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Civil Society in Sri Lanka

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Editorial Note

We would like to thank Ms. Aoi Kitaoka for her editorial service in English.

1. Introduction and an Overview

The civil society sphere in Sri Lanka is shaped by colonial heritage and the establishment of the modern, democratic state in the first half of the 20th century. Voluntary and professional associations formed in response to the needs of society were in place already in pre-colonial times. Accordingly, grassroots communities had set up informal groups to function as irrigation councils and for collective work in temples. A notion of pre-colonial cooperation and harmony, and the traditional Buddhist society was lost due to colonialism and modernization. Ecumenical organizations set up during colonialism carried out educational and social work to benefit disadvantaged groups. Number of these voluntary service organizations grew, and their characteristics started to diversify, with the changing political landscape from the mid-fifties onwards. However, the NGO sector, in a modern sense, entered in the 1970s, when foreign aid was brought in to the country. A pejorative view of CSOs labeled as "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs) is widely shared among the public, particularly the Sinhala[1] nationalist segments of the population. NGOs have been portrayed as "imperial" or "foreign" agents, and a threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security of the country. After the turn from socialist to open market economic policies in 1977, foreign NGOs entered the country in larger numbers. This trend, and foreign funding of local NGOs, was reinforced after the outbreak of a full-scale civil war between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE[2] in 1983. However, last thirty years has witnessed a steady proliferation and diversification of civil society organizations in Sri Lanka, especially after Tsunami disaster in 2004[3].

Sri Lankans do not recognize giving and volunteering as a separate entity, because, they practice it in day today activities. They consider "giving and volunteering" as good deeds according to their religions. This can be seen among different religious groups of the country. Yamauchi (2015) says social activities in nonprofit sector in Asia are based on religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. According to Charity Aid Foundation, Sri Lanka is one of the most charitable countries in the developing world (Silva, 2016). Sri Lanka ranks 8 among top 20 countries in the 5 year CAF World Giving Index.

Sri Lankan civil society consists of a diverse range of organizations, including service providing CSOs and advocacy CSOs promoting human rights, democracy, and good governance. Today, there are many community-based organizations (CBOs) in Sri Lanka, which include funeral assistance societies, youth and sports clubs, rural development societies and religious societies. Most CBOs have small membership and carry out geographically limited activities, chiefly in the fields of community development, micro-credit, livelihood diversification and sports. However,

[1] The Sinhalese are an Indo-Aryan speaking ethnic group native to the island of Sri Lanka. They constitute about 75% of the Sri Lankan population and number greater than 15 million.
[2] The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), commonly known as the Tamil Tigers, were a separatist militant organization fighting for an independent homeland for Sri Lanka's Tamil minority in northern Sri Lanka.
[3] The 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake is the third-largest earthquake ever recorded. Indonesia was the hardest-hit country, followed by Sri Lanka, India, and Thailand.

number of NGOs registered under the National Secretariat for Non-Governmental Organizations in Sri Lanka is only 1465. International donor organizations are the primary source of funding for CSOs in Sri Lanka. While no official data is available on the scale of foreign assistance, key contributors include various UN agencies; bilateral agencies such as USAID, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC); and international organizations such as World Vision, CARE, and Search for Common Ground (SFCG). Donor funding to CSOs, especially those focused on advocacy, decreased in 2014. CSOs believe that four factors led to this reduction in donor funding: the World Bank designated Sri Lanka as a middle income country; government harassment of CSOs increased; bilateral relations deteriorated; and the Government of Sri Lanka failed to engage meaningfully with international and domestic CSOs to serve vulnerable populations in the North and East. Local sources of funding are virtually non-existent. Some corporations such as Dialog PLC, MAS Holdings, Hayleys PLC, John Keels Holdings, and Brandix Lanka Limited donate to CSOs as part of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs. However, these programs are often short term and do not adequately reflect the needs of local communities. Additionally, some CSOs access in-kind support such as computer equipment and school supplies from local philanthropic sources such as the Rotary Club and the Lions Club. A large number of CSOs lack transparent and reliable financial management systems, including procedure manuals, accounting systems, and operational plans. Furthermore, smaller CSOs cannot afford to hire professional staff such as accountants and IT managers. While CSOs are required to submit audited accounts on an annual basis, some do not regularly submit their accounts and only maintain accounting and financial records at the request of their donors.

2. History of the Civil Society in Sri Lanka

2.1. Before Independence (before 1948)

The emergence of NGOs can be identified in Sri Lanka, manifested by the informal groups functioning as Wew Sabhas (irrigation councils), which maintained and managed small scale water reservoirs for agricultural needs (Akurugoda, 2018). In Sri Lanka, the civil society sphere is shaped by colonial heritage[4] (Orjuela, 2005). According to ADB (2013) the earliest NGOs in Sri Lanka were ecumenical organizations affiliated to the 19th century Christian missions, for example, the Ceylon Bible Society, established in 1812, the Christian Literature Society of Ceylon in 1858, and the Young Men's Christian Association in 1882 (ADB, 2013). In the late 19th century, local Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims began to imitate the organizational structure of the Christian missionaries with religious and social service agendas being established (Akurugoda, 2018). According to ADB (2013), the arrival in 1880 of the American Theosophists,

[4] Sri Lanka was colonized by Portuguese (16th century) & Dutch (17th century). These groups could capture only coastal areas. British invaded Kandy-the last kingdom of Sri Lanka and occupied the whole country in 1815.

Helena Blavatsky and Henry S. Olcott, led to the establishment of the Buddhist Theosophical Society, which in turn bore offshoots such as the Women's Education Society (1889), the Mahabodhi Society (1891), and the Young Men's Buddhist Association (1898). Notable among the voluntary organizations spawned by the nationalist movement were the Ceylon Women's Union (1904), which aimed to raise the status of women, and the Ceylon Social Reform Society (1905), which sought to defend the country's cultural values (ADB, 2013).

Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. According to Silva (2016), religious traditions employed their own ideas of charitable giving; Buddhist concept of giving "dana", Hindu concept of giving "danam" and Islamic concepts of giving "Zakath". ADB (2013) says that traditional community-based organizations (CBOs), such as Temple Development Societies and Death Donation Societies were supplemented in 1906 by the first Thrift and Credit Co-operative Societies, established under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance. Charity and Philanthropy is delivered by Gangaramaya (Buddhist) temple in Colombo, which started in 1885 and having devotees drawn from different ethnic and religious backgrounds (Silva, 2016). The importance of this organization is, according to Silva (2016), that, it is targeting issues, and neither fund raising nor beneficiary selection limited to Buddhists and has some inclination towards "philanthro-nationalism". Based on the Women's Institutes in the West, the women's movement for suffrage gave rise to the Lanka Mahila Samiti (Women's Association) which became the first broad-based NGO in Sri Lanka, expanding to 125 branches by 1948 (ADB, 2013). Founded in 1930, it was pioneered the establishment of women's societies in rural areas linked to the parent body, entirely focusing on rural women (Website of Lanka Mahila Samithi). These were complemented after 1940 by government promoted rural development societies and other CBOs.

2.2. After Independence

After independence, most of voluntary and professional associations formed in response to the needs of the society in pre-colonial times were called voluntary service organizations, and religion was a predominant feature (EU, 2010). In the immediate post-independence period, there was a gradual increase in the number of NGOs (ADB, 2013). For example, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement which was found in 1958 is the Sri Lanka's most broadly embedded community-based development organization network. It was established under the concept of "Shramadana" which means "sharing of one's time, thoughts, labor and energy." Sarvodaya works with 26 district centres, 325 divisional centres and over 3,000 legally independent village societies in districts across the country, including war-torn Northern and Eastern provinces (Website of Sarvodaya). However, the NGO sector, in a modern sense, entered the picture in the 1970s when foreign aid was brought in to the country (EU, 2010). Since 1970s, NGOs played a key role in addressing problems including, human rights violations, and issues with decentralization, local government and community-led development (Akurugoda, 2018). In the late 1970s, the liberalization of the economy and the relaxation of exchange controls and travel

restrictions, as well as the increased flow of foreign assistance resulted in the rapid growth of the NGO sector, and this process was accelerated following the outbreak of civil conflict in 1983 (ADB, 2013), and more recently as a consequence of the Tsunami (EU, 2010). Akurugoda, Barrett, and Simpson (2017) quotes that in the 1980s, NGOs that worked in Sri Lanka expanded their concerns from development-oriented activities to the rights-oriented sphere, emanated from the prolonged war between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the government forces, and the second youth insurrection of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)[5] which saw numerous human rights violations. Akurugoda (2018) says that, NGOs are heavily depending on foreign donor funds and in 1990s increasing pressure came on NGOs, through their donors demanding effectiveness and efficacy of aid. As a result, new NGOs emerged in the 1990s along with individual consultants and consultancy firms, to assist in building this type of capacity (Akurugoda, 2018). According to ADB (2013), in 1996 the government set up a National Secretariat for the Registration of NGOs to register NGOs and, in 1998, further amended the existing legislation by the Voluntary Social Services Organizations Act to enable greater supervision. After Tsunami disaster in 2004, many NGOs descended Sri Lanka with budgets of various dimensions and involving projects of varying time frames, highlighting as an important point of NGO growth in Sri Lanka (Akurugoda, 2018). With the end of the civil conflict in May 2009, civil society found itself facing the task of rebuilding the North and East and rehabilitating the people in these areas (ADB, 2013).

3. Legal and Tax Systems

3.1. Legal Structure

There were no specific laws and regulations governing the operation of NGOs in Sri Lanka before 1980 (ADB, 2013). At that time, the Societies Ordinance (1891) and the Companies Act (1938) were deemed sufficient (EU, 2010). In 1980, the Government enacted the Voluntary Social Services Organizations (Registration & Supervision) Act which sought to introduce a system of registration and supervision of activities of NGOs, but, it was not strictly implemented and the registration of NGOs was not strictly followed (Website of the National Secretariat for NGOs of Sri Lanka). Pursuant to the recommendations made by the commission appointed by the President in 1990, regulations were passed under the Public Security Ordinance, obligating compulsory registration of NGOs which have a turnover of 50,000 rupees and above, but, with the lapse of the Emergency Regulations, this system also lapsed (Website of the National Secretariat for NGOs of Sri Lanka). The website further says that in 1995, the Ministry of Health, Highways & Social Services proposed certain amendments to the 1980 Act. The draft legislation

[5] The Janathā Vimukthi Peramuṇa (People's Liberation Front), is a communist and Marxist–Leninist party and political movement in Sri Lanka. The movement was involved in two armed uprisings against the ruling governments in 1971 and 1987–89.

provided for the establishment of an NGO advisory Council and appointment of Interim Boards of Management to administer the affairs of NGOs, and in 1998 the draft legislation was approved by the Parliament Act No.8 of 1998 (Website of the National Secretariat for NGOs of Sri Lanka).

According to EU (2010), in addition to the Department of Social Services, other institutions came to play a role in overseeing the NGO sector. Specialized national NGOs could register with specific subject ministries and eventually, with the entry into force of the 13th Amendment of the Constitution, registration functions were moved to divisional secretariats in the provinces. International NGOs were instead relating mainly to the Ministry of Planning and the NGO Unit within the Ministry of Plan Implementation, but, in certain respects, fell also under the purview of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (EU, 2010). A Secretariat for NGOs was established in 1996 in the Ministry of Health, Highways & Social Services and now the National Secretariat for Non- Governmental Organization is functioning under the purview of the Ministry of National Co-existence, Dialogue and Official Languages (Website of National Secretariat for NGOs).

According to USAID (2014), CSOs in Sri Lanka can register through one of five legal instruments: the Societies Ordinance of 1891, the Companies Act of 2007, the Co-operative Societies Act of 1992, the Voluntary Social Service Organizations (VSSO), and an Act of Parliament sponsored by a Member of Parliament through a Private Member's Bill. According to the VSSO; a voluntary social service organization is "any organization formed by a group of persons on a voluntary basis" that is either (a) of non-governmental nature, (b) dependent on public contributions or donations (local or foreign), or (c) set up with the objective of providing relief services to the mentally and physically disabled, the poor, the sick, orphans, and post-disaster relief (USAID, 2014). Regardless of the chosen mechanism for registration, all organizations that fall into one of the above categories must also register under the VSSO, and organizations registered under the VSSO are subjected to the reporting requirements of the NGO Secretariat, which was under the purview of the Ministry of Defense in 2014 (USAID, 2014). USAID further says that an amendment to the VSSO in 1998 gave the Registrar of the NGO Secretariat the power of interim management, if a registered CSO is suspected of fraud or misappropriation.

EU (2010) states that the legal and regulatory framework of civil society in Sri Lanka remains quite complex since, multiple layers of regulations and modalities of registration exist for different actors at various structural levels. Community Based Organizations (CBOs), for instance, register with their Divisional Secretaries or with relevant government departments depending on their specific sector of activity, while trade unions, religious-based groups and credit groups are bound by different regulations and procedures (EU, 2010).

3.2. Tax Structure

The tax structure applicable to CSOs in Sri Lanka is complex and at times inconsistent (USAID, 2014). According to ADB (2013), taxation of NGOs is governed by Section 102 of the Inland Revenue Act No.10 of 2006, and by the guidelines for remission of NGO tax payable, issued in 2011. ADB (2013) and USAID (2014) states that, under the Inland Revenue Act of 2006, CSOs must pay an income tax of 0.3 percent on all income received from grants, donations, and contributions which are deemed as profit. This requirement often places a financial burden on smaller CSOs (USAID, 2014). NGOs may receive tax remissions if they are involved in activities connected to infrastructure or in livelihood support to displaced persons, or if they are identified as being involved in specified disaster relief operations (ADB, 2013) at the discretion of the Inland Revenue Commissioner, but the lack of clarity in the exemption process limits the number of CSOs with access to these benefits (USAID, 2014). CSOs can legally earn income through the provision of goods and services, but do not receive any tax exemptions on earned income (USAID, 2014). CSOs typically cannot afford professional legal advice on registration processes, responses to government interference in CSO operations or taxation, and even lawyers in Sri Lanka rarely specialize in this area, and very few are knowledgeable on the laws pertaining to CSOs, possibly because, there is a lack of awareness of a need for specialists in this area (USAID, 2014).

4. Social Entrepreneurs and Social Enterprises

Social entrepreneurs are individuals, who pursue some mix of social goals and market success through the creation of a social enterprise (Young, Searing and Brewer, 2016). Young et al. (2016) stated that unlike profit-maximizing entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs seek out opportunities to respond to "wicked" and "intractable" social and environmental problems. Social enterprises create jobs and generate income like other businesses, but instead of channeling profits to owners they reinvest them to support their social mission; improving people's lives (Website of British Council Sri Lanka). Social enterprises can be seen as a hybrid between conventional charities and for-profit companies (Website of Good Market Sri Lanka). Like a charity or non-profit NGO, a social enterprise is purpose driven, and it is created to address a social or environmental problem (Website of Good Market Sri Lanka). A social enterprise has a financially sustainable business model, and is not dependent on grant aid or charitable donations like a for-profit company (Website of Good Market Sri Lanka). Whether operated by a non-profit organization or by a for-profit company, a social enterprise has two goals: to achieve social, cultural, community, economic and, or environmental outcomes; and, to earn revenue (Daily News, 2017). Accordingly, social entrepreneurs have that undying passion to create social impact, as well as have financial independence (The Sunday Leader, 2017).

Table 1: A Comparable Overview on Non-Profit Charity, For-Benefit Social Enterprise and For-Profit Company

Non-Profit Charity	For-Benefit Social Enterprise	For-Profit Company
Purpose-Driven Created to address social & environmental problems	**Purpose-Driven** Created to address social & environmental problems	**Profit-Driven** Created to maximize profit for owners
Not Sustainable Depends on continued institutional grant funding	**Sustainable** Self-financing	**Sustainable** Self-financing

Source: *Website of Good Market Sri Lanka*

4.1. The Role of Social Enterprises in Sri Lankan Civil Society

Social Enterprise sector in Sri Lanka is growing and there are thousands of entities in Sri Lanka which can be recognized as social enterprises, although a few companies already identify themselves as social enterprises, many others do not know they may be running a social enterprise (Website of Social Enterprise Lanka). Most social enterprises are at start-up stage,

while more and more charities are being transformed into social enterprises (Website of Social Enterprise Lanka).

The Assistant Governor of the Central Bank says that Sri Lanka needs to identify social enterprises within a legal framework, as there is no clear definition for social enterprises in the country's business registration (Daily News, 2017). In more mature economies like in the UK or the US, there are more stringent criteria to qualify as a social enterprise; for example in the UK, there is a separate legal registration model called 'Community Interest Companies (CIC)', and the American model of B-corporations (B for Beneficiary) are examples of evolving definitions for social enterprises (The Sunday Leader, 2017). The founder of Social Enterprise Lanka, Eranda Ginige says that different organizations have developed different tools and techniques to measure social and environmental impact, and the Social Enterprise Lanka closely follows and promotes the 'Impact Reporting and Investment Standards (IRIS)', which is a free and open source tool developed by the 'Global Impact Investing Network (GIIN)' (The Sunday Leader, 2017). The first TV show to promote social entrepreneurs in Sri Lanka "Ath Pavura" is conceptualized by Social Enterprise Lanka and Lanka Impact Investing Network, with the aim of finding hidden entrepreneurs scattered around the country, those who are solving social and environmental problems through their businesses (Website of Social Enterprise Lanka).

More progressive governments are using tax payers' money to incentivize social enterprises that are solving social problems. For example there are new financial instruments like social bonds, social stock exchanges, large government funds channeling impact investment to social entrepreneurs, bringing in laws to promote products and services of social enterprises over others, and separate legal status with affiliated tax incentives, but, still none of this exists in Sri Lanka (The Sunday Leader, 2017). There are different models of social enterprise which can be seen in Sri Lanka. The Sunday Leader (2017) mentions some of them; first there is the common model that sells a 'good product'; for example an organic vegetable vendor or a health service for low-income communities. Second, there are companies that use 'employment' to address a social problem, for example the companies employing ex-prisoners or homeless people. Third there are companies using 'waste' as raw material to make new products, for example, waste including food, plastic and saw dust. I would like to introduce three related cases below.

4.2. Case Studies

Case 1: Good Market Sri Lanka

Good Market operates as a self-financing social enterprise for 15 years. The current approach has been tested in Sri Lanka since 2012, under Lanka Good Market (Guarantee) Limited, a not-for-profit company limited by guarantee. The online global community platform is under Good Market Incorporated, a social enterprise that is registered in the United States as a benefit corporation (Website of Good Market). This case study comes under the first category mentioned above; "sells a good product." The Good Market offers a range of healthy, environmental friendly, ethical products including natural foods and snacks, non-toxic housewares and garden supplies, handmade and fair trade crafts that are not readily available anywhere else in Sri Lanka (Website of Minca Living In).

Good Market started as a volunteer-driven initiative, as Sri Lanka has many organic farmers, fair trade[6] initiatives, social enterprises, and responsible businesses, as well as well-educated consumers that want healthy food and socially and environmentally responsible products. Accordingly, weekly event which was started in 2012 with 33 stalls has been rapidly expanded (Website of Good Market). Since vendors did not have experience in consistently filling larger orders, the Good Market organic and natural food shop was started in 2014 to serve as an incubator for small-scale producers and new enterprises (Website of Good Market).

Case 2: Thusare Health Centre

Second type of social enterprise mentioned above is the companies that use 'employment' to address a social problem. Thusare Health Centre is a social enterprise which has taken initiatives to empower blind people from disadvantaged communities to become equal partners of sustainable development in Sri Lanka (Website of Minca Living In). The traditional view of the blind people is that, they should be 'cared' for and 'looked' after. Established in 2012, Thusare provides employment opportunities for blind people through training them on shiatsu[7] (Website of Minca Living In).

[6] Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect that seek greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South (https://wfto.com/fair-trade/definition-fair-trade).

[7] Shiatsu is a form of Japanese bodywork based on ideas in traditional Chinese medicine (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shiatsu)

Case 3: Eco-Maximus

Third type of social enterprises are those using 'waste' as raw material to make new products Eco-Maximus is a social enterprise established in 1997 in Pinnawala[8], Sri Lanka to enhance conservation of the Sri Lankan elephants (Website of Minca Living In). They use the elephant dung to produce paper with, and then, raise awareness of the elephant-human conflict[9]. The founder has inspired to start this business, because of his love for elephants, thus focusing on their conservation (Website of Minca Living In).

5. Social Capital

5.1. What is Social Capital?

Social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between individuals, and it is also a byproduct of religion, tradition, shared historical experience and other types of cultural norms (Fukuyama, 2000). For Putnam et al. social capital refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms (of reciprocity), and networks (of civic engagement) that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Goodhand, Hulme, and Lewer, 2000). Nishide (2009) states that social capital is viewed from the perspective of human capital as proposed by Gary S. Becker (1975), Coleman (1988) and OECD (2001) and human capital refers to the "knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being." There are three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Putnam (1993, 2000) made a significant distinction between bonding and bridging social capital while, Woolcock (1998) of the World Bank added linking social capital from the perspective of developmental assistance (Nishide, 2009). Bonding social capital builds intra-group solidarity, while, bridging social capital builds inter-group solidarity (Goodhand et al. 2000). Linking social capital is a vertical connection beyond power and hierarchy across individuals and groups of differing levels of power, wealth and social position (Nishide, 2009).

[8] Pinnawala is a viage in the Sabaragamuwa Province of Sri Lanka. It is famous for Pinnawala Elephant Orphanage, which provides shelter for about 88 elephants.

[9] Shrinking elephant habitats and expanding human populations mean people and elephants increasingly come into contact. Elephants can be dangerous to humans, and can devastate crops and buildings. Each year 50 people in Sri Lanka are killed by elephants and over 100 elephants are killed by farmers defending their crops (http://www.bornfree.org.uk/animals/asian-elephants/projects/sri-lankan-human-elephant-conflict)

Table 2: Characteristics of Three Types of Social Capital

Type	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Definition	Closed connection in a homogeneous group like a glue that strengthens internal bonds	Open and horizontal connection between and among different people and groups like a lubricant	Vertical connection beyond power and hierarchy across individuals and groups of different power
Scope of relationship	Within an organization	Between and among organizations	Across organizations, power and hierarchy
Characteristics	Common identity, bonds and a sense of belonging	Diversity, inclusion and comprehensiveness	Power and authority
Orientation	Inward-looking	Outward-looking	Outward-looking
Connections and networks	Closed, thick and often vertical	Open, thin and horizontal	Open and vertical
Trust	Specialized trust, mutual trust and a sense of security	Generalized trust	Trust in governance
Outcome	Support, mutual help, involvement, team work, and cohesive action	Understanding of diversity, respect, professionalism, knowledge and resource	Advocacy, influence, financial and non-monetary support
Downside	Possibility of social exclusion, abuse, restrictions on individual freedom, and downward leveling of norms	Possibility of a lack of bonds, and unequal distribution	Possibility of a mechanism for insider-trading and political favoritism without accountability and control
Example	Close friends, neighborhood associations and religious groups	Environmental groups and nonprofit organizations	Ability of nonprofits to raise funds from government

Source: created by Nishide (2009) based on Putnam (1993, 2000), Woolcock (1998), Jochum (2003), Halpern (2005) and Healy (2005)

5.2. Social Capital in Sri Lankan Context

The commonalities of most definitions of social capital are that they focus on social relations that have productive benefits (Claridge, 2004). Social capital refers to the collective value of all "social networks" [who people know] and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other ["norms of reciprocity"] (Website of HARVARD Kennedy School). There has not been much research conducted on social capital in Sri Lankan societies. It is an inadequately discussed concept locally, although regarded as an important source in creating well-being (Somaratne, Dayaratne, & Wickramasuriya, 2011). According to Bandarage (2009), Sri Lanka's image as a model of development and democracy in third world until 1970s, has been severely tarnished over the 1980s and 1990s. The country's recent history of under-achievement and economic crisis can be attributed to the 25-year-old war, policy mistakes, an inefficient large public sector, and poor governance, and the erosion of 'productive' social capital, has also played an important role in the sorry tale of development in Sri Lanka (Bandarage, 2009). I would like to refer to some studies conducted in Sri Lanka on social capital related to economic, social, and political fields.

5.3. Relationship between Social Capital and Credit Market

Shoji, Aoyagi, Kasahara, Sawada, & Ueyama (2012), state that economists and sociologists recognize the important roles played by social capital in reducing poverty and facilitating rural development. A study done by Shoji et al (2012), in Sri Lanka has covered rural areas and war affected regions of Sri Lanka which contribute low GDP to the country's economy, compared to the Western province (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2015). It investigates the nexus between social capital formation and accessibility to an imperfect credit market. Researchers consider three types of activities as investment in social capital: expenditure toward community ceremonies, participation in community work, and participation in communal irrigation maintenance (Shoji et al., 2012)

In Sri Lanka, villagers interact with each other by attending formal and informal meetings; such as farmer organization meetings[10], Shramadana[11] and devote time to community activities[12] Participation in these activities can benefit all community members as a contribution to public goods, and therefore, these activities are investment in social capital at the community level. In addition, contributions to religious festivals and to funeral societies as well as expenditures for one's own wedding and family funerals can be considered as types of social capital investments (Shoji et al., 2012).

[10] Resolve conflicts among farmers, carry out cooperative purchasing of farm inputs and marketing of products and make provisions for loans to farmers and so on.
[11] Free supply of labor in activities such as cleaning communal roads and irrigation canals
[12] Making preparations for religious activities

The study has two distinctive features. First, it includes information on social capital investment covering topics such as community work participation and contribution of expenses toward community ceremonies. Second, it contains data on a direct indicator of credit constraints. In this study, "credit constraints" refers to excess demand for consumption and investment credit with respect to the overall market, including formal and non-formal lenders. After evaluating the impact credit constraints on social capital investment, it has found out that credit-constrained households are less likely to invest in social capital: less likely to expend for community ceremonies, and less likely to participate in irrigation maintenance. Credit constraints cause households to make low investments in social capital since households with poor social capital stock suffer from low trust towards business partners, villagers and other individuals. This leads to poor access to informal credit, forming a negative cycle. The implications derived from these arguments are that the improvement of the credit market is essential to reduce poverty and enhance social capital. While previous studies argue that social capital improves access to informal credit, respective researchers show the reverse causality, and combining these findings suggests a potential poverty trap (Shoji et al., 2012).

5.4. Social Capital and Well-being

A study conducted in selected rural areas in the Central Province of Sri Lanka, on the relationship between social capital and well-being of rural people by Somaratne et al. (2011) is presented below. This study viewed social relationship as the basic element of social capital and categorized them into two major types (a) one's general social relationships (GSR) and (b) special social relationships (SSR). General relationships are usually more in number but shallow in depth of the bond, whereas special social relationships are few in number, but deeper in bonds. One's total stock of social capital (TSSC) is depicted by sum of both kinds of relationships; GSR and SSR.

Paul Blokker (www.apps.eui.eu/Personal/.../pblokker/Socio-LocDev_Class) quotes Pierre Bourdieu that "the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize, and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected." It was defined in this study that "perceived level of satisfaction (by individuals) towards the economic and social standards that person enjoys" has two strands, (a) economic well-being and (b) social well-being (Somaratne et al., 2011). Accordingly, one's total well-being (TWB) is equal to the sum of economic well-being (EWB) and social well-being (SWB). The major contention developed in this study was that social capital alone cannot have a strong association with well-being, and other resources embedded in social relationships or resourcefulness are of high importance. The resourcefulness comes in terms of physical resources (money and other tangible assets), human resources (education and health status of social actors) and moral resources (human qualities such as kindness, empathy, generosity). Somaratne et al. (2011) quotes Cox (1999) and Carroll (2000) that diversity of relationships creates well-being.

The high prevalence of poverty and poor diversity in rural social relationships were two key factors that reduced the resources embedded in relationships. According to Somaratne et al. (2011), based on the above findings, this study recommends that social capital should not be viewed as a 'magic bullet' that creates well-being of rural people. The rural development programs planning to develop social capital need to consider the development of other resources as well.

5.5. Social Capital Formation and Violence

A study done (during internal war-which was ended in 2009) by Goodhand et al. (2000) examines the inter-relations between the political economy generated by violent conflict and social capital, through case study analysis of several war-affected communities in Sri Lanka. Social capital theory has little to say about violent conflict because of; first, its positivist thrust and emphasis on co-operation, and second, its conceptualization of conflict as a non-violent activity (Goodhand et al., 2000).

It is generally assumed that violent conflict has a negative effect on social capital and war zones are considered to be 'zones of social capital deficiency'. According to Goodhand et al. (2000) Sri Lanka is endowed with high levels of social capital-with high social indicators, a dynamic civil society and a functioning democracy. But, militarized violence has had a major impact on the physical, human, social and natural capital and militarized violence has become an island-wide and endemic feature of the Sri Lankan society, with conventional warfare in the north and suicide attacks and bombing of economic targets by terrorists (LTTE) in the south. The case studies show that violent conflict is extremely variegated, taking different forms, involving different kinds of actors and interacting with different social environments. David Keen (2000) distinguishes between top-down (mobilized by political leaders and entrepreneurs) and bottom-up (embraced by ordinary people) violence, and both types could be seen in Sri Lanka (Goodhand et al., 2000). The case studies illustrates that the links between militarized violence and social capital are complex, dynamic and context specific. Claridge (2004) says that the variety of definitions identified in the literature stem from the highly context specific nature of social capital, and the complexity of its conceptualization and operationalization.

There are broadly four ways in which social capital has been affected by ongoing conflict. The first common community coping strategy was to fall back on group based networks and family ties, strengthening bonding social capital. On one hand communities have fallen back on traditional sources of social capital, and on the other, conflict has been triggered for rapid social change with the emergence of new leadership, and 'new rich'. Conflict entrepreneurs appear to have an intuitive understanding of how to destroy social capital and create anti-social capital. Bonding social capital may represent powerful social glue when there is a clearly defined enemy, but when conflict becomes protracted, the bonding may breakdown. Conflict entrepreneurs on either side are aware of these tensions and exploit them accordingly. Therefore, social capital

may be manipulated and strengthened for perverse outcomes. Certain types of social capital have been a casualty of war, for instance, structural social capital. Bridging social capital between communities has been purposely undermined. Social capital depletion appeared to be greatest where communities were subjected to competing regimes of control and terror. Such an environment has undermined both bridging and bonding social capital.

6. The Role of Civil Society in Peacebuilding

6.1. Civil Society and Peacebuilding

Civil society is widely assumed to be an important actor for peacebuilding, especially in countries experiencing or emerging from situations of armed conflict. In such environments, civil society is understood as playing an important role in reducing violence, and in facilitating the conditions necessary for building sustainable peace (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006). A three-year comparative research project which was undertaken across thirteen countries has developed a comprehensive framework to analyze the relevance and effectiveness of the role of civil society in peacebuilding. The framework is largely structured around seven potential functions of civil society in peacebuilding (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006).

1) Protection of citizens against violence from all parties
2) Monitoring of human rights violations, the implementation of peace agreements
3) Advocacy for peace and human rights
4) Socialization of values of peace and democracy as well as to develop the in-group identity of marginalized groups
5) Inter-group social cohesion by bringing people together
6) Facilitation of dialogue on the local and national level between all sorts of actors
7) Service delivery to create entry points for peacebuilding

Table 3: Comparing Civil Society Functions in Democratization and Peacebuilding

	Understanding in Democratization	Civil Society Functions Peacebuilding	Understanding in Peacebuilding
Protection	Against attacks from state against freedom, life and property	Protection	Protection against attacks from all armed actors
Monitoring	Monitoring and controlling state activities and citizen's rights	Monitoring & early warning	Same as in democratization, plus monitoring relevant issues for early warning
Advocacy/ public communication	Articulating interests and bringing relevant issues to the public agenda	Advocacy & public communication	Same as in democratization, plus participation in the peace process
Socialization	Forming democratic attitudes and habits, tolerance and trust	Culture of peace and socialization	Attitude change for inculcating 'culture of peace' and reconciliation
Social Cohesion	Building social capital, bridging societal cleavages, adding to social cohesion	Conflict sensitive social cohesion	Building bridging ties across adversary groups
Intermediation	Balancing interests with the state	Intermediation/ facilitation	Facilitating between all kinds of different actors, not only citizen-state
Service delivery	Providing basic needs oriented services to citizens (questioned)	Service delivery	Can serve as important entry point to other functions for peacebuilding in case actors are aware of potential

Source: Paffenholz, T., and Spurk, C. (2006) *Civil Society and peacebuilding* . Retrieved from https://www.sfcg.org/events/.../CCDP_Working_Paper_4-1%20a.pd...

6.2. Role of Civil Society in Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka suffered from an internal conflict, almost 26 years, from 1983-2009, between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which has mostly been portrayed as an "ethnic" power conflict between majority of Sinhalese and the Tamil minority. The protracted nature of the conflict inflicted devastating and deeply felt consequences at the human,

social, physical, and institutional level (Mel and Venugopal, 2016). Sri Lankan education policies, already during the war have included notion of social cohesion and peace. A specific National Policy on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace and a Comprehensive Framework of Actions (national policy on ESCP) has been formulated by the Ministry of Education in 2008 (MoE, 2008). There are different actors in building peace in Sri Lanka including the government. NGOs often fill the gaps left by the government in the formal school system, and they focus mostly on non-formal peace education initiatives, designing and implementing peace education programmes (Cardozo, 2006). Civil-society actors in Sri Lanka strive to contribute to peace processes (1) addressing ethnic divides and public opinion with education and awareness-raising programmes, as well as cross-ethnic dialogue, (2) addressing politics with popular mobilization, advocacy work, and informal diplomacy, and (3) addressing economic issues through reconstruction and development (Orjuela, 2003).

6.3. Case Studies

UNDP in Sri Lanka collaborates by way of informal and formal consultations. During the immediate aftermath of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) of 2002, UNDP in Sri Lanka has been conducting peacebuilding projects in collaboration with the civil society. The abrogation of the Ceasefire Agreement in January 2008 has opened up a new and perhaps more challenging environment for engagement in peacebuilding.

Case 1: Strengthening Information Capacities for the Peace Process (Peace Secretariats)

The 'Strengthening Information Capacities of the Peace Process' project worked in close partnership with the three established Peace Secretariats to improve the information and communication capacities. It was important for the Secretariats to improve their partnerships with each other and to communicate information and ideas about the peace process with their respective constituencies in order to develop and sustain public support for peace in the country. The project adopted a two-pronged approach towards meeting its aims. First, it supported the three Secretariats to improve their information and communication capacities. Second, it established a Small Grants Fund (SGF) modality in order to support civil society initiatives, that sought to build public awareness and participation for peace (www.undp.org/.../undp/.../civil_society/.../Civil_Society).

Case 2: Creating Dividends of Peace

In 2002 the Office of the Commissioner General for the Coordination of Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation (OCGRRR) was established for administering relief and rehabilitation to the country's conflict-affected areas. UNDP accepted to provide organizational support to the OCGRRR and has assisted in the development of the National Action Plan for Reconciliation. Though essentially State-led, the planning process actively sought the experience and expertise of

civil society actors and developed into a platform for dialogue between representatives of the state (government ministries, civil servants) and civil society (academics, CSOs, religious leaders). In fact, NGOs spearheaded each of the four working groups constituting the Action Plan, facilitated far-reaching consultations, and eventually developed recommendations which were incorporated into the final document (www.undp.org/.../undp/.../civil_society/.../Civil_Society).

However, analyzing the role of Sri Lankan civil society in peacebuilding, Orjuela (2004) came to the conclusion that there had been many forms of social and political engagement of genuine local and national groups. When the peace work was more professionalized and commercialized, it was monopolized by a few, mainly urban based elite NGOs from Colombo. As a result, the genuine social and peace engagement of the population decreased, local peace work was consequently disempowered as the national NGOs were mostly disconnected from people and their communities on both sides of the conflict. In the midst of a polarized ethnic conflict, it was critical to rely on the mobilization of people for peace, but this mobilization could not be achieved by national NGOs. The impact of civil society work on peacebuilding in Sri Lanka was thus very limited (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006).

7. The Role of Civil Society in Rural Development and Service Providing

Contribution of NGOs in alleviating poverty remains only partial and is contested (Chandradasa www.civil.mrt.ac.lk/conference/ICSBE2012/SBE-12-65.pdf). Chardradasa quotes that some studies conducted in the end of 1980s and early 1990s were arguing that NGOs contribution in poverty reduction is limited (Edwards & Hulme 1999; Riddell & Robinson 1995). In contrast, some other researchers (Suharko 2007) pointed out that the involvement of NGOs in alleviating poverty has changed the life of the poor in developing countries. Conforming to the debate, the NGOs have changed their role and approach in development radically over the last 15 to 20 years, in helping the poor climb out of poverty.

In Sri Lanka, there was a gradual increase in number of NGOs in post-independent period (ADB, 2013). The Department of Rural Development was active in promoting village rural development societies for voluntary self-help work. On its initiative, several international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) were introduced to Sri Lanka, which concern issues including; poverty alleviation and sustainable development, rural development, development of social infrastructure and empowerment of women (ADB, 2013). Two case studies on NGO participation in rural development are discussed below.

7.1.Case Study 1: Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement which was founded in 1958 is Sri Lanka's most broadly embedded community-based development organization network (website of Sarvodaya).

According to Ariyaratne (2010), Sarvodaya Shramadana means “the awakening of all”. The approach of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is described as an integrated approach to community development. The Movement works from the bottom up, originating in the villages, and is carried out by village people themselves. Sarvodaya has evolved a 5 - stage village development model (Ariyaratne, 2010).

Psychological Infrastructure Building Stage

Under this stage, village people donate their labour and other resources to satisfy a community need such as constructing an access road or putting up a community hall.

Social Infrastructure Building Stage

Under this stage, various groups are formed - mothers' group, children’s group, youth group and various types of trainings required by the village are provided. These include community leadership, early childhood education and community health. It is aimed at bridging the gap that exists between communities often remote and ill - informed, and of the government health services.

Institutional Development and Basic Needs Satisfaction Stage

At this stage the village receives supplementary technical and financial support from Sarvodaya to fulfill their basic human needs including; a clean and beautiful environment, clean drinking water, adequate and balanced nutrition, simple housing, basic health care, basic communication facilities, a minimal supply of energy, and holistic education.

Income, Employment Generation and Self - Financing Stage

The fourth stage of village development is aimed at economic empowerment. Village savings and credit programmes are initiated at this stage as the foundation for strengthening the economic base of the village, which is an important determinant of a self - sustaining community.

Stage of Community Self-Sufficiency and Self-Governance

The fifth stage of village development is the Stage of Self Sufficiency. At this stage the village would have fulfilled most of its basic human needs, established strong and sustainable social and economic programmes and has a string community organization to manage their affairs. This is the stage that village can become a self - governing village which guide surrounding villages in the path of self - development.

7.2 Case Study 2: LEaD Project by CARE Sri Lanka

CARE Sri Lanka[13] was established in 1950 with a focus on food security, as well as maternal and child health in the country. It focuses on three main target groups in specific geographic areas: poor rural communities in the dry zone; conflict-affected populations in the North and East; and plantation residents (Chandradasa, www.civil.mrt.ac.lk/conference/ICSBE2012/SBE-12-65.pdf). According to Chandradasa, the LEaD (Local Efforts for Empowerment and Development Project) was commenced in 2007 under Southern Dry Zone Development Programme by CARE with the goal of improving the quality of life; in terms of both physical living conditions as well as economic opportunities of 17,000 poor and marginalized households living in four District Secretariats (DS) divisions in two districts: Hambantota and Moneragala[14]. The LEaD Project focuses mainly on the poorest of the poor and marginalized people like the landless small farmers, and cottage enterprises which largely use local inputs.

The strategies of the LEaD Project were designed as a development intervention to address the main problems faced by these groups of people. CARE International in Hambantota-Sri Lanka believes that the main reason behind poverty and backwardness of the majority of people in the project area is due to the lack of a proper mechanism and opportunities for them to participate in the development process at village level. There are situational barriers which prevent poor people from identifying and discussing their livelihood related constraints and from planning and actively participating in development processes in the village. In order to address this core problem, four interrelated general bodies: the Village Operational Committee (VOC), Rural Coordinating Committee, Regional Operational Committee and the District Advisory Committee were formed to enable all decision making powers regarding the programme to rest with the village. Using these four local institutional bodies, at end of 2011, CARE Hambantota Sri Lanka was implemented 653 projects in 476 villages, with over 9,461 poor households. The LEaD Project has also provided social and economic infrastructure such as the rehabilitation of roads, culverts, building village secretariats, establishing rural- children libraries and provision of drinking water. The LEaD Project has positively benefited in favour of Poor of Poor and Poor in livelihood diversification, increasing monthly real income, access to credit, increased physical assets and social capital (Chandradasa, www.civil.mrt.ac.lk/conference/ICSBE2012/SBE-12-65.pdf).

[13] CARE Sri Lanka was established as a country chapter of the CARE International, which was one of the largest INGOs in the world. http://www.care.org/country/sri-lanka

[14] Hambantota District in the Southern Province, and Monaragala district in the Uva Province of Sri Lanka.

7.3. AAR Japan

Association for Aid and Relief, Japan (AAR Japan) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) with projects in the areas of emergency assistance, assistance to persons with disabilities, mine action, action against infectious diseases and public awareness raising. It is an organization with no political, ideological or religious affiliations. Currently it is conducting projects in 15 countries. AAR Japan was founded in 1979 by Yukika Sohma, with a mission to help refugees from Indochina. It has since then grown into an international organization approved and registered by the United Nations. AAR Japan has been supporting people with disabilities and landmine survivors in cooperation with local NGOs in Sri Lanka since August 2009 (Website of AAR Japan).

In Sri Lanka AAR Japan has provided services including, emergency assistance for flooding, assistance for people with disabilities and landmine survivors after the civil war, and delivering of wheelchairs to persons with disabilities in flood-affected areas.

8. The Role of Civil Society in Education in Sri Lanka

According the website Room to Read, although Sri Lankans are adopting more progressive attitudes toward gender equity in education, girls still face discrimination and barriers to education in several regions. This is particularly true in the Tamil tea plantation area and the central highlands area. In these places, girls often work long hours for low wages, which prevents them from attending school, producing a literacy gender gap. CSOs operating in Sri Lanka have been conducted many programmes in providing facilities, scholarships and non-formal education for disadvantaged children in Sri Lanka. According to ADB (2013), education and training activities are one of the issues that concern most NGOs currently operating in Sri Lanka. USAID (2014) says that in 2014, CSOs offered a wide range of services in Sri Lanka, including education. Some case studies are discussed below.

8.1. Case Study: Room to Read

Room to Read, one of major INGOs, seeks to transform the lives of millions of children in low-income countries by focusing on literacy and gender equality in education. Working in collaboration with local communities, partner organizations and governments, they develop literacy skills and a habit of reading among primary school children. They also support girls to complete secondary school with the relevant life skills to succeed in school and beyond. Room to Read is a leading nonprofit for children's literacy & girls' education programs at work in Sri Lanka. Room to Read expanded into Sri Lanka following the Tsunami in 2004, and immediately rebuilt schools in tsunami-affected areas and created long-term infrastructure improvements.

Soon after, they started "Girls' Education Program" in Sri Lanka to close the gender gap in various districts, including the districts which had been devastated by the conflict. Out of the 124 million children and young adolescents in the world who are out of school, 52 percent are girls (Website of Room to Read).

Story of Two Girls: Prashanthi and Mogandashi

Best friends, Prashanthi and Mogandashi, both raised in the "line-room" slums of Hatton's tea estates in Sri Lanka faced a similar fate. At 14 years old they had to drop out of school to help their families survive and didn't have much more to look forward to than an early marriage. They had the chance of returning school after joining Room to Read's Girls' Education Program. They were provided with funding for transportation, pens, books, and even meals, as well as life skills education and continued support from the social mobilizer of Room to Read. They were graduated of secondary school and were hoping to go to university. Inspired by their social mobilizers and teachers, Prashanthi and Mogandashi began tutoring the children in the estate slums.

Story of Sri Dammandanda Vidyala Primary School

Principal W. Weerasinghe always dreamt of having a library in his school. Yet, without educational resources, minimal exposure to age appropriate books, and insufficiently trained teachers, his dream kept faltering. But, Room to Read's Literacy Program came to Dammandanda in 2016, bringing child-friendly learning environments, teaching materials and libraries full of engaging children's books. These colorful books and imaginative stories have swung open doors to a world and encouraged many to set up their own libraries at home. These personal libraries have grown rapidly over the year with half of the students collecting their own books. The children now lend their books to other children in the village by following Room to Read's check out system, spreading knowledge and stories well beyond school walls (Website of Room to Read).

Grade 2 student, Dehemi Nimsara says "Every Friday I borrow books from the Room to Read library. I love reading because it helps me to imagine so many things about everything, I now have a cupboard with books at home, and these books are my happy place. I have learned so much and I enjoy reading out loud to my parents and neighbors. I am teaching them."

8.2. Case study: Rose Charities Sri Lanka

Rose Charities Sri Lanka is a Voluntary Service Organization started in 2005 after the Tsunami devastation. Their Community Support Workers and micro-finance programs include education, peace, sports, vocational training, and income, reaching the poorest people from all the ethnic communities in the Ampara area on the east coast. They provide free education programs from pre-school to university scholarships.

Rose Charities Sri Lanka has opened fourteen preschools to provide free early childhood education for vulnerable children in low-income families and isolated villages. All fourteen preschools encourage 'joyful learning' which consists of behavioral development through an engaging active curriculum. Cultural and peace-building events are organized encouraging multi-cultural understanding and unity. Free classes for high school students are held every year for 4 to 6 months to prepare students for examinations of higher studies and university entrance. School Drop-outs Program aimed at getting drop-outs back in school. The greatest reason for school drop-outs in Kalmunai[15], the area this programme is being conducted is poverty, often caused by the loss of one or both parents and stress, related to life in the post-tsunami camps and the civil war (Website of ROSE Charities).

[15] Kalmunai is a city in Ampara District in Eastern Province of Sri Lanka.

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Web sites

AAR Japan
www.aarjapan.gr.jp/english/activity/srilanka
Born Free

http://www.bornfree.org.uk/animals/asian-elephants/projects/sri-lankan-human-elephant-conflict/
British Council
https://www.britishcouncil.lk/social-enterprise
Good Market Sri Lanka
http://www.goodmarket.lk/social-enterprise.html
HARVARD Kennedy School
https://sites.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/socialcapitalprimer.htm
INVESTOPEDIA
https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/social-entrepreneur.asp
Lanka Mahila Samithi
http://www.lankamahilasamiti.com/about.php
Minca Living In
http://www.livinginminca.org/the-other-side-of-sri-lanka-lessons-from-social-enterprises
National Secretariat For Non Governmental Organizations-Sri Lanka,
http://www.ngosecretariat.gov.lk/web/
Room to Read
https://www.roomtoread.org/the-latest/students-love-for-books-leads-to-surge-in-home-libraries/
ROSE Charities
http://www.rosesrilanka.info/about-2/where-we-are
Sarvodaya
http://www.sarvodaya.org
Social Enterprise Lanka
http://socialenterprise.lk
World Fair-Trade Organization
https://wfto.com/fair-trade/definition-fair-trade
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shiatsu

Appendix 1. List of Selected NGOs in Sri Lanka

Care Sri Lanka

http://www.care.org/country/sri-lanka

Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR)

www.cenwor.lk

HelpAge Sri Lanka

http://www.helpagesl.org/

Karuna Center for Peacebuilding

http://www.karunacenter.org/sri-lanka.html

Lanka Mahila Samiti

http://www.lankamahilasamiti.com

National Peace Council

http://www.peace-srilanka.org/

People's Rural Development Association (PRDA)

http://www.prdasrilanka.org/about.htm

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

http://www.sarvodaya.org/

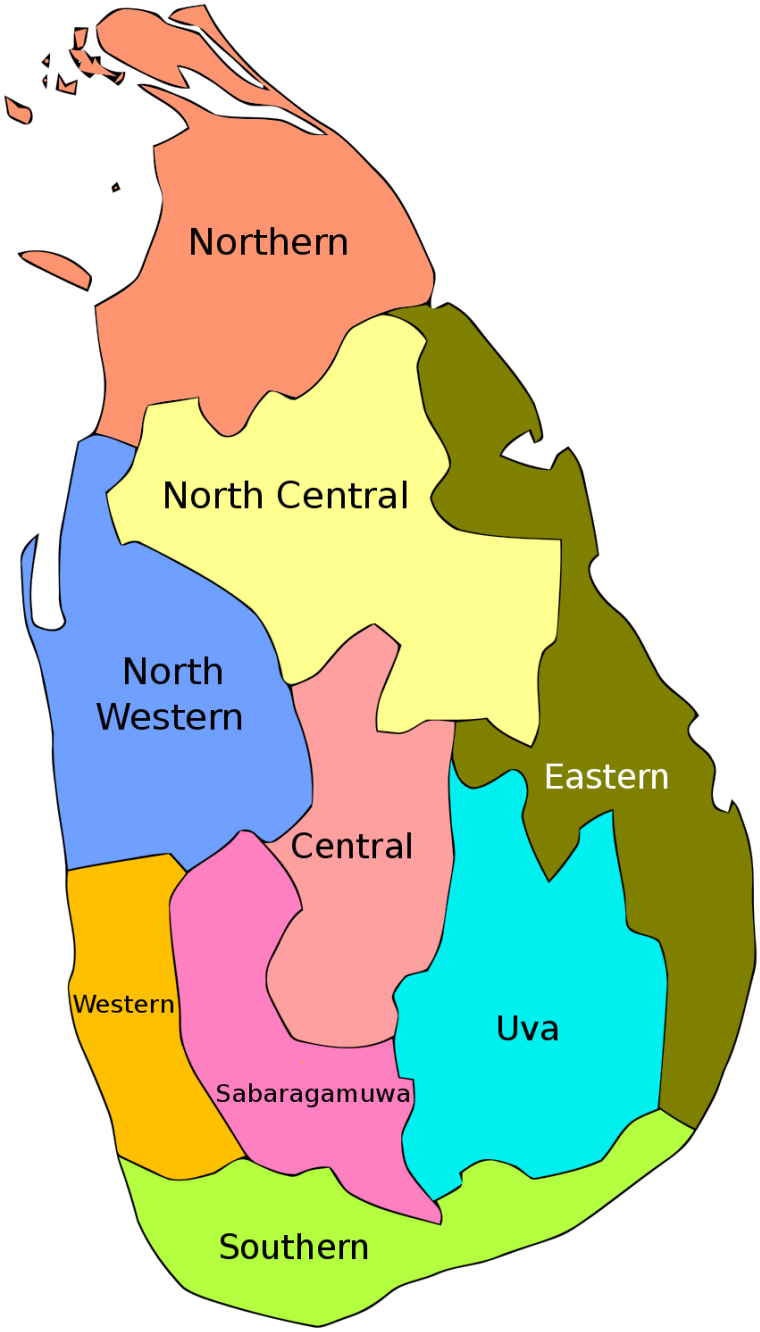
Sri Lanka Wildlife Conservation Society

https://www.slwcs.org/

World Vision Sri Lanka

http://www.wvi.org/srilanka

Appendix 2. Provinces of Sri Lanka



Source: Wikipedia