50% of total PF activities addressed "co-existence"; 17% formal and vocational education; 14% public services, roads, agriculture and 11% civic responsibility. Success stories of inter-ethnic work include joint language classes for Tamil and Sinhala children or Bhuddist monks and joint Muslim and Tamil projects, although it is not clear what tensions were addressed and how they were resolved. Whilst it seems clear that the PFs provided a venue for people from different ethnic groups to work together on issues of concern for the community and as such "*help to fill a huge void in civic participation that apparently exists at the local level in Sri Lanka*"[76], what is less evident is their effectiveness at building capacity among communities to address peacebuilding and the root causes of violence.

153.   The theory of change underpinning the **DPSL** programme was that programmes aimed at "*promoting trust-building and interaction between participants form different ethnic groups*" and that working with particular rural groups (youth and farmers) would help address key drivers of the conflict; namely inter-ethnic divisions, the lack of income opportunities for rural youth, and tensions over access to land, water and agricultural inputs[77]. Economic development projects were used as an entry point for promoting inter-ethnic trust, and vocational skills training helped provide alternative employment opportunities to disadvantaged rural youth. The main impact of DPSL was improved food security and income, improved inter-ethnic interaction, especially among the youth, preventing at least some young men from taking up arms and creating space for establishing co-existence

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[75] EIDHR evaluation, *p.10.*
[76] *Evaluation of the AED Peace Support Program (phase iii*). February 2007 p19
[77] *Development and Peace –Sri Lanka (DPSL). Report of the External Review Mission to SDC*. p13

committees. The overall conclusion of the evaluation is that the programme made "*a limited, though valuable contribution to interethnic trust building and interaction at local level*"[78].

154.   A tight geographical (on the Eastern Province) and sectoral focus is seen as positive in the early work of **FCE**, as this gave a clear niche for the programme in what was a crowded market. However, the initial narrow definition of human security (freedom from fear) upon which FCE based its strategy and activities, broadened to a wider definition of freedom from want. Programmes then became virtually indistinguishable from human development. This was largely due to the tsunami response, when FCE became involved in reconstruction and development. Donors viewed FCE in the same way as other multiple mandate NGOs such as Oxfam and CARE. Furthermore, there was a lack of clarity in the human security and coexistence programme about the rationale behind interventions. Initially focussed on linkages between national and regional levels, the aim was to strengthen human security at the regional level as a means of influencing the peace process. However, the shift towards development activities post the tsunami also resulted in a shift from the original theory of change and more importance was placed on addressing conflicts at the community level.

155.   Several governance programmes had the intention to address relations between groups in conflict but the means or theories of change were indirect, whether through a less biased or inflammatory media (support to SLPI and Young Asia Television (YATV)) or more transparent local government (TALG). In terms of media support, a number of initiatives are based on the assumption that promoting the media can lead to changing public attitudes and building greater tolerance in society. Several donors funded a range of media interventions (training, support to institutions, protection of journalists and media freedom), but the overall impact on the media appears to be limited in terms of addressing ethnic differences. Studies in 2004 and 2005 revealed very biased reporting in both the English language and vernacular press: on the whole the Tamil press report on Tamil concerns (grievances, military intelligence) and the Sinhala press on Sinhala concerns (intra-Sinhala politics)[79].

156.   Several evaluations of more traditional development projects argue that by working with and through local authorities and communities organisations, there has been significant strengthening of capacities and confidence at this level. By working with common interest groups, especially women, the evaluations argue that ethnic and political divides are reduced. **LIFT** argues that through its support to CBOs and lending schemes, there has been a decrease in local level interpersonal and intercommunity conflict. The **TP** evaluation comments that: *'The community based approach has been followed i.e. working through and with groups rather than individuals. It has been successful in avoiding divisiveness between factions within communities'*[80]

157.   There is an overlap between conflict sensitive development projects and other projects that overtly seek to achieve peacebuilding but in fact deliver similar activities on the ground. Thus the kinds of activities funded by DPSL or OTI are similar to those supported by LIFT and PRET and even NEIAP: agricultural income generation and job creation for youth. Is the difference between them that the former consciously sees the activities as inducing direct support for peace processes while the latter implicitly expect the economic interventions to lead to local empowerment, community harmony and thereby in some sense a foundation is provided for longer term peace?

158.   In so far as the aim to include other excluded groups in the peace process and peacebuilding efforts, then the support provided by FCE and Berghof to help in setting up and establishing the

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[78] Ibid p20
[79] see *Media Assessment of Sri Lanka*. July 2008. p8.
[80] UNDP Transition Programme External Review Report, p.32

Muslim Peace Secretariat should be viewed positively, especially as the organisation continues to function.

1.19. Has effectiveness been strengthened by a 'whole of a government' approach? Use of a conflict analysis? More flexible implementation?

159. The evidence base is limited for the question on the effectiveness of a **whole of government** approach: the strongest candidates in this regard are the UK, the Netherlands and the Swiss. The UK is considered to provide the strongest example of a whole of government approach but their strategy and evaluations were not available.

160. The Swiss approach from 2007 combines their political / human rights (PD office), humanitarian aid division and development work (SDC) into a 'coherent' strategy with three components of relief and protection, peacebuilding and inclusive rehabilitation, that builds on synergies between the departments of the Swiss government. There is no independent evaluation to judge the results of this approach, but the annual reports score achievements for each pillar and sub-pillar. The peacebuilding pillar has been replaced by human rights as the peace situation deteriorated while their key initiative through the Berghof Foundation was suspended. So while 'Track 1' and '1.5' were rated poorly, grassroots work through the DPSL were strong. The reconstruction work in the North and East have been rated as 80-100% for relief and rehabilitation projects have also scored well.

161. The US had two potentially complementary programmes aimed at peacebuilding: the PSP, which focused on directly supporting the formal peace process, and USAID/OTI's programme at the local level which aimed to build support for the peace process at grassroots. However, it appears there was little complementarity and synergy between these in terms of programmatic approaches and priorities.

162. **Conflict analysis** has been increasingly used by donors – the ADB, World Bank and USAID have taken steps to institutionalise such analysis as part of their project preparation work, so that at a minimum they would do no harm and not exacerbate conflict. The ADB conflict specialist who supported the ADB country office from 2003-06 provided detailed advice on the conflict sensitisation of ADB projects, and the CAPE and other reviews note the support has been successful. The sustainability of the new approach, while embodied in the new ADB CSP, has been questioned by some observers partly because of the delayed replacement of the adviser, and partly because of doubts raised by the adviser himself over the broader institutional context of ADB, with its centralised structure, lack of a policy for working in or on conflict, and its focus on traditional development financing.

163. **Flexible implementation** covers the frequency of project reviews and the willingness of project management to change project activities, and scenario planning. The relevance of scenario planning is discussed earlier (1.10), but it is extremely difficult to assess whether the use of scenarios has resulted in aid being more effective in Sri Lanka. No donor has been able to conduct an ex-post evaluation of the pros and cons of the scenario approach. Two donors who adopted scenario planning have followed the worst case scenario of closing their programme so that effectiveness would then relate to a proper exit and closure. The World Bank's new CAS 2009-12 drops the use of scenarios - because the situation is seen as <u>too</u> volatile or fluid -- in favour of a set of core operations that can deliver benefits on the ground through local government and the private sector.

164.   Flexibility in the choice of partners, locations and kinds of activities supported in grant-making programmes has proved effective in several cases. The ACRP, CAPE and A2J evaluations record the benefits of this. The ACRP evaluation found that '*the flexible, facility approach…was assessed as successful. It allowed support in various geographical locations, contributions to larger programs and also the full funding of smaller activities. Partners were able to design the most appropriate activities based on identified needs and field knowledge. Moreover, partners could define the size and focus of their activities commensurate with their capabilities and strengths*'[81]. ADB's CAPE noted that the North East Community Restoration and Development Project (NECORD) process-based approach provided flexibility in number and scope of subprojects within sector-based allocations. The A2J evaluation found that allowing partners flexibility built trust. The NEHRP evaluation found that anticipating risk allowed quick, flexible responses in terms of meeting needs from the tsunami, changing the house design and selection of target areas.

165.   On the other hand several reviews point out that some projects did not adjust sufficiently or quickly enough to the changing context. For example, OTI remained wedded to its main strategy despite the deteriorating security setting and marked political changes. '*OTI basically stuck to its mandate to promote peace, even when the earlier optimism about the CFA had essentially disappeared. Had the tsunami not occurred, OTI might have taken stock of the political situation some time in 2005, and might have made a decision to withdraw from Sri Lanka on the good grounds that there was no longer "a transition" that could be supported*…'[82]. Berghof was also criticised for not shifting strategy in 2005 when the peace process stalled, and '*for persisting in devoting energy to promoting a range of power sharing and federalist options*'[83], even when a new militaristic government had come to power.

1.20.   How effectively were gender and horizontal inequalities addressed?

166.   Gender has in general been poorly addressed by the range of projects studied, and many of the evaluations reviewed also pay only limited attention to the differential impact of conflict on gender and the role of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

167.   The LIFT MTR has strong evidence of women empowerment – even arguing that conflict has created opportunities that didn't exist before. Savings groups have given women control of resources, greater confidence and a voice in family and local affairs.   Norway's economic development assistance is evaluated as 'hardly visible' in terms of their gender approach [84]. For the UN, the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery found that '*While there are some exemplary efforts in a few interventions to address women's basic needs, and some of the programmes specifically target women as beneficiaries, overall, there was limited evidence of an empowerment approach to gender and social development.*'[85] The GISP had gender as cross-cutting theme, but the evaluation finds that the results were limited – partners did not actively purse or monitor gender integration, though the project sponsored the development of a gender strategy with its largest partner, the CPA, which has now been approved in principle.

168.   There was some recognition that uneven development was a key factor in the conflict, and the larger donors certainly justified larger reconstruction programmes in the North and East in order to redress markedly higher poverty levels. The complexity of inequality across and within regions has

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[81] ACRP MTR, p.4

[82] Final Evaluation, OTI, Transition Initiative, p.34

[83] Lessons Learned Evaluation Berghof Evaluation Report, by P. Aeberhard, I. Reinhard, 2008, p.22

[84] Norwegian Evaluation, Nordic Consult, op.cit. June 2007 p.31

[85] *Report on Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery Mission to Sri Lanka, 2007*, Final Draft, para 20

not been so well appreciated – as the predominantly Muslim population in the East would argue that more assistance went to the North and the Tamil areas and less attention paid to other groups.

Summary on Findings of Evaluations

1.   The CPPB projects studied have on the whole had a weak approach to monitoring and evaluation and are hindered by non-existent or poor results frameworks. There are exceptions where careful and representative data have been assembled and interpreted well. However, many evaluations tend to focus on results rather than outcomes, are based on partial evidence and are beset by a shifting context where project designs are changed as circumstances alter (see Section C below). Good baselines and periodic follow-up surveys are rarely in place and both natural and political events have disrupted the orderly tracking of progress. The result is that evaluations are often premature and impacts are not given time to emerge. Another feature is that evaluations have often been more concerned with lessons for future programmes than about the impact of the programme being evaluated.

2.   Findings of project evaluations in an ongoing conflict setting can often be sensitive to the government, donors and the implementers for different reasons. This limits the extent of sharing of findings and subsequent lesson learning.

3.   Despite the above, some evaluations have generated a number of useful findings around the effective delivery of benefits especially at the grassroots level as well as other lessons on how conflict affects project performance. However the centralised nature of Sri Lankan politics creates a challenge for local level initiatives to have any real impact on peace processes.

4.   Some peacebuilding evaluations have been too conceptual and the findings hard to apply. Some have focussed more on organisational aspects than on the impact of the initiatives.

5.   Findings on gender show a very mixed performance with some having strong gender results, while other evaluations hardly recognised the gender dimension.

6.   Programmes with a peacebuilding goal have shifted from their original focus on conflict transformation and co-existence to more classical development work as a response to the changing context where overt peacebuilding activities are not acceptable and also post-tsunami humanitarian and rehabilitation needs have stimulated this response.

7.   Governance and human rights projects generally have been more successful at addressing individual and/or highly localized needs than at promoting broader group-based or systemic changes.

8.   While there is a consensus among peacebuilding activities of the need for a "no peace without justice" perspective, the majority of peacebuilding activities take place where inequalities and oppression prevail and where conflict and violence have reinforced inequalities. Often it is hard to address justice, and when doing so the risks of repercussions are enormous. The dilemma of peacebuilding / conflict transformation work generally is the relevance of a peace project when injustice and inequality are not addressed.

9.   Community based programmes aimed at building "capacities for peace" were more successful at addressing conflicts at the community level than in making the linkages from the local to the national. The impact of so-called "co-existence" projects is patchy. There is some evidence that programmes working on inter-ethnic issues created space for communities, especially those working with youth.

C. Process of doing evaluations

169.   How evaluations are done may be a source of rich learning for the OECD DAC Guidance and for donors committed to learning and improving their engagement in CPPB work and in delivering development aid within a conflict setting. This section reviews the recorded experience of conducting a sample of published evaluations in Sri Lanka from 2002 to 2008, and draws out common experiences and lessons in three areas:

> 1. how the evaluations were designed,
> 2. how they were conducted, and
> 3. how – based on interviews with those who conducted or commissioned or managed programmes after evaluation -- they were used.

Design issues

170.   **Terms of Reference:** Where TORs were available for review[86], it was found they usually do not call for the impact of the intervention <u>on the conflict</u> to be addressed in the evaluation. Exceptions are DPSL (SDC), which specifically asked for an assessment of '*positive features and limits of aiming at peacebuilding and conflict transformation through development activities'*, and the Transition Initiative (OTI/USAID), which asked for an evaluation of *'how the different modalities and grants contributed towards greater support for a peace settlement'*. The UAS TOR (Netherlands) linked the study to the peace process, albeit indirectly, by asking '*whether the direct financial support to the IDP families and the communities did indeed contribute towards the envisaged outcome of re-instated livelihoods and independence and has been supporting the local economy and the peace process*'.

171.   In the peacebuilding arena, the purpose of the evaluations examined was to look at the effectiveness, relevance and sustainability of both programme objectives and the organisation. Of the nine reports examined, only two described themselves as independent evaluations (USAID's PSP and the OTI Transition Initiative), five were review missions, two were assessments, and one (Berghof) a lesson learned evaluation. The PSP evaluation was the only one to stipulate issues related to impact.

172.   Both of the FLICT reviews as well as the Berghof evaluation were inward looking in terms of learning lessons and examining organisational and conceptual challenges rather than overall effectiveness and impact[87]. The later FLICT review (2008) had a stronger contextual element, focussing on how the organisation was operating in a changed socio-political context, and had an inward-looking emphasis on organisational issues rather than an assessment of the impact and effectiveness of the conflict transformation work of FLICT.

173.   Given the difficult situation at the time of the evaluation for Berghof, where the government had refused to extend the team leader's visa and hence effectively caused operations to suspend, the main purpose of the review was to generate insights into its overall impact and lessons for the relevance of this type of peace support work in the future.

174.   It was rare for the Terms of Reference available to specify looking at gender issues, either as part of organisations governance or as part of an assessment of programme objectives and performance.

175.   For development projects, the main focus was on evaluating the development or recovery impacts (housing, services and economic assets) and no demand was made on the evaluators to further

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[86] TORs were reviewed for 10 evaluations: CAPE, UAS, NAED, DPSL, OTI, ACRP, A2J, SLPI, EAJ, FCE
[87] Indeed the consultants who conducted the 2005 FLICT review deliberately eschewed examining impact as they felt they did not have the expertise.

assess how these benefits in turn may have affected CPPB. However, Norway's Economic Assessment did specifically ask for the conflict sensitivity of Norway's economic development programme to be assessed, and in ADB's CAPE the annex on the North and East in part addressed conflict sensitivity issues.

176.   For the governance and human rights evaluations: two were programme-wide (CIDA governance and ADB governance), five were final or semi-final evaluations (CIDA GISP, CIDA CRP, SIDA Police programme, TAF A2J, USAID TALG) and three were mid-term evaluations (UN Equal Access to Justice, EIDHR, SIDA support to SLPI).

177.   **Conflict analysis as part of the evaluation**: Although there is a good discussion in several evaluations of the conflict and its causes, very few of the evaluations conducted – or were asked to conduct in their TOR - their own conflict analysis. The Berghof evaluation is the only one of the 28 examined that conducted an analysis of the conflict with key stakeholders, as an integral part of the evaluation methodology. The DPSL evaluation also prepared a brief analysis of the current conflict and humanitarian situation in two districts[88]. The FCE evaluation and the early FLICT review both examine issues pertinent to the concept and effectiveness of these programmes, i.e. the relationship between peacebuilding and civil society. The YATV report also gives a detailed analysis of the conflict. A number of the sampled evaluations refer to the SCA2 by way of background analysis[89]. The evaluation of the A2J programme begins with a thoughtful situation analysis. Box 2 draws from this evaluation to show the value of conflict analysis.

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[88] Based on '*a review of available reports and interviews with relevant agencies such as ICRC, CHA, Human Rights Commission as well as academics from the region. The main purpose of the conflict analysis was to assess whether DPSL was still addressing relevant conflict factors and to generate recommendations for conflict-sensitive project implementation*' .Report of the External Review Mission, DPSL, p.9
[89] For example ACRP, DPSL, CAPE, SIDA results analysis.

Box 2. How Conflict Analysis can be applied to an Access to Justice Programme

The way to build conflict perspective into programming is to start with conflict analysis. Currently, the state of conflict manifests on three levels:
(1)   Government – LTTE struggle ('anti-terrorism' against 'national liberation')
(2)   Authoritarian tendencies of the regime against citizens' rights and freedoms
(3)   Rivalry and competitions between groups, exacerbated by (1) or (2).

It is worth considering what 'access to justice' means at each level of conflict. In (1) access to justice means both elimination of discrimination in language, access to public services, attitudes of the police and balance of appointments, and remedies against more immediate security concerns, violations of human rights and infringement of livelihoods. In (2) access to justice can be about how the society uses the existing public channels either through courts (public interest litigation) or advocacy and debate to challenge authoritarian practices before they become fully entrenched. In (3) this may mean expressing validity of group concerns and identity issues and creating fora for such group rights to be mediated either between the rivalling groups or between groups and the state.

The next step would be to assess where the conflict and justice perspectives join, and how action on justice can work towards conflict mitigation. Otherwise, if our intervention in conflict settings disregards the concerns that feed conflict, and carry on with issues which follow our own 'project implementation' logic, such engagement may not achieve the desired result. For example, if we work to enable people to get voting rights when elections, in their view, are meaningless while security and livelihood concerns loom large in their life, the conclusion the affected communities arrive at is that 'there is no justice'.

Conflict assessment for programme development has also to take into account feasibility constraints of the environment and of our own capacity. These, however, can alter overtime as situation is fluid and our capacities grow. Therefore, it is recommended to conduct a conflict assessment at the inception stage which would set a baseline, and revise it at regular intervals (e.g. once a year) throughout implementation.

Source: Evaluation of the Access to Justice Programme, A. Matveeya, DFID, UK, 2008

178.   **Availability of Baseline information:** As with the lack of conflict analysis, most evaluations were unable to draw on a sound baseline against which to gauge impact. The majority of projects were mounted rapidly, faced security problems and with limited access to statistical data. The SIDA Results Assessment found many of its sample had no baseline data, while the World Bank made a good attempt in its CAS Review to compare baseline measures with those achieved, although many of these were more economic or social indicators and few related to conflict. As with many NEIAP could not collect baseline information because of security constraints. For the UNDP Transition Programme, the '*principal finding of the Desk Review is that it is virtually impossible to judge the progress and impact of the Transition Program because of the absence of yardsticks. This in turn is due to the absence of baseline surveys and data for most of the components and projects. Reports have focused mainly on activities and the delivery of inputs*'[90].

179.   **Analytical Frameworks (and Theories of Change):** Most evaluations adopted many or all of the OECD- DAC evaluation criteria (Relevance, Effectiveness, Efficiency, Sustainability, Impact), but with some variations. Most also refer to the programme logic and the need to validate the links between activities and outcomes, some go into considerable detail to describe or present project

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[90] UNDP TI evaluation, p.28

frameworks. OECD-DAC guidance for evaluating CPPB interventions are referred to in the most recent evaluations (Berghof).

180.   Only a few evaluations explicitly refer to a <u>theory of change</u> that is being tested. The strongest example is perhaps the OTI evaluation that listed five theories (Box 1). Others review the programme 'logic' or links between lower and higher levels such as activities, results, purpose and goal. The two multilateral banks do not explore evaluation frameworks in the same way, but in the case of the World Bank follow internally-managed completion reports and independent (but still World Bank) Independent Evaluation Group procedures, while the ADB did not conduct any separate project evaluations over the period instead replacing this with a comprehensive country assessment (CAPE).

181.   Few of the evaluation authors include specific reference to their understanding of concepts and theories of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Exceptions include the 2005 review of FLICT and the evaluation of FCE. In the former, the consultants set out their interpretation of conflict transformation against which to assess the approach of FLICT. They challenged the assumption by FLICT that conflict transformation is a non-political and socially- neutral technical skill that can be divorced from the local context in order to be "implemented" as part of a training programme with local partners. The consultants looking at FCE explicitly state the set of assumptions about peacebuilding work that they brought to bear in conducting the evaluation, the most important being: *"..civil society actors can only play, at best, a supportive role in peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is an essentially political process and its eventual success or failure is largely determined in the Sri Lankan context by domestic political elites. For this reason, one cannot make a fair assessment of FCE (or any other NGO) based on the criteria of the success or failure of the peace process writ large"* [91].

182.   The issue of weak theories of change is also highlighted in the A2J evaluation: '*In A2J, it is hard to trace a transition from action on individual cases to advocacy of group rights and wider issues. Therefore, [while] impacts upon capacity-building of community groups in rural and neglected areas are real, in most cases they result in the solution of purely local issues.*'[92]

183.   **Team:** The evaluations typically involved one or two international consultants one of whom was the team leader and a number of local consultants. Some of these were described as CPPB specialists especially for the peacebuilding evaluations, however, some evaluation commissioners found recruiting consultants with the right profile – typically a mixture of evaluation and conflict prevention experience plus knowledge of Sri Lanka – very hard. It took Ausaid some 9 months to identify candidates for the ACRP study.

184.   The majority were conducted by independently hired consultants – the exceptions were the internal SIDA results assessment, the World Bank and ADB evaluations. The Ausaid ACRP and FLICT had a mix of in-house and external team members.

185.   Concerns were raised by some over the difficulty of gaining an unbiased point of view – that evaluators in conflict settings themselves may bring their own prejudices or may be seen by one group or another as bringing a pro-government or non-government perspective[93]. This was noted in the NEHRP, where the team managing the continuous social impact assessment were based on Colombo and according the EC task manager inevitably brought a Sinhala bias to their evaluation work.

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[91] FCE evaluation, p.14

[92] A2J evaluation, p.9

[93] A review of conflict evaluation in Sri Lanka notes the highly sensitive nature of evaluation work in conflict situations. See *Integrating Proactive Conflict Transformation into Development Practice*, H.Fuenfeld, Social Policy Analysis and Research Centre, Univ. of Colombo, 2006, p120 ff.

Joint evaluations

186. **Donor-donor:** There are only a few examples of evaluations mounted by more than one donor. This is partly related to the lack of co-funded programmes. Exceptions include the UAS evaluation, which was a joint World Bank/Netherlands supported exercise, and the initial review (2005) of the joint funded FLICT programme, which was jointly evaluated by the two main donors (Germany and UK). The UNDP Transition Programme evaluation was also an example of a single evaluation of a programme funded by seven donors including UNDP, though the participation of the other donors in designing and executing the evaluation is not described in the report.

187. Opportunities for further joint evaluation exercise have been somewhat overlooked. A number of peacebuilding initiatives are funded by multiple donors (FLICT, FCE, Berghof), and this is especially evident in the media sector where a significant number of donors fund a range of media initiatives[94], yet there have been no joint assessments or evaluations. Where co-funding of the same project occurs, collaboration on evaluations has not been significant: NEHRP (World Bank and EC) conduct joint supervisions, but the EC MTR was a separate exercise.

188. **Government-donor**: An experienced government representative from the Ministry of Nation Building expressed the view that most donors hired their own international experts to conduct evaluations and tended not to use local experts, and furthermore they imposed their own evaluation criteria rather than developing shared criteria with local partners. The External Resources Department coordinates such missions but there could be greater collaboration. Indeed, the Ministry of National Building itself implements some 30 rehabilitation and reconstruction projects worth Rupees 15 billion with the support of many donors, yet there is a piecemeal approach to evaluation work where the different donors conduct their own evaluation exercises. There is huge potential for more joint evaluation and learning here.

Implementation issues

189. **Access:** Many evaluations were able to visit the field[95] but were often constrained by security concerns and were unable to visit all locations or had to return to Colombo early. Some of the largest exercises, such as the ADB's CAPE, did relatively little field work and this was then seen as a weakness by the country office[96].

190. **Timeframe:** The evaluations range from being conducted from less than 2 weeks (World Bank NEHRP MTR) to over 14 months (CAPE). Some involved mainly desk study, such as the SIDA results assessment, while others involved quite extensive fieldwork. Field visits ranged from 8 days (LIFT) to some 5 months (UAS).

191. Several evaluations mentioned time constraints preventing visits to as many of the locations as was desired (FCE, OTI, PSP). The timeframes allocated did not seem on the whole to vary in accordance with the size or scope of the programme being evaluated. Projects worth several million dollars were assessed in the same time and same amount of fieldwork as projects worth under a million dollars. Projects with just one or two main interventions (such as NEHRP: housing and land)

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[94] EU, USAID, Swiss, Norway, Sweden, Japan, Germany, Ausaid, UK and Denmark fund training, media institutions, protection of journalists and media freedom, improving content of print and radio.
[95] Including the NEHRP (EC): 10 days in Ampara and Trincomalee; NEHRP (World Bank MTR 2006) visited north but could not visit east due to security; PRET (7 districts visited), LIFT (visited Batticaloa and Kilinochi but returned early due to security), Norway Economic Assessment – 10 days fieldwork but unable to visit the North and East; DPSL visited Ampara and Batticaloa districts; OTI spent 14 days in 6 districts in an effort to sample the total of 645 grants in 20 districts; UAS conducted interviews in 92 villages in 8 districts.
[96] Interview with M. Thiruchelvam, Project Implementation Specialist, ADB

were evaluated over the same timeframe as those with multiple forms of intervention (Transition Initiative)[97].

192.	The CAPE and Berghof evaluations were the only ones to have had an *inception phase*. CAPE was the most elaborate process with the preparation of an approach paper and extended preparation period. For Berghof, the inception added a number of new issues, including programme impacts, effectiveness and sustainability. The phase also emphasised the use of information from selected focus groups – each covering a pre-set issue. The aim was to use this process to focus on and draw out lessons. Groups were asked to assess the programme "in the context of Sri Lankan peacebuilding efforts and consider what worked and what did not work" – but there are no criteria or process elaborated for how the groups based their judgement and how conclusions were drawn.

193.	Most evaluators interviewed local government officials where appropriate, but from the documentary evidence relatively few (such as CRP and TALG) appeared to have consulted or interviewed members of central government as part of the process. For those evaluations conducted when the SLFP came to power, this may be because donor relations with the GoSL were strained.

194.	Efforts to evaluate post-tsunami assistance have caused difficulties from the sheer volume of aid and multiplicity of partners to the overlap the assistance caused with already ongoing programmes in the same areas. Some evaluations in the sample incorporated both tsunami and non-tsunami related assistance (OTI)

195.	**Attribution:** Several evaluations mentioned the problems of attributing project activities and results to the peace process - because of the confidential nature of back channel working and the need to respect confidentiality of stakeholders not wishing sensitive information to be included in the report and therefore brought into the public domain, or because of the difficulty of linking local level work with national level political processes. For other evaluations, the lack of explicit theories of change means that the logic linking project activities to CPPB outcomes may also be missing.

Use of Evaluations

196.	The sensitivity of evaluating donors and donor partners (who continue to live and work in Sri Lanka) affects how much the results are used. In the antagonistic, and for NGOs often threatening, environment particularly since 2005, reputational and personal risk is high if evaluations emerge with critical findings. While not all evaluations are listed as confidential, the general climate of mistrust means that information sharing is reduced and the willingness to discuss results and engage in joint government-donor efforts to learn lessons is limited.

197.	For some of the most recent evaluations it is too early to assess how and if any of the lessons will be used, for example with the Berghof study. However the parent Berghof Foundation itself reported that it plans to use the report as part of their own evaluation of the Sri Lanka experience. One lesson highlighted in the report was the need to have developed a more pro-active media strategy. The donor (Germany) recognises that if this had been done it might have mitigated some of the recent and current negative press about Berghof and other peacebuilding organisations.

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[97] The OTI evaluators in particular elaborated the constraints that they faced in trying to conduct a sound field programme, and were critical of the limited time and field arrangements they were afforded in making an assessment of a physically spread and historically complicated operation. In the case of PSP, one consultant was hired to look at both the PSP, which had a minimum of eight discrete components, and USAID's Transparent and Accountable Local Government programme, which had five.

198.   The process of conducting the ACRP MTR, as opposed to the content of the report, has led to a number of initiatives by Ausaid. These include the requirement for partners to: detail their analysis of the causes of conflict in proposals and link this to an explicit theory of change; clearly state the outcomes and impact – both short and long term; and to obtain further training in peace, conflict and development and how to assess impacts using methods such as PCIA[98].

199.   For DPSL, partners also introduced a monitoring system in order to assess outcomes better, after the review pointed out that existing monitoring methods focussed more on activities and outputs. The review also helped develop a process of how to document attitudinal and behavioural change based on the content and methodology of collecting baseline data - and a way of linking work at grassroots, for example on youth, to mid level authorities and/or NGOs and then to district level officials.

200.   Finally, the CAPE evaluation by ADB made a range of recommendations, some around improving conflict sensitivity and many have been incorporated into the new CAS (see the rules set out in 1.9 above).

Summary on Process of Doing Evaluations

1.   Donors' evaluation work in Sri Lanka has limitations even without conflict issues – in terms of ability to conduct evaluations and to learn from them. Some of the largest donors (the two multilateral banks, Japan) do little independent evaluation of their portfolios, instead mainly using supervision missions, completion reports or in house reviews.

2.   Most TORs prepared for socio-economic development evaluations don't call for conflict prevention and peacebuilding aspects to be addressed. Those evaluations that did examine peacebuilding interventions mainly focused on relevance and efficiency questions and did not address impact.

3.   Few evaluations conducted their own conflict analysis or were able to draw on a baseline against which to gauge impact.

4.   Most evaluations were largely donor-managed exercises with some but limited consultation with the government.

5.   While there are some examples of joint donor evaluations, opportunities have been overlooked to conduct more joint evaluations in sectors or thematic areas, even where joint-funding is in place.

6.   A shortage of consultants with the right evaluation and conflict skills, and shortage of institutional guidance on conflict sensitive evaluations, has impeded the quality of evaluations

7.   Project M&E systems themselves can be biased or affected by conflict setting: targeting and beneficiary data are very sensitive

8.   There are only a few examples of evaluations where there is an explicit use of Theories of Change

9.   The climate of mistrust in Sri Lanka means that information sharing is reduced and the willingness to discuss results and engage in joint government-donor-civil society efforts to learn lessons is limited.

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[98] It is noteworthy that Ausaid have a dedicated local adviser with the requisite conflict transformation skills and experience to accompany partners and implement findings, unlike many other donors.

5. Coordination and Coherence

201.   Sri Lanka appears to be a country where achieving high levels of coordination and coherence should be relatively easy. Geographically Sri Lanka is a small and relatively accessible country; the GoSL has the capacity to play a leading role vis-à-vis its donors; and the number of large donors is relatively small. However, in practice, coordination and coherence relating to CPPB has been difficult because of the following dynamics. A detailed description of the history of donor coordination is given in Annex 13.

1.21.   **Was co-ordination well designed and resourced?**

202.   **Strategic commitment to coordination:** In donor strategies, the approach to coordination is treated with a modest level of importance. Most donors do not regard aid coordination itself as a strategic objective, although many express a willingness to ensure that their programmes are planned and managed in a coordinated manner with other donor efforts. Japan in its 2004 strategy recognised that as the largest donor at the time it should provide leadership for the coordination of assistance; however this is not translated into a specific objective or outcome. The ADB and World Bank likewise comment on the need to build coordination especially amongst the larger donors, but do not set specific targets or outcomes in their strategies. The Swiss 2007-09 strategy notes there is room for improvement in coordination and joint analysis, and states that promoting donor harmonisation is a guiding principle.

203.   The Netherlands' 2005-08 country strategy represents something of an exception as it includes as a strategic objective that '*development assistance is provided in coordinated manner*' (p.21) so as to contribute to national priorities: a number of specific results are listed and the objective underpinned the joint donor Trust Fund that was initiated by the Netherlands. The Dutch strategy also highlighted improved coordination amongst EU member states, with an emphasis on support for the peace process and in consular matters relating to evacuations and migration. The UN CPAP 2008-11 also has a specific Partnership Strategy aimed at both the UN agencies themselves but also at other donors, the government and non-government actors. This has a range of outcomes tied to poverty outcomes, aid effectiveness and mobilising resources. The UN also seeks to improve aid coordination through supporting improvements to the government's aid information management systems.

204.   **Design of Donor Coordination mechanisms:** As a main coordination mechanism relevant to peacebuilding, the Donor Working Group - later renamed the Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG) - set up several sub-committees on thematic interests of their members. In order to add practical resources to support donor coordination efforts, a Trust Fund was established in December 2004 by the Netherlands and the World Bank.

205.   This design has received mixed reactions. Some favour the opportunity to pursue specific themes in sub-groups which bring together agencies with a common interest and expertise. Others regard the structure as over-elaborate and lacking in relevance in a context where there is little or no space for peacebuilding endeavours either through government channels or in a increasingly pressurised civil society environment. The sub-groups show mixed performance[99]. The January 2008 retreat amongst DPSG members indicated the need to streamline the structure, reaffirm its mandate and develop annual plans and specific outputs[100].

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[99] Human rights, Mine Action, Media, Police are reported as active by the DPSG Facilitator. Civil society is dormant and the group on the Diaspora did not take off.

[100] Report on the Proceedings and Results of the DPSG Planning workshop, MDF S.Asia, January 18th - 19th, 2008

206.   The DPSG has two co-chairs: one from the multilaterals and one from the bilaterals. Given their own portfolios, selected individuals typically have limited time to spend on coordination. As a result DPSG suffers from lack of vigour. Limited or absent engagement of Heads of Missions in the DPSG is also a hindrance in achieving greater coordination and there is no clear design to bring this vital support. As identified during the January 2008 workshop, to increase the effectiveness of the DPSG, '*Heads of Missions need to be more involved, more proactive and be better informed of the DPSG and its objectives*'.[101]

1.22.   How efficient was the use of time and resources[102] on inter-donor co-ordination?

207.   **DPSG efficiency:** In terms of the Trust Fund, a 2007 review[103] found the Fund to have been successful as a neutral, flexible and low visibility resource to support relevant initiatives. It recommended strengthening future coordination mechanisms through a proposed annual budget of $1.1m of which $480,000 would be for DPSG activities, $250,000 for the Bilateral Donor Group and $370,000 for the Development Partners Meeting. Around 40% of the itemised costs appears to be for studies, 10% is for the Facilitator, and the rest for monitoring, training and other tasks. Actual expenditure is not reported.

208.   The main contributors (and hence trustees) were Netherlands, World Bank and UK. Initially, the Dutch provided the bulk of funds. But of this amount some 50% is reportedly unspent and under their policy shift to end bilateral development engagement, the Embassy requested the return of these funds and a reduced involvement in coordination activities[104].

209.   Appointing a dedicated **facilitator** for DP coordination in November 2005, housed at the World Bank, has been a constructive step in terms of improving information sharing and operational efficiency according to the 2007 review. However there is something of a leadership vacuum as the facilitator was not given the mandate to take decisions, while the rotating chairs have full-time responsibilities within their own portfolios and have little time to spare for the DPSG. There is a case for the donor group to be more pro-active in approving initiatives and funding proposals.

210.   The joint activities conducted or commissioned by the donors in 2004-05 seem to have had a positive impact and have been regarded as beneficial by most donors. For example, the SCA2 was well received by donor (see Ch 3, 1.4), while the CPA reports on Monitoring Factors Affecting the Peace Process are rated as valuable and comprehensive. The scenario building workshops in 2004 were also noted by several interviewees as providing a valuable tool that is reflected in several strategies since (see Ch 3, 1.10).

211.   While the larger Donors Forum and Bilateral Forum continue to function in an active manner, particularly around humanitarian issues in the North because of the repercussions of the current conflict and the question of (re-)engagement with the Eastern Province, the DPSG appears to have been less active in the most recent period as it has suffered from the difficulty of re-defining its purpose during a period where the GoSL is increasingly antagonistic in relation to peace matters. In addition, there has been less involvement from some of the main aid players (Japan, US, ADB, World Bank) in DPSG meetings. It has also proved difficult to involve the newer non-DAC actors (such as

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[101] DPSG Planning Workshop, MDF South Asia, January 2008
[102] An assessment of expenditure is not possible as details of funds provided and how used were not available to the evaluation.
[103] Review of Development Partners Co-ordination and Support Fund, Final Report, G. Janssen, April 2007
[104] Interview with First Secretary, Netherlands Embassy.

China and India) in meetings while the focus of discussions moves to human rights, governance and other politically sensitive matters.

212.   In February 2008, it was agreed to set more modest aims for the coordination arrangements:
•   To focus coordination at sector-level ("No Grand overall scheme").
•   To reduce the frequency of the overall Donor Forum meeting to bi-monthly.
•   For the rotating Chairpersons of the Donor Forum to form a Steering Committee to liaise with GoSL / Heads of Missions.
•   To strengthen partnerships / coordination with CSOs and private sector through the DPSG Sub-Groups and other mechanisms.
•   To increase information-sharing.

213.   The DPSG is commended by some as a place to exchange field experience with policy and political expertise, and for connecting development practitioners and conflict specialists. The current status of the three coordination mechanisms is illustrated in Annex 14.

214.   Nevertheless, it has not been clear whether the priority of the DPSG is for information collation and sharing or for joint action. During a period when donors have been under increasing criticism from the government, there is a need for stronger coordination. Yet, the DPSG appears to have become weaker and in the opinion of several commentators, the Trust Fund has not been used efficiently or productively in the past 2-3 years to pursue the tasks that it was set.

215.   **Adviser secondments:** Limited understanding of the conflict context due to limited capacity or experience was addressed through secondments aimed at strengthening conflict advisor capacity. The main example is the provision by DFID in 2003 of Post Conflict Specialists to the ADB Country Offices to advise on ways to increase conflict sensitivity, and to develop and strengthen collaboration with other stakeholders working on peace/conflict issues. Assessments conducted following the ADB secondment in 2006 indicate that for the ADB at least that the '*ADB has not only gained expertise in how to make its programme more conflict sensitive, it has enjoyed a much higher profile and credibility in donor circles with regard to engaging in conflict-related issues*'.[105]   The secondment mechanism seems to have proved an efficient means for a smaller bilateral to bring about a desired change in approach among one of the larger aid providers.

216.   **Leadership:** Success of coordination can depend as much on donor personalities as on clear guidance or funding. In the case of Sri Lanka, issues of staff turnover appear to have had a negative impact on coordination. Following the initial success of the peace process in 2001-02, donor missions posted staff with special responsibility for helping the peace process, and some of these individuals with similar mandates developed informal channels of communication which helped coordination and coherence during that time. With the departure of these individuals, as well as the presence of some country representatives with more outspoken and critical views, as well of new persons who were not familiar with the process or the context, energy that was directed towards greater coherence and coordination reduced.

1.23.   Has coordination led to improved policy coherence around peacebuilding ?

217.   This section elaborates further on the contribution that coordination between donors has made to their ability to agree and deliver a coherent approach to peacebuilding in Sri Lanka.

218.   As noted above, the main period of increased coherence around peacebuilding approaches was around 2002-03, at the height of the peace process. Subsequently, the SCA2 as a jointly funded

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[105] Brian Smith, *Lessons Learnt from ADB Secondment*, March 2006

exercise serves as an example of a positive attempt to build a coherent understanding of conflict and how donors should address it in Sri Lanka. But overall, policy coherence was a victim of weak leverage amongst those actors with a strong commitment to peacebuilding, and who from 2005 on found their efforts were less effective. Efforts to bind donors around a common position continued as seen in the production of a draft set of 10 principles concerning 'Peace for Development - Development for Peace' in January 2007[106], but these were not signed.

219. By February 2008, donors decided not to have 'grand overall schemes' but to focus coordination at the sector level. Indeed, some of the thematic sub groups of the DPSG, such as human rights sub-group, have generated policy coherence. One donor stated in interview that this sub-group had achieved raised awareness on UN human rights mechanisms among donors, and improved donor coordination. One of the outcomes of these endeavours was that several countries mentioned Sri Lanka during UN Human Rights Council sessions.

220. The DPSG approach was '*policy orientated, aiming to advise heads of missions on current developments*' (see Annex 6). While information sharing and retreats have been regarded as useful, there is little evidence from interviews as to what policies have been recently developed or shared or how Heads of Missions have been successfully advised. With the Provincial Council elections in April 2008 the polarization among the development partners has increased as some considered the Eastern Province as a "post war" scenario and have begun to invest in the area, while others regard this is as aligning to heavily with the GoSL.

1.24. Were gender and other conflict-specific inequalities taken into consideration?

221. Some international actors, such as Germany, Switzerland and Sweden, have been keen on jointly supporting the capacities of civil society, especially as the opportunity to collaborate with GoSL proved more difficult. Special initiatives such as Berghof, Nordic support for the SLPI and FLICT are good examples of multiple donors pooling resources to reach beyond their individual limits to enhance coordination with various local actors. The DPSG has sponsored efforts to improve ways of supporting civil society in peacebuilding, such as through the workshop in 2007 organised by Berghof which gave a forum for donors, intermediary NGOs and CSO members to meet and openly discuss their collaboration, challenges and potential for improvement[107].

222. However, in general there is a tendency to work with English speaking local actors based in the Western Province: "*civil society initiatives on peace and conflict is still largely confined to an elite Colombo 7 group of NGOs and individuals*"[108]; even though these actors are in some cases intermediaries for other more locally-based organisations.

223. In relation to local context and the local actors, from the SCAs onwards, donors have been relatively more aware of selecting beneficiaries from all three main communities as part of conflict sensitivity. However, at a strategic and political level most of the donors interviewed only referred to two parties to the conflict.[109] The Muslim Peace Secretariat claimed that the donors are reluctant to support their political aspirations though they helped the other two stakeholders[110].

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[106] *DPSG Recommendations*, M. Stuerzinger, Jan 2007, p.15
[107] Lessons Learned Workshop on Donor Support for Civil Society: "How Best to Support Civil Society in Peacebuilding" Report by Berghof, 26 and 27 November 2007
[108] *Issues Paper*, A. Mulakala, 2008, page 8
[109] The conflict is understood as a war and therefore the two warring parties are considered as the main stakeholders.
[110] Interview with Director of Muslim Peace Secretariat.

224.   **Gender:** There seems to be limited evidence of gender being taken into account in terms of coordination. The DPSG did not establish a specific sub-group on this topic for example, and though the Human Rights sub-group sought to mainstream gender into the DPSG's work, this has yet to happen.

Summary on Coordination and Coherence

1. Although there are some features that should make aid coordination more straightforward in Sri Lanka, other factors including the unwillingness of some leading donors to engage in the peace process, the volatility of domestic politics and shifting government policies, have made coordination more difficult.

2. Coordination has declined from the relatively strong period around the ceasefire to a more polarized situation as the GoSL and LTTE moved back to a war footing. In general the level of coordination between donors and the GoSL has become increasingly difficult - and for some pointless. Regular coordination events between donors appear to have reduced apart from those related to humanitarian action.

3. In terms of peacebuilding coordination, the Donor Working Group was the leading mechanism, though in representation terms the most junior of the three main coordination bodies. The DWG aimed to demonstrate donor commitment to the peace process and help ensure appropriate action, but in 2005 the follow-on Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG) covered different topics including monitoring peace and conflict dynamics, advising on how to contribute to peace and identifying joint initiatives. The idea of collaboration between donors and the GoSL was no longer mentioned.

4. Although a Trust Fund was established in December 2004 to support coordination, most strategies treat coordination with a modest level of importance.

5. The DPSG has sub-committees on various themes but the design has received mixed reaction. Some favour the opportunity to pursue specific themes where common interest and expertise exists, while others regard the structure as over-elaborate and lacking in relevance in a context where there is little or no space for peacebuilding endeavours.

6. An assessment of efficiency of the DPSG in terms of resources versus outputs was not possible as the details of funds provided and how they were used was not available. There is a leadership vacuum in the DPSG as the full-time facilitator does not have the mandate to take decisions, while the rotating chairs have full-time responsibilities elsewhere.

7. In February 2008, more modest aims have been introduced for the coordination arrangements: reducing frequency of meetings, focusing on sector level. During a period when donors have been under increasing criticism from the government, there is a need for stronger coordination, yet the DPSG appears to have become weaker and in the opinion of several commentators, the Trust Fund has not been used efficiently or productively in the past 2-3 years.

8. Overall policy coherence was a victim of weak leverage amongst those actors with a strong commitment to peacebuilding, and who from 2005 on found their efforts were less effective. Nevertheless, some policy coherence at sector level (e.g. for human rights) has still occurred.

9. Some international actors have jointly supported the capacities of civil society, especially as the opportunity to collaborate with GoSL proved more difficult. There are good examples of donors pooling resources to reach beyond their individual limits to enhance coordination with local actors. However, in general there is a tendency to work with English speaking local actors based in the Western Province, even though these actors are in some cases intermediaries for other more locally-based organisations. There is limited evidence of gender being taken into account in terms of coordination.

6. Lessons and Recommendations

225.   This final chapter brings together the main lessons that emerge from the three principal chapters on relevance of donor strategies, effectiveness of strategies and projects and finally coherence and coordination. It divides the lessons between those more pertinent to the donor community in Sri Lanka, and those relevant to the OECD- DAC Guidance.

226.   As noted, in order to undertake an achievable pilot exercise, the scope of work has focused on a sub-set of CPPB activities and used an evidence base of published strategies and evaluations drawn from three contrasting areas of socio-economic development, governance and human rights and peacebuilding. It has concentrated on answering questions related to relevance, effectiveness, coordination and coherence.

227.   Although the scope has been narrowed this in itself is a useful lesson in piloting guidelines of this nature in a context of open conflict, where both government and development partners are sensitive to external assessment, and where much of the information on how conflict resolution and peacebuilding actions have been conducted and fared is confidential or for limited circulation. Moreover, despite the restrictions placed on the scope of work, the body of material reviewed and the interviews conducted still form a substantial albeit incomplete evidence base. A separate report on the lessons learned from conducting this Sri Lanka evaluation will be provided in due course that details these lessons. Then through further pilot testing in other country contexts a more rounded basis for improving learning and refining the OECD Guidelines may be attained.

228.   An important overall conclusion to emerge from this pilot evaluation is that the findings support the contention that '*explicit peacebuilding measures that emphasise security and dialogue are not necessarily more effective in mitigating conflict than long-term investments, e.g. education, rural development, aimed at structural impact*' (see 1.2). From the evidence studied, and under the conditions where one or both of the parties to the conflict see the continuation of war as being preferable to a negotiated political settlement, peacebuilding programmes seem to have had modest, if any, impact.

Lessons and Recommendations on Strategies

1. More rigorous use of **conflict and political-economy analysis** (individual or joint) will inform the strategic choices. Joint analysis is preferable as it ensures greater ownership and wider appreciation. The analysis should where possible draw on existing analysis and update it where necessary.

2. More <u>explicit</u> **theories of change** will help to explain how assistance will actually deliver intended CPPB outcomes. This should describe the kinds of change in attitudes or behaviour that are expected to arise from the intervention and at what level (for example, within or between different parties to the conflict, at local level or more widely), and what assumptions and risks are likely to affect this outcome and how these may be mitigated.

3. Donor strategies need to differentiate among the different types of conflict in Sri Lanka and be clear which of these conflicts (if any), they are trying to address. For both strategic and practical programmatic reasons it is important for donors to **be clear exactly which aspects of CPPB they are seeking to address** and how their interventions are expected to make a difference.

4. Donors need to look for strategic ways to **address the fundamental issues** underpinning conflict, namely competing visions of the Sri Lankan nation-state and the disagreement over the distribution of power and autonomy to the LTTE. Future donor strategies should recognize and address the relationship between the state and society, and how to make the difficult link between grassroots peacebuilding and macro level efforts.

5. More rigorous consideration is needed of what can and cannot be achieved by offering or supporting a **"peace dividend"**. Several donors underpinned their strategies and projects on this concept without reflecting on past experience in Sri Lanka, or the fact that centre-based political fractures were a key cause of the conflict that local development improvements would not address.

6. More use of **scenarios** / **flexibility** helps responsiveness and risk management, but then needs better means of tracking context and achievements in relation to the chosen scenarios.

7. Recognising and declaring **institutional capacity** and **comparative advantage** to work on conflict prevention and peacebuilding will ground individual strategies in terms of what they can achieve.

8. **OECD guidance** on the use of theories needs to be more precise, since there is much overlap and potential blurring between them. The Guidance can be improved to offer more help on theories of change with regard to conflict sensitive development. Also, the guidance need not imply that donor strategies and programmes need to somehow "fit" with these theories; it is enough that they are explicit about the assumptions they are making, the things they are trying to change/have an effect on and how they seek to do this.

9. Donors can use development interventions to address exclusion and ethnic issues – if they are put within a framework of broader discussion on social development rather than the more sensitive area of social policy of the GoSL.

Lessons / Recommendations Relevant to Projects / Programmes

Coordination and partnerships

1. There is a need to build strategic co-ordination across work at different levels (i.e. Track 1 to Track 2 to Track 3, and linking national and local initiatives) for any future peace work.

2. Don't build networks for the sake of network-building; instead there is a need to support groups of organisations already expressing a desire or are already working together in a collaborative manner.

3. It should not be assumed that civil society can be a major force in support of conflict transformation in Sri Lanka. Indeed, the role of civil society in this regard has been overemphasised.

4. Delivering through CBOs rather than NGOs has nevertheless proved to more effective in terms of grassroots empowerment and conflict mitigation, since they are more independent of local politics and can mitigate insecurity and may be more sustainable.

Organisational issues

5. Conflict resolution and transformation organisations need to invest in building a common identity within the organisation. Staff are themselves involved in and affected by the conflict and organisations do not work enough on getting them to share their analysis and perceptions on the conflict, and how this feeds into the goals/aspirations/approach of the organisation. Important to work on internal staff dynamics and cohesion in organisations and recognise this is also a part of conflict resolution/transformation work.

6. Conflict resolution/transformation organisations need to be especially rigorous in who they hire. Anyone with affiliations – however tenuous – to a political party or with political connections – may open the NGO to perceptions of political bias.

7. Capacity building and training need should be linked more carefully to specific programme objectives or to support a chosen theory of change.

8. Capacity building and more committed donor interest is required in areas of conflict mapping, needs assessment tools, and in monitoring and evaluation.

Gender

9. Gender aspects have often been ignored or weakly addressed in many CPPB strategies and projects[111], even though gender-based discrimination has been cited as a cause for women's recruitment into the military. Where grassroot interventions have targeted women, the results have often been positive in building community capacity for conflict resolution.

Flexibility and coverage

10. Programme strategies need to be rethought and reshaped in response to major shifts in the political environment. All too often programmes either carry on as normal or maybe shift a little – there is limited evidence of taking a step backwards and rethinking strategy and implementation.

11. There is further need to address horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups and geographically more effectively. More conflict transformation coverage is for example needed to address dynamics within the Sinhalese population in the South.

12. Short-term programmes on CPPB of 1-3 years can have positive effects, provided they have a narrow focus, specific objectives and a clear strategy for withdrawal.

13. Flexibility in choice of partners and types of peacebuilding support, and in funding channel (such as a grant facility) have proved effective approaches to working on peacebuilding in a volatile conflict setting. (ACRP, OTI)

14. Most effective and sustainable results for peacebuilding at the local level have been achieved through (i) village level empowerment by fostering community based organizations; and (ii) local business empowerment by supporting local chambers of commerce, farmers, youth employment. (DPSL, ACRP, NEAP).

Media

15. Particular focus needs to be put on freedom of the media and protection of journalists. This is a critical area l in an active conflict setting.

16. Support for media has not focused sufficiently on the effects of economic factors constraining media work. With advertising down, profitability is affected and journalists coverage is affected. Donors need to address more direct interventions in media economics.

17. Media strategies for conflict resolution/transformation organisations should be developed earlier and in a more proactive way. Too often they are poorly developed and only done in response to negative publicity.

18. Need for programmes focussing on content such as radio programmes, print media inserts, in the main stream media that reach a large audience.

General:

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[111] CIDA is something of an exception as it regards gender equality as a priority in its Sri Lanka programming, as evidenced in this report by LIFT, and in other projects such as its new Women Defining Peace project.

19. The task of evaluation is made especially hard in a country engaged in a civil war, and where information can be a powerful tool for political ends. Donors are less willing to share reports or need greater safeguards in their use to protect sources and reputations. The risk of unfavourable though accurate results being misused or interpreted in a biased way is acute in Sri Lanka. These factors add additional layers to the existing challenge of peacebuilding measurement, where certain outcomes are less amenable to quantitative empirical methods, such as peaceful co-existence or social transformation.

Lessons / Recommendations on Coordination

1. Coordinated action and sharing of responsibilities can help donors reach beyond their limits as bilateral actors (setting up of the Trust Fund was an attempt at overcoming legal barriers and working with non-state actors directly, which was high risk for single donors).

2. However setting up a donor peace support group to improve joint understanding and encourage joint action can fail where donors have strongly polarised positions with regard to a Government that is a party to the conflict and has little interest in a negotiated peace process.

3. Relatively smaller donors have achieved significant influence through using coordination mechanisms (e.g. UK placing a conflict advisor at the ADB as a resource to DPs had a larger impact than UK trying to introduce conflict sensitivity on its own)

4. Lessons learnt can be more useful and acceptable if developed through joint work than by single agencies (e.g. SCA1 is not mentioned by many as it is a single country-led assessment but multi-donor sponsored SCA2 is acknowledged and appreciated by many)

5. Regular planning and stocktaking such as the DPSG planning meeting in January 2008 could help maintain and adjust the focus of the coordination.

6. Maintaining equal distances and equal engagement to all political actors could help coordination. Coordinating too closely with one political actor could create difficulties when political power balances change on the ground as in the case now for many donors vis-à-vis the PA government due to their close association with the previous UNP led government or the LTTE.

7. There is potential for more joint analysis e.g. on support to NGOs, on methods for evaluating conflict sensitive development in Sri Lanka.

8. DPSG coordination: To utilize financial and human resources fully towards greater coordination there should be clear leadership and decision making capacities delegated to the coordinator/s. The leaders/chairs should have sufficient time to allocate towards enhancing coordination.

9. For coordinated donor policies to have a real impact on peacebuilding on the ground, newer and relatively larger donors need to be convinced to engage with the others fully (e.g. Japan, India, China, Iran, and Pakistan). This will require finding areas of mutual interest around do no harm principles, and may preclude wider discussion on more sensitive issues.

Emerging Lessons for OECD DAC Guidance

The experience in Sri Lanka in conducting evaluations of CPPB, as judged from this review of 28 studies, provides a range of lessons to help improve best practice.

1. Recent practice in designing evaluations of CPPB efforts in Sri Lanka have suffered from a number of limitations (in terms of how the TOR are written, the lack of conflict analysis, the

limited use of joint evaluations, a weak focus on impact etc). The DAC Guidance already discusses these points but needs to be improved to help to address these gaps better.

2. OECD guidance on the use of theories of change needs to be more precise, since there is much overlap and potential blurring between them. Also, the guidance need not imply that donor strategies and programmes need to somehow "fit" with these theories; it is enough that they are explicit about the assumptions they are making, the things they are trying to change/have an effect on and how they seek to do this?

3. Because of the additional difficulties of conducting evaluation fieldwork during a conflict situation, there is a need to allow additional time for preparation and for delays if more reliable and representative evidence of impact is to be obtained.

4. Most of the evaluations reviewed fall into the formative rather than summative category. That is they are mainly conducted with the aim of adjusting the ongoing programme or for the next phase, rather than for drawing out evidence of impact. They are held sometimes after only 2- 3 years of implementation, and focus more on early results rather than on impact. This indicates a need to improve the means of measuring outcomes of strategy on conflict and to find better indicators at this level.

5. The OECD Guidance if it wishes to be comprehensive may need to consider providing advice on evaluating Track 1 peacebuilding initiatives. (Figure 1 above for example excludes this area in the range of CPPB activities).

6. OECD DAC may want to consider tailoring its evaluation guidance to the different types of programmes undertaken by donors. For example, evaluation questions that may be relevant for a programme supporting a national level peace process may not have the same relevance for a programme supporting local level conflict resolution. Of course, the differences are even greater between programs that are actively supporting CPPB and those that are "conflict sensitive" or working around the conflict.

7. TOR should outline proposed or request the development of more explicit theories of change to explain how assistance will actually deliver intended outcomes. The Sri Lankan evaluation suggests others including: 1) Faster and more equitable socio-economic development will reduce the grievances that cause or fuel conflict; 2) Local government can be more "conflict sensitive" than national government because it is "closer to the people" and therefore is more sensitive and responsive to local dynamics; 3) protection of human rights and the improved provision of justice will reduce the causes of conflict and contribute to peace.

8. The shortage of consultants with suitable mix of development evaluation, peacebuilding and conflict resolution experience means that evaluation commissioners need to plan in advance and be flexible in timing the work to ensure the most appropriate candidates are sourced.

9. International conflict "experts" bring their own understanding and perceptions of conflict. When hiring consultants, donors need to be clear about the 'type' or 'school' of conflict expertise they need. Moreover, conflict specialists have a rather different lens to development evaluation specialists, that lead them to interpret evidence in contrasting ways. Use of mixed consultant teams would seem to offer the best way to balance these contrasting approaches.

10. There is a risk that evaluators, especially those recruited locally or originally from the country under study, can bring their own biases to the conflict setting. These biases need to be moderated and/or made transparent so as to mitigate the how these individuals are perceived by project actors and how the consultants themselves collect and interpret findings.

ANNEXES

Annex 1 Terms of Reference

Evaluation of Donor-Supported Activities in Conflict-Sensitive Development and Conflict
Prevention and Peacebuilding **in Sri Lanka**
A Pilot Test of OECD DAC Guidance

Revised October 18th 2008[112]

This terms of reference outlines the background, objective and process for undertaking an evaluation
of donor activities in Sri Lanka over the past five years, which will be based on a draft OECD
guidance on how to evaluate donor activities in support of conflict prevention and peacebuilding
(CPPB).

Background

Over the past years, OECD DAC members have increasingly come to recognize the negative impacts
of violent conflict on poverty reduction and human development. In particular, research in the context
of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness shows that violent conflict frequently reverses
development efforts, deepens and sustains poverty, and involves large human, societal and financial
costs. There is thus a growing interest amongst the donor community to systematize lessons learning
to develop a common understand of how aid contributes to ending or sustaining conflicts and to
identify specific modalities for improved coordination and strategic focus that would improve the
positive impact of aid.

To facilitate the above lessons learning, and recognizing the unique challenges facing donors when
undertaking evaluations in conflict situations, the DAC is in the process of developing specific
guidance for how how to evaluate conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities. In particular, this
guidance is designed to fit the intersecting needs of practitioners who may have limited familiarity
with evaluation practices, and evaluators who may have limited experience with operating and
evaluating programs that take place within a conflict context.

The draft guidance has been circulated to members, and there is broad-based agreement that the
recommendations and operational implications outlined will need further testing before the document
can be finalized. Members have thus decided to apply it to a series of joint evaluations that are being
planned over the coming year(s). The purpose of these evaluations would be to collect evidence on
the applicability of the draft guidance that would enable its finalization, while at the same time
provide targeted advice and support to DAC partners at headquarters and in the field to improve their
effectiveness and positive impact. Sri Lanka has been identified as one of these studies, based on the
large number of active DAC member countries and the ongoing conflict.

Purpose, objective and use

The purposes of the evaluation in Sri Lanka would be to help DAC partners working in Sri Lanka in
their efforts to support peacebuilding and to undertake conflict sensitive development work, while at
the same collect evidence on the applicability of the draft DAC Guidance for Evaluating Conflict
Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities.

The overall objective will be to assess donor strategies in Sri Lanka since 2002. In particular, the
evaluation will assess the relevance, effectiveness, impact, sustainability, efficiency, coherence and

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[112] Following the inception mission by the Consultant Team to Colombo from 12-18th October.

coverage of donor activities, and try to identify and demonstrate results and impact (positive or negative) of these activities. Furthermore, it will aim to identify specific lessons for how donors can improve their approaches to provide more targeted and resource-effective assistance in conflict contexts.

The output is expected to be useful in terms of highlighting lessons and suggesting best practices, and findings will be used both by DAC partners working for and in Sri Lanka and those involved in programme and policy development. In addition, the findings will be useful for DAC partners involved in developing the guidance on evaluating conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities to improve the final version of the guidance.

Scope and coverage

Overall scope. The scope needs to be broad enough to satisfy both the need to collect evidence on the applicability of the guidance and to reach a wide range of international actors. As such, the evaluation would assess three main areas: selected published donor strategies that reflect approaches for working both in and on conflict, a meta evaluation of selected evaluations that sought to assess how well specific internvetions delivered these strategies, and finally selected coordination mechanisms and efforts to build donor coherence .

Time period. While participating DAC partners are most interested in evaluating efforts from 2005 forward, most indicated that it would be important for the evaluation to look at and reflect the full peace period starting before the 2002 ceasefire agreement to capture the changing conflict and political dynamics in Sri Lanka and corresponding changes to international responses. It is thus proposed that the evaluation could look at the whole period from 2002.

Geographical coverage. The evaluation should cover donor activites across the country, although recognizing constraints in terms of lack of baseline data and access resulting from the current situation. Where useful meetings can provide local evidence on either strategies or on project evaluations, occasional travel outside Colombo may be required.

Donor activities and underlying theories of change. The evaluation will describe different donor strategies and activities and assess the intervention logic, i.e. the underlying theory of change. In particular, it would be important to describe and assess international actors' country strategies (implementation and processes) in order to better understand: (i) priorities and understanding of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in Sri Lanka and (ii) the different strategic angles of international actors to support peacebuilding through policy and programming in support of the peace process and long-term peacebuilding or through more 'traditional' development policy and programming interventions and (iii) the evaluation would assess the flexibility of donor strategies to adopt their strategic approaches to changing political and conflict contexts.

Rationale and risks

Based on consultations with DAC members and donor representatives in Sri Lanka, there is strong interest in applying the guidance to a larger joint evaluation of international peacebuilding support over the past years. This interest is grounded in the recent reversal of the peace process and associated difficulties faced by DAC partners and other stakeholders in finding adequate responses to the evolving situation. So far, donors responses have chosen largely different strategies; some are scaling down their presence, others are shifting priorities and financing away from traditional implementation channels, while yet others continue to fund "regular" development activities.

Thus, there is interest among donor partners to learn from recent successful and unsuccessful initiatives to support peace and to enable best practices for use once the peace process is reignited. There are benefits from ensuring that the planned evaluation is undertaken rapidly as several donors

are in the process of formulating new strategies. However, despite these benefits, there are also certain risks associated with undertaking this type of work given the current circumstances, which should be recognized and managed as part of the process. In particular, four risks have been raised in earlier consultantions and strategies for mediating these should be developed and outlined in the inception report:

1. Ensuring the integrity and independence of the process. One of the underpinning principles for successful evaluations is that the exercise remains impartial and independent from processes concerned with policy making and delivery and management of development assistance, and remains delinked from those agencies being scrutinized.[113] In addition, independence provides legitimacy to the findings and reduces the potential for conflict of interest which could arise if policy makers and managers were solely responsible for evaluating their own activities.

In the case of Sri Lanka, efforts are needed to ensure independence at two levels. First, the evaluation will need to be delinked from donor programs and representatives being scrutinized, which will be particularly challenging given that the exercise will be financed out of a locally managed trust fund and will require significant buy-in to enable necessary access and support. Second, the evaluation while maintaining independence from government approval, should seek to work with interested Government bodies who are concerned to pursue the principle of joint evaluations. ,.

2. Risks associated with the final output. There are two possible challenges associated with the final output and how this is being presented and used:

- *The challenge of presenting findings and recommendations that are targeted and practical, and that can result in immediate impact on policies and programmes.* In particular, there are questions associated with the usefulness of undertaking an evaluation only among "likeminded donors'. Furthermore, there are concerns about whether publishing the evaluation findings will pre-empt their impact. Lastly, specific risks are associated with the final publication of the findings.

- The challenge of managing possible misuse of the findings in political discource. In particular, there are concerns about whether specific donors will be named or if the findings will remain generic. Furthermore, there are questions related to how international actors, the government and the public will react to the evaluation report, given the current constraints on the relationship between the government and donor community. Lastly, there is some risk that GOSL might try to obstruct the evaluation if it is being perceived to involve an evaluation of their specific policy towards peace.

3. Risks associated with the timing and methodology. Given the conflict context, some donors have expressed concerns about the timing of the evaluation and whether it will yield usable results. In particular, there are questions about whether the current operating environment and lack of access will limit the depth and breadth of the findings, and whether donors are willing to release specific information given the confidentiality of certain processes. However, others have indicated that the current context is less important, given that the evaluation will look at the situation from 2002 until end 2007, and will only assess donor strategies and activities and not the actual conflict itself.

Methodology and Approaches

Against the backdrop of the above discussion, the evaluation will assess selected donor strategies and interventions based on the methodology outlined in the draft guidance. It will use the seven evaluation criteria to assess progress and impact, and look at to what extent activities were: (i) based on proper

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[113] OECD DAC: Principles for evaluation of development assistance. 1991

baseline data and understanding of the local context, (ii) adhering to well defined theories of change , (iii) realistic about outcomes and impact, and (iv) flexible enough to adapt to changing situations.

The evaluation will be based on a mix of evaluation approaches, mainly result- and theory based in combination with process and participatory approaches. Data collection will be a mix of qualitative and quantitative studies, interviews, workshops, and should be guided by principles of triangulation, flexibility and innovation.

A detailed plan to gather available baseline data, assess effectiveness and impact and as well as the other criteria to be evaluated should be made and formulated in the inception report. Moreover, the inception report should include a process description of what kind of stakeholders will be consulted and/or play a role in which phase of the evaluation taking into consideration that not all areas of the country can be visited.

The evaluation process should adhere to internationally recognized priniciples for good conduct. As such, it will need to be sensitive to gender, beliefs, manners and customs of all stakeholders, and be undertaken with integrity and honesty and ensures inclusiveness of views. Furthermore, it is important that the rights and welfare of participants, including the anonymity and confidentiality of individual informants, are protected.

Expected Outputs

The evaluation team will produce the following four outputs:

1. Inception report. The objective of this report is to further define how to evaluate the criteria and questions, their feasibility in the light of the situation, methods and data requirements, i.e. what kind of baseline data is needed to assess the criteria, what kind of other studies, surveys, etc. need to be commissioned prior to the main evaluation mission, how will this be organised (please see the various references to the inception report in this TORs). Furthermore, it should propose specific ways of ensuring that the findings are practical and targeted, and present ways of addressing the above mentioned risks.

The draft report, which should not exceed 20 pages without annexes, should be ready by 24th October. It should be sent by email from the team leader to the chair of the DAC Management Group and the chair of the Sri Lankan Steering Committee, who will be responsible for further distribution and collection of comments.

2. Draft report and powerpoint. The objective of this report is to capture the results of the evaluation, as outlined in this TOR and building on specification made in the inception report. It should be finalized following the main mission to Sri Lanka, and should incorporate comments received during the final workshop if agreed by the evaluation team.

The evaluation report should describe and explain the evaluation method and process and discuss issues related to validity and reliability of the findings. It should also acknowledge any constraints encountered and their impact on the evaluation, including their impact on the independence of the exercise. Furthermore, it should outline the methods and techniques used for data and information collection and processing, justifications of choises made, and explanation of any limitations and shortcomings. Specific methods for assessment of results should also be specified, and any attribution and contributing/confounding factors should be addressed. The evaluation report should explain the selection of any case study or sample, as well as any limitations regarding the representativeness of these samples.

A powerpoint presenting the main findings of the evaluation, as well as initial lessons learned, should be circulated on the <u>final day of the mission</u>, while the draft report should be circulated by 22 December. The report, which should not exceed 60 pages without annexes and bibliography, should

be sent to chair of the DAC Management Group and the chair of the Sri Lankan Steering Committee, who will be responsible for further circulation, including to the reference group and the PEER reviewers. Comments on the report will be collected and sent back to the team leader within 20 days of receiving the draft report.

3. Final report. The final report should incorporate comments received by the different groups listed above, ensuring by all means the independence of the evaluation. The report should be circulated no later than 25 October to the chair of the DAC Management Group and the chair of the Sri Lankan Steering Committee, and should include a cover letter explaining how comments have been incorporated, which comments were not included and why. A dissemination and communication strategy will be agreed between the DAC Management Group, the lead consultant and the Sri Lankan Steering Group.

4. Lessons Learned report. This report summarises the lessons learned from the process of the evaluation for improving the DAC Guidance for Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities. The report should have a maximum of 15 pages and as annex suggested tracked changes to the DAC Guidance for Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities (Working Document for application period).

The report has to be ready two weeks after the delivery of the final report of the evaluation. The report has to be send by email from the team leader to the DAC secretariat.

Due to the complex nature of the evaluation, and the crucial need to ensure independence throughout the process, effective management and good communication will be key. The exercise will be managed by the DAC Secretariat together with selected network members. In addition, a task team of donor representatives will be established in Sri Lanka to facilitate day-to-day coordination and information sharing. Finally, an experienced local consultant will be hired part time to support both the management group and the task team, as well as to facilitate the work of the evaluation team once this has been hired.

Quality Control

To ensure quality of the process and findings, an advisory group of selected evaluation and peacebuilding experts will also be created. Although not involved in the day-to-day management, this group can be called on with regard to specific technical and methodological questions, and will also be asked to comment on the draft report. In addition, a PEER review mechanism will be used to test the findings before the report is being finalized. Finally quality control and the independence of the evaluation results will also be ensured through the evaluation team's use of respective DAC Guidelines (i.e. DAC Evaluation Quality Standards, Joint Evaluations, etc.).

Qualifications of the Evaluation Team

The evaluation team should be comprised of three highly qualified experts, with the following mix of expertise:

- **Evaluation expertise** to conduct multi-donor evaluation under difficult circumstances including familiarity with all standard evaluation approaches, qualitative as well as quantitative methods of data collection, knowledge of all DAC and other internationally agreed guidance and standards, evaluation experience in complex conflict and peacebuilding contexts would be an asset.

- **Peacebuilding expertise,** i.e. sound theory knowledge on different peace processes on all tracks (diplomatic initiatives, civil society initiatives, grassroots groups, etc.), including operational expertise; sound knowledge of peacebuilding through development strategies (policies and programmes) would be an asset;

- **Human rights expertise** including knowledge of internationally agreed standards and mechanisms, etc.

- **Development expertise** in particular expertise on macro development policies, their effects on peacebuilding and state building as well as conflict sensitivity operational strategies;

- **Governance and fragile states expertise** in particular institution building and strengthening of governance in complex, fragile situations.

- **Sound knowledge of the Sri Lankan situation.**

Indicative Level of Effort

The level of effort is estimated at a maximum of 110 days, divided between a team leader (50 days) and two experts (30 days each).

Annex 2 Revised Evaluation Questions

The TOR state that 'Within the inception report it will be clarified what shall be the final evaluation questions under each criterion and how to assess these in detail. For each issue to be assessed and the specific sub-themes, in the evaluation report a description of activities will be written. The following table is an elaboration of the list of questions initially suggested in the TOR.

Evaluation Questions	Approach
	Chapter 1 : Introduction **Chapter 2 Context**
2. Relevance	**Chapter 3.1 :** through assessment of the selected documented strategic approaches, supplemented by interviews with those who drafted the documents as well as other actors who were involved in reviewing or implementing the strategies.
2.1 How do the selected objectives and strategic approaches correspond to the needs for peacebuilding in the different phases (2002-2005 and 2005 – to date)?	*Based on different perspectives: donors, govt, beneficiaries etc.*
2.2 How is peacebuilding addressed in strategies ? (directly or indirectly, as a cross-cutting theme)	
2.3 Do the strategies address relevant causes of conflicts, key dynamics and driving factors, of the conflict?	
2.4 Are the strategies based on an accurate and recent analysis of the conflict? Has the conflict analysis been revisited or updated to guide action in changing circumstances?	
2.4 How aligned are the strategies? (with Govt., with other donors, with international practice)	
2.5 How do strategies approach support for civil society?	
2.6 Are the different strategies following a 'whole of government' approach? If so how does it balance or use different instruments?	
2.7 Is the logic or theory of change on which the activities and objectives are predicated sound?	Based on Annex 6 in OECD Guidance
2.8 For those donors focussing on economic development or infrastructure projects, how have they designed their efforts to be conflict sensitive or contribute to peacebuilding ?	Mainly for third thematic area
2.9 How have strategies responded to changing circumstances over time?	
3. Effectiveness	**Chapter 3.2 -** as assessed through selected completed programme and project evaluations
3.1. How effective have been the selected strategic approaches to support peacebuilding in Sri Lanka in the two time periods (2002-2005 and 2005 to date)? i.e. were their theories of change effective?	
3.2. Are the right people or many people being addressed, including gender and relevant horizontal inequalities (ethnic, religious, geographical)	

3.3.	Does the effort result in an increase in people's security and in their sense of security?	
3.4.	Does the effort improve non-violent forms of conflict resolution or power management?	
3.5.	Does the effort result in real improvement in relations among groups in conflict?	
3.6.	How has effectiveness been strengthened by a 'Whole of a government' approach? Use of a conflict analysis? Use of scenario planning?	
3.7.	How effectively were gender and horizontal inequalities addressed?	
4. Efficiency		**Chapter 3.3**
4.1.	Do the sampled interventions deliver outputs and outcomes in an efficient manner (results against costs/resources)?	For a detailed analysis, this would require detailed costs (programme and overhead) which may not be easily available. We will ask for this information from three different sized donors and decide if further work is possible. We will also search for any efficiency studies already done in SL.
4.2.	Are organisational structures efficient (steering, management, governance structures and procedures)	
4.3.	How much time and resources were expended on project coordination? Was it factored into inputs and outputs? Was it efficient (cost/benefit and appropriateness)?	At project / programme level as distinct from donor to donor, or donor-govt. (see 4 below)
5. Coherence and Coordination		**Chapter 3.4**
5.1.	Was co-ordination well designed and resourced ? Is it explicitly listed as an output in selected strategies, and is it reported?	Focus will be on the DPSG
5.2.	How much time and what resources were actually spent on inter-donor co-ordination? Was it efficient (cost/benefit and appropriateness)? Do mechanisms have clear purposes and are members aware of these?	Need to obtain detailed records from DPSG co-chairs and administrators. Will propose a short survey (by email) to gain views from DPSG members
5.3.	Has coordination among the international actors lead to improved policy coherence?	Examine joint statements, policy documents
5.4.	What were the main constraints and challenges for coherence? How was good co-ordination achieved, and is it replicable in other situations?	
5.5.	How were gender and any relevant conflict-specific inequalities taken into consideration when decisions were taken about with whom and how to co-ordinate (especially in the context of co-ordination with local actors)?	
6. Sustainability		**Chapter 3.5**
6.1.	Which steps have been taken to create long-term structures for peacebuilding on different levels?	Focus selected strategies and programmes and on track 3 and 2 where appropriate
6.2.	Will new institutions designed to address conflicts survive? Are they being used?	
6.3.	Have Funds for peacebuilding led to sustainable initiatives, has there been a sustainable outreach of supported initiatives to the larger public?	

6.4. Has a meaningful "handing over" or exit strategy been developed with local partners or actors that enable these partners to build or continue their own peacebuilding initiatives?	Relevant for those disengaging in our sample (SIDA, Netherlands)
7. Coverage	**Chapter 3.6**
7.1. Do the selected strategies cover the entire country (as a means to support regional balances) and reached out to the most conflict affected areas?	
7.2. Do the selected donor policies effectively cover all (potential) conflict dynamics in the country?	
8. Impact	**Chapter 3.7**
8.1. What evidence is there to determine the overall cumulative, positive and negative, intended and unintended, primary and secondary impacts produced by the selected strategic approaches on the wider peacebuilding environment in the two time periods (2002-2005 and 2005 to date)?	Based on available strategy and programme/project assessments for the sample chosen, and excluding Track 1
8.2. Which changes in attitudes, behaviour, relationships or practices (of how many people/classified according to horizontal divisions) can be ascertained?	As above
8.3. Has the intervention led to policy changes? By whom? How do these relate to the conflict?	

Annex 3 List of Contacts Development Partners

Development Partners	Persons and designations	Type of the Interview
Asian Development Bank	1. Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, Project Implementation Specialist	Meeting
	2. Harsha Fernando, Governance Adviser, ADB	Meeting
	3. Brian Smith, former Conflict Adviser, ADB	Teleconference
	4. Richard Vokes, Country Director, ADB	Meeting
	5. Njoman George Bestari, Director, Solution Delivery Division, ADB, Manila	Videocon
	6. Ramesh Adhikari, Director, OED1, ADB, Manila	Videocon
Australia	7. Sundari Jayasuriya, Senior Programme Manager, AusAID	Meeting
	8. Cecilia Brennan, Third Secretary - Political	Meeting
	9. Kim.Pendreigh, First Secretary - Development Cooperation	Meeting
	10. Bronwyn Robbins, Counsellor Dev Coop South Asia, AusAID	Meeting
Canada	11. Charles Parker, Councillor Development and head of Aid	Meeting
	12. Joe William, Senior Development Officer	Meeting
Donor Coordination	13. Patrick Vandenbruaene, Coordination Facilitator, Development Partners Group	Meeting
European Union	14. Peter Maher, Charge d'Affaires,/ Head of Operations	Meeting
	15. Mariam Homayoun Deputy Head of Operations, EC	Meeting
	16. Karolina Hedstrom, Senior Programme Manager	Meeting
	17. Ragunathapillai Shanthakumar, Programme Manager / Development Cooperation	Meeting
Germany	18. Andreas Hartmann Counsellor, German Embassy	Meeting
	19. Erika Loebel, BMZ	Teleconference
	20. Stephanie Schell-Faucon Former advisor of FLICT	Teleconference
	German Development Cooperation of German Government (GTZ)	
	21. Ulf Metzger, Programme Coordinator, GTZ	Meeting
	22. Dagmar Lumm, Deputy Country Director, GTZ	Meeting
	23. Roland F. Steurer Country Director, GTZ Cairo	Teleconference
	24. Vikram Misri, Deputy High Commissioner	Meeting
India	25. Masayuki Taga, Counsellor Head of Economic Cooperation	Meeting
Japan	26. Song Min-Hyeon, Resident Representative, KOICA	Meeting
Korea	27. Ferdinand Lahnstein, Councillor, Deputy Head of Mission	Meeting
Netherlands	28. Gerrit Noordam, Development Cooperation	Meeting
	29. Jan Huesken, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hague	Teleconference
	30. Edle Hamre, Counsellor Development Cooperation	Meeting
Norway	31. Rannveig Skofteland, Second Secretary	Meeting
	32. Borje Mattsson, Charge d'Affaires	Meeting
Sweden	33. Nawaz Mohamed, Programme Officer- Democracy, Peace and Human rights	Meeting
	34. Henrik Munganest, First Secretary, Deputy Head of Mission	Meeting
	35. Goran Schill, former First Secretary, Deputy Head of Mission	Teleconference
	36. Urban Sjostrom, Former Adviser, Swedish Embassy	Teleconference
	37. Sheila Richardson, former Program Officer- Democracy, Peace and Human rights	Meeting
	38. Baechler Markus, Country Director, Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC)	Meeting
Switzerland	39. Sascha Mueller, Human Rights Adviser Embassy of Switzerland in Sri Lanka	Meeting
	40. Martin Stürzinger, Programme Officer , Federal Department of Foreign Affairs	

	41.	Samuel Doe, Chair of the DPSG, Development and Reconciliation Adviser , UNRC Office / UNDP	Meeting
UN	42.	Dilrukshi Fonseka, Team Leader/Peace & Recovery, UNDP	Meeting
	43.	Rory Mungoven, Senior Human Rights Adviser	Meeting
	44.	Kay Yamagiwa, Programme Analyst	Meeting
	45.	Tom Owen-Edmunds, Head Political and Development Section	Meeting
United Kingdom	46.	Anthea Mulakala ex DFID Governance Adviser, Malaysia Country Representative, The Asia Foundation	Teleconference
	47.	Rebecca Cohn, Mission Director, USAID	Meeting
United States	48.	Michael DeTar, First Secretary, Head of Political Section	Meeting
	49.	Mark Silva, Democracy and Governance Program Officer, USAID	Meeting
	50.	Sheila Young, Adviser, USAID	Meeting
	51.	Mike Desisti, former manager of USAID/OTI program	Meeting
	52.	Claus Pram Astrup, Senior Country Economist, World Bank	Meeting
World Bank	53.	Peter Harrold, former Country Director	Teleconference
	54.	Naoko Ishii, Country Director for Sri Lanka, World Bank	Meeting
	55.	Naresha Duraiswamy, Senior Operations Officer, South Asia - Urban, Water and Sanitation	Teleconference

Sri Lankan Government		
1. Mr. Siva (Velayuthan Sivagnanasothy)	Director General, Department of Foreign Aid and Budget Monitoring, Ministry of Planning and Implementation Department of Foreign Aid and Budget Monitoring	Meeting
2. Mr. Bradman Weerakoo	Former Secretary to the Prime Minister, the Commissioner of 3R	Meeting
3. M.S.Jayasinghe	Adviser/Chairman Ministry of Nation Building	Meeting
4. S.Rangaraja	Chief Secretary Northern Province	Meeting
5. Dhara Wijayatilkake	The Secretary, Ministry of Planning and Implementation	Meeting

NGOs / Others		
1. Jeevan Thiagarajah	Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies	Meeting
2. Alan Keenan	Senior Analyst, International Crisis Group	Meeting
3. Dr. Sunil Bastian	Senior Research Fellow, Int. Centre for Ethnic Studies	Meeting
4. Jehan Perera	Executive Director, National Peace Council	Meeting
5. Wijaya Jayatilaka	National Coordinator, FLICT	Meeting
6. Norbert Roper	Berghof Foundation for Peace Studies, Germany	Teleconference
7. Markus Mayer	Country Director, International Alert	Meeting
8. M.H. Salman	Peace Secretariat for Muslims, Director	Meeting
9. J. Uyangoda	Professor/ Head Dept of Political Science and Public Policy, Univ of Colombo	Meeting
10. Nilan Fernando	Country Representative, The Asia Foundation	Meeting

Annex 4 List of Documents

Author	Title	Date
Adair M & Coomereswamy C	Interim Evaluation of LIFT	June 2006
ADB	CAPE: Evaluation of Operations in Conflict-Affected North and East	August 2007
ADB	CAPE: Inclusive Development and Conflict Resolution: Major Challenges in the Future	August 2007
ADB	CAPE: Thematic Governance Assistance	August 2007
ADB	Country Partnership Strategy: 2009 - 2011	October 2008
ADB	Country Strategy and Programme Update: 2002 - 2004	July 2001
ADB	Country Strategy and Programme : 2004 - 2008	September 2003
ADB	Country Strategy and Programme Update: 2006 2008	August 2005
ADB	Report on proposed Tsunami Affected Areas Rebuilding Project	April 2005
AUSAID	Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme (ACRP), Mid Term Review - Summary Report	
Australian High Commission	Monitoring and Evaluation Framework – ACRP Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation	
Australian High Commission	Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme, Mid Term Review	August 2007
Australian High Commission	Monitoring and Evaluation Framework	
Australian High Commission	Terms Of Reference - Mid -Term Review	
Australian High Commission	ACRP M&E Arrangements – Discussion Document	
Australian High Commission	Australian Community Rehabilitation Program (ACRP) Mid-term Review, Summary of Peer Review Meeting	
Australian High Commission	Comments On Sri Lanka ACRP MTR By Tristen Slade, AUSAID Peace-Building Adviser	Jan 2008
Australian High Commission	ACRP MTR Evaluation, Issues Paper	April 2007
Australian High Commission	Australia's Development Coorporation with South Asia - Framework for 2003 - 2007	2003
Aysan Y	Swiss Consortium Cash for Repair and Reconstruction Project Evaluation Report	
Bastian S	A background paper for Sida on analysis of politics and power	
Berghof Foundation	Lessons Learned Workshop on Donor Support for Civil Society	November 2007
Blue R	Final Evaluation: The Sri Lanka Transition Initiative (2003-2007)	March 22007
Bush K	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) of Swedish Coorporation - Sri Lanka	March 2001
Carter L	USAID - Democracy and Governance Assessment	2006
CDA	An Owl among Hawks: The Berghof Foundation in Sri Lanka	July 2005
Center for Policy Alternatives	DPSG Cluster Report - Nov. 2007 to Jan 2008 - Quarterly 1	January 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	DPSG Cluster Report 2: Feb - April 2008 - Quarterly 2	April 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	DPSG Cluster Report 3: May - July 2008 - Quarterly 3	July 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	Report on a Fact Finding Mission to Jaffna	February 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	Report on a Fact Finding Mission to Batticaloa	March 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	Peace Confidence Index	March 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	Peace Confidence Index	November 2007
Center for Policy Alternatives	Peace Confidence Index	August 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	Report on the Field Mission to Vavunia	September 2008
Center for Policy Alternatives	Monitoring Factors Effecting Peace - August to October 2005 - Third Quarterly	
Center for Policy Alternatives	Trincomalee High Security Zone and Other Land Issues	May 2008

Center for Policy Alternatives	War Peace and Governance in Sri Lanka: Overview and Trends 2006	
Centre for Policy Alternatives	Report of the Conference on the International Dimensions of the Sri Lankan Peace Process	July 2005
Chianca Thomaz	The OECD/DAC Criteria for International Development Evaluations: An Assessment and Ideas for Improvement	March 2008
Church C and Shouldice J	The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Framing the State of Play	October 2002
CIDA	Monitoring Report 6	March 2008
CIDA	Interim Evaluation of LIFT	January 2006
CIDA	Final Evaluation of PRET 1V	March 2008
CIDA	Forward Looking End of Project Review - GISP Project	December 2003
CIDA	Evaluation of CIDA's Sri Lanka Child Rights Project	June 2007
EC	Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention	2001
DAC	Evaluation of Conflict Prevention and Peace Building Activities	September 2007
Desisti M	Supporting the Peace Initiative In Sri Lanka: A Proposal For USG Support	November 2002
DFID	Review of CPPB - Guidelines During DFID's Country Programme Evaluations	September 2008
DFID	Development Dilemmas	March 2007
DFID	Country Strategy Paper - 1999	1999
DFID	Development Dilemmas: Challenges in Working in Conflict & Post-Conflict Situations	March 2007
Dias A K	Equal Access to Justice Project - Final Evaluation	December 2006
EC	Mid Term Evaluation of EIDHR Micro-Projects Programme	December 2007
EC	The EC and Sri Lanka Co-operation Strategy 2002 - 2006	2001
EC	Aid to Uprooted People - IDPs	March 2004
Elmqvist M & Bastian S	Promoting Media Professionalism, Independence and Accountability in Sri Lanka	2006
EU	Country Strategy for 2007 - 2013	2006
Feinstein Center	Humanitarian Agenda 2015 - Sri Lanka Country Study	October 2007
Goodhand J & Klem B.	Aid, Conflict, and Peace building in Sri Lanka; 2000 – 2005	2005
Goodhand J & Walton O	Assessment of Norwegian Economic Support to Foundation for Co-existence	July 2007
Government of Sri Lanka	Regaining Sri Lanka	December 2002
Government of Sri Lanka	Mahinda Chintana: Development Plan: 2006 - 2016	
Goyder H	Programme of Coorporation Between Government of Sri Lanka and UNICEF	2007
Groux R	DPSG Sub-Group on Human Rights - Suggested Action Plan 2008	2008
GTZ	German Development cooperation with Sri Lanka	19 July 2007
GTZ	Official linguistic version concerning the adaptation of development cooperation	25 February 2008
GTZ	Strategic Framework for German Development cooperation with Sri Lanka	19 July 2007
GTZ	North East Community Restoration and Development Project – NECORD	February 2003
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Annex 5 Historical and Political Context

Sri Lanka's multiple conflicts[114] are the product of the formation of the Sri Lankan nation-state and the nature of Sri Lanka's political system. At the time the British gained control over Ceylon, different parts of the country were inhabited by and controlled by members of different local ethnic groups. Under British colonial rule regional administrative mechanisms were ended and a unitary system was introduced.. At the same time, British colonial policies sharpened and formalized ethnic divisions by favoring the more coastal Tamil and Muslim populations at the expense of the Sinhala hinterland.[115]

Following independence, Sri Lanka remained a unitary and highly centralized state. Though there are mechanisms in place to devolve powers to elected regional and provincial bodies, the centre's reluctance to share power is displayed by its continued taking over of devolved services such as hospitals, schools, roads. Government service has been perceived historically as providing status and job security and therefore government employment is desired by many. Given the importance of patronage politics, politicians are under pressure to provide government jobs for their own supporters. Sri Lanka had always had a vibrant civil service, although the introduction of the executive presidency in 1978 and subsequent politicisation has seriously reduced its independence.

Since 1948, Sri Lankan electoral and parliamentary politics have been dominated by the rivalry between two Sinhalese political parties, the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). Since the Sinhala vote typically divides between the two parties, both parties have relied on a mix of patronage and clientelism, tactical alliances with smaller parties and, occasionally, ethnic outbidding, to secure electoral victories.   Given that the SLFP and the UNP typically cannot gain enough support alone to form a government under the existing constitution, minority parties wield power beyond their numerical strength. In the current context, Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU) party wield much power within the current government as coalition partners.

Today, Sri Lanka has a mixed presidential/parliamentary system in which the Executive President wields considerable powers. During the 2001 to 2004 period, for the first time the parliament was controlled by the UNP while the Presidency was controlled by the SLFP. This created political uncertainty instead of the cohabitation that was desired by many.

At the time of independence in 1948 there were concerns about safeguarding minority rights, but the British felt that ethnic tensions would be neutralised by class, caste, regional and other cross-cutting identities. Therefore, post-independence state formation did not include any extra safeguards for numerical minorities. The first minority group to suffer in the hands of the newly created democracy was the Indian origin plantation Tamils of Ceylon who lost their franchise rights overnight. This discrimination continued with measures such as the introduction of the Sinhala Only Act in 1956, introduction of the 1972 constitution that recognised Buddhism as the state religion[116] and numerous attacks on peaceful protests by Tamil political parties including the infamous riots of July 1983 that resulted in deaths of thousands of innocent Tamil civilians all over the country.

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[114] In our view there are several conflicts in Sri Lanka though most of the references are only relating to the armed conflict between the LTTE and the government forces. For example there is one conflict between the Muslims who were expelled from the north and the LTTE and another between the Indian Tamils and the State.

[115] De Silva, K M. *A History of Sri Lanka.* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981

[116] Generally Sinhalese are Buddhists, Tamils are Hindus and Muslims follow Islam. The forth largest religious group; approximately 7% of the Catholics consists of Burghers, Sinhalese as well as Tamils.

Since 1948, there have been numerous attempts made to address minority grievances articulated by the Tamils but the fractiousness of Sri Lankan politics has made it difficult to find a solution satisfactory to all parties. The democratic Tamil political formations initially attempted to negotiate with either of the governing parties to ensure that equal rights are granted to Tamils such as language. By late 1970s, Tamil youth of the North began sidelining traditional democratic Tamil political parties such as the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and organised militant campaigns against the state. By early 1980s there were many militant groups, but by the late 1980s the LTTE established itself as the strongest out of them by eliminating the leaders of the other groups including the leaders of the TULF.

Since then the LTTE has been trying to establish a separate state known as Eelam in the North East of Sri Lanka. To that end, the LTTE successfully introduced their own administrative mechanisms outside the state administration including police stations, court houses and other training institutes and even introduced a system of taxation. During the 2001 peace process and the ceasefire period, as the government accepted the LTTE as an equal partner, these administrative mechanisms were allowed to expand into other areas of the North and East creating almost two parallel systems. Hence, the government servants, INGOs, NGOs and others who were operating any projects or providing any services in the North and East had to deal with the government mechanisms as well as the LTTE mechanisms. Donor agencies operating in the region were compelled to consult, brief, de-brief and receive instructions and advice from the central government as well as from the LTTE.

However LTTE has so far not contested elections directly. During the last general election in 2004, the coalition of Tamil Parties known as the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) with the tacit support of the LTTE contested and won the majority of Tamil seats of the North and the East. Plantation Tamils are represented largely by the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC), the trade union that turned into a political party and the Up Country People's Front. The Muslim vote from the North and the East is divided among the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC), National Unity Alliance (NUA) and the SLFP and UNP based on electoral coalitions at any given time.

Armed insurgency in Sri Lanka has not been limited to the LTTE in the North and the East but in fact they started in the South, led by the Sinhala youth belonging to the JVP. The educated and unemployed youth of the South took up arms against the state in 1971 and in 1988/9. Both these uprisings were militarily crushed resulting in the deaths of thousands of youth.

The JVP has its electoral base in the deep south among the Sinhala Buddhist peasantry and believes that the state is discriminatory but not necessarily along ethnic lines. The party is against power devolution to numerically smaller ethnic minorities and advocates socialism as the answer to various forms of discriminations in the society. However, in popular politics, JVP slogans sound anti-minority and therefore the group is perceived as racist. The Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU), the Sinhala Heritage Party has its power base among the Sinhala Buddhist middle class. During the early part of 2000s for the first time, JHU managed to appeal to Sri Lankan electorate on religious and ethnic grounds and secure few seats in the parliament. JHU is also against any form of power-sharing with ethnic minorities and articulates the need to give Sinhalese their due in recompense for their discrimination under the British. Hence for the JHU, any discriminatory features in the current phase are part of correcting historical injustices.

The media and civil society in Sri Lanka are relatively vibrant and pluralistic, but they also tend to be personality-driven, divided along political and ethnic lines and Colombo-centric. Historically the media was under the control of the state and two dynastic families connected to SLFP and the UNP, but this composition began to break down in late 1990s. Today ownership is more mixed, but the

media is vulnerable to overt and covert government control, economic pressures and violence against journalists.

Sri Lanka has some impressive civil society organizations, but overall civil society has never succeeded in breaking the clientelistic relationships between politicians and citizens and therefore hasn't been able to mobilize enough voluntary support to create social movements separate from political movements. At the same time, human rights and advocacy NGOs with liberal agendas periodically are criticized by some Sri Lankans as being foreign-influenced and elitist. With the resumption of the conflict -- and the corresponding desire of the government to minimize opposing or alternative views – criticisms of and pressures on human rights and peace NGOs have increased.

The Sri Lankan Conflict 2000-2008

There are three broad phases of the recent political and conflict setting in Sri Lanka that are important to understand in relation to evaluating donor activity. These are (i) the Pre-Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) period, (ii) 2002-2005, and (iii) 2005 onwards. A detailed timeline of events is attached in Annex 5. While there is a rich commentary on the story of Sri Lanka's troubled recent past, the strategic conflict analyses completed in 2001 and 2005 by Goodhand et al helpfully form two comprehensive milestone assessments of the conflict against which donor interventions may be judged.

By 2000, the situation in Sri Lanka was volatile, with deep political, economic and military crisis. Leading up to this situation, between December 1999 and December 2001 there were three general elections that displayed the political instability and fragility of coalition governments. People's Alliance (PA) Coalition that enjoyed popular support from 1994 onwards continued to disintegrate. A series of grave military setbacks in the North East by the Sri Lankan army and the suicide bombing campaign by the LTTE in the South targeting economic and tourist hubs such as the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and five-star hotels fuelled the economic and military crisis.

Adding the final stroke to the already worsening situation, in July 2001, the LTTE launched an attack on the Katunayake Airforce Base, adjacent to Colombo's international airport. In the context of these negative developments in 2001 the Sri Lankan economy registered a negative growth, the first annual negative growth recorded since independence in 1948.

The 2001 conflict analysis[117] indicated some important lessons about how to be more conflict sensitive if Development Partners were to work more effectively in or on conflict. They include applying conflict sensitivity in policy and programming, being more politically informed, improved coordination and coherence between instruments, and longer-term engagement. But these steps have not always been followed.

The situation in the country changed for better with the instigation of a peace process following the election of the UNP-led government in December 2001. With the Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) in February 2002, the future looked promising – at least on the surface – with the GoSL and the LTTE prepared to suspend conflict and discuss peace. The story of the peace process is well documented118. In brief, the peace process generated much enthusiasm and support throughout the country and from international donors. Within a year though the LTTE had withdrawn, though the international conferences in Washington and Tokyo went ahead and $4.5 billion was pledged for aid,

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[117] *Aid, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*, J. Goodhand, Centre for Defence Studies, Kings College, University of London, 2001.

[118] See *Negotiating Peace in Sri Lanka Volume 2*, ed by K Rupesinghe; *Aid, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka: 2000 – 2005* by Goodhand et al.; *Sri Lanka: The Failure of the Peace Process*, Asia Report 124 of the International Crisis Group for more details.

but on condition that the peace process went forward.   In 2004, the reactions within Sri Lanka to the ceasefire and resentment to the UNP reform programme led to a political backlash and elections that brought into power a new government, the United People's Freedom Alliance, comprised of the SLFP and JVP parties, that rejected the reform process, and the conditions donors seemed to attach to the Tokyo aid pledges.

In March 2004, a major split in the LTTE occurred when the LTTE's Eastern Commander, Karuna, broke with the movement. Karuna's militants operated as splinter groups with assistance of the GoSL forces in the battles of 2006 and 2007 in Trincomalee and Batticaloa. In July 2007, the GoSL declared the East as liberated and subsequently separated the northern and eastern provinces, and held provincial council elections paving the way for a new programme of recovery in the East while the war was pursued in the northern LTTE strongholds.

The tsunami in December 2004 led to 35,000 tsunami-related deaths and initial displacement of about one million people. The North and East were especially hard hit, registering about 55 percent of the deaths, 65 percent of the initial displacements and about 60 percent of the damage. A massive aid response occurred (over $2 billion) that many observers had hoped would galvanise the two main protagonists in the conflict to find common ground in providing relief efforts. The Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS) established between the government and the LTTE to manage the relief however proved inoperable as mistrust between political parties led to legal objections and suspension of the arrangement.

Over the past three years, the peace process has effectively been abandoned in favour of a military solution to the conflict, while a new government 10-year development policy has been put in place: *Mahinda Chintana* (2006) prioritises equity, rural growth and infrastructure but is less liberal and reform-minded than its predecessor. As the conflict progressed and the East was 'liberated 'in 2007, the government called for donor support for renewed investment there.

Since 2005, and the arrival of the Rajapaksa government, the space for peacebuilding initiatives reduced and with the government's abrogation of the Cease Fire Agreement in January 2008, peacebuilding efforts at Track 1 and 2 stopped. International actors were criticised by the government and the LTTE for working explicitly on peacebuilding or decrying human rights abuses.

Annex 6 Sri Lanka Timeline[119]

1995-2001 - War rages across north and east. Tigers bomb Sri Lanka's holiest Buddhist site. President Kumaratunga is wounded in a bomb attack. Suicide attack on the international airport destroys half the Sri Lankan Airlines fleet.

2000 April: The LTTE recaptures Elephant Pass, army complex at the gateway to the Jaffna peninsula.

2000 May: Following the capture of Elephant Pass, the LTTE attempts to regain the Jaffna peninsula.

2001 June - The opposition wins a No Confidence motion against the government. The president responds by proroguing parliament.

2001 July- The LTTE strikes at the international airport in Katunayake, destroying eight military and four civilian aircraft. The impact on Sri Lanka's economy and image is significant. 2001 will mark the first year that Sri Lanka's economy shrinks.

2001 September - The ruling People's Alliance and the JVP sign a pact and form a new short-lived government sworn in.

2001 September 11: Terrorist attacks that destroy the World Trade Center in New York and damage the Pentagon usher in a new era of global insecurity. The "global war on terror," led by the United States, becomes the dominant theme of international security and politics.

2001 October - Eight MPs from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the largest party in the People's Alliance, cross over to the opposition United National Party. Again, the opposition wins a No Confidence motion and the President is forced to dissolve parliament and call for fresh elections.

2001 December - The UNP wins the election. Its leader Ranil Wickremesinghe becomes Prime Minister, forms a government with the help of minority parties, and enters into a fragile "cohabitation" with the President.

Peace moves

2002 February - Government and Tamil Tiger rebels sign a Norwegian-mediated ceasefire. De-commissioning of weapons begins; the road linking the Jaffna peninsula with the rest of Sri Lanka reopens after 12 years; passenger flights to Jaffna resume. Government lifts ban on Tamil Tigers. Rebels drop demand for separate state.

2002 May: The East experiences its first wave of ceasefire violations.

2002 Summer: PM Wickremesinghe visits India, the United States, and other countries to secure international support for the nascent peace process. Preparations for direct talks in Thailand begin and on August 14, both parties agree in Oslo on the modalities for talks.

2002 September the Government lifts the ban on the LTTE paving the way for direct negotiations; The first round of six peace talks is held in Thailand.

2002 November : Donors pledge support to the peace process during an aid conference in Oslo.

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[119] Drawing on the BBC news website 2008, and the Strategic Conflict Assessment, 2005, Goodhand et al.

2002 December - The third round of peace talks is held in Oslo. Both parties agree to explore a federal system of government as the basis for a solution to the conflict.

2003 January- The fourth round of peace talks is held in Thailand.

2003 February- The fifth round of talks is held in Berlin.

2003 March: The sixth and final round of peace talks is held in Japan.

2003 April**:** In the run-up to the Tokyo donor conference, a pre-meeting is held in Washington. The LTTE cannot attend because they are listed as a terrorist organization in the U.S. Tigers pull out of talks. Ceasefire holds.

2003 May - Country's worst-ever floods leave more than 200 people dead and drive some 4,000 people from their homes.

2003 June - Donors pledge approximately $4.5 billion in development assistance at the Tokyo conference,

2003 October - Following lengthy deliberations, including consultations with experts in the Tamil diaspora, the LTTE presents its proposal for an Interim Self Governing Authority for the North-East.

2003 November- President Kumaratunga declares a state of emergency, takes over three key ministries (responsible for defence, law and order, and media), and prorogues parliament precluding any possibility of peace talks resuming around the ISGA proposal. The President declares that the country's security and sovereignty are at risk. The Prime Minister refuses to accept the President's
decision and conducts business as usual, precipitating a political crisis.

2004 February - The President dissolves Parliament and calls a snap election.

2004 March - Renegade Tamil Tiger commander, Colonel Karuna Aman, leads split in rebel movement and goes underground with his supporters. Tiger offensive regains control of the east.

2004 April - Parliamentary elections are held resulting in a victory for the United People's Freedom Alliance, comprised of the SLFP and JVP, which captures 105 seats to the UNP's 82. The UPFA forms a government with the help of smaller parties including the JHU and EPDP. The President appoints Mahinda Rajapakse as Prime Minister.

2004 July - Suicide bomb blast in Colombo - the first such incident since 2001.

2004 December - More than 30,000 people are killed when massive waves, generated by a powerful undersea earthquake off the coast of Indonesia, devastate coastal communities.

2005 June - Row over deal reached with Tamil Tiger rebels to share nearly $3bn in tsunami aid among Sinhalas, Tamils and Muslims.
The government and the LTTE sign a joint mechanism called the Post-Tsunami
Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS).

2005 August - State of emergency after foreign minister is killed by a suspected Tiger assassin.

2005 November - Mahinda Rajapakse, prime minister at the time, wins presidential elections. Most Tamils in areas controlled by the Tamil Tigers do not vote.

Mounting violence

2006 April - Attacks begin to escalate again.

A suicide bomber attacks the main military compound in Colombo, killing at least eight people. The military launch air strikes on Tamil Tiger targets.

2006 May - Tamil Tiger rebels attack a naval convoy near Jaffna.

2006 August - Tamil Tiger rebels and government forces resume fighting in the north-east in worst clashes since 2002 ceasefire. Government steadily drives Tamil Tigers out of eastern strongholds over following year.

2006 October - Peace talks fail in Geneva.

2007 June - Police force hundreds of Tamils out of the capital, citing security concerns. A court orders an end to the expulsions.

2008 January - Government pulls out of 2002 ceasefire agreement.

2008 March - International panel, invited by the government to monitor investigations into alleged human rights abuses, announces that it is leaving the country. Panel member Sir Nigel Rodley says the authorities were hindering its work. Government rejects the criticism.

2008 July - Sri Lankan military says it has captured the important Tamil Tiger naval base of Vidattaltivu in the north.

2008 October - Suicide bombing blamed by government on Tamil Tigers kills 27 people, including a former general, in the town of Anuradhpura.

Annex 7 Poverty Status and Development Assistance

Sri Lanka is a mixed story in terms of its poverty reduction trajectory over the past five years. If the country is taken as a whole, it has reached lower-middle income status, according the World Bank. In human development terms its performance has been good with primary school enrolment, gender parity in primary and secondary school enrolment on track with MDG targets, and universal provision of reproductive health. But consumption poverty reduction has been modest and uneven, with deep pockets of regional poverty outside of the more prosperous Western region, in rural and estate areas, and the conflict-affected North and East. The December 2004 tsunami worsened poverty levels in the affected areas, though statistics are less reliable due to insecurity in many areas, as illustrated by the map in Figure 1.

> '*The development story in Sri Lanka is one of mixed success. The country is on par with middle income countries and Millennium Development Goal timetables for universal primary school enrolment, gender parity in primary and secondary school enrolment, and universal provision of reproductive health services. At the same time, consumption income poverty persists and the poor continue to face basic welfare challenges such as malnutrition.*'[120]

Poverty distribution in Sri Lanka is also highly uneven with the wealthiest 20% accounting for 54% of total income, while the lowest 50% accounting for 20%[121]. Almost a quarter of the population is in poverty and in addition there are nearly a million internally displaced persons (IDPs) due to the years of conflict.

Based on trends in the early part of the current decade, rising inequality (worse than in other East Asian countries except China) affecting both poverty reduction and the poverty headcount meant that Sri Lanka might not reach the MDG target of halving income poverty by 2015 unless future growth exceeded 10% p.a.[122]. However, the most recent surveys in 2006/7 indicate that the poverty headcount has dropped by a third, from 23% in 2002 to 15% in 2006, with strong reductions in regions such as the South, and that if this continues then the MDG income target could be met[123].

This promising upturn still contains strong regional imbalances, and moreover does not include the North and East, because reliable statistics are missing. The Central Bank estimates that the two decades of conflict in the North and East - with the accompanying death, displacement and damage - has caused a drop of as much as 2-3% annually in GDP. Health, education and basic services are estimated to be much worse than the rest of the country. Following the CFA in 2002, GDP grew sharply, unemployment fell, but recovery has been generally slow and uncertain as first the tsunami and then the continuing conflict set back early gains. Sustainable peace remains a necessary precondition for sustained economic growth and poverty reduction in this region.

Given this unequal distribution of wealth outside Western Province coupled with the impact of the long war, the situation in the North and the East is much worse than the rest of the country. Though it is a fact that the Western province is developed at the expense of the rest, Tamils who are the majority in the North and East believe that they are ignored by the Colombo administration led by largely Sinhalese parties. The fact that very few large scale industrial and manufacturing ventures were established in the North-East since independence is one example among many to support this accusation. Since early 1980s the ongoing war destroyed the limited number of businesses in the

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[120] World Bank Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment, 2007, p.ix
[121] Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Annual Report 2003.
[122] This section draws largely on the World Bank's Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment, January 2007
[123] CAS 2009-12, World Bank, p.11

North-East along with roads, bridges, houses and other permanent structures. Security issues, constant displacement and non availability of resources further crippled the livelihood of the communities of the North and East leaving this area more devastated compared to the rest of the country .

Figure 1. Poverty estimates for District Secretariat divisions[124]
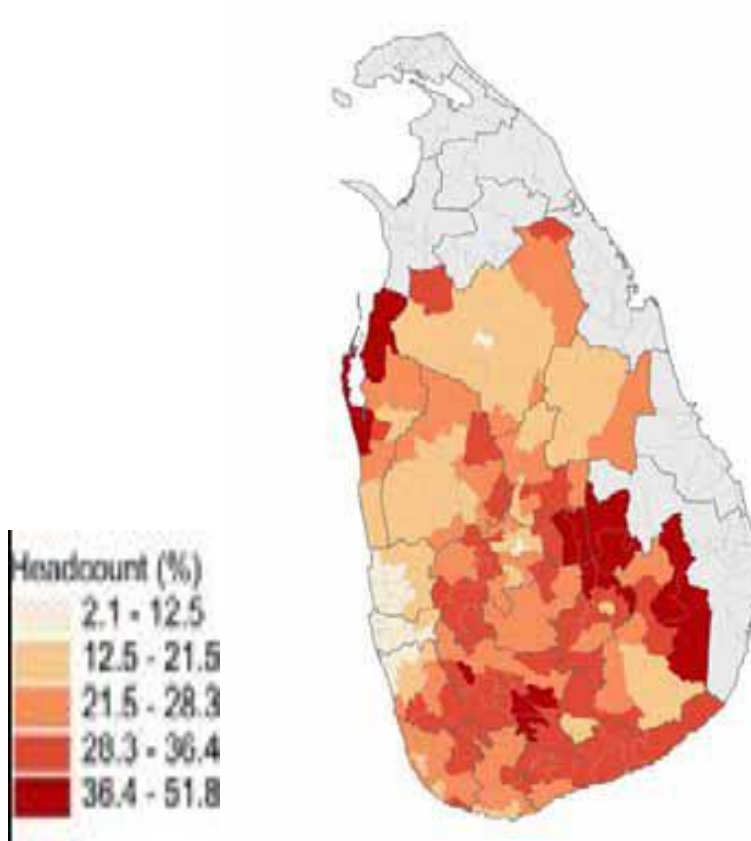
[124] Source – Dept of Census and Surveys. Sri Lanka.

Table 2 MDG Status – Selected Indicators[125]

	1990	Current 1/	2015	Comments/issues
Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger				
Proportion of population below National Poverty Line[3]	26.1%	15.2%	13.1%	On track, but inequality is a concern
Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education				
Net enrolment ratio in primary school	91.7%	97.5%	100%	On track, but questions remain about the quality of education
Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women				
Ratio of girls to boys in primary education	94.2%	99.0% 2/	100%	On track
Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality				
Under-5 mortality rate for girls (per 1,000)	20.0	12.0	12.0	On track, but child malnutrition still a concern
Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health				
Maternal mortality ratio (per 1,000)	42.3	27.5	10.6	On track
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases				
Incidence of Malaria/100,000	1520	350	–	On track; HIV/AIDS prevalence also low, but little progress on TB
Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability				
Share of population with access to improved water sources	72%	84.7%	86%	On track, but significant challenges with regard to soil erosion and solid waste management

Source: UNDP (2005); Department of Census and Statistics (2006).
1/ 2006 if not otherwise indicated. 2/ The ratio in secondary school is 105.7.

The role of development assistance

While Sri Lanka is not regarded as an aid dependent country, since its overall growth has outstripped aid growth, overall aid trends for Sri Lanka in the past five years show a strong rise in volume and in some dependency measures. Total foreign assistance, according to the Central Bank, increased five-fold from Rp15 billion in 2000 to Rp79 billion in 2006. Aid as a percentage of GNI has risen from 1.8% in 2000 to 5.1% in 2005, though this ratio dropped to 2.8% in 2006, indicating the short-term impact of post-tsunami assistance in 2005.

Patterns of development aid have shifted over the past seven years. The two development banks (ADB, World Bank) and Japan have remained the main source of support to the government, accounting for 60 % of total aid flows (2002-07), and 83% of loans since 2003-2007[126], though loan disbursements have been affected by conflict. Aid from OECD member states showed a peak during the post-tsunami recovery aid in 2005. Over the period, a number of bilaterals have reduced their funding through the government (e.g.: Sweden, Germany and Denmark) but these constitute a minor portion of total aid received. In contrast, some newer Asian and mainly loan rather than grant aid partners have emerged, particularly China, Korea, Saudi Arabia, Iran and India. According to

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[125] Note that these figures are the absence of assessment and monitoring in large parts of the North and the East due to armed conflict
[126] Source: OECD DAC aid statistics web site

provisional figures issued by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, China was the largest lender to the country in 2007 with 16.8 billion Rupees (c.US$160m) (see Table 2 below).

Table 3 Net Receipts of Foreign Assistance 1998 - 2007 (Rs million)

Type and Source	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007 (a)
1. Loans (b)	19,420	8,604	10,070	19,396	10,113	53,213	45,256	53,820	48,887	129,633
ADB	6,917	5,645	4,343	5,295	11,878	17,231	14,894	15,371	13,383	8,346
Australia	-47	597	257	189	1,498	1,606	810	-	-839	-900
Bank Indosuez	-334	-237	-	-26	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canada	-189	-204	-220	-237	-262	-291	-337	-12	-391	-448
China	407	319	-90	1,478	1,691	2,206	1,126	745	77	16,856
Citibank International	-	-2,361	-1,170	-	-	-	-	7,906	-	-153
Denmark	-46	-48	-45	-51	-58	-69	486	-	2,426	3,541
France	-177	-179	-320	-446	-505	-560	-345	29	-735	-664
Germany	86	-129	515	1,425	-900	-537	1,024	745	2,491	-3,341
IBRD	-196	-236	-187	-136	-160	-172	-	-	-	-
IDA	5,415	2,542	2,236	677	5,663	15,950	3,041	7,388	6,099	2,768
IFAD	80	154	231	137	205	198	-33	-65	-	246
India	252	-128	-147	-177	912	4,003	2,932	10	1,147	-47
Italy	-	-	-	-	-45	-104	-122	875	-	-
Japan	7,780	4,927	7,353	10,011	6,309	21,655	14,254	18,918	11,120	-577
Korea	910	939	722	789	1,093	1,673	562	1,761	1,551	2,184
Kuwait	99	-29	-82	-150	214	8	204	234	-30	-207
Netherlands	-123	-414	-343	-271	-252	-333	-862	-31	-674	1,459
OPEC	-117	-126	-109	-75	-26	76	372	282	-	143
Saudi Arabian Fund	-167	-180	-201	-43	-155	-	12	15	271	402
Salomon Brother's Incorporated - New York	-62	-67	-73	-101	-91	-	-	-95	-	-
Switzerland	-4	-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-551	-592	-628	-634	-189	-208	-245	-	-116	-395
USA	-841	-1,744	-1,653	-2,532	-2,782	-2,977	-3,188	-519	-3,277	-4,700
Other	328	157	-319	4,274	-13,925	-6,140	10,671	263	16,384	105,120
2. Grants	7,200	6,761	5,145	5,500	7,079	7,956	8,681	32,640	30,068	30,508
ADB	116	350	420	482	513	317	436	1,276	2,261	2,766
Australia	-	179	-	27	17	204	149	90	-	-
Canada	67	20	43	40	-	-	-	-	-	-
EEC	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Germany	54	510	324	208	920	1,167	1,508	2,392	4,413	7,785
Japan	3,280	3,380	2,826	2,135	2,287	1,643	1,980	3,688	3,435	3,600
Netherlands	308	350	196	698	878	1,213	357	854	128	25
Norway	173	576	325	298	499	435	391	352	275	57
Sweden	117	25	241	155	285	389	1,292	643	967	1,537
Switzerland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	724	420	211
UK	36	84	310	225	124	-	-	-	-	328
United Nations	88	420	-	-	-	1,503	-	9,738	5,062	1,735
USA	291	378	214	180	-	-	790	1,508	1,984	3,574
Other	2,629	489	246	1,052	1,556	1,085	1,779	11,377	11,123	8,890
Total	26,620	15,365	15,215	24,896	17,192	61,169	53,937	86,460	78,955	160,141

(a) Provisional
(b) These figures may differ from those appearing in Appendix Table 102 of this report due to differences in classification.

Sources : Central Bank of Sri Lanka
Ministry of Finance and Planning

- A declining group of bilaterals who are either exiting or reducing their programmes as they see Sri Lanka as a middle income country and a government with a less reform minded development policy and uninterested in negotiated peace, and
- A new group of non-traditional donors including China, India, Korea and Middle Eastern countries that have a pro-government stance.

Globally, aid provision has become more conflict sensitive since 2001 as both multilaterals and bilaterals have recognised the growing significance of conflict on their programmes[127]. New policies related to engaging in fragile states have emerged, including 'whole of government approaches' that seek to bring greater coherence among aid, security and diplomacy, while new aid delivery mechanisms, such as conflict prevention pools, have been introduced. These changes have been reflected in Sri Lanka, as donors have worked more intensively on conflict related issues, especially since 2005. Though the donors improved their understanding of conflict sensitivity, the space for engaging on conflict issues has reduced since 2005 with the intensified war.

Donors have used aid in a broad sense to support not just poverty reduction but other key policy goals – democratisation, liberalisation and to prevent conflict. However, as identified in SCA2 these policy goals have '*generally been driven by international interests as much as or more than by the needs and concerns of the country itself*',[128]

From 2002 to 2004, the agendas of the donors and the GoSL converged. The government in power was committed to maintaining sound macroeconomic management, accelerating privatization, reducing government subsidies, implementing key structural reforms and negotiating a solution to the costly war as part of government's economic growth and poverty reduction strategy. This allowed donors to treat poverty reduction and conflict resolution as two sides of the same coin and laid the foundation for the cordial relationship that the donors enjoyed with the government during that period. It has been noted by some authors that the ADB, Japan and World Bank, the biggest development partners to Sri Lanka, '*consider conflict as an important but not overriding issue, with aid disbursement and economic reform as central issues*'[129].

Increased emphasis on issues of global security and counter terrorism led to a change of attitude among some bilateral donors towards the LTTE, which was considered the equal party to peace negotiations in Sri Lanka between 2002 and 2005. Since 2006, the government has used this global concern as a strategy to muster support for its "eradicating terrorism" agenda. The international community seems to be giving mixed signals in this context as the policies on counter terrorism clashes with the agenda of a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Sri Lanka.

The grounds for aid flow reduction stated by those reducing their co-operation programmes is the good economic progress seen in the past five years, despite the conflict, and Sri Lanka's generally favourable MGDs. Part of this reaction is also a reflection of the fact that the government's military expenditure has overtaken aid receipts.

The marginal role of donors and limited leverage is also a critical factor in how they approach both working with the government on development issues as well as on wider political and governance agendas. The tendency of the European donors has been to attempt to use aid directly to promote and support peacebuilding and human rights in a range of ways. But raising and tackling sensitive issues is

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[127] Helping Prevent Violent Conflict: Orientations for External Partners and DAC, Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation, http://www.oecd.org/DAC
[128] Donors and Peacebuilding: 2000 – 2005, Volume 2 of SCA2, A. Burke and A. Mulakala, page 23
[129] Ibid, p 29

more difficult with little financial leverage over recipient governments, and donors either seek to maintain good relationships and avoid difficult issues, or seek to withdraw completely from a bilateral aid partnership.

Coordination approaches

During 2002-04, as peace talks were held, donor coordination was mobilised around the shared commitment to increase aid delivery in support of the PRSP and the peace process. In 2003, a joint needs assessment addressing the conflict-affected areas in the North and East was undertaken by leading donors. This multilateral group effort (UN, World Bank, ADB, IMF) took place with the cooperation of both the government and the LTTE and built on the government's existing rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation programme (the '3Rs' Framework). Joint financing in energy, roads, housing and other reconstruction programmes was quite commonplace: ADB projects in 2005 attracted $150million in co-financing for example[130].

By mid-2004, the GoSL and the development partners created a more systematic coordination framework leading to deeper sector-wide coordination and policy dialogue. A high-level "Donor Assistance Coordinating Committee" (DACC) was created, with the goal of having a dialogue between the authorities and development partners on the national development strategy and the planning and use of support for its implementation[131].

The immense inflow of foreign assistance in response to the 2004 tsunami was extremely difficult to coordinate, but led to concerted efforts to improve humanitarian aid mechanisms[132]. A post-tsunami damage and needs assessment was done together by the main development partners (ADB, JBIC, World Bank and the UN) in January 2005. Equally important, 'Guiding Principles' for relief efforts were first prepared and later adopted by all parties. The government also hosted a Development Forum, attended by delegates from over 50 countries, in Kandy in May 2005, further strengthening the collaboration between the government and its development partners. The post-tsunami aid management was placed with P-TOMS as a government-LTTE-donor structure, but the suspension of this mechanism in late-2005 signalled to many a reversal in the new government's attitude towards the LTTE, and a reduced potential for improved aid coordination[133].

Key donor coordination mechanisms have been the Development Partners/Donors Meeting (DP Meeting), the Bilateral Donor Group (BDG) and the Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG). The DPSG was originally called the Donor Working Group and was created as a result of the Tokyo Declaration on Reconstruction and Development at the Tokyo Conference in 2003.

While the GoSL has facilitated coordination over the period, led by the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of External Resources, the challenge for donors to collaborate with the government has increased as the number of ministries has grown to a total of 91 by 2007, as a result of the fragile nature of coalition politics. Certain bilateral partners have furthermore experienced more confrontational relations with the current government, over areas such as human rights, which have reduced co-operative dialogue. Equally there was a sharp rise in the number of NGOs after the tsunami of 2004, which proved a major challenge in terms of coordination. Furthermore, some local NGOs are considered highly politicised, especially those concerned with conflict resolution work,

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[130] *Country Strategy and Program Update*, 2006-08, ADB, p.6.
[131] *Background and Structure: The Development Partners and the Coordination Framework*, Briefing Paper, World Bank, 2006.
[132] Guided by the UN, the GoSL established the Task Force for Rebuilding the Nation (TAFREN) and then the Reconstruction and Development Agency (RADA)
[133] Interview with Netherlands Embassy officials.

while international NGOs have come under increasing government pressure and suspicion as agents of foreign interference and fostering separatism[134].

Finally, new donors are yet to be effectively engaged in coordination mechanisms. Despite their growing resource flows, as noted above, significant Asian states like India and China generally do not have dedicated development agencies and though attending donor meetings are not actively engaged in formulating more coherent joint policy positions, and are not with exception of Korea and Japan, OECD-DAC members.

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[134] See the *Interim Report of the Select Committee of Parliament for Investigation of the Operations of Non Governmental Organisations and their Impact*, 8 Dec 2008

Annex 8 Sampled Strategies with Strategic Objectives

Development Partner	Strategy	Strategic Objectives
1. Ausaid	1. Development Cooperation Regional Framework 03-07	- Promote good governance and contribute to improved basic service delivery (with a focus on health, education and natural resource management at the state and community level); - Respond, in line with Australia's capacity, to humanitarian needs and issues of mutual concern to the governments of South Asia and Australia, as they emerge.
2. ADB	2. Country Strategy and Program 02-04	Assist the government to address conflict-related poverty by - supporting the 3R (relief, reconciliation, and rehabilitation) process; - providing rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance to the conflict-affected areas, targeting employment generation especially for the youth and the poor; - mainstreaming conflict concerns by including specific components in development projects to address the causes of conflict and the needs of the conflict-affected poor; and - building local capacities through both sector and integrated approach to support the government's policy of decentralization and the devolution of power.
	3. Country Strategy and Program 04-08	Poverty reduction / reconstruction and development through : (i) promoting pro-poor economic growth; (ii) advancing social development; and (iii) supporting improved governance.
	4. Country Partnership Strategy 09-11	(i) Strengthening the investment climate, and (ii) Achieving socially inclusive economic development.
3. EC	5. Cooperation Strategy 2002-06	• Provide support for a peaceful negotiated solution to the conflict, and in case of a peace settlement, engage in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of North and East • Support government efforts in Rural poverty alleviation based on PRSP • Further development and diversification of the trade and investments in mutual interests of Sri Lanka and EC • Economic cooperation (transport, trade) • Humanitarian aid to conflict areas • Good governance, democracy, human rights
	6. Multi Annual Indicative Programme 2007 –10	'Priority sector': contribute to conflict resolution and poverty reduction through rehabilitation and reconstruction in north east. Non focal sectors: 1. Good governance and conflict resolution 2. Development through trade managed through three scenarios
4. Japan	7. Country Assistance Program 2004	1. Active support to the consolidation of peace through reconstruction and humanitarian aid and rehabilitation, and nation building (infrastructure and training) 2. Assistance in line with the government. development vision by (i)

		improving economic infrastructure (ii) raising the capability to attract and acquire foreign currency, and (iii) poverty alleviation.
5. The Netherlands	8. Multi Annual Strategic Plan 2005-08	Improve human rights situation Peace process developed and North and East socio-economic and security parameters improved Good governance EU coordination strengthened SME enterprises promoted
	9. Multi Annual Strategic Plan 2009-11	Phase out bilateral development cooperation by 2008 Donor coordination transferred to multi-laterals Tsunami support Private sector development Multicultural heritage Environmental Management Human rights, humanitarian relief Good governance
6. Switzerland	10. Medium Term Plan for Human Security 2007-09	To contribute to the enhancement of human security through: 2. Relief and Protection 3. Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding 4. Inclusive rehabilitation
7. Sweden	11. Country Strategy 03-07	Peace, democracy and human rights Anti-poverty economic development
	12. Country Strategy 08-10	Human rights and democratic governance Regionally balanced economic development.
8. UN / UNDP	13. Development Assistance Framework 02-06	- Provision of emergency and humanitarian assistance to conflict affected areas and people, assist in restoring the economic livelihood of adversely affected persons and provide support for efforts that contribute to the establishment of peace and social cohesion. - Reduction of poverty through promoting improved accessibility to basic services and the creation of economic opportunities for the poor. - Governance reform aimed towards promoting people-centred development.
	14. UNDP Country Cooperation Framework 02-06	Poverty alleviation by - creating an environment of good governance - increasing economic opportunities for the poor - sustainable recovery of conflict affected areas
9. USA	15. Country Strategy Plan 2003-07	- Support private sector growth and economic reform - Strengthening the capacity of civil society - Humanitarian assistance initiatives - Support for the peace process Overarching themes tying together this strategy: 1) creating a peace dividend, 2) addressing the needs of young people, 3) workforce development, and 4) participation and advocacy.
10. World Bank	16. Country Assistance Strategy 03-06	Support to GoSL's PRSP through: - Peace pillar (health, education, irrigation and capacity building - Economic growth (legal frameworks and regulatory and price reform)

	- Equity (improved access to services, community empowerment)
17. Country Assistance Strategy 09-12	Support GoSL's Mahinda Chintana 10 yr plan by: A. Supporting Growth And Poverty Reduction - Expanding economic opportunities in lagging regions - Improving the investment climate and competitiveness - Enhancing quality services and accountability B. Addressing causes and consequences of conflict C. Strengthening transparency and accountability
Four other countries (UK, Germany, CIDA, Norway) were unable to share their strategies.	

Annex 9 Applicability of Theories of Change to Donor Strategies

Theory of change from OECD Guidance[135]	Evaluation Comment on Sri Lanka Examples
1. Individual change:	
If we transform the consciousness, attitudes, behaviours and skills of many individuals, we will create a critical mass of people who will advocate peace effectively. Individual change through training, personal transformation or consciousness-raising workshops or processes; dialogues and encounter groups; trauma healing.	No strategy directly alludes to this, but it is largely implicit in the programmes of most donors. At the activity level many donors have supported lots of training, dialogues, etc.
2. Healthy relationships and connections:	
Strong relationships are a necessary ingredient for peacebuilding. If we can break down isolation, polarisation, division, prejudice and stereotypes between/among groups, we will enable progress on key issues. Processes of intergroup dialogue; networking; relationship-building processes; joint efforts and practical programmes on substantive problems.	Not explicitly referred to, though humanitarian aid and rebuilding programmes mention reconciliation taking place through practical reconstruction or resettlement. Most democracy and peacebuilding programmes implicitly or explicitly premised on this.
3. Withdrawal of the resources for war:	
Wars require vast amounts of material (weapons, supplies, transport, etc.) and human capital. If we can interrupt the supply of people and goods to the war-making system, it will collapse and peace will become possible. Campaigns aimed at cutting off funds/national budgets for war; conscientious objection and/or resistance to military service; international arms control; arms (and other) embargoes and boycotts.	Not applicable to any strategy. However listing of the LTTE as a terrorist organization by several nations had the effect of reducing its access to resources.
4. Reduction of violence:	
If we reduce the levels of violence perpetrated by combatants and/or their representatives, we will increase the chances of bringing security and peace. Cease-fires; creation of zones of peace; withdrawal/retreat from direct engagement; introduction of peacekeeping forces/interposition; observation missions; accompaniment efforts; promotion of nonviolent methods for achieving political/social/economic ends; reform of security sector institutions (military, police, justice system/courts, prisons).	This is one of the theories of change underpinning the strategies of the small number of donors who supported the peace process and the SLMM. But these strategies and activities fall outside the scope of our evaluation.
5. Social justice:	
If we address the underlying issues of injustice, oppression/exploitation, threats to identity and security, and peoples' sense of injury/victimisation, it will reduce the drivers of conflict and open up space for peace. Long-term campaigns for social and structural change; truth and reconciliation processes; changes in social institutions, laws, regulations, and economic systems.	While underlying social injustices are sometimes recognised, the strategies generally do not seek to address them - particularly exploitation, identity or victimisation. Improved rule of law and security are included.
6. Good governance:	

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[135] Refer to Annex 6, OECD DAC Guidance, on Evaluating Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities, Working Draft, 2008

Peace is secured by establishing stable/reliable social institutions that guarantee democracy, equity, justice, and fair allocation of resources. New constitutional and governance arrangements/entities; power-sharing structures; development of human rights, rule of law, anti-corruption; establishment of democratic/equitable economic structures; economic development; democratisation; elections and election monitoring; increased participation and access to decision making.	Several strategies refer to this wide ranging theme. USAID stresses democracy and good governance, while support for local government and community participation appears in several other strategies (SIDA, Dutch, UN).
7. Political elites:	
If we change the political calculus and perception of interests of key political (and other) leaders, they will take the necessary steps to bring peace. Raise the costs and reduce the benefits for political elites of continuing war and increase the incentives for peace; engage active and influential constituencies in favour of peace; withdraw international support/funding for warring parties.	None of the strategies explicitly refer to this theory. But implicit in the emphasis many donors placed on producing a "peace dividend" as offering an incentive for peace to political elites.
8. Grassroots mobilisation:	
"When the people lead, the leaders will follow." If we mobilise enough opposition to war, political leaders will be forced to bring peace. Mobilise grassroots groups to either oppose war or to advocate positive action; use of the media; nonviolent direct action campaigns; education/mobilisation effort; organising advocacy groups; dramatic/public events to raise consciousness.	Linked with "governance" above, several bilaterals identify with this theory (Switzerland, Sweden) through key interventions such as FLICT or FCE, support to media and national NGOs advocating and campaigning for peace.
9. Peace agreements/accords:	
Some form of political settlement is a prerequisite to peace – we must support a negotiation process among key parties to the conflict and violence. Official negotiations among representatives of key parties; "track 1½" and "track 2" dialogues among influential persons; civil society dialogues in support of negotiations.	A small number of donor strategies recognize the importance of supporting the peace process. But this is outside evaluation scope, as our study does not cover Track 1 processes.
10. Economic action:	
People make personal decisions, and decision makers make policy decisions based on a system of rewards/incentives and punishment /sanctions that are essentially economic in nature. If we can change the economies associated with war-making, we can bring peace. Use of government or financial institutions to change supply and demand dynamics; control incentive and reward systems; boycotts and embargoes.	This is not obviously part of any strategy, though the EC recently introduced the notion of withdrawal of trade preferences (GSP+) in relation to human rights and other standards. The idea of aid being conditional on progress in the peace process can be considered under this theory, and was followed by several donors especially after Tokyo, but the links between the war economy and aid is not made clear.
11. Public attitudes:	
War and violence are partly motivated by prejudice, misperceptions, and intolerance of difference. We can promote peace by using the media (television and radio) to change public attitudes and build greater tolerance in society. TV and radio programmes that promote tolerance; modeling tolerant behaviour; symbolic acts of solidarity/unity; dialogue among groups in conflict, with subsequent publicity.	This theory is raised in the specific context of media (Swiss, SIDA and USAID/OTI). Also, it was hoped the peace dividend would change public attitudes.

12. Transitional justice:	
Societies that have experienced deep trauma and social dislocation need a process for handling grievances, identifying what happened, and holding perpetrators accountable. Addressing these issues will enable people to move on to reconstruct a peaceful and prosperous society. Truth and reconciliation commissions; criminal prosecutions and war crimes tribunals; reparations; community reconciliation processes; traditional rites and ceremonies; institutional reforms.	Not widely adopted as a theory of change though support for the Human Rights Commission formed part of the Dutch and the Swiss strategies.
13. Community reintegration:	
If we enable displaced people (IDPs/refugees) to return to their homes and live in relative harmony with their neighbours, we will contribute to security and economic recovery. Negotiation and problem solving to enable returns; intergroup dialogue; ex-combatant; community engagement; processes for handling land claims; trauma	Several strategies feature resettlement and reintegration (World Bank, ADB, UN, EC) and fund extensive resettlement projects (NEHRP, UAS) though mostly indirect: land and housing support.
14. Culture of Peace	
If we transform cultural and societal norms, values and behaviours to reject violence, support dialogue and negotiation, and address the fundamental causes of the conflict, we can develop the long-term conditions for peace. Peace education; poverty eradication; reduction of social inequalities; promotion of human rights; ensuring gender equality; fostering democratic participation; advancing tolerance; enhancing the free flow of information /knowledge; reducing the production of and traffic in arms.	Some elements of this theory appear in some strategies particularly relating to democratic participation (USAID, SIDA) and some flagship programmes would fit here (Ausaid ACRP, FLICT, Swiss DPSL).

Annex 10 Sampled Evaluations grouped by Theme

Programme / project title	Development Partner	Development in a conflict setting	Governance / Human Rights	Peacebuilding
1. Country Assistance Programme Evaluation (CAPE), including Thematic Evaluation Operations in Conflict Affected North East	ADB	✓		
2. Country Assistance Strategy Completion Report (CAS CR) and Independent Evaluation Group Review (IEG CASR)	World Bank	✓		
3. Local Initiatives for Tomorrow (LIFT)	CIDA	✓		
4. Project for Rehabilitation through Education and Training (PRET)	CIDA, Norway, ICRC	✓		
5. Assessment of Economic Programmes	Norway	✓		
6. North East Irrigated Agriculture Project (NEIAP)	World Bank	✓		
7. North East Housing Reconstruction Programme (NEHRP)	World Bank, EC	✓		
8. Unified Assistance Scheme (UAS)	World Bank, Netherlands, EC	✓		
9. Evaluation of Thematic Governance Assistance (ETGA)	ADB		✓	
10. Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project (GISP)	CIDA		✓	
11. Childs Rights Project (CRP)	CIDA		✓	
12. Governance Assessment	CIDA		✓	
13. European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)	EC		✓	
14. Civilian Police Capacity Building (CPCB)	Sweden		✓	
15. Sri Lanka Press Institute (SLPI)	Sweden		✓	
16. Access to Justice (A2J)	UK		✓	
17. Transition Programme	UN, Ausaid, Canada Denmark, EC, Norway	✓	✓	
18. Equal Access to Justice	UN, SIDA, Netherlands, Ausaid		✓	
19. Transparent and Accountable Local Government (TALG)	USAID		✓	
20. Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme (ACRP)	Ausaid			✓
21. Foundation for Co-Existence (FCE)	Norway +			✓
22. Development and Peace – Sri Lanka (DPSL)	Swiss	(✓)		✓
23. Young Asia Television (YATV)	Swiss			✓
24. Berghof	Swiss, Germany			✓
25. Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation (FLICT) 2005 and 2008	UK, Germany Australia Denmark			✓
26. Peace Support Programme (PSP)	USAID			✓
27. Sri Lanka Transition Initiatives (OTI)	USAID	(✓)		✓
28. Results Assessment of Portfolio (draft)	Sweden	✓	✓	✓
Total		11	12	9

Yellow denotes that the report is marked confidential

Annex 11 Details of the Sample Project / Programme Evaluations

Evaluations	Funder	Years	Objective	Beneficiaries
1. Country Assistance Programme Evaluation (CAPE), including Thematic Evaluation Operations in Conflict Affected NE and the following projects[136]: 2007 • NE Community Rest and Dev Project • NE Coastal Community Dev Project • Conflict Affected Areas Rehab. Project • Tsunami-Affected Areas Rebuilding Project	ADB (and others such as OPEC, EC, Germany, Netherlands - depending on project)	2002-07 2004-07 2004-08 2005-09	Rehabilitation and reconstruction as a peace dividend. For example for CAARP it will 'provide a rapid improvement in the well-being of a significant number of people in the conflict-affected areas, support the ongoing peace process by provision of high priority and highly visible infrastructure, and restore community livelihoods'.	NECORD - US$40m, 700,000 beneficiaries; NECDP- US $28m, 40,000 hhs; CAARP US $108m – 2million potential beneficiaries; TAARP - US $149m, 3million potential beneficiaries
2. Local Initiatives for Tomorrow (LIFT) Interim Evaluation , 2006	CIDA	2002-07	To improve ability of CBOs to provide local communities with tools to access local resources in conflict-affected areas; to empower CBO members to participate in decision making related to human needs and rights	c.200 groups, 5132 people, C$4.5m
3. Project for Rehabilitation through Education and Training (PRET) Final Evaluation, 2008	CIDA	2003-08	Goal: Contribute to reduction of poverty which aggravates social tension resulting in conflict. Purpose : enhance standard of living of poor, under and unemployed women and youth. Outcomes: Strengthening vocational training, enhance marketable skills, improve community capacity to support marginalized people entering the labour force	C$25.7m, 14 districts, 46 partners organisations 6233 trainees (33% women), 63% of whom were then employed,
4. *Assessment of Economic Programmes* Covers a range of initiatives: Private sector (matchmaking, Chambers of commerce); Energy (electricity, continental shelf delimitation); Infrastructure (water, roads); Fisheries; Employment training 2007	NORAD	2002-07	Various interventions with different objectives. Norway's 1998 economic guidelines advise that economic programmes should be channelled so as to reinforce the prospects for peace	Overall 41% of all dev. Cooperation, though in fact the evaluation study estimates $6m out of $34m is actually spent (17%) Private sector dev (NOK 72m) Energy (NOK100m) Fish processing (NOK 3.6m) PRET (NOK 12m)

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[136] There are no separate evaluations for NECORD, CAARP, TAARP, NECRDP – they are evaluated under the CAPE.

5. North East Irrigated Agriculture Project (NEIAP) Implementation Completion Report, 2005	WB	1999-2005	The development objective was to help conflict affected communities in the North-East and adjoining areas to re-establish at least a subsistence level of production and community-based services through assistance for jump-starting agricultural and small-scale reconstruction activities, and build the capacity of such communities for sustainable social and economic reintegration.	369 irrigation schemes rehabilitated and 1057 CBOs formed/ reactivated, 1294 km roads regarded and 754 wells. 2750,000 people benefited.
6. North East Housing Reconstruction Programme (NEHRP) WB Quality Assessment of Lending Portfolio 2008 WB Mid Term Review Mission 2007 EC Mid Term Review 2008	WB, EC	2004-11	Facilitate the reconstruction of 46,000 houses in the North East over a four-year period through the provision of housing support cash grants. In doing so, it would support the return of displaced populations in the NE and regularization of land title. It would contribute to the training of skilled construction workers, consequently allowing the resumption of economic activity in the war-devastated region through increased construction activity.	c. some 14,000 houses constructed by 2007 and another 15,000 near completion; for some 117,000 beneficiaries. US $75m plus additional financing of US $43m
7. Unified Assistance Scheme (UAS) Strategic Evaluation 2005-2006 Under NECORD implementation[137]	WB, Netherlands, EC	2003-	To provide seed money to the displaced people as a 'peace dividend', to re-instate livelihoods, to resume income-generating activities, and to revitalise the economy in the region	100,000 families (estimated 17% female headed), (May 2005), in 8 districts, 96 villages in NE. US$25m
8. Transition Programme Phase 1 and 2 Livelihoods, micro-finance, housing small infrastructure, social cohesion, environment External Review report, 2005	UN, Ausaid, Canada Denmark EC, Norway	2004-06	1 / Post-resettlement support to IDPs and their reintegration into the larger community, moving progressively and sequentially from relief activities to activities conducive to socio-economic development.	Phase 1 US$7.7m spent out of US $23.7m committed; 394 projects, 7,000 direct beneficiaries, 120,000 indirect
		2007-08	2 / Social cohesion and social and economic recovery within and between communities are enhanced through an integrated and area based approach targeting the most vulnerable in conflict affected areas	Phase 2 US $51m, 200-300,000 beneficiaries
9. Development and Peace – Sri Lanka (DPSL) (Phase II)	SDC	2004-07	To contribute to peacebuilding in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka by addressing the economic needs of populations vulnerable to conflict and promoting values of interethnic respect and co-operation at local level. DPSL has two outcomes: a) better employment opportunities for youth from poor backgrounds, such as offering them alternatives to taking up arms, and b) improved incomes of small-scale farmers	376 farmers 532 youth Budget: ? for Phase II; Phase 3 (2008-10): SLRup 80m = US$0.8 m

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[137] NECORD itself does not have a substantive evaluation report

				suffering from the ongoing conflict. Peacebuilding objectives are mainstreamed in both outcomes	
10. Transition Initiative (OTI) Final Evaluation, 2007	USAID	2003-2007		To build support among the population for the Peace Process. OTI's focus at the local level was a product of the overall USAID strategy, which had other programmes operating at government levels in Colombo. OTI's role was to build support for a negotiated peace at the local level, with the expectation that local level support for peace would become a factor in helping or encouraging national level leaders to take the difficult political steps toward a negotiated settlement. To do this, OTI had three objectives: 1) demonstrating the benefits of peace (through local community infrastructure and livelihood support projects); 2) informing citizens about the peace process and building attitudinal support for it; and 3) bringing diverse groups together to work for the common good.	823 grants US $24m
11. Evaluation of Thematic Governance Assistance (ETGA) Part of CAPE (see above) 2007	ADB	1995-2003, 2004-2008		This evaluation reviews ADB's support for governance and anti-corruption over life of two country strategies, 1995-2003 and 2004-2008. From 1995-2003 elements included: public enterprise reform, public sector management, local government strengthening and regulatory and policy reforms. In 2004-2008 elements included: pro-poor public service delivery, improved public sector expenditure management, resource mobilization, local and corporate governance, and regulatory framework in public utilities, banking and finance. Both strategies included efforts to combat corruption.	ADB asserts that most project loans have a governance dimension. But level of support provided for governance and anti-corruption elements of project loans and TA is not disaggregated.
12. Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project (GISP) End of Project Review 2003	CIDA	1999-2003		GISP supported "Sri Lankan institutions that could potentially address the root causes of the conflict. It included supporting outreach mechanisms on human rights, promoting and strengthening public accountability, supporting innovative approaches to conflict resolution and strengthening judicial responsiveness. It did this principally by making sub-grants to Sri Lankan organizations.	Total project funding of $4.8 million. Direct beneficiaries include NGOs, universities, one government ministry and judiciary.
13. Childs Rights Project (CRP) Final Evaluation 2007	CIDA	2001-2008		The goal of the project is to contribute to the improvement of policies that can promote child/human rights and democratic values. The objective of the project is to strengthen the capacity of selected organizations to promote and protect the rights of Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances. The	$4.6 million

			project aimed to work with approx 50 NGOs throughout SL, using a rights based approach aimed at empowering children, their families and communities to view children as subjects of human rights.	
14. Governance Assessment Cumulative Assessment 2007	CIDA	2007	This is an assessment of the cumulative results of CIDA's governance-related programs from 1990-2007. This includes programming in support of human rights, the peace process, CSO strengthening, language rights, and gender equity.	Total disbursements for "Governance priority" programming totalled approx $14.4 million from 1990-2007.
15. European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Mid Term review, 2007	EC	2007-2009	The EIDHR aims to promote human rights, democracy and conflict prevention by providing financial support for activities supporting these goals. In SL, the programme goals are: 1) fostering a culture of human rights and 2) advancing equality, tolerance and peace. Six NGOs/universities were funded.	Approx Euro 400,000 in grant support to six NGOs.
16. Civilian Police Capacity Building (CPCB) Mid Term Review 2007	Sweden	2005-2008	Support provided to the Swedish National Police Board to support police reform in Sri Lanka. The goals of the project are to: 1) improve criminal investigations, 2) strengthen the respect and promotion of ethnic integration and human rights in the SLP, and 3) increase management capacity of SLP.	30 million SEK
17. Sri Lanka Press Institute (SLPI) Operational Summary 2008	SIDA and Norad	2003-2006	SIDA and Norad funded the establishment of the Sri Lanka Press Institute (SLPI). SLPI was created in order to strengthen journalistic independence and quality. SLPI has two major departments: the Press Complaints Commission of Sri Lanka, and the Sri Lanka College of Journalism.	Amount of SIDA/Norad funding not stated. Danida also has funded SLPI.
18. Asia Foundation's Access to Justice (A2J) Review, 2008	UK	2004-2008	The A2J programme focused on employing legal strategies for addressing some of the political grievances of ethnic minorities and marginalized groups throughout SL. The goal was to make institutions of governance and justice more accessible and responsive to these grievances. In addition to engaging public institutions such as the Ministry of Justice, the lower judiciary and the police, the programme provided TA to community-based organizations and civil society groups to help empower communities to articulate their demands for remedial action and to develop advocacy strategies.	Funding level not stated.
19. UNDP's Equal Access to Justice Final Evaluation, 2006	UN, SIDA, Netherlands, Ausaid)	2004-2007?	The project has four objectives: 1) increasing the number and diversity of persons receiving effective legal and ADR services, 2) increasing the number and diversity of persons receiving information on their rights and duties, 3) decreasing the barriers to accessing the justice system, 4) better promotion	Approx $1.9 million

			and effective protection of human rights.	
20. Transparent and Accountable Local Government (TALG) Evaluation after 2.5 years (2007)	USAID	2005-2007	The project supported the strengthening of budgeting, revenue generation and service delivery capacities of 35 Local Authorities (LA), principally in tsunami-affected areas. A second and much smaller component supported the legal empowerment of selected vulnerable groups and communities. (See the foundation's A2J program above.)	$9.2 million
21. Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme (ACRP) Mid Term review, 2007	Ausaid	2005 – 09	The ACRP was designed to support both humanitarian and peace-building objectives and combined bilateral as well as humanitarian and emergency funds into one general facility. To contribute towards sustainable development, durable peace and conflict transformation in Sri Lanka and conflict transformation processes primarily through reducing poverty and renewing social and economic development for those areas directly affected by conflict, or where simmering tensions exist	Peacebuilding / conflict transformation Aus$ 6.2million Humanitarian Aus$ 8.6million

22. Foundation for Co-Existence (FCE)
 	
Assessment 2007
	Ausaid, UK; CIDA; EU; Norway. USAID OTI UNICEF World Bank	2002-	Established in 2002 to address perceived gaps in the peace process, i.e. exclusion of key stakeholders (especially Muslims) and localised unrest on the ground (especially in the East). Key objectives on peace and conflict in original memorandum of association:
			To research into the causes of conflict in the region
			 To promote peace and co-existence in South Asian societies
			To develop programmes to support the peace process in Sri Lanka
			To establish programmes for interactive learning and education for co-existence.
			Added a further objective in 2007
			To engage in people and community development programmes
			Current programme divided into five thematic areas:
			    1. Human Security and Co-existence
			    2. Consolidating the Peace Process
			    3. Centre for Co-existence
			    4. Language and Governance
			    5. Development
				Norway: 2004 NOK 3.7 million
				2005 NOK 7.585 million
				2007 NOK 7 million
				plus NOK 7 million for restoration of religious buildings project.
				
				No of early response interventions
				2003 – 6
				2004 – 14
				2005 –12 (impact of tsunami)
				2006 – 23
				2007 – 15 over first half.

23. Young Asia Television (YATV) External Review 2008	Swiss USAID	? -current	The No War Zone (NWZ) programme funded by SDC aimed to encourage dialog and debate on the peace process and reflecting diverse views. YATV produces a weekly series which is broadcast on various Sri Lankan TV channels. It	Swiss funding from Feb 2003 No data budget Phase 4 : 9/2005 – 8/2008: 1.14mill CHF

			covers current affairs with special relation to peace issues and with an emphasis of presenting the voices of people usually not heard in the mainstream media.	NWZ audience figures, 2004 –08. 2004-average level of 72, 000 viewers, representing 0.69% of all people in TV owning households. 2005- 17000 viewers 2006- 78'000 viewers (0.72%). 2006-2008 increased to 132'000, up by almost 70%.
24. Resource Network for Conflict Studies and Transformation (RNCST) Sri Lanka Implemented by the Berghof Foundation Summary Evaluation 2008	Swiss, Germany	2001-2008	RNCST set up in July 2001. Planned for 7.5 years until December 2008. Pilot phase 2001-2002. Overall objective to enhance the capacities for conflict transformation in the country. Key programme objectives: Stimulate a broad array of actors to engage in peace-promotion activities Provide direct support for a more effective negotiation process Increase the capacity of Track 2 skills and support for the peace process Develop an effective network of local and international organisations working for peace Focus attention on constitutional issues that would be crucial to any peace agreement.	?budget 2001-2006 2006-2008. Euros 3,800,000 (Germany and Switzerland)
25. Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation (FLICT) ~ Review Mission 2005 ~ Project Review and Design Mission 2008	UK, Germany Australia Denmark	2003-current	Aim: Civil society organisations in cooperation with each other contribute significantly towards the acceptance of democratic pluralistic values and take an active role in establishing mechanisms for civic non violent conflict resolution.	Since inception in 2003 received Euros 10,159,000 from main donors. 2003-06: 184 proposals approved, implemented by 65 partners, 2006-08: support to 58 partners and 8 intermediaries engaged in 64 initiatives
26. Peace Support Programme (PSP) Evaluation: 2007	USAID		Three main goals: To build inclusive capacity for formal peace negotiations To mobilise constituents for peace	2004-2007 US$6,948,866

			To link constituents and leadership	
27. Sri Lanka People Forums Strategic Assessment (after 2 years) 2007	USAID Academy for Education and Development (AED)	2004-current	Originally set up in early 2004 as part of the One-Text initiative to directly support the macro peace process by filling the communication and relationship gap between tracks 1 and 3. But following collapse of CFA adjusted to focus on peacebuilding at community level. Original objectives: To develop and deepen democratic space and strengthen the peace process by generating a tradition of grassroots dialog Bring people together from key sectors and develop a vision for the future To build bonds and bridges throughout civil society, making a positive transformation Support the emergence of a people's plan of action for development of good governance and peace Strengthen constituencies for peace to canvass support for the peace process and bring pressure to bear on the parties The People's Forums will catalyse citizens at different levels for conflict and political transformation	2005 – AED funding, 41 People's Forums established. in the first half of 2005 Cover all districts of Sri Lanka
28. Results Assessment of Portfolio 2008 (draft)	Sweden	2003-2008	This is a draft assessment of the performance of 31 of SIDA's programmes in SL from 2003 to 2008. Of these, six programmes dealt with human rights and democratic governance and two dealt with conflict, peace and security.	1.243 billion SEK

Annex 12 Impact as Stated by the Sampled Evaluations

Evaluations	Summary of evaluation judgement in terms of development impact and impact on conflict
Conflict Sensitive Development	
1. Thematic Evaluation Operations in Conflict Affected North East (part of ADB CAPE) 2007	Overall development impact of ADB has been '*modest*' and in the North and East as '*likely to be modest*'. Projects in the North and East adopted 'do no harm' principles, were based on a peace dividend and did generate immediate benefits. ADB's focus on physical infrastructure though 'needs to be reassessed under deteriorating security conditions'. Some observers pointed out that the high visibility of post ceasefire development assistance to the North and East may have contributed to resentment and tension concerning aid distribution
2. Country Assistance Strategy Completion Report (CAS CR) 2006, Independent Evaluation Group Review (IEG CASR) 2008	Overall the CAS had a was mixed performance. The Peace Pillar was rated as 'moderately satisfactory' compared to the Growth and Equity Pillars which were 'unsatisfactory' and 'moderately unsatisfactory'. The Peace Pillar outcomes were judged in terms of gains in services and reconstruction – housing, water, agriculture and education – rather than in furthering of the peace process itself. The IEG broadly downgraded the overall rating to 'moderately unsatisfactory'

3. Local Initiatives for Tomorrow (LIFT) 2006	Substantial benefits have accrued to the CBOs and their members. The two outcomes required of the project have been achieved, and there is every indication that the project purpose is also being achieved. Other benefits include:
	    Functional linkages to government and at least 35 service providers
	    Development of social capital through ownership, motivation, leadership capabilities and confidence
	    Expansion of social safety nets through enhanced village unity, local funds for lending, increase in community self help activities
	    Decrease in local level interpersonal and intercommunity conflict

4. Project for Rehabilitation through Education and Training (PRET) 2008	Contributing to poverty reduction and raising living standards Successfully achieved outcomes of strengthening vocational training institutes, improving youth employability and self-employment, and improved community capacity to support marginalized.
5. Norway's Assistance to Economic Development (NAED) 2007	Economic development projects not designed or implemented in a conflict sensitive manner. Gender and poverty targeting weak. Limited evidence of impact but CAARP is making positive contribution to rebuilding infrastructure. 5 case studies assess impact on conflict – positive on youth employment, none via fisheries, some positive impact through energy and via chambers of commerce support.
6. North East Irrigated Agriculture Project (NEIAP) 2005	The ICR records positive impacts: 275,000 beneficiaries, more than double anticipated, increased agricultural productivity, employment, roads, improved self-reliance. There is no mention of the impact of the project on conflict resolution, except that the population is deemed more resilient to conflict and other shocks through their better socio economic status and local capacity.
7. North East Housing Reconstruction Programme (NEHRP) EC:MTR 2008, World Bank: MTR 2007	Housing and cash grants delivered to conflict-affected, land title regularised, trained construction. Improved security and livelihoods but also increased indebtedness. No direct impact noted in terms of conflict resolution. The home-owner-driven approach was a best practice response to address the housing needs of the conflict-affected poor. The community review of beneficiary selection and participation in construction empowered villagers, reduced grievances and strengthened transparency. The success of NEHRP led to replication of the home-owner driven strategy to other IDA-financed projects in Sri Lanka.
8. Unified Assistance Scheme (UAS) 2006	Cash grants have been effective in supporting returnees to re-settle and establish livelihoods, even though some kept the money as savings or to settle debts. The

	peace message as such did not spread 'beyond the village', and no impact found on peace process more widely.
9. Transition Programme (UNDP)	Rated as successful, particularly in its post-tsunami response. Delivered promptly on small projects aimed at consolidating the resettlement of IDPs and strengthening the communities in which they live. Less successful in meeting the second part of its overarching objective; to move progressively beyond relief and resettlement towards socio-economic development.
Governance / Human Rights	
10. Evaluation of Thematic Governance Assistance (ETGA)	ADB's governance assistance programme has been 'highly relevant'. But the programme is likely to be "less effective" due to changes in the political landscape and policy discontinuity. (Almost no mention of the conflict.) It is likely to be efficient and sustainable. The overall outcomes of ADB's assistance programme for governance and anticorruption are too early to assess. The overall impact in the areas of governance is 'likely to be modest'.
11. Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project (GISP)	GISP was relevant to the needs of Sri Lanka. CIDA can claim some modest results at the impact level in helping offset the negative impact of the civil war on NGOs and civil society groups. Good results were achieved in strengthening the Centre for Policy Alternatives and its polling facility, Social Indicator, in strengthening the Community Mediation Program, in initiating the Translation Program at the University of Peradeniya, and in training High Court Judges.
12. Childs Rights Project (CRP)	CRP appears to be on course to achieve its expected outcomes. The attitudes and practices of partner organizations are changing with regard to the ways they view their responsibilities in upholding child rights and the ways in which they interact with both children and local authorities. Partners have also significantly improved their skills in participatory research, particularly consulting with children, as well as project formulation and proposal preparation.
13. Governance Assessment	The assessment concluded that CIDA's support to a number of Sri Lankan NGOs has sustained and strengthened civil society voices, especially those documenting human rights abuses (including children's rights and violence against women) by all parties. Also CIDA support has helped to protect fundamental rights, enable principled dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution, and strengthen democratic institutions.
14. European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)	The evaluation found that the EC/EIDHR programme constitutes an essential contribution to strengthening civil society capacities in peacebuilding and human rights. This is particularly relevant in view of the deterioration of the human rights situation in recent years and the breakdown of the 2002 CFA. Some projects were implemented in an inadequate way, which affected their relevance. What makes the EIDHR projects particularly relevant is the fact that they focus on grass roots peacebuilding and community based human rights advocacy. The EIDHR projects are complementary to macro-level initiatives.
15. Civilian Police Capacity Building (CPCB)	The project is highly relevant. But it has had limited impact on inducing change within the Sri Lankan Police. It is not possible at this stage of project implementation to find any concrete evidence for change brought about by the project with regards to human rights. The chances for seeing any substantial impact on the human rights situation in Sri Lanka cannot be expected given the difficulties during the current context, and the short time period of the project. While none of the project activities are directly supporting the war effort or human rights abuses, the project runs the risk of lending legitimacy to the GoSL war effort and to human rights abuses.
16. Sri Lanka Press Institute (SLPI)	The evaluation focused on the institutional development of the SLPI, it didn't address its broader impact. It concluded that during a short duration of less than three years, SLPI has achieved a lot. The institute is up and running; most practical aspects of setting up an institute have been achieved. Most journalists interviewed agreed with the concept of self-regulation and commended the SLPI for pioneering the concept. The courses conducted by SLPI have acceptance within the media

	industry.
17. Asia Foundation Access to Justice (A2J)	The evaluation identified five groups of impacts. Firstly, there are impacts upon how the state agents treat citizens in practice, i.e. in improved capacity and attitudes of the police and public servants to eliminate discrimination towards Tamil-speakers. Secondly, there are impacts upon public law and debate with regards to discrimination, manifested by [near] adoption of the Witness Protection legislation and national consultation over language rights. Thirdly, there are successful local initiatives of fostering partnerships between community groups, local authorities and state agencies. Fourthly, there are meaningful improvements, albeit from a very low base, in access to justice in conflict-affected areas in the North and East, such as mediation boards and community rights' education and empowerment. Fifthly, there are impacts upon modernisation and professionalisation of lawyers, especially relevant in the conflict-affected areas, and promising engagement with the Law Commission.
18. UN Equal Access to Justice (EAJ)	The project presumed Sri Lanka was moving to peace, and that access to justice can contribute to 'the achievement of permanent peace.' No attempt was made in the evaluation to assess impact, in part because the project did not have any indicators for measuring impact. It only went so far as describing activities and outputs and focused on project design and monitoring and evaluation.
19. Transparent and Accountable Local Government (TALG)	The training provided to local authorities (LAs) has been highly valued, and it appears it is being used to good effect. There has been some replication/dissemination of good practices, especially participatory budgeting and planning processes. But currently there is relatively little to show with regard to building political will for reform. The overall impact includes improved performance of 35 LAs, more citizen participation in these and other LAs, and the apparent invigoration of some provincial and national officials responsible for local government affairs. It remains to be seen if efforts over the next six months to build political will for reform will have any lasting impact. The considerable potential impact of the programme will not be achieved because of its relatively short life.
Peacebuilding	
20. Australian Community Rehabilitation Programme (ACRP)	ACRP partners successful in empowering local communities and organizations. The beneficiaries of the peacebuilding activities were diverse, ranging from regional chambers of commerce, village level organizations, communities and local government. The flexible, facility approach to implement ACRP was assessed as successful. It allowed support in key geographical locations (North, East, South, Central Province).
21. Foundation for Co-Existence (FCE)	The shift from a niche peacebuilding organisation to a 'multi-mandate NGO that simultaneously aims to work at multiple levels in multiple sectors has diluted the effectiveness and impact of FCE's original area of work'.
22. Development and Peace – Sri Lanka (DPSL)	Successfully blends socio-economic development with peacebuilding aspects to make a limited, though valuable contribution to interethnic trust building and interaction at local level in Amparai and Batticaloa districts. On the whole, the DPSL approach to use activities promoting economic development as entry point for peacebuilding has proved relatively robust within the current adverse political climate
23. Young Asia Television (YATV) 2008	Overview of topics covered from 2003-8 shows that No War Zone followed current events and reflected new political and social developments. This appears to demonstrate a good mix of issues and topics, however, 'political, economic and social issues seem at least under-reported given the fact that dealing with the conflict in Sri Lanka involves political, economic and social questions. Ethnic and religious issues as well look neglected given the general importance of ethnicity and religion in the conflict setting of Sri Lanka'. The media assessment concluded that in the current conflict setting, the 'media have strengthened ethnicity (Sinhala vs. Tamil) as the dominant feature and are in turn also influenced by the ethnic discourse dominating in society. The feature of

	discrimination and marginalisation is relevant but far too simplistic, as many other (intra-ethnic) conflicts are present.'
24. Berghof 2008	In general Berghof was able to engage in long term processes to achieve a sustainable peace with the main parties to the conflict (GoSL and LTTE) during first half of programme period i.e. up until 2005, however from 2005-2008 the project increasingly worked with 'like minded' in Sri Lanka and the Tamil Diaspora. Berghof made significant contributions in promoting effective processes of principled negotiation and peaceful coexistence when formal negotiations were underway. But when these broke down, they were not able to make a direct contribution. There was no demonstrable immediate or long term impact on transforming mindsets and attitudes among decision makers and leaders.
25. Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation (FLICT) 2005, 2008	The 2005 review found that FLICT was a valuable endeavour worth continued support. But it 'still has a ways to go before it fulfils its promise of making a significant impact in support of civil society initiatives for non-violent and democratic transformations of Sri Lanka's multiple violent conflicts'. The 2008 review found evidence of 'significant improvement in capacity, structural change and development of approaches to peacebuilding. A majority of partners had increased capacity in conflict transformation and there was evidence that projects showed a greater commitment to pluralism and heterogeneity'.
26. Peace Support Programme (PSP) Mid-term Assessment of Sri Lanka People's Forum (PF)[138]	According to the evaluation, the PSP suffered from low capacity and management problems. The One Text Initiative was found to be an overly innovative and ambitious attempt at multi-stakeholder dialogue. The lasting impact of OneText is 'principally as a precedent and a learning experience..(that) will inform future efforts at multi-stakeholder dialogue' Witb the regard to people's Forum's, 'it is not clear that the People's Forums have the potential to become a grassroots "people's movement" in support of peace, democracy and development. But at a minimum they do represent a somewhat useful experiment in local civic action'. A separate mid-term assessment of People's Forums concluded: The PF's have made 'remarkable progress in their mission and objectives'. The programme has set up 64 PFs throughout all provinces and districts of Sri Lanka; brought together the 4 largest NGOs to work on a joint project. It was the 'Only initiative in Sri Lanka to provide a space for multi-sector representation to work on peace, democracy and good governance'. The PFs were successful in carrying out core activities in response to people's needs and had at least one success story to illustrate peace, development and good governance work. The long term vision to invest on people's capacity to address peacebuilding, democracy and good governance issues is difficult to assess as the programme has only been going 2 years.
27. Transition Initiative (OTI)	By its location in many conflict affected zones, OTI demonstrated an 'on the ground' presence and ability to promote understanding of the requirements of a negotiated settlement, produce more favourable attitudes towards peace at the local level, and provide a wide variety of material benefits to populations woefully underserved by their own government or by foreign donors. The programme produced important benefits to the language of peace, and to development of assets for peace in terms of trained personnel, strengthened leadership groups, and demonstrable attitudinal and behavioural change among the thousands affected by the 645 grants at the national and local level. The most visible impacts have occurred in those communities where OTI managed to vertically focus its grant activities into an integrated and multi-faceted grant partnership. In addition to these changes, OTI's contribution to livelihoods, local infrastructure, and in some cases local quality of life has been substantial. An open question is whether a 'bottom-up' approach to peacebuilding could have

[138] USAID supported One Text and People's Forums under the Peace Support Programme. CIDA also supported One Text and People's Forums and comments on them in the governance assessment.

	had much impact as conditions deteriorated. Much of the evidence developed in this evaluation points to causal factors that reside with policies and vested interests at levels quite beyond what could be touched by OTI.
28. Results Assessment of Portfolio (SIDA) 2008 (draft report)	SIDA's programme 2003-2008 records acceptable development results in spite of a risky and disabling country context. Nevertheless, the impacts of the armed conflict are considerable and were a major cause of poor performance.

Yellow denotes that the report is marked confidential

Annex 13 Coordination and Coherence during and after the Peace Process

Sri Lanka appears to be a country where achieving high levels of coordination and coherence should be relatively easy (for definitions see Box 4). Geographically Sri Lanka is a small and relatively accessible country; the GoSL has the capacity to play a leading role vis-à-vis its donors; and the number of large donors is relatively small. However, in practice, coordination and coherence relating to CPPB has been difficult because of the following dynamics:

- The resources of three largest donors, the World Bank, ADB and Japan, dwarf those of other donors, but the "big three" have tended to be reluctant to take a leading role in addressing highly politicised issues such as the peace process and devolution of power.
- Norway, the donor most closely associated with the peace process, has not seen the promotion of donor coordination and coherence as being its responsibility.
- Other politically influential donors, notably India and the US, have not been strong proponents of donor coordination and coherence.
- Differing donor government policies regarding engagement with the LTTE complicated and in some cases limited donor involvement in the peace process.
- The environment within which donors interacted among themselves and with the GoSL changed dramatically several times, first with the advent of the UNP government and the signing of the CFA, then with the tsunami, and finally with the advent of the Rajapaksa government and the resumption of the conflict.

Box 3 Defining Coordination and Coherence

Coordination of aid delivery aims to ensure alignment of funds towards established priorities, transparency, reduction in funding overlaps and transaction costs. If this can be achieved in coordination with the local actors based on national policies, procedures and structures, this helps to increase ownership, harmonization, alignment and mutual accountability between governments and donors. Improved coordination can take the form of pooled funding or budget support and joint capacity building, joint programming, joint strategies and possibly joint offices as well.

Coherence, defined by the OECD as '*the pursuit of development objectives through the systematic promotion of mutually reinforcing policy actions on the part of both OECD and developing countries*'[1], can work at various levels both between donors and among the multiple arms of a donor's own government. A growing trend in the latter case has been to seek to develop 'whole of government' approaches where aid delivery forms part of a broader united engagement strategy encompassing diplomacy, security, trade and other facets of international partnership. Policy coherence between donors reflects their adherence to international best practice such as the Paris Agreement on aid effectiveness or on international conventions such as those related to human rights, trafficking and arms control.

[1] www.oecd.org/development/policycoherence

Coordination and coherence in aid delivery worked better when there was closer alignment in policy approaches between donors and the GoSL. From 2001-04, the government was actively seeking partnerships with the donor community and had formulated a reform-based poverty reduction strategy that accorded with the policies of the main donors at the time. The government's active encouragement had a positive impact on donor coordination, for example the big donors all

subscribed to the Development Assistance Coordinating Committee in 2003 to ensure dialogue around the national development strategy and the planning and use of support for its implementation.

The Tokyo Declaration of June 2003 was the peak of this phase of coherence and coordination, as there the donors agreed to a common policy framework vis-à-vis the peace process in Sri Lanka[139]. However, even during this period there were limits on coherence among bilateral donors as a result of differing donor government policies regarding engagement with the LTTE. The role played by Norway in the Sri Lankan Monitoring Mission has been seen to illustrate the difficulty of leading an international effort to support peace on the ground where different international actors have different positions.

During the pre-2005 period, support for coordination and coherence appeared strong in individual donor strategies too: particularly amongst the big three donors, who all prepared strategies around the same time and where '*efforts were made to ensure congruence*'[140]. At programmatic levels, as well, several multi-donor initiatives around peacebuilding were introduced (e.g. the Berghof Foundation's RNCST, FLICT, SLPI and the CHA Fund).

The post-tsunami aid efforts were shaped by two key dynamics: first, the huge and rapid increase in both resources and actors; and second, the prospect of the GoSL and the LTTE agreeing on a mechanism - the Post-Tsunami Management Structure (P-TOMS) - that would give the LTTE a significant role in channelling aid in the North and East. A major investment in time and resources was made in improving coordination amongst the much expanded number of governmental and non-governmental actors. For some, this led to positive results with joint assessments, development of guiding principles, and fresh opportunities for peacebuilding efforts. For others, with the rapid politicisation of aid and the corruption that occurred, and the eventual suspension of the P-TOMS, meant that the experience ultimately led to frustration and a loss of trust[141].

From 2005 on, coordination between GoSL and most donors declined. The GoSL were less interested in engaging in a dialogue with donors about development and peace; and a number of bilateral donors became increasingly concerned about the government's agenda and policies. The IIGEP represented a broad-based international effort to address human rights issues with 11 countries, including India, participating; but the eventual failure of the process due to the lack of co-operation from the GoSL was a considerable disappointment to many of the partners. The 2007 Development Forum also gave expression to the shift in the position of some donors as they were not prepared to discuss the government's new development strategy (the main reason for holding the Forum) without also considering the ongoing conflict. Several new donor country strategies emerged after this point that explicitly rejected the GoSL strategy or formed the basis for withdrawing their bilateral aid programme (see Chapter 3, 1.5). As some donors moved away from funding through government channels, government coordination became less important. Budget support or policy based lending also declined, reducing possible mechanisms for closer co-operation with government and with other donors. The multilaterals, on the other hand, tend to describe donor-donor coordination as well managed and donor-government co-ordination as effective though increasingly challenging because of the multiplicity of ministries and the slow progress towards decentralisation.

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[139] http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/srilanka/conf0306/declaration.html

[140] '*In February 2003, the World Bank and JBIC co-hosted a workshop of the three institutions in Tokyo to discuss their respective strategies and fine-tune coordination. The workshop was extremely successful and permitted the agencies to ensure complementarity between their strategies'*. CAS, World Bank, 2003, p.28-9.

[141] Interview with Charge d'Affaires, EC Delegation; also see *Tsunami Response in Sri Lanka, Report of a Field Visit,* G. Frerks and B. Klem, March 2005.

Nevertheless in general the level of coordination with the GoSL has become increasingly difficult - and for some pointless - and regular coordination events between donors appear to have reduced apart from those related to humanitarian action[142].

Formal Coordination Mechanisms

Over the period discussed in this report, three principal donor coordinating mechanisms have been operating: (a) the Development Partners/Donors Forum with 40+ members that include bilateral and multilateral institutions and involves heads of mission on a monthly basis – until 2008 when it reduced to a bi-monthly basis; b) the Bilateral donor group of 15+/- members; and c) the Donor Working Group (DWG) of 20+/- members that include donors and agencies with an interest in peacebuilding and conflict resolution work.

In terms of peacebuilding coordination, the DWG was the leading mechanism of the three, though in representation terms the most junior. The original aim of the DWG was to demonstrate donor commitment to the peace process, to help ensure appropriate action by donors by fostering a shared understanding, and to build transparency and accountability.

In order to add practical resources to support donor coordination efforts, a Trust Fund was established in December 2004. Initiated by the Netherlands and World Bank, the Donor Trust Fund (or the Development Partners Co-ordination and Support Fund)[143] was set up with the objective of '*contributing to peace and development in Sri Lanka…. through more effective collaboration between government and donors, through greater coherence in ODA planning and delivery, resulting in enhanced aid effectiveness*'.[144]

The DWG used this Fund to sponsor a number of initiatives, including:
- a scenario building exercise in March 2004 facilitated by Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael Institute),
- a monitoring consultancy in October 2004 with the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) to collect, analyse and present information assessing progress on peace,
- the 2005 Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA2).

During 2005, the situation changed as LTTE violence rose and the government scaled up the war effort and those donors who had strongly supported the peace process and human rights found collaboration with the Rajapaksa regime more difficult and the space for peacebuilding increasingly limited. By the end of the year, the Heads of Mission concluded that: '*The impact of the international community on progress in the peace process has been marginal. The parties to the conflict are generally not open to foreign advice, nor does donor funding have political leverage[145]*'.

These events together with a more thorough understanding of the conflict through such initiatives as the SCA2, brought a change in approach and, following a brief suspension of the DWG, the Group re-formed in February 2006 as the Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG) with a new purpose: '*The main aim of the DPSG is to broaden and deepen the understanding of peace and conflict-related issues in Sri Lanka and to equip donor organisations to contribute effectively to sustainable peace in Sri Lanka, as well as having a better understanding of what the limits to such contributions are*'.[146]

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[142] For example, in 2008 the annual Development Forum did not take place.
[143] The Netherlands was the largest contributor, committing $825,000 for a 3 year period from Nov. 2004.
[144] World Bank-Donor Support Fund, co-funded with UK and Sweden, Project Brief prepared by the Embassy of Netherlands, April 2008
[145] Donor Peace Support Group, note by M. Stuerzinger, January 2007, p.3
[146] Ibid.

The revised TORs of the DPSG covered: 1) monitoring peace and conflict dynamics in order to reinforce donor understanding, 2) advise respective organisations on how best to position themselves to contribute to durable and equitable peace in the country, 3) identify opportunities for donors to jointly develop initiatives to contribute to peace and 4) provide a forum for interaction. The idea of collaboration between donors and the GoSL was no longer mentioned.

In September 2006, the DPSG established sub-groups on the Human Rights / Governance, Police Support, Mine action, Diaspora, Media, Civil Society Support. These would allow partners to focus on their areas of interest. All have been operational since except the Diaspora sub-group, with varying levels of attendance and activity. The last two years has seen the DPSG and its sub-groups continue, supporting activities that include the continuing CPA monitoring reports, annual retreats and the pilot testing of OECD DAC guidance on evaluating CPPB activities (the subject of this report).

Annex 14 Development Partners/Donors' Coordination Matrix

(as at August 2008)

	Development Partners/Donors Meeting (DP Meeting)	Bilateral Donor Group (BDG)	Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG)
Purpose	Overall update on aid (development, rehabilitation and humanitarian) to Sri Lanka, economic management, macro-economic stability and lagging regions[147]	Share information, address key issues, achieve shared positions on the basis of shared values and if appropriate develop opportunities for joint action[148].	- Mitigate the impact of conflict. – Undertaking development in a conflict-sensitive way. - Support Peace-building[149].
Chairs	Rotating Chair between ADB, WB, EU, UN; (for 3 meetings / six months)	Rotating Chair between members, (currently the EU)	Rotating co-chairs (one Multilateral / one Bilateral – currently; USAID/ UN).
Topics	- Humanitarian field update - Rehabilitation - Development - Updates from DPSG, BDG, Steering Committee etc.	- Guest speakers invited (e.g. UN, GoSL, Bilateral Donor, etc) to talk about a specific relevant issue at that time - Humanitarian and rehabilitation issues - Advocacy - Joint BDG visits - Updates from CCHA, IASC, etc	- DPs/Donors support to. conflict resolution /Peace building - Support to good Governance - Support to respect for Human rights - Support to Civil society organizations - Updates from the 6 sub-groups (See detail on page 6)
Approach	Information sharing, very inclusive approach	Practical and task orientated	Policy orientated, aiming to advise Heads of Missions on current developments.
	Development Partners Meeting (contd.)	**Bilateral Donor Group (BDG) (contd.)**	**Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG)** (contd.)
Participants	40+; All DPs/donors invited.	+/- 15; Only for Bilateral donors,	+/- 20; All DPs/Donors and agencies

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[147] Source: Review of Development Partners Coordination and Support Fund, April 2007
[148] Source: Bilateral Donor Group Terms of Reference, updated June 2006
[149] Report on the Proceedings and Results of the DPSG Planning workshop – Ahungala, 17 and 18 January 2008.

	(Bilateral, Financial institutions, IOs, etc). Currently ICRC invited due to the prevailing humanitarian situation.	although UN, IOs, IFIs and others are invited on specific topics. The group is small and limited to bilateral donors in order to be pro-active on advocacy and shared positions/approaches.	involved in peace support activities. Some CSO taking part in some Sub-Groups but not in the main DPSG.
Frequency	**Last Thursday of every second month 11.00 till 12.30**	**Monthly – First Thursday of the month, 11.00 till 12.30**.	**Monthly - last Tuesday of the month, 11.00 till 12.30**
Sub-groups or work groups	Steering Committee: Rotating Chairs (UNRC, WB Country Director, ADB Country Director, EU Ambassador)	BDG Working Group on Guiding Principles	Currently 6 DPSG sub-groups[150]: - Human Rights (EU/UNHCHR) - Mine action (ECHO/UNDP) - Media (USAID) - Civil Society Support (Germany) - Training of Police. (Australia) - Diaspora (currently non operational)
Linked with :	- GoSL subject to topic/issue; - DPSG and its Sub-Groups - IASC/CCHA	- CCHA, which is co-chaired by the Minister of HR&DM, Secretary of Defence and Senior Presidential Advisor - IASC, chaired by the UN, with participation from the EC and Sweden.	DPSG provides update to the DPs/Donors meeting and on the DP's intranet.
Examples of output/outcomes	• Overall updates • Donor Coordination Facilitation. • Development Partners website • Preparation of GoSL/Donors Development Fora.	1. Guiding Principles (after Tsunami and now for conflict environment) 2. BDG Field Missions	3. Strategic Conflict Analysis 4. Quarterly CPA report: *"Factors Affecting Peace"*

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[150] In addition to the existing DPSG Sub-groups, "Conflict-Sensitive Development " and "Support to constitutional arrangements for conflict-resolution" are two strategic areas identified at the DPSG 2008 retreat. Increased collaboration on "Language" is currently looked into.

Sri Lanka's Development Partners/Donors Coordination Mapping – August 2008.

Issue-based dialogue with GoSL at various levels (Sr Presidential Advisor / Secretary MoFP / Ministries etc. (currently no set/regular mechanism

Development Partners/Donors' Meeting

Coordination Committee for Humanitarian Assistance (CCHA) – chaired by GoSL

Ministry of Nation Building

DPs/Donors Steering Committee

Inter-Agency Standing Committee (Humanitarian/ UN and NGOs)

Bilateral Donor Group (BDG)

Donor Peace Support Group (DPSG)

Guiding Principles Working Group

Donor Group on Post-tsunami Housing

DPSG Sub-Group on Human Rights

DPSG Sub-Group on Support to Civil Society Organisations

DPSG Sub-Group on Media

DPSG Sub-Group on Mine-Action

DPSG Sub-Group on Diaspora

DPSG Sub-Group on Police

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