

Starting social business in Northern Sri Lanka after the civil war
-PARCIC's case-

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1-1 Outline/ Background of the people

In Sri Lanka, the civil war ended in May 2009 after 26 years of the battles between Sri Lankan Government Forces and the LTTE as a Tamil rebel group. The civil war devastated Northern Sri Lanka and most of northern Tamil people experienced the displacement from their own houses several times and many people lost their properties and/or some of family members. After the final battles in 2009, 300,000 of Tamil people, who lost the houses and the means of the livelihood, were transferred and kept in the IDP camps run by SL government forces, and after 2010 little by little people were released. Then people returned to their original villages, where houses and other infrastructures were severely destroyed. Thus, the international and national aid agencies started to help the people for the recovery and rebuilding of their life through the projects of housing, construction of wells and toilets etc. Among the very many projects by agencies, one of the biggest assistances was the livelihood support to the returnee people, since they had lost their tools of livelihood such as farming, fishing and other businesses. However, most of emergency projects were implemented quickly and shortly, these projects did not include the long-term monitoring, marketing support, and enough term of training. Thus, it was observed that those who are socially vulnerable and do not have much work experiences, could not earn enough and stable income through these short-term supports, although the people have enough work experience in each industry such as farming, fishing etc. could restart their work soon and recover their income somehow. Besides, these emergency projects assisted the households individually and were not able to include the capacity building of community such as strengthening the solidarity among the people and the community members. PARCIC has been working with the fishing communities for rebuilding the people's life by emergency assistance and for supporting vulnerable people by means of community business/social business. This paper will introduce how PARCIC has been working with the fishing communities for mitigating the poverty of vulnerable people by means of social business.

1-2 The war-torn Northern Sri Lanka

On 18th May 2009, after 26-year of civil war between SL government forces and LTTE was over by the declaration of the victory by SL government. This 26-year of the war affected Sri Lankan people so much and especially people in the North, which was the main battle field. All the families in North experienced the displacement from their own houses. A 21-year-old young girl said she had displaced many times and she transferred schools 15 times in her school days. Many people lost some of family members and/or relatives and most people lost their own properties in this civil war time. When the war was over in 2009, around 300,000 people was transferred and kept in IDP camps run by SL military. Then gradually little by little people were allowed to return to their original villages. When people returned to their original villages, they found totally damaged their houses. People just restarted their lives in their own villages with destroyed infrastructure. To assist rebuilding their lives, UN agencies, international NGOs, Christian groups and other aid agencies

conducted many projects such as housing, sanitation, education and livelihood assistance. As one of the civil society organizations in Sri Lanka, PARCIC also started the assistance to war-affected people especially for their livelihood improvement.

1-3. PARCIC's projects in Sri Lanka

Since April 2004, PARCIC has been working with fishing communities in Jaffna. After the war, PARCIC also started the emergency relief to provide breakfast in IDP camps in Jaffna in August 2009, in parallel with the release of the people, the assistance shifted to livelihood support to fishing families through providing fishing gears. The Assistances of fishing gears were conducted in Jaffna and Mullaitivu in 2010-2012. At the same time, PARCIC started 'Dry Fish Project' for assisting a social enterprise for the vulnerable women in fishing communities in Jaffna, which includes training of processing fish and accounting, long term monitoring, and marketing support as well. Through these supports, women in 3 villages earned better income in 2012 than before. But in 2013, the fish catch has been very less from the beginning of the year and the supply of material was not enough for this work. So some groups stopped this work. For covering the unstable situation of supply of material, PARCIC has introduced other possible small works such as food processing, incense making for women in fishing villages. Additionally, as another way of the income generation of women in fishing communities, currently PARCIC has started a new support 'Recycle Sari Project'. These combinations of several works would be able to make their income more stable and make more people involved in the income opportunities.

PARCIC's History in Sri Lanka

April 2004	Start of assistance in fishing communities in Jaffna
2005-	Emergency relief for tsunami-affected area
2006-2008	Livelihood assistance for fishing communities under the civil war
2009- 2011	Emergency relief / Early recovery for war-affected area in Jaffna
2010 -	Dry fish project in Jaffna (funded by JICA)
2010	Livelihood assistance for kithul pani producers in Deniyaya
2011 -	Organic tea project for tea small holders in Deniyaya (funded by JP)
2012 -	Assistance for returnee fishermen in Mullative (funded by JPF)
2012-	Recycle Sari Project to connect women in South and North

1-3-1 Emergency relief projects

After the war and natural disaster, many international NGOs and UN agencies start emergency relief projects in most places in the world. These emergency projects were implemented very quickly and efficiently for a short time, mostly less than 6months. For livelihood assistance also, within 6months, they provide the tools for livelihood such as farming, fishing and sewing etc., and conduct

the training within the short period. Thus through these projects, we cannot see the middle term and long term results, which means how people lives have improved. PARCIC also assisted the fishing gears with more than 1000 returnee families for enabling them to restart fishing activities. When we provide sets of fiberglass boats and engines, which are expensive as assistance to a limited number of people, PARCIC introduced the revolving fund scheme, in order to contribute to community development not only to give assistance within a short time period. With revolving fund scheme, PARCIC provided the sets of boats and engines to each FCS and FCS selected the beneficiaries who use the boats and engines. Half of the cost of a set of boat and engine was a grant for the selected fisherman and half of it will be repaid by the beneficiary. Selected fishermen would repay monthly some amount to his FCS for 4 years and FCS would save the repaid money as their common fund. That fund will be spent for the people who do not have the fishing gears, who need assistance from FCS, or the community development after discussing among FCS members. This fund will be utilized for the community after the end of the project also if they keep it under the proper management. However, the process of conducting and monitoring this revolving project showed the weakness of the community and less management capacity of each FCS. Most FCSs could not collect and receive the repayment money from each beneficiary and did not work well for around one year. After one year with the effort of PARCIC's field staff who visited the FCSs and every village every week, little by little some of fishermen, who understand well about the system and consider the future of the community, started to repay to the FCSs. These people became good models in the community and they started to talk to other fishermen. Then finally FCSs could collect and save more money for their common fund and would assist more people who have not yet gotten fishing gears.

Emergency assistance by PARCIC in Northern Sri Lanka (2009-2012)

Project Contents	Start Date	End Date	Beneficiaries	Location
Food Assistance	2009/8/1	2009/10/30	28,366persons	Jaffna (Welfare Center)
Food Assistance	2009/12/24	2010/5/24	2,922persons	Jaffna (Camp)
Livelihood Package Distribution	2009/12/24	2010/5/24	243families	Jaffna (Camp)
Fishing Gear Distribution	2010/6/1	2010/12/14	133families	Jaffna
Fishing Gear Distribution	2010/12/15	2011/7/31	175families	Jaffna
Fishing Gear / Sawing Machine etc. Distribution	2011/8/2	2011/12/31	192families	Jaffna
Fishing Gear / Dryfish tool etc. Distribution	2012/3/1	2012/7/31	411families	Mullaitivu

Fishing Gear / Sawing Machine etc. Distribution	2012/8/2	2012/12/31	236families	Mullaitivu
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1-3-2 Social business projects in the middle term

In parallel with the emergency projects, PARCIC started dry fish project for the vulnerable women such as widows in Jaffna for their income generation. Through dry fish work, women could earn better income in 2012 when fish catch was good, but in 2013 they have been facing big difficulties to earn income through this work due to less catch problem. For stabilizing income they started other work such as tailoring, making handicraft, and food processing. Here PARCIC's experience in having facilitated social business in the post-war Northern Sri Lanka will be introduced.

1-4 Social business project

1-4-1 Dry Fish project

1-4-1-1 Background of the dry fish project

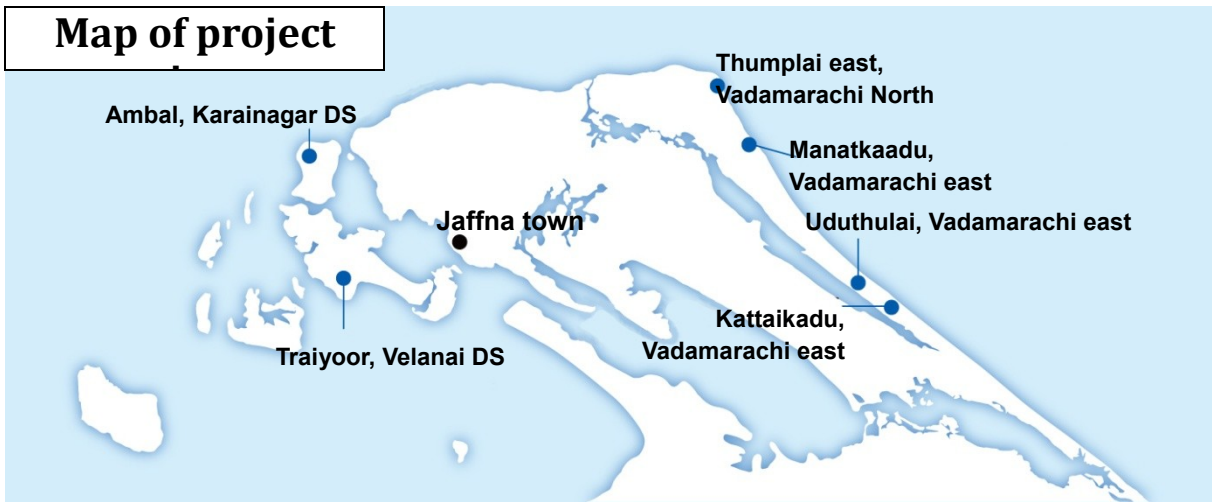
Due to 26-year of war and the tsunami in 2004 Dec, many households in Northern Sri Lanka had lost family members and many women became the bread winners in the households after the death of her father, brothers or husband. Traditionally, in their societies women are not expected to be bread winners. They are supposed to be protected by men; protected by her father or brothers before the marriage and by her husband after the marriage. Many of them are not trained well for getting jobs and income by themselves before the marriage and they do not have the experience in earning income for her life. Besides, most women are not allowed to remarry to other men after the separation from the first husband even due to the death or divorce, resulting that the natural and human disaster made many women in Northern Sri Lanka bread winners. Thus, they are economically very vulnerable once they have lost their father or husband. Additionally, in Jaffna Tamil society, widows are socially vulnerable as well. They would not be invited to the social events in the village once they have lost their husband. Therefore, some widows feel isolated after the loss of her husband. To support the women in these difficult situations, PARCIC started to support the project for the vulnerable women.

On the other hand, in the fishing villages in Jaffna, traditionally women cannot go fishing and earn income from it, although most village people live on fishing and main income source in the fishing villages is fishing. What women can do is sorting fish from fishing nets, making dried fish and other type of labour work if it is available. Thus, PARCIC decided to start dry fish work since it was said that women already knew how to make dry fish and they could earn more once they could make hygienic one and find the good market in Colombo. Additionally we assumed that dry fish business would be able to expand since the domestic demand for dry fish is much higher than domestic supply and the people depends on imported products.

1-4-1-2 Dry fish project in 6 villages

In 2010 October, PARCIC started this project in 4 villages and started it in 2 villages in 2011 June and in 1 village in 2012 October. The timing depends on the time of resettlement. 3 villages were not

the battle field in the final war (2006-2009) and 3 villages were affected by the final war and people returned home after 2010 October. Based on the survey on fishing and consultation with the government officer of fishery department, 6 villages were selected. Each village has each feature of fish catch and the way of fishing. In Lagoon area, they can catch prawn and culltlefish more. In deep sea area, they can catch more amount of sardine.



1-4-1-3 Participants

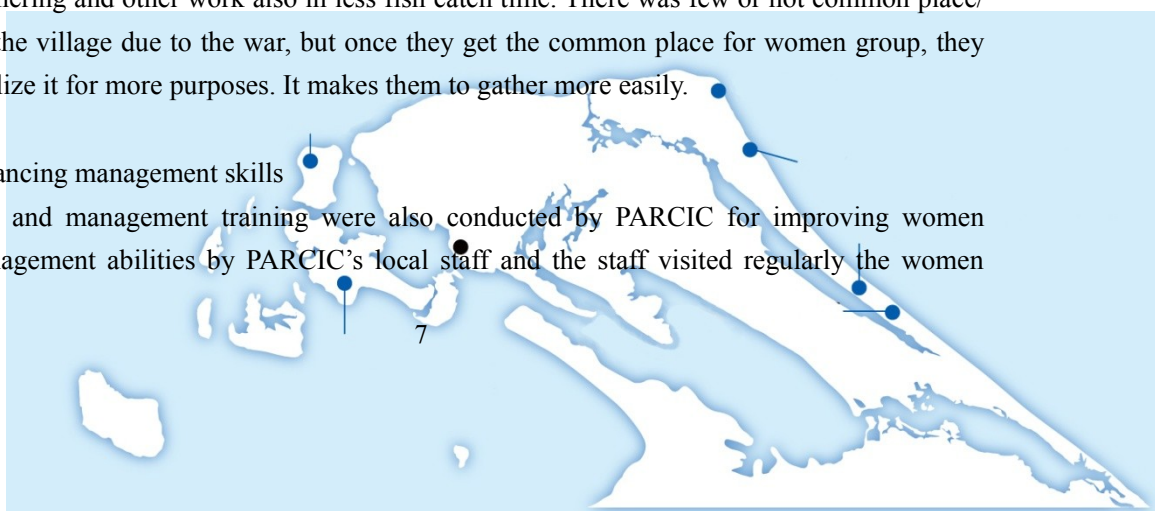
10-15 women participated in the project in each village. The age range was 20-60s, but mostly over 30 year-old women participated in it since younger women do not prefer this type of work due to the smell and people's bad images on this work. Women participated in it after hearing the news from each Fishermen Cooperative Society (FCS). In the fishing communities, most households are the members of FCS. They usually get this kind of information such as NGO assistance through FCS. Some of FCSs have mutual help system also for funeral, injured time etc. Some of old FCSs function well with a good leadership of FCS president. For starting the project, women groups were formed under FCS in each village and one woman is selected as a leader.

1-4-1-4 Input for the project

For this project, these inputs were given to each women group; training for making hygienic dry fish, accounting, and management, processing centre, dried trays and stands, other tools for making dried fish such as basin, knife, sieve etc. Processing centre has been used not only for processing but also for gathering and other work also in less fish catch time. There was few or not common place/building in the village due to the war, but once they get the common place for women group, they started to utilize it for more purposes. It makes them to gather more easily.

1-4-1-5 Enhancing management skills

Accounting and management training were also conducted by PARCIC for improving women groups' management abilities by PARCIC's local staff and the staff visited regularly the women



group for monitoring and assisting their accounting and management.

1-4-1-6 Marketing support

Marketing is also supported by PARCIC. But the degree of the support depends on each group's capacity. Uduthulai groups, the most active groups do not need to be supported by PARCIC for marketing but other groups needed more intervention by PARCIC. Especially, Velanai group which produce dried prawn needed the regular support by PARCIC since prawn business needs more bargaining power with suppliers of fresh prawn and buyers of dried prawn due to the monopolized business. Fresh prawn caught in one village by one big prawn seller who has enough capital (called 'Muthalali' and women groups have to buy fresh prawn by him. He is the only one supplier of fresh prawn so he can decide the selling price but women groups cannot negotiate well. At the same time, comparing with other products such as dried sardine, the price of dried prawn is higher so women groups have to find the better markets in Colombo etc. for the middle class people not only local people. It is very hard for women who live mainly in villages and do not know other areas in Sri Lanka to find the markets out of Jaffna.

1-4-1-7 Regular monitoring for keeping quality of the products and management

After the training, PARCIC conducted the regular monitoring for checking and keeping the quality of the products and their accounting. Regular monitoring assisted to keep their motivation and quality of the products higher. At the same time, PARCIC staff helped solve the problems among group members.

1-4-1-8 Outcome of the project

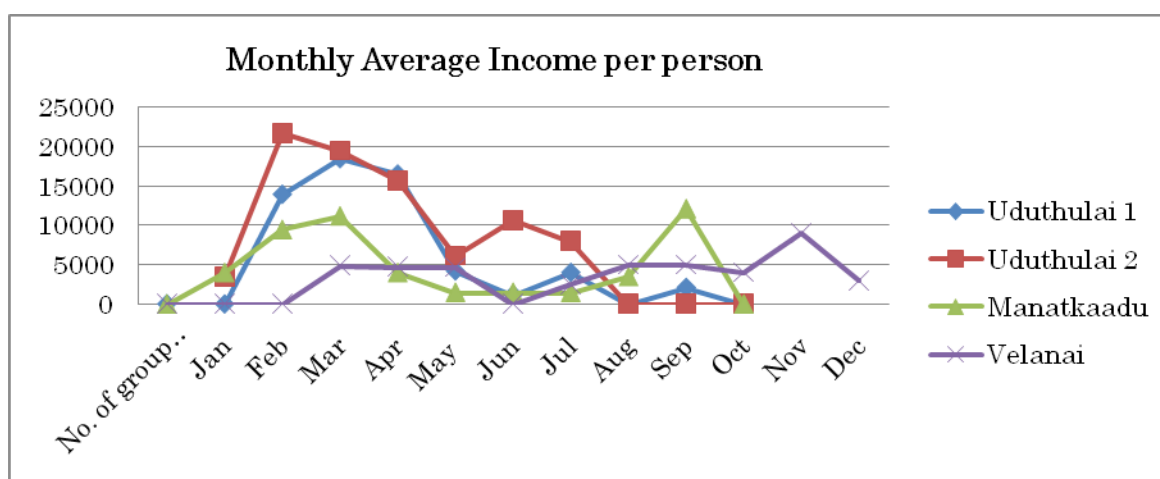
After these supports, the women groups in 4 villages got much better income than before. Some groups earned more than 15,000 rupees per person per month, although most of their income before joining dry fish group was 2000-3000 rupees from the income by fish sorting work. Thus, they said that it was a good job since they could work near the house and earned more. Additionally they recognized the good point of the group work. They said that they could produce in a large scale when they worked with others in a group and earned more than individual work. At the same time, they could share and divide the work among the group members and reduced the work load. On the other hand, in 2 groups (Thumplai and Karainagar), group works didn't function well. In Thumplai people started to quarrel each other in the group and could not solve the problems by themselves. Finally they stopped to work as a group and currently some of groups members are working as an individual work in a small scale. In Karainagara case, it became like a family business only with a wife and husband who had produced dry fish for many years and others could not join the group. Then their way of production and the sales price were not improved through this project.

Monthly income of women in each village in 2012

	No. of group members	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Average (dry season)
Uduthulai 1	15	0	13,902	18,421	16,476	4,185	1,200	4,000	0	2,100	rainy season			6,698
Uduthulai 2		3,500	21,760	19,500	15,713	6,120	10,667	8,000	0	-	rainy season			8,584
Manatkaadu	8	4,000	9,460	11,183	4,000	1,500	1,500	1,500	3,500	12,100	rainy season			5,416
Velanai	10	0	0	4,885	4,720	4,648	0	2,500	5,000	5,000	4,000	9,000	3,000	4,750
Thumplai	15	1 group and 3 individual persons are working. Munai group started in October 2012.												-
Kattaikadu	8	Start from October 2012										rainy season		-
Karainagar	5	Accounting record has been checked by FCS												-
Total	61													

*Uduthulai group1 stopped the dry fish work from August 2012 since many of them became busy in building permanent houses with the assistance of one of aid agencies.

** Velanai group produce mostly dried prawn. They have work shift and they work 3 times per week, less than other group.



1-4-1-9 Case studies of dry fish projects -2 women's cases-

1-4-1-9-1 B's case (B is the initial of her name)

A 47-year of woman, B is one of the members of dry fish project. She is a leader of one of Uduthulai dry fish groups. 26-year of war and the tsunami deprived some of her family members and her properties. She was displaced many times within 26 years. In 1998, she lost her husband and he became a bread winner of her family with 5 children (1 son and 4 daughters). She started the various kinds of works for feeding children such as labour work, selling dry fish, sorting fish. According to her, she did whatever work she could do for her children. However again she lost her family members and was put in deep depression and sadness. In 2004 Dec, she lost her son and one daughter due to the tsunami. After the tsunami, PARCIC started the dry fish project for assisting the people affected by the tsunami in 2005. Then she joined PARCIC's dry fish project. She said that the group work with other women healed her sadness through talking with others and sharing experiences while they worked together. However, the work was stopped again because of the restart of the war and she and all of other villagers in her area were displaced in 2006. After 3-year of

displaced life in Mullaitivu, which is the battle field of the final war in 2009, she came back to Jaffna to evacuate from the fierce war area and were kept in the IDP camp which was run by the government/ military. After living with her families and villager in the camp for 1.5 years, she was allowed to go back to her original village in 2010 October. Then again she joined dry fish work and became a leader of one of Uduthulai groups (Uduthulai group2) with 5 other members. Through this work she earns averagely 15,000 rupees which is good monthly income for the woman working in the village. She fed and educated her 3 daughters through her work and saved some money for daughter's dowry. In Sri Lankan Tamil society, still dowry is very important when they marry. Thus, the parents of daughters have to save 200,000-millions rupees of money for her marriage. In her case, she had to save by herself and it was very hard for women headed families but she worked hard and saved some and one of her daughters married in the end of 2012. And one of her daughters is now working at the government office and earns regular and stable income near the village. It is a very good opportunity for a village woman. She earned and educated 3 daughters well by her hard working without tears and it can be said she is a good widow model in the village since it is very difficult to be an independent woman like her and there are not so many strong women like her. However, she is not good at working with others and is not good at handling accounting and management either although she is a leader of the group. Thus, more women in the village told us that they want to start the dry fish work and join another group in Uduthulai not her group, when we asked whether they wanted to join dry fish group or not in the end of 2012, although her group is smaller than another one and has more capacity to increase members. She is struggling to earn and support her children and less room to consider others and work with other members. Thus, other women in the village sometimes feel difficulty to communicate with her. Although she is a hard worker and a good model who earned for her children by herself and educated them, her work is for her family and has not yet extended for the community.

1-4-1-9-2 A's case (A is the initial of her name)

A is 25-year old woman and one member of Uduthulai dry fish group (Uduthulai group 2). When she was 20, she was married to a man since parents arranged the marriage with the fear of LTTE, which forcefully recruited young people if they are not married in the final war time. After a couple years of marriage life, her husband separated from her and she had to go back to her parents' house with one-year-old son. Then, under her father's support, she restarted the new life with a small son. There are many similar cases in Northern Sri Lanka and these women are not allowed to remarry with other men in this society, since Tamil women in Jaffna are not allowed to marry several times traditionally. Besides, socially people do not like women without husband. Thus some women who separate from husband feel stigma and women have to survive and feed children without enough skills for earning. Thus, they face dual difficulties socially and economically after the separation from the husband. When PARCIC started dry fish project in 2011, she joined the dry fish group with her aunt. As the first impression, she looked very quiet and not active. However, she worked hard once she started to work with other group members and she earned 4000 rupees in July 2011 as her first income in her life and she spent the money for her son's birthday. It was the first time for her to celebrate her son's

birthday by her income and she felt proud of it. PARCIC staff found her face more confident and herself more active in the village through the work. She continuously worked for making dry fish with hygienic method in 2011 and 2012 and she earned more income in 2012. Especially the quality of her group's products is higher than that of neighbor people's products and sold products at higher price. With saving of her income, she purchased her own land by herself. She said that she had a dream to build her own house through this work. However, she got a chance to work as an assistant of government office in the end of 2012 and she stopped to do dry fish work. It might be because people do not think dry fish work is not clean and usually young women do not like this type of job. She is also a young woman and she might prefer a clean job with a good image. She had a good motivation and good cooperation with other members including her aunt and activated the group, but now she tries to live on other work with more confidence than before starting dry fish work. It can be said that dry fish work gave the confidence to open her new life.

1-4-1-10 Way forward of dry fish project -for the next step-

Women earned more income through producing more hygienic dry fish in a good fish catch time after the training and being given the tools, but the fish catch cannot be controlled by human beings and it is very fluctuate. In 2012 they earned enough income but in the following year they faced difficulty in purchasing fresh fish at reasonable price due to less fish catch and the increase of cooler trucks. Thus PARCIC introduced other types of work such as making incense, selling peanuts, food processing, sewing for women in less fish catch time and rainy season. However some people can do several types of works but some women especially aged women say they can do only fish related work such as dry fish making and sorting fish. For covering more women and stabilizing income, still women and PARCIC also have been trying to find better way in the fishing communities. As another way of assistance to the women, Recycle sari project started in 2013.

1-4-2 Recycle Sari Project

After one year of preparation, PARCIC started Recycle Sari Project in 2013. This project also aims to support women, especially women headed families in war affected Northern Sri Lanka. The system is that women trained in sewing remake old saris donated by women in Southern Sri Lanka into new items such as a blouse or a bag. These items will be sold in Japan and Sri Lanka, and the proceeds distributed back to those women in the North. PARCIC hopes this project will create a linkage between women from the South and the North of Sri Lanka, and a bridge for peace for the present and the future. This project is a complimentary project and the alternative work for women in the fishing communities in less fish catch time.

1-4-2-1 Participants

In recycle sari project, the women who have tailoring skills are participating in this project, especially more young women at the age of 20-30 and unmarried women are participating in the project, comparing with dry fish project. Young people prefer tailoring work to dry fish work. All of them were affected by the civil war and tsunami and many of them are expected to be bread winners

in the family. Most of them were already given sewing machines and short-term training by PARCIC in 2011 in emergency assistance project. After the project, some earned the good income as a village tailor, but some could not find the chance or opportunity to earn enough income with their tailoring skills. So after receiving the sewing machines and participating in tailor training, they just used the sewing machines for their family purpose or sometimes they got some orders from neighbors and relatives only. They waited for the opportunities to work as a tailor near their houses.

1-4-2-2 Input for the project

PARCIC provided sewing machines and provides other materials such as old saris, which were collected mainly in Colombo and Jaffna, thread, needle, zipper, and etc. as well as designing of pattern, making patterns, and technical training by Japanese volunteers who have working experience in apparel companies in Japan for many years. PARCIC visit the village once per week with the sewing teacher and give the pattern and the training how to sew the item. Then each woman will work and make a sample with provided materials and the quality of each woman's product will be checked when PARCIC visit in the following week and will instruct how to improve the quality. Every week this process will be done then women can work at home and mostly every week women can learn new patterns and new technics. This work style is very convenient for the women who have other household work at home. They can do the domestic work as well as the work for income at home.

1-4-2-3 Regular monitoring for keeping good quality

PARCIC staff visit and collect women's products regularly and check the quality of all the products strictly so that the quality should be kept in a high level. If the monitoring staff finds any mistake of low quality of stitching, she will return the product to the tailor and request her to repair it. And if she finds damaged part in the product, she will reduce purchased price. This monitoring work keeps the tailors' motivation to keep good quality higher. On the other hand, if the quality fulfills the standard, the tailor will be able to receive the tailoring charge depending of the pattern and the numbers of sewn pieces.

1-4-2-4 Marketing support

PARCIC supports the marketing of recycled sari products as well. It is planned that the products will be sold mainly in Japan and Colombo and currently are sold in Jaffna and Japan as samples among our friends. Little by little PARCIC is trying to find the market.

1-4-2-5 Outcome

Through participating in this project, their income has been increasing little by little. Not only income increase, they got a chance to improve their skills. Through technical training by local sewing teacher and Japanese sewing teacher, they recognized that their tailoring skill has been much improved. These two points have satisfied them.

1-4-2-6 Case studies of recycle sari project –women participating in it-

1-4-2-6-1 V's case

V is 25-year old woman and she is the first-born in the family and has 3 younger brothers. Her family was affected by the tsunami. After the tsunami, her father was mentally affected and got unable to go for work. So now one of her younger brothers and she are the bread winners in the family. However, before starting the this work, she could not get other job and the orders for tailoring in her village, which is far from Jaffna town and takes 2 hours by bus from Jaffna town. Now she earn monthly 2000-3000 rupees, which is increasing little by little, is supporting her family.

1-4-2-6-2 T's case

T is 40-year-old woman and a mother of 2 children. She lost her husband when he went for fishing. After that she started tailoring work as well as cooking work for school meal at nearby primary school. She is one of the famous tailors in the village and earns around 5000 rupees per month and earns more than 10,000 rupees in the festival time. So she has been feeding her children by her income, but to earn more income she started to join the project. Through the project, she has been learning the higher sewing technic and and gathering with other tailors in the village for the training every week. Thus, she has gotten not only additional income but also the opportunity for improving/brushing up her tailoring technic and the peer-learning, although still her additional income is around 1000 rupees which is not high amount.

1-4-2-6-3 K's case

K is 45-year-old woman and she has husband and 4 children and 1 grand child. Her husband is a fisherman but he lost all the fishing gears in the war time and he could not receive any assistance to buy new fishing gears. So he is working as a fishing labour. K started dry fish work in PARCIC project in 2011 after the civil war. K is a leader of one of dry fish groups in Uduthulai and she kept accounting in a proper manner and divided income with other members fairly and equally. Thus, none of complaints was raised by other group members and they have kept good relationships among them. Their production was done more neatly and they kept hygienic way of making dry fish. As a result some of dry fish traders found their quality higher than other products by other dry fish makers, and traders started to purchase their products at higher price (ex. Rs. 10-25 per kg). They got value addition due to their good quality of products. Thus, when the fish catch was good, 9 members of women worked together and they earned more than 15,000 rupees per month in 2012 and she saved the income. And she got a chance to build a permanent house with the assistance of SDC (Swiss Development Cooperation) in September 2012. Most of the villagers in Uduthulai lived in small temporary houses with parmyra leaves and waited for the assistance of housing. She was selected in the first butch of the assistance, but selected beneficiaries have to cover 50% of the cost which is Rs. 500,000 (USD 6,000). For this amount, she powdered her jewelry and got the loan from bank. She expected to earn good income from dry fish work in dry season, but in 2013 the fish catch was not good and the increase of coming of cooler truck affected their dry fish work. She could not

buy fresh fish at cheaper price for making dry fish. Then she sought other job opportunities in the village for repaying loan to the bank. When PARCIC started the sewing training in May 2013 in her village, she started to join it. With her good tailoring skill and high motivation, she started to earn monthly near 5000 rupees in 3 months. She said that she felt tailoring work was easier since she could earn income constantly without season, not like dry fish work. But she has continuously been doing dry fish work as well when fish catch is good and she tries to stabilize her income with combination of the work. Her work style is one of the good model of the women in fishing village. Most of villagers in fishing villages live on fishing and fish but they need to the alternative work for avoiding the fluctuation of income due to the instability of the fish catch.

Besides, she is a good leader in the tailoring work also. PARCIC expect her to be a good leader of this group and become a tailoring teacher for new members and coordinating the other vulnerable women in the village.

She also experienced displacement many times in 26 year of civil war and she knows everyone in the area had similar sad and hard experience and survived it. They lived in the same IDP camp for 1.5 years after the end of final war. They shared the most difficult situations and knew how hard it was to survive in the civil war time as well as the tsunami. It might give her good leadership for working with other group members in the area.

1-4-2-7 Way forward for the next step

Recycle sari project is still in the initial stage and in the process of developing. What is found in 6 months, the regular members of the projects are not the most vulnerable women in the area but the women who have good motivation and skills for tailoring. Otherwise they cannot continuously come and make effort to improve the work. Some of vulnerable women who need more income don't have good tailoring skill and cannot participate in the project regularly. Without good skills and good motivation, it is very difficult to work as a tailor especially for aged women those who feel difficulty to learn new knowledge and skills. Thus, PARCIC is planning to ask these women to do washing and ironing work before the tailors start sewing.

1-4-3 Meaning of working together and solidarity in the war-affected villages

Most of INGO's international staff working in Jaffna in 2010-2012 tell that the solidarity among the people in Northern Sri Lanka is difficult and they are not good at working together as a group. Group work doesn't function well in most cases. The chairman of chamber of commerce also said it is difficult for the people to start business with somebody without kinship. Most of new businesses are the family business. It might be partly because of the bad experiences in the civil war. In the case of PARCIC's projects, the members in some groups could not work cooperatively without solving problems and they stopped to work together. Even if they work together in other groups, the sustainability without PARCIC's intervention is lower than Uduthulai group. On the other hand, the most successful case is Uthuthulai group¹ whose leader is K. K's case suggests the possibility of the good solidarity based on the business and group work. She organized and coordinated well in dry fish work with good cooperation and communication with other women and PARCIC. Now she has

been working for tailoring also with young women and earning from both incomes. She does not occupy everything by herself and shares the experience and her talent with others. If the person like her coordinates the social business, it might create a good result in the village. She shows the possibility of the sustainable social business in the village.

1-5 Conclusion

4 years have passed after the civil war in Sri Lanka. PARCIC has been working in the war-affected Sri Lankan North, but the solidarity of the community has not recovered yet and the community is still weaker, while people are struggling for their survival and are busy in rebuilding their own lives such as housing works, rather than community work. In such a situation, currently PARCIC has been implementing two community based social enterprise projects in Jaffna. These projects give the opportunities to the women in the community to gather and work together. These two projects have been showing that most people are working for themselves and their families without space for enough consideration and care to other community members. However, a few people succeed in working together and increasing the members of the group with a good leadership. It is expected that similar leaderships might increase and lead the recovery of the community solidarity little by little, in the process of getting over the damages by the 26-year of civil war in the society.