

Community Participation and Empowerment in Post-Tsunami Rehabilitation: The Case of the Hambantota District in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

A rapid assessment was undertaken in early 2005 on the impact of the Asian tsunami on the CBMS site in the Hambantota District on the southern coast of Sri Lanka. The site, which comprises of two coastal lagoon systems, Kalametiya and Rekawa, represents poor rural coastal communities that were badly affected by the tsunami. For the rapid assessment, participatory research methods were adopted such as focus group discussions (FGDs) and a household survey. Data collection was undertaken with the assistance of local field researchers who had previously been engaged in the CBMS study. These community members played a vital role in data collection and methodology development. In addition, the communities in both sites extended their utmost cooperation and support during data collection even if these were very difficult times

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for them. This can be partly attributed to the involvement of local field researchers in the process, giving the communities a sense of ownership and empowerment.

The FGDs were forward-looking and positive—getting the community's perspective of how best rehabilitation and reconstruction should be undertaken in their area, taking their own priority needs into consideration. The household surveys revisited 210 households which have been the subject of ongoing research on factors affecting rural livelihoods since 2002. The fact that baseline data were available allowed the assessment of the impact of the tsunami both on household and productive assets. The community's views on the new coastal zone management policy issues that have emerged as a result of the tsunami (e.g., 100 meter no-build zone in the south coast) were also solicited. In addition, the survey included questions on what coping strategies were used by the household immediately after the tsunami and how their sense of personal well-being and security was affected.

Data analysis included investigating the differences in relation to the impact of the tsunami among households within and between villages in the two sites. The qualitative data were used to validate and triangulate results from the quantitative data as well as to obtain a more in-depth understanding of how individuals in the community were coping after the tsunami and how they felt rehabilitation should take place in their villages. As expected, results indicated that the resumption of their primary livelihood at the earliest opportunity was considered a priority by all the focus groups. The communities felt that overall preliminary rehabilitation work had taken place in a fairly uncoordinated manner and with a lack of transparency. Some donor organizations were accused of helping only certain groups within the community and not others, thus creating conflict within the community. Many indicated that these participatory discussions were the first time community members had been given the opportunity to express their own ideas on how rehabilitation and reconstruction should take place in their village.

This study clearly illustrates that it is critical for community members to be engaged in data collection alongside researchers to ensure the validity of the data, especially in the post-tsunami scenario. Their role is important if findings of the research are to be incorporated in the rehabilitation efforts at the community-level. It

is therefore clear that adopting the CBMS model, where community members play a crucial role alongside researchers, is important in the post-tsunami disaster management and rehabilitation efforts in Sri Lanka.

Introduction

Sri Lanka's coastline of about 1,620 kms includes a shoreline of bays and islets and sandy beaches. In addition, there are a series of lagoons that are dotted around the coast. About 25 percent of Sri Lanka's total population live along the island's coastal region. Rural coastal communities are known to be among the poorest communities in the country. Many are involved in livelihoods dependent on the fishing industry (CZMP, 2004).

The Asian tsunami that hit Sri Lanka's coastal areas on 26 December 2004 resulted in widespread destruction and will be recorded as probably the worst human tragedy caused by a natural disaster in Sri Lanka's long history. The tsunami was the outcome of a series of earthquakes, measuring up to 8.9 on the Richter scale that occurred in the seabed near Sumatra in Indonesia. This was the fifth largest quake to be recorded in a century and affected several countries in the Indian Ocean region. In Sri Lanka, the tsunami first struck the eastern coast about 100 minutes after the earthquake. Overall, over two-thirds of the coastline of Sri Lanka were affected by the tsunami. The complex interaction between water-borne energy, seabed and terrestrial terrain meant that the effects of the tsunami were different from place to place. In general, though, the eastern, northeastern and southeastern coasts of the country were particularly badly affected. The official death toll was estimated to be over 40,000 and in many cases, entire families were swept away to sea. Of the fatalities, about 27,000 were fishermen and two-thirds of the country's fishing boats were wrecked, destroying many livelihoods. The number of people

In the Rekawa area, the western sides of the two major bay segments of this coastal stretch and the adjoining villages were damaged by the tsunami. In Kapuhenwela, for instance, where the natural estuary of the Rekawa lagoon is situated, the tsunami waves were channeled in through the estuary mouth and the impact of the waves was felt inland up to about 500 meters. The concrete bridge connecting the Kapuhenwela village to the main road on the other side of the lagoon canal (which is situated about 150 metres away from the estuary mouth) was destroyed due to the force and speed of the water. Some natural protection was offered by the mangrove vegetation located about 200 meters north of the estuary opening, which had clearly absorbed the force of the waves (personal observation; IUCNa, 2005).

In the Oruwella bay area, the tsunami waves had also penetrated inland up to approximately 500 meters, causing substantial damage to properties up to about 400 metres from the beach front. The Oruwella fish landing site or harbour where a number of temporary huts had been constructed (about 30 – 40 meters from the high tide line) was completely destroyed. Natural barriers such as the near-shore coral reef situated about 50 meters from the shore in Oruwella, offered very little protection, possibly due to being badly damaged by the coral mining that is undertaken in the village. Most of the scrubland found in the area was also uprooted by the force of the waves. Wellodaya, the village just south of Oruwella along the bay, suffered the full brunt of the tsunami waves as it is located on the beach front and has very little natural protection from the sea. In Wellodaya, about 48 houses were reported to have been completely damaged (personal observation; IUCNa, 2005).

In the Kalametiya area, the most severe impact from the tsunami took place in the Kalametiya village which was situated directly on the beach front to the south of the permanent canal connecting Kalametiya lagoon to the sea. The 31 houses that made up the village were completely destroyed. Only about 3 houses were partially standing after the tsunami (personal observation). Nine individuals

had lost their lives in this village and this number included women and children (KRDTa, 2005).

The Kalametiya fish landing site or harbour (which is situated north of the permanent canal opening near Gurupokuna) also bore the direct impact of the tsunami and boats and fishing gear were badly damaged (personal observation, KRDTa, 2005).

The tsunami waves penetrated the Kalametiya lagoon through the natural lagoon outlet and the permanent canal and the sand bar normally separating Kalametiya lagoon from the ocean disappeared entirely, and the lagoon almost appeared to be another bay on the coastline with the sea directly entering the lagoon (by the first week of January 2005, however, the sand bar had begun to slowly return). The mangrove vegetation and reeds surrounding the lagoon were destroyed due to the force of the waves. The lagoon was polluted with debris, fishing nets and various household items. The waves also entered the properties on the western border of the lagoon near Wewegoda, causing some minor damage (personal observation; CERM, 2005; IUCNb, 2005; KRDTa, 2005).

In Gurupokuna close to the Kunukalliya Lewaya (saltern), the impact of the tsunami completely destroyed the small bridge across the saltern opening to the sea. The waves had entered the saltern through the opening. Houses and property along this stretch of beach front had also been affected by the waves (personal observation).

Although a lot of damaged took place, the number of deaths reported in Rekawa and Kalametiya, however, was relatively very low compared to some other parts of the country. Table 1 gives an overview of the damage to Rekawa and Kalametiya, taking into consideration only villages that are part of the study site.

Methodology

To determine the impact of the tsunami on the CBMS site, a rapid assessment using participatory research methods was undertaken in February and March 2005. A sustainable livelihoods approach was

Table 1. Impact of tsunami in study site

DS Division	GN Division	Villages Affected	No. of Deaths	No. of Houses Damaged
Tangalle	Rekawa East	Oruwella	1	21
	Medilla	Kapuhewela	3	12
	Rekawa West	Boraluwa	0	0
	Gurupokuna	Gurupokuna	0	13
Ambalantota	Batatha South	Wewegoda	4	2
	Hungama	Thuduwa	0	0

adopted and data collection methods included focus group discussions (FGDs) and a household survey (World Bank, 1998; Carney, 1999).

A total of 10 FGDs were undertaken (5 in each site—Rekawa and Kalametiya) using a combination of semistructured questions and visualization techniques (Box 1). Although there was a general guideline developed for the FGDs, depending on the sensitivity of the issue during the particular discussion, some questions were left out. The FGDs were held with different fisher groups and well as with women from the community. Each discussion comprised of between 3–10 participants while 5 participants were invited for each discussion, more often showed up for the meeting due to the unusual circumstances caused by the tsunami, many were curious to find out what the discussions were about.

Although the FGDs started off by discussing how the community in that particular village had been affected by the tsunami both psychologically and economically and how they had coped in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami, the discussions were in general forward-looking and positive, focusing on the community’s perspective of how best rehabilitation and reconstruction should be undertaken in their area, taking their own priority needs into consideration. Participants were requested to discuss their views among the group and write out their recommendations on pieces of card. They were then requested to rank these recommendations in

Box 1. Focus group discussions undertaken in Rekawa and Kalametiya post-tsunami

Kalametiya

Sea fishers (who use 19.5 foot boats) in Gurupokuna and Wewegoda
 Sea fishers (who use traditional canoes or oru) in Gurupokuna and Wewegoda
 Lagoon fishers in Gurupokuna and Wewegoda (who use traditional canoes or oru)
 Lagoon fishers in Tuduwa (who use traditional canoes or oru)
 Women in Gurupokuna and Wewegoda

Rekawa

Sea fishers (who use 19.5 foot boats) in Oruwella
 Sea and lagoon fishers (who use traditional canoes or oru) in Kapuhenwela
 Lagoon fishers in Boraluwa (who use traditional canoes or oru)
 Women in Oruwella
 Women in Kapuhenwela

order of priority (1= most important in terms of rehabilitation and so on). Some of the recommendations were given equal weight by the participants. Visual techniques such as mapping exercises were also utilized to highlight key physical and ecological changes in the lagoon and ocean. The participants were requested to draw a map illustrating the coast in their area or lagoon (depending on which village the discussion was being held in) and describe how the events of 26 December 2004 had affected the area. They then marked these changes on the map.

The household survey revisited 210 households³ which have been the subject of ongoing research on factors affecting rural livelihoods since 2002.⁴ The questionnaire was administered to only one respondent in each household (as it was inappropriate to take up too much of the family's time under these difficult circumstances). The respondents were about 33 percent females and 67 percent males.

³ This was a random stratified sample of 35 households from each of the 6 villages under investigation (a total of 210 households) based on household wealth rankings and primary livelihood activities.

⁴ The study on livelihoods was part of Sonali Senaratna Sellamuttu's PhD research.

The fact that baseline data were available from the research undertaken since 2002 allowed the researchers to assess the impact of the tsunami both on household and productive assets. In addition, the survey included questions on the coping strategies used by the household immediately after the tsunami and the way their sense of personal well-being and security was affected. The community's views on the new coastal zone management policy issues that have emerged as a result of the tsunami (e.g., 100 meter no-build zone on the south coast) were also solicited as well as their opinion on what the priorities were in terms of rehabilitation activities in their area.

Data collection was undertaken with the assistance of local field researchers who had previously been engaged in the CBMS study. These community members played a vital role in data collection and methodology development. In addition, the communities in both sites extended their utmost cooperation and support during data collection⁵ although these were very difficult times for them. This can be partly attributed to the involvement of local field researchers in the process, giving the communities a sense of ownership and empowerment. As there were many urgent requirements of the community due to the tsunami and various outside groups visiting the area to engage in post-tsunami rehabilitation activities, it was important that this research did not raise any false expectations among community members regarding what the research would "do" for the communities in terms of providing them with direct assistance. The objectives and purpose of the research was therefore clearly explained to the community before starting the data collection phase of the research.

Data analysis included investigating the differences in relation to the impact of the tsunami among households within and between

⁵ When undertaking the post-tsunami survey in the 210 household sample, only 4 households indicated reluctance to respond to the questionnaire due to not obtaining any direct post-tsunami assistance from doing so. In addition, there were 3 households that had migrated out of the area and 1 household where the household head had been badly injured in the tsunami and hospitalized (his family also spent most of their time with him) during our rapid assessment. Therefore only 202 households responded to our questionnaire.

villages in the two sites. An asset damage scoring system was developed at the household level to give a crude measure of how each household was affected relative to each other. A separate damage score was calculated to determine extent of damage to household assets as well as productive assets such as fishing boats and gear. Each household was given a score for each asset in the following manner: 2=completely destroyed, 1=partially damaged, 0=not damaged and 'blank'=not owned. To get an overall household score, the median damage scores were calculated for each household. The median score was used in order not to confound asset ownership with loss, i.e., not to give undue weight to the damage scores of people who owned more assets. The findings were presented at the village level to compare damage among the different villages and sites.

The qualitative data were used to validate and triangulate results from the quantitative data as well as to obtain a more in-depth understanding of how individuals in the community were coping after the tsunami and how they felt rehabilitation activities should be undertaken in their area.

Results

Damage to houses and property

In the study site, the damage to houses in the sample ranged from about 6 percent in Kalametiya to 16 percent in Rekawa, while the damage to property was about 11 percent in Kalametiya and 20 percent in Rekawa. Overall, based on how the tsunami wave hit each site, the impact appeared to be relatively greater in Rekawa than in Kalametiya, with houses in both Oruwella and Kapuhenwela being completely and partially destroyed while in Kalametiya, the waves flooded some houses in Gurupokuna and Wewegoda but did not cause permanent structural damage. In addition, a higher percentage of property was damaged in Rekawa than in Kalametiya (Table 2). This was also verified by eye witnesses spoken to in each of the villages affected soon after the tsunami.

Table 2. Damage on houses and property of sample households in Rekawa and Kalametiya

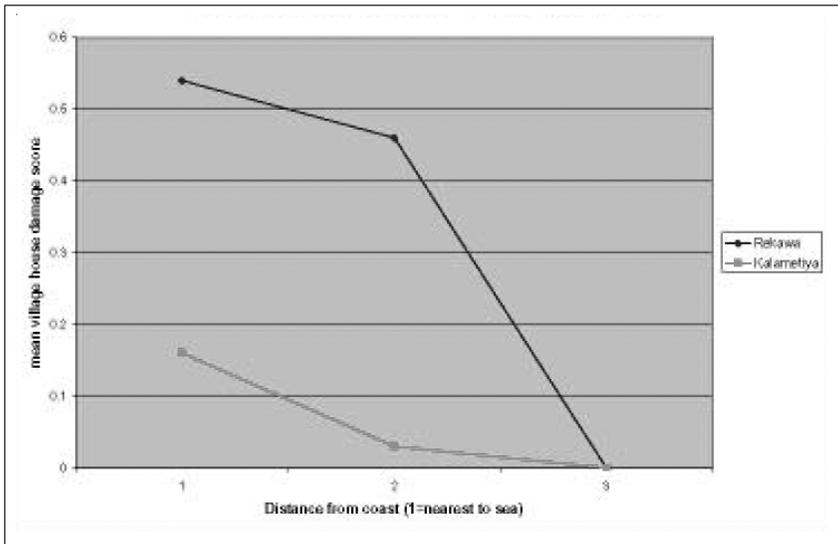
House and Property Damage	Rekawa			Kalametiya			Overall % at Site	
	Oruwella	Kapuhenwela	Boroluwa	Gurupokuna	Wewegoda	Tuduwa	Rekawa	Kalametiya
Number of houses damaged	9	8	0	5	1	0	16.3	6.1
Number of houses completely destroyed	3	2	0	0	0	0	4.8	0
Number of houses partially damaged	4	4	0	0	0	0	7.7	0
Number of houses flooded but not destroyed	2	2	0	5	1	0	3.8	6.1
Number of water supply disrupted	10	15	0	29	22	9	24.0	61.2
Number of property/land damaged	9	12	0	8	3	0	20.0	11.2
Sample size	35	35	34	31	34	33	104	98

As expected, distance from the coast influenced how households in the sample were affected. In both sites, the highest number of houses and property affected were villages nearest to the coast, followed by those villages between the coast and lagoon (for example, in Rekawa, Oruwella - 26% and Kapuhenwela - 16% houses damaged; while in Kalametiya, Gurupokuna - 16% and Wewegoda - 3% damaged as seen earlier in Figure 1). Households in villages that were on the land side of the lagoon did not incur damage to houses and property (for example, Boraluwa in Rekawa and Tuduwa in Kalametiya where no damages were recorded).

Using the data in Table 2, a mean damage score for houses was calculated at the village level using a score of 0=not damaged, 1=flooded but not structurally damaged, 2= partially damaged and 3=completely destroyed. In addition, villages in each site were given a score of distance from coast where 1=nearest to coast, 2=between coast and lagoon, 3=on the landside of the lagoon. When the mean village house damage scores were plotted against distance from coast, it clearly illustrated (Figure 2) that as stated above, distance played a significant role in the level of impact by the tsunami. In addition, Figure 2 clearly validates that houses in Rekawa suffered greater damage than those in the Kalametiya site.

The water supply was also disrupted in a large percentage of households due to the main water pipes supplying the villages being damaged by the tsunami waves. In addition, in Kalametiya, those generally using the permanent water channel between the lagoon and sea for bathing purposes could not do so due to saline intrusion and general pollution of the water. Hence, about 24 percent of the households in the sample in Rekawa and about 61 percent of households in Kalametiya had their water supply disrupted for about 4–10 days after the tsunami. Overall, households nearest the coast again had a higher incidence of water disruption than those further away from the coast.

Figure 2. Relationship between distance and mean village house damage score



Damage score for household assets

In relation to the household asset damage score, damage to the following assets were recorded—TV, radio, three-wheeler rides, motorbike, van, tractor, wooden items such as furniture, kitchen utensils and gold jewelry. Table 3 gives an overview of the number of households in each village that fell into the three different household asset damage score categories.

As expected, Oruwella suffered the highest household asset damage score and Kapuhenwela the second highest in Rekawa. In Kalametiya, Gurupokuna had the highest household asset damage score and Wewegoda the second highest. Both Boraluwa and Tuduwa did not record any asset damage scores as none of the houses in these villages were physically affected. The results correspond to the data on overall household damage (i.e., villages with higher number of houses damaged have higher median asset damage scores). In addition, as expected, there was a significant correlation between extent of damage a house had suffered and the median household asset damage score (Table 4) where houses that had been completely

Table 3. Median damage scores for household and productive assets in the sample households in Rekawa and Kalametiya

Median Damage Scores	Rekawa			Kalametiya		
	Number of Households Oruwella	Number of Households Kapuhenwela	Number of Households Boraluwa	Number of Households Gurupokuna	Number of Households Wewegoda	Number of Households Tuduwa
Median household asset damage score						
Not damaged = 0	26	28	33	27	33	33
Partially damaged = 1	0	2	0	2	1	0
Completely destroyed = 2	9	5	0	2	0	0
Median fishing boat damage score						
Not damaged = 0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Partially damaged = 1	11	4	3	7	6	4
Completely destroyed = 2	4	6	0	6	5	2
Median fishing gear damage score						
Not damaged = 0	1	0	9	1	0	1
Partially damaged = 1	3	7	0	4	0	0
Completely destroyed = 2	13	1	2	11	15	7

Table 4. Relationship between extent of damage of a house and median household asset damage score

Extent of damage of the house	Median household asset damage score
Spearman's correlation coefficient	-0.337
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
N	200

destroyed had higher asset damage scores than houses that had been flooded but had not suffered any permanent structural damage.

The median household asset damage scores were averaged at the village level so that damage per village could be compared (Table 6). At the village level, Oruwella has the highest average score, followed by Kapuhenwela, Gurupokuna and Wewegoda, respectively. This once again verified the finding that overall, Rekawa suffered a higher impact to households in terms of damage to houses and household assets than Kalametiya (Rekawa averaged score = 0.29, Kalametiya averaged score=0.07). As expected, Boraluwa and Tuduwa both have a household asset damage score of 0 at the village level.

Productive asset damage scores in relation to fisheries livelihoods

Of the subsample of fisheries households (there are a total of 119 households), 63 households owned a boat/s (a total of 72 boats) and 75 households owned gear. In the case of obtaining the median asset damage scores for boats and gear, only households that actually owned boats/gear were considered.

Each household that owned a boat(s) was given a boat damage score, using a score of 0=not damaged, 1=partially damaged and 2=completely destroyed. To get an overall household score, the median boat damage scores were calculated for each household. With respect to the fishing boats, it appeared that all six villages had suffered losses irrespective of location as noted in Table 4. The median fishing boat

damage scores were averaged at the village level (Table 5) and overall, the highest losses had been incurred in the Kalametiya site.

A large number of different types of gear are used in the site and the number of types of gear used per household in the sample ranged from 1 type to 7 types. Different combinations of gear type were used in different villages. To calculate the gear damage score, each type of gear was given a score of 0=not damaged, 1=partially damaged and 2=completely destroyed. To get an overall household score, the median gear damage scores were calculated for each household (Table 4). The median score was used, as in the previous cases, in order not to give undue weight to households that owned and used a larger number of gear types. When the median fishing gear damage scores were averaged at the village level (Table 6), the results showed that as in the case of the boat damage, the highest losses on the whole had been in the Kalametiya site.

Unlike in the case of house, property and household asset damage, the impact on boats and fishing gear was not related to location of village in relation to the coast, as boats and fishing gear are usually left on the beach at the fish landing site.⁶ This was clearly illustrated when mean boat damage score and gear damage score at the village level were plotted against distance from coast (Figures 3 and 4). As mentioned previously, in Kalametiya, both Gurupokuna and Wewegoda use a common fish landing site which is situated on the strip of beach near the permanent opening of the Kalametiya lagoon to the sea. In Rekawa, Oruwella has its own fish landing site and so does Kapuhenwela. Those engaged in lagoon fishing (such as in the villages of Tuduwa, Gurupokuna and Wewegoda in Kalametiya, and Boraluwa and Kapuhenwela in Rekawa) usually leave their lagoon canoes and gear on the bank of the lagoon. While some fishermen

⁶ In pre-tsunami times, a majority of fishermen tended to store all their gear in their boats while some stored gear not used for that particular fishing season at home. After the tsunami, most fishermen were of the opinion that they should try and store all their gear at home, to avoid such a loss in the future.

Table 5. Median damage score for household and productive assets averaged at village level

	Oruwellia	Kapuhenwela	Boraluwa	Gurupokuna	Wewegoda	Tuduwa	Rekawa	Kalametiya
Median household asset damage score averaged at village level	0.51	0.34	0	0.19	0.029	0	0.29	0.07
Sample size	35	35	33	31	34	33	103	98
Median boat damage score averaged at village level	1.27	1.6	0.375	1.46	1.45	1.33	1.15	1.43
Sample size	15	10	8	13	11	6	33	30
Median gear and nets damage score averaged at village level	1.7	1.13	0.18	1.63	2	1.75	1.11	1.79
Sample size	17	8	11	16	15	8	36	39

Figure 3. Relationship between distance and mean village boat damage score

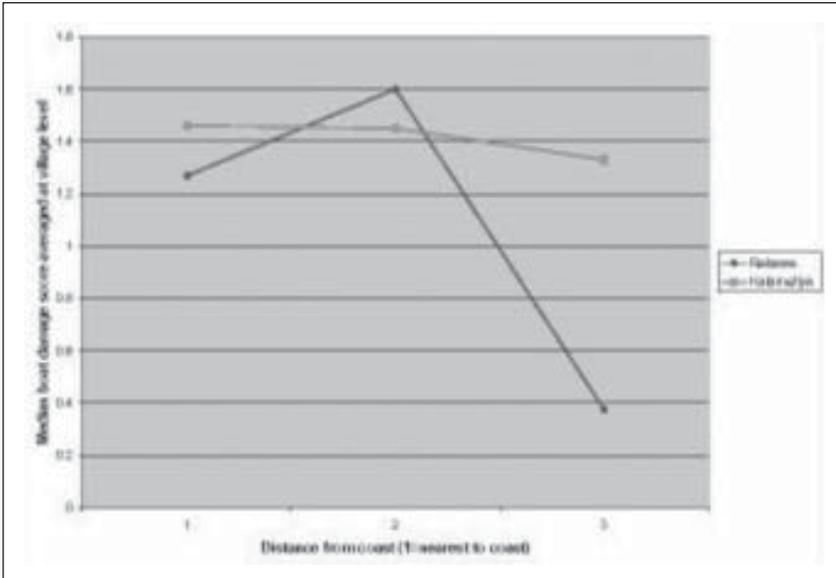
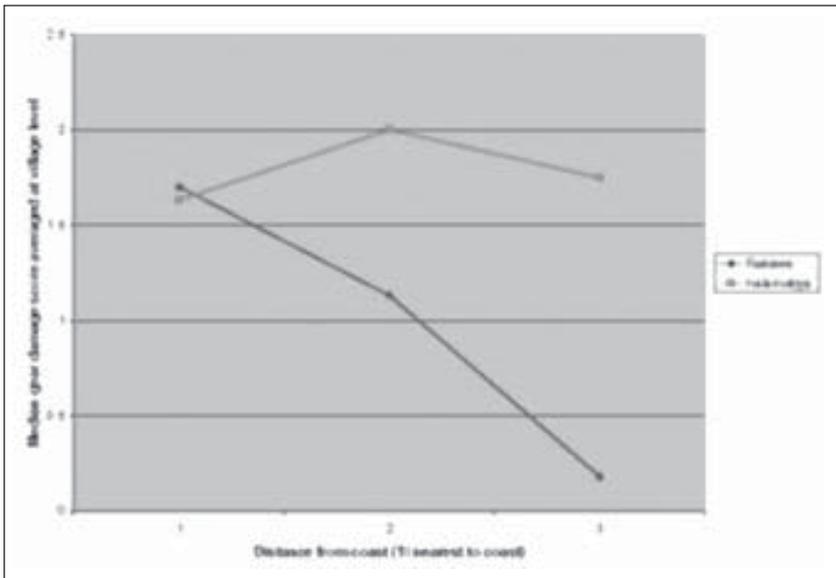


Figure 4. Relationship between distance and mean village gear damage score



only had the fishing gear used for that season in their boats (other gear being stored at home), others had not been so fortunate and had lost all their gear due to storing all their different types of gear in their boats.

Impact of the tsunami on personal security and well-being

The Asian tsunami was an exceptional event which communities in Rekawa and Kalametiya had never previously experienced. During the ten group discussions, participants were requested to describe in their own words the events that they experienced on 26 December and how these had affected them psychologically. Many of them had personally witnessed the tsunami waves and had only narrowly escaped with their lives. Some of the participants therefore still appeared to be traumatized and in the process of recovering from their harrowing experience. For a majority of them, this was the first time they had spoken about their experiences in this kind of forum and they appeared to find this a healing exercise, indicating that they felt a sense of relief discussing their experiences with one another. A number of testimonies of both male and female participants were recorded during the discussions. Testimonies from both Rekawa and Kalametiya are seen in Boxes 2 and 3 to illustrate some of the accounts.

To determine how people's sense of personal well-being and security was affected by the tsunami, in the household survey, respondents were requested to indicate how they felt overall at the time the questionnaire was administered (post-tsunami). Each respondent was given a personal security (PS) score of 1 (feeling positive) or 0 (feeling negative). As expected, in the post-tsunami survey, from a sample of 200 respondents, a majority were feeling negative (192 respondents) and only a small number were feeling positive (8 respondents).

To evaluate what was influencing how the respondents were feeling after the tsunami, they were requested to list out the reasons for their feelings. These factors were coded like in the previous

Box 2. Testimony of H.W. Lalith, sea fisher (hired help on a 19.5 foot boat), Wewegoda Village

When the ocean initially receded just before the tsunami struck, Lalith was as bewildered as all the other fishermen who were on the beach that fateful morning, but he realized that something out of the ordinary was taking place and rushed to try and save the outboard boat engine which was attached to his brother's 19.5 foot fiberglass boat that was near the Kalametiya fish landing site. However, while trying to remove the engine from the boat, he was struck by a massive wave and found himself swept out at sea. The wave was extremely powerful and he had frantically clung onto a small oruwa that was floating past him but his relief was short-lived as soon after, the oruwa had been dashed against some rocks and been totally smashed, while he had been flung back into the ocean and managed to grab onto a piece of the smashed oruwa to stay afloat. He had then witnessed the body of a young infant floating past him and had tried to grab onto it but had failed due to the speed at which the waves were moving. A fishing boat from the village had rescued him several hours later. He had a twisted shoulder and many cuts and bruises and was in a state of shock. He had been rushed to a medical clinic by his family and his injuries attended to. Lalith found it difficult to believe he had managed to survive this ordeal and was extremely relieved to be alive. He however stated that he still had reoccurring nightmares about his experience and felt a real sense of fear of the ocean ever since. But like many fishermen, Lalith was of the opinion that he needed to get back to fishing as soon as possible so that he could earn a living and his family could get back to some sense of normalcy.

Box 3. Testimony of K.H. Sujatha Ranjini, wife of a fisherman from Oruwella Village

Ranjini's eldest son of 19 years had died in the tsunami so she was still mourning the loss of a loved one. Her son had been on the beach on the morning of the 26th December when the first wave hit and not realizing the gravity of the situation had been trying to moor their 19.5 foot fiberglass boats. Although he was a good swimmer, he appeared to have knocked his head hard against something and had lost consciousness. It was only after the second wave struck, that a group of youth from the village had gone out in a boat and found him floating in the sea in a semi-conscious state. They rushed him to hospital, but it was too late and he had died on admission. Ranjini had been at home at the time with her other children and the tsunami waves had struck their house, destroying it completely. She said it was too powerful to escape and they just clung onto trees and pieces of furniture that were floating by to save themselves. The waves had struck so unexpectedly that they had been in a complete state of shock. It was only later that she discovered that her eldest son had also died. Although they had lost all their belongings—their house, household assets, their boat and fishing gear, she stated that nothing compared to the loss of her eldest son. She was disillusioned with the rehabilitation process in the village, indicating that although they had been promised temporary accommodation until permanent housing was provided, two months after the tsunami, nothing had been provided and they were still staying at a relative's house in the village.

personal security survey undertaken in January 2003.⁷ For coding purposes, factors were broadly divided into 7 categories for positive feelings and 7 categories for negative feelings (these were: income related; livelihood related; expenses related; living conditions; composition of family; health, psychological and social issues; and environmental issues). Table 6 gives a breakdown of frequency of the overall responses.

In the case of those feeling negative, factors in the health, psychological and social issues were the most frequently mentioned (81 respondents) as contributing to how they felt. Psychological reasons mentioned were: being afraid that another tsunami would strike, being afraid of living near the sea and the lagoon, afraid of going fishing and being upset about the loss of lives and destruction that had been caused by the tsunami to the area as well as the country as a whole. In addition, some respondents mentioned that they were upset by the conflict and tension that had arisen among the community with regard to obtaining relief and rehabilitation aid as well as the fact that some families previously well-off had suddenly suffered great economic losses. A large number of respondents also mentioned income-related factors (63 respondents) such as not having an income due to the tsunami affecting their primary livelihood and being dependent on relief assistance. With respect to livelihood related factors (indicated by 24 respondents), the damage and destruction to livelihood assets was the main reason mentioned in addition to the replacement of boats and fishing gear taking place too slowly. Regarding living conditions, 18 respondents stated that they were unhappy due to their houses and household assets being damaged by the tsunami. In the case of the few individuals feeling positive post-tsunami, the main reasons given were: almost everyone having lost their boats and gear so being in a similar situation and obtaining food aid and therefore having fewer expenses on food. Three

⁷ This personal security study was part of Sonali Senaratna Sellamuttu's PhD Research.

Table 6. Factors influencing how people feel post-tsunami

Factors Influencing How Individuals Feel	Feeling Negative	Feeling Positive
Income related	63	2
Livelihood related	24	2
Expenses related	3	1
Living conditions	18	0
Composition of family	0	0
Health, psychological and social issues	81	1
Environmental issues	2	0
Sample size	191	6

respondents did not give reasons as to why they felt positive or negative.

As an indication of the manner in which the tsunami had affected how people feel about their future, respondents were requested to indicate what their current goals and aspirations were and whether these had changed from before due to the tsunami. A majority of the 200 respondents stated that their goals in life had changed as a result of the tsunami (128 respondents) while 72 respondents indicated that the tsunami had not changed their future plans and aspirations. Those who indicated that a change had taken place were now mainly aspiring to resume their livelihoods and hoped that their destroyed and damaged boats and gear would be replaced soonest. Some individuals also viewed the tsunami as an opportunity to improve their lives. For example, seven respondents who were hired help in the fisheries industry hoped that through the aid pouring into the area, they would be able to benefit by obtaining their own boats and gear.

To determine whether there was any significant relationship at the household level between how people were feeling in the post-tsunami personal security survey to the pre-tsunami survey, a binary logistic regression was undertaken with the post-tsunami PS score as the dependent variable and the pre-tsunami PS score, gender of

respondent, site and wealth rank⁸ of respondent (pre-tsunami) as the explanatory variables, i.e., PS (posttsunami) = f(gender, PS pre-tsunami male, PS pre-tsunami female, site, wealth rank). It must be noted that like in the post-tsunami survey, the questionnaire was only administered to one respondent per household (either male or female) and in the pre-tsunami survey, the questionnaire was administered separately to both a male and female respondent in each household, with gender included as a separate explanatory variable.

The results from the binary logistic regression modeling showed no significant relationship between positive and negative feelings post-tsunami and pre-tsunami feelings, site, gender or wealth rank. This can be attributed to a majority of respondents feeling negative post-tsunami as a result of the catastrophic impact the tsunami had in general on their lives and therefore the negative feeling was irrespective of how individuals felt before the tsunami, gender, wealth rank or site. While wealth ranking significantly contributed to how people felt in the pre-tsunami scenario, with the proportion of respondents who felt positive decreasing from 'rich' to 'poorest' wealth rank for both males and females, in the post-tsunami situation, individuals felt negative, regardless of whether they were rich or poorer since all households were affected by the tsunami. This was also verified by the fact that when a Spearman's correlation test was carried out, wealth rank showed non-significant results with the median household asset damage score, median boat damage score and median gear damage score variables (i.e., household and productive assets had been affected irrespective of wealth rank).

Coping with the impact of the tsunami

A discussion was held with ten different groups in the CBMS site to

⁸ Wealth rank – This is a participatory qualitative research technique in which local communities broadly categorize households into different wealth categories based on their own perceptions of wealth. Wealth rankings were undertaken previously during Sonali Senaratna Sellamuttu's PhD research as well as during the CBMS study in this site.

determine how people coped in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami (the first two to three weeks), in terms of getting an income or purchasing food. The participants discussed and wrote out on pieces of card the coping strategies that they had used. The participants were then asked to rank these coping strategies in sequential order (rank 1 = strategy that was undertaken first to cope with the tsunami). Some of the strategies that emerged during the discussion, however, were shown to have been adopted simultaneously rather than in a sequential manner. For these, the participants were requested to give equal weights to the strategies.

The findings of the 10 group discussions revealed that a variety of coping strategies had been adopted by the communities in Rekawa and Kalametiya. Depending on the impact of the tsunami in each village the coping mechanisms adopted varied somewhat but overall, a similar pattern emerged in each village (Annex 1). Informal social safety nets at the family and community levels played a vital role in the survival of these people soon after the tsunami struck and were mentioned in 8 out of 10 of the group discussions. They were also ranked as the first strategy adopted soon after the tsunami. Relatives assisted affected families by providing them with temporary shelter, food and other essentials. Borrowing money from relatives and friends was also mentioned in 6 out of 10 of the discussions and once again, the ranking sequence was high (ranked between 1- 3).

Household food consumption patterns had also changed soon after the tsunami, with many respondents indicating that they cooked fewer times per day (thereby skipping meals) and also used food in the house more sparingly. Others mentioned harvesting plants and other food products from nearby areas for consumption purposes. In addition, to compensate for the loss of income, coping strategies such as utilizing savings, pawning household assets (such as gold jewelry) and borrowing from village level societies were adopted at the household level. It is important to note that these strategies have all been mentioned previously as initial short term strategies adopted in

these communities when facing a lack of money or food in the pre-tsunami food security study⁹ conducted over the past three years.

Obtaining relief assistance from private organizations and individuals immediately after the tsunami also ranked high in a majority of the group discussions in both Rekawa and Kalametiya. These private individuals or organizations had assisted in the form of providing cooked meals in the days following the tsunami (mentioned in 5 of the discussions and ranked between 1–3 in sequence), providing relief aid in the form of dry rations, water supply and replacing essentials that had been lost such as school material and kitchen utensils (mentioned in 9 of the discussions and ranked between 1–4). A majority of the participants were of the opinion that without the immediate relief provided by various private individuals and organizations in the first few days following the tsunami, coping with the disaster would have been a much more difficult task.

Immediate assistance from the government was relatively slow to reach these villages. The government relief aid consisted of food stamps to use at state cooperative stores in the value of Rs. 375 per family member per week, a Rs. 5000 stipend per month for each family affected and Rs. 2500 to replace kitchen utensils in households whose kitchens were damaged. Such aid was received only in February 2005 and in some cases had not been received during the time of the discussions (hence, only a few FGDs have mentioned obtaining this government aid although subsequently all the villages did receive the aid).

Since the fishing activities were not resumed soon after the tsunami, some groups stated that they had resolved to undertake other forms of employment such as engaging in casual labor or fishing in different reservoirs in the case of some lagoon fishers. This particular strategy had only been adopted by sea and lagoon fishermen in Kalametiya, and not in Rekawa.

⁹ The food security study is part of Sonali Senaratna Sellamuttu's PhD research.

Annex 1 highlights the coping strategies that were mentioned in both pre- and post-tsunami situations. Those cited under both situations were usually the type that were “internally” generated or where the household tried to independently cope with the crisis. Those strategies mentioned only in the post-tsunami scenario, however, were possibly the result of external intervention. Overall, the discussions revealed that groups in Kalametiya (sea and lagoon fishermen as well as women) tended to adopt more internally generated strategies while the groups in Rekawa almost immediately depended on external assistance. This is particularly apparent in Oruwella where overall damage was higher and where many families initially stayed in temporary camps. In Kalametiya, groups adopted a combination of both internally and externally generated coping strategies. Informal safety nets that included aid from the extended family and close friends played an important supporting role in the case of food and money shortages in both pre- and post- tsunami scenarios in Rekawa and Kalametiya, irrespective of gender or livelihood (sea or lagoon fishing).

It must be noted that the timing of a strategy is not the same as its importance for survival. Unfortunately, however, at the time of the FGDs, the participants found it difficult to distinguish timing and importance. Thus, although the sequencing of coping strategies was useful in terms of assessing how people coped in the aftermath of the tsunami in these particular villages, it did not give us an indication of what communities felt were the most important strategies in terms of their longer term survival. This was one of the drawbacks in this particular assessment.

Looking ahead: community’s perception of rehabilitation activities

Overall rehabilitation

The research did not dwell on the hardships the communities had to undergo in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami. Instead, it helped them look into the future in a more constructive manner. To determine

the community’s perception of what post-tsunami rehabilitation activities should have been prioritized, respondents to the household survey were requested to rank activities listed in Table 7 in terms of importance (1=most important rehabilitation activity in area). The median rank value was used as the overall rank.

According to the post-tsunami survey, rebuilding houses that were destroyed, replacing or repairing boats that were destroyed or damaged, and replacing fishing gear and nets were the ones considered by the respondents as the priority rehabilitation activities and were given equal importance. While one could argue that rebuilding houses would be more a priority than rehabilitating livelihoods, the responses

Table 7. Rehabilitation work in the village - community’s perception of priorities

Activity	Median Rank	Total number of individuals who responded to this strategy	% of individuals that ranked it in this order	% of individuals who did not rank this strategy
Providing new plots of land for those who lost houses	3	202	20.3	1.5
Rebuilding houses that were destroyed	2	202	20.8	1.5
Replacing/repairing boats that were destroyed/damaged	2	202	28.2	1.5
Replacing/repairing fishing gear that was destroyed/damaged	2	202	25.7	1.5
Other	5	32	81.3	84.2

in the household survey simply reflect that damage to livelihoods was much larger than damage to houses. Providing new plots of land for those who had lost houses was considered the next most important rehabilitation activity. In addition, respondents were also asked to record any other activities that they think should be included in rehabilitation programs in their areas. Eighteen respondents indicated that alternate livelihood opportunities should be created for those affected by the tsunami; five respondents whose houses were badly damaged stated that in addition to replacing their houses, household assets that were lost should also be replaced; and four respondents mentioned that those affected by the tsunami should also be helped psychologically to get back to a normal life. Five respondents were of the opinion that the needs of poorer households that were not affected by the tsunami should also not be forgotten in the overall rehabilitation and development initiatives in the area.

In the household survey, respondents were also requested to give their opinion on what they felt was required to ensure that rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts undertaken in the village were successful in the long term. Of the sample of 201 households, only 48 responded to this question, as a majority appeared to be unsure of how long-term sustainability could be guaranteed. Of the 48 who did respond 13 indicated that what was required was accurate data being made available by the community to the rehabilitation groups at the village level; 10 stated that community participation was critical for success at the village level; and 7 indicated that a close link should be established between the community and the rehabilitation organizations. For this purpose, six respondents were of the opinion that a committee should be set up at the village level to liaise with the rehabilitation groups. Ten respondents also stated that a proper management plan at the village level needed to also be drawn up. There were 10 respondents who felt that the government needed to set up a proper program at the village level to ensure the long-term success of rehabilitation work.

Fisheries livelihood-related rehabilitation work

During the seven group discussions held with sea and lagoon fishers in the CBMS site, the participants discussed their ideas on how the rehabilitation of the fishing livelihoods should be undertaken. They then ranked these recommendations in order of priority (1= most important in terms of fisheries livelihood rehabilitation) as shown in Annex 2.

The findings indicated that as expected, the resumption of their primary livelihood at the earliest was considered a priority by all the fisher groups. They hoped that in consultation with them, their fishing boats and gear would be either repaired or replaced at the earliest (mentioned in all 7 discussions). The fishermen also stated that they felt the fisheries inspection officers should identify and assist the genuine fishers who had been affected by the tsunami (mentioned in 6 of the discussions). This was specifically mentioned as some individuals who were not engaged in fishing as their primary livelihood had apparently used this opportunity to make false claims to officials that they owned boats or gear in the hope of obtaining these assets. This had caused some fear among the fishermen that the number of boats operating unregulated in their area would increase, thereupon creating greater competition and conflict for the limited coastal fisheries resource. Another general recommendation made by the fishermen was that there should be a mechanism to ensure that assistance is given to those individuals actually affected by the tsunami and genuinely needing help. This was mentioned because some donor organizations were helping only certain groups within the community thereby causing tension between households who received assistance and those that did not, especially when those genuinely affected had been left out. They also stated that there should be no political bias in aid distribution and felt that no group should attempt to gain political mileage out of the disaster.

Other recommendations that were highlighted reflect the specific needs of the different villages and fisher groups (i.e., lagoon and

sea). For example, sea fishermen in both Rekawa and Kalametiya recommended that the rehabilitation process be transparent at the village level and that a tsunami rehabilitation committee be set up. They likewise suggested that the post-tsunami fisheries rehabilitation effort had created an ideal opportunity for certain unsustainable fisheries practices to be regulated properly. For example, the use of bottom-lying nets (that caused damage to fish habitats) and nylon beach seine nets (that often caught juvenile fish) should be addressed somewhat by the rehabilitation program.

Alternate livelihood activities

In addition to the rehabilitation of the fishing industry, participants were also requested to indicate what their views were on the generation of alternative livelihood activities. A majority of the participants were of the opinion that the women in the community could also engage in suitable income-generating activities rather than just depending on the household's primary livelihood. They felt that if they had not depended so heavily on fishing or fishing-related livelihoods they would have found it easier to cope with the impact of the tsunami. The participants suggested home gardening projects where they could sell their produce, poultry farming, brick making, coir rope making, mending fishing nets, producing handicrafts using local reed varieties, sewing and making batiks. However, they felt that to venture into these activities they would require appropriate training and also need to find a suitable market for selling these products. In addition, the participants felt that fishermen could benefit from obtaining some training in boat and engine repairing.

It must be noted that from past experiences of alternate livelihood initiatives introduced in the coastal sector in Sri Lanka, the success rate of these alternate livelihoods in the long-term is very low unless certain criteria are given adequate attention. For example, proposed livelihood initiatives need to take into consideration the different realities of the communities involved, including their gender,

educational backgrounds, strengths, skills and aspirations. In addition, the natural resource base in the site, the potential income from the proposed livelihood development activity, relevant links to suitable micro-credit facilities, and information on existing marketing networks and how to access these, need to be properly assessed prior to initiating new income generating activities (IRMP CEA, 2003; Senaratna Sellamuttu and Clemett, 2003; CERM, 2004; SARCEP, 2004).

Future long-term development

Although the tsunami had a devastating impact on the lives of the communities in the CBMS site, it had also created the opportunity for the residents not just to return to their pre-tsunami status but to work for better more well-planned development than what existed.

Overall, better infrastructure development in the area was recommended in all the discussions. For example, rehabilitating the main roads as well as bridges in the villages was mentioned in all 10 discussions and considered a priority (i.e., had a high ranking sequence, ranked between 1-2) in all discussions.

Obtaining amenities such as pipe-borne water and electricity in areas of the village that have not received these as yet was another recommendation made in a number of group discussions and considered a major priority in certain villages. With respect to electricity, Oruwella and Kapuhenwela in Rekawa and Tuduwa in Kalametiya, where some parts of the village still do not have electricity, were specifically mentioned while in terms of pipe-borne water, all three villages in Rekawa as well as Tuduwa in Kalametiya were highlighted.

Many other activities that would contribute toward long-term development and foster better social awareness and community cooperation were also brought up in the discussions. These included the provision of better educational facilities for children in the villages and enhancement of some of the facilities in the village temple and building a community center in the village.

Community's perception on the 100 m 'no-build' zone

Following the tsunami, the government announced that through the Coast Conservation Department, a restrictive constructive zone would be demarcated to an extent of 100 meters on the south and west coasts and 200 meters on the north and east coasts of Sri Lanka (UNEP, 2005). To determine what the community's perception was on this 'no-build' buffer zone of 100 meters in Rekawa and Kalametiya, the post-tsunami household survey respondents were requested to indicate whether or not they were aware of this new policy and what their opinion was on this. The reason for their particular view point was also recorded as listed in Table 8.

A high percentage of the households in both Rekawa and Kalametiya appear to be aware of the new 100 meter 'no-build' policy. A high percentage of respondents were also of the opinion that this was a good policy to adopt. The main reason given was the better protection of lives (especially women and children), property and assets in case another catastrophe such as the Asian tsunami hits. In addition, a number of the respondents owned that this policy would also lead to better access of the coast for those engaged in the fishing industry.

A much smaller percentage of respondents, on the other hand, felt this was a bad policy. These respondents said that the 100 meter no-build zone would actually have a negative impact on the fisheries industry, with fishermen finding it difficult to travel and also to carry their fishing gear back home (while boats were parked at the fish landing site, fishing gear would be stored at home, especially after the tsunami) if their homes were far away from the sea. Because of this, they stated that they would require proper storage facilities built near the coast for their fishing equipment. Other respondents who were employed in small-scale beach tourism ventures were also concerned about this new policy having a negative impact on their livelihood. Others were under the impression that while individual owners of private land on the coast would not be allowed to build

Table 8. Community's perception on the 100 m 'no-build' buffer zone

	Oruwella	Kapuhenwela	Boraluwa	Gurupokuna	Wewegoda	Tuduwa	Overall % in Rekawa	Overall % in Kalametiya
No. of households aware of 100 m policy	34	33	26	31	34	33	90.3	100.0
No. of households have good opinion	16	22	19	28	28	30	55.3	87.8
No. of households have bad opinion	6	4	1	1	1	2	10.6	4.1
No. of households feel has both good and bad elements	4	2	1	1	5	1	6.8	7.1
Number of households who did not have clear opinion	8	5	5	1	0	0	17.5	1.0
Sample size	35	35	33	31	34	33	103	98

and may have to move away, the tourist industry would be exempt from this regulation. If this were the case, they felt it was not fair to individual owners. Some respondents in Oruwella who were engaged in coral mining were worried that this rule would mean that they would be unable to continue with this practice.

It is interesting to note that overall, a larger percentage in Rekawa were negative about the policy than in Kalametiya. This can be at least partially attributed to certain livelihood related factors. For example, although across the board, majority of those engaged in fisheries-related livelihoods were in agreement to the policy, households in Oruwella engaged in coral mining opposed it and households in Kapuhenwela employed in beach tourism hotels were also anxious about the negative impact of the no-build zone on the tourist industry. In addition, these results may be partly due to the fact that in Kalametiya, households affected by the 100 meter buffer zone were being provided with an alternate plot of land and house in the same locality as there was adequate government land available while in Rekawa, due to the lack of suitable land nearby, households affected were being offered land a fair distance away from their village and people were not happy to move away from their friends and relatives (as the village constituted of close-knit social network). A similar percentage of households in Rekawa and Kalametiya felt that there were both positive and negative aspects of the new policy, citing the different arguments mentioned above. In Rekawa, there also appeared to be a fairly large percentage of households that were unclear on how the policy would affect them. Overall, at the time of the survey, there appeared to be some confusion with regard to this new policy.

How to best prepare for future disasters

The household survey respondents were requested to indicate their view on how they could organize themselves at the village level to protect themselves against future natural disasters and what setbacks they may face. As shown in Table 9, in Rekawa, the respondents limited themselves to two major suggestions – setting up a disaster

Table 9. Recommendations made by the community on how to best prepare for future disasters

Recommendation	Oruwella	Kapuhenwela	Boraluwa	Gurupokuna	Wewegoda	Tuduwa	Rekawa	Kalametiya
Plant suitable vegetation on the coastline to give protection to the CZ	0	0	0	6	6	1	0	13
Stabilize the coastline by placing boulders	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	6
Set up a disaster management committee in the village	22	24	21	7	4	7	67	18
Set up a common fund for future disasters	4	6	11	10	3	3	21	16
Develop a system of warning the community before a disaster strikes	0	0	0	1	6	4	0	11
Set up a community centre that can be used during disasters	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	5
Educate the community on natural disasters such as tsunamis	0	0	0	6	2	4	0	12
Designate a common point to meet in the village in the event of another tsunami	0	0	0	2	1	8	0	11
Build houses near the coast on stilts	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total number who responded to this question	24	28	28	22	20	20	80	62
Sample size	35	35	33	31	34	33	103	98

management committee at the village level and establishing a common fund that everyone in the village contributed to, which could be used in the event of a major disaster. In Kalametiya, in addition to these two suggestions, several other ideas were also mentioned such as to enhance the natural buffer in the coastal zone through suitable vegetation on the coastline and to provide more stability by placing boulders in areas subject to coastal erosion. In addition, participants were of the opinion that they should be educated on natural disasters such as tsunamis and use this knowledge to develop a system of warning the community before a disaster strikes. They felt that it was also important to have a common pre-arranged point in the village where the community could assemble in the event of a disaster.

Conclusion

With regard to the impact of the Asian tsunami on the CBMS site, the rapid assessment undertaken in February and March helped record damage to property and assets at the household level in addition to giving a snapshot of the community's views and opinions at that particular time. Based on the location of the village, the direct impact in each village differed and as expected, villages closer to the coast suffered greater losses. In damage to assets, houses closer to the coast had a higher incidence of loss of household assets.

In terms of productive asset damage, however, households were affected irrespective of the location of a particular household since productive assets such as boats and gear were generally stored at the fish landing sites. It is crucial to note therefore that when assessing the impact of the tsunami on individual households, some households based closer to the coast would have been affected in several ways but many other households whose dwellings were not affected, lose their primary livelihood activity nonetheless, especially in the case of those engaged in natural resource based livelihoods such as fishing. It is thus important that households belonging to the latter category are not left out during rehabilitation efforts in the area.

The median asset damage scoring system that was developed in

this study was useful in giving an indication of the degree of damage suffered as a result of the tsunami at the household level in terms of household and productive assets. Using the median damage score ensured that asset ownership was not confused with loss; thus, not giving undue weight to the damage scores of households that owned more assets. Regardless of whether a household was considered very poor or better-off before the tsunami, therefore, the median damage score placed all households affected by the tsunami on a common relative scale that could be easily compared. When the median damage scores were averaged at the village level, this provided a quick and easy method to compare damage across different villages and sites. This would prove useful when trying to determine at a village or site level, which villages had suffered greater damage in terms of household assets or productive assets. This in turn could lead to better planning and more focused rehabilitation efforts in each area. For example, in this case study, in terms of household asset damage scores, rehabilitation efforts would need to focus on villages such as Oruwella and Kapuhenwela while in the case of fishing boat damage scores, rehabilitation efforts may need to focus more on Gurupokuna and Wewegoda.

While this study has documented how communities in this site coped in general soon after the tsunami and also how their personal security has been affected by this experience, in terms of looking ahead to the future, the overall results of both the household survey and the group discussions have revealed a number of generic lessons that can be applied to post-tsunami rehabilitation efforts in Sri Lanka.

One important lesson is that it is imperative to get the community's views on what rehabilitation activities should take place in their area on a priority basis. While some activities may be obvious to the outsider (such as rehabilitation of fisheries livelihoods), there may be other more specific needs expressed by the community based on a particular village and its social and economic characteristics. For example, in Oruwella, there is a request for suitable alternatives to be provided for those engaged in coral mining and lime kiln operation.

While the prohibition of these unsustainable resource use practices has been attempted by the relevant authorities (such as the Coast Conservation Department) over many years, here lies the ideal opportunity to halt this activity since the community has expressed its desire to find alternative sources of income. Moreover, for long-term development efforts, it is critical to get the opinion of the local community as to what they feel are important activities to be undertaken in their village. While the general infrastructure in the area may need to be improved (such as better roads and providing amenities such as electricity and pipe-borne water), for instance, there may also be specific needs in the area such as improving educational facilities in the village that are not so obvious to the outsider. In terms of how best to prepare for future disasters at the village level, once again, the study has revealed some very useful recommendations made by the community.

Another valuable lesson learned is that for proper planning to rehabilitate a tsunami-affected area and to assist people who were genuinely affected and need help most, reliable data are required right down to the household level. Communities can play a critical role in ensuring that accurate data are made available to the relevant authorities and rehabilitation organizations working in their area. If communities participate in the planning process, it gives them a sense of ownership and empowerment which would be vital to ensure the long term success of any rehabilitation effort. In addition, it will also ensure that the rehabilitation program is transparent at the village level.

The study also revealed how improved management of the coastal fishery is important, especially in the post-tsunami scenario. Both sea and lagoon fishermen have indicated how this is the ideal opportunity to regulate unsustainable fisheries practices. In addition fishers have expressed their concern about the overall number of fishing boats operating in their area increasing in an unregulated manner if accurate data are not collected at the village level and unscrupulous individuals take advantage of the generosity shown by

many aid agencies operating in the area. The fishermen are afraid that this would cause greater competition leading to conflict over the already scarce fisheries resource.

In conclusion, this study has clearly illustrated that it is critical to have community members engaged in data collection, alongside researchers, to ensure the validity of the data, especially in the post-tsunami scenario. Their role is also important if findings of the research are to be taken in the rehabilitation efforts at the community level. It is clear therefore that adopting the CBMS model, where community members play a crucial role, is important in the post-tsunami disaster management and rehabilitation efforts in Sri Lanka.

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Annex 1. Coping strategies adopted by community post-tsunami

Coping Strategy	Was this strategy used in pre-tsunami scenario	Freq strategy mentioned in FGDs	Range of ranking in FGDs	Rank (1 = strategy that was undertaken first to cope with the tsunami)											
				Ouwellea Women	Ouwellea Sea fishers	Kapuhe Women	Kapuhe Sea & lagoon fishers	Boralua Lagoon fishers	Gurupokuna Women	South Bataha sea fishers (ou)	South Bataha Sea fishers 19.5	South Bataha Lagoon fishers	Tuduwa Lagoon fishers		
Obtained help from relatives (in the form of food and place to stay)	yes	8	1	1	1	1	1	X	1	1	X	1	X	1	
Borrowed money from friends and relatives	yes	6	1-3	X	X	2	X	X	3	X	3	X	X	2	1
Skip meals	yes	5	1-2	X	X	X	X	X	3	X	3	X	X	X	1
Stored food items at home and used sparingly	yes	1	2	X	X	X	X	X	2	2	1	2	2	1	X
Harvested greens in garden for consumption and selling at market	yes	2	4	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Utilised savings	yes	2	1-3	X	X	X	X	X	X	4	X	X	X	X	X
pawned gold jewellery	yes	2	3	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	X	X	X	X	X
Obtained loans for living expenses from village societies	yes	2	3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Obtained relief aid from private organizations (in the form of cooked food)	no	5	1-3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Obtained relief aid from private organizations (in the form of dry rations and school material)	no	9	1-4	3	2	2	X	X	X	3	X	X	1	X	X
Obtained kitchen utensils from private organizations	no	2	4	X	3	4	X	X	2	4	2	2	1	3	X
Obtained aid from government (food stamps)	no	5	3-6	X	X	3	X	X	X	X	4	X	X	X	X

Annex 2. Recommendations made by fishermen on what were priorities in terms of fisheries livelihood-related rehabilitation work

Recommendation	Frequency mentioned in FGDs	Range of Ranking in FGD	Rank (1 = most important in terms of livelihood rehabilitation)							
			Sea Fishers Oruvella	sea and lagoon fishers Kappahmetta	lagoon fishers Baranua	lagoon fishers Tuduruva	lagoon fishers Gurupakuna & Wivivigoda	sea fishers (19.2 boat owners) Gurupakuna & Wivivigoda	sea fishers (19u owners) Gurupakuna & Wivivigoda	
To consult with fishers and repair/replace boats and fishing gear (nets and any net) damaged by tsunami, as soon as possible.	7	1 - 4	1	1	3	4	2	1	2	
The Fisheries Ministry and Fisheries Production Officers must determine who the genuine fishermen are and assist them (as opposed to accessing those likely to buy to access boats and gear)	4	1 - 4	X						4	
To rehabilitate the fisheries harbour/fishing site	2	1 - 2			X	X		2	1	
To establish a strong committee within the village for tsunami related fisheries livelihood rehabilitation work to take place under proper management and supervision. Ensure that funds not politically biased	2	2	X	X	2	X	X	2		
To ensure that aid and assistance is given to those individuals actually affected by the tsunami and genuinely need the help the most. There should be no political bias.	1	1	X	X		X	X	1	X	
To be given some compensation from both government and non-governmental organizations from which they have obtained loans, so that they are not charged interest at present and given extra time to pay back loans (after their loans).	1	3	X	X	X	X	X	3	X	
Establish committees that represent different fisher groups (small, outboard engine boat owners and owners of canoes).	1	3	X	X	X	X	X	3	X	
To ensure that buyers who do not own boats but are hired help are also helped to purchase their fish/boats.	2	3 - 4	X	X	X	X	X	4	X	
At present certain sea fishers use bottom-lying nets that damage fish breeding grounds, such as rock crevices and coral reefs. This means that those who use fine sandhook methods are at a disadvantage as fish numbers decrease. These type of destructive fish methods should be therefore stopped through legal channels (fisheries regulations)			X	X	X	X	X		3	

