

CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF CYCLONE NARGIS IN“THA-GYAR-HIN-O” VILLAGE

5.1. Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on a post-disaster community and the changes of the community after the disaster. By highlighting the nature of the community's disaster response and exploring ways that the local community overcame hardship after Cyclone Nargis, the discussion in this chapter is centered on how to identify the strengths and the weakness of a community and how to find improved ways to engage the local community and provide effective, sustainable relief.

The villagers faced many challenges and difficulties after Cyclone Nargis. The devastation from cyclone impacted village infrastructure, housing, schools, bridges, roads and jetties. Cyclone Nargis also caused major damage to water and sanitation facilities and communication systems. One of the long lasting impacts of the cyclone is the great destruction to the communities' livelihood resources.

5.2. Community Warning System as Local Knowledge

The international community criticized the Myanmar government's cyclone warning system and complained that the government did not broadcast an effective warning before the cyclone even though the government received news of the cyclone 24 hours before from India's meteorological agency (BBC news, 6th may 2008). Although the villagers did not receive information about the cyclone from the village management committee and also the village didn't have any kind of the official warning alerts, some villagers heard the weather forecast and warning announcement from the state radio and television. However, the villagers didn't expect that it will be

such a severe storm. They thought it would be like the storm that they usually face in the beginning of the raining season.



Figure 5.1 Village Life in the Ayeyarwaddy Delta

The head monk, the *Sayardaw*, from the study village was the one who gave the early warning about the huge storm to the villagers. The monk got the information from his local knowledge networks when he went to Pyapon two days before Nargis. It was there that he heard the news that a large cyclone would be hitting Myanmar soon. He noticed that on the way to Pyapon there were many fishing boats coming back from the sea and moving inland. He also couldn't predict the strength of the storm, but he imagined that it might be strong. He decided to prepare for it. From his connections in Pyapon, he brought back medicine, rice and dry food so that his village would be prepared for the storm. The next day after he came back, he warned the villagers about the storm and also told the villagers that if something happened they could come to his monastery for shelter. He spread this news when he went around in the morning accept offerings of food, his usual daily practice. The villagers also

noticed the fishing boats keep coming back from sea, so the villagers also were asking for information from the fishing boats. In this way, they got news about the storm. However, they never thought the cyclone would be as severe as it was.

The villagers began preparing for the disaster. They stored their boat at high-up places near their homes, away from the water. They store food and drinking water safely away in their homes. And also during those days, the villagers reminded each other to go back home or take shelter as soon as the rain or wind started.

The role of *Sayardaw* as a community leader in the disaster preparedness and relief efforts should be highlighted in this village level response. *Sayardaw* is an important human resource for this village. As *Sayardaw* was a school teacher before he became a monk, he has a good understanding of the way that lay people live especially this particular village community which he has kept in touch with on a daily, face to face basis. Therefore, he knows how to lead the village community and how to mobilize them. In the other hand, *Sayardaw* also has connections and networks with outsiders because of his education and monk networks. He is also an educated person and influential person for the local community. Hence he has confidence and skill in communicating with the outsiders such as NGOs and donors groups. Thus he could do serve as a negotiator between the villagers and NGOs or donors groups.

5.3. The Village Community in Immediate Post-Disaster Period

The houses in the village were made from bamboo and thatch, so 80 percent of the houses were totally destroyed and 20 percent of the houses are partially destroyed by the cyclone. Most of the people from the village ran to the monastery for shelter. The village monastery is built with bricks, so it was strong enough to withstand the strong winds of the cyclone. From this village, there only 28 people died in the cyclone. It is interesting that the death toll in this village is relatively low compared to other villages in the region. There were significant features of the village that helped the villagers to be more secure from the cyclone. The village received a warning from the monk and the villagers also noticed the changes in their environment. They

noticed that the fishing boats were coming back to avoid the storm and they asked for information from the fishing boats. Therefore, the villagers were aware that a huge storm was coming. Because of this access to information, they implemented a number of important preparations including storing more food to last three or four days, and alerting others to find safety and shelter when the situation became worse. The village is situated on land that is surrounded by farm lands. Many coconut trees protected homes and other buildings from strong winds. Also the main road of the village leads to the monastery, making it easy for villagers to run quickly to reach the monastery for shelter.

Immediately after the Cyclone Nargis, together with the monk, the village head, the elders and the young people from the youth groups from the village organized voluntarily to respond to the cyclone. They found food and water for the people who were staying at the monastery as a temporary shelter. Firstly, people shared water and foods from the monastery and the group tried to find rice and food from the village. The villagers shared foods and water together. The rich people from the village also shared their stored rice and food together with other villagers in the village. The village volunteer group collected bamboo and wood, and built temporary tents near the monastery for the displaced people. This group also tried to clean up the village. They cleaned up the Tha-Gyar-Hin-O stream immediately because as the only waterway for relief boats to use to reach their village, it is very important. At the same time, they try to find missing people from the village. During this search, they found ten bodies of villagers who had died. The group organized funerals and buried the bodies, according to the Buddhist religion, together with the families.

After a week, the villagers were out of drinking water; there were no drinking water pond in their village, so they had to drink coconut juice. No one had come to their village to help. The village volunteer group tried to fix a boat and decided to go by boat to the other surrounding villages to find food, water and help. Firstly, the village volunteer group tried to contact the authorities of their township and the army for relief supplies. The authority from the army said that the army could not help the village because they didn't even have supplies for their own troops. They too were

struggling. In this dire situation, the villagers recognized that they needed to try to survive on their own. The authority said that if they can help with anything, they will contact to the village. The village volunteer group tried to reach the surrounding villages from the area and tried to contact donation groups to get relief assistance for their village. The village started getting relief items from the donation groups because of the village volunteer group effort.

Most of the people who were staying in the monastery after the cyclone knew each other well and some were relatives. They had lived in the same village for many years, and for many of them, their whole lives. They interacted daily for work and as neighbors. The villagers from Tha-Gyar-Hin-O said that they felt that they were all facing the same suffering. Most had lost family members in the storm and were facing a shortage of food and shelter. Because of this shared trauma, most of the people could understand each other's feelings. For some people, though, this time of struggle made them fearful and in turn they become more selfish in their dealings with others. Some tried to get more than their fair share of food and other aid. The monk from this village was a community leader playing a leadership role after the disaster. This role was not only spiritual but it was also in very practical. He was instrumental in managing village affairs and administrative tasks, negotiating and communicating with donors and working together with the village community. To address the post-trauma healing needs of the community, the monk held a meditation camp and also a Buddhist memorial ceremony for the villagers who died in the cyclone. I will discuss more about other aid and recovery projects for the village in the next chapter.

As I mentioned before, there were variety of formal and informal institutions in the village since before Nargis. The village volunteer group was a blend of the youth group, village authority or village head, religious leaders as the monks, and some members from the musician groups. They came together to responded to the disaster. In the village, there was a feeling of unity between those struggling to survive the cyclone impact. Generally, the village's experience in relief and rehabilitation provided an opportunity to organize the community towards empowerment. Cyclone Nargis provided the entry point and as a means to more

consolidate people organizations towards sustainable development and people empowerment.

5.4.Schooling and the Activities of Parent and Teacher Association

After Nargis, some the students from the village primary school dropped out. Some students lost their lives in the storm, and some families became poorer and they couldn't afford to send their children to school anymore. As a government school, even though the education is technically free, the parents have to spend money for the supplemental materials such as school text books, writing materials and school uniforms. Sometimes they have to give the school donations and examination fees. Another reason for the increased drop outs is that families struggling to make ends meet will typically use the labour of their children to help increase the yields of farms, fishing practices or to bring in more money for the family's income. This means that the children need to work instead of furthering their education. Some family have small children, the tradition in the area is that the older children have to take care their younger siblings. Thus students dropped out for this reason - when both of their parents go to work, they need to take care of their young brother or sister. Most of the people in the delta region believe that their children only need to know how to read and write. Beyond this, formal education is not as important as practical skills. Parents believe that their children will continue their parents' work when they are older. So, they don't care about increasing their children's education level past the basic level. After Cyclone Nargis, some people from the village migrated to the city and through that returned, the villagers started noticing that education could be important for more professional livelihoods. They came to learn that when people seek jobs in the cities, that education is one of the requirements to get a job with a good salary. The parents, then, became more willing to send their children to school because of their concern for future. They wanted their kids to become more educated people intent to secure a good livelihood in the future. The parents' perception or value on the education changed after Cyclone Nargis. Yet, while their attitude towards education has changed, the economic situation is not in their favour and they still struggle to support their children's education past the first few years.

At the Parent and Teacher Association meeting – held after Cyclone Nargis, members raised this issue and discussed this problem. Finally, the members decided to open a pre-school class at the school. Started from the 2011 -2012 school year, the school is opening the pre-school for the children in order to create schooling opportunities for older students who would usually have had to take care of their younger siblings at home. Once the school opened a pre-school, the younger children are cared for at the school leaving the older children free to attend the school as well.

The Parent and Teacher Association in the village has not only been organizing systematically since before Nargis, but it has also been effective in facing and solving problems in the village. The association has also been practicing collective decision making and democratic culture in their own traditional way.

Table 5.1 Student Enrollment Record of the Tha-Gyar-Hin-O Village's Primary School for the Year of 2011 (after Nargis Cyclone)

Level	Male	Female	Total
Pre School	15	16	26
Grade 1	23	24	47
Grade 2	16	12	28
Grade 3	7	9	16
Grade 4	3	6	9
Total	66	67	132

Source: Provided by the teacher from the village school during the data collection period

5.6. Funding Raising as Extended Activities from the Youth Group

Youth in the village get to know each other while they are working together in the youth group for the social activities in the village. The benefit of this practice is that it gives them more of a chance to discuss their village situation among their young people. The youth group heard that another nearby village held a collective novitiate ceremony two years after Nargis. Youth from Tha-Gyar-Hin-O village were inspired and decided that they wanted to have their own ceremony. But they needed to find funds to cover the costs. When they were discussing how to find

funding, one of our group members suggested an idea to the group. He saw a unique opportunity to raise money while meeting a need of the community. He had noticed that most of households lost their kitchenware in the cyclone and even a few years on, had not been able to replace most of the pans and utensils needed for cooking, especially for larger groups. Therefore, if the household had a special occasion, they needed to borrow kitchenware from other households. It made them very busy collecting different pieces from different households. Thus, the youth group has the idea to offer a kitchenware hiring service.

Firstly, the group members collected donations from among their members to buy the kitchenware. They stored the kitchenwares at the monastery and announced to their village as well as surrounding villages that the supplies were available for rent. This collective activity is still going on to this day. If there is any special occasion, people come and borrow kitchenware from youth group and offer a donation. The monk is taking care for the saving money in order to host the ceremony. The youth group from the Tha-Gyar-Hin-Oh village is not only following their tradition ways of collective activities, but they are also bringing a new vision to improving their village. It is clear that they were more united after experiencing Cyclone Nargis.

5.7. Villagers' Post-Nargis Livelihoods

One year after Cyclone Nargis, social impact monitoring by the TCG group reported continuing struggles across all occupational groups, with emphasis on debt and credit issues as contributing to persistent livelihood insecurity for many villagers in the Delta (TCG, 2008b).

According to this research, the villagers in Tha-Gyar-Hin-O are in a cycle of debt. This means that, in the post-Nargis situation, the people from the delta must borrow money to maintain their living especially for livelihoods purposes. This money funds the functioning of their livelihood strategies and then they plan to pay debt off when they turn a profit. Unfortunately, many can't pay back the loans, and the compounding interest, for many different reasons. On the other hand, they still need more money to continue their livelihood strategies so they need to borrow more. Thus people are drawn deeper and deeper into debt.

Table 5.2 Villagers' Livelihoods in Post- Nargis (2011)

Livelihoods	Households
Farming	45
Fishing	34
Casual labors	48
Others (mixed strategies)	33

Source: Provided by village head during the data collection period

5.7.1.Farming Communities' Livelihoods

The TCG reported that Nargis struck just as the Delta's paddy farmers were at the very last stage of harvesting the dry season crop, which accounts for 25 per cent of the annual production of the affected areas, and destroyed several rice warehouses and their stocks. The total damage and losses estimated for the agricultural sector ranged from 570,000 million kyat to almost 700,000 million kyat.

The villagers lost not only rice consumption but also storage seeds for the next rice cultivation season. They also lost the cattle for their work. Most of the cattle who survived were traumatized by the storm and were unable to work very well again. Another problem was that it became hard to find laborers; casual laborers got more help from NGOs and did not need to work in the fields as much. When they have rice provided for free by NGOs, they start asking for more labor fee than the past. But the farmers have no leverage to bargain because of the shortage of labor due to the vast numbers of people killed in the cyclone. Also, some people from the village have left for the city in search of jobs. In this situation, farmers face both a labor shortage and an increased cost of labor.

The challenges that small farmers faced to restart their livelihoods after Nargis were practically insurmountable. They had not capital to begin their farming again. Their farmlands were flooded with salt water during cyclone and crops would not grow well in the soil with such a high salt content. The farmers have to use more fertilizers to bring in a profitable crop. In this situation, the farmers need to invest

more money than in the past. However, the farmers were hopping for the best and they started their work again with borrowed money. The small farmers borrow money from the rich farmers from the village. As previously explained, in the pre-disaster period, farmers used to borrow in this way since before Nargis.

Right after the cyclone, small farmers looking to start over were caught in an incredibly frustrating situation because some wealthy land owners that used to loan them money and tools had also lost everything. Thus there were difficulties in sourcing this equipment. Without cattle, tools and seeds, the farmers had little chance of ever getting ahead. Adding to the situation, prices for crops were down from past years. This left farming communities with few options, therefore trapping them in poverty.

For some farmers, the first harvest season after Cyclone Nargis was not enough to resume their livelihoods, even though the famers had received loans from the bank and also got some assistance in the form of seeds and fertilizers from the NGOs. Even with that aid, some famers said they needed to borrow money from their relatives and wealthy farmers from their village.

Table 5.3 Rate of Loans from the Myanmar Agricultural Development Bank

Rate of Loan(2012-2013)	
for Monsoon Loan(Paddy)	Ks. 50000 per acre
for Summer (Paddy)	Ks. 80000 per acre
for Other Crops	Ks. 10000 per acre

Source: *Myanmar Agricultural Development Bank's Website*

Because of these many challenges, the small-scale farmers only harvested half of their usual production from before Nargis. Farmers had trouble and for the coming years, needed to borrow money from lenders. Further problems came when mice destroyed the paddy fields again in next season. Additionally, the paddy prices reduced because the quality of the paddy had declined from before Nargis. All these conditions combined meant that the farmers' profit could only cover their loan

amount, but without profit. As their loans had interest added on top of the original amount borrowed, farmers couldn't afford to pay back their outstanding balance in full.

Table 5.4 Wealth Ranking of the Farmers by Acres of Land Owned in 2011

Wealth Level	Land (acres)	Households
Rank 1	31- 34	4
Rank 2	21-30	3
Rank 3	20-11	18
Rank 4	10-6	19
Rank 5	5-1	11

Middle wealth ranking farmer, Daw Yin, who owns 18 acres of paddy lands said:

“I needed too many things including paddy seeds, fertilizers, and some tools for my farms to start working for the planting season after Cyclone Nargis. We have three family members. I am a households head living with my son and my daughter. My husband passed away a year before Nargis. I handle my paddy land together with my son as a widow household head. We could handle well before the cyclone. During Cyclone Nargis, we lost our house, some farm tools and also cows. We lost our seasonal crops and storage seeds also. I shared my storage rice with other poor people during the time right after the cyclone before no outside help had reached our village. Due to that situation, we lost our economic stability. The only government loans I can get are 10 acres loans with interest. This is the maximum amount due to government loan regulation. The government gives farmers a loan of 50,000 kyats per acre but we have to spend almost 200,000 kyats per acre to produce a crop. So I have no other choice but to find

another loan from other sources. I borrowed money from my relatives in the same village in order to start for first new season after Nargis. My brother's family loaned money to me. I still haven't been able to repay my loan to my brother. Now, I feel very guilty and I have decided to give them some of my land instead of paying back the money."



Figure 5.2 Local People Working in the Paddy Fields in Ayeyarwaddy Delta

The profit from the farm very much depends on the paddy prices. The farmer's total investment is estimated at 100,000 kyats up to 200,000 kyats for one acre in one season. In Tha- Gyar-Hin-O village, farmers can grow both monsoon and summer paddy crop. To grow summer season crop, farmers need to invest double than that of the monsoon crop because the summer crop needs more fertilizers. Farmers can harvest 40 baskets to 60 baskets of the monsoon crops and 50 baskets to 70 baskets of the summer crops per acre. For example, when middle wealth ranking farmers like Daw Yin -who own 18 acres of the paddy land - have to invest for the monsoon growing season, she needs 1,800,000 kyats. She can get a loan from the government for 10 acres at about 500,000 kyats, so she needs another 1,300,000 kyats for the investment. The seasonal income she could made for 2011 monsoon season is about 216,000 kyats. The net income is about only 216,000 for the whole season. To make

matters worse, for the crop season right after cyclone, the government loan for the farmers at that time was only 7,000 kyats for monsoon crops and 8,000 kyats per acre for the summer crop. This meant that the farmers need for credit mostly went unmet.

Additionally, another farmer from the village, U Aye, explained that;

“If the paddy prices is high, we can get more profit but the paddy prices was generally 270,000 kyats for 100 baskets for this year. Maybe the paddy quality was a little different but the quality is difference is not enough to warrant that large of a price different. We made just a little profit. Sometimes we took advance loans from merchants, so we had to sell to that merchant at a low price instead of the market price. After we paid all the debts, there is very little money left - just enough for the daily wages for the family. We will need to take a loan for another season. It is like a debt cycle for us.”

The famers are in the cycle of “borrow-harvest-repay” that U Aye described. Some farmer’s families have students who need to pay for their education. Others have elders and unhealthy family members who need health care paid for. These types of families are struggling more and more in this situation. There is an emerging trend of farmers who sell their land at low prices in order to pay back their debt. They may also simply transfer their land over to the loan provider as a repayment. These dire situations emerge because at times people have to borrowed money with a 10% or up to 20 % interest rate. If they can’t pay the interest, that amount will add as compound interest and their financial burden will grow.

Another situation is the farmers who still own their land but cannot farm all the land they own as they do not have enough money for the upfront investment. The situation lead to the small farmers to instead do casual labors or fishing while they are on break from the farming season. If they can’t invest in the full amount of their land, they can’t rely on only farming for their income. In order to reduce the investment, some the farmers reduce their use of outside labourers and try to work using only their

family members. Others have stopped harvesting some parts of their land. This struggle also affects the pool of casual labourers as there are not as many acres being planted for them to harvest.

5.7.2. Fishing Communities' Livelihoods

In Tha-Gyar-Hin-O village, there are 34 households who are working in the fishing industry. Similar to the farming community, the fishing community is also facing the debt cycle of “borrow-fish-repay”. Yet, the stories from the fishermen are a little different from the farmers. Fishermen could catch more fish and prawn for the first year after Nargis but because they had lost their fishing equipment during the cyclone, they had to put their money into new investment. For the second year, they start facing a decline in their fish and prawn catch. The environmentalists explained that the mangrove forests which had been serving as a breeding grounds for fish and prawn species had largely been destroyed during Cyclone Nargis. Ongoing deforestation in the area also had a negative impact. This caused the loss of fish species. The fish catch is gradually getting lower and lower than before Nargis. Most of the fisherfolk couldn't afford to buy more fishing gear but they have had to find a way to buy this equipment in order to improve their income. Thus, fisherfolk also borrowed money from money lenders as the farmers did. Some fisherfolk are borrowing fishing equipment and boats from the businessmen.



Figure 5.3 Fish Dealer House at the River Bank near the study village

Post-Nargis, the fishing permit system has become even more exacting than before Nargis. The fisherfolk report that the permission law from the government has changed a little bit and now the permission areas even include the small streams. With this change, now people can't fish even in the streams as they used to. Before Nargis, these streams were common areas where small-scale fisherfolk would fish using their traditional methods. Now they are just another area that have limited access for small fishers. The fisher folk become tied to the middle men and large businesses through the permissions system and the loans. As explained before, the local fishers get loans and fishing permits from the businessmen and their middlemen, the fish dealers. The fishermen from the village stressed that there is heavy price exploitation when the local fishers have to sell their catch to their dealer. This happens because the fishers don't have a chance to sell their catch to other dealer, thus encouraging price competition, because of the permission and loan attachment.

“For the time being, we can’t afford the permit ourselves so we have to buy the permit from the business men who get the fishing permit from government. Most of businessmen are based in Pyapon. Some are from Pyapon and some people are from other big cities, may be from Yangon. We buy the permit from them and also borrow some money from them too. For the repayment of the debt, we have to give them the fish that we catch. We only have a small boat and basic fishing gear. We also can only fish in the permitted area that we bought from businessmen. But for the businessmen they have a big boat and good fishing gear so they can fish much better than us. They also bring people from other places as cheap labor and they hire only one or two local people. Some people said the fish are declining because of environmental degradation and also because the mangrove forests were destroyed by cyclone. That may be true. We can see soil erosion also more and more in our region. When we get lower and lower fish, we are in debt” (U Sein, Fisherman from Tha-Gyar-Hin-O village, Interview 2011).

Table 5.5 Wealth Ranking of the Fishing Community by Yearly Income (2010)

Wealth Rank	Yearly income (2010)(Kyats)	Households
Rank 1	200,000 to 350,000	15
Rank 2	100,000 to 190,000	19

5.7.3. Casual Labourers (*Bout*) Community

In my study village, casual labourer households are a much greater percentage than any other occupational group in the community. There are 48 casual labourer households in the entire village. Some farmers lost their lands and fishermen also lost their fishing gears due to debt and then became casual labourers. Since Nargis, the casual labourer population has continued to increase. Because of the decline in both

farming and fishing in the area, the casual laborers also face more difficulties for finding daily work. Farmers and fishermen used to hire them as daily wage labourers before cyclone but they could not hire them any longer after cyclone. Thus casual labourers are facing a lack of work opportunity. Some farmers lost their land to their local money lender who is also a farmer from this village. As mentioned before, the casual labourers are earning their income from fishing from the stream but now, because of the new permissions system, they cannot continue that practice.

Table 5.6 Wealth Ranking of the Casual Labourer Community by Yearly Income (2010)

Wealth Level	Yearly income (2010)(kyats)	Households
Rank 1	310,000 to 400,000	18
Rank 2	210,000 to 300,000	20
Rank 3	110,000 to 200,000	5
Rank 4	50,000 to 100,000	5

The daily income for casual labourers is about 1000 kyats to 1500 kyats for one person per day. However, they became hard to get work for every day. Nevertheless, casual labourers struggle to meet daily consumption needs due to the reduced work opportunities in the context of the decline of the farmer's and fishermen's work. The casual labourers draw on credit for their daily consumption.

Hla Htwe who working as a casual labourer from the village said;

“Everyone from our family needs to work almost every day to meet our daily needs. We have four family members in my family. We are not sure who will get to work each day. We can earn 1500 kyats per day for one person if we have work to do.

A job opportunity is very rare for us nowadays. If we don't get any work, we need to get a loan from the shopkeeper from our village or the money lender. We don't have anything for

granted like property or fix access as the farmers and fishermen so we have to get credit with very high interest with daily interest payment. Daily interest for 10,000 kyats is about 300 kyats per day. If we cannot pay the daily interest, then that amount is added to the original loan and we have to pay more interest. So that leads us to being trapped by the debt cycle.” (Hla Htwe, casual labourer from Tha-Gyar-Hin-O village, 2011)

5.7.4. Other Occupational Groups and Migration

As I mention above in the villagers’ livelihoods table 5. 7 in the Tha-Gyar-Hin-O village, the occupational groups consist of famers, fishing, causal labourers and also “other” occupational groups. In the other occupational group, there is 33 households. Of these households, 22 of them are in the sub-category of “migration”; these households depend on money coming from people who have left the village to work. In the village only the older people from the household are left to receive the remittances.

In Table 5.7 below, the remaining 10 households’ work and yearly income is displayed. The “other” kind of jobs being done include shopkeepers, fishing boat labourers, a tailor, video hall owner, a ferry boat driver and also one household selling Burmese snacks.



Figure 5.4 People working in Pyapon as Casual Labourers

Table 5.7 Yearly Income by Occupation of the Villagers (2010)

Occupation	Yearly Income (2010)(Kyats)	Household
Shopkeeper	300,000	3
Fishing Boat Labourer	500,00	2
Ferry Boat Driver	500,000	1
Carpenter	400,000	1
Tailor	200,000	1
Selling Burmese Snacks	200,000	1
Video Hall Owner	200,000	1

5.8. Summary

Due to Cyclone Nargis, farming productivity and crop yields have decreased significantly and also fishing has been severely affected and fishermen are struggling to recover. The opportunity for paid work for casual laborers has been reduced due to the declines in demand among large-scale farmers and fishermen. The debt cycle has been ruptured, with communities falling deeper into debt due to the instability of their livelihoods. On the other hand, the information sharing and collective action of the villagers are showing their strong communities' social capital. The activities of the groups within the community were extended to meet the needs of the post-disaster situation. This helped illustrate that during and after a disaster, neighborhoods with deeper reservoirs of social capital can recover more effectively, efficiently, and quickly.