



저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

교육학박사학위논문

An Analysis of the  
Peace Education in Sri Lanka:  
Focusing on the Evolution of Ownership

주인의식의 발전을 통해 본,  
스리랑카 평화교육 분석

2013년 8월

서울대학교 대학원  
교육학과 글로벌교육개발협력전공  
이 지 향



An Analysis of the  
Peace Education in Sri Lanka:  
Focusing on the Evolution of Ownership

by  
LEE Ji-Hyang

A Dissertation Submitted to  
the Department of Education  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

at the  
Graduate School of Seoul National University

August 2013

An Analysis of the  
Peace Education in Sri Lanka:  
Focusing on the Evolution of Ownership

주인의식의 발전을 통해 본,  
스리랑카 평화교육 분석

지도교수 김 기 석

이 논문을 교육학 박사 학위논문으로 제출함  
2013년 4월

서울대학교 대학원  
글로벌교육개발협력전공  
이 지 향

이지향의 박사학위논문을 인준함  
2013년 6월

위원장	_____
부위원장	_____
위원	_____
위원	_____
위원	_____

An Analysis of the  
Peace Education in Sri Lanka:  
Focusing on the Evolution of Ownership

2010-31079  
LEE Ji-Hyang

APPROVED BY THESIS COMMITTEE:

---

YOUNG IL NA, CHAIR

---

BONG GUN CHUNG, VICE CHAIR

---

MYOUNG-KYU PARK

---

SUNG SANG YOO

---

KI-SEOK KIM

# **ABSTRACT**

## **An Analysis of the Peace Education in Sri Lanka: Focusing on the Evolution of Ownership**

**LEE Ji-Hyang**  
**Department of Education**  
**Global Education Development Cooperation major**  
**The Graduate School**  
**Seoul National University**

This study examines the development of peace education in Sri Lanka, focusing on the evolution of the ownership. In order for education to contribute to peacebuilding, it requires serious commitment, resources, and institutional changes to have a sustained effect. This is also in line with what ownership agenda calls for to make the impact of aid more effective and sustainable. In this regard, this study explores how ownership of peace education has historically evolved, transformed, and merged in Sri Lanka by looking at education policies and peace education programs in 1990s and 2000s.

The principle of ownership has become a new paradigm in development cooperation since the 1990s. To make impact of aid more effective and sustainable, partnership between donor and partner countries has been increasingly highlighted. It challenges past experiences of the development

community that mainly injected foreign programs and resources into developing countries. Also, the role of education in conflict-affected countries has received growing attention during the past two decades. The development of peace education in Sri Lanka is highly related to the changing notion of the role of education in peacebuilding and ownership in development cooperation. Efforts were made by the government and donors to make education better contribute to transforming conflict to peacebuilding with strengthened local ownership.

Sri Lanka has experienced nearly thirty years of ethnic conflict, and education has served as both problem and solution to the conflict. Unequal opportunities in the education system among different minority groups, language policy, and biased curricula and textbooks have escalated the conflict. Against this backdrop, national and international efforts have been made to integrate peace into the education system from the 1990s in an umbrella term of ‘peace education.’ The development of peace education in Sri Lanka over last twenty years can be characterized into three phases in accordance with major educational policy developments. The first phase, in the 1990s, was an educational response to social and cultural issues in the context of Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. Social need to include peace concepts in the education system have moved the government to undertake the General Education Reforms of 1997. The second phase started with the World Bank’s introduction of the Sector-Wide Approach in the early 2000s via the Education Sector Development

Framework and Programme. The third phase was marked by the establishment of national policies and actions, supported by small donors under separate themes in the late 2000s. 'Education for Social Cohesion and Peace' was supported by the Germany in 2008 and 'Peace and Sustainable Development' was supported by UNESCO in 2012.

In two decades of development, the peace education in Sri Lanka has also been highly influenced by the changing environment in development cooperation that highlights ownership. New aid modalities were introduced to enhance the recipient country's leadership for its development policy and process. Project based approach has been replaced by sector approaches. Conditionality has been less stressed and harmonization of donors has been emphasized. As a result, the ownership of peace education in Sri Lanka has been constantly evolved and devolved in the process.

This study concludes that ownership is not a precondition but an outcome of partnership in the donor-recipient relationship. Despite the renewed emphasis on the ownership principle and introduction of new aid modalities, individual priorities of donors override efforts for coordination. Therefore, peace education in Sri Lanka has been fragmented under various titles and often been politicized due to the lack of adequate monitoring for its contents. Capacity building to enhance the ownership of peace education has been limited to teacher education that the balanced development of policy and practice. Furthermore, peace

education in Sri Lanka failed to achieve the participation of all stakeholders at all levels, which is the most essential element for effective peace education.

The past twenty years of educational policy development in Sri Lanka has highlighted peace education. Peace had been promoted by textbook and curriculum revision, teacher training, extra curriculum activities, and integration of the concept into policy. At the institutional level, there has been significant progress in the development of key policy frameworks to support peace education in Sri Lanka. Despite these positive developments, much work remains for both the government and donors to further enhance ownership of the process as well as the contents of peace education.

Key Words: peace education, ownership, development cooperation, fragile states, international educational development, Sri Lanka

Student Number: 2010-31079

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES.....</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. Overview .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Statement of the Problem .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3. Research Questions .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>4. Methodology .....</b>	<b>10</b>
4.1. Case study .....	10
4.2. Data collection .....	12
4.3. Significance and limitation .....	16
<b>5. Theoretical Perspective .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	
<b>BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>1. Aid and Development .....</b>	<b>23</b>
1.1. Aid and growth .....	23
1.2. Education and development.....	27
<b>2. Peace Education in Development Cooperation .....</b>	<b>31</b>
2.1. The role of education in peacebuilding.....	31
2.2. Peace education.....	35
<b>3. The Emergence of Ownership.....</b>	<b>40</b>
3.1. Failure of conditionality.....	40

3.2. Global policy agenda setting towards ownership .....	42
3.3. High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness (HLF).....	45
<b>4. Ownership in Education Sector .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>5. Literature Review on Peace Education in Sri Lanka .....</b>	<b>56</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 3</b>	
<b>EDUCATION AND CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA .....</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>1. Education and Conflict.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>2. The Sri Lankan Context.....</b>	<b>65</b>
2.1. Ethnicity and education in Sri Lanka.....	65
2.2. Education issues and conflict.....	69
<b>3. Structural Conditions for Peace Education in Sri Lanka .....</b>	<b>82</b>
3.1. Economic conditions.....	82
3.2. Ideological resources .....	87
3.3. Political conditions.....	88
3.4. Institutional conditions.....	91
 <b>CHAPTER 4</b>	
<b>PEACE EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA: 1990S.....</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>1. General Education Reforms of 1997 .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>2. The Impact of Internal and External Politics on Peace Education .....</b>	<b>101</b>
2.1. Strong political will but weak capacity.....	101
2.2. Donors' assistance for peace education .....	104
<b>3. Donor Involvement in Peace Education.....</b>	<b>108</b>
3.1. Education for Peace Project (EPP) .....	108
3.2. Education for Conflict Resolution (ECR) Project .....	112
 <b>CHAPTER 5</b>	
<b>PEACE EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA: 2000S.....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>1. Education Sector Development Framework and Programme in 2006.....</b>	<b>121</b>
1.1. Overview .....	121
1.2. Impacts on peace education .....	123
1.3. Donor harmonization and ownership.....	128

<b>2. National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions in Late 2000s</b> .....	<b>131</b>
2.1. Overview .....	131
2.2. Peacebuilding strategies of the GIZ.....	135
2.3. From basic education to education for social cohesion .....	138
2.4. Donor harmonization and ownership.....	140
 <b>CHAPTER 6</b>	
<b>DISCUSSION</b> .....	<b>145</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 7</b>	
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>157</b>
 <b>REFERENCE</b> .....	<b>161</b>
 <b>APPENDIX LIST OF INTERVIEWS</b> .....	<b>173</b>
 <b>LIST OF ACCRONYMS</b> .....	<b>175</b>
 <b>ABSTRACT IN KOREAN</b> .....	<b>177</b>

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1 Simplified Model of an Aid Negotiation .....	19
Figure 2 Partnership for greater aid effectiveness .....	46
Figure 3 Administrative map of Sri Lanka .....	66
Figure 4 ODA/GDP Ratio in Asian Developing Countries .....	84
Figure 5 Management organization of the education sector in Sri Lanka .....	93

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1 Forms of violence in the context of education .....	33
Table 2 Different approaches to conflict by donors .....	39
Table 3 Literacy rates in languages by major ethnic groups .....	73
Table 4 Aid disbursement to Sri Lanka in 2009 .....	85
Table 5 Key education reforms and policy documents related to peace education in Sri Lanka .....	94
Table 6 Analysis of proposals on education for peace in NEC 2003 Report .....	103
Table 7 Donor supported education projects in 1990s .....	104
Table 8 Manuals developed under the ECR .....	113
Table 9 Research on integrating peace and social cohesion .....	126

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Overview

The role of education in conflict affected countries has received growing attention during the past two decades from both academia and practitioners (Buckland, 2005; Karpinska, Yarrow, & Gough, 2007; Nicolai, 2009; A. Smith, 2005; Sommers, 2002). In particular, education is said to constitute one of the most important avenues for promoting reconciliation (Lederach, 1997). And peace education that contributes to the understanding of the causes of conflict and the generation of potential solution can be a necessary part of this process (I. Harris, 2002). Peace education is inherently linked to a multilevel process, including the international, national, regional, inter-group and interpersonal levels. And for peace education to have sustainability, local ownership needs to be fostered throughout the entire process (Salomon, 2004; Seitz, 2004; Sinclair, 2004).

In May 2009 the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) formally declared an end to the civil war. After nearly 30 years of violent conflict, Sri Lanka is now embarking on a new journey to peacebuilding. Over the years, unstable and violent situation have had a variety of negative effects on Sri Lanka's educational development. Whilst the conflict in Sri Lanka posed negative impact

on education, education through biased policy and practice had also critically contributed to its conflict.

In reflection to education being a part of Sri Lankan conflict, peace education has been introduced to its education system in the 1990s. However, Sri Lanka being a fragile state, the GoSL had a weak capacity to carry out basic governance functions such as education. Therefore, peace education in Sri Lanka was financially and technically supported by various donors for last twenty years.

The development of peace education in Sri Lanka for last twenty years can be characterized into three phases in accordance with major educational policy developments. The first phase in the 1990s, was an educational response to social and cultural issues in the context of Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. Social need to include peace concepts in education system has moved the GoSL to undertake the General Education Reforms of 1997. The second phase started with the World Bank's introduction of the Sector-Wide Approach in the early 2000s via the Education Sector Development Framework and Programme. The third phase was marked by the establishment of national policies and actions supported by small donors under separate themes in the late 2000s. 'Education for Social Cohesion and Peace' was supported by the Germany in 2008 and 'Peace and Sustainable Development' was supported by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2012.

In two decades of development, the peace education in Sri Lanka has also

been highly influenced by the changing environment in development cooperation that highlights ownership. New aid modalities were introduced to enhance the recipient country's leadership for its development policy and process. Project based approach has been replaced by sector approaches. Conditionality has been less stressed and harmonization of donors has been emphasized. As a result, the ownership of peace education in Sri Lanka has been constantly evolved and devolved in the process.

Therefore, this dissertation attempts to examine how the peace education in Sri Lanka has been developed focusing on the evolution of ownership. It argues that the principle of ownership is problematic in practice for both donors and governments of fragile states despite its imperativeness for effective aid. It is difficult for fragile states to take full ownership, even when aid modality has been designed to provide it.

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

How to make aid effective has long been a top question in the field of development cooperation. Ensuring mechanisms that enable aid to be implemented as expected have been at the heart of the question. From donors' perspectives, one of the most influential ensuring methods has been to impose conditions to aid such as the structural adjustment programs of the 1970s and 1980s. However, the injected foreign policies and programs did not result in

delivering the expected outcomes, thereby failing to reduce poverty in developing countries.

The challenges of past experiences have brought a major change in the relationship between donor and recipient countries. Now the focus has moved from how donors can use conditions to control aid to how both actors can partner each other to bring better results. As such modalities for aid did not produce expected results in reducing poverty, the development community sought ways to make recipient countries more committed to development. New modalities emphasized the full engagement of the recipient countries as partners. With this recognition, the role and capacity of the development partner to lead the development agenda and process - in other words, ownership - became an essential part of successful development cooperation. By aligning development aid towards national strategies and sourcing of goods and personnel locally, the ownership principle became a vital aspect of aid effectiveness ensuring accountability and transparency.

In 2005, over 100 donor and developing countries signed the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, which laid out important principles for the new era of partnership. Donors committed to respect the leadership of partner countries for their development and to help strengthen the capacity to exercise the leadership. In particular, ownerships for financial mechanisms of aid, direction of development agendas have been pursued. New aid delivery

modalities such as the Director Budget Support and the Sector-Wide Approaches, were introduced to reduce the burden on recipients. Additionally, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper process has become an instrument for coordinating development cooperation among all stakeholders.

In the case of fragile states, special attention must be given to different country situations. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC) described fragile states as those with limited capacity and/or political will to provide basic services, such as health care and education to the population (OECD, 2007). It further noted that these states suffer deficits in governance, reflecting the internal dynamics of a society, or exogenous factors such as natural disasters and regional conflict.

The impetus to support education in fragile states for peace has gained greater momentum since the 1990s with an increased emphasis on creating structures for the institutionalization of peace in the United Nations (UN). In 1992, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report to the Security Council, *Agenda for Peace*, recognized the role of education in peacebuilding. Educational exchanges among youth and curriculum reform have been suggested as practical preventive diplomacy.

Critics of the role of education in peacebuilding note certain challenges to its practice. In relation to the complex relationship between education and

conflict, subtle two-way understanding has emerged in such a representative phrase, “two faces of education”(Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). It is recognized among academics and practitioners that education can be a part of the problem as well as part of the solution (Davies, 2004; Nicolai, 2009; Smith & Vaux, 2003).

In the case of Sri Lanka various stakeholders were involved in the development of peace education that lasted for more than two decades. The term ‘Peace Education’ consists of theoretical considerations as well as didactic models and practical approaches. Both academics and practitioners have argued that there is no uniform definition of peace education in the field of development cooperation (S. Fountain, 1999; I. Harris, 2002; Riddell, 1999; Seitz, 2004) . However, there appears to be growing consensus that peace education is inherently linked to a multilevel process, including the international, national, regional, inter-group and interpersonal levels. It was also claimed that the local ownership of peace education in all processes is the most powerful factor for sustainment (Salomon, 2004; Seitz, 2004; Sinclair, 2004).

The development of peace education in Sri Lanka is highly related to the changing notion of the role of education in peacebuilding and ownership in development cooperation. Efforts were made by the GoSL and donors to make education better contribute to transforming conflict to peacebuilding. As a result, Sri Lanka possesses all the exterior elements (e.g. national policy, curriculum, teacher training, co-curricular activities) that enable multilevel processes and

integration of peace into its education system. However, as Lopes Cardozo (2008) argued, the peace education in Sri Lanka has lacked the capacity to tackle the root causes of conflict and negotiated bottom-up processes. For instance, the strongly segregated school system, the lack of bilingual education in practice, culturally exclusive teaching material, a lack of critical awareness and open dialogue and a structural lack of coordination among stakeholders were identified as the negative face in action. In summation, peace education in Sri Lanka is owned at the policy level and practiced in the education system, but partially succeeded in taking the root.

Peace education itself is a product of political action of actors involved in the development cooperation. Nevertheless, the interrelated dynamics around peace education in Sri Lanka were hardly a focus of interest from both academics and practitioners. Instead, peace education in Sri Lanka had been promoted through both national policy and individual programs, sometimes even in mixed format. This began from occasional donor-initiated programs and later integrated into national education system. At the same time, there were multi-level interactions among stakeholders to pursue their own goals.

As was already mentioned, peace education in Sri Lanka involves many stakeholders including students and teachers in the education field and in civil society. However, measuring the effectiveness of peace education in Sri Lanka is not the focus of this research. Although investigating the factors of effective

peace education is important in understanding donor-recipient partnership, it is not the scope of the analysis for this research. Also, the role of the civil society, while crucial in peacebuilding as well as ownership will not be included in this research.

Instead, this dissertation focuses on the negotiation processes that have been practiced by donors and the GoSL in changing domestic and international contexts. It investigates how different actors use aid to pursue their own policy preferences and how ownership of peace education has historically evolved, transformed and merged in Sri Lanka.

### **3. Research Questions**

This dissertation will focus on the case of Sri Lanka, where peace education has been initiated by the government as a policy to cope with the social needs around education issue, and developed into diverse policies and programs according to donors' priorities.

The aim of this dissertation is to gain insight into the reality of current peace education practices in Sri Lanka, particularly in relation to the new global development agenda towards ownership. In order for education to contribute to peacebuilding, it requires serious commitment, resources and institutional changes to have a sustained effect. This is also in line with what ownership agenda calls for to make the impact of aid more effective and sustainable.

In this regards, this dissertation explores the dynamics of donor-recipient relationship in the development of peace education in Sri Lanka, with specific attention paid to how the government and donors have cooperated or competed with each other for their preference and priority over time. To this end, the following research questions were formulated for this dissertation:

- (1) What is the relationship between education and conflict in the context of Sri Lanka that created the social need for peace education?
- (2) What are the structural conditions (economic, ideological, political and institutional) of Sri Lanka's aid relationship for peace education?
- (3) How has the ownership of peace education evolved in accordance with three educational policies in the 1990s and the 2000s? Who had the leadership and what are their priorities?
- (4) What are the impacts and implications of evolving ownership regarding peace education in Sri Lanka to development cooperation?

The objective of this dissertation is to highlight the tensions in moving towards coordinated activity in fragile states, particularly from the ownership perspective. It does not aim to make a definitive statement on the new partnership agenda being promoted at a global level, but rather to explore the complexities involved in such arrangements in fragile states through a case study

approach.

Because this dissertation combines scholarships in development studies, peace education, peacebuilding, and conflict studies, a variety of sources are used to form the theoretical foundations of this research. These include the role of education in peacebuilding, peace education concept and contents, impact of donor intervention and ownership. Despite growing interest in the relationship between education and fragile states, there are few interdisciplinary studies on peace education in Sri Lanka which will be further explored in Chapter 2. Therefore, this dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding of the complex interaction of stakeholders involved in education development in fragile states. As Sri Lanka's economy has transformed from low-income to middle-income, as well as from being conflict-affected to post-conflict country, this dissertation may also provide meaningful implications to other countries expecting education's role in peacebuilding and sustainable development.

## **4. Methodology**

### **4.1. Case study**

As research on the relationship between peace education and ownership is interdisciplinary and multidimensional, it is challenging to choose the methodology as well as the analytical framework. As case study methodology is

one of the most frequently used approaches in the field of international development cooperation by academia and practitioners, this dissertation will adopt case study methodology for education research, as well as identify opportunities to combine other case study methodologies, such as those used in political science, development studies and peace research.

In order to accomplish this, this dissertation will utilize a qualitative case study approach in line with Creswell (2007) and Merriam (1998). Case studies can be particularly useful for studying a process, programs or individuals in a holistic way that allows for deep understanding. Creswell defines case study as an in-depth exploration of a bounded system (e.g., an activity, event, process, or individuals) based on extensive data collection. Creswell recommends case study as a methodology if the problem to be studied relates to developing an in-depth understanding of a case or bounded system, and if the purpose is to understand an event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Merriam also notes that a case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved that the interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. The subject of this dissertation is particularly suitable for a case study design because it is highly contextual and a study of these processes.

The contextual nature of the case study is illustrated in Yin's definition of a case study as an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary

phenomenon within its real-life context and addresses a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Jonathan Goodhand & Walton, 2009, p. 10). According to Oulai and Costa (2009), the key difference between the case study and other qualitative research strategies is that the case study is open to the use of theory or conceptual categories that guide the research and analysis of data.

Another reason for choosing case study design is because it involves detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context (Creswell, 2007). Case study method has also been widely used in international relations research that includes democracy and peace. However, there has been criticism of applying case study in peace research due to case-selection bias and lack of generalization. Despite the limitations, it is more likely that case study brings fuller reporting which will enable readers to construct alternative interpretation of the same events and generate new hypotheses (Odell, 2001).

## 4.2. Data collection

In order to delve into peace education in Sri Lanka, this dissertation depends on multiple data collecting methods such as interviews, observations and documents review. Data was collected from three main sources: (a) in-country fieldwork, (b) primary documents, and (c) supplemental evaluations and reports.

The combination of these data led to a varied set of sources, allowing understanding of the ways in which different stakeholders interact regarding peace education in terms of ownership. It also helped lead to the drawing of an analytical thread from education policy to the actual implementation.

Approximately one month of fieldwork was conducted in Sri Lanka during November 2008 and January 2013. The first fieldwork was more practice-oriented, as the visit was made for one of program implementation for the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU). In order to provide guidance of the publication for selected best case for the Education for International Understanding, school visits were conducted in Sri Lanka where peace education activities were implemented. Classroom observations, as well as discussions with teachers and other stakeholders, provided an overview of peace education development history in Sri Lanka. Second fieldwork further looked into the relationship between peace education and ownership. It consisted of interviews with Sri Lankan government officials, educators, staff from bilateral and multilateral international development partners and NGOs. Throughout this field research Sri Lanka, informal conversations with many individuals were conducted. Although these conversations were not directly reflected in data sources, they provided key aspects of the Sri Lankan case.

Sixteen formal interviews were conducted with twenty five people. A list of interviews can be found in Appendix 1. Semi-structured interviews that lasted

from forty minutes to two hours focused on how stakeholders of Sri Lanka and development partners have constructed the notions of peace education, education reform, donorship and ownership. Most of the interviews were held in the Colombo and Mahargama, which holds the Ministry of Education, National Institute of Education and most development agencies' offices. Another set of interviews for researchers, education activists, school principals, teachers were conducted at their offices or schools. Because Sri Lanka has been promoting English education as the link language between two national languages, Sinhala and Tamil, English is commonly used by government officers and school teachers. Therefore, most interviews and discussions were conducted in English with no language issues. In addition, for most of visits to schools and organizations, staff from the National Institute of Education assisted the interviews in case translations to English were needed, which was infrequent.

The interviews were aimed at understanding how peace education has been formulated in Sri Lanka, including the extent and nature of involvement of each stakeholders, the policy features, and perceptions about root causes of conflict in relation to education. Further, interviews provided useful information on educational frameworks and policies that enable peace education in Sri Lanka. This information included process, major changes, partnership, and the role of different stakeholders (central government, provincial offices, development partners, education committees, etc.) in the framework of development

cooperation for education.

Purposive and snow balling sampling methods were also utilized when conducting interviews, which enabled a range of perspectives on peace education and development cooperation policy. Snow balling sampling relies on references from informants about other informants who share the same characteristics. It is a sampling technique used for the identification of group members whose affiliations are at first sight unapparent to the researcher (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). At the end of the interview, a recommendation from the interviewee for other resources was provided. For example, the Presidential Secretariat, who was not scheduled for a visit or interview during preliminary planning, was included during the field trip. After the interview, analysis was made by extracting themes for generalization.

Data on Sri Lankan education policies, programs, and budgets on peace education were also collected. The data came from the Ministry of Education (MOE), the National Institute of Education (NIE), University of Colombo, and NGOs such as the Center for the Women's Research (CENWOR) and the National Peace Council (NPC). Activity reports, annual plans and policy documents of multilateral and bilateral donors including the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) the Canadian International Development Cooperation Agency (CIDA), the German International Cooperation (GIZ), the Swedish

International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the UNESCO, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) were also analyzed. In addition, the official documents of the GoSL and MOE were analyzed, including reports, minutes of meetings, education sector studies, education decrees, guidelines and policies. According to McNeely (1995), an examination of national educational policies in relation to those of international organizations can help clarify this relationship between state educational principles and the international system.

#### 4.3. Significance and limitation

This dissertation is part of a growing body of literature that is less concerned with the quantitative amount of foreign aid and more with the quality of foreign aid. As frustration with foreign aid continues to grow, many academia and practitioners are recognizing that the answer is not just more aid but more effectiveness. The new emphasis on partner country ownership proposes to transform the relationship between the recipient government and the donors and, as a result, making aid more effective. However, its actual impact on partner countries is still largely unknown. This dissertation is both an practical empirical examination of the impact of ownership aid programs in one partner country, and an opportunity to draw implications for a better aid.

The universe of the study in this dissertation includes all aid-dependent countries and fragile states. Countries that receive Official Development

Assistance (ODA) equal to or greater than approximately 10% of their Gross National Income (GNI) are generally considered aid dependent.

In Sri Lanka, several contextual factors have highly influenced the creation of an environment where donor-government partnership for peace education was possible. There is international as well as national context that may not equally apply to other cases that promote peace education under the development cooperation framework.

This dissertation is nevertheless expected to contribute to broaden awareness and understanding of the dynamics between different stakeholders in forming ownership of peace education. Yet, the findings may also be limited, as the study was conducted in a single country with a limited time and resources. Study of similar cases in different countries, with diverse sociopolitical environments is called for when conducting future research.

## **5. Theoretical Perspective**

In order to identify how the policies and practices of peace education in Sri Lanka have been formulated around the issue of ownership, this dissertation applies a theoretical model presented by Whitfield and Fraser (2010). With the recognition of ownership being a key to increasing aid effectiveness in the current aid system, the authors advocate ownership as an end, rather than a means where recipient countries are able to exercise its control over external

influence, particularly in aid negotiations.

Since a global consensus was made in the Paris Declaration acknowledging recipient country's control over its development agenda and implementation, the term "ownership" has become a buzzword. Considering that all words created in development cooperation has been warmly persuasive and vague (Asanova, 2006), the term "ownership" has been used by both donors and recipients who have different understandings of the term.

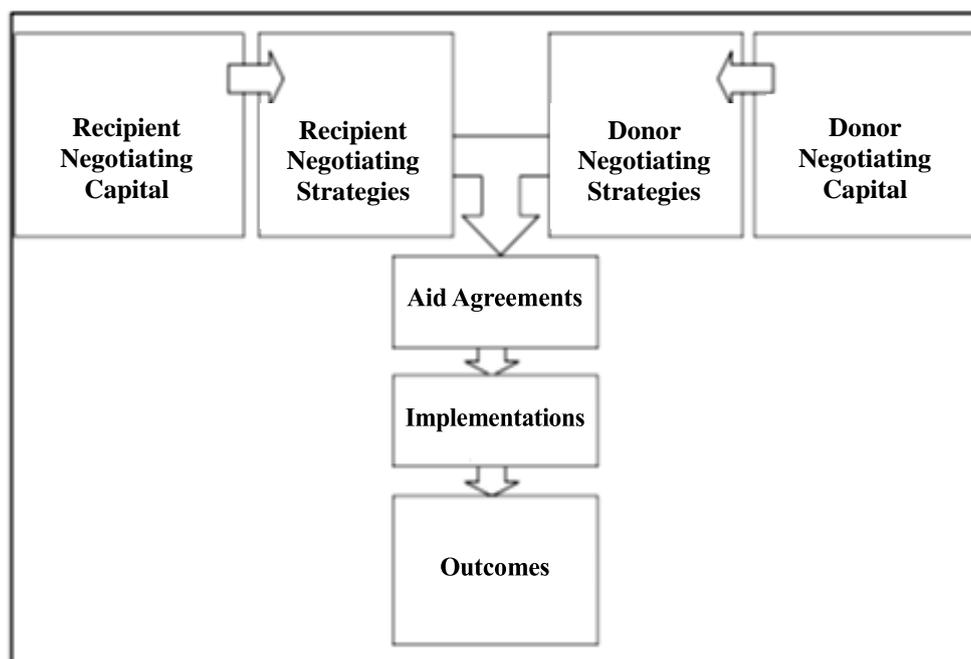
In this regard, Whitfield and Fraser (2010) argued that ownership is often used to refer to the control of the recipient over the process and outcome of aid negotiations, as well as the commitment of recipients to realize the diagnosed policy of donors. Therefore, they proposed an understanding of ownership as the degree of control that recipient governments are able to exercise over policy design and implementation, irrespective of the objectives they pursue.

According to Whitfield and Fraser (2010) and Drazen (2002), aid is a political action between donors and recipient governments where ownership is negotiated. Negotiations are highly influenced by global and domestic political and economic conditions. How recipient countries translate these conditions into negotiating capital and deploy it effectively is the main interest. Peace education itself is a product of political action of actors involved in the development cooperation.

The aid negotiation process recognized in this dissertation includes the full

policy cycle: agenda setting, policy formation, implementation, evaluation, and revision as shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1 Simplified Model of an Aid Negotiation**



Source: Whitfield and Fraser (2010, p. 10) with minor modification.

However, the authors argued that control is predominantly decided during the agenda-setting and policy formation stages. On the contrary, the facets of actual policy implementation illustrate recipient leverage over policy agenda. For example, recipients can apply non-implementation strategy for using aid to pursue its priorities while still taking the money.

Through an investigation of the degrees of control of aid dependent and low-income African countries that are well exercised in negotiating aid, the authors found that economic, political, ideological, and institutional conditions

influence the negotiating capital of those countries.

In summary, preferences that are negotiated, as well as the ability of actors to successfully achieve preferred outcomes, are shaped by the conditions under which each actor faces the other, the negotiating strategies they adopt in response to those conditions and their expectations of each other's behavior. Recipient governments choose strategies for negotiation in the context of its given structural conditions, and the leverage that a negotiator is able to derive from these structural conditions are referred to "negotiating capital."

The following hypotheses for structural conditions are identified:

- *Economic conditions* may include the degree of the recipient's dependence on markets in the donor country or the degree of donor's dependence on access to resources being offered by the recipient, such as indebtedness and aid dependence.
- *Ideological resources* vary across time and place. Domestic and international norms and agendas influence, as well as recipient's ability to express a clear vision, influence the negotiation capital.
- *Political conditions* relate to donors' recognition of the recipient country's unique ability as a sovereign authority. A recipient country's high degree of domestic political legitimacy is more likely to have higher negotiating capital. International legacy applied by donors for ideological or geo-

strategic reasons can also play a role.

- *Institutional conditions* include the effectiveness of state institutions in devising and defending development strategies and policies.

Although Whitfield and Fraser's framework resulted from the analysis of the study of African countries<sup>1</sup>, it is also relevant to Sri Lanka's case. For example, Rwanda which is also a fragile state has a case with similar civil war-like aspects as Sri Lanka. This elaborates upon how international norms for refugee and internally displaced people can play a great role in aid negotiation. Botswana is a country often cited as an exceptional development success story that has managed its aid resources effectively. Botswana and Sri Lanka share commonalities as middle-income countries<sup>2</sup> and the political legacy of British colony.

---

<sup>1</sup> Countries analyzed in case studies are Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania and Zambia

<sup>2</sup> Botswana became a middle-income country in 1992 and Sri Lanka in 2010.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

The question how to make aid effective has always figured prominently in discussions on development cooperation. Focus of the global debate on aid effectiveness has been constantly shaped and modified with new terminology. According to Shiotani (2010), the field of aid and development in the 21st century has become a site of roiling contention. However, at least the turn of the 21st century saw an important transition in this ever changing focus on the global debates on aid effectiveness.

First, the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), declared by the UN, set a milestone in the history and evolution of theoretical and practical approaches to development cooperation by bringing human development before economic growth.

Second, a newer focus has emerged around sustainability that highlighted the transition from donor-driven leadership to recipient country participation. In other words, focus has shifted from donorship to ownership.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a better sense of where the new focus on ownership comes from, what problems it seeks to address, and the relationship with peace education. This chapter draws on a review of previous literature and recent research relevant to the ownership agenda as well as the role of education in peacebuilding.

This chapter has three main sections. The first section provides the background on the relationship between aid and development. It will first introduce different views on the relationship between aid and growth. Then the section will focus on the relationship between education and development.

The second section will focus on the issues of peace education in development cooperation. This section will first review how the role of education in peacebuilding has been emphasized. Then concept for peace education and its relevance for development cooperation will be further explored.

The third section focuses on the global policy agenda setting for ownership. It traces the historical background of how ownership has become a global policy agenda. And it will narrow down the focus to aid in education to identify issues around ownership issue in education sector.

The analysis of three themes in this chapter will provide a theoretical background for understanding peace education in Sri Lanka where domestic and international interests of different actors conflict with each other in the formation of policy and implementation.

## **1. Aid and Development**

### **1.1. Aid and growth**

Ever since the designation of the 1960s as the United Nations Development

Decade, there has been an ongoing discussion on the effectiveness of aid in bringing economic growth. Whilst the world has experienced the successful implementation of the US-funded Marshall Plan to reconstruct Europe after the Second World War, it also has witnessed the persisting poverty, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa despite the increased aid in the 1980s and the 1990s.

For the past fifty years of debates, three broad views on the relationship between aid and growth have emerged in literature (McGillivray, Feeny, Hermes, & Lensink, 2006; Radelet, Clemens, & Bhavnani, 2006).

First, in general, development cooperation has been successful and aid has had a positive relationship with growth (Hansen & Tarp, 2000; Lensink & White, 2001; Levy, 1988; Sachs et al., 2004). That is, while aid has not worked in every country, on average and controlling for other factors, aid has contributed to growth. For example, per capita GDP in the developing countries nearly tripled between 1960 and 1993 (Sewell, 1998). Among those, a range of countries achieved successful economic development with significant aid such as Botswana, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, and, more recently, Tanzania and Mozambique (Radelet et al., 2006). Supporters counter that the main role of aid in stimulating growth is to supplement domestic sources of finance such as savings, thus increasing the amount of investment and capital stock. Scholars in this camp argue that after controlling for certain variables (such as geography, political conflict, policies, and institutions) and diminishing returns, a positive relationship between aid and

growth emerges. However, they concede that aid is only one of the factors that can contribute to growth and there is significant variation.

Second, aid has no impact on growth and instead has a negative relationship on it (Bauer, 1976; Easterly, 2001, 2006; Mayo, 2009; Mosley, 1980; Rajan & Subramanian, 2008). A recent study by Doucouliagos and Paldam (2009), using the meta-analysis covering 97 studies from the last 40 years, found that the effect of aid on growth estimates scatter considerably and add up to a small positive, but insignificant impact on growth. The researchers also pointed out the highly significant reluctance bias of and a high likelihood of selecting positive results in the field. Besides finding evidence to suggest that aid has no impact on growth, scholars in this camp raised a strong criticism that aid has enlarged government bureaucracies, perpetuated bad governments and enriched the elite in poor countries. While these studies have been highly influential in challenging positivism for aid and development, few studies have provided a clear conclusion. Additionally, many of these studies only examine aggregate aid, which rules out the possibility that different types of aid have different types of effects on growth (Radelet et al., 2006).

Third, aid has a conditional relationship with growth. That is, aid is crucially dependent on certain circumstances or conditions. Examples of such factors include recipient country characteristics (e.g. domestic policy, type of government, and warfare); donor practices (e.g. aid fads, special interests, and

political motivations); and type of aid (e.g, conditional, untied, and multilateral) (Radelet et al., 2006). Other researchers have proposed different country characteristics that might also affect the aid-growth relationship, including location in the tropics by Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004). The most provoking research that resulted in a heated debate around the aid effectiveness has been the publication of the World Bank report titled *Assessing Aid - what works, what doesn't, and why* in 1998, which was influenced by previous working papers. In a working paper, Burnside and Dollar (1997) concluded that aid stimulated growth in countries with good policies, but not otherwise. Echoing the previous argument, the World Bank report stated that impact of aid depends on sound economic management, or good governance. Burnside and Dollar (2004) revisited their claim with new data of the 1990s and reconfirmed the importance of the quality of state institutions and policies. Furthermore, Paul Collier and Dollar (2002) proposed a selectivity model and suggested poverty-efficient allocation of aid to countries with a good economic policy environment. These two views on aid effectiveness, in terms of recipient conditions for success, provoked a huge reaction as it may provide the wrong guidance to policy makers (Lensink & White, 2000). However, in practice the conclusions seen in these two findings were actually reflected in donor policies and donors had increased emphasis to the selectivity (McGillivray, 2003).

All three different views, developed within the fifty years of development

cooperation came to little consensus on whether aid can reliably impact growth. Despite the long history and involvement of various stakeholders in development cooperation, aid effectiveness is still unclear and inconclusive. As White (1992) has stated “we know surprisingly little about aid's macroeconomic impact.” Mosley (1987) named this “macro-micro paradox,” as most micro or project-related research claimed positive impact of aid, macro-level research failed in such clarity. The 1980 OECD report emphasized the difficulties of producing scientific proofs of the average impact of aid (Führer, 1996).

## 1.2. Education and development

The debate around the relationship between aid and economic growth took a new turn with the first publication of *Human Development Report* by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

The first report in 1990 stated that “the basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives” (Dietrich, 2013, p. 9). The 1996 report further made it clear that human development is the end – economic growth a means (UNDP, 1994). With the adoption of the MDGs, human development has become one of the top priorities of international development.

MDGs acknowledged that development was impossible without ensuring peace and security, gender equality, poverty eradication, access to health and

education services. Also the MDGs reconfirmed that development is a fundamental human rights (Royal Government of Cambodia 2007). With the adoption of the MDGs, development was seen to require participation by all in the decisions affecting people's lives.

This increased notion on participation through the MDGs also changed the guiding concept of education for development. The role of education for development has shifted from contribution to productivity to opportunity for full potential of human beings. In other words, development depends greatly on the opportunities offered to people so they can transform potentials into competencies for life (Abeyratne, 2004). Most recently, the World Bank who has been the strongest supporter for linking education with productivity also recognized this changed emphasis. *Education Strategy 2020 Learning for All: Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development* notes that when investing in people, education is a powerful driver of development and one of the strongest instruments for reducing poverty and improving health, gender equality, peace and stability (World Bank, 2010).

The most powerful theoretical background that links education and development is the human capital theory. Originated at the University of Chicago in the early 1960s, human capital theory rests on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a population (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 2011). As a capital good,

education can be used to develop the human capital necessary for economic and social transformation. Human capital theory has been backed up by the most convincing empirical evidences from East Asian countries. Countries such as Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore and Taiwan achieved unprecedented rates of economic growth from the mid-1960s to the 1990s while making large investments in education. Education stood out as a very significant explanatory variable for East Asian economic growth (World Bank, 1993).

Human capital theory highly influenced the aid practices for education. The World Bank noted that the heavy subsidization of education especially of higher education at the expenses of primary schooling were no longer appropriate (World Bank, 1986). Putting primary education for allover other education priorities had become a dominant agenda in development cooperation. The World Declaration on Education for All at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien in 1990 officially recognized this priority. And the MDGs in 2000 reinforced it and made achieving universal primary education the second goal.

On the other hand, there were scholars and practitioners who questioned the link between education and growth. Wolf (2002) and Jang (2010) found that there was insufficient evidence showing a positive correlation in the simplistic equating of education and growth. They claimed that education should not be an absolute cause of productivity when labor productivity is the only measurable

evidence.

Others questioned the role of education in broader perspective and claimed that education should contribute to holistic development of a society. Chung (2010) argued that “national development is to create those social conditions wherein the people in society can achieve the fullest possible self-realization.” Reflecting from the evidence of Korea, Chung emphasized the role of education to raise whole person who can lead a balanced national development in all sector. UNESCO, the specialized agency for education in the UN raised the quality issue in education and emphasized that education should support objectives of peace, citizenship and equality (Pigozzi, 2004).

Against this background in changing relationship between education and development, some broader changes have also been noted in the overall patterns and emphases of aid: from diversified, technical and vocational education to general education; from higher and secondary to basic and primary; and from non-formal to formal education. There is also a shift from funding ‘projects’ to ‘sectors.’ Based on comprehensive sector development plans, aid is expected to be used in more coordinated way among donors and recipient governments. Similarly, aid agencies now place greater emphasis on the larger environment in which aid is provided, such as democratisation, good governance, sustainability, equity, partnership and ownership by the partner country (Bhatta, 2011).

## **2. Peace Education in Development Cooperation**

### **2.1. The role of education in peacebuilding**

The term ‘peacebuilding’ was introduced by Galtung (1976) in *Three approaches to peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding*. He has argued that the mechanisms peace is based on should be built into the structure. And the structure needs to address the root causes of conflict as well as support local capacity for peace. The term then was first introduced in UN language through UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s report to the Security Council, *Agenda for Peace*, in 1992 for ‘post-conflict peacebuilding’.

Peacebuilding soon became a primary agenda of the development cooperation but an earlier definition centered on post-conflict phase and linked to preventive diplomacy. Paris (2004) highlighted the limitations and sometimes negative effects of this UN-driven peacebuilding that focus exclusively on electoral and economic reform. P. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) recommended that focusing on social policies such as education and healthcare, as opposed to macroeconomic reforms, is especially important for preserving peace in countries that have emerged from civil conflict.

Against this back-drop of finding ways for sustainable peacebuilding, the role of education gained further attention in the development community. In practice, divergent approaches to promote the role of education in peacebuilding

have been developed. Two approaches are most well-known. First, there is a right-based imperative that came out of the education in emergencies. Here education is referred to as a fourth pillar of humanitarian response as well as linked with longer-term development goals (Kagawa, 2005; UNESCO, 2000). Second, there is a focus on negative and positive faces of education (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). The notions of two faces of education have influenced the emergence of conflict-sensitive and do-no harm approach in aid to education.

In this regards, many researchers found that education systems and education activities, including curriculum and textbooks, have potential to aggravate tensions between different ethnic groups in society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Colenso, 2005; Davies, 2005; Smith & Vaux, 2003). According to Heyneman (2003, p. 32) education can help lay the intellectual foundation for social conflict and civil war instead of laying a foundation for national cooperation and harmony.

Seitz (2004), drawing on the typology of Salmi (2000), analyzed the possible emergence of violence in relation to education and suggested four different forms as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1 Forms of violence in the context of education**

Forms	Examples
<p><b>1. Direct violence (“deliberate injury to the integrity of human life”)</b> sexual abuse, suicide of students due to failure.</p>	<p>e.g. Effects of violent conflicts, weapons and violence in the school, corporal punishment,</p>
<p><b>2. Indirect violence (“deprivation of fundamental political rights”)</b> insufficient educational infrastructure (lack of hygiene etc.)</p>	<p>e.g. Illiteracy, inequality of access to education, inequality of education opportunities,</p>
<p><b>3. Repressive violence (“deprivation of fundamental political rights”)</b></p>	<p>e.g. Absence of democracy and co-determination opportunities in school.</p>
<p><b>4. Alienating violence (“deprivation of higher rights”)</b> language of ethnic minorities, no teaching in mother tongue.</p>	<p>e.g. Culturally biased curriculum (dominance culture), suppression of: subject/views/</p>

Source: Seitz (2004, p. 51)

Researchers further focused on finding negative relationships between education and conflict in formal education. Davies (2004) noted that education and contemporary schooling structures in particular exaggerate social divisions and therefore contribute to a more polarised inequality as a consequence. This research attempted to address a continuum of issues in education and conflict and brought the issue to daily practice in schools. By showing examples not just from violent conflicts in the developing world but also from classrooms in the developed world, the author identified the multiple and common roots of conflict and the connections these have with education. Harber (2004) also questioned the nature and purposes of formal education that contributes to the promotion of

violence. Both authors were concerned that highly nationalistic and essentialist notions of citizenship could negate the pluralistic reality of societies.

Whilst there are different focuses, the development community saw conflict as a hopeful opportunity for new education reforms and curriculum changes. In this line, it was highlighted that education reform should be figured prominently in peacebuilding initiatives. Furthermore, there has been a general consensus that a positive impact of education on peacebuilding must go beyond the provision of education for peace programs (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Nicolai, 2009; Pigozzi, 1999; UNICEF, 2011b).

Smith and Vaux (2003) stress that collaboration and co-ordination between agencies working in the field is crucial in sustaining peacebuilding. The authors highlighted that peace education programs tend to be most visible and valued during times of conflict, yet less appreciated once conflict has cooled down. Education activities based on long term development has been also emphasized.

Local participation and ownership of policy and activities have been identified as success factors in education programs for peacebuilding (Save the Children, 2010; Seitz, 2004; UNICEF, 2011b). UNICEF argued that peace education has potential to provide better understanding of conflict for local community and to develop skills for changing social relations between groups dealing with the legacies of conflict. In most recent research, UNICEF again highlighted the importance of cooperation between government and partners to

seize opportunities to bring innovation and reform to the educational system UNICEF (2011a).

## 2.2. Peace education

The previous part looked at the role of education in peacebuilding and opportunities for innovation fragile states are encountered with. This part will further look into peace education that has been practiced in development cooperation. First the concept of peace education will be discussed in relation to the role of education in peacebuilding. Second, challenges peace education is faced with in the framework of development cooperation will be explored.

Education is said to constitute one of the most important avenues for promoting reconciliation (Lederach, 1997). Peace education that contributes to the understanding of the causes of conflict and the generation of potential solutions (I. Harris, 2002) can be a necessary part of this process. Since the creation of UN and even before, many actors have taken various activities to introduce peace to current and future generation through education activities.

Peace education all over the world place different emphasis and differ considerably in terms of ideology, objectives, focus, curriculum, contents and practices (Bar-Tal, 2002; Salomon & Nevo, 2002). Also peace education is not only conceptually a complex phenomenon, it is also a complexity in itself to put into practice in an effective manner (Lopes Cardozo, 2008). Peace education has

been practiced worldwide under different names according to the priorities that Salomon (2002) has classified current peace education activities into four categories as:

- peace education mainly as a matter of changing mindset;
- peace education mainly as a matter of cultivating a set of skills;
- peace education as mainly a matter of promoting human rights;
- peace education as a matter of environmentalism, disarmament, and the promotion of a culture of peace. (p. 4)

International norms and standards have also concerned peace education for a long time; name a few, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education in 1960, the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959 and Convention in 1989, the UNESCO Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1974, and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in 1992. UNESCO, the lead agency for the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, 2001-2010 saw education as the key means to spearhead the movement towards a culture of peace. In

development cooperation, peace education has been practiced in various titles with different focuses such as conflict resolution, disarmament and social cohesion. In general, the most common definition frequently used in the development cooperation is the definition of UNICEF which this paper is using for its analysis.

S. Fountain (1999) defines peace education as:

The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level. (p. 1)

The term 'Peace Education' consists of theoretical considerations as well as didactic models and practical approaches. Both academics and practitioners have argued that there is no uniform definition of peace education in the field of development cooperation (S. Fountain, 1999; I. Harris, 2002; Riddell, 1999; Seitz, 2004).

Peace education in practice by development community also has long been struggling to find its effectiveness. Since there is no agreed upon curriculum model for peace education, the evaluation for its effectiveness has been primarily

based on measures and observations of its operations and outcomes in light of what was intended by the program designers (Salomon & Kupermintz, 2002).

However, there appears to be growing consensus that peace education is inherently linked to a multilevel process, including the international, national, regional, inter-group and interpersonal levels. It was also claimed that the local ownership of peace education in all processes is the most powerful factor for sustainment (Salomon, 2004; Seitz, 2004; Sinclair, 2004).

The challenges of peace education in development cooperation are related to its political sensitivity. S. Fountain (1999) recognized that local cultural and political sensitivities, as well as the scope and objectives determine the choice of language for UNICEF Peace Education programmes. In case of Sri Lanka, Oxfam had to put neutral program label for the involvement in peacebuilding and conflict reduction to avoid misinterpreted contentiousness in Sri Lanka's political discourse (S. Harris & Lewer, 2005). Moreover, the Save Children's involvement in the curriculum development of Civic Education raised the suspicions of politicians (Save the Children UK, 2010). Peace education from time to time has been used politically by conflicting parties and also donors for different objectives.

These challenges are reflected as different donor approaches to conflict. Several scholars have carried out useful research on trends and challenges in terms intervention of the development community on conflict. Ofstad, among

others outlined four aid strategies applied by donors in case of ongoing conflict in Sri Lanka as shown in Table 2:

**Table 2 Different approaches to conflict by donors**

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Partners</b>
Traditional development agency approach	Disregard the conflict and provide government-friendly assistance	ADB, Japan, World Bank
Human rights approach	Reject direct assistance to the government but support NGOs	Canada
Comprehensive approach	Maintain regular assistance to the government and also provide special humanitarian support	UN agencies, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom
Pro-active approach	Reorient whole aid programme to support movement toward peace	Norway, Sweden

Source: Ofstad (2002, pp. 167-168) with minimum adjustment

The author argued that significance of the donors' contribution for a pro-active approach has been too small to make development aid an effective contributor for peacebuilding. In terms of providing financial assistance to education in conflict affected countries, UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) has provided a good summary on different modalities for financial assistance of donors (Brannelly, Ndaruhutse, & Rigaud, 2009). However, the authors found that financial assistance to conflict affected countries were not correlated with education needs and education remains one of the least-funded sectors in humanitarian aid.

Despite a long history of peace education in development cooperation, it is

a field where a huge gap between the aim and the practice is frequently found. Divergent definition and approaches have escalated the political misuse of peace education in the fragile states around the world. In case of Sri Lanka where peace education has been introduced as a reflection of unequal education system, the political misuse by state actors has been consistent. And as the peace education in Sri Lanka has been supported by donors in the form of aid to education sector, its development has been further complex and mixed with the issue of policy ownership and multi sector participation.

### **3. The Emergence of Ownership**

#### **3.1. Failure of conditionality**

Towards the end of the 70s and throughout the 80s, it became increasingly obvious that development cooperation too often failed to meet its objectives. Weak institutions in recipient countries and strong disbursement pressure on donors had both been factors for the failures. In particular, the emergence of failed cases of structural adjustment supported by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), received criticism on their selectivity approach and conditions attached to aid.

Conditionality is defined as tying forms of support to the implementation of reform programs dominated by donors (Schmitz, 2006). Wright and Winters

(2010) argued that donors have always attached conditionality to their aid with a general goal to induce recipient country to undertake reforms for growth. A main element is that the recipient who has preconditions to adopt certain policies set by donor will have the high priority for aid. While conditionality is generally referred to the economic conditionally mainly induced by the World Bank and IMF, there is also political conditionality demanding the promotion of human rights, democracy, and good governance.

Conditionality also has two modes of application. Negative conditionality refers to the donor's threat of termination, suspension and reduction of aid if pre-set conditions are not met by the recipient, whereas positive conditionality refers to the donor's promise for additional aid as a reward if pre-set conditions are met (Durham & Kelegama, 1995).

However, conditionality in development cooperation has faced several challenges in reality and has become a target of intense criticism since the early 1990s. The failure of the World Bank's selectivity approach proved that there is unclear identification of the relationship between good governance and aid effectiveness. Significant policy reorientation, new aid modalities and instruments have followed including the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and the Sector Wide Approach (SWAP). This important shift is the evidence that conditionality basically did not work (Nelson, 1996). The World Bank (2005b) in its review report even noted that the conditionality has

undergone significant change from structural adjustment to ownership and collaboration. Moreover, most studies argued that conditionality would fail to bring sustainability if dominated by donors and therefore reforms must come from local participation (Schmitz, 2006).

Against the backdrop of conditionality failure in bringing aid effectiveness, consensus on better collaboration between donor and recipient countries for equal decision making and need analysis has emerged. New emphasis was made on who owns the development process and outcomes. And the concept of ownership has become a new cornerstone of a global policy agenda for development cooperation.

### 3.2. Global policy agenda setting towards ownership

Against this changing global notion of factors for aid effectiveness, the OECD DAC adopted a policy in 1995 entitled *Development Partnerships in the New Global Context* that highlighted people's ownership of their development policies and programs. The following publication, *Shaping the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, the OECD DAC (1996) further noted that "development assistance will only work where there is a shared commitment of all partners." The report set the three principle motivations for development cooperation as: (a) fundamentally humanitarian response to extreme poverty, (b) enlightened self-interest, and (c) solidarity of all people with one another. In terms of overcoming the past failures

of aid-dependency or in other words donor dominance, the OECD DAC (1996) proposed a new strategy for local ownership as follows:

To give substance to our belief in local ownership and partnership we must use channels and methods of co-operation that do not undermine those values. Acceptance of the partnership model, with greater clarity in the roles of the partners, is one of the most positive changes we are proposing in the framework for development co-operation. (p. 13)

Ownership had thus become one fundamental principle underlying aid effectiveness. But so far, this was an initiative taken by donors. The following years were to witness the emergence of recipient countries as co-actors of the aid effectiveness agenda.

In 2000, world leaders declared their commitment at the UN Millennium Summit to eradicate poverty, to promote human dignity and equality, to achieve peace, democracy and environmental sustainability. The adoption of the MDGs was a commitment for a new global partnership between developed and developing countries to achieve common global goals. Despite many criticisms around the MDGs including rather mixed objectives and ambivalence in targets, the MDGs have opened another momentum to set partnership and ownership as policy agenda in development cooperation (H. Smith, 2005). Partnership in this

new momentum has focused on the need for donors and “partner countries” to ensure more efficient and effective service delivery, while simultaneously ensuring that activities are locally driven and acknowledge their particular context.

Two years after the adoption of the MDGs, the International Conference on Financing for Development held in Monterrey, Mexico, in March 2002, adopted the Monterrey Consensus that contained commitments by all countries for specific actions to help low-income countries achieve the MDGs (United Nations, 2002). Donor commitments on ODA consisted in two parts. First, donors committed to increasing the quantity of aid towards the target of 0.7 percent of Gross National Product (GNP) as ODA to developing countries and 0.15 to 0.20 percent of GNP of developed countries to least-developed countries (Paragraph 42). Second, donors committed to improving the quality of aid to ensure effectiveness. A major priority was given to building development partnerships between donor and partner countries. Towards this end, it highlighted donors’ efforts to make greater efforts to harmonize their operational procedures, make further progress in untying aid, use budget support mechanisms where appropriate, adopt development frameworks that are owned and driven by developing countries, target a greater share of aid to the poor, and improve the measurement of results (Paragraph 43).

In the context of bringing the Monterrey consensus into action, the OECD

DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness and Donor Practices was set up in May 2003. Aid effectiveness has become a core agenda in historical gatherings of both donor and partner countries in a series of High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness during the last decade: firstly in Rome in 2003, then in Paris in 2005, and in Accra, Ghana in 2008; more recently in Busan in 2011.

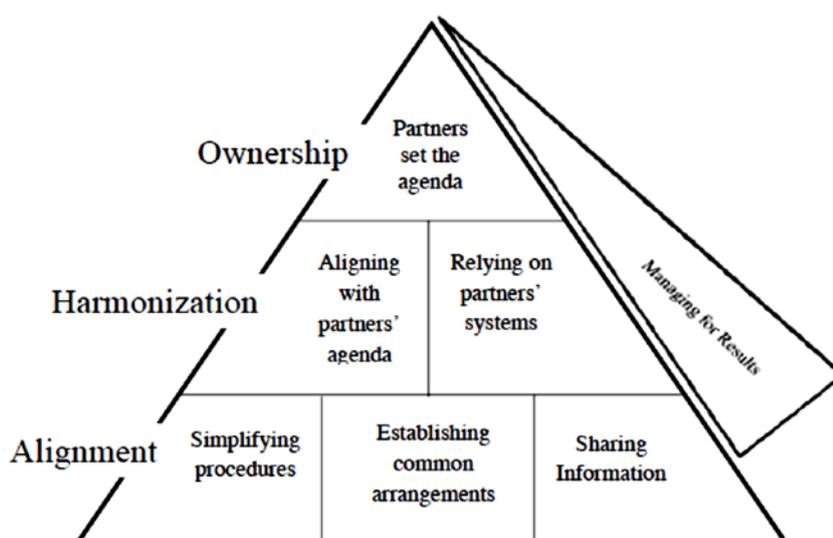
### 3.3. High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness (HLF)

After the Monterrey conference, the OECD DAC developed a best practices guide with sixteen DAC countries. Donors recognized that that multiple inconsistent practices by donors imposed burdens on partners. Proliferation, duplication and high transaction costs were recognized as challenges to aid effectiveness. As a result, the *Harmonising Donor Practices for Effective Aid Delivery* identified three broad functional areas of good practices to increase aid effectiveness (MPI, 2008). For donors and partner governments (recipient governments), agreement with a reliance on partner-government systems will reduce administrative burdens on partner countries. Between donors, harmonising efforts such as the adaptation of common systems and shared decision making can result in stronger, more sustainable forms of aid coordination. Individual donors should change their systems and culture to strengthen the ownership of partners and to enhance their capacity for aid management.

The Rome Declaration on Harmonization in 2003 made explicit reference to the MDGs and the Monterrey Conference (OECD, 2003). The RD focused on harmonisation but highlighted stronger leadership roles of the partner countries to improve aid effectiveness. Country ownership appears as a concept but is implicitly limited to governments. Civil society and private sector are recognized, but in fact not as development actors in their own right.

The Declaration of the second HLF, held in Paris in 2005, basically prolonged the Rome Declaration and widened the agenda, which was from then on to be aid effectiveness, based on five principles: ownership, harmonisation, alignment, results, and mutual accountability as shown in Figure 2.

**Figure 2 Partnership for greater aid effectiveness**



Source: OECD (2005a, p. 18)

The Paris Declaration introduced two crucial elements for aid effectiveness: mutual accountability and measuring for results. Donors and partner countries will hold each other accountable for their commitments for effective use of development resources. Citizens and parliaments are mentioned as two actors entitled to claim accountability from governments. Donors will make aid predictable by providing timely, transparent and comprehensive information. Moreover, the implementation of the Paris Declaration was to be monitored through periodical surveys until completion of the set targets by 2010. This new emphasis on concrete implementation, track recording and peer pressure was intended to accelerate progress and introduce more consistency into the aid system.

The Paris Declaration sets ownership as the first principle and emphasizes the exercise of effective leadership of the partner over their development policies, and strategies and co-ordinate development actions. Donor countries committed to respect partner countries' policies and help strengthen their capacity to implement them (OECD, 2005b).

The Accra summit in 2008 aimed to assess progress towards achieving the Paris target. A progress report explored the degree to which donors and partner countries had made the necessary changes to achieve the target. The first phase evaluation emphasized that "the Paris Declaration is a political agenda for action, not just a technical agreement." In many cases, political solutions were requested

as real issues of power and political economy came into play (Wood, Kabell, Muwanga, & Sagasti, 2008).

The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) in 2008 reiterated the importance of partner countries' ownership, with particular emphasis on strengthening national management capacity and increased use of partner countries' systems and procedures. The AAA also identified new challenges such as new donors and global funds that operate more or less outside the aid effectiveness agenda (IMF, 2003).

But it soon became clear that this review would take place in a rapidly changing environment. The crisis of the world finance system at the beginning of 2008 challenged priorities on public finance and pressured the development community to prove the effectiveness of aid. New actors were emerging rapidly and strongly; the issue of the new aid architecture, and its rules and standards were becoming more pressing. Donors had performed rather poorly on meeting their commitments, which was documented by surveys and evaluations; criticism from the side of partner countries was becoming more vocal. The participation of civil society has been reinforced, sometimes increasing the controversial debate on the realities of aid.

The participation of civil society has become more important in the fourth HLF held in Busan in 2011. In case of Busan, for the first time representatives of civil society were not mere observers, but official participants involved in

drafting the outcome document. Moreover, the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation further expanded the partners for development cooperation to non-governmental bodies such as the private sector and civil society (Little, 2008). Endorsement of the new donors included China is a major achievement for Busan, as aid effectiveness have been so far limited to OECD DAC donors (Martini et al., 2012). However, contrary to targets and specific indicators established by the Paris Declaration, it contained only a few time-bound commitments. Rather, it defined adaptive and flexible mechanisms for fragile states, and for South–South partners. One of big shift from Rome to Busan is that ‘aid effectiveness’ has been expanded to ‘effective development cooperation.’

#### **4. Ownership in Education Sector**

The Busan Partnership highlights the ownership of development priorities by developing countries. Countries should define the development model that they want to implement. From Rome to Busan, the ownership principle has been the center issue for aid effectiveness. Although the concept of ownership currently dominates the development policy agenda, the meaning varies across actors. Different stakeholders have different perspectives on ownership.

The OECD (2006) defines ownership as the “effective exercise of a government’s authority over development policies and activities, including those

that rely - entirely or partially - on external resources” (p. 147). For partner countries, ownership means that governments are capable of articulating the national development agenda and establishing authoritative policies and strategies. On the other hand, IMF emphasizes that in the presence of domestic conflict of interest conditionality can strengthen the government’s ownership of policy (Drazen, 2002). It contradicts with the DAC ownership principle to reduce conditionality imposed to the recipient countries. Other scholars try to expand the ownership of development beyond the government. Sibbons (2004) has argued that ownership of development can only be shaped through endogenous process of citizen participation in activities and policy deliberations.

However, despite all the rhetoric of ownership there seems to be little discussion on how to achieve greater ownership. Rather, ownership tends to be viewed as something that is already there (Menocal, 2011). Ownership is rather considered as a precondition than an outcome of the partnership. In reality, the pursuit of greater partnership and ownership introduced new systems in development cooperation. New aid delivery modalities such as the Direct Budget Support and the Sector-Wide Approach were introduced to reduce burden on recipients of implementing aid. And the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper process has become an instrument for coordination of development cooperation among all stakeholders. And education sector was not an exception in this process.

In case of fragile states, ownership issue becomes more problematic as, by definition, these states lack political will and/or capacity to provide key services to its population including education. In terms of education, fragility and conflict provide both challenges and opportunities (Mosselson, Wheaton, & Frisoli, 2009; Nicolai, 2009).

The question of ownership of education reform in developing countries is highly contested. The literature centers on insight into various aspects and experiences of the implementation of the education reforms in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s. Excessive intervention of external experts on policy process and their monopolization of education research agenda have challenged national control and ownership in African countries (Riddell, 1999; Samoff, 1999). Most recent research includes the educational policy making in Kazakhstan with the involvement of the Asian Development Bank since 2003. It has noted that despite the emphasis of partnership, traditional donor culture for quick analysis and speedy disbursement is still dominant. Therefore, capacity building of the partners to develop, manage, research, and evaluate their own educational systems is constantly ignored (Asanova, 2006). Also global education agendas, Education for All (EFA) in particular, served to institutionalize international influence (Samoff, 1996) and cemented into documents and activities in national education policy process (McCormick, 2012).

In case of the fragile states, the ownership of education reform by the state

is particularly important as the education reform is often tied to the state's need to restore public trust and regain political legitimacy. Miller-Grandvaux (2009) emphasized that shared ownership, transparency of decision making, and community participation were the essential principles of education reform in post-conflict situation. In 2004, UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE) produced a series of case studies analyzing educational policy reform, curriculum policy in particular, in the context of fragile states (Tawil & Harley, 2004) The case of Mozambique have illustrated the impact of donor support causing controversial policy changes. Unable to devote adequate funding to curriculum reform, the government was dependent on priorities set by donors in preference of monolingual programs than bilingual programs aimed under the curriculum reform. In the Whitfield and Fraser's framework Mozambique's lack of negotiating capital due to economic condition weakened its ownership.

Another focus of recent research is on the impact of new aid modality, the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAP) in education. The SWAP was introduced as new aid modality and holistic approach to the education sector in the 1990s (Buchert, 2002). In principle, the SWAP is based on the development of genuine partnerships between all stakeholders of a sector. Since the partnership presumed a high degree of mutual understanding and common agreement, mutual transparency and accountability are some of the underlying conditions. According to Buchert, this means the recipient governments are assumed to "be

in the driving seat” while donors are assumed “to act in the interest of the government, to cooperate rather than compete among themselves, and to listen rather than direct.”

UNESCO (2007) defines the education SWAP as follows:

SWAP in education aims at enabling development partners at the country level to work jointly with the government to review national education sector plans and priorities, as a basis for pooling support through a sector budget or a general budget support process. (p. 1)

However, many researchers noted that SWAPs create an illusion that the country has ownership over the educational agenda whereas experiences with SWAPs elsewhere show the opposite reality (Buchert, 2002; Klees, 2001; Samoff, 2004) . Seen through case studies of four African countries, there is a high mismatch between what has been declared for ownership and leadership (Sjostedt, 2013).

For example, in case of Nepal, the global education targets for EFA and the SWAPs reversed the expected result of the policy ownership. Instead of increased ownership over the education agenda, these conditions posed the Nepal Ministry of Education a managing role for aid and coordination role for different agencies. Therefore, the weakened function of the Ministry for traditional policy-

making has resulted in the ownership for the process rather than the content. Also the strengthened nexus between donors and the Ministry has narrowed the avenues for broader participation by other relevant national stakeholders (Bhatta, 2011).

On the contrary, some countries are seen as examples of success. The OECD DAC (2003) and the Sri Lanka on issues of aid conditionality UNESCO (2004) identified Uganda's education SWAP as a good example of donor harmonization supporting a single sector policy and planning framework. Uganda announced the Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy in 1996 and launched education SWAP in 1997. The Education Funding Agency Group was formed in 1999 as formal partnership between the donors and the government. Uganda achieved significant improvements in UPE but failed to fully engage local creativity and cooperation (Higgins & Rwanyange, 2005).

Another example is India where government policy priorities were argued to be self-determined regardless of donors' intervention and global agenda. The finding showed how the government wisely used changed emphasis of donors for their benefit and made strong proposals for change in aid negotiation (Colclough & De, 2010).

Education policy is perhaps the most contested public policies influenced by global recommendations. To make it a participatory and locally contingent decision, Samoff (1996) argues as:

Effective reform requires agendas and initiatives with strong local roots and the broad participation of those with a stake in outcomes, including not only officials but also students, parents, teachers and communities. Unless the beneficiaries of the reform become its bearers, it is likely to be stillborn. For external agencies to support that process, they must conceive their role in terms of development cooperation rather than providing philanthropy or determining directions (p. 270).

H. Smith (2005) concurs with Samoff (2004) on the significance of the capacity of those individuals involved in education policy making and practice. He noted from literature on implementation of large-scale education in developing countries over the last three decades that education reforms are more likely to fail than succeed. He finds that successful educational change requires top-down as well as bottom-up changes. Education reforms focusing on the central government's ability for resource management will not bring quality improvement of education.

Local capacity needs to be prioritized, even sometimes over ownership. Ownership of the capacity development process is not necessarily the same as ownership of the change for which capacity needs to be built.

## **5. Literature Review on Peace Education in Sri Lanka**

Literatures on donors' intervention on education in fragility emphasize that education should address root causes of fragility to promote stability (Mosselson et al., 2009). However, the real practices of donors have been fragmented and individual. Country case studies for conflict affected countries has emphasized that peace education projects supporting government's education sector policy and plan should guarantee a more coherent and strategic intervention (Novelli & Lopes Cardozo, 2008; UNICEF, 2011a). Spink (2005) looked at the case of donors' intervention on new education system in post-conflict Afghanistan and highlighted the importance of ensuring quality components, teacher capacities and understanding of the politicization of the curriculum content of the education. A. Smith (2005) criticized peace education practices by the development cooperation that has been stereotyping peace education as working with children and youth for personal development, inter-group contact and conflict resolution techniques. Salomon and Nevo (2002) also noted that peace education programmes need to address the whole education system, rather than just adding to the existing materials. However, most of the literature on peace education in development cooperation are conducted by donors for their project implementation evaluation and very much limited to analysis of good practices. Also most of literatures found the significant role education is expected to play in fragile states but focus is very much limited to effective education service

delivery. Despite the agreed notion that education intervention for peacebuilding should address root causes of fragility, very little literature has challenged the practice of donors or ways to make this intervention possible.

In case of Sri Lanka, peace education has not been the major interest of scholars that are interested in the role of education in peacebuilding. Among few, Lopes Cardozo (2008) and Davies and Balasooriya (2007) have provided a very informative mapping of stakeholders and policy for peace education in Sri Lanka. In particular, Lopes Cardozo explored two faces of education through a critical analysis twelve issues<sup>3</sup> of peace education in Sri Lanka. The author suggested that peace education should be incorporated in a multilevel process of peacebuilding. There are some reports prepared by the international organization who have been involved or who is preparing for involvement in peace education in Sri Lanka. Among them, the most descriptive reports are from the main donors of peace education programs in Sri Lanka: UNICEF and Germany (GIZ, 2010; Herath, 1995; UNICEF Sri Lanka, 1996).

In terms of the education policy reform in Sri Lanka, Colenso (2005) described the framework of education and social cohesion within the context of the SWAP to education reform in Sri Lanka. Ashford (2009) examined aid negotiation in the education SWAP and found out the poor negotiation led to a

---

<sup>3</sup> Educational opportunities, segregated school system, inter-group encounters, language, textbooks, teaching of history, creation/destruction of self-esteem, teaching and learning methods, school environment, policy environment, realistic and critical societal awareness

lack of sector coordination. Ownership of education policy in Sri Lanka can be categorized into three themes.

First, *education policy and power relation*. By looking at major education reforms in Sri Lanka around examination from 1972-1982, Lewin and Little (1984) noted that domestic priorities rather than international conspiracy conditioned for education reforms and changes. In light of the criticism for dependency development theory, the authors argued that Sri Lanka education reforms reflect self-reliant development and social power for changes. Little has been very much interested in the policy formation for primary education in Sri Lanka and edited a book titled *Primary Education Reform in Sri Lanka* (2000) with a financial support of the Department for International Development (DFID), UK. The book closely examined issues in primary education to reflect on the 1997 General Education Reforms process and to highlight the challenges that lie ahead in the implementation of the reforms (Little, 2000). In another analysis on the 1997 Reforms, Little once again echoed her argument that local-level political will push policies into action (Little, 2011).

Second, *teacher education policy and social dynamics*. A group of US scholars conducted research on teacher education with the National Institute of Education (NIE) under the Basic Research and Implementation in Developing Education Systems Project (BRIDGES) directed by the Harvard Institute for International Development funded by the Office of Education, Bureau for

Science and Technology, United States Agency for International Development. With the recognition of the quality teaching as one of the most important elements in the improvement of basic education in developing countries, the research proposed policy recommendations such as college education approach for pre-service, teachers college approach for in-service and distance learning approach for combined impact (Tatto, Nielsen, Cummings, Kularatna, & Dharmadasa, 1993). Later Tatto in another article analyzed the dynamics of interaction between the state, teachers, and teacher institutions in the development of educational policy for teachers. The author characterized the interaction as 'contradictory relations': conservatism and change; revitalization of indigenous cultures and modernization; and professional autonomy and state control (Tatto, 1995). Despite the fact the goal of the BRIDGES was to present new information about the impact and costs of specific alternatives to the "Third World" partners, the author was very much assured that education policy in Sri Lanka was the result of dynamic internal social interaction not of external interaction from development partners.

Third, *education policy for peacebuilding and influence of international aid*. Relationship between aid and peacebuilding has been a long interest of development cooperation. Although many literatures from both academia and practitioners are found in case of Sri Lanka on issues of aid conditionality towards peacebuilding, literature focusing on the interaction between the GoSL,

and development partners to formulate education policy for peacebuilding is very limited. It is easily imaginable that some development partners actively persisted peaceful settlement of the Sri Lankan conflict should have proposed education policy for social development but evidences are very scarce. Ofstad (2002) claimed that Norway and Sweden's pro-active support for peace resulted in some positive contributions including education reform. As Sri Lanka's education policies established in 1990 and afterwards were made when supports from development partners for peacebuilding were increased, it is logical to think that policies regarding education for peace are highly influenced by external actors. For example, (Ashford, 2009) noted that contents of the Education Sector Development Framework and Programme was partly copied from reports and recommendations of development partners, in particular World Bank. On the contrary, Kelegama and Mel (2007) argued that the 1997 reform was very much 'home-grown' as it was the outcome of a presidential task force on education and the World Bank began the General Education Project II and Teacher Education-Teacher Deployment projects in 1997 with the request of Sri Lanka based on the Reforms.

Finally, there have been several research that examined the issues of biased textbook in the 1970s and the 1980s which have contributed to Sri Lankan conflict (Balasooriya, 2007; S. Perera, 2004; Wickrema & Colenso, 2007). Little (2000) looked at the politics of reform in Sri Lanka Basic Education in relation

to 1997 reform. She argued that the reform initiated with high level political will, ministry administrative support and financial support from donors were inhibited by lack of ownership at the provincial level and political interference of schools. Most recently, Sørensen (2008) explored how politics on education influenced the formation of citizenship and Sinhalese nation-building.

As seen from the previous literatures on the peace education in Sri Lanka, the topic is highly related to donor's intervention to education reforms where donor-recipient strategies are negotiated. According to Whitfield and Fraser (2010), recipient governments choose strategies for negotiation in the context of its given structural conditions. There are international as well as national context that have influenced these strategies. It is in this line that the following chapter will focus on the relationship between education and conflict in which the national context of Sri Lanka's peace education has emerged. Also other structural conditions around the peace education in Sri Lanka that have contributed to the evolution of ownership will be further explored.

## **CHAPTER 3**

# **EDUCATION AND CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA**

The relationship between education and conflict is complex. Education can be both a problem and a solution for conflict. In fragile states, there is potential for education to contribute to the escalation of conflicts, as Sri Lanka, where an imbalanced education system resulted in ethnic conflict. Various measures have been taken at policy and practice level by many actors to transform this negative relationship into positive one. However, according to Sørensen (2008), despite wide recognition, the complex link between education and conflict in Sri Lanka is not yet fully accounted for. The interventions of donors that could have contributed to this complexity have not been well explored.

This chapter will explore the complexity of peace education in Sri Lanka by examining two perspectives. The first perspective will focus on the relationship between education and conflict in Sri Lanka regarding the issues of language, universities and textbooks. This part will lay a foundation for understanding social backgrounds inside Sri Lanka, which led to the introduction of peace education. The second perspective will focus on the structural conditions of peace education in Sri Lanka that have influenced its ownership. Peace education in Sri Lanka has been implemented with donors' assistance to the education sector. Donors' assistance to the education sector has evolved over time with different approaches and priorities. There have been structural conditions in

which the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and donors were able to negotiate policies and implementations of aid to achieve their priorities.

## **1. Education and Conflict**

Over the last twenty years, two broad views on the relationship between education and conflict have emerged in scholarly literature on development cooperation. The first observed interaction is that conflict affects education. This view is mainly from practitioner-oriented literature focusing on negative impacts of conflict on education.

It is true that conflict dramatically affects the lives of marginalized and vulnerable groups, in particular children and women. Since the publication of Garca Marchel's UNICEF-funded report *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* in 1996 and a review of progress in 2001, challenges involved in providing education during and after conflict has been documented by growing numbers of international organizations (O' Malley, 2007; UNESCO, 2000; Uvin, 1999). The increased priority resulted in the creation of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and the establishment of the field of education in emergencies (A. Smith, 2005).

According to Seitz (2004, pp. 21-30), there are three different levels upon which conflict impacts education. First, conflict directly affects children's mental and physical safety. Second, conflict deprives children of physical and financial

opportunity to attend school. Third, conflict destroys educational infrastructures. Each these factors call for an urgent response to the impact of conflict on the education of future generations.

Recent research by van Wessel and van Hirtum (2013) further provides a good example why schools become tactical targets. By looking at the 1996-2006 conflict between the government and Maoist in Nepal, the authors found four qualities that cause schools to become tactical targets of both sides. They symbolize normalcy, are sign of a functioning state, provide access to human resources as potential supporters and militants, and grant access to financial resources. As noted by the authors, peace is assumed to be a precondition for a strong and stable education system leading to social development.

On the other hand, some viewed a positive relationship between education and conflict. Especially in development cooperation, education in times of conflict or post-conflict has also been seen to provide a positive opportunity to bring innovation, including the curriculum change and the inclusion of peace education (Nicolai, 2009; Tomlinson & Benefield, 2005). In particular, amidst conflict it is highly considered by local authorities and international development partners to be an apt time to accept changes in the curriculum.

It is widely acknowledged that education policies of the GoSL have largely favored the majority ethnic group, the Sinhalese. Language, religion, and university policy under the Sri Lankan education system have been proximate

contributing factors to long ethnic conflict. Manipulation of government-published textbooks and a monopoly in textbook production have also been claimed by many researchers in the field of development cooperation as contributing factor to Sri Lankan conflict (L. Perera, Wijetunge, & Balasooriya, 2004; S. Perera, 2004; Seitz, 2004). Bush and Saltarelli (2000) noted the uneven distribution of education as a means of creating or preserving privilege and education contribution to conflict. This was also the case in Sri Lanka where youth unrest in the 1980s was largely a result of the regional imbalance in higher education opportunities between urban and rural areas.

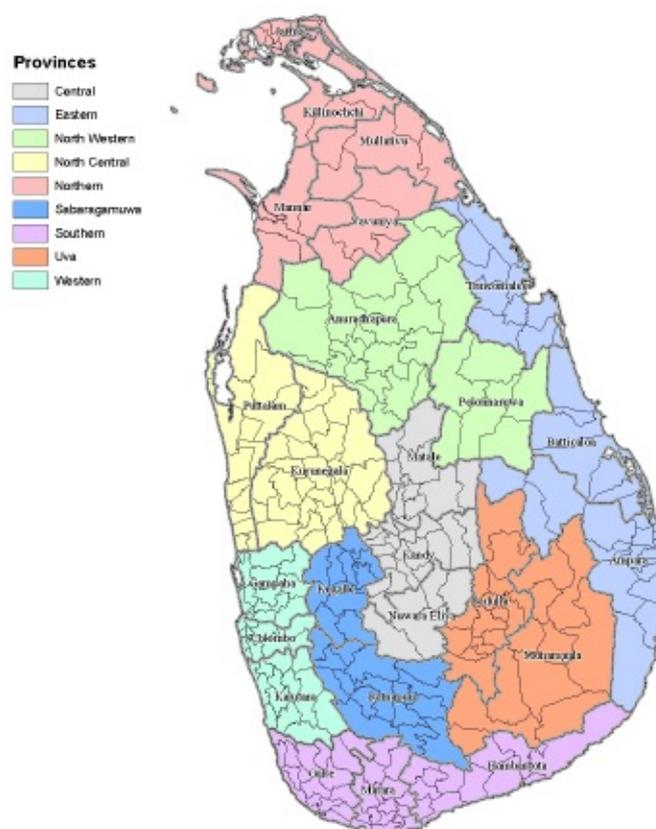
## **2. The Sri Lankan Context**

### **2.1. Ethnicity and education in Sri Lanka**

Sri Lanka is a multi-cultural society that forms a complex ethno-religious mosaic. Social classes involving ethnicity and religion as well as colonial legacy have played great roles in the relationship between education and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Although Sri Lanka has long been multi-ethnic society, two ethnic groups, Sinhalese and Tamil are dominant in Sri Lanka. According to the Census of Population and Housing 2012, the two major ethnic groups make up 90.3 percent of the whole population, as the Sinhalese represent 74.9 percent, Sri Lanka Tamil 11.2 percent, and Indian Tamil 4.2 percent. To an extent, ethnicity and

religion have a geographical basis for predominant regions. Sri Lanka is divided into nine provinces and twenty-five districts and provinces, as shown in Figure 3.

**Figure 3 Administrative map of Sri Lanka**



Source: Cartography Division, Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka (<http://www.statistics.gov.lk/misc/slmap.pdf>)

Sinhalese Buddhists are predominant in all parts of the country except the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Tamil Hindus are predominant in the Northern Province and maintain a significant presence in the Eastern Province. Indian

Tamils are concentrated in parts of the Central, Uwa and Sabaragamuwa Provinces. Tamil Hindus are the descendants of labor workers brought from Southern India by the British to work on tea and coffee estates in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Muslims and Christians are generally scattered throughout the country. However, Muslims are concentrated in the Eastern Province, and Christians are concentrated in the coastal areas as a result of more than 500 years of constant European colonial presence (S. Perera, 1999).

Education has been a high priority in the Sri Lankan cultural, social and political agendas. Sri Lanka was also the first Asian country to implement universal suffrage in 1931, which created a favorable environment for democracy even before Sri Lanka's independence from the UK in 1948. Education Ordinance No 31 was introduced in 1939 to govern education in Sri Lanka. In 1945, Sri Lanka introduced free education from primary school to university. It highlighted the role of education in achieving economic and social equity. The legislation was backed by with significant government expenditure on education (around four percent of GDP), owing to favorable economic conditions during the 1950s and 1960s. Primary and secondary school enrolment escalated from 867,000 in 1945 to 2,716,000 in 1970 (Samaranayake, 1997).

However, accelerated ethnic conflict led to serious funding shortages that resulted in a lack of books, equipment, and qualified teachers. With the economic downturn of the 1970s, government expenditure on education fell below three

percent of GDP in the 1970s and to less than two percent in the early 1980s challenging both access to and quality of education. In particular, decreased government expenditure resulted in an increase in regional disparities in education (Sandaratna, 2000).

The 13th Constitutional Amendment in 1987 created a provincial council system that led to the decentralization of education. Although the education sector was controlled by the central government, provincial governments had the ability to make decisions regarding education including curriculum, the hiring of teachers, location and construction of schools. Even amidst the conflict, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) established the Tamil Eelam Education Council to coordinate access to education. This reinforced the common perception that the Tamil has strong cultural norms that value education (S. Perera, 1999). In particular, education was highly considered as a means for social uplift among the Tamil (Mampilly, 2007).

To cope with the high social zeal for education even in the midst of the conflict, the GoSL made a series of measures for a better access to education in the 1990s. The Regulation of Compulsory Education in 1997, which came into effect in 1998, ensured that all children from ages 5 to 13 would attend school (UNESCO IBE, 2011).

## 2.2. Education issues and conflict

### 2.1.1. Language issue

Little (2010) argued that language as a medium of instruction segregated the educational provision in Sri Lanka and the segregation was even artificially made in urban multi-ethnic schools.

Sri Lanka, being a colony of the United Kingdom for years, often saw discriminations in government employment and higher education due to the English medium. Those who could speak English were more likely to have opportunities for higher education and employment opportunities, mainly in urban areas.

In case of the Northern part of the country, where the Tamil were predominant, American missionaries supported the establishment of English schools that enabled the Tamil to have quality education. British colonial policy also marginalized the biggest population group, the Sinhalese, which contributed to the overrepresentation of Tamils in public services, as they comprised a low proportion of the total general population. Meanwhile, as Sinhalese comprised 69.41% and Tamils 11.01% of the total population in 1946 (DeVotta, 2001), Tamils constituted over 30% of public services after independence in 1948 (S. Perera, 1999).

However, after independence, the dominance of the Tamil in higher

education and public services evoked a reactive nationalism of the Sinhalese who took the political power against British colonial legacy and Sinhalese Buddhism. Within this context, the legislations regarding official languages contributed to the escalation of the segregation between the Sinhalese and the Tamil.

The first political action for language policy was in 1944 when a Sinhalese politician proposed a resolution in parliament to make Sinhala the only official language. Other amendments were proposed by Tamil politicians to make both Sinhala and Tamil official languages, signaling a possible conflict around the issue of official languages. As a result, Sinhala and Tamil were specified as official languages in a 1944 resolution. The resolution declared that Sinhala and Tamil would become as the languages of instruction in schools, examinations for public services and legislative proceedings.

However, this effort of having two official languages did not last long. First, these established committees to advice upon how these changes were to be implemented had malfunctioned and little progress was made towards the policy implementation. Second, the language issue was used as a political agenda to win the votes of politicians in the 1950s for a Sinhalese majority. For example, a main pre-election campaign promise of then elected Prime Minister S.W.R.D Bandaranaike was to establish Sinhala as the official language of the country, replacing English (S. Perera, 1999).

Two landmark events in Sri Lankan legislation escalated the ethnic tensions

between the Sinhalese and the Tamils that resulted in a series of violent conflicts in 1956 and 1958. The first event was the 1956 'Sinhala Only Bill' (Official Language Act, No. 33) that established Sinhala as the single official language of Sri Lanka. Many researchers pointed out that this act caused considerable opposition and frustration among the Tamil and contributed to the ethnic conflict (Hayes, 2010; Little, 2000; L. Perera et al., 2004; S. Perera, 2004).

The second event was the passage of the First Republican Constitution of 1972, which institutionalized the ethnic-hierarchy of language and religion. The new constitution removed some of the existing provisions for protecting minority status and more formally subordinated the status of the Tamil language. Buddhism, primarily observed by the majority Sinhalese, became the official state religion. It stated that the state should give to Buddhism the foremost place and foster it.

Formalization of the Tamil language as a secondary position continued in the 1980s under the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, certified on 14 November 1987. It reinforced the subordination of the Tamil language in a legal respect. The Official Language 18 in Chapter IV noted that (a) The Official Language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala. (b) Tamil shall also be an official language. (c) English shall be the link language. The ambiguity in words, however, clearly indicated the ethnic-hierarchy around issues of language (Hayes, 2010).

Sinhalese nationalism and reinforced segregation regarding language became the root cause of the Tamil war against the state. Bannon (2006) described that the demands of the Tamils spiraled from equal access to education and employment opportunities (1950s–60s), to federalism (1970s), to independence by any means (1980s–90s). In particular, the constitutional and legislative changes of the 1970s were highly opposed by the Tamil, which led to the emergence of a number of militant Tamil youth groups such as LTTE. The open defiance against the state by various Tamil paramilitary organizations in 1983 sparked a full-scale civil war between the GoSL and Tamil militant groups. Over the next few years the LTTE became the sole militant group representing the Tamil independence movement (Mampilly, 2007).

The language issues in education still play an important role. Series of teaching and learning policies on two national languages have been introduced, but segregation by language is practically unsolved. As shown in Table 3, the literacy rates of the two major languages, Sinhala and Tamil, are relatively high among respective ethnic groups.

**Table 3 Literacy rates in languages by major ethnic groups**

Major ethnic group	Literacy in		
	Sinhalese	Tamil	English
Sinhalese	92.3	1.8	16.2
Sri Lanka Tamil	31.4	78.5	24.1
Indian Tamil	15.7	72.7	11.0
Sri Lanka Moor	38.5	84.2	24.0

Source: Department of Census and Statistics (2011, p. 13)

However, despite the two national language policies and promotion of the second national languages for teaching and learning, there is a high discrepancy between the literacy rates of Sinhalese origin for Tamil language and Tamil origin for Sinhalese language. Sri Lanka Tamil and Indian Tamil together show high literacy rates in Sinhalese compared to Sinhalese whose Tamil literacy only rates for 1.8 percent. This data shows that despite the language policies promoting two national languages, in reality Sinhalese language still dominates in schools as well as in the job market.

#### 2.1.2. University issues

Along with the major legislations for national language, education policy changes surrounding higher education have also contributed to ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka that highly associate with youth unemployment.

The dramatic expansion of primary and secondary education in 1950s and

1960s with the adoption of free education policy also had great impact on tertiary education. Expanded education opportunities demanded higher education, while an extremely limited number of students were able to enter university. The number of students seeking admission increased from 1,612 in 1948 to about 14,000 in 1970. (Samaranayake, 1997, p. 103)

Since the first university, the University of Ceylon, was established in 1942, the number of universities became five in 1975 and eight in 1983. The number has nearly doubled since 1997, from eight to sixteen (MOE, 2005, p. 28). However, universities are concentrated in Western province of Sri Lanka where six universities are found. Tertiary education in Northern and Eastern provinces is relatively new as the University of Jaffna was established in 1974, Eastern University in 1981 and South Eastern University in 1995. Those two universities in Eastern provinces were established at first as university colleges then became the full-fledged universities.

More importantly, the early 1970s saw a number of changes to higher education policy in Sri Lanka. A strict quota system based on a national language quota, the so-called 'Standardisation' policy, was introduced in 1971. According to the new system, students with Tamil medium were mandated to get a higher score than their Sinhalese counterparts to qualify for university admission. Its effect was the reduction of Tamil registrations by two-thirds, who had been successful in university admissions for many years under high quality education

by American missionary schools (Matthews, 1995, p. 80).

Furthermore, in 1974 a district-based quota was also introduced to university admissions criteria to increase the educational prospects for more rural districts in the country (World Bank, 1998, p. 128).

In 1979, the standardization was replaced by a three-tier admissions policy based on a national merit quota (30 percent), a regional or district merit quota (55 percent) and a special allocation to thirteen backward districts, or about half the country (15 percent). The policy intended to increase the educational prospects for more rural districts in the country (World Bank, 1998, p. 128). However, it has resulted in bringing a large number of ill-equipped students to universities, most of whom failed in examination (Matthews, 1995, p. 80). This further resulted in discontent among youth on university education system as a whole. The percentages were adjusted in 1986 (40 percent, 65 percent and 5 percent accordingly).

Another problem was on the quality inequality in school facilities between urban and rural schools. A lack of textbooks, furniture and teachers in rural areas resulted in low university admissions compared to urban areas. For example, Ranasinghe and Hartog (1997, p. 10) highlighted that in the 1990s nearly 19 percent of the total university admissions were from Colombo district, which dominated admissions for key faculties including medical, dental and agriculture. In Sri Lanka, the University Grants Commission, established in 1978, is a part of

the Ministry of Higher Education and is responsible for the allocation of funds and coordination of teaching and research. Therefore, under strong state control, universities could not keep up with the economic and social needs of the society. In this regard, Matthews (1995) argued that the commission served as a watchdog to make universities conform to a politicized national education policy.

With all the education policy changes throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, the national language and university admission issues were perceived as deliberate attempts to restrict the prospects for Tamil social mobility so as to be a highly intentional political agenda among many Tamils. Among them the radical left Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP: People's Liberation Front) managed to mobilize large numbers of disappointed Tamil youth. Using universities as a base to reorient the ideologies of youth, the JVP was able to close all of the country's southern universities (Little, 2011; Matthews, 1995). De Silva (2003) also emphasized that the education system implicated the perceived inequities in the political, social, and economic structures of Sri Lanka.

The mismatch between higher education and the job market and worsened inequality in education resources between urban and rural areas was also recognized by the GoSL as the main causes for the youth unrest. In 1989, the Presidential Committee on Youth was appointed to look into the youth problems in the country mainly caused by unemployment and unfair educational opportunities. The report, published in 1990, highlighted that the inadequacies of

the education system contributed in large to youth unrest in late 1980s. One of the important changes from this nationwide examination of the causes of youth discontent and unrest was the establishment of the National Education Commission (NEC) to create a harmonized education policy from school to work (Presidential Commission of Youth, 1990).

### 2.1.3. Textbook issue

It is widely noted in the development cooperation that textbooks, the main learning resource in the education system, remain the chief quality input after many years in developing countries (World Bank Human Development Unit, 2005). Looking at both government and international society's quantitative efforts to introduce the new education system for post-conflict Afghanistan, Spink (2005) noted that quality components, teacher capacities and an understanding of the politicization of the curriculum content of the education, are the most pertinent factors to ensure peacebuilding. On the contrary, Durrani and Dunne (2009) observed that in Pakistan the national curriculum uses religion as a key boundary to create social polarization and the normalization of militaristic and violent identities.

Indeed, curriculum reforms and revision of textbook have become important measures to be taken for the capacity building of learners as well as setting a foundation for sustainable peacebuilding in conflict affected countries.

Amongst various UN agencies, UNESCO has been leading the discussion on the relationship between curriculum and peacebuilding. INNE (2010) laid out examples of immediate needs in changing an environment: (a) eliminating biases, conflicting materials, and ideologically-loaded content, and (b) integrating key thematic issues, such as life skills. UNESCO's International Bureau of Education supported a project examining the processes of curriculum change following civil strife, and the resulting seven country case studies were published in 2004 (Tawil & Harley, 2004).

Sri Lankan history textbooks have been criticized by many researchers for containing historical inaccuracies, omissions, and imbalances for historical events and figures among different ethnic groups. It is important to acknowledge that the history of ethnic identification in Sri Lanka is complex and contested. Both Sinhalese and Tamils that have existed on the island of Sri Lanka since ancient times have developed different cultures and languages. Different versions of ancestry history have always been contested in Sri Lankan education system. Both ethnic groups have been narrating their first presence on the island and illustrated a negative portrayal of the other ethnic group.

The biggest problem that has been faced by Sri Lanka in terms of the imbalanced historical narratives in textbooks was due to the government's monopoly of textbook production. Therefore, not many counter actions were allowed to balance the different perspectives in the society. And ethnic

dominance has been succeeded to next generations through education by dominating powers.

Lopes Cardozo and May (2009) argued that Sri Lankan education has prolonged religious and ethnic aware citizens who are only allowed to think in exclusive terms. From this centrally controlled education, textbooks have excluded students from being responsible citizens.

Scholars with international development partners closely looked into politicized education through textbooks. Wickramasinghe and Perara (1999) highlighted that frustration with Sinhala-only language policy, national curriculum and textbooks contributed to Tamil alienation.

Heyneman (2003, p. 32) observed that the textbooks in the 1950s portrayed the Tamil as historical enemies by repeating that battles were due to the Sinhalese nation defending itself and the Buddhist tradition from the ravages of Tamil invaders. The manipulation in textbooks continued to exist in the 1970s and the 1980s. Seitz (2004, p. 54) noted that the government published textbooks stylized the Buddhist Sinhalese as the only heirs of the history of Sri Lanka while portrayed the Tamils as a historical enemy of the Sinhalese.

By examining the artwork of Sri Lankan textbooks, Roberts-Schweitzer, Greaney, and Duer (2006) pointed out that stereotypical negative images were often found such as the constant depict of some groups in inferior and passive roles and others in superior and active roles. The authors further noted that

Muslim ceremonial wedding dresses were illustrated in a wedding feast in the Tamil language edition.

Such problems of textbooks favoring one ethnic group to others were also examined by Sri Lankan researchers in cooperation with international development partners. Rasanayagam and Palaniappan (1999), in World Bank supported research, further found out problems of textbook production practice which translate Sinhalese language to Tamil language textbooks. The research highlighted the ignorance and omission of historical events relating the Tamil. It analyzed that secondary textbooks in Tamil language showed a lack of accurate information and sometimes omission of key features of Tamil economic and cultural life. And historical accounts are largely devoted to Sinhalese kings. Wickramasinghe and Perara (1999)'s research was also part of the UNESCO's efforts in linking the issues of curriculum and conflict. In later years, the GIZ and the UNICEF also supported research to look at not only the history textbooks but also language textbooks.

The politicization of peace in the field of education even influenced the activities of humanitarian organizations in Sri Lanka. Oxfam had to rephrase its training programmes on conflict sensitive development in the north and east Sri Lanka from “peacebuilding” to “relationship building” due to the negative portrayal and suspicion of incorporating peace into education. This seems to be result from the previous manipulation of textbook and curriculum by the

government (S. Harris & Lewer, 2005, p. 110).

However, there were good signs of changes, too. One example is the measures taken to include a conflict-sensitive approach for education material publishing. As noted earlier, the biased textbook issues had led to controversy and intense conflict. Education materials were urgently in need of factual accuracy and inclusion of ethnic and religious sensitivities. In the search for excellence in books, the MOE introduced two measures: (a) a Multiple Book Option, and (b) Respect for Diversity Panels.

Through the Multiple Book Option, a wider choice of books was made available and schools were given multiple options for each subject. Both local and reputed international writers and publishers of books were invited to bid in an open manner. This method was in operation until the end of 2005, but now has been abandoned. The 1999 NIE Curriculum Policy affirmed that education materials produced centrally be checked for ethnic, religious, gender and poverty biases. The Respect for Diversity Review Panels composed of content experts outside the MOE were appointed by the Education Publications Department since 2002 to evaluate the criteria and handle the bias related activities in education materials (Wickrema & Colenso, 2007)

At the same time, the authors stressed the role of Ceylon Tamil Teachers Union, whose strong criticism and direct appeal to the funder responsible for publication - the World Bank - brought changes in sensitizing Sri Lankan

textbooks. Roberts-Schweitzer et al. (2006) also supported this with an evidence that the Tamil Teachers' Union identified inaccuracies in the translated versions and claimed cultural bias in some of the illustrations and content matter. This has led to demands for greater involvement of Tamil authors in textbook production. Interestingly, the national textbook authority was unaware of the specific items that caused offense to the Tamil minority and indicated that it would have readily changed most of the offending items had it been aware of them.

### **3. Structural Conditions for Peace Education in Sri Lanka**

#### **3.1. Economic conditions**

According to Whitfield and Fraser (2010), economic conditions may include the degree of the recipient's dependence on markets in the donor country or the degree of the donor's dependence on access to resources being offered by the recipient such as indebtedness and aid dependence. Recipient governments with access to alternative sources of will have more negotiating capital.

Fragile states arguably have lower economic capital for aid negotiation as they suffer from significant economic challenges resulting from conflict. Sri Lanka, at the time of independence from Britain in 1948, was seen as a first potential case of development success among newly independent nations

(Abeyratne, 2004). Since and even before the independence in 1948 the country had achieved major welfare programs including free health care, free education, and extensive state subsidies on consumer goods and services. For example, Sri Lanka introduced free education from primary school to university in 1945. Sri Lanka's expenditure on welfare had been among the highest in the world. (Durham & Kelegama, 1995). Despite the potential for economic growth with enhanced human capabilities, Sri Lanka underwent significant low economic performance by the 1970s.

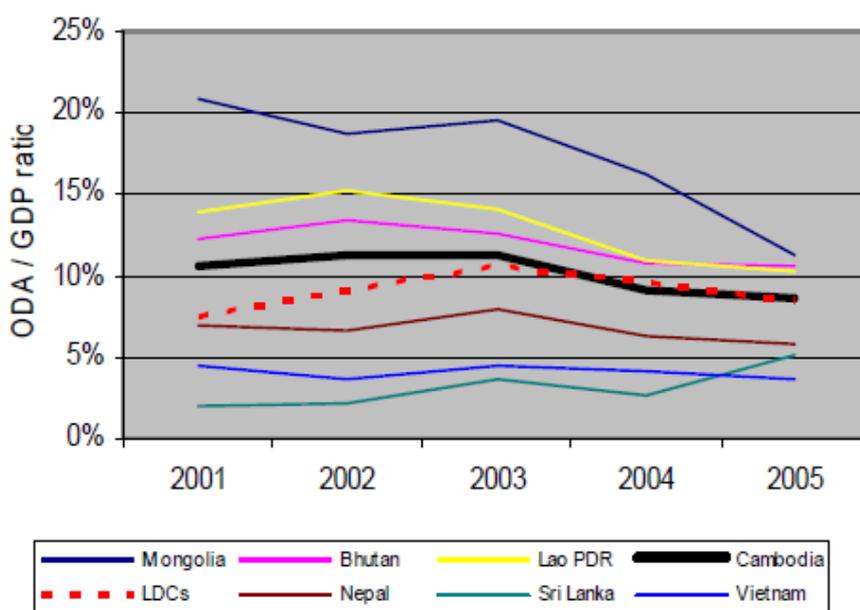
In 1977, trade liberalization and partial liberalization of financial markets were commenced under reforms to shift the economy from a closed to an open, market-friendly one. Sri Lanka was one of the first countries to attempt structural adjustment in the late 1970s.

Economic growth increased rapidly but internal conflicts in south and north completely disrupted the economy in the 1980s. In 1971, a leftist Sinhalese youth group known as the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP: People's Liberation Front) raised an insurrection and launched an armed struggle from 1987-89. This resulted in large-scale violence in the southern parts of the country. In northern parts, the militant youth movements of the Tamil community were also formed in the 1970s. The Tamil militant movements consisted of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and some other groups gradually entered into a guerrilla war, aiming at carving out a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka. Their full-scale

armed struggle has been launched since 1983. The Tamil separatist war between the LTTE and the government finally ended in 2009.

Sri Lanka's aid dependency in the 1970s was low compared to other developing countries but showed increased dependency in 1990s. Also compared to other developing countries in Asia, aid dependency of Sri Lanka has been increasing in recent years as shown in Figure 4.

**Figure 4 ODA/GDP Ratio in Asian Developing Countries**



Source: Royal Government of Cambodia (2007, p. 17)

Sri Lanka's foreign aid makes up 4.5 percent of GDP, 17 percent of government expenditure and 54 percent of public investment in 2007 (MPI, 2008) . According to the OECD Statistics Bilateral ODA by sector 2010-2011,

the ODA to education consists less than 6% of the total ODA.

Sri Lanka's aid disbursements have been dominated by three donors: Japan, the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank. In 2006, a total of three donors accounted for 64 percent of the total disbursement.

As a fragile state highly dependent on aid, Sri Lanka had low negotiation capital in the context of economic condition. However, two factors have emerged as alternative funding sources that have resulted in the increase of Sri Lanka's negotiation capital in recent years. First, the emergence of new donors, especially China. Second, the tsunami that struck Sri Lanka in 2004 which resulted in a large flow of humanitarian aid for recovery.

The emergence of new donors such as China, India and Korea is very significant. In 2009, China has become the second largest donor as shown in Table 4.

**Table 4 Aid disbursement to Sri Lanka in 2009**

Donor/ Creditor	Amount Disbursed (US\$ mn)	%
Japan	311.4	14.6
ADB	286.0	13.4
China	297.9	14.0
World Bank	202.0	9.5
UN Agencies	111.1	5.2
UK	96.8	4.5
Other*	827.4	38.8

Source: Ministry of Finance and Planning (2009, p. 5)

\* Includes US\$ 500 million (23.4%) International Bond Issues

China is emerging as one of the biggest donor for Sri Lanka. The total aid commitments made to Sri Lanka in year 2009 was US\$ 2,722.6 million (Approx. Rs.312.9 billion), which was the highest annual commitment ever made to Sri Lanka. The main factor was the US\$ 891 million (Approx. Rs.101.9 billion) commitment made by the Chinese government for the Puttalam Coal Power Project. It was the highest commitment ever made for a single project (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2009). However, different from the traditional donors, China's contribution is mainly made in the form of export credit.

The tidal wave that struck countries boarding the Indian Ocean on 26 December 2004 was the largest natural disaster to ever affect Sri Lanka. Some 30,000 people were killed in Sri Lanka, and left a far greater number homeless. It affected areas along the coast in the north, east, and south, in both government and LTTE-controlled areas. The damage was estimated at US\$1 billion—4.5 percent of GDP—with an estimated recovery cost amounting to more than USD \$2 billion. In response to this tragedy, huge sums of aid were pledged to Sri Lanka. Before the tsunami Sri Lanka's aid was declining and some donors who took pro-active approach to conflict withdrew their aid. According to Jonathan. Goodhand and Klem (2005) "the tsunami became, for the government, an excuse for putting off difficult decisions about the peace process or the reform agenda" (p.87).

### 3.2. Ideological resources

Whitfield and Fraser (2010) argued that negotiation capital of recipient government increase when they are able to express a clear vision. In particular, the authors highlighted that “donors typically find it harder to challenge a recipient’s priority that is constructed within a coherent framework, particularly one that draws strength from links to a wider international discourse that might contradict donor preference” (p. 348).

However, in situations of fragility, institutional capacity is mostly focused on military operations thereby weakens intellectual capacities of the government. For many fragile states, policy priorities are often politically charged that defending an internally cohesive vision is a challenge.

In case of Sri Lanka, there have been very close consultations on economy reforms between international monetary institutes and pro-capitalist government (Bastian, 2011). And the GoSL was able to express a clear vision for its development in relation to global priority in development cooperation such as poverty reduction. According to the author, Sri Lanka was not obliged to produce the PRSPs which were requirements for the debt write-off initiative strategy of for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries by the World Bank and the IMF. However, the economic crisis in 2000 forced the GoSL to seek enhanced foreign aid.

Under the financial and technical assistance of the UNDP, GoSL prepared the Poverty Reduction Framework (1998-2001), which involved both national

and international stakeholders in participatory process. This was followed by the formulation Poverty Reduction Strategy (2001-2002) but with limited participation. In 2002, the strategy was presented to the Development Forum where it was strongly endorsed by donors. However, with the election of a new government in late 2000, the Poverty Reduction Strategy was included as part of the new government's economic strategy under the title of *Regaining Sri Lanka: Vision and Strategy for Accelerated Development*. Bastian (2011) observed that the style of document had many of the characteristics found in documents produced by the World Bank and the ADB. The IMF (2003) even recognized that this publication was to set the framework for private-sector led growth and the government's commitment to fiscal consolidation and structural reforms (p. 2). Therefore, other donors felt misled as the GoSL legitimized its policies through a poverty alleviation strategy (Bastian, 2011).

### 3.3. Political conditions

In most cases, fragile states have weak political legitimacy, and those that have emerged from conflict with some legitimacy still have a heightened likelihood of returning to conflict. Therefore, donors may question their perceived political legitimacy and bypass the government completely for aid delivery. Instead, funding go through NGOs or UN agencies or special funds.

Although Sri Lanka has experienced nearly 30 years of conflict, the

political legitimacy of the GoSL where Sinhalese are dominant has been considered politically stable by donors. Sri Lanka's current development policy is now under the *Mahinda Chintana - Vision for the Future* for the 10-year period 2006-2016. With its pro-poor orientation, it reiterates commitment to the right to education, including the right of all segments of the population to pursue higher education and ICT.

On the other hand, donors were selective in supporting peace in Sri Lanka. As was previously argued in the Chapter 2, the donors in Sri Lanka took different aid approaches in the face of the ethnic conflict. Jonathan. Goodhand and Klem (2005) looked at how donors have calibrated their aid according to conflict and peace dynamics within Sri Lanka. The authors observed that whilst small bilateral donors have become more conflict sensitive in engaging with the peace process and providing aid, the larger donors for Sri Lanka have continued their practice as they always have done. Some donors were pro-active in attaching political or conflict related conditions to their assistance. This approach was mainly taken by European small donors such as Germany, Norway and Sweden. With the experiences of peace mediation in other countries, the Norway took on the role of mediator for six peace talks in the early 2000s. On the contrary, big donors such as ADB, Japan, World Bank continued to provide their aid regardless of the conflict (Ofstad, 2002). This lack of coherence of the donors joined with domestic politics against the international engagement resulted in a

falling apart of the peace process in Sri Lanka. Jonathan Goodhand and Walton (2009) named this as the Sri Lanka's claim for the ownership of their peace.

In terms of peace education intervention, the focus and priorities of the donors were more divergent. There were donors challenging ongoing conflict and tried to provide direct programs in the conflict-affected areas whilst some donors tried to innovate the education system that has potential of making the conflict consistent. In areas with ongoing conflict, programs tended to respond to the effects of such conflict on children mainly led by the UNICEF and the Save the Children. Education reforms to include human rights and democratic citizenship in textbook and school curriculum were mainly led by the UNESCO and development agencies from Canada, Germany, Norway and Sweden.

On the other hand, as education issues in general and peace education in specific were highly political, there has also been tension between the donors and the recipient. This was often the case for NGOs who tried to provide direct peace education programs in the conflict affected areas. The Oxfam had to rephrase training programmes on conflict sensitive development in the North-East Sri Lanka from 'peacebuilding' to 'relationship building' due to negative portrayal and suspicion of incorporating peace into education resulting from previously manipulation of textbook and curriculum by the GoSL (S. Harris & Lewer, 2005).

Political conditions that have influenced the ownership of peace education in Sri Lanka are linked with the tension between legitimacy of international

engagement and nationalistic sentiments for peace. According to the tendency of the GoSL towards the international engagement for peace, the peace education into education system showed different levels of integration into education system.

### 3.4. Institutional conditions

In terms of the aid architecture, the Department of External Resources under the purview of the Ministry of Finance and Planning is responsible for the coordination of the mobilization of ODA to Sri Lanka. The monitoring of the utilization of the portfolio of the ODA projects is the responsibility of the Department of Foreign Aid and Budget Monitoring under the purview of the Ministry of Plan Implementation (MPI). The Department of National Planning within the Ministry of Finance and Planning functions as the national focal point. Ministries and Departments are responsible for sector and subject plans. The implementation is centralized for direction and monitoring from the Center. Provinces have powers to formulate implementation plans (MPI, 2008).

The evaluation of the implementation of the Paris Declaration has observed the GoSL's leadership in setting its development strategy with the participation of domestic and international stakeholders. Within well set aid architecture of Sri Lanka, if a Ministry submits project proposals to the National Planning Department and if aid is needed, the External Resources Department

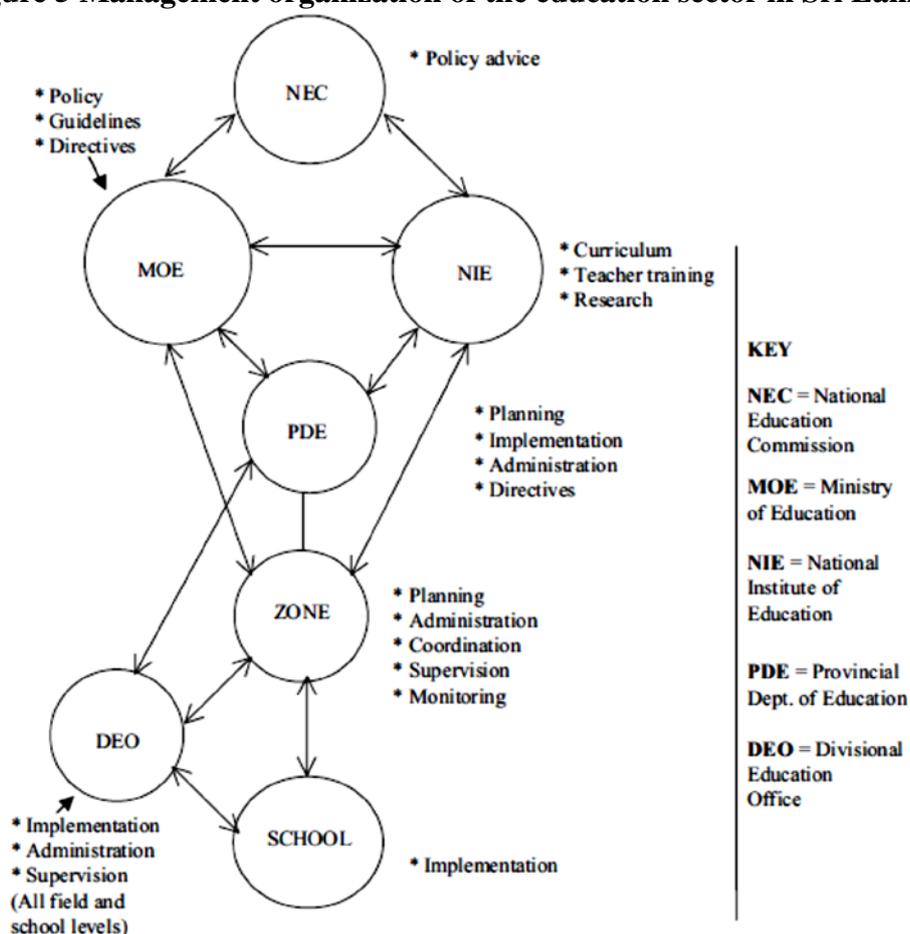
will mobilize aid as the focal point. However, in practice instead of the ministries approach with proposals, donors often approach the ministries with proposals they are willing to provide. The lack of ministries capacity to translate development agenda to operational form and administrative burdens have been observed as the main challenges in terms of capacity to lead implementation of national development agenda (MPI, 2008).

GoSL's lack of capacity for aid management has been often cited by donors (Little, 2010; Sibbons, 2004; SIDA, 2003; UNDP, 1994; World Bank, 2000). In response to corruption and inefficient state institutions some donors have decreased bilateral government-to-government aid flows and increase the share of bilateral aid through non-state development actors such as NGOs and UN agencies (Dietrich, 2013).

Sri Lanka has creditable achievements in aspects of education such as school enrolment, literacy and gender equity, compared to other developing countries. Overall education policy in Sri Lanka remains the priority of the National Education Commission (NEC) and The Ministry of Education (MOE) is responsible for policy guidelines and directives. The National Institute of Education (NIE) is mainly responsible for curriculum development, teacher training and research in education. The day-to-day management of education is dealt with at provincial level, zonal level, district level education offices and at school levels. Financial resources are allocated to each Provincial Department of

Education from the Provincial Council through its Minister of Education. The main functions of the Department include planning and budgeting of education in the province; general administration of zonal and divisional offices; education development of schools through zonal and divisional offices. The Figure 5 illustrates the management organization of the education sector in Sri Lanka.

**Figure 5 Management organization of the education sector in Sri Lanka**



Source: Oulai and Costa (2009, p. 196)

## CHAPTER 4

### PEACE EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA: 1990S

The next two chapters will explore the development of peace education in Sri Lanka, focusing on the evolution of ownership. Each chapter will focus on ten-year' time-frames: the 1990s in Chapter 4 and the 2000s in Chapter 5. The division between these time frames is important because it reflects the changed emphasis onto the recipient country's ownership in development cooperation. The shift from donor-driven development to recipient country-driven development has brought many changes in the setting of education policies in Sri Lanka. In the process, peace education has been influenced during these changes. Key education policies and related documents in these periods are summarized below in Table 5.

**Table 5 Key education reforms and policy documents related to peace education in Sri Lanka**

Periods	Policy Documents
1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>The First Report of the National Education Commission</i>, National Education Commission, 1992</li> <li>• <i>An Action-Oriented Strategy towards a National Education Policy</i>, National Education Commission, 1995</li> <li>• <i>General Education Reforms</i>, Presidential Task Force on General Education, 1997</li> </ul>
2000s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Proposals for a National Policy Framework on General Education in Sri Lanka</i>, National Education Commission, 2003</li> <li>• <i>Education Sector Development Framework and Programme</i>, Ministry of Education, 2006</li> <li>• <i>National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace</i>, Ministry of Education, 2008</li> <li>• <i>National Plan's of Action to implement Education for Peace and Sustainable Development</i>, Ministry of Education, 2012</li> </ul>

Chapter 4 will focus on the General Education Reforms of 1997, which integrated the concept of peace into the education system. Education reform in fragile states is often tied to the state's need to restore public trust and regain political legitimacy. Therefore, effective education reform requires agendas and initiatives with strong local roots and participation of all stakeholders (Samoff, 1999). This chapter will explore the background where peace education was introduced through the 1997 reform and how donors have supported this government initiative. Also it will look at how ownership has evolved in the process.

## **1. General Education Reforms of 1997**

As argued in previous chapter, education policies favorable to the dominant Sinhalese have deprived the youth of rural and minority ethnic groups of the benefits of education. And it contributed to ethnic conflict that has lasted more than three decades. With increased youth unrest and insurrection by the late 1980s, the Youth Commission was appointed to take an observation for the mismatch between education and employment caused by inequality in the access to education for different ethnic groups. The main findings of the Youth Commission report have become the basis of the education policies where language and national unity have been emphasized.

Since education has been considered as an important asset for economic as

well as social well-being, there always has been a high demand in Sri Lankan society to reform education for the country's development (S. Perera, 1999). Sri Lanka has a long history of education policy formation system dating back to Educational Ordinance of 1939. In 1947, the Educational Research Council was entrusted with the responsibility of conducting and promoting research in education theory and practice. Also, the establishment of the National Institute of Education (NIE) by Parliament Act No. 28 of 1985 and setting a Research Department in 1988 further strengthened the role of education institutions in providing research to advise the Ministry of Education (MOE) regarding policies for education development in Sri Lanka (MOE, 2005). At the same time, development partners and civil society, including the Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR), contributed significantly to research in education (Ginige, 2002).

In 1991, the National Education Commission (NEC) was established to advise the government on overall policy making covering all aspects of education. Initially, the NEC conducted an in-depth study on the role of education for social development by collecting information through public and private hearings. The first report, published in 1992, recognized education as an 'instrument to achieve social goals' and stressed 'interdependence' towards a shared national, regional, and international outlook. The NEC identified nine national goals based on four main areas of development stressed by then-

President Ranasinghe Premadasa: (a) character building, (b) nation building, (c) development of general competencies, and (d) development of specific capabilities. The NEC (1992) identified nine national goals:

- the achievement of national cohesion, national integrity and national unity;
- the establishment of a pervasive pattern of social justice;
- the evolution of a sustainable pattern of living;
- the generation of work opportunities;
- the institution of a variety of possibilities for all to participate in human resource development;
- the active partnership in nation building for deep and abiding concern for one another;
- adaptability to changing situations with the ability to guide change for the betterment of oneself and of others;
- the cultivation of a capacity to cope with the complex and the unforeseen, achieving a sense of security and stability;
- the development of those competencies linked to securing an honorable place in the international community.

Among ten proposals for immediate effect, “character building” and “nation building” were listed among the top priorities. ‘Value education’ as well as ‘precautions to obstacles to coexistence with harmony for children’ were suggested along with seven concrete measures to be taken. The seven measures are:

- organization of sports, cultural events, festivals, entertainment events, exhibitions, etc, in which all communities and groups could participate on equal terms;
- giving meaningful incentives to teachers and pupils who became fluent in both national languages
- making available at a reasonable price, language learning packages with audiotapes and printed materials
- promoting the translation of books so that they are published in both national languages;
- ensuring that the material in school texts do not create misunderstandings and divisions among groups, both religious and ethnic;
- organizing multi-ethnic "bridgades" of school children for engaging in humanitarian service and rehabilitation work among the people in "stricken areas"
- as far as possible, not segregating children into schools established on ethnic or religious basis, and having all children attending schools where they share common facilities.

In 1993, the NEC produced a shorter follow-up document titled *Towards a National Education Policy*, which was minimally circulated. The document set out six objectives for education among which the democratization of education to ensure universal and equal access to educational opportunity was the first objective.

After the NEC published the first report in 1992, the implementation of

recommendations was suspended with the assassination of the President Ranasinghe Premadasa and the establishment of new government under the President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaranatunga in 1994. The formulation of the national education policy was also a top priority for the new government. The new government accepted the recommendation of the NEC, an unusual move in a developing country like Sri Lanka, where education policy changes with the change of the government, the new government.

The process of implementing the recommended policies began with an appointment of the Presidential Task Force on General Education Reforms in December 1996. The year 1997 was declared as the Year of Education Reform by the President. An implementation plan took off rapidly in 1997 and a five-year (2000-2004) national and provincial plan was formulated. The implementation of programs was assisted by many donors. However, the 90% of the expenditure was from the Government (MOE, 2005).

Primar- level (Grade 1-5) reforms were pre-tested as a pilot programme in the Gampaha district in 1998 and extended to other districts in 1999. The revision of curriculum focused on the achievement of competencies related to Communication (Literacy, Numeracy, Graphics) Environment (Social, Biological, Physical), Ethics and Religion, Play and the use of Leisure, and Learn to Learn. New curriculum framework was designed in 1997 followed by the development and distribution of syllabus in 1998 based on competencies, teachers' guides,

readers and workbooks. Teacher trainings for new curriculums were also conducted. From 2003 the new curriculum was implemented in all Grades 1-5 (Little, 2000; Peiris, 2004).

Secondary-level reforms were introduced in 1999 and completed in 2001 without any pilot testing. The phase of curriculum reforms were concluded by 2003 (NEC, 2003). The 2004 NEC report provides a descriptive analysis on the effectiveness of the implementation (Gunawardane, Wijetunge, & Perera, 2004).

In 1995 the NEC produced another policy document titled *An Action-Oriented Strategy towards a National Education Policy* and the strategy was organized around five policy areas: (a) extending educational opportunity, (b) quality improvement in education, (c) teaching profession, (d) technical and practical skills education, and (e) and management of education and resource provision.

Under the quality improvement in education, 'Value Education' and 'Learning of other Languages' encompassed aspects of peace education in line with the first report in 1992. Particularly, for Value Education, interpersonal relationships and character development through extra-curricular activities and teacher education were stressed. Also new objectives of teaching religion to acquire religious knowledge and values of oneself and the others were included. The five policy areas laid out in the 1995 Action Plan were kept as same in the 1997 reforms with minor word changes.

## **2. The Impact of Internal and External Politics on Peace Education**

### **2.1. Strong political will but weak capacity**

According to Little (2008), with respect to education policy in developing countries, national political will is a combination of the motivations of a wide range of policy actors, including politicians and administrators, and actions that result in policy texts, allocated resources, activity plans and timetables.

When a new government and a new president came to power in 1994, the formulation of a national education policy was a priority. In particular, the new government was challenged to satisfy voters who were highly concerned with security issue and youth unemployment. In order to meet the social needs for educational change, the president took a strong political action for the reforms.

Since the creation of the NEC with its mandate for policy formulation, the position of Ministry of Education that had been in charge of both policy formulation and implementation has become ambiguous. Moreover, the NEC was not generating results fast enough. Therefore, by late 1996 the president decided to take a personal hand in the development of education policy by appointing a Presidential Task Force for General Education. Consistent with this drive, the president declared 1997 as the year of education.

The 1997 reforms, born out of the need to contain political youth unrest, were designed to extend educational opportunity in primary and secondary education. Also it was intended to promote national integrity by incorporating peace education into the education system. However it only enjoyed limited success (Little, 2011). Whilst the first report was prepared with participation of various stakeholders, none of other policy documents afterwards were debated in public or in the parliament.

In 2003, the NEC made policy proposals to base the next reforms on reviews of current status. The NEC (2003) stated in the conclusion for quality that "the education system has failed adequately to promote quality in education as well as relevance in terms of social stability, national unity, human values and individual orientation to the world of work" (p. 15). Table 6 summarizes factors for failure and proposals for change in relation to education for peace in the NEC 2003 report.

**Table 6 Analysis of proposals on education for peace in NEC 2003 Report**

Contributing factors for failure	Proposals for Change
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mono-ethnic based curriculum and textbooks transmitting prejudices;</li> <li>• Language and quota system introduced for university admission;</li> <li>• Examination-dominated education failing to develop balanced personality;</li> <li>• Erosion of human values in spite of religious education being compulsory;</li> <li>• Quantitative expansion of education at the expense of qualitative improvements; and</li> <li>• Unequal distribution of resources resulting in widening the gap between urban and rural schools which in turn affect the performance levels.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilingualism should be promoted by using English as the medium of instruction</li> <li>• Reintroducing "History", "Geography" and "Civics" in Grades 6-9 in place of "Environmental Studies" in Grade 6 and "Social Studies and History" in Grades 7-9</li> <li>• Removing "Life Competencies" and incorporating values and personal growth enhancing skills in all subjects</li> <li>• Enhancing the relevance of learning-teaching process</li> <li>• with national identity and harmony, responsible citizenship, ethical values and behavior, social justice, social cohesion.</li> <li>• Promoting multi-ethnic and multi-religious teacher education institutions</li> </ul>

Source: abstracted from National Education Commission (2003)

For example, under the 1997 reforms, the Life Competency subject was introduced in a junior secondary curriculum that was not mentioned in the 1995 NEC Strategy. The subject was a replacement of the Life Skills subject introduced in 1977 as a main subject for the training of vocational related skills. Therefore, a new subject with totally a different tradition was initiated as education for peace and the quality was frustrating. Evaluation observed that the new subject was introduced haphazardly without clear objectives, a syllabus, or

curriculum materials. Also, there was no integration within the subject or with other subjects that were the primary purpose of introducing a new subject (NEC, 2003). Finally, the 2003 NEC recommendation proposed the removal of ‘Life Competencies’ subject and its incorporation into other subjects. Despite this recommendation, the curriculum planning authority, the NIE decided to add ‘Life Competencies and Civic Education’ as a new subject for Grades 6-9 under the curriculum reform in 2007 that is currently being used.

## 2.2. Donors’ assistance for peace education

Whilst the GoSL struggled with limited capacity of implementing the reforms, its strong vision on education reforms as a driver for economic development has attracted financing for technical support from donors as seen in Table 7.

**Table 7 Donor supported education projects in 1990s**

<b>Donor</b>	<b>Project Description</b>	<b>Period</b>
World Bank	<b>First General Education Project (GEP-1)</b> to develop infrastructure, planning and management, and capacity building at the provincial level	1990-1995
	<b>Second General Education Project (GEP-2)</b> for curriculum development, textbook publication, school facility, management structures of institutes, financing education and research studies	1998–2002
	<b>Teacher Education and Teacher Deployment Project (TETDP)</b> in collaboration with DFID, GTZ, SIDA to implement the government’s teacher education and teacher deployment strategies identified in the First Report of NEC	1996-2005

ADB	<b>Secondary Education Modernization Project (SEMP 1)</b> to develop school curriculum, examination and evaluation practices, teacher education and infrastructure including ICT	2001
	<b>Education Sector Development Program</b>	2006
UNICEF	<b>Primary Education Development Project (PEDP)</b> Non-formal education, primary education and early childhood development	1990-1998
	<b>Education for Peace Project (EPP)</b>	1989-1991
	<b>Education for Peace Project (EPP)</b>	1992-1999
DFID	<b>Primary English Language Project (PELP)</b> managed by the British Council	1996-2001
	<b>Primary Education Planning Project (PEPP)</b> to strengthen capacity of the Ministry and provincial authorities of education to plan, manage, monitor and evaluate primary education programs within the framework of the National Education Reforms Cambridge Education Consultants 48% DFID grant 52% Government fund	1997-2000
	<b>Primary Mathematics Project (PMP)</b> pre-service and in-service training, new mathematics curriculum and materials development Cambridge Education Consultants 63% DFID grant 37% Government fund	1998-2003
SIDA	<b>Plantation Schools Education Development Project (PSEDP)</b> managed by the PSEDP unit based in the Plantations Unit of the MEHE	1986-1998
	<b>Primary Schools Development Project (PSDP)</b> development of primary schools in disadvantaged areas focusing on mother tongue and mathematics subject, provision of infrastructure managed by the PSDP unit of the MEHE	1986-1998
	<b>Distance Teacher Education</b> implemented by NIE	1982-1997
	<b>Special Education</b> managed by Special Education Unit of NIE	1986-1999
GTZ	<b>Sri Pada College of Education (SPCoE)</b> by field unit attached to college	1986-1998
	<b>Teacher Training and Staff Development Project (TSDP)</b> part of TETDP	1998-2002
	<b>Teacher In-service Training Project (TIP)</b>	1999-2003
JICA	<b>Development of selected primary schools</b>	1998

Source: compiled from various sources

Donors' support to Sri Lanka's 1997 Reforms has been also related to a changed emphasis on the role of education for development. The most powerful theoretical background that links education and development has been the human capital theory. It rests on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a population (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 2011). As such, aid to education by the 1990s in Sri Lanka has been dominated by technical and vocational training for economic growth.

Putting primary education for over other education priorities had become a dominant agenda in development cooperation. The World Declaration on Education for All, at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien 1990 officially recognized this priority. And the MDGs in 2000 reinforced it and made universal primary education as its second goal.

In terms of the achievement of the reforms and the integration of peace education into the education system, divergent views exist among donors. Lopes Cardozo (2008) argued that the reforms grounded the need to integrate values, human and gender rights, national cohesion, environmental protection and language skills in Sinhala, Tamil and English within pre-service and in-service teacher training. UNESCO IBE (2011) highlighted that it succeeded in bringing certain changes in the instructional process in the classroom by making the curriculum more child-centered and activity-based.

On the other hand, there is criticism from donors who were directly involved in projects. A very critical and descriptive report by the World Bank looked at the problems of a state monopoly on single textbook production and the inevitable interventions of the World Bank for improvement. Wickrema and Colenso (2007), who has been working for the GEP-2, argued that Sri Lanka's efforts to sensitize peace and social cohesion issues in education materials publication would not have been possible without the pressures of the World Bank.

The World Bank's project completion report also found the results of textbooks and education publications component to be 'satisfactory' for both contents and physical quality of textbooks with due regard to ethnicity and religion (World Bank, 2006). Conversely, the SIDA and the Sri Lankan research teams were very critical on the low quality of textbooks relating peace to the subjects of Life Competencies, Social Studies, and Language under this reforms (Säfström, Balasooriya, Masilamani, & Parakrama, 2001).

In sum, the 1997 reforms have been the first education reforms in Sri Lanka that address peace and national integrity. However, national education policy setting as a political action of a new government, insufficient local participation and consensus, and a lack of administrative capacities of implementing agencies have challenged its successful achievements. As the reforms aimed to provide education opportunities to primary education and secondary education that have

been dominant global education agenda, the GoSL was able to attract the fundings of donors, in particular for primary education. With the funding of donors, the 1997 reforms in general and primary education in particular were able to have productive results in quantity. However, in terms of the quality of education and in relation to peace education, the reforms were not able to tackle the root causes of conflict, which was an important reasons for the reforms.

In terms of aid negotiation, there has been no distinct conflict between the GoSL and donors, as support from donors were mainly grants. Loans by the IMF and the World Bank were in line with the GoSL, which was able to lead the negotiation for planning. However, in the implementation process, the weak institutional conditions of the GoSL challenged the expected that donors took the lead for education contents such as curriculum and textbook.

The following section will examine the first peace education program in relation to the 1997 reforms, supported by the UNICEF, to illustrate a complex ownership issue around peace education in Sri Lanka.

### **3. Donor Involvement in Peace Education**

#### **3.1. Education for Peace Project (EPP)**

The initial development of peace education in Sri Lanka was a joint effort by the GoSL and various international actors. The EPP, comprised of both

primary school and media components, was launched in 1989 involving the MOE, the NIE, the UNICEF, the Worldview International Foundation, the Quaker Peace & Service and a local Children's Theatre Organization (The Consultative Group on ECCD, 1999).

With the alarming increase in the exposure of children to violence in Sri Lanka, the Department of Primary Education of the NIE in partnership with the MOE was assigned to develop peace education lesson plans for primary education teachers, teacher educators and in-service advisors. The project's main objective was to equip primary school children with the skills required to solve interpersonal conflicts in a non-violent manner. During the pilot period from 1989 to 1991, the NIE officers took part in workshops conducted by various partners including Quaker Peace & Service, and received consultations from the CO and the UNICEF to conceptualize peace education in Sri Lanka (Interview O, January 18, 2013). As a result, *Education for Peace Resource Material* was published in 1991 with four lesson plans identified. It was disseminated to all departments in the MOE and the NIE. In particular, the Resource Material was delivered to the Department of Distance Education for wider distribution (Interview N, January 17, 2013).

Because the project focused on training teachers, workbooks for children and teacher guides were made in both the Sinhala and Tamil. After being tested by primary school teachers for classroom activities, they were then disseminated

to nine lecturers of primary education course of the National Colleges of Education (NCEs). The NCEs trained both pre-service teachers and in-service advisors (experienced teachers) who later trained school teachers and principals (Interview O, January 18, 2013). UNICEF provided US\$2.7 million to the NIE for this project (UNICEF Sri Lanka, 1996). These activities were later introduced in UNICEF's teacher material. In 1995, the United Kingdom Committee for UNICEF produced a pack of teaching materials entitled *Children Working for Peace* and Sri Lanka's activity for conflict resolution has been introduced (Susan Fountain, 1999).

It is important to note that through the EPP Sri Lankan educators were able to find linkage between traditional values on inter-personal relationship and conflict resolution methodologies resulting in the creation of Sri Lankan concept of peace that became the base of peace education in Sri Lanka for following years. Throughout the interview it was observed that Sri Lankan educators were proud of the peace concepts embedded in their culture and having the ownership of peace education they have created (Interview C, January 14, 2013; Interview n, January 17, 2013; Interview O, January 18, 2013). In particular, teacher trainers found significance in the number of pre-service and in-service teachers trained for peace education (Interview F, January 14, 2013). Concepts that have been used in teacher trainings for peace education has not been changed since the development of teacher resources under the ECC.

On the other hand, the EPP was not recognized as the initial peace education for most of the interviewees. Only two interviewees who were directly involved in the project identified it as the start. Most of them identified teacher trainings accompanied with the publication of materials in 1993 as the start. One of the reasons for this was because two different departments in NIE were involved in UNICEF funded projects. Since the Department of Education Management Development targeted violence in schools at all levels, their work was widely acknowledged that the prior work of the Department of Primary Education which only targeted training of teacher trainings of the NCEs.

In terms of teaching and learning content, key elements of the EPP was to build inter-personal relationships and understanding between people to respect others. Therefore it did not directly touch upon conflict issues between ethnic communities in Sri Lanka.

Although the NIE lead the development of the EPP and also conceptualized Sri Lankan peace education, the project was renamed with UNICEF's change in project name from the EPP to the Education for Conflict Resolution Project. Observations by one of the ex-NIE staff in charge of the project interviewed illustrated issues of the ownership of the program:

It was very attractive program but it was supplementary and not integrated into the mainstream curriculum. Sustainability was a problem after the

project faced out. All the materials were stopped being used and we have never seen it practiced again. Repeating or reprinting never happened. This is the case with people keep changing both sides and new people bring their new perspectives. Donor driven programs are promoted by international organizations as a culture. But in reality it has been educators in the field who made efforts to sustain the initiative (Interview J, January 17, 2013).

### 3.2. Education for Conflict Resolution (ECR) Project

S. Fountain (1999) recognized that local cultural and political sensitivities, as well as the scope and objectives, determine the choice of language for the UNICEF Peace Education programs. This was also the case of the Oxfam, who had to put neutral program label for the involvement in peacebuilding and conflict reduction to avoid misinterpreted contentiousness in Sri Lanka's political discourse. They renamed their program from the 'Conflict Reduction Programme' to the 'Relationship Building Programme' (Simmon. Harris & Lewer, 2002, p. 9). It is not clear when and why 'Education for Conflict Resolution' was chosen for Sri Lanka, which replaced the formerly used term 'Education for Peace.'

In 1992, the MOE and the NIE launched the ECR with financial assistance from UNICEF. Targeting both primary and secondary education, a group of interior resource personnel were trained in different peace education strategies at the NIE. For primary education, the Department of Primary Education that took

charge of the EPP project continued to extend their previously developed lesson plans and developed *Education for Conflict Resolution A Guide for Teacher Training* in 1995. After one year of field testing, the 2nd version was printed and distributed in 1996.

As the GoSL ratified the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* in 1991, the 1996 version incorporated child-friendly components in many aspects including discussion points (Interview O, January 18, 2013). The content included eight elements: Easing the Mind, Interpersonal Understanding, Active Listening, Assertive Expression, Conflict Analysis, Conflict Resolution, Mediation, Appreciation and Cooperative Power and Evaluation. Different manuals for principals, teachers and students were developed under the ECR as shown in Table 8.

**Table 8 Manuals developed under the ECR**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Publisher</b>
Education for Conflict Resolution A Guide for Teacher Training	1995 (1st Version)	Sinhalese/ Tamil/ English	Department of Primary Education, NIE
Education for Conflict Resolution Training Guide for Trainers	1996	Sinhalese/ Tamil/ English	Department of Primary Education, NIE
Conflict Management in Schools	1993 /1994	Sinhalese/ Tamil	Department of Education Management Development, NIE
Learning Activities for Peace Education (Supplementary Teacher's Handbook for Peace Education in Secondary Level Classes)	1994	Sinhalese/ Tamil	Department of Education Management Development, NIE

Teaching Peace to Children (Model Lesson for Upper Secondary Classes)	1994	Sinhalese/ Tamil	Department of Education Management Development, NIE
Education for Peace (Training modules of the distance Teacher Training Course)	Unknown	Sinhalese/ Tamil	Department of Distance Education, NIE
A teacher training manual was developed identifying peace concepts found in the areas and themes of the Grade Six First Language curriculum materials.	Unknown	Sinhalese/ Tamil	Department of Distance Education, NIE

UNICEF (1996) recorded that between 1992 and 1994, ECR trained 3,500 principles, 400 master teachers, 3,000 teachers, and 7,500 student leaders, who, as of 1996, had reached approximately 420,000 of Sri Lanka's 4.5 million schoolchildren. Balasooriya (2007) also noted that the ECR distributed nearly one hundred thousand copies of three Teacher Guides to schools for the teachers to educate themselves on peace education. At the Nilwala College of Education, the main training center designated for the ECR, pre-service teachers learned to integrate ideas and methods of conflict resolution into all subjects areas.

This effort can be seen as adhering the UNICEF's principle of integrating peace education into existing subject-matter (Fountain, 1999). However, the reality was that teachers who participated in trainings did not get adequate emphasis to integrate peace education into relevant subject-matter (Interview A, January 14, 2013). Their training was not sustained enough to move from capturing ideas to next level of integration or trainings for subject specialists on integrating peace concepts were limited (Interview C, January 14, 2013).

Balasooriya (2007) also echoed that “it was teachers and school principals who brought innovations to the periphery after a long time” (p. 9).

Withdrawal of the UNICEF as donor resulted in the end of this program in 1999. Two evaluations were conducted to monitor the progress of the ECR in 1995 and 1996 (Herath, 1995; UNICEF Sri Lanka, 1996). Two reports noted that "positive changes were found in the attitudes of teachers trained" but "it was too early to assess attitude changes in the children." However, in terms of the usage of the materials Herath (1995) stated that very few made use of the conflict resolution books. He commented that "only a minority knew about it, principles received the book long after their training, and none of the programmes created an intense awareness of the book" (p.95). Also in terms of local sustainability, the reports found that activities such as Establishment of Peace Committees in each school were not functioning as they were separated from teacher training programs and teachers were transferred.

Despite unsatisfactory evaluations in terms of impact on teachers and students, the ECR differentiated its results from the previous EPP in three ways: 1) linking work of the UNICEF and government institutions by personnel, 2) localizing education contents and activities, and 3) adding research component for monitoring and policy recommendation.

1) Linking the work of UNICEF and government institutions by personnel

A special commission was formed in the NIE in order to develop curriculums and materials for teacher training (Balasooriya, 2007). Also UNICEF recruited a national coordinator among the MOE and the NIE staff (Interview N, Janyary 17, 2013).

These two cooperative structures further upgraded the possibility to integrate the activities of the project into national curriculum. Compared to the previous activities that only provided supplementary activities to curriculum, the ECR put further efforts in demonstrating the ways of integrating peace education into the traditional subjects of the existing curriculum. One interviwer noted:

educators who know the education system well was committed to integrate donor driven activities into the national curriculum to promote sustainability and greater impact (Interview N, Janyary 17, 2013).

2) Localizing education contents and activities

As was previously mentioned, the core NIE officers participated in the development of Peace Education during the 1990s found linkages between Sri Lankan traditional values that includes religion and peace education activities.

The same idea was emphasized in a section titled 'How Sri Lanka educates children for peace' UNICEF (1996):

The ideas of conflict resolution were consistent with many aspects of Sri Lankan culture. For example, just as conflict resolution promotes assertiveness over aggression and passivity, Buddhism, one of the major religions in Sri Lanka, emphasizes the importance of taking the middle path. Just as conflict resolution is based on cooperative behavior. In addition, Buddhism and Hinduism emphasize harmony with the natural environment and make extensive use of meditation. A typical ECR lesson for primary schoolchildren starts with meditation, and then covers issues such as decision-making and conflict resolution (p. 32).

UNICEF's practice once again confirmed that peace education should be firmly rooted in immediate realities not just in theories for relevancy. This is in line with what Burns and Aspeslagh (1996) stated about peace education adopting the uniqueness of society and culture. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) pointed out the Sri Lankan ECR as an example of "how the process and content of the new curriculum packages might draw on and resonate with the cultural environment within which they are set" (p. 27).

However, Bush and Saltarelli continued to criticize that it lacked

incorporation of other minorities and clear inclusion of intra-group animosities, particularly caste-based, and regional tensions. As noted by Smith and Vaux (2003) without examining the wider societal approach the impact of educational interventions might not be illuminated.

In general, the UNICEF ECR in Sri Lanka succeeded in bringing together different groups without which it would not have been possible but brought only limited results as it unaddressed enough the structural problems at societal levels.

### 3) Adding research component for monitoring and policy recommendation

Many authors stressed the lack of quality evaluation in the field of peace education (Colenso, 2005; McGlynn & Bekerman, 2009; Seitz, 2004). Davies (2004) noted that impact assessment in conditions of conflict or post-conflict, and particularly of peace education projects is difficult.

The start of the EPP and the ECR in Sri Lanka focused on training of teachers and in particular on conflict resolution skills. As the UNICEF's peace education in Sri Lanka did not originate from the discourses of the role of education in peacebuilding, it did not expand its boundary for program based approach. Although UNICEF closely worked with the MOE and the NIE, the EPP and the ECR did not directly associated with the education policies that was under reform in 1997. And since the ECR emphasized the 'inner peace' and 'inter-

personal relationship' it was not a pro-active involvement on conflict issues through education. It is also the limitations of multi-donor funded resources such as pooled funding provided to the UNICEF for the education for social cohesion in Sri Lanka where activities are closed when funding are not available.

Despite the limitations of project based approach and the lack of integration into education system, the ECR provided an important legacy to peace education in Sri Lanka that was the start of research and monitoring for peace education in Sri Lanka. In particular, the UNICEF supported the NIE research on language textbook would be considered the first attempt to tackle textbook issues related to conflict. Besides, the UNICEF published reports in 1995 and 1996 that provided well-structured insights on the need to integrate peace education into education system, not as activities outside curriculum but total integration into all levels. The UNICEF continued supporting research activities under their projects to identify good practices. In 2004 with the support of the UNICEF, the NIE conducted a research titled *Educating the Child in a Peaceful and Conflict Free School: Good Practices in Sri Lankan Schools*.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **PEACE EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA: 2000S**

The principle of ownership has become a new imperative since the 1990s, with an increased notion of partnership to make the impact of aid more effective and sustainable. As ownership has appeared strongly on the global development agenda, the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAP) was introduced as new aid modality and holistic approach to the education sector in the 1990s (Buchert, 2002). In principle, the SWAP that stands on the development of genuine partnership among all stakeholders of a sector generally ensures country-led development and national ownership.

In Sri Lanka the SWAP was introduced by the World Bank in 2000s through the Education Sector Development Framework and Programme. New emphasis was made on learning competencies for a vibrant 21st century generation that upholds the value of peace and social cohesion. Donor harmonization for national policy was called for by the lead agency such as the World Bank.

However, the expected harmonization among donors was mere malfunctioning and donors continued approaching the MOE with their own priorities. However, as the ownership has become the global policy agenda, it has influenced donors' practices in the form of providing consultation, producing the National Plan and Action Framework on certain themes, such as Education for Social Cohesion and Education for Sustainable Development.

This chapter will explore the changes made in the Sri Lankan education sector during the 2000s under the global policy agenda for ownership. It will also look at how the changed environment has influenced the development of peace education in Sri Lanka.

It is argued that the SWAP broadened World Bank aid package as usually provided to Sri Lanka and donors found harmonization ineffective in achieving their priorities.

## **1. Education Sector Development Framework and Programme in 2006**

### 1.1. Overview

The new government under the leadership of the President Mahinda Rajapaksa elected in 2005 has set development vision under the title of *Mahinda Chintana - Vision for the Future* with commitments to the right to free state education and to the reduction of disparities in education. Sri Lanka's poverty reduction, through the sector-wide approach was intensively discussed at the political level and education sector was not an exception (Ashford, 2009). With the completion of curriculum reforms under the 1997 reforms, and also of the original plan of the World Bank GEP II in 2003, new education development projects were discussed between the World Bank and Sri Lanka. Instead of

initiating new projects, changes of financing and the management system for partnership was mainly discussed. Preparations for the new approach began in 2003 with the World Bank budget planning cycle. During the World Bank's mission visit in 2004 the GoSL and the World Bank agreed to introduce the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAP).

The Education Sector Development Framework and Programme (ESDFP) for over a five year period 2006 - 2010 lies in the SWAP that is intended to overcome shortfalls and weaknesses that prevailed in 'program', 'project', or 'fast-track' approaches which took place in the late 1980s and to enable development partners to support the GoSL in implementing strategies for education development (MOE, 2006).

The ESDFP proposed five major policy themes: (a) promoting equitable access to basic and secondary education, (b) promoting the quality of education, (c) enhancing the economic efficiency and equity of resource allocation and distribution within the education system, (d) strengthening education governance and quality service delivery, and (e) strengthening monitoring and evaluation of educational outputs and outcomes. A total of US\$70 million was provided under the credit of International Development Association, a part of the World Bank complementing its original lending. The funding was integrated into the government expenditures. US\$10 million was provided as an additional financing in 2008 to improve the educational opportunities of children living in

poor rural, estate and conflict affected regions and to promote a multicultural and multi-ethnic society. In particular, improvement of the curriculum material in civics and history to promote a multi-ethnic and multicultural society was proposed (World Bank, 2011).

## 1.2. Impacts on peace education

In continuation to recognize the social context of education around ethnicity, the ESDFP strongly emphasized that education reforms should address the realities of the prevailing ethnic crisis and bring about the necessary changes to achieve ethnic and social cohesiveness. Strategic activities to achieve an objective to promote values, ethics, civic consciousness and social cohesion in schools include: (a) integrated school approach, (b) textbooks and syllabi to appreciate unity within diversity, (c) expansion of English medium education, (d) introduction to different religions through Religion subject and school activities, and (e) and inclusive and activity-based citizenship curricula (MOE, 2006, p. 66).

Indeed, the need to strengthen the integration of peace and social cohesion into Sri Lanka education system had been persistent in dialogues and agendas of the development partners for Sri Lanka before and after the 1997 Reforms. The problem was with the segregated project based approach by individual partners and the lack of linkages with government framework. Even the main donor for the 1997 reforms, the World Bank was not much involved in the contents of

curriculum and education publications, so that achievements were only collected in terms of the number of textbooks produced, and not their quality related to peace.

Recognizing the limitations of individual project based approach to tackle education issues in Sri Lanka, the SIDA initiated a project titled 'Education and Intercultural Democracy' in 1999 and conducted the need assessment of the project. The report published in 2000 by international and Sri Lankan consultants noted that the aim of the project was to promote democracy and citizenship through education within the frame of 1997 Reforms.

Unfortunately, the project agreement that was expected to be signed by two governments in 2002 was postponed several times as Sweden decided not to enter new bilateral agreements for public service in times of war (Säfström et al., 2001; SIDA, 2006). And as the SIDA decided to decrease the number of focus countries in 2007, discussion for the project was discontinued. The SIDA's support to Sri Lanka paused out as of 2010.

With the SIDA's removal from the project, the World Bank became the sole source of funding to link curriculum and textbook issues with peace education under the government framework. The World Bank had an unsatisfactory experience on the integration of peace and social cohesion into textbook and education materials under the GEP II suggested three enhanced approaches under the ESDFP : (a) develop resources and programs of work to support primary

teachers in the promotion of peace building and civics, (b) strengthen the teaching of languages, and (c) reinforce measures to promote multi-culturalism and social inclusion within the core NIE functions of curriculum and materials development, as well as teacher training (World Bank, 2005a).

Despite segregated attention, the most important progress in terms of integrating peace and social cohesion since the 1997 reforms is two folds: (a) strengthened review mechanism for curriculum and textbook and (b) improved research on sensitive issues of religion and ethnicity.

First, for quality improvement of curriculum and textbooks, the GoSL responded to the World Bank's suggestion by encouraging the enhancement of the technical capacity of textbook writers, illustrators and editors to remove insensitive parts of ethnic and religious differences. In 2009, the NIE established multi-ethnic and multi-cultural committees and developed strategic tasks to tackle these problems. The committee adopted measures to assess quality by language, content, ethnicity and gender parameters and to ensure similarity between Sinhala and Tamil textbooks. The revised curricula were distributed to all schools in 2011 with a year delay (World Bank, 2011). Preparation for new curriculums faced with many hurdles including financial and human resources shortages of the GoSL and insufficient technical cooperation by development partners. UNICEF noted that the 2007 curriculum was much delayed since 2004 due to unclear role division among Sri Lankan education authorities and the

failure of fund delivery from development partners (Jayaweera & Gunawardena, 2007).

Second, research on subject matters and reform evaluations have been conducted for future improvements as shown in Table 9.

**Table 9 Research on integrating peace and social cohesion**

Year	Title	Publisher	Funder
1994	Education for peace and the curriculum in the junior secondary schools	NIE	UNICEF
1997	Utilization of subject-wise activities of the secondary school curriculum to inculcate moral values	NIE	UNICEF
1998	The Role of School Text Books for Multi-Social Reconciliation (Sama Sakthi Guru Sanwada Sansadaya, Anamaduwa) [in Sinhala medium]	NIE	World Bank, DFID
1999	Education and Social Cohesion Analysis of Potential Ethno-Cultural and Religious Bias in the School Text Books of History and Social Studies for Year 7, 8, 10 and 11 (Yoga Rasanayagam & V. Palaniappan)	University of Colombo	World Bank
1999	Assessment of Ethno -cultural and Religious Bias in Social Studies and History Texts of Years 7, 8, 10 and 11 (Nira Wickramasinghe and Sasanka Perera)	NIE	World Bank
2004	Sectoral Review of General Education: An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Implementation of Educational Reforms at Secondary School Level (Chandra Gunawardena, Lal Perera, Swarna Wijetunga)	NEC	GoSL
2004	National research study on Civic Education in Sri Lanka (Harsha Aturupane, Swarna Wijetunga)	NEREC	GIZ
2007	National Level Attitude Survey on Social Cohesion (Faculty of Education, Colombo University)	NEREC	GIZ
2007	The Survey of Second National Language teaching and Learning in the National Colleges of Education (Faculty of Education, Colombo University)	NEREC	GIZ

2008	An Evaluation of the Process of Development and Implementation of the New Curriculum in Grades 6 and 10 (G.M.T.N Perera)	NIE	World Bank
------	--	-----	------------

The new curriculum under the 2007 reforms, has been found to have limitations. For example, a review of Life Competencies and Citizenship Education (Grade 7-9) pointed out that topics related to conflict and peace are not found in a planned manner and was sometimes over emphasized in a particular section (Jayaweera & Gunawardena, 2007). Sørensen (2008) also noted that reaching the particular objective of ‘national integration and unity’ has been over emphasized in the subject of Civics and Governance (Grade 10-11).

The ESDFP was designed to bring education changes to achieve ethnic and social cohesiveness. As noted by the World Bank (2011), achievements in inter-ethnic trust and respect for cultural diversity are "hard to be quantified" (p. 10). Adding to this difficulty, it was not even clear which projects and budgets have been intended to promote peace education. From various reports of development partners it can be assumed that very little attention was given to peace education as top priority within the World Bank as well as the GoSL.

Although the quality of education was one of the matters for concern, the timely distribution of textbooks has been considered a higher priority than their contents. Furthermore, the main visible achievement of the ESDFP for the period of 2006-2010 was on the increase of ICT education, the main interest of three major development partners namely the World Bank, ADB and Japan,

symbolizing Sri Lanka education's priority to reduce the mismatch competencies acquired through the education system and the requirements of the labor market.

### 1.3. Donor harmonization and ownership

Although the purpose of the SWAP in the ESDFP was to provide better coordinated efforts among the donors, the World Bank was the only donor for direct funding. Total government funding for 2007 was around US\$ 607 million and assistance from donors are around US\$ 36 million, that is, 5.7% of the total education budget (Jayaweera & Gunawardena, 2007, p. 5). Among US\$ 36 million, only US\$ 10.91 million from the World Bank went to basket funding for the ESDFP.

Contrary to the traditional project based approach, the SWAP proposed that all development cooperation funds be channeled through the Treasury and the Ministry. Supports were limited and the reluctance of SWAP among development cooperation partners was well elaborated in UNICEF's report Jayaweera and Gunawardena (2007):

Some development partners appear to have reservations regarding total absorption in SWAP process. Some have concerns regarding the role of the World Bank, which has provided financial and technical assistance to planning, implementing and monitoring of the ESDFP. There are fears of

bureaucratic hassles and inordinate delays in the flow of funds observed already. (p. 15).

Even the World Bank's 2005 project appraisal document noted the gap between the stated objective for SWAP and the real implementation as "other development partners will provide parallel financing to support specific areas within the overarching framework of the ESDFP" (World Bank, 2005a). SIDA also criticized that harmonized donor dialogue are virtually "non-existing" as major development partners, the World Bank, ADB and Japan, continued bilateral talks with the GoSL (SIDA, 2006, 2007). In terms of negotiating partnership among key development partners, spectrum of understandings on the SWAP was too large to be narrowed down for coordination and harmonization. For example, in terms of the UNICEF's participation following two arguments well illustrate how the donor harmonization was contested. (Jayaweera & Gunawardena, 2007) found the following:

In July 2006 donor agencies were requested to provide their annual programme plans in the education sector [...] to be included in the overall national education work plan for 2007. However, the Ministry reports that a few development partners had sent their plans. UNICEF has agreed to participate in the SWAPs and to channel funds to the Treasury as requested by the government.

(pp. 66, 77).

On the contrary GIZ's report (Davies, 2011) observes UNICEF's participation as:

SWAP is, however, seen by UNICEF as weak to non-existent: there is little political will, and the World Bank does not need it as it is the biggest player in terms of funds. (pp. 10-11).

And Stolk (2006) observed that GIZ was willing to participate in the SWAP but had reservations about coordination at the national level basket funding during the bilateral donor group meeting for the discussion of the ESDFP participation in May 2005. As an implementing agency with a stronger link to the field, the GIZ was less confident in the SWAP process. The author stressed that the GIZ was satisfied to be part of the coordination within the structure of the ESDPF where they could still do "their own thing." (Stolk, 2006, p. 165)

As a whole, Ashford (2009) put special emphasis that lack of negotiation power of the GoSL conflicted with the interests and influence of individual development partners and resulted in only the World Bank remaining in a basket fund supporting the education SWAP. With the negative economic and political condition of the long-lasting conflict, the negotiation capital of the GoSL was not

strong enough to negotiate aid with the World Bank in the SWAP.

Although the SWAP in general under the ESDPF, was ill-coordinated, there have been some efforts for joint collaboration. The GIZ and the Save the Children collaborated in developing curriculums to integrate peace and social cohesion into education. In 2006, a collaborative project for the development of a Civic Education curriculum was initiated by Save the Children, the MOE and the NIE with funds from Norway and UK. The revision of curriculum for the compulsory subject started with the Grade 6 curriculum in 2006 and completed that of Grade 9 in 2009. In-service advisers were trained in the participatory curriculum to reach out school teachers (Save the Children UK, 2010).

## **2. National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions in Late 2000s**

### **2.1. Overview**

As described earlier, the donor coordination under the SWAP for the ESDPF was not smooth so that the maximum result of the integration of peace education was hardly attainable. However, compared to the 1990s when development partners began to link Sri Lankan ethnic conflict with education system, the 2000s saw increased interest on peace education. In the 1990s the main development partners for peace education were the UNESCO and the

UNICEF. Those agencies are mandated to promote broader peace education under UN system. In the 2000s more bilateral development partners were involved with peace education in three directions: (a) working directly in conflict affected areas, (b) capacity building of formal education system (c) strengthening the role of civil society. Among these bilateral development partners the GIZ played the most active role.

Involvement of the GIZ for peace education has been expanded from providing conflict sensitive basic education to Education for Social Cohesion (ESC) in 2005. In 2004, the GIZ funded the research of NEREC whose findings showed that peace education in Sri Lanka has been delivered mainly through extra-curricular activities, and attempts to bring it into the main syllabus have not been sufficiently successful. In particular, the report found that that most teachers believed that value education is the sole responsibility of the teachers who teach religion. With the research findings, integration of peace education into all subjects and teacher education has become more important tasks (S. Perera, 2004).

The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ: German Technical Cooperation) operates as a federally-owned enterprise on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) within the framework of the German Government's development policy guidelines and objectives. Traditionally, GTZ had put emphasis on Technical

Cooperation for contribution towards strengthening the capabilities of people and organizations in partner countries. Since January 1, 2011, GTZ was renamed as Deutsche. Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ: German International Cooperation).

Since the late 1950s, Germany has been one of Sri Lanka's principle bilateral donors. Early German technical assistance focused on vocational training and established the Ceylon German Technical Training Institute, a training institute for automobile mechanics.

Germany has been one of the active OECD DAC members highlighting the role in development cooperation for peacebuilding. In 1997, the German Government declared both German foreign and development policies to be the core domains of policy for peacebuilding (Ropers, 2002) .

With an increased priority for peacebuilding in development cooperation, the primary donors to Sri Lanka and the World Bank supported the government to establish a framework for peacebuilding under the title of the National Framework for Relief, Rehabilitation, Reconciliation (3Rs). The objectives of the 3Rs Framework were to help strengthen Sri Lanka's capacity to: (a) ensure that basic needs of the people affected by conflict are met, (b) rebuild productive lives where feasible, and (c) facilitate reconciliation and partnership across ethnic lines (GoSL, 2002).

With main funding from the Netherland, which was administered by UNDP,

this framework catalyzed dialogue and research among key stakeholders towards peacebuilding in Sri Lanka. Also, a number of sectoral consultations were held including those concerning education, language, and religion. The GoSL (2002) identified following strategies for education as:

- Given the importance of education and language use in fostering respect for cultural identities across ethnic and religious boundaries, the Government should take all deliberate steps to revise as appropriate some of the existing educational practices and to promote the equal use of Sri Lanka's official languages.
- There is an urgent need to create within Sri Lankan society a sense of national identity transcending the present ethnic and religious divisions.  
(p. 10)

Against fast changing international and domestic environment for peacebuilding in development cooperation the German Federal Government adopted an action plan in 2004 entitled *Civil Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peace Consolidation (Zivile Krisenprävention, Konfliktlösung und Friedenskonsolidierung*, which contained an overview and future action points of German institutions in addressing conflicts. The 2004 Action Plan was divided into five sections and consisted of 161 actions to be implemented over a 5 to 10-year period that included rebuilding and safeguarding state structures with an emphasis on democracy and building civil society (media, education,

culture, inter-cultural dialogue). In particular, it proclaimed that Germany will accord greater attention to peace education activities (German Federal Government, 2004).

In 2005, BMZ adopted a Cross-Sectoral Strategy on Crisis Prevention, Conflict Management and Peace-Building and declared Poverty Alleviation and Conflict Transformation (PACT) a major focal area of development cooperation. The Strategy has provided an important shift in Germany's priority for development cooperation not only for policy but in actual practice. According to Walker (2004), this strategy stressed an important linkage between peace promotion and education by noting "the support of education is one of, in the most important requirements for stability and prosperity" (p. 13),

## 2.2. Peacebuilding strategies of the GIZ

Based on Germany's emphasis on peacebuilding in development cooperation, several bilateral discussions between Sri Lanka and Germany resulted in an agreement in May 2001 to adopt Poverty Alleviation and Conflict Transformation (PACT) as a focal area, complementing the economic reforms/market orientation of Sri Lanka and in the long run replacing the focal area of education (Walker, 2004). The first peacebuilding instruments Germany focused is on the capacity building of institutions and civil society. Among many projects, the Sri Lanka Resource Network for Conflict Studies and

Transformation (RNCST) implemented by then GTZ and the NGO Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies in 2001 and Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation (FLICT) in 2003 are particularly noteworthy. This clearly shows Germany's shift from its past focus on vocational training through technical assistance to education in peacebuilding. Observations by one of the GIZs staff interviewed illustrates this shift:

Germany has reduced its ODA projects in late 1990s and only kept projects that supports social cohesion and capacity building of local people for peace. Project elements included empowerment of civil society and local governance. There was a lot of tension between two governments on this matter (Interview G, January 15, 2013).

RNCST offered direct support to negotiations by supporting the institutional structures (Peace Secretariats, various sub-committees, Constitutional Affairs Ministry) and building the capacities of the conflict parties in negotiation techniques and topics (via study tours, foreign expert advice, technical expert input on constitutional drafts etc.) On the other hand, the FLICT supported the establishment of civil society networks, providing peace funds and supporting peace journalism and peace education. Both projects were closely partnered with Ministry of National Languages and Social Integration of Sri Lanka as well as

other international development partners including Australia, Denmark and United Kingdom in the implementation. (Vimalarajah, 2012; Chaminda & Fernando, 2011)

The second instrument was the promotion of language and intercultural exchanges in education. For this purpose, Germany first initiated projects from basic education. Germany's development cooperation in the field of basic education sector in Sri Lanka began in 1986. However, based on the PACT new Basic Education Sector Programme (BESP) was launched in mid-2001 in partnership with the MOE, the provincial MOEs and their Zonal Offices, and the NIE. Although the 2001 program was in continuation of old basic education sector projects to improve teacher training and access to education, it included further components such as development of manuals and teacher training in which conflict prevention, conflict management, human rights and basic child rights were emphasized. In particular, trilingual classroom approach using Sinhalese, Tamil, and English medium has been further developed to reduce conflict via language and by promoting mutual understanding.

Walker (2004) has elaborated upon the main components and contribution of the BESP in peacebuilding: (a) promotion of intercultural communication and understanding, and (b) creating a culture of learning to live together and rehabilitation of North and East province where the physical impacts of conflict were the most severe.

One of the most successful programs, which even gained many media coverage were the National College of Education Exchange Program and Peace Link activities (e.g. " Peace Day at National Institute of Education"). Initiated in 2001, a literary competition on peace education and conflict resolution among colleges from the North and South in which student teachers were encouraged to compose stories, essays, poems and songs in Sinhala, Tamil and English. The competition culminated in a Peace Day on April 30, 2002 and the best compositions were published for distribution. Following the competition, a Peace Link program was been organized, entailing visits among groups of student teachers and teacher educators from colleges of education in the two regions.

### 2.3. From basic education to education for social cohesion

GIZ's approach towards Sri Lanka's peacebuilding through language and cultural exchanges in education sector especially among pre-service and in-service teachers, seemed to be successful at the individual and pre-service teacher group levels. However, programs based on the GIZ's intervention and focus upon contact among different ethnic groups were not able to tackle the political dimension of the conflict to promote solutions for root causes of the Sri Lankan conflict. Walker identified challenges faced by the BESP in two ways: target extension from primary to junior secondary level and integration of

content and approach into national system (Walker, 2004).

The Education for Social Cohesion (ESC) program started in 2005 with five components:

- Peace and Value Education
- Sinhala and Tamil as Second National Languages
- Remedial Education/Education for Disadvantaged Children and Youth
- Psycho-social care/Guidance and Counseling
- Disaster Risk Management/Disaster Safety Education

The overall objective of the program is to enable children, youth, their family and communities to live together peacefully in a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual society. The first phase of the program was from October 2005 to September 2009 and primarily advised the MOE and the NIE to develop new policies, guidelines, curricula, training teacher trainers and teachers in training. The main result of the cooperation was the creation of the National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace in 2008. The second phase between October 2009 to September 2012 was extended to April 2013 to implement the concepts developed and tested in Phase 1 at school level, particularly in 200 pilot schools located in the conflict-affected and poverty-stricken areas (GIZ, 2010).

## 2.4. Donor harmonization and ownership

One of the key points that distinguished the ESC from other previous German projects in Sri Lanka was its changed role from a direct implementation to an advisory role for the GoSL. Also with increased international attention on harmonization, cooperation with other development partners has become a key focus under the ESC.

Previously, Germany and Sri Lanka had annual special government consultations until 2007 and since then Sri Lanka has been regarded as a partner country within the German framework of crisis prevention (Davies, 2011). And the GIZ has a strong field office in conflict affected areas for direct implementation of projects that focus on community development. The GIZ has taken an advisory role approach for Sri Lanka's education development in close cooperation with education authorities such as the MOE and the NIE. The establishment of National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace was the main achievement in this cooperation.

However, the advisory role approach is limited in its impact unless a strong will to embrace change in the partner country exists. In case of Sri Lanka, it is hard to consider that the 2008 National Policy would be integrated into the regular education system because main activities are still highly dependent on the GIZ's supervision as well as financial support.

With the end of the conflict in 2009, Sri Lanka is embarking for its economic and social development. However, it will change the aid profile of Sri Lanka in the near future. With gradual economic expansion, Sri Lanka is moving from a low-income to middle-income economy. Most of the donors are removing Sri Lanka from aid priority list. In development community, post conflict is considered to be critical for six years period. Sri Lanka will end post conflict status in 2015 so the decision will be made in Germany whether projects in Sri Lanka will be continued in 2013 (Interview M, January 17, 2013).

In terms of cooperation with other partners, the coordination was not smooth as expected in the SWAP, mentioned in the previous chapter. Although the GIZ has participated in the discussions of the SWAP, led by the World Bank, it did not participate in the basket funding modality. In case of the ESC, the funds were provided by the German government to the GIZ under bilateral agreements between governments. Instead of the fund going into the treasury and to the national education budget, the GIZ funds are provided directly to the local implementation partners such as the MOE, the NIE and provincial education departments.

For direct funding to local partners two modalities are taken. First, financial agreements are made between the GIZ and the local partner for annual plans so that the implementation can fully be responsible of the local partner in terms of financial and time management. Second, individual funds for each activities are

provided under the ESC in line with the traditional program based approach to cope with new needs and flexible changes. For example, the GIZ launched the 'Disaster Risk Management & Psycho-social Care' project in 2005 under the special tsunami relief funding, which ended in 2008. The disaster risk management component was then integrated into the teacher training for the NCE, under the ESC, to be integrated into the regular education system. Although international development partners were not able to come up with harmonized efforts for Sri Lankan education development, partial cooperation could have been found between the GIZ and the UNICEF. The two organizations entered into a technical partnership for psychosocial training activities in Northern provinces and the UNICEF provided the GIZ financial support of US\$ 0.3 million dollars for their activities in the field (GIZ, 2010; UNICEF Sri Lanka, 2011).

The GIZ whose office is located at NIE's premises has been closely working with the National Colleges of Education under the NIE's supervision for its ESC projects. Although the suggestions of the 2004 GIZ reports were in line with the 2003 NEC report as well as the World Bank supported the ESDFP in 2005, GIZ was not able to integrate the ESC projects into the SWAP framework for basket funding as was previously noted.

In 2007, the MOE with the support of the GIZ established the National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social

Cohesion and Peace. The policy aimed to provide coherence and coordination among various peace education initiatives under seven strategic areas: (a) curriculum; (b) teacher education; (c) second national language; (d) whole school culture; (e) integrated schools; (f) co-curricular activities; and (g) research (MOE, 2008). As seen in the case of the World Bank's SWAP, the work of GIZ also reflected the need for harmonized donor efforts in Sri Lanka in general and in the education sector in particular. However, the impact of the National Policy was also not outstanding as the GIZ was the sole source of funding for this policy. Also conditionality under this National Policy resulting in organizational reform in Sri Lanka MOE has been criticized from both academics and practitioners.

For the successful implementation of the ESC projects, GIZ has requested the MOE establish a unit titled 'Social Cohesion and Peace Education Unit' that did not exist in 2004. Previously, the unit was titled the 'Religious, Value and Peace Education Unit.' Ashford and Biswas (2010) noted that this 'conditional investments' is a reflection of donors addressing their preference of bringing organizational changes.

Aturupane and Wikramanayake (2011) also argued that the unit does not seem to have autonomy of its own activities or the coordination of activities outside its unit. As funding to be used by the unit in the MOE has decreased with the GIZ's project direction changing to further focus on teacher education which is the main work of the NIE not the MOE, the unit no longer found reason for

existence. In 2011, the unit was moved to the Co-curricular Activities, Guidance and Counseling and Peace Education Branch with a new name of ‘Social Integration and Peace Education Unit.’ Furthermore, GIZ is expected to complete the ESC project as Sri Lanka became middle-income country in 2013.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **DISCUSSION**

Sri Lanka is well-known in development policy circles for its success in achieving development goals. The Asia-Pacific regional Millennium Development Goals report for 2011/12 noted that Sri Lanka had already achieved 13 among 22 MDG targets before the year 2015. Since its introducing the free market industry with the World Bank loan in the 1970s, Sri Lanka evolved from a low-income to middle-income country by the 1990s. The first phase of the evaluation of the implementation of the Paris Declaration at the country level in 2008 recognized Sri Lanka's leadership in its development agenda under the adoption of the *Ten Year Horizon-Development Framework*.

On the other hand, Sri Lanka is also well-known as a conflict-affected country. In May of 2009, the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) formally declared an end to the civil war. After nearly thirty years of violent conflict, Sri Lanka is now embarking on a new journey of peacebuilding. However, by international standards Sri Lanka is a fragile state that lacks the ability to develop mutually constructive relations within its society and often has a weak capacity to carry out basic governance functions such as education. In order to strengthen the role of education in peacebuilding peace education was introduced by the GoSL in 1990s under the General Education Reforms 1997. Various donors have supported the GoSL's initiative for peace education since the reforms. Peace

education is inherently linked to a multilevel process, including the international, national, regional, inter-group and interpersonal levels. Also, for peace education to have sustainability, local ownership needs to be fostered throughout the entire process.

The principle of ownership has become a new paradigm since the 1990s with an increased notion of partnership between donor and partner countries to make the impact of aid more effective and sustainable. It challenges the past experiences of the development community that mainly injected foreign programs and resources into developing countries. By aligning development aid towards the national strategies and by sourcing the goods and personnel locally, the ownership principal sees capacity building as a vital aspect of aid effectiveness, particularly for accountability and transparency.

This chapter looked at the development of peace education in Sri Lanka in 1990s and 2000s when ownership has become the global policy agenda for development cooperation. Against the backdrop of the Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness, donors were committed to aligning their activities with government objectives and ensure that ownership and leadership are located within the recipient government. In particular, big donors such as the World Bank and the IMF have introduced new aid modalities to use existing government's systems and budgets. However, the past years have seen that this change led to new challenges: government capacity for actual implementation

and donor harmonization. Big donors' pressure to promote technical and administrative ownership greatly complicated actual service delivery in developing countries. The recipient government and the ministries for each sector, in particular, are pressured to produce policy on time without involving various national voices which will influence successful transformation of the policy into reality. Therefore, ownership of development policy needs to be reexamined not as a precondition that enables the leadership of the recipient country, but as an outcome in the process.

In case of peace education in Sri Lanka, there have been mixed approaches applied by various donors in accordance with changing global development agendas as well as their own political priorities. Integrating peace concepts into the education system was initiated as the nation's own need to overcome long lasting conflict. There is a shared recognition that in the past years, the GoSL has demonstrated rationale around peace education through various education policies. However, whether those policies are genuine to Sri Lanka based on local consultations with various stakeholders, are very questionable. Rather, the development of peace education in formal education has been formulated with fast changing donor environments around peacebuilding and ownership.

At the institutional level, in addition to the establishment of essential sector-wide planning and coordination mechanisms, there has been significant progress in the development of key policy frameworks to support peace education in Sri

Lanka. Despite these positive developments, much work remains for both the GoSL and donors to further enhance the ownership of the process as well as the contents of peace education. There are three points to be discussed in relation to ownership in case of Sri Lanka

## **1. Towards Aligned Policy and Implementation**

First of all, the national policy and framework on peace education require further refinement if they are to be used as a single, common strategic framework to which all donor-supported and government-led activities adhere. For the maximum effect, there should be a reintroduction of the term ‘peace education’ so that politicized peace for nation building or any other bias can be terminated. The current National Policy and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace developed in 2008 contains many priorities but they are not fully functioning as a practical planning guideline. Also, other action plans such as child friendly approach by the UNICEF, sustainable development and peace education by the UNESCO that were introduced afterwards are competing each other in the concepts and strategies. One of the biggest problems of the current policy for peace education in Sri Lanka is that the main purpose of policy is to set groundwork for the coordination of individual lead agencies for their priority concept: social

cohesion for the GIZ, child-friendly for the UNICEF, sustainable development for the UNESCO. While most donor activities claim to be aligned with Sri Lanka's education reform and national policy framework for education, the links between individual projects tend to be weak as still individual donors seek their own priority. Thus, the sum of the interventions does not necessarily produce synergetic impacts on the overall goals of peace education in Sri Lanka as first described in the General Education Reform of 1997.

## **2. Capacity Building at All Levels**

There is a common concern that capacity development initiatives supported by donors are fragmented and uncoordinated. With regard to the construction of peace in the minds of men, teachers are critical actors, as “the success of peace education is more dependent on the views, motivations, and abilities of teachers than traditional subjects are” (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). In particular the UNESCO notes that “In Sri Lanka, an evaluation of the peace education practices that have been integrated into the formal curriculum reveals that although through peace education framework, non-violent attitudes and skills are taught on a more regular basis, the success of this is dependent on the attitudes and skills of teachers” (Nicolai, 2009, p. 210). Recognizing the importance of the capacity building of teachers in peace-building process, the GoSL and donors

focused on training of teachers for peace from the start of peace education in the country.

However, capacity development activities for teachers tend to be organized on an ad hoc basis only in the context of particular projects when different donors bring different labels for peace education. There is still a great dependence on external resources for the capacity development of teachers, as research conducted by the GIZ noted that teachers were exposed to training related to peace but did not had the concept (Davies & Balasooriya, 2007).

In fact, the situation for the capacity building of teachers are in much better condition compared to other necessary trainings for national stakeholders including language instructors, textbook publishers, illustrators and provincial officers. As education has served as a cause of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, the solution should be sought in multi-dimensional and multi-level approach.

In practice, the national and international priorities for capacity building in the field of peace education mainly highlights teacher education. There have been limited initiatives by donors to build capacities of stakeholders for curriculum and textbooks so that the education system no longer manipulates the history of conflict. While numerous investments were made in capacity building activities, a lack of systematic monitoring made it difficult to assess the effectiveness of such investments on the achievement of education development for peacebuilding. Without an overall capacity development strategy, it is

difficult for Sri Lanka to tackle the root causes of conflict that will prevent sustainable peace.

### **3. Donor Coordination and Monitoring**

In terms of alignment with national systems and procedures, much work remains in the education sector as a whole and peace education in particular. Not only the character and behavior of the partner country hinder ownership and alignment, donors are also responsible for some of the obstacles to ownership and alignment. In terms of planning and monitoring processes, most of donor funded programs use parallel systems rather than aligning with the government's regular mechanisms. While there are annual sector reviews, almost all of donors still require performance reviews and reports exclusively for their programs. Each program prepares a separate work plan using different formats, time schedules, and procedures.

As argued before, the SWAP has been considered to be a new modality and approach for increasing aid effectiveness through cooperation. The SWAPs are designed to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of aid by integrating and coordinating the multiple donor projects into an umbrella initiative that utilizes government capacity to reduce the redundancies commonly found in programme-based approaches. Buchert (2002) argued that principle elements for

successful SWAP as: (a) the programme has to be sector-wide in scope (sector being defined as a coherent set of activities), (b) it has to have a coherent sector policy framework, (c) local stakeholders have to be in the driver's seat, (d) all donors must sign on to the programme, (e) common implementation arrangements must be developed, and (f) minimal long-term financial technical assistance must be ensured.

For this commitment and common understanding Ashford (2009) suggested negotiation process a central concept in structuring this cooperation. Creating a negotiation architecture is the key to laying the foundation for multiparty cooperation and organizational coordination. As is claimed by Achford and echoed by other actors involved in donor coordination process, Sri Lanka did not have enough negotiation when the education SWAP began to develop in 2003. Although there was some general informal consensus over the long-term policy document for education development, the operational decisions about harmonizing planning, financial, management, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms still required a great deal of negotiation.

Donors' own priorities, interests and agendas strongly affect alignment. This has been underlined by both government officials and donor agency representatives. In fact, in case of Sri Lanka it was hard to even observe the general consensus of the content of the policy document so that moving towards cooperation in implementation and monitoring seemed to be almost unreachable

goals. There has been criticism from other donors regarding the World Bank's lack of human resource and expertise in providing enough consultations and guidance to make the SWAP Sri Lanka driven modality. The new partnership agenda has led to an overemphasis on supporting national structure, but infrequent attention was given to what the partner country can do. Donors attempting to address this imbalance could be criticized as operating outside of agreed agendas. For some donors who still prefer tailored intervention, the SWAP is an approach other donors will utilize. Before finding who was wrong in not keeping of not understanding the principles of the SWAP, whether a need for the SWAP in Sri Lanka or their preparedness need to be further looked into. The introduction of the SWAP was partial success for donor coordination and country ownership. Modalities were introduced as policy document and changed management systems in partner countries but the countries lacked full capacity to make it their own. The failure of Sri Lanka's SWAP needs to be examined in light of how new global development agenda and approaches are introduced into without careful preparation and need analysis of the partner country. Donors and the GoSL were there to drive the car called the SWAP but did not have a key or fuel to run the car.

In terms of the harmonization of aid modalities, progress remains slow. And in terms of the donor coordination, the GoSL did not show effective leadership.

#### **4. Country diversity and ownership**

Education in fragile states is often manipulated for political purpose and the development community has noted its impact (Aturupane & Wikramanayake, 2011; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Nicolai, 2009). In case of Sri Lanka, education has been highly valued but also has been one of the reasons for the ethnic conflict. Further commitment and systematic collaboration to integrate peace education into education system has been found in many education policy documents. However, in reality, peace education in Sri Lanka has not been reached to all stakeholders and has not included voices of different perspectives.

Government-led peace education has been often associated with political needs of newly elected governments. Educators or institutes involved in the implementation of peace education also had limitations in promoting the local ownership due to insufficient human and financial resources. At the same time, the dominant Sinhalese culture was ignorant of the problems of textbooks, curriculum and language issues that have been reinforcing the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

Donor-led peace education has been often fragmented and project-based under different labels. Whilst some donors were pro-active in attaching political or conflict related conditions to their assistance, the big donors kept their aid practices as it had been regardless of the conflict. Also, with the emergence of

new donors such as China, the GoSL did not get much pressure to use aid for peaceful development. Therefore, donors' efforts to promote the role of education for peacebuilding had focused more on the education delivery which had been the priority of the big donors. Although some donors joined together to bring innovations for school textbook and curriculum, the impact was not strong enough to bring effective changes in Sri Lanka.

Now Sri Lanka has turned to a middle income country and most of the aid will be phased out in following years. Aid to Sri Lanka had been expanded in recent years not because of Sri Lanka's weak economic progress but due to prolonged conflict and tsunami.

In discussing aid effectiveness, it is important to recognize country diversity. There is a spectrum of partner countries, facing different development priorities. The current discussions on partnership and ownership are primarily driven by the development experiences with highly aid-dependent, low-income countries. Therefore, there is a need to broaden the perspectives of the ongoing discussions and establish an analytical framework which can sufficiently accommodate country diversity. In order for aid to be more effective, features in relations to a specific country's circumstances needs to be thoroughly taken account. In case of Sri Lanka, it is time to look into how aid in education had superficially tackled the root causes of conflict and to mobilize common support to peace education so that the real transformation from conflict-affected country to post-conflict

country can bring sustainable development to Sri Lanka.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

The principle of ownership has become a new paradigm since the 1990s, with increased notions of partnership between donor and recipient countries to increase aid effectiveness. It challenges the past experiences of the development community that mainly injected foreign programs and resources into developing countries.

By aligning development aid towards the national strategies and sourcing goods and personnel locally, the ownership principle has become a vital aspect of aid effectiveness in ensuring accountability and transparency. While global consensus was made in the 2005 Paris Declaration to acknowledge the term ‘ownership’ of recipient country’s control over development agendas and implementation, the term is still a buzzword.

According to Whitfield and Fraser (2010), ownership is an end, rather than a means where recipient countries are able to exercise control over external influence, particularly in aid negotiations. Ownership is a control of the recipient over the process and outcome of aid negotiations from planning to implementation. Economic, ideological, political, and institutional conditions influence negotiating capital which will make strong or weak ownership.

Sri Lanka is a country that has shifted from low-income to middle-income and from a conflict-affected to post-conflict country. Sri Lanka is a fragile state

that has limited capacity and/or political will to provide basic services, such as health care and education to the population. Therefore, special attention must be given to differing country situations in promoting ownership through aid for fragile states.

One important feature of peace education in Sri Lanka is that its development was highly related to the evolution of development cooperation in partnership and ownership. This evolution can be characterized into three phases in accordance with major policy developments regarding peace education.

The first phase, in the 1990s, was an educational response to social and cultural issues in the context of Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. Social need to include peace concepts in the education system have moved the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) to undertake the General Education Reforms of 1997. Economic and ideological conditions of Sri Lanka have attracted donor funds for the reform. However, weak institutional and complex political conditions challenged its successful implementation. In particular, the reforms failed to tackle the root causes of conflict in Sri Lanka, although peace education played a great role.

The second phase started with the World Bank's introduction of the SWAP in the early 2000s via the Education Sector Development Framework and Programme. Expected donor harmonization was not sufficient, to somewhat extent non-existent resulting in GoSL's increased dependency to big donors, the World Bank and ADB.

The third phase was marked by the establishment of national policies and actions under separate themes in the late 2000s. Education for Social Cohesion and Peace was chosen by the GIZ in 2008 and Peace and Sustainable Development was chosen by the UNESCO in 2012. Donor harmonization at sector level did not improve but these theme-focused national policies enabled some joint program collaborations among donors.

The past twenty years of education policy development in Sri Lanka highlighted peace education. Peace had been promoted by textbooks and curriculum revision, teacher training, extra-curricular activities, and integration of the concept into policy. At the institutional level, there has been significant progress in the development of key policy frameworks to support peace education in Sri Lanka. Despite these positive developments, much work remains for both the GoSL and donors to further enhance the ownership of the process as well as the contents of peace education.



## REFERENCE

- Abeyratne, S. (2004). Economic roots of political conflict: The case of Sri Lanka. *The World Economy*, 27(8), 1295-1314.
- Asanova, J. (2006). Emerging regions, persisting rhetoric of educational aid: The impact of the asian development bank on educational policy making in kazakhstan. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26(6), 655-666.
- Ashford, R. (2009). Negotiating donor participation in the Sri Lankan educational sector. *Comparative Education Review*, 53(3), 355-378.
- Ashford, R., & Biswas, S. (2010). Aid effectiveness, transaction costs and conditionality in the education sector. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 30(5), 481-487.
- Aturupane, H., & Wikramanayake, D. (2011). *The promotion of social cohesion through education in Sri Lanka*. (Discussion Paper Series Report No. 46). Washington D.C.: World Bank Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2011/09/15556498/promotion-social-cohesion-through-education-sri-lanka>.
- Balasooriya, A.S. (2007). Insights into peace education: A teacher's experience in Sri Lanka. Retrieved May 20, 2013, from <http://asbalasooriyaoneducation.blogspot.com/search/label/Peace%20Education%20-%20A%20Teacher%27s%20Experience>
- Bannon, I. (2006). Social analysis in the design of world bank education projects. In E. Roberts-Schweitzer, C. Greaney & K. Duer (Eds.), *Promoting social cohesion through education: Case studies and tools for using textbooks and curricula* (pp. 1-16). Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2002). The elusive nature of peace education. *Peace education: The concept, principles, and practices around the world*, 27-36.
- Bar-Tal, D., & Bennink, G.H. (2004). The nature of reconciliation as an outcome and as a process. *From conflict resolution to reconciliation*, 11-38.
- Bastian, S. (2011). Politics of market reforms and the unf-led negotiations. In J. Goodhand, J. Spencer & B. Korf (Eds.), *Conflict and peacebuilding in Sri Lanka: Caught in the peace trap?* (pp. 132-149). New Yoek: Routledge
- Bauer, P. (1976). *Dissent on development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bhatta, P. (2011). Aid agency influence in national education policy-making: A case from nepal's 'education for all' movement. *Globalisation, Societies & Education*, 9(1), 11-26.
- Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological methods & research*, 10(2), 141-163.
- Brannelly, L., Ndaruhutse, S., & Rigaud, C. (2009). *Donors' engagement:*

- Supporting education in fragile and conflict-affected states.* Paris and Reading, UK: International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and CfBT Education Trust.
- Buchert, L. (2002). Towards new partnerships in sector-wide approaches: Comparative experiences from burkina faso, ghana and mozambique. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 22(1), 69-84.
- Buckland, P. (2005). *Reshaping the future: Education and postconflict reconstruction.* Washington D.C.: World Bank Publications.
- Burns, R.J., & Aspeslagh, R. (1996). *Three decades of peace education around the world: An anthology* (Vol. 600). New York: Routledge.
- Burnside, C., & Dollar, D. (1997). Aid, policies, and growth *World Bank policy research working paper.* Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Burnside, C., & Dollar, D. (2004). *Aid, policies, and growth: Revisiting the evidence.* (World Bank Policy Research Paper). Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Bush, K.D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict towards a peace-building education for children.* Florence: Innocenti Research Centre, UNICEF.
- Chung, B.M. (2010). *Development and education : A critical appraisal of the Korean case.* Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- Colclough, C., & De, A. (2010). The impact of aid on education policy in india. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 30(5), 497-507.
- Colenso, P. (2005). Education and social cohesion: Developing a framework for education sector reform in Sri Lanka. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 35(4), 411-428.
- Collier, P., & Dollar, D. (2002). Aid allocation and poverty reduction. *European Economic Review*, 46(8), 1475-1500.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Aid, policy and growth in post-conflict societies. *European Economic Review*, 48(5), 1125-1145.
- Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2 ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dalgaard, C.-J., Hansen, H., & Tarp, F. (2004). On the empirics of foreign aid and growth. *The Economic Journal*, 114(496), 191-216.
- Davies, L. (2004). *Education and conflict: Complexity and chaos:* Routledge.
- Davies, L. (2005). Schools and war: Urgent agendas for comparative and international education. *Compare*, 35(4), 357-371.
- Davies, L. (2011). *Promoting education in countries affected by fragility and/or conflict: Sri Lanka Case Study.* Colombo: GIZ.
- Davies, L., & Balasooriya, A.S. (2007). Situation analysis of stakeholders related to ESCP. Colombo: GIZ.
- De Silva, E.J. (2003). *Sixty years of education policy-making.* Colombo: Sri Lanka: Association for the Advancement of Science.

- Department of Census and Statistics. (2011). *Brief analysis of population and housing characteristics: Population and housing censuses in Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka. Retrieved May 20, 2013 <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/PDF/p7%20population%20and%20Housing%20Text-11-12-06.pdf>.
- DeVotta, L.N. (2001). *From linguistic nationalism to ethnic conflict: Sri Lanka in comparative perspective*. (Doctoral Dissertation), University of Texas at Austin.
- Dietrich, S. (2013). *Donor political economies and foreign aid delivery*. St. Louis: Department of Political Science, University of Missouri.
- Doucouliafos, H., & Paldam, M. (2009). The aid effectiveness literature: The sad results of 40 years of research. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 23(3), 433-461.
- Drazen, A. (2002). *Conditionality and ownership in IMF lending: A political economy approach*. (IMF Staff Papers, 49 Special Issue). Washington D.C.: IMF
- Durham, D., & Kelegama, S. (1995). *Stabilization and liberalization: A closer look at the Sri Lankan experience 1977-93*. Colombo: Institute of Policy Studies, Sri Lanka.
- Easterly, W. (2001). *The elusive quest for growth: Economists adventures and misadventure in the tropics*. Cambridge: The MIT press.
- Easterly, W. (2006). *The white man's burden: Why the west's efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Eilor, J. (2004). *Education and the sector-wide approach in Uganda*. Paris: IIEP.
- Führer, H. (1996). *The story of official development assistance: A history of the development assistance committee and the development co-operation directorate in dates, names and figures*. Paris: OECD.
- Fountain, S. (1999). *Peace education in UNICEF*. New York: UNICEF.
- Fountain, S. (1999). Peace education in unicef. *New York*, 27.
- Galtung, J. (1976). Three approaches to peace: Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. *Peace, War, and Defence—Essays in Peace Research*, 2, 282-304.
- German Federal Government. (2004). *Action plan "civilian crisis prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict peace-building"*. Berlin, Germany: German Federal Government Retrieved May 20, 2013 from <http://www.konfliktbearbeitung.net/downloads/file711.pdf>.
- Ginige, I.L. (2002). Education research for policy and practice: Secondary education reforms in Sri Lanka. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 1(1-2), 65-77.
- GIZ. (2010). *Interim evaluation 2010 education for social cohesion, Sri Lanka*. Potsdam: GIZ.
- Goodhand, J., & Klem, B. (2005). *Aid, conflict, and peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*

- 2000-2005. Colombo: Asia Foundation.
- Goodhand, J., & Walton, O. (2009). The limits of liberal peacebuilding? International engagement in the Sri Lankan peace process. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 3(3), 303-323.
- GoSL. (2002). *National framework for relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation*. Colombo: Government of Sri Lanka,.
- Gunawardane, C., Wijetunge, S., & Perera, L. (2004). Evaluation of the effectiveness of the implementation of educational reforms at secondary level (grades 6-11). Colombo: National Education Commission.
- Hansen, H., & Tarp, F. (2000). Policy arena aid effectiveness disputed. *Journal of International Development*, 12(3), 375-398.
- Harber, C. (2004). *Schooling as violence: How schools harm pupils and societies*. New York: Routledge.
- Harris, I. (2002). *Conceptual underpinnings of peace education*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Harris, S., & Lewer, N. (2002) Operationalising peacebuilding and conflict reduction. Case study: Oxfam in Sri Lanka. *Working Paper 11, Centre for Conflict Resolution* (pp. 10-19) Yorkshire: University of Bradford.
- Harris, S., & Lewer, N. (2005). Post-graduate peace education in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Peace Education*, 2(2), 109-124.
- Hayes, D. (2010). Duty and service: Life and career of a tamil teacher of english in Sri Lanka. *TESOL Quarterly*, 44(1), 58-83.
- Herath, A. (1995). A critical evaluation of the education for conflict resolution project: A synopsis of the evaluation report. Colombo: UNICEF.
- Heyneman, S.P. (2003). Education, social cohesion, and the future role of international organizations. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 78(3), 25-38.
- Higgins, L., & Rwanyange, R. (2005). Ownership in the education reform process in Uganda. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 35(1), 7-26.
- IMF. (2003). *Sri lanka: Joint staff assessment of the poverty reduction strategy paper* (IMF Country Report). Washington D.C.: IMF.
- INNE. (2010). Guidance notes on teaching and learning. New York: INEE.
- Jayaweera, S., & Gunawardena, C. (2007). Social inclusion: Gender and equity in education SWAPs in south asia - Sri Lanka case study. Nepal: UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia.
- Kagawa, F. (2005). Emergency education: A critical review of the field. *Comparative Education*, 41(4), 487-503.
- Karpinska, Z., Yarrow, R., & Gough, L. (2007). Education and instability: Avoiding the policy-practice gap in an emerging field. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 2(3), 242-251.
- Kelegama, S., & Mel, D.d. (2007). Country study on Sri Lanka *Project report for Southern Perspectives on Reform of the International Development*

- Architecture*. Colombo: North-South Institute.
- Klees, S.J. (2001). World Bank development policy: A SAP in SWAPs clothing. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 3(2), 1-11.
- Lederach, J.P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press.
- Lensink, R., & White, H. (2000). Aid allocation, poverty reduction and the assessing aid report. *Journal of International Development*, 12(3), 399-412.
- Lensink, R., & White, H. (2001). Are there negative returns to aid? *Journal of development Studies*, 37(6), 42-65.
- Levy, V. (1988). Aid and growth in sub-saharan Africa: The recent experience. *European Economic Review*, 32(9), 1777-1795.
- Lewin, K., & Little, A. (1984). Examination reform and educational change in Sri Lanka, 1972-1982: Modernisation or dependent underdevelopment? In K. M. Watson (Ed.), *Dependence and interdependence in education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Little, A. (2008) EFA politics, policies and progress. *CREATE pathways to access series*. London: CREATE.
- Little, A. (2010). The politics, policies and progress of basic education in Sri Lanka. *Create Pathway to Access Research Monograph*, 38.
- Little, A. (2011). Education policy reform in Sri Lanka: The double-edged sword of political will. *Journal of Education Policy*, 26(4), 499-512.
- Little, A. (Ed.). (2000). *Primary education reform in Sri Lanka*. Isurupaya: Ministry of Education and Higher Education Publications Department
- Lopes Cardozo, M.T.A. (2008). Sri lanka: In peace or in pieces? A critical approach to peace education in Sri Lanka. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 3(1), 19-35.
- Lopes Cardozo, M.T.A., & May, A. (2009). Teaching for peace - overcoming division? Peace education in reconciliation processes in Sri Lanka and Uganda. In S. Nicolai (Ed.), *Opportunities for change: Education innovation and reform during and after conflict*. Paris: UNESCO IIEP.
- Mampilly, Z.C. (2007). *Stationary bandits: Understanding rebel governance*. (Doctoral Dissertation), University of California Los Angeles.
- Martini, J., Mongo, R., Kalambay, H., Fromont, A., Ribesse, N., & Dujardin, B. (2012). Aid effectiveness from rome to busan: Some progress but lacking bottom-up approaches or behaviour changes. *Tropical Medicine & International Health*, 17(7), 931-933.
- Matthews, B. (1995). University education in Sri Lanka in context: Consequences of deteriorating standards. *Pacific Affairs*, 68(1), 77-94.
- Mayo, D. (2009). *Dead aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Mccormick, A. (2012). Whose education policies in aid-receiving countries? A

- critical discourse analysis of quality and normative transfer through cambodia and laos. *Comparative Education Review*, 56(1), 18-47.
- McGillivray, M. (2003). Aid effectiveness and selectivity: Integrating multiple objectives into aid allocations *WIDER Discussion Papers*. Tokyo: World Institute for Development Economics (UNU-WIDER).
- McGillivray, M., Feeny, S., Hermes, N., & Lensink, R. (2006). Controversies over the impact of development aid: It works; it doesn't; it can, but that depends.... *Journal of International Development*, 18(7), 1031-1050.
- McGlynn, C., & Bekerman, Z. (2009). *Peace education in conflict and post-conflict societies: Comparative perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McNeely, C.L. (1995). *Constructing the nation-state: International organization and prescriptive action*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Menocal, A.R. (2011). *Worth the risk? Smarter aid to promote country ownership*. London: Overseas Development Institute
- Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education. Revised and expanded from " case study research in education."*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Miller-Grandvaux, Y. (2009). Education and fragility: A new framework. *Journal of Education for International Development*, 4(1), 1-14.
- Ministry of Finance and Planning. (2009). *Foreign aid review 2007-2008-2009*. Colombo: Ministry of Finance and Planning,.
- MOE. (2005). *Education for economic development and prosperity*. Battaramulla, Sri Lanka: Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka.
- MOE. (2006). *Education sector development framework and programme*. Battaramulla: MOE
- MOE. (2008). *National policy and a comprehensive framework of actions on education for social cohesion and peace*. Battaramulla: MOE.
- Mosley, P. (1980). Aid, savings and growth revisited. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 42(2), 79-95.
- Mosley, P. (1987). *Overseas aid: Its defence and reform* (Vol. 1) Brighton: Wheatsheaf Brighton.
- Mosselson, J., Wheaton, W., & Frisoli, P.S.J. (2009). Education and fragility: A synthesis of the literature. *Journal of Education for International Development*, 4(1), 1-17.
- MPI. (2008). *Evaluation of the implementation of the paris declaration case study country level evaluations: Sri lanka*. Colombo: Ministry of Plan Implementation.
- NEC. (1992). *First report of the national education commission*. Colombo: NEC.
- NEC. (2003). *Envisioning education for human development: Proposals for a national policy framework on general education in Sri Lanka*. Colombo: NEC.

- Nelson, J.M. (1996). Promoting policy reforms: The twilight of conditionality? *World Development*, 24(9), 1551-1559.
- Nicolai, S. (Ed.). (2009). *Opportunities for change: Education innovation and reform during and after conflict*. Paris: UNESCO IIEP.
- Novelli, M., & Lopes Cardozo, M.T. (2008). Conflict, education and the global south: New critical directions. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 28(4), 473-488.
- O' Malley, B. (2007). Education under attack. Paris: UNESCO.
- Odell, J.S. (2001). Case study methods in international political economy. *International Studies Perspectives*, 2(2), 161-176.
- OECD. (2003). Rome declaration on harmonisation. Rome: OECD.
- OECD. (2005a). Harmonisation, alignment, results: Progress report on aid effectiveness. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2005b). The paris declaration on aid effectiveness. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2006). Applying strategic environmental assessment: Good practice guidance for development co-operation *DAC Guidelines and Reference Series*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2007). Principles for good international engagement in fragile states and situations Paris: OECD.
- OECD DAC. (1996). Shaping the 21st century: The contribution of development cooperation. Paris: OECD.
- OECD DAC. (2003). Harmonising donor practices for effective aid delivery *DAC Guidelines and Reference Series*. Paris: OECD.
- Ofstad, A. (2002). Countries in violent conflict and aid strategies: The case of Sri Lanka. *World Development*, 30(2), 165-180.
- Oulai, D., & Costa, I.d. (Eds.). (2009). *Education budgeting in bangladesh, nepal and Sri Lanka: Resource management for prioritization and control*. Paris: UNESCO IIEP.
- Paris, R. (2004). *At war's end: Building peace after civil conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patrinos, H.A., & Psacharopoulos, G. (2011). Education: Past, present and future global challenges *Policy Research Working Paper* Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Peiris, K. (2004). And that made all the difference: Innovation and reform to improve quality of education in Sri Lanka *Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005, The Quality Imperative*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Perera, L., Wijetunge, S., & Balasooriya, A. (2004). Education reform and political violence in Sri Lanka. In S. Tawil & A. Harley (Eds.), *Education, conflict and social cohesion* (pp. 375-414). Paris: UNESCO International Bureau of Education.
- Perera, S. (1999). *The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: A historical and sociopolitical*

- outline*. Colombo: Department of Sociology, the University of Colombo.
- Perera, S. (2004). Sri lankan education system as a reflection of society's ruptures: A conceptual and theoretical exploration. Colombo: NEC.
- Pigozzi, M.J. (1999). Education in emergencies and for reconstruction: A developmental approach. New York: UNICEF.
- Presidential Commission of Youth. (1990). The report of the presidential commission of youth. Colombo: Presidential Commission of Youth.
- Radelet, S., Clemens, M., & Bhavnani, R. (2006). Aid and growth: The current debate and some new evidence. In P. Isard, L. Lipschitz, A. Mourmouras & B. Yontcheva (Eds.), *The macroeconomic management of foreign aid: Opportunities and pitfalls* (pp. 43-60). Washington, D.C.: IMF.
- Rajan, R.G., & Subramanian, A. (2008). Aid and growth: What does the cross-country evidence really show? *The Review of economics and Statistics*, 90(4), 643-665.
- Rasanayagam, Y., & Palaniappan, V. (1999). *Education and social cohesion analysis of potential ethno-cultural and religious bias in the school textbooks of history and social studies for years 7, 8, 10 and 11*. University of Colombo. Colombo.
- Riddell, A. (2007). *Education sector-wide approaches (SWAPs)–background, guide and lessons*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Riddell, A. (1999). Evaluations of educational reform programmes in developing countries: Whose life is it anyway? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(6), 383-394.
- Roberts-Schweitzer, E., Greaney, C., & Duer, K. (Eds.). (2006). *Promoting social cohesion through education: Case studies and tools for using textbooks and curricula*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Ropers, N. (2002). Peace-building, crisis prevention and conflict management: Technical cooperation in the context of crises, conflicts and disasters. Eschborn, Germany: GTZ.
- Royal Government of Cambodia (2007). *The Cambodia aid effectiveness report 2007*. Phnompenh: Cambodia.
- Säfström, C.A., Balasooriya, A.S., Masilamani, S., & Parakrama, A. (2001). *Education and intercultural democracy report on current efforts to facilitate democratic and pluralist values through primary and secondary education in Sri Lanka*. Stockholm: SIDA.
- Sørensen, B.R. (2008). The politics of citizenship and difference in Sri Lankan schools. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 39(4), 423-443.
- Sachs, J., McArthur, J.W., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kruk, M., Bahadur, C., Faye, M., & McCord, G. (2004). Ending Africa's poverty trap. *Brookings papers on economic activity*, 2004(1), 117-240.
- Salmi, J. (2000). Violence, democracy and education: An analytical framework *Human Development Department LCSHD Paper Series*. Washington

D.C.: World Bank.

- Salomon, G. (2002). The nature of peace education: Not all programs are equal. In G. Salomon & B. Nevo (Eds.), *Peace education: The concept, principles, and practices around the world* (pp. 3-14). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Salomon, G. (2004). Does peace education make a difference in the context of an intractable conflict? *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology; Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10(3), 257.
- Salomon, G., & Kupermintz, H. (2002). *The evaluation of peace education programs: Main considerations and criteria*. Israel: Center for Research on Peace Education, University of Haifa.
- Salomon, G., & Nevo, B. (2002). *Peace education: The concept, principles, and practices around the world*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Samaranayake, G. (1997). Political violence in Sri Lanka: A diagnostic approach. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9(2), 99-119.
- Samoff, J. (1996). Which priorities and strategies for education? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 16(3), 249-271.
- Samoff, J. (1999). Education sector analysis in Africa: Limited national control and even less national ownership. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(4), 249-272.
- Samoff, J. (2004). From funding projects to supporting sectors? Observation on the aid relationship in Burkina Faso. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 24(4), 397-427.
- Sandarathna, N. (2000). *Economic growth and social transformations: Five lectures on Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Tamarid Publications (Pvt.) Ltd.
- Save the Children. (2010). *Peace by piece: Mainstreaming peace education in South Asia*. Colombo: Regional Office for South and Central Asia, Save the Children Sweden.
- Save the Children UK. (2010). *Case studies on the role of politicisation of education in conflict-affected countries* Paper presented at the Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education, Paris, France.
- Schmitz, A. (2006). Conditionality in development aid policy *SWP Research Paper*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft and Politik (SWP).
- Seitz, K. (2004). *Education and conflict: The role of education in the creation, prevention and resolution of societal crises - consequences for development cooperation*. Frankfurt: GTZ.
- Sewell, J.W. (1998). *The changing definition of development and development cooperation*. Paper presented at the USAID's Conference on "Making a World of Difference: Celebrating Thirty Years of Development Progress", Washington, D.C.
- Shiotani, A.K. (2010). Aid, development, and education. *Current Issues in*

- Comparative Education*, 13(1), 3-7.
- Sibbons, M. (2004). The delivery of education services in difficult circumstances: The case of Sri Lanka 2004 DFID report on Service Delivery in Difficult Environments (Vol. Case Study 5). London: DFID.
- SIDA. (2003). Sri lanka SIDA country report 2003. Copenhagen: SIDA
- SIDA. (2006). Sri lanka SIDA country report 2006. Copenhagen: SIDA
- SIDA. (2007). Sri lanka SIDA country report 2007. Copenhagen: SIDA
- Sinclair, M. (2004). *Learning to live together: Building skills, values and attitudes for the twenty-first century* Paris: UNESCO.
- Sjostedt, m. (2013). Aid effectiveness and the paris declaration: A mismatch between ownership and results-based management? *Public administration and development*, 33, 143-155.
- Smith, A. (2005). Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation. *Compare*, 35(4), 373-391.
- Smith, A., & Vaux, T. (2003). *Education, conflict, and international development*. London: DFID.
- Smith, H. (2005). Ownership and capacity: Do current donor approaches help or hinder the achievement of international and national targets for education? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 25(4), 445-455.
- Sommers, M. (2002). Children, education and war: Reaching education for all (EFA) objectives in countries affected by conflict. (Conflict prevention and reconstruction unit working paper). New York: UNICEF
- Spink, J. (2005). Education and politics in afghanistan: The importance of an education system in peacebuilding and reconstruction. *Journal of Peace Education*, 2(2), 195-207.
- Stolk, B. (2006). *A research on aid effectiveness: Donor performance on coordination and harmonisation in Sri Lanka*. (MA), University of Nijmegen, Netherlands.
- Tatto, M.T. (1995). Social and political context of policy formation in teacher education in Sri Lanka. In M. Ginsburg (Ed.), *The political dimension in teacher education: Comparative perspectives on policy formation, socialization, and society* (Vol. 5). New York: Routledge.
- Tatto, M.T., Nielsen, H.D., Cummings, W., Kularatna, N., & Dharmadasa, K. (1993). Comparing the effectiveness and costs of different approaches for educating primary school teachers in Sri Lanka. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 9(1), 41-64.
- Tawil, S., & Harley, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Education, conflict and social cohesion*. Paris: UNESCO IBE.
- The Consultative Group on ECCD. (1999). Early childhood counts: Programming resources for early childhood care and development. Washington D.C: World Bank.
- Tomlinson, K., & Benefield, P. (2005). *Education and conflict: Research and*

- research possibilities*. Slough, United Kingdom: National Foundation for Educational Research Slough.
- UNDP. (1994). *Aid management in Sri Lanka: The role of undp*. New York: UNDP.
- UNESCO. (2000). *Thematic study on education in situation of emergency and crisis: Assessment EFA 2000*. Paris: Emergency Education Assistance Unit, UNESCO.
- UNESCC IBE. (2011). *World data on education 2010/11*. Geneva: UNESCO IBE
- UNICEF. (1996). *The state of the world's children 1996*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNICEF. (2011a). *The role of education in peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from lebanon, nepal and sierra leone*. New York: UNICEF.
- UNICEF. (2011b). *The role of education in peacebuilding: Literature review*. New York: UNICEF.
- UNICEF Sri Lanka. (1996). *Education for conflict resolution project: Final progress report to the U.K. Committee for UNICEF*. Colombo: Ministry of Education and Higher Education.
- UNICEF Sri Lanka. (2011). *Education in emergencies and post-crisis transition: 2010 report evaluation*. Colombo: UNICEF: Sri Lanka
- United Nations. (2002). *Monterrey consensus on financing for development*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, Mexico.
- Uvin, P. (1999). *The influence of aid in situations of violent conflict*. Paris: OECD.
- van Wessel, M., & van Hirtum, R. (2013). Schools as tactical targets in conflict: What the case of nepal can teach us. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(1), 1-21.
- Walker, J. (2004). *Crisis prevention, conflict resolution and peace promotion through education: The experience of the basic education sector program in Sri Lanka* Eschborn, Germany: GTZ.
- White, H. (1992). What do we know about aid's macroeconomic impact? An overview of the aid effectiveness debate. *Journal of International Development*, 4(2), 121-137.
- Whitfield, L., & Fraser, A. (2010). Negotiating aid: The structural conditions shaping the negotiating strategies of African governments. *International Negotiation*, 15(3), 341-366.
- Wickrema, A., & Colenso, P. (2007). *Respect for diversity in educational publication—the Sri Lankan experience*. Retrieved May 20, 2013, from [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Paper\\_Final.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1126807073059/Paper_Final.pdf)
- Wolf, A. (2002). *Does education matter? Myths about education and economic*

- growth. *Perspectives*, 6(4), 115.
- Wood, B., Kabell, D., Muwanga, N., & Sagasti, F. (2008). Synthesis report on the first phase of the evaluation of the implementation of the paris declaration. Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark.
- World Bank. (1998). Sri lanka social services: A review of recent trends and issues. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank. (2000). Sri lanka recapturing missed opportunities. Washingto D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank. (2005a). Project appraisal document for an education sector development project. Washingto D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank. (2005b). Review of world bank conditionality. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank. (2006). Implimentation completion report: Sri lanka second general education project. Washington D.C: World Bank.
- World Bank. (2011). Implementation completion and results report: Sri lanka education sector development project. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank Human Development Unit, S.A.R. (2005). *Treasures of the education system in Sri Lanka: Restoring performance, expanding opportunities and enhancing prospects*. Colombo: World Bank Colombo Office.
- Wright, J., & Winters, M. (2010). The politics of effective foreign aid. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13, 61-80.

## APPENDIX

### LIST OF INTERVIEWS

<b>Interview Number</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Agency Represented</b>
A	January 14, 2013	Department of Teacher Development, NIE
B	January 14, 2013	Department of Planning and Evaluation, NIE
C	January 14, 2013	Department of research, NIE
D	January 15, 2013	Department of Social Science, NIE
E	January 15, 2013	Department of Institutional Building, NIE
F	January 15, 2013	Department of Teacher Empowerment, NIE
G	January 15, 2013	GIZ
H	January 16, 2013	Ministry of Education
I	January 16, 2013	University of Colombo
J	January 16, 2013	National Coordinator on Child friendly Schools at the Presidential Secretariat
K	January 16, 2013	UNICEF Sri Lanka
L	January 17, 2013	Colombo Muslim Female School
M	January 17, 2013	GIZ
N	January 17, 2013	Ex officer, Department of Education Management Development, NIE
O	January 18, 2013	Department of Primary Education, NIE
P	January 18, 2013	National Peace Council



## LIST OF ACCRONYMS

AAA	Accra Agenda for Action
ADB	Asian Development Bank
APCEIU	Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BESP	Basic Education Sector Programme
BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CENWOR	Centre for Women's Research
CIDA	Canadian International Development Cooperation Agency
DFID	UK Department for International Development
ECR	Education for Conflict Resolution Project
EPP	Education for Peace Project
ESC	Education for Social Cohesion Project
ESDFP	Education Sector Development Framework and Programme
FLICT	Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation
GIZ	German International Cooperation
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HLF	High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness
IBE	UNESCO's International Bureau of Education
IIEP	UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
MPI	Ministry of Plan Implementation
NCEs	National Colleges of Education
NIE	National Institute of Education
NPC	National Peace Council

ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development,
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
PACT	Poverty Alleviation and Conflict Transformation
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RNCST	Resource Network for Conflict Studies and Transformation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education

## 국문초록

### 주인의식의 발전을 통해 본, 스리랑카 평화교육 분석

이 지 향  
서울대학교 대학원  
교육학과 글로벌교육개발협력전공

본 연구는 주인의식의 변화의 관점을 통해 본 스리랑카의 평화교육의 발전을 다루고 있다. 교육이 평화건설에 기여하기 위해서는 지속적인 효과를 가능케 하는 강력한 원칙, 자원, 제도의 변화가 필요하다. 이는 보다 효과적이고 지속가능한 원조를 위한 주인의식 아젠다의 필수 요인과 일치한다. 이와 관련하여 본 연구는 스리랑카의 1990년대와 2000년대 평화교육 관련 교육 정책 및 프로그램을 살펴 봄으로써, 평화교육이 어떻게 역사적으로 발전, 변형, 합치 되는지를 보고자 한다.

1990년대 이후 주인의식 원칙은 개발협력의 새로운 패러다임이 되었다. 보다 효과적이고 지속가능한 원조를 위해 공여국과 수원국 간의 파트너십에 대한 인식이 강조되었다. 이는 외국의 프로그램 및 자원을 개발도상국에 주로 주입하던 과거 경험에 대한 비판이었다. 또한 지난 20년 동안 분쟁국가에서의 교육의 역할에 대한 관심이 증가하였다. 스리랑카의 평화교육은 개발협력 내 평화건설을 위한 교육의 역할 및 주인의식에 대한 인식 변화와 밀접하게 연관되어 있다. 정부와 공여기관들은 분쟁을 강한

주인의식을 갖춘 평화건설로 변화시키기 것에 교육이 기여할 수 있도록 노력하였다.

스리랑카는 약 30년간의 민족 분쟁을 경험하였으며, 교육은 이러한 분쟁의 원인이자 해결방안이 되어왔다. 다른 소수 그룹에 대한 교육제도 내 기회의 불균형, 언어 정책, 편향된 교육과정과 교과서는 이러한 분쟁을 악화시켰다. 이러한 배경 속에 1990년대부터 평화를 교육체계에 통합하기 위해, 포괄적 용어로서의 ‘평화교육’을 위한 국가 및 국제적인 노력이 시작되었다. 지난 20년간의 스리랑카 평화교육의 발전은 주요 교육 정책의 발전과 관련하여 3가지 단계로 구분될 수 있다. 첫 단계는 스리랑카 민족 분쟁의 맥락에서 사회 문화적 문제에 대한 교육적 반응이 있었던 1990년대이다. 교육체계 내에 평화의 개념을 포함하고자 하는 사회적 요구로 인해 정부는 1997년 일반교육개혁을 추진하게 된다. 두 번째 단계는 세계은행이 교육 부문 개발 체계 및 프로그램을 통해 부문별 접근법을 2000년대 초반 도입하며 시작되었다. 세 번째 단계는 규모가 작은 공여기관들에 의해 별도의 주제로 지원된 2000년대 후반의 국가 정책 및 실행계획 수립을 특징으로 한다. 2008년 독일은 ‘사회 통합과 평화를 위한 교육’을, 2012년 유네스코는 ‘평화 및 지속가능한 개발’을 지원하였다.

스리랑카 평화교육은 20년간의 발전 기간 동안 주인의식을 강조하는 개발협력의 환경 변화에 크게 영향을 받아왔다. 개발 정책 및 과정에 대한 수원국의 주인의식 강화를 위해 새로운 원조 방법들이 도입되었다. 프로젝트 기반 접근방법은 부문별 접근방법으로 대체되었다. 조건성에 대한 강조가 약화되고 공여기관간 조화가 강조되었다. 그 결과 스리랑카 평화교육의

주인의식은 이 과정을 통해 계속하여 전진과 후퇴를 반복하였다.

본 연구는 주인의식이란 공여-수원 관계에 있어 파트너십의 전제조건이 아닌 결과라고 결론 짓고 있다. 주인의식 원칙이 새롭게 강조되고 있고 새로운 원조 방법들이 도입되고 있으나 개별 공여기관들의 우선순위는 협력과 조율에 우선시 된다. 따라서 스리랑카의 평화교육은 다양한 제목하에 분절화 되었고, 그 내용에 대한 적절한 모니터링의 부재로 종종 정치화 되어왔다. 또한 스리랑카의 평화교육은 효과적 평화교육의 핵심 요소인 모든 수준의 이해당사자의 참여를 이루는데 실패하였다.

지난 20년 동안의 스리랑카 교육정책은 평화교육을 강조하였다. 평화는 교과서와 교육과정 개정, 교사훈련, 교과 외 학습, 평화 개념의 정책에의 통합을 통해 촉진되어 왔다. 제도의 측면에서 볼 때 스리랑카의 평화교육 지원을 위한 핵심 정책의 체계적인 발전은 상당한 진전을 이루었다. 이러한 긍정적인 발전에도 불구하고, 스리랑카 평화교육의 과정 및 내용에 대한 스리랑카의 주인의식을 강화를 위해서는 정부 및 공여기관들의 노력이 더욱 필요하다.

주요어 : 평화교육, 주인의식, 개발협력, 취약국가, 국제교육개발, 스리랑카

학 번 : 2010-31079