

***Research on Sri Lanka
in the Period 1998-2002:
Future Challenges***

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Research on Sri Lanka in the Period 1998-2002: Future Challenges

1. Introduction

This study, which is financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has as its main focus research conducted on the Sri Lankan peace process and the challenges ahead for post conflict reconstruction during the period 1998-2002. It encompasses various types of analyses of the background to, and causes of, the 19-year old armed conflict in Sri Lanka. In the study it has been a priority to ensure that central Sri Lankan researchers and their work on this topic are represented.

The intention of the project is to identify topics and fields around which the Sri Lanka research has been concentrated during the last five years, in order to point out the aspects of the Sri Lankan armed conflict and peace process that have been less well covered, and therefore deserve more attention in the future. The study is organized as follows:

Section 2 gives a summary of the main tendencies in research on Sri Lanka in the period 1998-2002, and points out the areas that represent challenges for the future. Section 3 contains abstracts of some new and central books on the Sri Lankan armed conflict and peace process, published during the period 1998-2002. Section 4 gives an overview of researchers and institutes working on Sri Lanka in Norway. Section 5 contains a presentation of some of the most central research institutes in Sri Lanka, and section 6 contains a comprehensive bibliography of relevant research on the Sri Lankan conflict and peace process, covering the period 1998-2002. However, a few important books published earlier than this period are also included.

2. Sri Lanka Research in the Period 1998-2002: Future Challenges

A first rough categorization of the types of academic literature published on Sri Lanka during the last five years indicates that it has been concentrated particularly on economic and human development, on the causes, dynamics and consequences of the armed conflict in the country, and on identity, ethnicity, nationalism and religion. A

few books have also focused on regional aspects of the armed conflict, particularly on the relationship between India and Sri Lanka. Quite a few books about women's role in development in general and in the armed conflict in particular have also been published.

Causes, Dynamics and Consequences of the Armed Conflict

Much of the literature on this topic focuses on the main actors in the armed conflict, on past efforts at negotiations and why these have failed, and on the human and economic costs of the war. Only a few of these publications come up with discussions about central issues in the conflict, needing some kind of solution in the future, if the conflict is to be solved, such as separatism, unitarism and the potentials for a federal system, and issues of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. However, K.M de Silva and G.H. Peiris discuss some of these topics in their book, *Pursuit of Peace in Sri Lanka: Past Failures and Future Prospects*, as do also Robert I. Rotberg in, *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka: Civil War & Reconciliation*.

Another new and important contribution to this topic comes from the Centre for Policy Alternatives in Sri Lanka (CPA) (see section 4 for information and website address), of which the Polling Unit's Social Indicator (SI) has initiated a series of surveys to ascertain the opinion of the people in Jaffna with regard to the peace process. This publication, *Perspectives on Peace from Jaffna* (July, October and December 2002) can be downloaded from CPA's website, as can also the *Executive Summary of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI)*, which is a study that gauges the level of public confidence in peace and the peace process in Sri Lanka.

Some of the publications about the dynamics of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka also give a particular insight in the LTTE's background and history, and Adele Balasinhham's book, *The Will to Freedom: An Inside View of Tamil Resistance*, stands out in particular.

Until recently almost nothing has been produced on how the armed conflict is perceived of, and experienced by, people living in the conflict zones, and on how local initiatives for conflict resolution can contribute in a general peace process. Therefore the book *Building Local Capacities for Peace: Rethinking Conflict and Development in Sri Lanka*, by Markus Mayer, Darini Rajasingham-Senanyake & Yuvi Thangarajah is important in this aspect.

Quite a few anthologies that analyze the causes of the war from different perspectives have also been published. One of these, *Conflict and Community in Contemporary Sri Lanka: 'Pearl of the East or the Island of Tears' ?* by Siri Gamage and I.B. Watson, has a subtitle which is characteristic for much of the former research on Sri Lanka. A fundamental question has often been asked about what went wrong in this country, so rich in natural resources and with an excellent post-independence record of economic and human development. The answer has often been sought for in Sri Lanka's ethnic composition and history, and explained with reference to issues of identity and nationalism.

A few publications in this period also focus on the long-term consequences of the war for internally displaced, refugees and for the Tamil diaspora, such as *Listening to the Displaced: Action Research in the Conflict Zones of Sri Lanka*, by Demusz Kerry, and *Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism*, by Øyvind Fuglerud.

Some of the literature in this period has also focused on the regional context of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka, and in particular on India's role. One example of this is *A Decade of Confrontation: Sri Lanka and India in the 1980s*, by John Gooneratne.

Identity, Ethnicity and Nationalism

The last five years have brought several publications on identity, ethnicity and nationalism in Sri Lanka. These are publications that in general seek to interpret ethnicity and identity formation in a context of social change. However, many of these studies also seek to come up with explanations of the long-lasting armed conflict in the country. Some of these books and articles have a particular focus on Tamil nationalism, such as *Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism: Its Origins and Development in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, by Alfred Jeyaratnam Wilson and *The Struggle for Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka*, by Kristian Stokke and Anne Kirsti Ryntveit. A few publications also discuss the role of institutions in identity formation, such as *Identity and Institutions in Ethnic Conflict: The Muslims of Sri Lanka*, by Meghan O'Sullivan.

Religion

Much of the research on religion in Sri Lanka focuses on Buddhist traditions, art and culture and on how Buddhism adapts to social change in the country. Several publications have also been produced on how religion, in particular Buddhism, has contributed to identity building and the development and spread of nationalist ideas in Sri Lanka. Less attention has been paid to pro-peace forces within Buddhist institutions, or to religious co-operation and co-existence that can be of importance for future reconciliation processes. An exception is Iselin Frydenlund's MA-thesis on *Religious Co-existence in a Multi-ethnic and Multi-religious Sacred Place in Sri Lanka*. Some of the recent publications on Buddhism and politics include: *Buddhist Fundamentalism and Minority Identities in Sri Lanka*, by Tessa J. Bartholomeusz & Chandra R. De Silva; *The Work of Kings: The New Buddhism in Sri Lanka*, by H.L. Seneviratne; *In Defense of Dharma: Just-war Ideology in Buddhist Sri Lanka*, by Tessa J. Bartholomeusz; and *Colors of the Robe: Religion, Identity and Difference*, by Ananda Abeysekara.

There are also a few publications that discuss the history and role of the Muslims in Sri Lanka, such as *The Story of the Sri Lanka Muslims*, by V. Vamadevan, and Meghan O'Sullivan's book (mentioned above).

Development

Most of the publications on this topic focus on various aspects of economic development. Among the themes that are prominent are: liberalization and industrial transformation, conditions for foreign direct investment, banking and external debt, the importance of trade and the performance of certain sectors within trade, and regional cooperation (SAARC).

Quite a few studies focus on poverty and on potential means of combating poverty. Some studies also analyze the situation of particular socio-economic groupings, such as smallholders, and the basis of living of farm households in general, such as, *An Economic Analysis of Farm Household Pluriactivity in Sri Lanka*, by Balasuriya Gunawardana. A few studies also focus on aid strategies and on the consequences of aid and humanitarian relief in a situation of armed conflict. Examples of this are: *Combining Service Delivery and Advocacy within Humanitarian Agencies:*

Experiences from the Conflict in Sri Lanka, by Marit Haug; *Countries in Violent Conflict and Aid Strategies: The Case of Sri Lanka*, by Arve Ofstad; and *Aid, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka*, by Jonathan Goodhand.

Women

A few books have also been published on the general role of women in post-independence Sri Lanka, and more specifically on their role in nationalism. An example of this is, *Women & the Nation's Narrative: Gender and Nationalism in Twentieth Century Sri Lanka*, by Neloufer de Mel. Finally two volumes on the consequences of war for women were produced in 1999. One of these focuses on women in eastern Sri Lanka and the other focuses on women in the south: *Stories of Survivors: Socio-Political Contexts of Female Headed Households in Post-Terror Southern Sri Lanka* (Volume I), by Sasanka Perera and, *The Other Victims of War: Emergence of Female Headed Households in Eastern Sri Lanka* (Volume II), by Selvy Thiruchandran.

Conclusion

Much of the literature on Sri Lanka during the period 1998-2002 has focused on the causes, dynamics and consequences of the armed conflict in the country. Some of this literature has also discussed former attempts at negotiations and conflict resolution, and why these have failed. However, few publications have discussed the potentials for conflict resolution in the future, and the particular problems that need to be solved during such negotiations. I have not been able to identify any publications about the ongoing peace process, in which Norway acts as a facilitator for the negotiations. This is understandable, given the short time-span since this process was initiated. However, in the future there is a need to conduct research on the specific challenges that this new peace process will meet, both with regard to the fundamental political problems that must find a solution during the negotiations, and with regard to the needs for rehabilitation and post conflict reconstruction that will follow afterwards.

As the overview of the different research areas above shows, almost nothing has been published on the local consequences and dynamics of the armed conflict, or on local challenges and initiatives for peace. This is an important field of research that deserves more attention in the future.

Finally some words about research on the role of religion in the conflict should be added. Although several publications focus on religion, and particularly on Buddhism in a historical, cultural and social perspective in Sri Lanka, few of these publications directly focus on the role of religion in the armed conflict, or on the potential role of religion in the peace process. There is a need for more research on several topics linked to the relationship between religion and the peace process in the future: 1) There is a need for research on the Buddhist institutions' (both monastic & lay) relations to the actual peace process. What has made some of the most fervent nationalist Buddhist monks to be more positive to the peace process than others? 2) More research is needed on how religious institutions can contribute to peacebuilding on the ground level. 3) There is also a need for research on future challenges of rebuilding temples/ sacred spaces in war-torn areas. 4) There is a need for research on actual co-existence and potential cooperation between members of various religious communities in Sri Lanka.

3. Abstracts from Central Publications 1998-2002.

De Silva, K.M. & G.H. Peiris, 2000. *Pursuit of Peace in Sri Lanka: Past Failures and Future Prospects*. International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Kandy, Sri Lanka, in association with the United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC.

Part I of this book deals with the various attempts at resolving the conflict over a period of 20 years. Up to the early 1980s, these efforts were restricted to negotiations between the principal national political parties and Tamil parties (the most important of which at this stage, was the Tamil United Liberation Front [TULF]). However, after this period, the movement gradually became captured by younger, more radical and more violent groups among the Tamils, principally the LTTE.

Throughout the period 1983-90, India was much more than a negotiator on behalf of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority, and an advocate of its causes. From this point onwards negotiations on a resolution of the conflict ceased to be restricted to Sri Lankan political groups and became instead a tripartite business with India enjoying a powerful influence in shaping the nature of Sri Lanka's devolutionary process. Chapter two deals, in detail with one of the more pronounced failures of the Indian intervention, the creation of a North-Eastern province, the establishment of a provincial council there through a controversial election, and the eventual collapse of that council, shortly after the departure of the IPKF.

Part II of the book deals with the federal option with the authors of chapter four and five advocating it as a necessary feature of any viable system of conflict

resolution in Sri Lanka, while chapter six suggests alternatives to federalism and examines the record of federal structures in other parts of the world in handling ethnic tensions.

Part III of the book focuses on the LTTE, with chapter seven delineating the stages in the LTTE's rise to a position of primacy among the Tamil separatist groups in the island and outlining its political agenda.

Part IV deals with reconstruction of the war ravaged areas of the island as a process that goes on during the conflict, and as an essential feature of a post-conflict situation. Most parts of the Jaffna peninsula and district have suffered severe damage during several years of warfare, including the Indian intervention. Chapter nine focuses attention on the Vavuniya district of the northern province and the problems faced in its rehabilitation and reconstruction. Chapter ten provides a general review of the prospects and problems in the rehabilitation of the Northern province as a whole, while chapter eleven looks at the prospects of reconstruction and rehabilitation in the Eastern province.

Chapter twelve, which also serves as a conclusion to part IV of the book, provides a general overview of the problems of resettlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the war-ravaged areas of the island.

Balasingham, Adele, 2001. *The Will to Freedom: An Inside View of Tamil Resistance*. Mitcham, England: Fairmax Publishing Ltd.

In this book, which is written in a semi-autobiographical, historical style, Adele Balasingham provides a penetrating internal study of the armed resistance struggle by the Tamil Tiger Movement. The book graphically surveys important events, episodes and turning points in the last two decades of the evolutionary history of the Tamil freedom struggle.

The Balasingham couple's initial introduction to Mr. Pirabakaran and his cadres is dealt with in Chapter Two, where the author also discusses the internal dynamics of the LTTE.

The intervention in the island's ethnic conflict by Sri Lanka's powerful neighbour, India, had far reaching consequences that are discussed in Chapter Three. In this chapter the author elaborates in detail, the manner in which the central government of India and the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M G Ramachandran intervened in the conflict.

Chapter Six deals with the consequences of the intervention. The author points to how the occupation of the Tamil homeland by the Indian forces escalated the war between the Tamil Tigers and the IPKF in the Northeast. The presence of the Indian army in the island had also precipitated insurrectionary violence in the South by the Janatha Vimukthi Perumuna (JVP). The entire island experienced violence of an unprecedented scale. The author underlines that both the leaders of the Tamil and the Sinhala nations – Mr. Pirabakaran and Mr. Premadasa – wanted the Indian army withdrawn for specific interests of their people. It was these mutual interests that brought the Tamil Tigers and the Premadasa Government to the negotiating table in Colombo. Chapter Six provides a comprehensive analysis of the Premadasa-LTTE negotiations.

In chapter seven the author tells about her experience of living with the Tamil people in the midst of a brutal war in the peninsula during the first half of the nineties, and in the last chapter she presents her impressions and perceptions of the LTTE leadership, particularly of Mr. Pirabakaran and other senior cadres and field commanders.

Mayer, Markus; Darini Rajasingham-Senanayake & Yuvi Thangarajah, 2003. *Building Local Capacities for Peace: Rethinking Conflict and Development in Sri Lanka*. Development Studies Institute, University of Colombo; International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, and Eastern University, Batticaloa, in association with South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg and Jaffna Rehabilitation Project (JRP)-GTZ Colombo. New Dehli: Macmillan.

The authors take the view that the debate on the solution to the eighteen-year old armed conflict in Sri Lanka largely has been framed by legal and bureaucratic considerations at the central level as to how power vested in a highly centralized state might be devolved to the regions. This book therefore takes a critical look at how devolution and peacerebuilding looks like locally; how conflict is perceived from the angles of, and experienced by, people living in conflict zones. The chapters move well beyond ethno-political factors, and integrates socio-economic, psychosocial and cultural aspects in the analysis as well. Simultaneously, the authors attempt to recover histories of local level conflict resolution, local perspectives on humanitarian relief and development initiatives, and local histories of ethnic co-existence and multiculturalism.

The first part of the book starts with two substantive papers providing an overview on the conflict evolution and conflict dynamics in the Northeast as well as in the South of Sri Lanka. The next paper investigates the challenges of any state reforms for conflict management and highlights the potential difficulties to implement such reforms, especially in the multi-ethnic context such as found in Eastern Sri Lanka.

The second part of the book provides with the first two papers a broad insight at development aid and local substantive development issues in Sri Lanka, looking specifically into the role of project interventions to secure basic dignity and survival of people at the local level and the possible impact of such interventions. After an outline of the linkages between foreign aid and conflict in Sri Lanka, three types of projects are analyzed more in-depth: namely rehabilitation oriented, development oriented, and psychosocial oriented.

The third part of the book traces and provides histories of how the conflict is perceived by the affected population. This is complemented by attempts to identify areas of interventions at the local level to build up capacities for conflict reduction in the backdrop of an ongoing conflict that still begs a political solution at the national level. The third part feeds back into the discussion of the two earlier sections, providing concrete recommendations for local government reform and/or project interventions, especially in the conflict-affected areas in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka.

Rotberg, Robert I., 1999. *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka: Civil War & Reconciliation*. The World Peace Foundation and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Creating Peace in Sri Lanka contains a series of interrelated chapters by Sri Lankan, British and American authorities on the war and its aftermath. They discuss how to end the war and how the island nation can heal its physical and psychic wounds. The book suggests that third-party mediating intervention is essential, and that any resulting peace can only be sustained by intensive attention to serious political devolution and societal reconciliation.

The first 7 chapters of the book deal with the causes and the consequences of the war, whereas the 5 last chapters deal with the possibilities of making peace in Sri Lanka. In chapter 3, David Little makes clear that, the nationalism of the majority, led in part by Buddhist monks, and the countervailing nationalism of the minority, is an entanglement of religious and ethnic loyalty. 'Ethnic and linguistic identity are profoundly important in distinguishing the two sides'. The war is not about converts in a religious sense, but it is about those perceived attributes which separate one people's practices and dress from the other, and which make individuals as well as groups aware of who they are and who they present.

In chapter 8, about peacemaking in Sri Lanka, Teresita C. Schaffer, onetime United States Ambassador to Sri Lanka, draws upon the lessons of the failed 1994 talks with the LTTE to suggest the importance of sending high-level representatives to meet with the rebels and of keeping any talks secret. Schaffer underlines that the Kumaratunga government also needs to go to the rebels with the support of, if not in hand with, opposition Sinhala, preferably Ranil Wickramasinghe, leader of the UNP.

The issue of third-party mediation is discussed by William Weisberg and Donna Hicks in chapter 9, where they argue that a skilled interlocutor can reframe discussions away from competitive positional bargaining toward an analysis of both sides' underlying fears, needs and interests.

In chapter 11, Rohan Edrisinha addresses the need for constitutional changes. Edrisinha says that addressing the core aspirations of the Tamils cannot be avoided. To satisfy them, protection of fundamental human rights must be enshrined in the constitution. So must new forms of representation, perhaps by modifying the composition of Sri Lanka's parliament. To deal with many of these complex problems, Edrisinha recommends the creation of an asymmetrical federation with double majority voting for its political representatives and special regional assemblies for the north and east.

Neelan Tiruchelvam, the author of chapter 12, who was a leading Sri Lankan constitutional thinker and member of parliament until being assassinated in 1999, largely agrees with Edrisinha regarding the character of the draft constitution. The 1997 draft is partially federal in its devolutionary approach, but not explicitly so, and coordination between the periphery and the center is suggested, but without a juridical method to settle disputes over power and control. Tiruchelvam calls for a second legislative chamber to represent distinct regional views at the national level.

Gooneratne, John, 2000. *A Decade of Confrontation: Sri Lanka and India in the 1980s*. Pannipitya, Sri Lanka: Stamford Lake (PVT) LTD.

The author of this book, Dr. John Gooneratne, was a member of the Sri Lanka Foreign Service from 1961-1993. From 1993 to 1999 he was Associate Director of Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo. Gooneratne brings his training and wide experience as a member of Sri Lanka's diplomatic corps to provide fresh insight into issues that also have been dealt with by others.

Following the introduction, chapter 2 introduces the challenge to national integration Sri Lanka faces. It provides briefly the background to the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka, India's earlier more direct interest in them, and how the Indian interest diminishes over time as the political status of Indian Tamil leaders is gradually solved. The efforts of the Indian Tamil leaders are directed towards integrating as a community within Sri Lanka and they eschew separatist objectives. The growing alienation of the Sri Lankan Tamils is traced. As mainline Tamil political parties gradually become dysfunctional, they are supplanted by militant groups who see that the only way out is through a separate state won through paramilitary means. To this end they start looking towards India, especially South India with which they share common bonds of language, religion and culture. Domestic issues thus gradually get internationalized.

Chapter 3 describes India's increasing military profile in the region and the political doctrines adopted to further its hegemonic ambitions. As a result of the July 1983 communal riots in Sri Lanka, and the outflow of refugees to Tamil Nadu, the Indian government becomes more directly involved in the conflict. The Indian government both arms and trains Tamil militant groups, and at the same time, offers to mediate the conflict. It is an exercise carried out over the next four years.

Chapter 4 describes the new economic and foreign policy orientations of the UNP government of Sri Lanka. The particular aspects which India claimed caused her security concerns are detailed. As the ethnic conflict deepened and became more militarized, more emphasis was given to ensuring military supplies and obtaining international political support. Since the internationalized ethnic conflict was seen as directly pitting Sri Lanka against India, Sri Lanka's efforts to obtain international support was affected by this factor. Sri Lanka's relations with the US, Britain, Pakistan, China and Israel are examined.

Chapter 5 examines the mediation role played by India and the resulting Indo-Sri lankan Agreement of 29 July 1987. The Agreement is examined from the point of view of the interests of the different participants - Sri Lanka government, India government, Tamil Nadu, Tamil political parties and militant groups - to assess what was achieved and what remained unachieved.

Chapter 6 attempts an assessment of the events of the period of the 1980s.

Rupesinghe, Kumar, 1998. *Negotiating Peace in Sri Lanka: Efforts, Failures & Lessons*. International Alert of London, UK. Colombo: Gunaratne Offset Limited.

This book is a direct result of a special meeting organized by International Alert (IA) in Lucerne in July 1997. This brought together a number of the key decision makers involved in past peace efforts from both Sri Lanka and India with a view to analyzing the reasons for the conflict's continued intractability.

The deliberations of the meeting were structured around five sessions. One of these dealt with the Indian experience in trying to resolve the ethnic conflict, another surveyed the Premadasa – LTTE negotiations, while a third looked at the Kumaratunga - LTTE negotiations. The problems faced in arriving at a devolution package acceptable to all the country's communities, and prospects for peace in the future were discussed in the final sessions. The table of contents of this book is organized along these same thematic issues.

In the chapters there are diverse opinions on why the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement failed. Despite the differing interpretations as to the thinking behind India's intervention as a third party, with the passing of time there seems to have been a remarkable reassessment by the Indians of their own involvement in the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. The negative experience of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord has led many to question the very principle of third party intervention in Sri Lanka.

After the disappointment of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, the Premadasa-LTTE negotiations were an effort to create a national solution to the Sri Lankan conflict. The initiative was based on the belief that the conflict in Sri Lanka could be solved by Sri Lankans alone. The friendly atmosphere between the Premadasa Government and the LTTE was sustained until the IPKF departed on 30 March 1990. Once the IPKF had left, the LTTE took physical control of the northern and eastern provinces while the Sri Lankan security forces were confined to barracks. The chapters on this topic (based on the papers from the conference) provide differing perspectives and interpretations of this peace effort.

The Kumaratunga initiative opened up a new phase and great expectations that finally a negotiated solution would be reached during the tenure in office. Expectations were high since the president had vowed that she would initiate direct talks with the LTTE, and had sought a mandate from the people to do so. The people responded by voting her in with an overwhelming majority. The Tamil people also welcomed the talks as an opportunity to finally resolve the protracted conflict. The popular climate had never been more conducive to peace-making.

As the chapters on these topics in the book reflect, there was no agreement on the reasons for the failure of the latter two sets of talks in the conference. There was a school of thought that believed the talks failed because the LTTE was irretrievably committed to Tamil Eelam, and its intention was only to use the peace talks to strengthen its own position. Some others expressed that the fault was with the Sri Lankan government for not taking the negotiations seriously, and not providing the LTTE with an acceptable alternative to a separate state. Both these differing views and a few general lessons emerging from the papers and discussions of the conference are reflected in the chapters on these topics in the book.

4. Researchers and Institutes in Norway

Odd Eirik Arnesen,
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Key Qualifications:

Development planning, institutional development/civil society, decentralized natural resource management/conservation, participatory planning, environmental impact assessment, land use planning, integrated coastal zone management, environmental impact assessment, local government reform, evaluation/appraisals are main areas of interest and specialization.

Ongoing projects:

Hambantota Integrated Coastal Zone Management Project, Sri Lanka (1998-2003). Task Manager: legal review; institutional strengthening; income generating activities; (including training of staff at the district and divisional level) and community participation in natural resource management, 1997-2000. 2001-2003: Task Manager: alternative income generating activities and capacity building in local institutions.

Moneragala Integrated Rural Development Program, Sri Lanka, 1998: Formative process research.

Relevant Publications:

Arnesen, Odd Eirik, 1999. Peasant Economy and Community Development in Moneragala District, Sri Lanka. Paper presented at 'Managing the Transition from District IRDPs to Integrated District Development. The MONDEP Experience'. Arranged by Regional Development Studies Centre, University of Colombo 3-5 November, 1999.

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Key Qualifications:

Since 1988 Baklien has been engaged in several evaluations and projects on Sri Lanka. Three of these are ongoing projects:

1) Follow-up research connected to the phasing out of Moneragala Integrated Rural Development Programme. The research is financed by NORAD, and is a cooperation between Development Studies Institute, University of Colombo and NIBR. Baklien heads the Norwegian part of the project and Odd Erik Arnesen from NIBR also participates in the project.

2) The wider societal impact of Norwegian voluntary organizations working in developing countries. The project is commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and is carried out in cooperation with CMI, Bergen, with Baklien as the leader of the project. While CMI's part of the project is focused on Save the Children's work in Ethiopia, NIBR focuses on FORUT's work in Sri Lanka.

3) Alcohol and poverty in Sri Lanka. This project, which is carried out on behalf of FORUT, will be terminated in June 2003. The local counterpart of the project in Sri Lanka is professor Diyanath Samarasinghe, University of Colombo.

Relevant Publications:

Baklien, Bergljot, 2000. 'MONDEP Organisation: Implementation and Institutional Sustainability - Findings from an Exploratory Pilot Study', pp. 13-16 in *Managing the Transition from District IRDPs to Integrated Development: The MONDEP Experience*. RDSC, University of Colombo.

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Key Qualifications:

Civil war and protracted displacement; local integration and repatriation; gender, ethnicity and place; Sri Lanka.

Brun recently completed her PhD at the Department of Geography, NTNU, with a thesis titled 'Finding a place. Local integration and protracted displacement in Sri Lanka', discussing local integration as a resolution of conflict-induced internal displacement. In particular, the thesis emphasises the relationship between internally displaced northern Muslims and their hosts, settlement processes, and the reconstruction of lives and livelihoods during and after displacement. The thesis also discusses national and local policies regarding internal displacement, and analyses the role of state institutions and aid agencies in these processes. Brun is currently working on a post doctoral project exploring relationships between gender, ethnicity and place among war affected Sri Lankan youth (Muslims, Sinhalese and Tamils) in the context of the current peace process. She is also a founding member of NTNU's Research Group on Forced Migration which runs an international network for researchers interested in internal displacement (www.idp.ntnu.no).

Relevant publications:

Brun, Cathrine. 2003. *Forced migrants, refugees or IDPs? Consequences of labelling on identity formation and entitlements in Sri Lanka*. Acta Geographica, Series B No.2, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Brun, Cathrine. 2000. Spatial practices of integration and segregation among internally displaced persons and their hosts in Sri Lanka. *Norwegian Journal of Geography* Vol.54, No.3, pp.96–101.

Sylvi B. Endresen.

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Key Qualifications:

Endresen's research interests concern mainly economic geography (socio-economic effects of technological change, international location of polluting industry, effects of foreign direct investments in developing countries, labour market studies). For Sri

Lankan studies her Ph.D. is particularly relevant (1994. Modernisation Reversed? Technological change in four Asian fishing villages. Dissertation for the Dr. Philos Degree. Department of Human Geography, University of Oslo). Countries of work experience and fieldwork include Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Namibia.

Endresen has undertaken several aid evaluation and impact studies in Sri Lanka and Namibia.

In connection with HIRDEP, NORAD's integrated rural development program in Hambantota District, Endresen has undertaken studies of socio-economic change in fisheries, social mobilization and private sector development.

Relevant publications:

Jerve, A.M.; S.B. Endresen; D. Gamage; & M.M. Karunanayake. 2003. Sustaining Local level Development: What Worked and What did Not. Lessons from the Phasing-out of Norwegian Aid to the Hambantota Integrated Rural Development Programme (HIRDEP), Sri Lanka 1992 to 1999. CMI Report, R 2003:2. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Iselin Frydenlund

Hovedfagsstudent in the History of Religion, UiO, student at Internatioinal Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO).

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Key Qualifications:

Cand. Mag (equiv. to B.A), University of Oslo and London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in the areas of History of religion and the Sociology of religion. Currently student of Master of Arts (Cand. Philol.), History of Religion, University of Oslo. Research interest in religion and politics, religion and violence/conflicts/peace work.

Particularly interested in the role played by religion, especially Buddhism, as a contributor to the Sri Lanka conflict, but also as a possible vehicle for peace. Further, interest in the construction and management of ethnic, religious and nationalistic identities.

Currently writing up MA-thesis on the subject of *Religious Co-existence in a Multi- ethnic and Multi-religious Sacred Place in Sri Lanka*.

Øivind Fuglerud

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Key Qualifications:

International migration; in particular migration from Sri Lanka to Norway and Canada; refugee policies; ethnicity and political violence.

Specific migration research interests:

Political divisions within the diaspora. Family organization across borders. Cultural change across generations. Transnational marriage and kinship practices.

Relevant publications:

Fuglerud, Øivind, 1999. *Life on the outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism*.

Fuglerud, Øivind, 2001. 'Time and Space in the Tamil Diaspora', *Nations and Nationalism*, 7(2), pp. 195-213.

Fuglerud, Øivind, 2002. 'The housewife and the soldier. Tamil constructions of womanhood in the age of migration', *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, No. 2, pp. 20 – 30.

Fuglerud, Øivind, 2003. 'Local communities and State ambitions in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province', in Marcus Meyer, Darini Rajasingham, Yuvi Thangaraja (eds.): *Building Local Capacities for Peace: Rethinking Conflict and Development in Sri Lanka*. New Delhi, Macmillan India

Kristian Berg Harpviken

Researcher; Project Leader, Assistance to Mine-Affected Communities (AMAC) International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)

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Key qualifications:

Harpviken holds a Cand. Polit. degree in Sociology from the University of Oslo (1995), and will submit his Dr. Polit. (PhD) dissertation in summer 2003.

Additionally, he has academic training in economics and philosophy.

Main research interests:

Political mobilization; Forced migration; Conflict resolution and Peacebuilding; Post-war reconstruction; Humanitarian Mine Action; Methodology in conflict situations. Harpviken is interested in exploring the relationship between mine action activities and the peacebuilding process in Sri Lanka, as part to the AMAC project.

Relevant publications:

Harpviken, Kristian Berg and Bernt A. Skåra (forthcoming), 'Humanitarian Mine Action as Peacebuilder', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 5, October 2003

Marit Haug

Researcher, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR), Oslo. Political Scientist.

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Key Qualifications:

NGOs, civil society, humanitarian aid, post-conflict development, Sri Lanka.

Haug has a PhD from Centre for Civil Society, London School of Economics (2001) entitled 'Combining Service Delivery and Advocacy within Humanitarian Agencies: Experiences from the Conflict in Sri Lanka'.

Haug is a team member in a 2 year study designed to assess the impact of Norwegian voluntary organisations on civil society. The NIBR component of the study considers the work of one Norwegian NGO, FORUT, both in a conflict affected

context in the North and in a development context in the South. The study has been commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Relevant Publications:

Haug, Marit 2001. *Combining Service Delivery and Advocacy within Humanitarian Agencies: Experiences from the Conflict in Sri Lanka*, Centre for Civil Society, International Working Papers, number 10.

Wenche Hauge

Researcher, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO).

Political Scientist

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Key Qualifications:

Comparative studies. Causes and dynamics of intrastate, armed conflict. Peace processes, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.

Hauge's PhD dissertation (submitted for evaluation in December 2002) focuses on the role of economic development and renewable resources in the causation and dynamics of armed conflict. The dissertation contains case studies of armed conflict in Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts), Haiti, Guatemala and Senegal (Casamance), and of political conflict in Tunisia and Madagascar.

Current research involving Sri Lanka:

- Participation in the Joint Utstein Peacebuilding Study, with Dan Smith as the project leader. The project is a study of the peacebuilding experience of four countries – Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK – who together constitute the so-called Utstein Group, which is a framework for co-operation between the four on peacebuilding and development issues. The study is based on a survey of peacebuilding activities and projects financed, supported, and implemented by the four Utstein governments in the period 1997-2001. Sri Lanka is included among the nine countries selected for the Norwegian part of the Utstein survey.
- Author of the study, *Research on Sri Lanka in the Period 1998-2002: Future Challenges*, financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Currently also undertaking a study of the Sri Lankan peace process in a comparative perspective, where the Guatemalan and Bangladeshi (Chittagong Hill Tracts) peace processes are used as the comparative cases. This study, also financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be terminated in December 2003.

Relevant Publications:

Hauge, Wenche, 2003. *Research on Sri Lanka in the Period 1998-2002: Future Challenges*. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO).

Hauge, Wenche, 2003. 'Vertical Consistency in Norwegian Peacebuilding Policies'. Joint Utstein Peacebuilding Study. (forthcoming)

Alf Morten Jerve

Assistant Director, Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI), Bergen.

Social Anthropologist

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Key Qualifications:

Jerve has more than 20 years experience in development related research, consultancy and operational work. His main research areas are: development aid, social and economic rights, local government, rural development, institutional development, special impact assessment, resettlement and land-use management:

- Study of agropastoralism in Botswana with emphasis on process of social and economic differentiation; and study of traditional water transport in Bangladesh with emphasis on technology transformation and employment effects
- Several aid evaluations and impact studies including country study of Norwegian aid to Pakistan; integrated rural development and local government support programs (Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Tanzania); poverty reduction policies (World Bank; UNDP); and Swedish aid to Vietnam (the Bai Bang paper mill, health sector support). Jerve was the coordinator and team leader of the evaluation of the Hambantota Integrated Rural Development Program in Sri Lanka, 1990-1991.
- Coordinator of a rural development program in Tanzania (3 years)
- Work on social impacts of larger infrastructure and industrial projects with focus on adverse impacts and development benefits (2 years as World Bank staff and several consultancies for World Bank and IFC)

Relevant Publications:

Jerve, Alf Morten; Wilbert Gooneratne & John Edward Moore, 1991. *Evaluation of Hambantota Integrated Rural Development Programme (HIRDEP): Final Report*. Bergen/Oslo: CMI/Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jerve, A.M.; S.B. Endresen; D. Gamage; & M.M. Karunanayake. 2003. *Sustaining Local level Development: What Worked and What did Not. Lessons from the Phasing-out of Norwegian Aid to the Hambantota Integrated Rural Development Programme (HIRDEP), Sri Lanka 1992 to 1999*. CMI Report, R 2003:2. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Bruce Kapferer

Professor, Institute for Social Anthropology, University of Bergen.

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Key Qualifications:

B.A. University of Sidney 1963, PhD University of Manchester 1969.

Fieldwork: Zambia (rural Bisa, miners and commercial workers) 1963-1966; Sri Lanka (Buddhist healing rites, nationalism and violence) 1972 and continuing; Australia (Australian Aborigines, White Australian nationalism, state forms) 1974 to date; Globalisation (specific reference to Sri Lanka, Kerala (India), South Africa) 1998 to date.

Research interests: urbanization, ethnicity and violence, comparative state formation, ritual and symbolic action, theoretical issues in anthropology.

Current research: Ritual and the structure of healing among Sinhalese Buddhists. A major concern is with the theory of ritual. Comparative research is being conducted among teyyam specialists in northern Kerala. A major current concern is in

the dynamics of ancient and modern state forms with particular reference to contemporary global processes. Comparative research is being conducted in India, Sri Lanka, South Africa and in Australia with particular attention to nationalism, violence, shifts in bureaucratic and corporate structures, NGOs etc.

Relevant Publications:

Kapferer, Bruce, 2000. 'The Sorcery of Consciousness: A Sinhala Discourse on the Dynamics of Consciousness', *Journal of Communication and Cognition*, Vol. 33, No. 1/2.

Ragnhild Lund

Professor, Department of Geography, NTNU, Trondheim

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Key qualifications:

Ragnhild Lund is professor of geography at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, where she teaches development studies. She did her graduate studies at the University of Bergen and holds a PhD from NTNU. Her professional fields of interests are development theory and methods, gender-sensitive planning and development, NGOs and social mobilization, health and poverty, and internal displacement due to conflicts and war.

Over a period of 25 years she has worked as a researcher in Asian countries (Sri Lanka, Malaysia, India and Thailand) and as a consultant to the Norwegian Government, NORAD and ADB in several Asian and African countries. She has published extensively on these topics and geographical areas, and has coordinated research projects funded by the Norwegian Research Council, NORAD and the University Council/NUFU. At present she coordinates the Research group on forced migration, NTNU, and also works with a study on the forced relocation of the *Veddhas*, the indigenous population in Sri Lanka and how they have been further marginalized by the war in the country.

She has held administrative offices in Norwegian Research Council, the Nordic Asia Network, as head of research at NTNU, and as board member in the Nordic Africa Institute and in NUFU. She also serves as a visiting professor at the University of York, UK and at the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok.

Relevant publications:

Lund, R., 2000: 'Geographies of Eviction, Expulsion and Marginalisation: Stories and Coping Capacities of the *Veddhas*, Sri Lanka', *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, Vol. 54, No. 3. Oslo. ISSN 0029-1951.

Lund, Ragnhild, 2002: Keynote speaker, Norwegian Geographical Society's Annual Conference, Trondheim 6-7th. April, 2002: "Methodological Choices and Dilemmas in Contested Spaces: Researching minorities and the displaced", in *Acta Geographica – Trondheim* (14 pages, forthcoming).

Lund, Ragnhild, 2003. 'Representations of Forced Migration in Conflicting Spaces: Displacement of the *Veddhas* in Sri Lanka'. In (eds.) Shanmugaratnam, Nadarajah, Ragnhild Lund & Kristiane Stølen, *Conflict, Migration and Change* (forthcoming).

Anne Katrine Normann

Researcher at the Norwegian College of Fishery Science at the University of Tromsø. Human Geography.

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Key Qualifications:

Anne Katrine Normann's agenda consists of both Norwegian and international research interests, mainly centred around topics related to fisheries and coastal management. Her PhD dissertation (submitted for evaluation in October 2002) focusses on co-management in fisheries, exploring the democratic and developmental aspects of management regimes, using small-scale fisheries of Mozambique and South Africa as cases. In 2002, she undertook a consultancy for NORAD together with a Norwegian colleague and a Sri Lankan counterpart. The consultancy included a four-week long fieldwork in Sri Lanka, of which two weeks in Jaffna. Part of the purpose of the consultancy was to map and quantify the needs for reconstructing and developing the fisheries sector, including rebuilding the infrastructure in Jaffna, destroyed during the conflict. As a prolongation of her previous and present research, Anne Katrine Normann wants to undertake research related to the reconstruction of the fisheries in Jaffna.

Relevant Publications:

Normann, Anne Katrine & Karl Angelsen, 2002. *Restoration of Fisheries Activities in Jaffna District*. Report LKA 047.

Arve Ofstad

Research Director (on leave), Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Bergen. Development Economist.

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Key Qualifications:

Arve Ofstad is a development specialist with 25 years of experience with research, evaluation studies and consultancies. He returned in 1998 as Senior research Fellow at the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) after three years as the UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative in Sri Lanka, and two years as Advisor in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ofstad combines his broad professional experience in development issues, with an analytical approach to political issues, as well as management and diplomatic skills.

His present work focuses on countries in crisis, poverty reduction policies, the multilateral system and aid policies, with a geographic orientation on Southern and Eastern Africa, and South Asia, including Sri Lanka.

Relevant publications:

Ofstad, Arve, 2002. 'Countries in Violent Conflict and Aid Strategies: The Case of Sri Lanka. *World Development*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 165-180.

Ofstad, Arve, 2000. *Economic Growth, Employment, and Decentralised Development in Sri Lanka*. CMI Working Paper WP 2000:11. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Nadarajah Shanmugaratnam

**Professor of Development Studies and Director of International Education,
Centre for International Environment and Development Studies, Agricultural
University of Norway (NORAGRIC), Ås. M. Sc PH.D.**

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Key Qualifications:

Fields of competence/specialities: Institutional economics & political economy:
Policy and institutional aspects of agricultural and rural development and natural
resource management.

Selected research/consultancy projects:

- Study of privatisation of state tea plantations in Sri Lanka with reference to enterprise development, labour relations and environment.
- Policy and institutional challenges of post-conflict development with reference to the rural economy and environment: Sri Lanka, Eastern Africa.

Countries/geographic areas: South Asia (particularly Sri Lanka) and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Relevant Publications:

Shanmugaratnam, Nadarajah, 2002. 'Development and War in Sri Lanka: A Review of the Conflict and a Note on Challenges Facing Future Research to Promote Peace and Reconciliation.' *Towards a New Regional and Local Development Research Agenda*. – Gothenburg: Publications edited by the Department of Geography, University of Gothenburg. Series B; No.1.

Shanmugaratnam, Nadarajah, 2001. *Forced Migration and Changing Local Political Economies: A Study from North-Western Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association.

Shanmugaratnam, Nadarajah, 1999. *Rural Poverty in Sri Lanka: A Synthesis of Preliminary Qualitative Studies: Report to the World Bank*. Ås: Noragric, Centre for International Environment and Development Studies, Agricultural University of Norway.

Kristian Stokke

**Professor, Institute for Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo.
Geographer.**

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Key Qualifications:

Areas of interest: Political systems and political mobilization in post-colonial societies. Stokke is currently working on social movements and empowerment in developing countries, with a special emphasis on the relations between the state and these movements. He has a PhD from Pennsylvania State University (1992) entitled 'Dynamic Growth or Pauperization? Rural Small-Scale Industries in Sri Lanka. Stokke has recently also been conducting research on Sinhalese and Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka.

Relevant publications:

Stokke, Kristian & Anne Kirsti Rynthe, 2000. 'The Struggle for Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka', *Growth and Change*, Vol. 31, Spring, pp. 285-304

Stokke, Kristian, 1998. 'Sinhalese and Tamil Nationalism as Post-colonial Political Projects from 'Above' 1948-1983', *Political Geography*, Vol.17, No. 1, pp. 83-113.

Hollup, Oddvar og Kristian Stokke, 1997. *Sri Lanka: Nasjonalisme, identitet og migrasjon*. Oslo: Tano Aschehoug.

Hugo Stokke,

Researcher, Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Bergen. Political Scientist.

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Key Qualifications:

Hugo Stokke is a political scientist specializing in human rights research, including international labor standards, multinational corporations, affirmative action and ethnic discrimination, child labor and human rights monitoring as well as the theoretical foundation of human rights. He has worked extensively in the Asian region covering a number of countries both in South Asia and in Southeast Asia, including Sri Lanka. He worked for three years as an Associate Expert with ILO in the Asian region and has been on regular missions to the region since then. He was the editor of three volumes of the Human Rights in Development Yearbook series (1997-2000).

Relevant publications:

Stokke, Hugo & Nadarajah Shanmugaratnam, 1996. *Strengthening Nation-building in Sri Lanka through Devolution and National Integration*. A programme proposal submitted to the Government of Sri Lanka. Consultancy report for the Government of Sri Lanka and NORAD, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 17 pp.

Gunnar Sørbo

Director, Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Bergen. Social Anthropologist.

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Key Qualifications:

Social anthropologist with extensive experience from research, research management and consultancy work.

Sørbo's professional profile and research interests include development policy and planning: conflict studies and conflict management; social impact assessment (incl. resettlement); agricultural and pastoral systems; and regional analysis and economic adaptations.

Sørbo is an experienced team leader for policy-oriented reviews and evaluations, often with international participation and for many different clients. Before joining CMI as director, he was the first director of the Centre for Development Studies, University of Bergen.

Geographic areas: Sri Lanka, Sudan. Sørbø has had numerous field work assignments and long-term stays in Sri Lanka (1978, 1981, 1984) and several research visits to the country.

Relevant publications:

Sørbø, Gunnar, 1994. 'Social Engineering and Political Economy: Problems of Irrigation Management in Sri Lanka', *Forum for Development Studies*, No. 1-2, pp. 229-247.

Arne Tesli

Research Director, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR), Oslo.

Social Anthropologist and Economist.

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Key Qualifications:

Dr. Polit from University of Bergen, 1986.

Engaged as a Senior Planning Adviser for NORAD at the Moneragala Integrated Rural Development Program in Sri Lanka from April 1990 to July 1992.

Worked as a team leader for the evaluation of Batticaloa Integrated Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Program, Sri Lanka, in 1996.

5. Research Institutes in Sri Lanka

Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo

Areas of Interest

The RCSS facilitates scholars and other professionals of South Asia to address, mutually and collectively, problems and issues of topical interest for all countries of the region. The following are principal areas of focus:

- conceptions & problems of national & regional security, and recent trends in thinking and approaches to security & strategic studies;
- problems of conventional defence build-up & proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- issues of defence expenditure and disarmament;
- disputes and conflicts in intra and inter-state relations and their implications for regional and inter-regional cooperation and development;
- external factors in the security and stability of the region;
- refugees and other forms of movement of people, ethnic, religious and sectarian conflict and their trans-border implications on problems of governance; political violence, terrorism and other types of low-intensity conflicts;
- sharing & management of resources, and geopolitical, economic & environmental factors in security, stability & cooperation in the region; and
- conflict resolution & management, confidence building and cooperative security.

In addition to books, the RCSS publishes policy papers and a newsletter.

Policy Papers:

This monograph series focuses on specific topical issues, expected to stimulate policy-debate and serve opinion-building processes.

Newsletter:

A quarterly bulletin is published containing reports on RCSS activities. It also features articles of contemporary interest to the countries of the region delivered or presented at RCSS activities.

Executive Director: Prof Sridhar Khatri E-mail: edrcss@sri.lanka.net

Rcss newsletter editor & Associate Editor: Sugeeswara Senadhira
(E-mail: rcss@sri.lanka.net)
<http://www.rcss.org>

International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo

The International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES) was established in 1982. Through its existence ICES has striven to evolve a model of historically sensitive theoretical and empirical research on ethnicity, and related social and political processes. From its inception ICES had two 'offices', one in Colombo and one in Kandy. Each has its own academic personality, with special concerns and emphases. The ICES commitment to diversify is reflected by its multi-ethnic Sri Lankan staff. The ICES Board of Directors, international in its composition, reflects its strong international ties. The ICES has consultative status (Category II/Special Status) with the ECOSOC/UN.

Looking back at its years of existence, a period in which Sri Lanka has experienced the problems of an open society and social change, the Centre has been enriched through intensive dialogues with political activists and thinkers and through detailed archival work. There were four broad objectives which motivated the group of scholars who initiated the establishment of ICES:

- the advancement of human rights
- the contribution towards national cohesion;
- promotion of international peace;
- contribution towards a more equitable development process.

ICES has been engaged in a series of research and policy formulation programmes and projects in the areas of ethnicity and nationalism, comparative federalism, minority protection, collective violence, multiculturalism, violence against women, women and governance etc. In undertaking these projects, ICES has had three broad objectives in mind, namely (a) Research, (b) Policy Intervention and (c) Value Formation. It has also undertaken election monitoring missions in other parts of the region including Pakistan, Nepal etc. In addition to these core activities, ICES frequently organizes art exhibitions, music and dance performances, seminars, workshops, book festivals, etc. Specifically, in the area of minority protection, ICES has for the last few years been working with the UN Working Group on Minorities and with the Minority Rights Group. It has been supporting the UN Working group in increasing awareness of the latter's work in the international community in general and in South Asia in particular. ICES is also currently involved in a regional research project on minority protection in South Asia.

ICES Website: <http://www.ices.lk>

E-mail: ices@icescolombo.org

Dr. Darini Rajasingham (dr214@slt.lk)

MARGA Institute
Sri Lanka Center for Development Studies, Colombo

The Marga Institute was founded in 1972 as an independent non-governmental center for development research and related activities.

The principal activity of the Marga Institute is the study and critical evaluation of past and ongoing development processes in Sri Lanka. It approaches and analyses development as a process and a condition in which economic growth, social equity, political freedom and participation are integrally linked and must reinforce one another. Its program of research has therefore covered three main areas of development – economic, social and political. Consequently it draws on a wide range of social science disciplines and brings a multi-disciplinary approach to its work. The Institute's outlook and conceptual framework has been non-partisan and ideologically open. This has enabled it to provide a forum in which groups with different ideological and political orientations have been able to engage in a rational and constructive dialogue on highly controversial national issues.

While the main focus of the Institute's work has been the Sri Lankan problems of development, it places these problems in the context of regional and global changes. The Institute has been active in promoting research collaboration in the South Asian region as well as in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. With other South Asian research institutions, it has pioneered initiatives for multilateral South Asian cooperation. It has participated in research networks that have studied issues of regional concern such as those of poverty, international migration and environment.

The program on political and institutional research includes studies on the process of democratization in Sri Lanka; the parliamentary and electoral process; the party system; the political structures for a multi-ethnic society including the system of devolution and decentralization; the pattern of violence in the country; inter-generational relations with particular reference to youth alienation and youth unrest; several studies on the structure of national and sub-national planning and public decision-making; ethical dilemmas of development.

The Institute publishes a quarterly journal in the English language – MARGA – which includes contributions from local and foreign scholars on development issues as well as articles based on the Institute's work. Two quarterly journals are produced separately in the Sinhala and Tamil languages.

The Institute also has a Library and Documentation Unit with approximately 30,000 books and journals. It contains one of the most extensive collections of development literature and documentation on Sri Lanka. It has acquired the capacity for developing and maintaining computerized information systems and data bases. It provides bibliographical services to scholars. At present it is the coordinating center for the Development Information Network for South Asia (DEVINSA). It also coordinates a library and information network for non-governmental social science research institutions, (INNESS).

The Institute has accumulated a large body of primary data on various aspects of Sri Lanka's development through its field studies and surveys carried out during a period of 21 years. These are being systematized through the proposed Marga Information System (MIS) with statistical (Macro & Micro) and Textual (Documents & Profiles of Programs/Institutions/Persons) as its components, which will provide readily retrievable information on various aspects of development.

Website: <http://www.lanka.net/marga>

E-mail: marga@sri.lanka.net

Social Scientists Association, Colombo (SSA)

Founded in 1977, the Social Scientists' Association (SSA) has been in research, publishing and active intervention to promote democracy and peace in Sri Lanka. SSA provides an organized forum for Sri Lankan scholars and activists in the fields of social science research and the advocacy of gender equity, human rights, peace and conflict resolution.

SSA has conducted pioneering research on Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, agrarian change, development of capitalism, social change, class formation, caste, social justice and women's history. Most of SSA's research has led to the publication of books and monographs. SSA's current research program includes Women and Governance, Security and Human Rights, Pluralism and Hybridity, Women in Conflict Zones, and Peace and Democracy.

Central among SSA's activities are **the Gender Centre and the Community Education Program.**

- The Gender Centre coordinates SSA programs on research, training, lobbying, campaigning and networking. Its research initially focused on retrieving women's history in Sri Lanka. Campaigns have included gender sensitization programs, lobbying for women's rights as human rights and demonstrations for nuclear disarmament and peace. The current key area of activity of the Gender Centre is the project on Women and Governance. It is concerned with increasing the participation of women in politics at local and national levels. The Gender Centre has also organized training programs and internships to promote women in politics. It has recently published a book (Casting Pearls) in three languages on the struggle for women's franchise in Sri Lanka.
- The Program for Alternative Learning (PAL) is a new initiative launched by SSA. PAL functions as an alternative open university by offering courses on themes that are directly relevant to Sri Lanka's democratic agenda. PAL has completed two courses, 'Edit in Style – Training in Editing and Publishing for Community and Academic Writers,' and 'Ethnicity, Nation-state and Democracy'. Among programs planned by PAL are Feminist Theory, Globalization and Labor, and Conflict Resolution and Peace.

SSA publishes 'Polity', earlier named 'Pravada', three journals in Sinhalese, English and Tamil which are a major forum for discussion and debate on democracy, human rights, devolution and peace, social and economic justice, and gender equity. Polity is edited by Kumari Jayawardena and Jayadeva Uyangoda

SSA's Website: www.sslanka.com

Jayadeva Uyangoda: (uyangoda@cmb.ac.lk)

The A.C.S. Hameed Foundation, Colombo.

Dr. A.C.S Hameed was a veteran politician who served 39 years in the Sri Lanka Parliament. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for 13 years. He was the Chairman of the Non Aligned Movement Ministerial Conference (1977 to 79). When contentious issues between member countries emerged the contributions of Dr. Hameed in keeping the movement intact was well acknowledged. During his tenure at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Dr. Hameed's belief in quiet diplomacy was well acknowledged.

Hameed was engaged in negotiations with the LTTE for 14 months during which period Sri Lanka enjoyed peace and stability. Till his death in September 1999, he was very active in securing broad political participation in a political solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. In order to follow up his deep commitment to human rights, peace and ethnic harmony, his family and friends decided to give effect to his vision and establish the foundation he planned before his death, and to use the foundation as an active instrument in promoting lasting peace, not only in Sri Lanka, but in other global conflicts as well.

Aims and Objectives of the Foundation

- To promote peace and understandings among the various people and nations
- To assist in the search of peaceful solutions to communal, racial, religious, ethnic and regional conflicts.
- To carry out studies in order to identify causes of conflicts and viable solutions.
- To study the main constraints in finding solutions to ethnic, racial, religious conflicts with emphasis on Sri Lanka.
- To identify areas where problems and difficulties arise in the implementation of agreements in resolving conflicts.
- To study the problems that arise in the dismantling of war apparatus and return to normalcy in the resolution of ethnic conflicts.
- To carry out detailed studies on the problems that arise in the transition from a war environment to a democratic environment.
- To identify the problems that arise in the post-peace period and identify ways and means to ensure that the sentiments and aspirations of all the communities are taken into consideration.

Key Research Project:

Reconciliation and Consensus: Building Strategies for Effective Peace-making Through Participatory Dialogue and Institution Building.

The *Reconciliation and Consensus* research project envisages utilizing the ACS Hameed Foundation's research capabilities and its unique access to political decision-makers in Sri Lanka to provide guidelines for the making of a lasting peace built on consensus and institutional transformation.

Director of the Hameed Foundation:
Ashique Hameed (ahameed@eureka.lk)

Centre for Policy Alternatives

The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) was formed in 1996 in the firm belief that the vital contribution of civil society to the public policy debate is in need of strengthening. Focusing primarily on issues of governance and conflict resolution, CPA is committed to programs of research and advocacy through which public policy is critiqued, alternatives identified and disseminated. CPA is an independent, non-partisan organization which received funds from international and bilateral funding agencies and foundations. CPA programs are implemented through 5 units:

- Legal and Constitutional Unit
- Conflict & Peace Analysis Unit
- Media Monitoring Unit
- Polling Unit – Social Indicator
- Translation Unit
- CMEV

Monitoring of election related violence is conducted through the Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV), formed together with the Free Media Movement (FMM) and the Coalition against Political Violence. CPA functions as its secretariat. All units work in close and regular cooperation on programs. Their work ranges from public interest litigation and constitutional reform to the monitoring of the incidence of election-related violence, reform, conflict transformation and a political solution to the conflict.

Conflict and Peace Analysis Unit

The Centre for Policy Alternatives set up the Conflict and Peace Analysis Unit in 1999 as a means of further developing CPA's engagement in the sphere of Conflict Transformation.

The focus of the Conflict & Peace Analysis Unit is the protracted ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka: its genesis, manifestations, present trends and tendencies and future trajectory. The unit also seeks to intervene in processes relating to national reconciliation, national reconstruction and the restitution of peace with justice in Sri Lanka. Lessons are drawn, wherever comparable and relevant, from situations of conflict formation and conflict transformation in the international sphere.

Among the specific activities of this unit are:

- Publication of a trilingual journal which essentially seeks to foster interaction between the Centre for Policy Alternatives and the wider public, on issues of key importance to conflict transformation in Sri Lanka. The journal is titled *Peace Monitor*, *Saama Vimarshi* (Sinhala) and *samadhana Nokku* (Tamil).
- A comprehensive database on war and peace.

Website: <http://www.cpalanka.org/>

Bibliography

- Abeysekara, Ananda, 2002. *Colors of the Robe: Religion, Identity and Difference*. Columbia, S.C.: University of Carolina Press.
- Arnesen, Odd Eirik, 1999. Peasant Economy and Community Development in Moneragala District, Sri Lanka. Paper presented at 'Managing the Transition from District IRDPs to Integrated District Development. The MONDEP Experience'. Arranged by Regional Development Studies Centre, University of Colombo 3-5 November, 1999.
- Argenti-Pillen, Alex, 2002. *Masking Terror: How Women Contain Violence in Southern Sri Lanka*. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Athukorala, Premachandra & Sarath Rajapatirana, 2000. *Liberalization and Industrial Transformation: Sri Lanka in International Perspective*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
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