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Poor relief or empowerment? The transition from emergency to long term development: Rhetoric's, approaches and reality

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1 Introduction.....	5
1.1 Purpose.....	5
1.1.1 Background.....	5
1.1.2 Framing the question.....	8
1.2 Theoretical frame.....	9
1.2.1 Terminology.....	9
1.2.2 Recovery and vulnerability theories.....	10
1.3 Methods and material.....	11
1.4 Structure of the thesis.....	13
2. Poor relief, participation and resilience.....	14
2.1 Defining an emergency.....	14
2.1.1 Armed conflicts, natural disasters and emergencies in general.....	14
2.2 Aceh.....	15
2.2.1 The Tsunami disaster.....	15
2.2.2 Indonesian government, GAM and the complex setting of Aceh.....	15
2.3 Linking emergency to long term development.....	16
2.3.1 Resilience during relief, recovery and development.....	16
2.3.2 Need for early recovery?.....	18
2.3.3 “Lessons learned”, the UN perspective.....	19
2.4 Empowerment and participation.....	22
2.4.1 Empowerment, what it meant and what it has become.....	22
2.4.2 From Freire through Chambers and in to the World Bank.....	25
2.4.3 The empowerment hegemony.....	26
2.4.4 UN, the World Bank and the rest.....	27
2.4.5 Empowerment for whom?.....	27
2.4.6 Women and participation.....	28
2.5 Empowerment, participation and the transition phase	29
3 Conclusion.....	33
3.1 Summary.....	33
3.2 From hegemony to transformation.....	34
3.2.1 Less rhetoric’s, more research and proper action.....	34
3.2.2 Participation, empowerment and their unknown path.....	36
Bibliography.....	40

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
BRR	Aceh and Nias Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency (<i>Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi</i>)
CBD	Community-Based Development
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CFW	Cash-For-Work (programmes)
EPOS	Engineering Project Organizations Conference
ERTR	Emergency Response and Transitional Recovery
FFW	Food-For Work
GAM	Free Aceh Movement (<i>Gerakan Aceh Merdeka</i>)
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMF	International Monetary Foundation
INGO	International Non Governmental Organisation
M&E	Monitor and Evaluation
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PAR	Pressure and Release model
RRA	Rural Rapid Appraisal
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
TEC	Tsunami Evaluation Coalition
UN	United Nations
UN-Women	United Nations Womens
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

1.1.1 Background

Relief work is under no circumstances simple or straightforward. As more aspects and variables play in today than ever before emergencies seem to be more complex, difficult to predict and problematic to manage for the affected communities as well as the institutions, governments, NGOs and other actors involved in all stages of the post-emergency process (Davis 2002:1-4,9,10,13,15). Armed conflict ravages our societies today as before at the same time that environmental change seems to intensify immediate and long term natural disasters and hazards (Davis 2002:1,2). In addition to this, economical fluxes in a globalised world strike hardest on the already poor and marginalised. These *complex emergencies* (ibid.) with several factors combined seem to be ever increasing in numbers and dimension and are more frequent, diverse and complicated to deal with than ever before (Jordan 2011:1, UNDP:2011:1).

Emergency relief work has been a relative common practise since the last half of the past century where western institutions and organizations have been major actors and initially, the approaches mostly evolved around providing relief to immediate needs concerning food, shelter, clean water, medicines, vaccinations, etc., i.e. poor relief (Holmén 2010:vii). Besides from the obvious problems a disaster bring there are other more complex and chronic problems that arise or are intensified where NGOs, international institutions and similar stakeholders have, with varied results, adapted their approaches (ibid:13,14,19,20). Long lasting armed conflicts, corruption, poverty, environmental change etc., are problems that are common and normalised in many parts of the world; many times it's in these regions that disasters strike (UNDP 2011:2). Sometimes the hazard is predicted or follows patterns like the floods in Bangladesh that are reoccurring yearly events. But sometimes disaster strikes like a bolt from the blue as in the case of the Indian Ocean tsunami in December 2004 that struck coastal regions in a variety of countries with devastating consequences (Thorburn 2009:85, Audefroy 2010:668). Global economical crisis and rampant prizes on food, fuel and other necessities tend to strike hardest on the poorest segments of the populations in combination with population growth, rapid urbanization, etc. (UNDP 2011:2), and further complicate these events. In some ways emergencies might actually become more or less a "normal" state in parts of the world with change in intensity and the type of crisis rather than between "normal-crises" state definition and will require a different approach that better interlink humanitarian response to long term development (ibid:2,7).

Disasters can take so many different shapes and the preparedness of the region or country is crucial for the reconstruction and development work that follows the immediate emergency relief effort (Jordan 2011:2). Many times the communities, countries or regions that are affected by disasters do not have the capability to manage the immediate relief work nor the following process (Audefroy 2010:663). International institutions and NGOs are many times present both in the emergency and in the long term development work and it is this part that this paper intends to take a closer look into. More precisely it is how the

transition from emergency to long term development (issues surrounding relief work, early recovery, recovery, etc.) is managed and how the affected communities and populations are involved in these processes, in rhetoric's and reality.

In the UN concept paper from a joint meeting (4-7 February 2011) between the executive boards of UNDP/UNFPA, UNICEF, UN-Women, and WFP, points regarding this transition phase are brought up and one conclusion is the importance to focus "[...] on the transition phase and the importance of integrating recovery and development into the design of the immediate response." (UNDP 2011:2) due to the increasing amount of emergencies and stresses that:

Recent experience in emergency contexts where humanitarian and development programmes coexist highlights the importance of disaster risk reduction as a major adaptation strategy that combines prevention, mitigation, and resilience-building measures. This in turn means investing more in developing the preparedness capacities of local and national humanitarian actors [...] (UNDP 2011:2,3)

In the work that comes after the immediate emergency more focus is put on integrating the early stages with long term development work and a central part of this is by including the affected individuals, groups and communities by concepts of empowerment, participation, livelihoods, community involvement, etc. (IASC 2007:11,20,26). These terms are popular and widely used and emphasized when international institutions and NGOs describe their means and ambitions in policy documents, reports, manuals and other official material (Holmén 2010:15, Francis 2001:72-74).

But empowerment and participation as terms have become buzzwords that have been frequently used and their meaning and substance many times seem to be lost as they're too often used as alluring terms (Cleaver 2001:36). Rather than being implemented in their "real" meaning namely to improve life of the most vulnerable and marginalized through their own involvement and commitment they are too often used to serve other functions (Cooke 2001:5). There has evolved, during the thirty years or so after their entrance in the broader development discourse, a tensed relation between different groups concerning the participatory "paradigm" and its impact on development related work.

What was once supposed to be used as methods and approaches for *insiders*, *locals* or *lowers* to reverse top-down hierarchies and structures (Chambers 1997:33,34,78,79) have become popular tools and powerful words in the practice and rhetoric's of strict top-down oriented powerful institutions such as the World Bank and the UN (Moore 2001:321,322). So while some may claim that the mainstreaming of empowerment and participation is necessary in order to reach as many as possible to make a broad impact (Mohan 2004:60) others say that this only has led to widespread bad practise of the approaches (Khotari 2001:139). A third part claim that it is not a question of technicalities in form of bad practise or wrong techniques but that participatory approaches in its current form in general contributes to maintain and even reinforce existing unequal power structures (Mohan 2004:60,92) taking the critique of participatory approaches to another level.

This paper suggests in its title that it is the transition from emergency to rehabilitation and development that is the central question. It is important but also serves as a reference to the earlier mentioned contemporary joint UN-organs

paper that emphasizes the need to interlink this stage with the development process. Also it reflect one of the UNs present priorities which can be seen in other documents such as *Guidance note on Early Recovery* (IASC 2007), *Assessment of the UNDP emergency response and transitional recovery (ERTR) livelihoods programme* (UNDP 2008), etc. The fact that emergencies are harder to define, can be low intense, reoccurring and spread in geography and amongst populations further supports this interlink perspective between humanitarian work and long term development (Davis 2002:1,2, IASC 2007:5,9).

The image and reputation of participatory approaches is claimed to empower the poorest and most marginalised providing social benefits (David 1998:2) such as livelihoods, transparency, equity, security, etc., that in a larger perspective would give better resilience to both immediate and low-intense emergencies/crises (IASC 2007:10,11,24,52). This would involve not only individuals, groups and communities but also, through the inclusion of local solutions and knowledge, be a potential tool to achieve national owned development (UNDP 2011:9).

As emergencies are likable to increase in number and scope due to human and non-human activities (where one many times exacerbate the other) (Davis 2002:1,2) I find the transition phase between emergency and recovery/long term development work interesting to take a closer look at as:

The number of people at risk in emergencies is projected to increase through population growth alone. The challenges will require the humanitarian system to help more people in more places, probably with fewer resources in view of the financial situation. (UNDP 2011: 8)

and that by

[...] 2025 two thirds of the world's population will be living in urban or peri-urban settings, and the number of people over 65 will more than double from 390 million to 800 million. This will have significant implications for humanitarian action (ibid.).

This phase is not necessarily more important than others but has been neglected in practice and theory (Chandran 2008:8,31) which makes it interesting from this point of view alone. At the same time more people are expected to be victims of disasters and hazards of different forms in combination with huge demographic changes and less economical resources available. As empowerment and participatory approaches have had such prominent position the latest decades claimed to be poverty reducing, resilience and capability building, grass-root oriented, etc. (BRR 2006:7, White 2004:7), I find it interesting to see how these approaches fit, in rhetoric's and reality, within a relatively neglected stage of humanitarian/development work.

So how is relief work transformed into long term development work and can it be eased by direct and indirect (prevention and resilience building measures) participation and empowerment interventions? The paper will to a great extend be oriented around the UN but also include the World Bank as they're such influential institutions and many times cooperate with each other in this phase (and others) as strategic partners and their policies and projects affect the discourse in general as well as the reality of millions of people (IASC 2007:9-12). Their perspectives in general terms will be analysed but will also be brought to

light through specific examples. This is not just a way of limiting the scope of the research but also a valid perspective on how the issues of transition between humanitarian and development work and participatory approaches are implemented. In order to balance the picture and give more nuanced explanations, examples from other actors will be included. For example Robert Chambers's contributions to the participatory paradigm that by compiling and introducing formulaic methods such as PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) and RRA (Rapid Rural Appraisal) to a broader audience (Cooke 2001:5). Their purposes are to investigate, analyse and act, train, orient, etc., by the use of secondary data, offsetting biases, semi structured interviews and other methods (Chambers 1997:117-119). Since the 1980s they have been given a greater and more influential role in the development discourse and practice and are examples of methods and approaches that have been adopted by the UN and the World Bank as well as small grass-root organizations and local authorities (Francis 2001: 72-75, Hildyard 2001:56-58).

So, how much is just big words used to make old structures seem more adapted and "localised" and how much is actually implemented as true and honest attempts to include so called locals/insiders/lowers? Chambers himself warns for the accelerated and widespread use of participatory approaches and the bad practise of them as a result of this expansion (Chambers 1997:115).

1.1.2 Framing the question

I do not intend to give general answers whether participatory concepts work or not, this is not a legitimate question and as easy to answer as whether NGOs are good or not per se (Holmén 2010:10). The approaches and concepts are in my opinion tools that can be used properly or carelessly. What the study intend to investigate using case studies and official documents to clarify the arguments, is how these approaches are used, where they seem to work and where they're used simply as terms of attraction or even as methods to manipulate and reinforce unjust structures. Through a discourse analysis with a theoretical frame based on a contemporary critical participatory view rooted in Freiran radical perspective the study will investigate if *concepts of empowerment through participation affect the transition between emergency and recovery/long term development work*. In order to do this the following questions are highlighted.

- What defines an emergency and the different stages of a post-emergency context, and more specifically the transition phase?
- What does empowerment and participation mean and stand for, what are their roots and what circumstances brought the discourse to be were it is today?
- What actors are involved and who is supposed to participate/be empowered?
- What are the potentials/limitations of participatory approaches on the transition-phase, directly (in or in relation to this phase) and indirectly (through prevention and resilience building measures)?

The study will be further limited in scope by focusing on one case study in particular, namely, the tsunami emergency earlier mentioned and more specifically the related reconstruction/development work in Aceh, Indonesia. This

case is interesting for many reasons. To begin with Aceh was the most affected area in a disaster that has few counterparts in our history (Thorburn 2009:85) with a population that had witnessed and lived with a protracted conflict between the Indonesian government and GAM, the Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*) (Sheper 2006:14). Besides the obvious complications this precondition generates other less obvious side effects could be observed, for example that there where few international organizations present or even had experience of this region whose population was poor and marginalised already before the disaster (ibid.). In Aceh there where several aspects that fit the posed questions such as participatory aspirations from stakeholder who included tools and projects such as livelihood projects, Cash-For-Work programs, etc., in the transition- and early recovery stages (Thorburn 2009:87,89). Due to the profound impact of the tsunami, there where severe problems as authorities where weakened at the same time that a vast amount of international stakeholders acted without uniform coordination leading to weak community involvement, inefficiency, etc. (Törnquist 2011:833). The problems and errors in the transitional phase would come to affect the coming development work and these issues will be further analyzed in the paper. But emergencies and the work that follows also offer the opportunity for change and opens the door for new possibilities (Davis 2002:2) and this gleam of light could be seen through the dark sky that had been brought to Aceh by the tsunami (Törnquist 2011:833).

1.2 Theoretical frame

1.2.1 Terminology

I will take a stand from the discourse of Paolo Freire, who through his ideas evolving around education of illiterate and marginalized adults in Brazil and the concept of *conscientization* or *conscientização* (Freire 1970) has made a great impact and contributed considerably to pave the way for concepts of participation and empowerment in the development discourse (Chambers 1997:106). And if Freire is mentioned it is difficult not to talk about Robert Chambers considering his influence in the topic, especially by spreading and making a broader audience aware of the already mentioned PRA and RRA methods (Francis 2001:75, Cooke 2001:5) that to a large extend are influenced by Freire (Chambers 1997:106). By using these perspectives with a critical and contemporary position I will try to encompass the original ideas and meanings of empowerment and participation and how their interpretations have changed and come to represent so many different ideas and interpretations.

Even though I many times find Freires discourse to be contradictive, out of time, repetitive and difficult to understand (especially when considering the fact that he was a famous pedagogue) I think he has very interesting and valid core ideas and values. Freires impact on the educational and pedagogical discourse, especially the part called critical pedagogy, was not just ideas that evolved around the need for the "oppressed" to rise and struggle for his or hers liberation. They where also a critique to moulded educational systems, *banking concept of education* (Chambers 1997:60), that transform students into mere recipients rather than active participants whose potential and creativity could be used in the teaching process and "humanization" of people (Freire 1970: 77). These two

points are central in the empowerment/participatory discourse; the involvement of the beneficiaries and the critique of mainstreamed, uniformed expert-oriented top-down approaches and hierarchies.

Freire implies that the oppressors themselves are “victims” in the way that they are stuck in a “dehumanized” system (Freire 1970: 47) his division between oppressed and oppressors tends to be oversimplified and doesn’t take in account complex relations inside a community that cant be described as a “[...] harmonious entity but rather that it contains solidarity and conflicts, shifting alliances, power and social structures” (Cleaver 2001: 45). Even so, I think the oppressor rhetoric have core validities in spite its nowadays outdated radical phraseology as one can be oppressed and an oppressor at the same time for example by belonging to a privileged group in a marginalised community. This is just one example that shows how complex the subject is and illustrates why other perspectives and theories need to be examined in order to analyse and explain the posed questions and their multifaceted settings. The paper is exclusively based on secondary material that except from analysing Freires ideological perspectives and Chambers more practical oriented approach will bring in critical and more contemporary thinkers within the participatory discourse such as Bill Cooke and others as well as perspectives from liberal thinkers such as Amartya Sen. I don’t intend to use these different thinkers to give answers on whose ideas or concepts suits best to empower people but rather to bring light into the process and evolution of the participation “paradigm” (Mohan 2004:59-61). It is necessary to include the “softer” liberal perspective that Amartya Sen many times represent into the discussion in order to explain how a radical and strongly political oriented perspective and approach could evolve into the mainstreamed, depoliticized and individualised concept it nowadays so often represent (Cleaver 2001: 37).

1.2.2 Recovery and vulnerability theories

In order to link the participatory/empowerment discourse to the transition phase between emergency and recovery I will use the *early recovery* framework that has been developed to be used within this sometimes hard-defined phase. The IASC (Inter-Agency Standing Committee) describes the concept of early recovery as a multi dimensional recovery process that starts;

[...] immediately after a disaster or conflict when pre-existing plans and programmes no longer reflect the most pressing priorities; it is applied to many different, often overlapping processes of transformation. Early recovery is the response to this transformation process, started immediately after the onset of a crisis. (IASC 2007:9)

The early recovery concept has been elaborated by different major actors and is also mentioned in the concept paper from the UN-organs joint meeting. The framework designed for the early recovery approach will be complemented with other post emergency theories, approaches and tools that take consideration to other stages of the whole development process and have different orientations. The most prominent in this paper will be vulnerability theories that evolve around the idea that different groups have different access to recovery from post emergency programs and how this is seen in the varied levels of resilience and vulnerability between these groups during and after emergencies. These theories

link disaster vulnerability to physical location and social conditions (Jordan 2011:3) where it is the latter that will be emphasized in this study. The physical location is a very important aspect but will not be further investigated due to limitation aspects.

These perspectives have to be interlinked with participatory approaches, a challenge in itself as the post-emergency/crises state many times deals with urgent and basic matters. But one has to consider what has already been discussed before, that not all crises have clear time or spatial frames and that the participatory measures can be direct and indirect in their relation to the transition phase and populations vulnerability in a complex and non linear process no matter the context (Turner 2003:8076).

1.3 Methods and material

A joint meeting between the Executive Boards of UNDP/UNFPA, UNICEF, UN-Women and WFP was held the 4:th and 7:th of February 2011 and one of the topics discussed was the concept paper *Efficiency of emergency response and the transition to recovery and long-term development: lessons learned*. (UNDP 2011).

The papers contain will be analysed and the most interesting points and aspects that relates to participatory/empowerment approaches will be selected and problematized by what signification they are given, what terminology is used to describe these approaches and perspectives, what arguments are brought to light, what is left out, contradictions, etc. (Bergström 2000:154). But in order to give a nuanced analyse of material that covers different aspects and perspectives of the issue, from the rhetoric's and policies of other large international institutions such as the World Bank down to grass root experiences, from embracing views of the approaches to critical perspectives and so on. I will then contextualise the issues in time and geography by linking them to the Aceh case to give some general answers as well as specific ones that provide well needed insights in the gap between rhetoric's and reality. This is necessary when dealing with such a multifaceted question where the scale dimension is central and need to be thoroughly identified and considered as the meaning of empowerment and participation differs so widely depending on the perspective (contextual, political, individual or collective, etc.) (Sirodenko 2006:1,2) and the rhetoric that evolve around this concept. Many times the terms have been used irresponsibly and direct contra productive to its "original" intentions (Moore 2001:322,323) at the same time that they actually are used to fight unequal power balances and give the poorest and most marginalised a tool to address their priorities (Thorburn 2009:90,91). In many ways it's a struggle of ownership of the terms (Khotari 2001:139,140) and this is an important aspect that can't be ignored when addressing the subject.

By focusing on one specific stage of humanitarian work two main questions are addressed at the same time that the topic is specified, problematised and narrowed down in scope and range. First, I find it interesting that the UN has directed some focus on this topic and how they present it, secondly, I think that the central question of this paper touches a sensitive nerve within the empowerment and participation concepts by asking if these approaches can be used in a specific stage. This can be problematic and deviates from perspectives

that see human action as a process rather than separate deeds (Clever 2001: 49) bringing up built in tensions (artificial or not) whether empowerment can be seen as a separated part of a process or not, if it is an individual or collective achievement, matters of inherent or adaptive resilience, short and long term, etc. Further the concept paper states that if a society isn't well prepared to tackle disasters UN organs are "...particularly well suited to helping populations to prepare for, respond to and recover from crises." (UNDP 2011: 3) but that;

The links between emergency response, recovery and development can, however, be improved with a view to establishing a comprehensive set of programmes to reduce poverty by addressing underlying vulnerabilities and to build local capacity and resilience. (UNDP 2011: 3)

To reduce poverty and enhance equity by building local capacity and resilience are strategies that many times include empowerment and participatory approaches (IASC 2007:11,26,30,55). And the way in which the UN intends to achieve it is by establishing programmes and projects. This is how UN traditionally works and practically implements it through NGOs and similar organisations and it is also this perspective that will be maintained when the empowerment through participation discussion is addressed.

By using a theoretical stand from thinkers whose ideas and contributions have had great influence in the discourse this study intend to investigate how the meaning of the participaty approaches have evolved and changed into the current mainstreamed buzz words they so many times represent. But it also intends to problematize and identify gaps and weaknesses in the "original" or "purist" meanings of empowerment and participation perspectives from a contemporary and contextualised point of view.

The analogies *Participation: The new tyranny?* (edited by Bill Cooke and Uma Khotari) and *Participation: From tyranny to transformation* (edited by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan) will be used as central reference literature and serve as good counter weight to Freire and official material from NGOs, UN-organs and the World Bank. These analogies have had substantial influence on the discourse (ESCAP 2009:22-26) and give in spite of their general critical stand, a varied perspective on the subject due to the various different authors.

Literature concerning the *transition phase*, in this paper referring to the period directly after the crisis or emergency to the first period of development work, will include, besides from the UN concept paper, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) *Guidance note on Early recovery* (IASC 2007), EPOS (Engineering Project Organizations Conference) *Pathways to Communicate Recovery and Resiliency* (Jordan 2011) and other to the subject relevant material. Even though the crises or emergencies are varied and not necessarily linked to war or natural disasters but can be low intense and spread amongst populations and space I will concentrate on the immediate emergency category in order to make the research more feasible. It is also easier to define the different stages and phases when dealing with these emergencies and literature seem to have more focus on them exemplified in for example in the early recovery concept.

Central material in the Aceh case comes from the Tsunami Evaluation Coalition (TEC), *Impact of the tsunami response on local and national capacities Indonesia country report Aceh and Nias* and was written in 2006 (Sheper 2006). This report is provided by Active Learning Network for Accountability and

Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP) that is a “[...] unique sector-wide active learning membership network, is dedicated to improving the quality and accountability of humanitarian action, by sharing lessons, identifying common problems and, where appropriate, building consensus on approaches “(ALNAP 2011) and will be complemented with various other material relevant from the Aceh perspective.

All material have been carefully selected and evaluated in order to provide good balance to the study and I have tried to regard what they present with embracing as well as critical reflections. Official material from UN-organs and committees, independent researchers and analogues with variation in critical stand, perspectives, levels, etc., complements each other to give a nuanced presentation of the posed questions and this will hopefully contribute to provide relevant answers.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The paper will first go through definitions of emergencies, in particular the Aceh tsunami disaster and the linkage to long term development by examining concept of vulnerability, early recovery, transition etc. The earlier mentioned UN document will be described and points and aspects relevant to the posed questions will be brought to light and put in relation to the Aceh example that also will follow throughout the paper integrated within the different sections. After the passage from humanitarian to long term development work concepts of empowerment and participation will be more closely reviewed by looking at the definitions of these terms and provide explanations on how these concepts have duplicated in significances and interpretations. A complex and contradictive state of these terms has surged as they on one hand seem to be vaguer and more diffuse in their meaning at the same time that they’ve become dominant and mainstreamed contributing to what in this paper is described as the *empowerment hegemony* the flag under which many different stakeholders have united.

These questions lead to topics concerning what actors are involved, who is or should be empowered, what problems and potentials are identified within the concepts of empowerment and participation in relation to the transitions phase, etc. This tie back to questions of direct and indirect impacts that these concepts and approaches might have on the transition and the functions of materialistic and functional approaches, livelihood, resilience and prevention building measures, vulnerability, and so on.

Finally, a conclusion from the research presents the results that have been identified and suggestions on what challenges and opportunities lies ahead in these parts of humanitarian and development related work.

2. Poor relief, participation and resilience

2.1 Defining emergencies

2.1.1 Armed conflicts, natural disasters and emergencies in general

Disaster recovery poses methodological problems for researchers, because it is a complex and dynamic process without a clear endpoint. (Jordan 2011:5)

It is clear when an earthquake strikes with full power and thousands of humans are instantly killed and even more are injured or/and made homeless there is an emergency at hand (Rubin 1985:iii). But not all emergencies are that easy to label and doesn't have the same striking dramaturgy as people die and suffer from complex, hard defined and low intense chronic emergencies (Davis 2002:2,3). In the same way that emergencies can be hard to categorise and grade it might be difficult to know when an emergency stops being an emergency and somewhat normalised pre-disaster conditions are re-established (ibid:1,2).

A extreme augmentation of humanitarian needs due to conflicts, global structural challenges and natural disasters have been seen and predicted to continue rising (Jordan 2006:1, Audefroy 2010:664). For example the amount of natural disasters/year have gone from 125 in the 1980es to 4-500/year today (UNDP 2011:2) with the majority striking poor countries with mortality, material damage, population displacement and even more indirectly affected persons (Davis 2002:3-5) as consequences where what started as an disaster of natural character transforms into man made emergency contexts with very complex evolution patterns (Audefroy 2010:665). These different aspects risk to mount up in extreme poverty mixed with armed conflicts and further environmental challenges making an already difficult situation even worse (UNDP 2011:3, Davis 2002:1,2).

There are directions and guidelines that are used to frame and categorise the different stages of disaster and post-disaster settings, for example that immediate emergency is the period up to two weeks, early recovery up to three months and transition from recovery to reconstruction and development is from four to eight months after the emergency (Sheper 2006:15). These simplified definitions can be used as guidance principles but only when having in mind that this varies greatly and contextualisation is needed to define needs and make correct assessments. It also has to be underscored that more and more researchers question the simplified stage distinction with linear evolution patterns in favour for more holistic, non linear approaches (Korf 2003:5 ref Bruchhaus, 1999; Hoffmann, 1999; Horen, 2000; Macrae, 2001; Smilie, 1998).

So while simplified categorisations are used in order to communicate, identify and grade emergencies it is important to remember that there due to different causes exist "invisible" or neglected emergencies or crises that don't fit the conventional emergency categories and that these classifications might be just as much a tool for the international stakeholders to produce quick measurable results (Korf 2003:3) as a method to achieve humanitarian and long term development work.

2.2 Aceh

2.2.1 The Tsunami disaster

The 26 of December 2004 an earthquake with it's epicentre in the Indian Ocean launched a tsunami that destroyed 800 km coastal strip in the province of Aceh, Indonesia, resulting in the death of approximate 130 000 people and displacing around 500 000 more (BRR 2006:5, Sheper 2006:7). Besides the disastrous outcomes, with killed, injured and traumatised persons, there where severe property damages and plenty of people where left without basic needs. In Aceh, where a substantial part of the population worked and lived through agriculture, fisheries and other related occupations (UNDP 2007:5), it was a particularly severe disaster as the tsunami reached as far as 4km inland from the coast not only destroying fishing boats, houses and other structures but also massive area's of fields with estimations saying that one-fourth of the cash crop and rice fields were damaged or destroyed leaving around 320 000 people without or with severely reduced livelihood opportunities (UNDP 2007:15).

2.2.2 Indonesian government, GAM and the complex setting of Aceh

Aceh was except from being a poor district (fifth poorest of 33 provinces with almost 30% living under the poverty line in 2002), despite holding large amounts of natural recourses which the local population saw little gains from (Mills 2011:425), also the scene of an extended and severe conflict between the Indonesian government and GAM that had emerged 1976 (Sheper 2006:19).

Few NGOs where represented in this area before the tsunami due to the armed conflict and this affected the post tsunami relief and development work as knowledge of the context was limited amongst the international stakeholders (ibid:8). In addition to this, restriction of freedom of expression affected the media and undermined the position of vulnerable groups (ibid:10) to mention some other aggravating circumstances.

The Acehnese population practices a more conservative form of Islam and has ethnical distinctions from the Javanese culture which together contributes to strengthen the Acehnese identity (ibid 2006:19) and further contributed to the special circumstances and the humanitarian setting as the region received autonomy in 2001 resulting in the introduction of *Sharia* laws two years later. A great part of the community based organisations evolve around mosques but there are also other traditional networks tied to livelihoods for example fishery organisations that link coastal villages in collaborative networks (Thorburn 2009:101, Sheper 2006: 19, 20). Strong community solidarity is a characteristic in Aceh that is manifested in the tradition of *gotong royong* (voluntary mutual assistance) (Sheper 2006:9) and contributed to local initiated relief work but was unfortunately not always encouraged by external stakeholders and authorities (ibid:9,27,29).

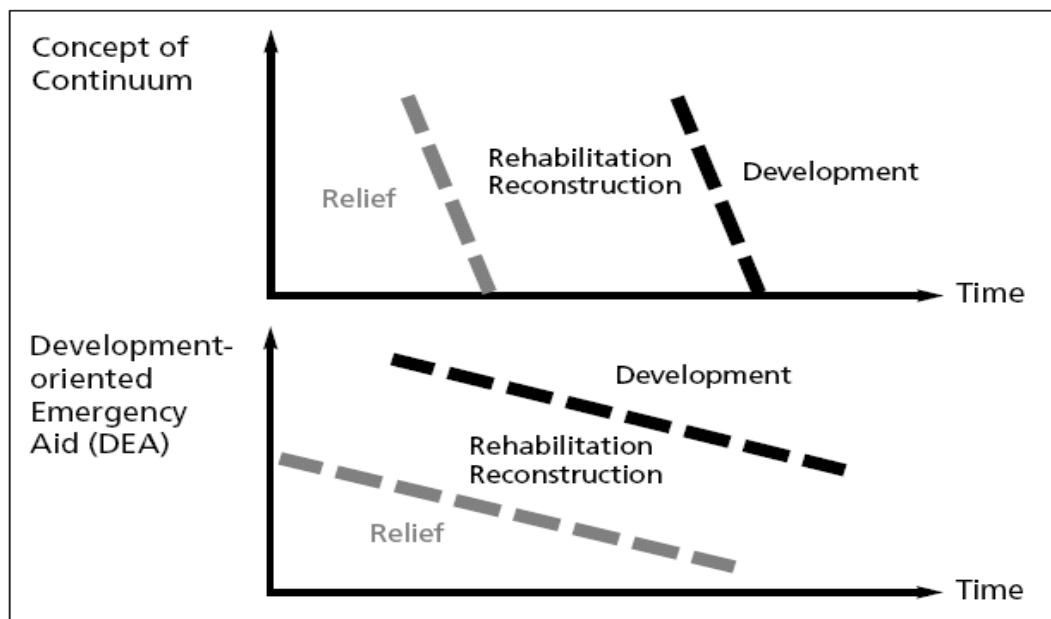
Several aspects added to the already mentioned makes the Aceh tsunami case interesting and complex from a research point of view as they all contribute and play a role in the population's vulnerability, resilience, relation to international NGOs, national authorities, etc., and all affect issues of participation and empowerment.

Positive outcomes were seen in the aftermath after the disaster due to international presence when peace governance aspects improved (Törnquist 2011:833, Sheper 2006:11) at the same time that failures in community level participation, housing and livelihood projects, etc., have been seen (Sheper 2006:11, 51). The Aceh case serves as a thread that ties the different topics in the study together and visualises general assumptions, gaps between rhetoric's and reality, the role of stakeholders as well as problems and possibilities in the development process, in particular the transition phase, from a participatory/empowerment point of view.

2.3 Linking emergency to long term development

2.3.1 Resilience during relief, recovery and development

As we saw before there are no easy ways to categorise different stages or emergency/post-emergency contexts and there are conflicting perspectives whether the process should be regarded as linear and stage-oriented or more *circuitous* and integrated in its form (Korf 2002:4,5). Defining the end of a stage can turn out to be very complicated and precarious as all settings and contexts are different and will move towards different directions (Jordan 2011:1,2).

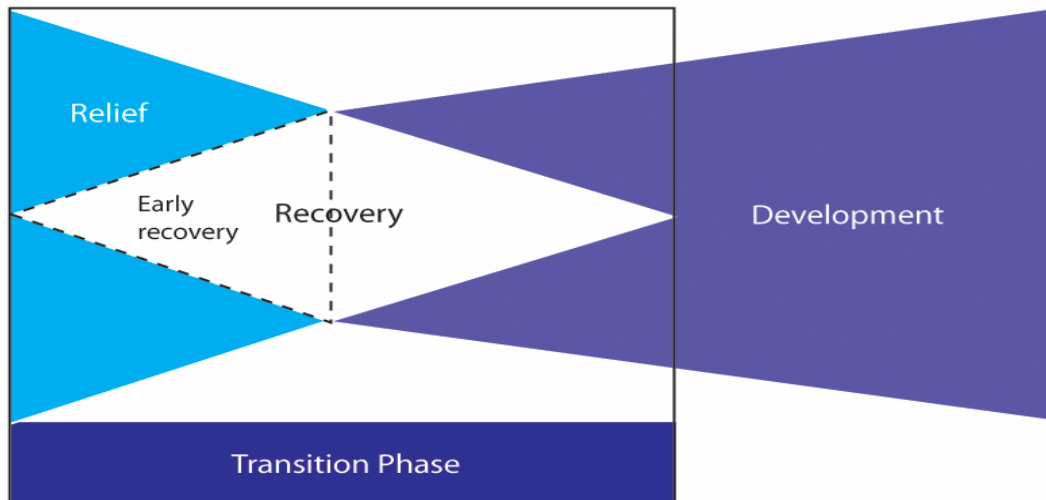


Difference between Continuum and DEA concepts (Korf 2002:5)

The *Continuum* concept is more distinct in its separation between post-emergency stages while the *Development oriented Emergency Aid (DEA)* is less linear and suggests that the stages or phases in reality are intertwined (ibid 2002:4,5). The visual aid on the next page offers the same idea from the Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC) perspective with focus on the early recovery stage.

As time goes, less focus is put on relief efforts and more on recovery which is initially described as early recovery, and should be initiated simultaneously with

the ongoing relief work (IASC 2007:9). As long term development work commence the recovery stage as whole can be phased out (ibid:10).



Authors simplified version of IASC illustration (IASC 2007:10)

In the illustration the differences between the both can seem clear as recovery is a part of the relief and development stages within the transition phase that refers to the activities as whole during the given time span. In reality, it is not easy or meaningful separating them to much from each other.

During the transition phase as it is defined and used in this paper a central part evolves around the population's resilience;" [...] the ability to withstand disaster impacts as well as to cope with those impacts and recover quickly." (Jordan 2011:3) and can be divided in two parts, *inherent resilience* (ability to withstand the emergency) and *adaptive resilience* (coping and recover from the emergency) (ibid.).

A successful recovery results in higher capacity levels and a more resilient community (ibid 2011: 4) where important components are knowledge and capabilities. They are the result of complex interaction of social relations and should not be regarded as finished products (Mosse 2001:17 ref Long and Villareal). These aspects are inseparably tied with early warnings mechanisms and preparedness measures throughout the entire development process including as many relevant actors as possible (UNDP 2011:3). Assistance during this period should always be development oriented and not to focused on poor relief in order to encourage local coping abilities and avoid recipient mentality and undermined self-initiative (Korf 2002:4).

Further vulnerability theories explain how groups and individuals are more or less vulnerable depending not exclusively, as there are several combined factors that contributes to the results, but to a great extend on the communities social network strength in order to withstand and recover from an emergency as was seen in Indian coastal communities after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami (Jordan 2011:6).

2.3.2 Need for early recovery?

Early recovery is a holistic approached process that takes considerations to long term development considerations already at the humanitarian/emergency setting by entering “[...] transition or ‘build back better’, and avoid relapses” and “[...] generate and/or reinforce nationally owned processes for post-crisis recovery that are resilient and sustainable”. (IASC 2007:9). The early recovery approach attends the immediate period after an emergency/crisis where the priority is to “[...] produce immediate results for vulnerable populations and to promote opportunities for recovery, a response that evolves over time into longer-term recovery.” (ibid.). The idea is that the transition to long term development work will be more naturally integrated and include national authorities and that a more independent, sustainable and transparent development course can be set (Sheper 2006: 28). This also includes promoting local and national capacities, to use and promote participatory practices (monitor, evaluate and learn through participatory techniques) (ibid: 29), improve relationship between civil social organizations and government institutions, efficient coordination with an holistic approach, risk reduction and conflict prevention, contextualization, gender equity, direct development initiatives to build resilience and capacity in the affected communities, etc. (IASC 2007:10, Sheper 2006:28,29).

This framework sounds logical, correct and straight forward but is in reality a very hard and difficult task to carry out and it is not without a reason that this phase is complicated and passes on problems that tend to evolve and duplicate as time goes. The time pressure and the weak coordination between international actors many times make this phase remind more of a immediate grab and take activity resulting in short term employment of foreigners (expatriates), high staff turnover affecting the institutional memory and paves the way for poaching of CBOs staff to mention some problems (Sheper 2006:50). The sometimes vast amount of NGOs and similar actors, like in the central case of Aceh but also in more recent events such as the 2010 Haiti earthquake (Kidder 2010:3) makes the notion of a united and well synchronized humanitarian operation seem like an alien concept and automatically questions the learning capabilities of the international humanitarian sector.

The UN often has a coordinating role in the humanitarian assistance phase while its role in the recovery phase is more supportive (IASC 2007:13). This marks a gap in the organisations role that perhaps explains why there doesn't exist any strong and well established procedures for immediate planning of early recovery which tend to path the way for immediate short term activities with little or no strategic elements (ibid.). The early recovery concept is meant to see to or at least mitigate this aspect and improve emergency activities through humanitarian programmes and on longer term yield self-reliance amongst those affected by the crisis (ibid 2007:9). This is done by providing access to basic-needs in the areas of health, water and sanitation such as WASH programmes (NDMA 2010:5, UNICEF 2009), nutrition, shelter, etc., but also by providing education, finances, and primary infra structure (Margesson 2010:10-12). Cash-for-work (CFW) programmes is one tool to create temporary employments and to give economic relief to financially strained households and communities and was intensively used in Aceh (Sheper 2006:32, UNDP, b 2007:5) as it was considered easier to implement than Food-For-Work (FFW) programmes and had less negative impact on local markets (Thorburn 2009:89).

During this period it is a high priority to restore basic levels of collective and human security and strengthen the rule of law especially in post-conflict and political unstable contexts (IASC 2007:10, 31, 55). On a second stage government capacities need to be strengthened so that the coming processes can be more independent and contextualised with “in-house” knowledge (ibid:13,14). It is thus a priority to actively fortify self-help initiatives and the capabilities of the affected populations so they are directly involved in the reconstruction work and through the fortified community ensure acceptable levels of security and has to be done with principles of equity (ibid:10, 11).

2.3.3 “Lessons learned”. The UN perspective

This paper takes a stand from participation and empowerment concepts with focus on the transition stage between emergency, recovery and long term development work. So what does this mean and what is the purpose of it? As we could see the early recovery stage deals with urgent matters at the same time that focus on long term issues are considered in particular at community level (UNDP 2011:4). In the transition phase, that to large extent surrounds, follows and evolves from what was started at the early recovery stage, focus on community involvement, participatory approaches, empowerment, livelihood, etc., (IASC 2007:26) should be a natural part of transition in order to improve life in a sustainable manner to the targeted person/group/community or population in general. Otherwise it would make no sense to put focus on these concepts at a early level just to reduce its role later, especially as participation isn’t a goal in itself but a tool for reaching clear objectives that in its turn might contribute to long term sustainable development (ADB 2004:v).

There are no definite definitions of these terms and their meaning vary depending on who is asked. The World Bank defines participation as “[...] a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them.” (World Bank 1996:xi).

This section aims to analyse and present the most important aspects of a by different UN-organs jointly prepared concept paper *Efficiency of emergency response and the transition to recovery and long-term development: lessons learned* (UNDP 2011) from a participatory/empowerment point of view and is summarized as follows;

UN-organs are well suited to helps populations to prepare, respond and recover from crises where special focus has to be given to climate change and post conflict situations that are more complicated due to political, security and humanitarian related issues. There is a need for immediate and efficient emergency response in order to lay a solid recovery/development foundation that can pave the way to reduce poverty by building local capacity and resilience that in its turn contributes to preparedness and mitigates future crises and hazards. This has to involve local and national humanitarian actors and reduces not only vulnerability but also long term reliance of external relief and development interventions (UNDP 2011:2).

To learn and take advantage of the crisis/emergency experience investments have to be done in prediction mechanisms and response capacities where community and governmental preparedness is crucial in order to provide effective response. Early recovery approaches need to include risk reduction strategies by

community awareness, livelihoods, social services and preparedness measures. And special emphasis is put on the synchronization of the process and has to be carried out through the whole system in order to plan and act within the recovery programmes and the humanitarian work (ibid:3).

Complex and conflict affected emergencies/crises are complicated settings to achieve early recovery so” [...] humanitarian and development actors face the challenge of embedding an early recovery approach in the humanitarian response.” (ibid:4)

The transition work (and all other) is further complicated if local or national authorities take part or are partial in a conflict (which is often the case) and impartiality and neutrality is therefore required from the international or external actors (ibid.).

Project outcomes should be defined in coherence by all different stakeholders such as communities, governments and humanitarian and development actors where formulation of common objectives needs to be done at an early stage. Besides prevention, preparedness, etc., it is also important with improved monitoring and evaluation (M&E) mechanisms as well as mainstreaming processes by integrating the early recovery approach in official documents (policy guidelines, training materials, etc.), needs assessment methods, capacity building, and so on (UNDP 2011:4-6).

Other topics that are brought up considers financial issues such donors and common guidance on transition funding, frameworks between international agencies, the UN and partners such as the WB and the European Commission, long term engagements, potential of technology implementations, etc. (ibid:3,5,6). The summarization of the items above is intended to represent the most interesting aspects from this papers point of view. From this perspective there were some topics not mentioned or in some way neglected, for example special attention to vulnerable groups. Even though children, elders, and gender issues are mentioned, there is no point that specifically deals with the importance of addressing marginalized groups (disabled, widows, ethnic minorities, children under 5 years, etc.).

Conflicting parts in the document represent general problems in the humanitarian field as it for example emphasizes the need to agree and plan from an early stage from a top management view at the same time that local capacity is emphasized. This dichotomous relation is found almost everywhere in reality when dealing with topics of communities and other grass root perspectives prompted by big institutions (Moore 2001:321,322). This is in many ways logical due to the hierarchal and organizational level differences and is a topic in itself but the critique of official UN documents in general evolves around the lack of critical reflections or even minimal questioning around the participatory concepts and the problem that evolves around them when applied. The critique of this more and more accepted participatory problem is distinguishably well put in the following sentence; “Local people become a ghostly presence within the planning process – visible, heard even, but ultimately only there because their involvement lends credibility and legitimacy to decisions that have already been made.” (Cooke 2001:59).

A central part of the participatory approaches is to include the most marginalised groups of the population. This aspect was categorically missed in Aceh, at least in the early stages, as landless and self-employed were put aside already at the assessment stage even though the NGOs had specifically

emphasized the focus of the very same (Sheper 2006:40). Three vulnerable categories were identified; communities that are remote and underdeveloped, those that are affected by conflict and marginalised women (ibid:38).

Not until September 2005 UNESCAP organised a workshop with CBOs to see to the participatory inclusion of these vulnerable groups (Sheper 2006:45). This resulted in recommendations such as incorporation of local culture and values, gender oriented actions, formalising land and property rights, incorporation of local values, that land relocation and rebuilding of houses must be contextualised and supported by government bodies, the Aceh and Nias Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency, *Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi*, (BRR), etc. (ibid:46,47).

Another important topic is the political involvement of the marginalised groups and participators in general. This is a very sensitive question and it's not a surprise that it's avoided as political issues so easily can get out of hand (Moore 2001:325), especially in post conflict settings. Still, political oriented participation needs to be taken seriously even though it comes with certain risks as empowerment and capacity building cant solely depend on behavioural change but has to include structural and social change as well (Hildyard 2001: 68,69).

The UN concept paper deals with contradictive issues that have built in tensions as the upper perspective is so imprecise and has to generalise. It takes up the importance of including governments at the same time that it recognises that they often are involved in the conflicts that might be one of the reasons of the roots of the problems (UNDP 2011:4). These are some typical patterns on how rhetoric's differs from reality and also illustrate how some problems are inherently complicated and difficult in themselves but also that some "solutions" or methods are used as policy "make ups" used to say what sounds right rather than really solve what they're claimed to (Moore 2001:321-324).

The concept paper points out that "[...] it is important to synchronize the planning of recovery programmes with humanitarian assistance [...]" (ibid:3), project outcomes should be "[...] defined jointly by stakeholders such as communities, governments and humanitarian and development actors." (ibid:6) and that "[...] real-time evaluations should include study of transition issues to ensure that humanitarian responses are linked to longer-term development." (ibid:7). Issues that where systematically missed and resulted in a severely crippled development process in Aceh (Sheper 2006:9,11,38, Kennedy 2008:27-29). But the most remarkable in this paper is the general absence of empowerment and participation concepts, in particular when they are such important components of the early recovery framework (IASC 2007:11, 17, 20) that in its turn is an important component of transition. If it is a deliberate way to tone down the rhetoric's of these terms and that they instead are embedded in broader concepts of local capacity or resilience due to earlier over usage of the terms cant be answered here but the widespread criticism of the mainstreamed participation usage have not gone unnoticed by the UN (ESCAP 2009:22-26). Nevertheless this suggests a gap in the relation between two stages that should be naturally intertwined and hence problematic from a participatory/empowerment point of view especially when regarding the different stages in a circuitous and integrated manner (Korf 2002:4,5).

This gap between immediate relief work and long term development, i.e. the transition phase, was clearly visible in several ways in Aceh. Housing projects failed because of flawed assessments and the exclusion of beneficiaries from the

process (Audefroy 2010:671). A very illustrating example was seen as temporary shelters and long term housings weren't linked with good transitional shelters where the crucial question "transition to what" was forgotten in Aceh as well as in Sri Lanka (Kennedy 2008:29). This led to bad results in general and was caused, besides from the magnitude of the disaster and the remote location of Aceh, by quick result mentality (Korf 2002:3,4) that in its turn derived from funds that needed to be spent within donors financial year, failed livelihoods, inexperienced actors, etc. (Kennedy 2008:29,30,).

These problems were repeated in several places throughout in Aceh and resulted in failed processes creating uninhabited ghost villages (Audefroy 2010: 673) as the communities wouldn't accept relocation from their traditional pre-tsunami settlements. This stands in contrast to successful housing projects documented in settings as varied as Koh Mook, Thailand, and El Salvador where the common recipe had been strong social content and a process rooted in the needs and wishes of the beneficiaries (ibid: 668-673).

In order to achieve links to permanent housing it is necessary for the people to build their own provisional and permanent housing without contractors, if possible, on their own land and the collaboration with involved NGOs must be equal and not imposed (ibid:670,671 ref Anzorena 2006). Many of these recommendations provided by the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) were missed and the UNs proposal didn't take consideration to the communities wishes neither in location nor design due to national authority "considerations" (Audefroy 2010: 671). This caused missed out opportunities to empower communities and groups as the "[...] participatory process is the key element in reconstruction [...]" (ibid 2010: 673) where relief, transition and permanent housing are central components for sustainable development (ibid: 666-668). And just as it is not wise skipping "[...] the transitional phase and aiming for permanent housing and communities immediately, the transitional phase is essential to implement while considering long-term needs" (Kennedy 2008:29 ref Corsellis & Vitale, 2005) it's problematic to rush direct into long term development in general.

2.4 Empowerment and participation

2.4.1 Empowerment, what it meant and what it has become

The terms and concept of empowerment and participation are far from clear as they have been widely used by different actors for different reasons and purposes. In relation to development they're often mentioned with other words such as community involvement, livelihood, capabilities, etc. Jan Servaes links "[...] 'empowerment' to participation in the collective decisions at all levels of society so that people can control the outcomes of these decisions. Empowerment is making sure that 'people are able to help themselves'."

Sirodenko describes participation and empowerment as commonly interchanged where participation can be direct, representational, political and information based while empowerment is more hard-defined as it varies in different socio-cultural and political contexts but can be generally defined with terms like self-strength, control, independence, capabilities, etc. (Sirodenko 2006:1,2).

These interpretations can be traced to the ideas of conscientization formulated by Freire that in a radical way challenged the modernist paradigm with strict top down oriented approaches (Chambers 1997:2-4). As Moore concludes, the language of liberation theology (to which Freire's theories belong to or at least is closely related) infiltrates multilateral development agencies and mentions UNDP's Poverty report 2000 and the World Bank's World development report 2000/01 as examples where "[...] notions of empowering the poor is either the dominant or the most prominent concept framing discussion of the political dimension of poverty reduction." (Moore 2001:321).

His analysis concludes three possible answers to their (UN/WB) appeal in using the word empowerment in relation to poverty related issues. First simply because it's fashionable, secondly, he continues with the conclusion that the empowerment idea or term in these documents is attached to the community concept that is described as "[...] small, local and spatially defined [...]" (ibid 2001:322) with a general positive and romanticised appeal to it. The explanation why these two terms are used this way is because mobilization on such limited level doesn't threaten power structures and reduces community empowerment to "Something one can happily say in the knowledge that it will have no significant consequences." (ibid:323). The third explanation is that it justifies and eases the lending of social funds that some claim are same product, loans, in different rapping (ibid:323). The fourth reason presented is more abstract and includes different ingredients from populist politics, marketing, individualization, etc., and the WB uses these phenomena's to bypass national governments and focus on development actors and NGOs. Further, Moore states that "There appears to be no new development fashion that the World Bank has not verbally embraced in recent years" (ibid.).

Moore continues his analysis by trying to identify how empowerment can be achieved by aid agencies and concludes that this question must be led by the definition of empowerment where two are identified. The first, labelled as the *materialist* definition, explains empowerment through the improved material status of marginalised and poor people who by accessing more or/and better material standards will access an improved socio-economical position that in its turn would result in greater freedom and self reliance. This definition is questioned for its poor links on how to actually stimulate empowerment in a deeper and more sustainable way (Moore 2001:324). But even though it can be argued that material empowerment is not enough, which I think many would agree with, "One should not underestimate the negative impact of material shortage that can impede development processes and local based institutions substantially even in well organised and functioning communities" (Cooke 2001: 46).

The second concept that by *visibly making more powerful* (Moore 2001:324) takes a more radical approach to the identification of empowerment and evolves around the political situation of the marginalised populations and links empowerment to organization from community to national level with real capacity to challenge existing power structures (ibid.). Guij and Shah argues that "Participatory processes have been increasingly approached as technical, management solutions to what are basically political issues" (Mohan 2001:166 ref Guij and Shah 1998:3) and in order to address this problem, organizations need to "scale up" local intervention linking participatory approaches to wider and more difficult processes adapting existing state functions to the localised work rather

than building separated systems (Mohan 2001:166) that in worse case scenarios might neutralise or impede governmental initiatives.

Participation and empowerment concepts need, from this perspective, to be linked with concepts of power which according to Foucault “[...] must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there...Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization.” (Kothari 2001: 141 ref Foucault 1980:98) bringing us to another central issue on the topic namely the scale factor where power structures, like the discussion of social networks, exists in all levels and has to be carefully considered when engaging on what might seem to be a “local” or “community” oriented matter.

Kanji and Greenwood makes a distinction between participatory concepts dubbing them *functional* or *passive* (program or project driven) and *rights-based/proactive* (more focus on marginalised groups and transforming society through access and distribution of resources) (Kumar 2005:4,5 ref Kanji and Greenwood 2001) definitions that Kumar uses taking a stand from Sens capability approach (CA) concepts. He makes a division compiling nine participation definitions/types ranging from manipulative oriented (from those who hold power to implement projects and programs) to active participation with full ownership by the beneficiaries (Kumar 2005:2,6).

The grades of participation are described and categorised as different in types and level ranging from manipulative, passive, information giving, consultative, material driven, functional, interactive, partnership oriented, and active participation (ibid 2005:6). These types/levels of participation provides a more nuanced view of the participation concepts but can also be a bit complicated to deal with as there are so many different categories. Also, one can say that the three first levels or types of “participation” (manipulation, passive and information giving) (ibid.) described by Kumar are not participatory oriented at all but rather a tool in form of rhetoric’s for those who owns the process or for data mining purposes. The fourth and fifth points, that are consultative and material oriented are participatory to certain extent. The last four levels, functional, interactive, partnership oriented and active participation are all organisational from a beneficiary point of view in their structure with difference in the level of ownership and self reliance. In many ways they describe how far the rights based or proactive participatory processes have proceeded (Kumar 2005:6 ref Arnstein 1971; Pimbert and Pretty 1994; Wilcox 1994; Lane 1995; Pretty et al. 1995; UNDP 1997; Jeffrey and Vitra (eds) 2001). This thorough description is interesting but takes us back to the rougher two sided division provided by Moore where points one to three are manipulative/rhetoric’s oriented, point four and five fall under the materialistic participatory concept and point six to nine belong to the more complex rights based/pro-active by visibly making more powerful-concept of participation with more complex political, economical, social and cultural patterns.

One should also remember that it is not a question of having as much participation as possible but rather that it’s adequately implemented depending on the context as “Community involvement is essential, but that does not necessarily mean community control.” (Kennedy 2008:24).

2.4.2 From Freire through Chambers and in to the World Bank

If Freire would be titled chief ideologist guiding the direction of the participatory approaches, Chambers would probably fill the position of operating manager. Freire's concepts of liberation, conscientization, and critique of uniform teaching systems so called "banking systems" can be found in the methods and approaches translated and adapted to development oriented practices (Freire 1972:47-49, 53, 67, Dajani 1975:106). The linkage between Freire's critique of the educational banking system and conscientization are predecessor to Chambers' concept of *handing over the stick* and the strong opposition to expert oriented approaches (Chambers 1997:106,117, 149).

What Freire had been involved initiating, others with Chambers in the front were adjusting and applying to the development field. By the 1980s PRA, RRA and other participatory approaches now had become legitimate and accepted tools that more and more actors were interested in due to the evident shortcomings of traditional top-down development planning (Cooke 2001:5) and would later, ironically, themselves be seen as top imposed, formulaic and expert centred.

At the same time participatory approaches were gaining ground a new neo-liberal instrument was introduced throughout the world, namely the Structural Adjustment Programs or SAPs. IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization are institutions that promoted and enforced these programs that amongst other things sought to privatise national companies and "liberate" markets and weakening the position of governments and their institutions (Holmén 2010:8). One of the effects of this was that NGOs, that until this time were moderate in their quantity and scope, found new and ample domains to interact as national social services where scarce already before the SAPs leaving space for new actors (ibid:8,9). This made the NGOs explode in numbers and the participatory approaches, concepts of empowerment, livelihood, etc. grew with the NGOs in a synergic relation in practice but most of all in rhetoric's were for example the World Bank "[...] borrowed techniques freely from those who "invented" them and have modified them, when necessary, to fit into the context of Bank-supported operations" (WB 1996:2).

Amartya Sen's ideas of capabilities (capability approaches, economical growth as a means rather than ends) and freedoms (Kumar 2005:2) have similarities to participation and empowerment concepts and his work has also been incorporated by both the UN and the World Bank (for example in the Millennium Development Goals) (Holland 2004:252). The fact that Sen as well as Chambers have been co-opted by the World Bank and the UN is an interesting angle in order to explain how radical ideas rooted in Marxist ideologies could be so adopted and integrated in the policies of organisations that were implementing Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Hickey 2004:44, Haley 2001:96,97).

This deviation does not intend to argue that Sen was the needed jigsaw piece to make the adoption of a radical concept into liberal policies made possible but rather that humanistic values and terms such as freedom, equity, security, etc., in general are shared by humanistic representatives no matter political orientation. What makes a bigger difference here is the means which are used to promote such values and in the liberal discourse it is by emphasizing *economical facilities* and the *rights of the individual*, (Mohan 2004:59-61) and is very important to have in mind when trying to understand the prominent role of empowerment/participatory concepts channelled through NGOs, although Sen tightly links them to a holistic

entitlement focused approach including political-, social-, transparency oriented aspects (Sen 1999:44, 57, Holland 2004:252).

Further, Sen's arguments and theories argue for the significance of absent capabilities and skewed political systems when explaining massive starvation as in the case of Bangladesh 1974 rather than bad harvest years or food shortages in general (Sen 1999:234-240, Chambers 1997:29). This relation is brought up in vulnerability theory research as well where entitlements defined as legal and rights over necessities are described as key elements for better resilience (Turner 2003:8075). This shows that the simplistic UN/WB position that in reality most commonly implements rhetoric- and materialist/functional definitions of participation (Moore 2001:321-323) ignores and neglects what seem to have a broad support from different political and scientific perspectives. This have made substantial effects as these policies have come to affect the post-emergency work in so many contexts, Aceh only being one of them.

2.4.3 The empowerment hegemony

So how could the current materialistic participation interpretation become so dominant? The problem here is perhaps not that this definition was widespread as it is a necessary component, especially in the earlier stages, of relief work were it is closely linked to "common" poor relief. The problem is that the more complex participation concept has been neglected at the same time that the rhetoric's "participation" concepts (manipulative, passive, information giving) have been so extensively used. In the same way that development can be used as a hegemonic instrument that promotes a specific interpretation, for example by emphasizing material and economic wealth before other perspectives and views of development (Böhm 2008:341), the empowerment and participatory concept became altruistic and perceived as good per se (Cooke 2001: 36).

This came hand in hand with the widespread upcoming of NGOs that generally also were perceived as good and through which the participatory methods, sanctioned by the large institutions, could flourish (Holmén 2010:15). This direction has been observed generally and through specific examples where special interest has made the promotion of such interpretations of development in general but also concerning the empowerment discourse. This simplified market oriented development approach has been seen globally as it in practice through neo-liberal politics is the ruling paradigm (Böhm 2008:339). It is also well illustrated in the case of Aracruz, a pulp paper producer in Brazil that with the backing of the World Bank, IMF and multinational corporations such as Stora Enso and Botnia (ibid:340), dismantles alternative development perspectives in order to impose their hegemony. To achieve this, marketing and PR plays an important role in order to convince the public opinion (ibid:340, 350-352). The motive in reaching a broad consensus is that it produces "not only unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity" (ibid:351) and although the democratic hegemony completely differs from totalitarianism it can be just as efficient and produce the same results (ibid.).

Even though the participation approaches came to have such prominent role in the development discourse and practise there is little evidence that proves what is claimed to be accomplished (David 1998:2). Analyses that are more complex are needed to map and evaluate the relation between intervention, participation and empowerment (Cleaver 2001: 38 ref Moser and Sollis) and further confirm how

successful this hegemony was in promoting the concepts. And while there is a lack of evidence that the common and widespread participatory approaches serve and improve needs of the poor and marginalised there are strong links tied to social change through social and political movements in several studies (Cleaver 2001: 54).

2.4.4 UN, the World Bank and the rest

Several actors are involved in the reconstruction process after a disaster or crisis and the involvement of international actors varies depending on factors like media coverage due to emergency dramaturgies, political context, and more (Sheper 2006:7,10,26). So besides the population itself, local and national authorities, NGOs and institutions like the UN and the World Bank are often present and in the Aceh case other actors such as GAM, muslim congregations, CBOs (community based organisations), etc., all took a part of the process (Sheper 2006:27,33).

While the UN and the World Bank play overarching roles and deals less with the direct practical issues the NGOs many times are financed and apply grants from the multi and bilateral donors to do this (IASC 2007:33, Kennedy 2008:29,30). NGOs are often claimed to represent an alternative development path being localised in level and needs, follow participatory principles and focuses on marginalised groups, etc. (Hickey 2004: 45,46). The reality shows that international NGOs have other less appealing signatures tied to them and that the distance between rhetoric's and practice is as evident here as with the big institutions which isn't strange considering that many of the NGOs are financed and work under directions from the former. In Aceh NGOs or INGOs (International Non Governmental Organizations) became, for the first time in history, the biggest actors where their omnipresence and influence has been referred by locals as the "second tsunami" (Kennedy 2008:33).

This phenomena had a huge impact on the humanitarian assistance and in some aspects NGOs did the very opposite of one of the core elements of their targets, stimulating participation and empowerment (Sheper 2006: 32,33), as local NGOs and CBOs in Aceh lost up to 40% of their staff to international NGOs. This significantly reduced locally based capacity, which on a longer perspective contributed to disabling a potential Acehnese platform for self-owned development and reconstruction work (ibid.)

2.4.5 Empowerment for whom?

There are major questions marks considering the empowerment/participation concepts real purposes and how they're used, this critical position automatically leads us to the next question outlining who is actually supposed to be "empowered" and participate in the development process. The participatory implementation in general has not turned out to be the bottom-up alternative that provides the poorest and most marginalised with the necessary tools to empower themselves, at least not in the widespread way it was hoped to (Cooke 2001:1,2,5).

The process has not only been reduced to be individualised and therefore many times lacked the possibilities to threaten existing power structures but have also been accused of reinforcing established power structures on local and

national level (David 1998:6, Cooke 2001: 69,70). To often the word “community” has been used in a simplistic and reductionism way not taking into consideration the deeper contextualisation and understanding of complex structures that is needed to identify needs, relations and reality in communities and villages (Cooke 2001:6,45) and this simplistic conceptualization of harmonious or uniform societies contribute significantly to failed participatory initiatives (David 1998:4). These “taken for granted assumptions” (Holmen 2010:9,10) are problematic and follows development work in many ways resulting in not only good intentions gone bad but has also made it easier to manipulate and direct the discourse and work to serve certain purposes (Moore 2001:321,22).

The Aceh case showed us that the groups that most needed to be empowered got included very late, if considered at all (Sheper 2006:9). But besides this problem there were other symptoms that reflect the contradictive and complex nature of this discourse. As contemporary critical voices have made us see there are problems when establishing formulaic participatory processes in communities as there already are existing hierarchies and decision making processes (Haley 2001:93,94). These aspects can do that participatory approaches contribute to maintain or even reinforce unequal power structures. But to ignore or exclude these structures can be even worse and was noticed in Aceh as the lack of a holistic approach and coordinated action made village leaders disempowered as they were excluded from the planning processes affecting overall results (Sheper 2006:33). Improvement was seen when BRR in order to improve participatory shortcomings, initiated local ownership in 10 communities which lead to better coordination taking the process back to the ideas of linking participation in communities to national level and the incorporation of local peoples knowledge in programme planning (Sheper 2006:34).

2.4.6 Women and participation

Participation aims as we have repeatedly seen around the inclusion and empowerment of marginalised groups. To this category women in general and especially certain segments are often mentioned (Thorburn 2009:95,97). The exclusion of women in general is seen to often and has to be consequently regarded as unequal power structures and very problematic as it tends to systematically side step large parts and groups from the one half of the population that in many ways is central in order to achieve bearing and sustainable development (ibid:101).

Women’s situation in Aceh is complex as they have an influential part in community life at the same time that they’re excluded from official and political positions (Sheper 2006:20) and is more a rule than exception in great parts of the world (White 2004:17). The disaster was specifically hard as women and children where the biggest victims with some villages losing up to 80% of the female population (Sheper 2006: 23). The strict Islamic implementation with Sharia laws further complicated the context (Törnquist 2011:834, Sheper 2006:41). This reflects how women’s situation can be vulnerable due to the circumstances that surround a particular context. But this does not necessarily rank Aceh as extraordinary from this perspective but rather describes the regions characteristic and what needs and considerations that should be regarded.

It is also important not to reduce women to victims but to underscore that there within this part of the population exists many disadvantages groups and individuals where war widows and poor female-headed households, besides from remote and marginalised communities as well as conflict affected ones, were categorised as particularly vulnerable in Aceh (Sheper 2006:9, 38, 45). Despite this official recognition the tsunami recovery and reconstruction strategy failed to address the vulnerable female groups as the aid system didn't manage to consider their special needs (ibid:41). IDP camps were unsafe for women and girls, lack of support considering land rights, matters of inheritance, etc., limited their access to livelihood and economical programs and gave these groups fewer opportunities in general and studies concluded that Acehnese women faced three different types of insecurity; physical, economical and psychosocial (Sheper 2006:41).

Even though these aspects were well known and they are brought to light by UNDP for example by giving vulnerable women and women in general extra attention by supporting their businesses and recognising the possibilities of bad participatory practises and the need to address these issues and so on this was not enough (UNDP 2007:19). But the UN-organs joint meeting concept paper only mentions the importance to give women special attention in a phrase in one out of 56 points (UNDP 2011:8). It has to be brought to light that the paper is new (Feb. 2011) and compared to the general stand that emphasises the importance of addressing gender and women related aspects in development work in general but also specific in stages of transition and early recovery (IASC 2007:11,12,17,20). This is especially important as investments in women are considered to yield better results as they generally are more devoted to the family and spend money accordingly in comparison with men (Thorburn, 2009:97).

The obstacles mentioned above can be avoided, at least to a certain extent, by promoting women groups (Hildyard 2001: 65,66) although the correction of these problems mostly are "resolved" by intense NGO lobbying rather than through the participation of local people or groups (ibid 2001: 68) making them artificial rather than proactive and therefore unsustainable in the long run.

Examples on how these gender shortcomings are addressed in the participatory discourse many times evolve around formulaic participatory techniques such as PRA (WB 1996:75-78) and exemplifies how a hierarchal institution like the WB in a convenient way intend to go grass-root with the participation sourcebook as central literature. This book, by some considered a "mythical text" rather than a valuable contribution to the discourse, (Hildyard 2001:10) as women's disadvantaged situation should be addressed by structural and institutional change (White 2004:17) rather than by implementing pin pointed efforts evolving around techniques or methods.

2.5 Empowerment, participation and the transition phase

Empowerment through participation and the transition phase after an emergency are complicated and disputed topics in themselves. When they're combined the issue becomes even more complex and difficult to predict or manage. Participatory approaches are used as tools for long term development work but can also be used during more immediate and acute circumstances and actually it is the more functional or materialistic version that is generally implemented and

promoted by institutions such as the World Bank (Moore 2001:324) no matter the stage or level of the development process. However, both the materialistic/functional and the proactive/social oriented participation concepts are important especially in early recovery and transition (Sheper 2006:28, IASC 2007:11). Although it is difficult to separate the short term from the long term approaches I have done a distinction between participatory approaches and concepts that have direct and indirect impact on the post emergency/crisis transition phase where the indirect is described as parametric while the direct as interventionist (Moore 2001:325), a description that can be appealing to embrace but tend to oversimplify a matter much more complicated than so.

The direct impact of participation can for example be linked to CFW programs or similar activities that include affected populations during this early post emergency stage. The indirect impact from participation and empowerment approaches are connected to the concepts of inherent and adaptive resilience and are more prevention oriented and see to more complex patterns involving social, political, economical and cultural aspects and act within a broader framework (White 2004:21). Just like any other issue surrounding this topic it is essential to have in mind that these divisions make the discourse delicate as it is, as already mentioned, not always possible to make such clear borders between different categories in reality paving the way for artificial or constructed divisions of issues that are naturally intertwined. If carried out properly direct or functional participation of beneficiaries, for example in the form of Community-Based Development (CBD) surrounding housing and temporary shelter, can be scaled up and see to immediate needs in early post-emergency stages at the same time that it helps building social capital, strengthen local institutions, increase solidarity and address inequalities (Dercon 2007:5) and thereby increasing inherent and adaptive resilience against future hazards.

In Aceh CFW programmes provided disaster affected populations with instant livelihood at the same time that relief and reconstruction related work was carried out (clearance from debris, reconstruction of roads, etc.) and these kind of interventions can generate positive long term effects and is a important component in humanitarian and early recovery work (Sheper 2006:32, UNDP, b 2007:7). WASH programmes that through education and participatory techniques enhances the level of hygiene and provides clean water and latrines, etc., also falls under the direct participation category but can, at least potentially, also be closely linked to long term resilience building measures in a similar way as CFW programmes. But although these interventions that have a direct impact at a relatively early post emergency stage can vary and be very different the common factor is that they often are limited in scope and to a large part or exclusively depend on external finance (Korf 2002:9). These participatory types or levels could be categorised as materialistic, functional or passive (Kumar 2005:6) and the border between them and rights based or proactive participatory categories starts to become blurry at this point.

Livelihood is a central part of the UNDP Emergency Response and Transitional Recovery (ERTR) program and aims to introduce means to help long term development goals on their way (UNDP 2007:4,5). In Aceh more than 50 000 people were temporarily employed through cash-for-work programmes, seed, saplings and fertilizer were distributed, fishermen, farmers and livestock breeders got material help to get back to work, micro financing and small business ventures projects were initiated, groups with special needs were

attended, etc. (ibid:3). To summarise the ERTR programmes immediate employment and livelihoods where the main objectives. Some of these measures aim to be long term in their approach as they intend to improve living conditions of populations in a recovery phase by livelihood assistance and where positively responded as households included in these programs saw positive impact on their income levels, could save money for business investments, afford everyday life, etc. (ibid 2007:4,5). The character of these intervention, although they had participatory aspects tied to them seem more like advanced poor relief, which is not necessarily something negative, but not empowering or participatory in a deeper sense, which made the link to long term development weak as it was not always further built upon and developed (Sheper 2006:48). This transition problem was reinforced due to tendencies of foreign agencies to start their own offices rather than work through existing local organisations (ibid:30) making it difficult to achieve acceptable levels of ownership and planning by local stakeholders (IASC 2007:55).

Economy and income oriented livelihood perspectives that targets business oriented individuals (UNDP 2008:1) can also create unexpected long term effects that might have negative impact on marginalised segments of the population. As these segments of the population can't, due to weaker social network strength and other reasons, take part of these livelihood programs (Jordan 2011:6,7) taking us back to questions such as who is supposed to be empowered and the reinforcement of existing power structures. It is therefore important to have a holistic perspective when implementing such programs and see to possible unwanted side-effects and have special programs that see to those with less access (Turner 2003:8076). In some villages CFW programmes challenged the collective spirit as they could last as long as to September 2005 (Sheper 2006:32) making what was supposed to be a temporary interventions a long lived operation working against the principles of self reliance and claimed by some to have weakened the Acehese voluntary mutual assistance tradition of *gotong royong* (Sheper 2006:9).

So as livelihood interventions of different kinds provides good short term results as well as long term results, they can also give unknown long term consequences that changes socio-economic structures. In Aceh, that became overwhelmed with NGOs, project and programmes, the way people would make their living came to see radical changes.

Aid from the NGOs, enough already! We have things now we never had before. Before the tsunami there were three tractors in this village, now there are six. But nobody wants to work the land. So long as there is aid, and proposals, people won't work the land, because they keep waiting for the next project. (Interview UJ-08) (Thorburn 2009:95)

There's been lots of business money from NGOs. But do you see any businesses here? People don't look ahead. They're given money to start a business, but that's not what they use it for. They buy clothes, motorbikes, fancy hand phones, go sit at the coffee shop. (Interview BL-06) (Thorburn 2009:95)

The opinions above do not necessary give a nuanced picture of the intervention as whole but describes some of the problems that might arise in the wake of humanitarian work of the magnitude that was seen in post-tsunami Aceh.

Even though there might seem like there are built in tensions and a polarised relation between so called poor relief and participatory concepts they should be used as tools that complement each other and whose functions and potentials have to be contextualised. But here it seems, with plenty of examples confirming it, that there are huge problems in balancing the short term and long term actions as a vast majority of the solutions belong to the former category undermining any long term sustainable development as there where no strong involvement of the communities and local authorities in the early recovery and transition stages (Sheper 2006:29).

We have seen that there are links between different thinkers; from Freires conscientization and Chambers different methods to Sens capability approaches (CA) and contemporary critical participatory researchers that empowerment through participation in a deeper meaning is essential for sustainable development (Mohan 2001:166, Sen 1999:234-240, Chambers 1997:29). But we have also seen that there are problems in taking the participation and empowerment of the affected populations, and the most vulnerable in particular, to a more complex rights based and proactive level. Disaster relief approaches have become more complex and a shift of focus from relief to mitigation have surged with vulnerability, resilience and coping capacities being more central with more complex social, economical, political and cultural factors as necessary components (ENSURE Project 2009:6 ref Thywissen 2006).

Different levels of aid acquiring capacities and better recovery in general was seen in villages with better social capital (Jordan 2006:7) and is further proved in Aceh as for example the only male oriented cooperatives that succeeded was within the fishing industry. This was partially explained by their pre-tsunami relations including collective boat ownership that led to stronger social capital levels amongst this group (Thorburn 2009:101). The importance of social safety nets that empower and enhance coping capacities together with endowment and entitlement should therefore not solely be reduced to a poverty related discourse as even the most economically marginalised are not passive or helpless as they have a wide range of strategies and coping mechanisms (Davis 2002:8) to deal with hazards diversification being one (Turner 2003:8075). It is those aspects and other already existing strengths that should be reinforced and encouraged and has to be kept in mind when linking empowerment and participatory concepts to early recovery and transition phases (IASC 2007:29,54, 56).

There have been plenty of positive outcomes from interventions that are participatory or empowerment oriented as for example temporary shelter projects succeed when “Shelter is seen as a process, not as an object” (Kennedy 2008:25 ref Davis 1978:33) and beneficiaries are supported in their reconstruction work provided with material, equipment and support providing open and flexible solutions rather than wrapped up gifts (Kennedy 2008:25). The CFW programmes where in many ways successful, although they tended to last to long and thereby creating other problems, and their positive impact in Aceh has been recognised (Thorburn 2009:89). If they had been phased out with more long term adjusted livelihood processes their impact could have been even more positive and created a good base in early recovery and transition phases accelerating more long term sustainable development. There where also positive effects seen in peace and governance due to the post-tsunami intervention (Sheper 2006:51) which reveals that there are potentials and opportunities for rights based development eased by the international presence, especially in a formerly “closed” region like Aceh.

From an emergency and post-emergency perspective the long term development and issues evolving around entitlements (Turner 2003:8075) are in many ways the most crucial part as it relates to the communities or populations general state that in its turn reveals how vulnerable they are to crises and emergencies of different kinds. The combination of “normal” long term development oriented work and disaster preventative measures can be linked to how empowerment through participatory approaches indirectly can affect the outcomes in the transitional phase of post emergency settings. These indirect measures are in many ways the most effective ways to mitigate the effects from crises and create resilience amongst individuals, groups and populations in general.

So actually, according to vulnerability theories and different perspectives in general, it is here where the most important work is carried out to make sure that marginalised groups and populations can build up adequate or minimum resilience against coming emergencies but also here where they can be mitigated or completely avoided. But as this is difficult to achieve in reality it needs to be complemented with direct measures when the disaster or crisis is at hand (Korf 2002:4,5, Jordan 2011:1,2). Also, participation and empowerment approaches with direct impact within the transition phase, from relief work to recovery, are important to carry out in a proper manner with high contextualisation and local ownership in order to provide a solid foundation from which it is possible to build resilience through development that on longer terms hopefully will stand on its own.

It has to be further underscored that it is not a choice between rights oriented or functional, formulaic methods that can be used to define and assess vulnerability of the affected communities amongst other things (PRA and RRA, Pressure and Release model PAR, modified PAR model, and others) (ENSURE Project 2009:91). These can contribute and be a part of the solution but we have to recognise the more complex indirect impacts that personalised non formulaic participation (Haley 2001:88-90) concepts has on the affected population inherent and adaptive resilience no matter the type and range of a disaster, emergency or hazard in general. It is also important to be careful, reflect and consider all aspects when solutions and methods sound too good to be true and promise to deliver quick fixes to complex problems.

3 Conclusion

3.1 Summary

Emergencies and crises of different kinds are predicted to be more common, severe and complex due to human and non human activities. The different stages after disaster strikes or during low intense humanitarian crises need to be better interlinked and viewed as circuitous as they are not separated in reality but rather in the perception of stakeholders where improved pre-emergency conditions with better resilience is the main target. In this paper it is the transition phase that is investigated and refers to the period directly after the emergency to the early stages of long term development work. This is a relatively neglected stage of the post emergency process and it is from the perspective on how empowerment through participatory approaches impacts, directly and indirectly, the affected populations and community's resilience, vulnerability and recovery capacity.

The paper problematizes the concepts of empowerment and participation, question their authenticity in relation to the high-grounded rhetoric that surrounds them, and how much is really delivered by them. The direct impact the approaches is linked to the materialistic or functional definition of participation while the indirect evolves around the more complex right-based participation definition that has more complex political, economical and social elements tied to them and hence are closer to concepts of adaptive and inherent resilience. Through these definitions, UN documents and other official material on the subjects of transition and early recovery are compared to how the humanitarian work actually is performed in reality exemplified in the case of the tsunami disaster in Aceh 2004. In this case vulnerable groups could be identified and thereby highlight who most need to be empowered and participate which helps revealing the gap between rhetoric's and reality that in its turn show potentials and limitations of the concepts.

The study concludes that there are no easy answers to the posed questions but argues that more complex rights based participatory and empowerment concepts are needed to complement or further develop materialist/functional interventions and programs while the rhetoric's and manipulative oriented versions need to be excluded.

Further interdisciplinary research is needed and has to be better linked with vulnerability and resilience oriented theories, topics that themselves need to be better investigated. The role of the different approaches and concepts need to be better understood in general and contextualised in a more holistic manner. This way it is easier to dismantle the dichotomised setting that have evolved between the existing approaches and would on a longer term generate better results on field, direct and indirect, on the transition phase as well as other.

3.2 From hegemony to transformation?

3.2.1 Less rhetoric's, more research and proper action

General agreement on primary factors that affect social vulnerability are lack of access to resources such as information, knowledge and technology, limited access to political power and representation, lack of social capital, frail individuals and groups, etc. (ENSURE Project 2009:10) where vulnerability partially is produced by social inequalities and those that are most vulnerable in general will be most vulnerable in the events of hazardous nature which is not a surprising conclusion (ibid 2009:13). As we saw in the beginning of the paper it's not always so easy to define an emergency nor the coming stages as there no clear and distinct divisions between them in reality (Davis 2002:1,2,60) as it might be suggested in much related literature and a consensus to see these events as circuitous and integrated is emerging (Korf 2002:4,5).

Rights based empowerment and participation perspectives are tied to more complex processes and if well constructed result in improved entitlements, endowments and coping capacities (Turner 2003:8075). Nevertheless they are many times dependent of and might origin from more materialistic or functional concepts and approaches (Moore 2001:324, UNDP 2007:5,14), at least in the earlier post emergency stages. In Aceh the international interventions did, in spite

or because of the immense presence, not manage to contribute to a sustainable local and national capacity system at the initial stages which led to weak links between the humanitarian efforts and the long term development work (Sheper 2006:48). Problems during the early recovery and transition phase were related to:

- Weak overall organisation of the humanitarian work.
- Poaching of staff from local organisations
- Failure to reach vulnerable groups
- Failure to use and include local and national capacities

This led to poor results, which in some cases contributed to increased unequal structures (Sheper 2006:48). The international stakeholders did not have the capacities to work with local building strategies and participation as it is a time and patience consuming process that requires good local knowledge and contextualisation (ibid.). This stands in contrast to what is described and emphasized in the UN concept paper and various other texts and official documents that say that development as much as possible should be carried out by the “locals” and ownership by the affected population is crucial to make long term development possible. The demand of written programme plans in English, short time frames and grant sizes, tedious monitoring systems, and a rigid and inflexible international donor mechanism in general contributed to leave out potential local knowledge (ibid:33).

This is just one of many examples that have contributed to the serious credibility problems the participatory discourse have undergone the latest decade as it now stands in front of an unknown path. The question is not whether it will be a part of the development process or not but how it will be implemented and how it will relate to the rhetoric’s that is used. The discourse need to be more honest in its approach and its important to realise that there is no simple solution recognising the fact that there are valid aspects from the different participatory interpretations, at least the ones with more honest attempts.

In this paper we have seen a distinction between direct and indirect impacts on the transition phase where the former is tied to the most commonly produced today, the materialistic/functional/passive approach and the latter is linked to more complex political, social, economical and cultural aspects that have direct connections to resilience and prevention building measures.

The dichotomised relation between the two perspectives, although natural as the latter came as a reaction to the many times misused materialistic approach, needs to be resolved. If the different approaches are categorised according to where they can be used and what they can accomplish for example how the materialistic/functional version can be a tool to pave the way for the more complex and parametric participation concepts.

There has been no evidence that formulaic participatory approaches contributes to empowerment in a large scale while studies show that informal, highly personalised, long term commitment yields good results (Haley 2001:88-90) and the same has been shown with political and organised work that is tied to higher instances. This shows that there are no easy ways to develop the participatory discourse but that there still is a lot of research that needs to be done to put more pieces in place to better understand the complex dynamics of empowerment through participation as theories on the subject are limited (Mohan 2004:59). It has to be kept in mind that just as participatory techniques might be

difficult to replicate due to unique contexts so are the highly personalised relations used to achieve community involvement. But there is a valid point on the criticism of formulaic participatory approaches that they provide what can be perceived as “[...] preconceived packages [...]” rather than respond “[...] to what the people were saying.” (Haley 2001:92-94).

Also, one has to remember that participation is not a goal in itself and that the use of these concepts has to have clear objectives (ADB 2004: v) and that this is a central problem for the contemporary participation discourse in general. This can be solved, at least to some extent, by better understanding the different participatory elements, from short term, intermediate and long terms as well as formulaic or informal but also materialistic/functional and social/political oriented. At the same time it has to be accepted that they many times can't be separated from each other as what might be referred to as materialistic participation can be proactive participation at an early stage and a necessary component of more complex development patterns if properly implemented.

The undifferentiated use of the terms eases the widespread inappropriate implementation of the concepts and leads to confusion and dichotomous relations. It is also important from a research point of view to find common aspects that link different disciplines as resilience, mitigation and other related concepts need to be targeted with a multidisciplinary approach, especially when analysing human - environmental systems (Turner 2003:8075).

When dealing with central elements of participatory approaches such as service delivery resources, information, decision making, delivery mechanisms, accountability, etc.(ADB 2004: 2), it is important to consider the power aspects on all stages and why certain approaches are so interesting for northern actors while southern organisations and CBOs are more doubtful and sceptical. We have to see how external power and control (Haley 2001:95-98) is even more central than dealing with power structures on community level and was seen in several ways in Aceh (Kennedy 2008:29,30, Sheper 2006:30,32). Also, one has to be aware that there are limits to what we can call participatory/empowerment methods or concepts as when reaching a higher level of the scale more complex political and economical aspects with global linkages makes it difficult to embed or relate to participatory concept.

Nevertheless it is crucial to identify the most vulnerable communities and societies as well as vulnerable groups within the main populations. In Aceh groups amongst women and violent affected or remote villages were identified, but this will of course vary from one context to the other and it is essential to have them in mind from the very beginning.

3.2.2 Participation, empowerment and their unknown future

No matter if we are dealing with a immediate emergency as in the Aceh case or with more invisible or silent crises like the AIDS epidemic in southern Africa or chronic malnourishment (Davis 2002:1-3) participatory approaches and concepts can if properly conducted increase the resilience of individuals, groups, communities and populations in general. There can be positive impacts as well as negative but what has generally been the case is that short term needs have been implemented while long term more complex matters have been put aside at the same time that the holistic and synchronized approach has been lacking (Sheper 2006:49).

There are plenty of good examples that shows that immediate short term needs are seen to with measures that could be categorised as poor relief as well as participatory that have good impact on affected communities in general like CFW projects, livelihood and economical support programs, etc. (Thorburn 2009:87-89, UNDP, b 2007:5). But the limitations to these approaches as we have seen and is repeatedly communicated by critical voices is that the participatory and empowerment focused concepts lack integration with larger political, economical and social patterns and that they are poorly interlinked with the long term development phases undermining what could have been a great opportunity to create good structures for future development (Törnquist 2011:833).

Just as it is important to identify and address vulnerable groups it is also of great importance to identify those communities that coped well and evidently had good resilience and coping capacities. In the Acehese community of Krueng Sabee the high level of self-help and organisation in comparison to other similar communities are explained by preserved solidarity from the first day after the disaster, village leaders survived, historic entrepreneurial culture and data collection already at the first week which gave the villagers as well as humanitarian aid agencies good needs assessment and a base for dialogue and cooperation (Sheper 2006:31). This example shows how a mixture of different circumstances and aspects contribute to coping capabilities, resilience and empowerment through participation from the inside in combination with external support. It also shows that approaches such as PRA can be used to collect data by the community itself, traditional hierarchies and cultures in combination with external support by NGOs can if well combined co-exist (ibid.) and provide a positive post-emergency development leading to the conclusion that there are no rules or moulds on how the process should look like. This does not mean that these examples do not come with problems but that they at least lay proper foundations. This is possible as long term development, rights based participation and institutional change depends on good relationships with authorities and NGOs in combination with peoples self-owned processes including needs assessment and identification (Holland 2004:256,257) that ease these processes and in its turn opens doors for further positive change in the future.

Participation and empowerment can be more than just quick fixes or poor relief with participatory characteristics but actually provide adaptive and inherent resilience if it is anchored to more complex aspects and scales but we have also seen that materialistic/function oriented solutions are needed and cant simply be rejected as charity. The most important question is how relief work and the transition to recovery and long-term development work can be speeded up, better interlinked, driven by local and national institutions and avoid dependence. This is important in order to return to not only somewhat normal pre-disaster conditions but to rebuild with concepts of reducing vulnerability from future hazards in mind already from start (Jordan 2011:1).

Concepts and approaches of empowerment and participation have, as we have seen, clear effects on the transition phase at least potentially. The question is if they are positive or negative and this differs from context and case. As was underscored in the beginning of the paper there are no easy answers and the topic seem more and more complex the deeper you look at it. Nevertheless, some aspects were found that contribute to clarify possibilities and pitfalls and are summarised as follows:

Potentials

- Existing channels and stakeholder. From the grand institutions as UN and the World Bank down to NGS, CBOs, etc.
- International attention and presence can provide formerly closed regions with opportunities such as peace building capacities
- Disasters open for new opportunities and change and If well managed, participation and empowerment within the transition phase can promote change of unequal power structures
- CFW projects, livelihood and housing programs, etc., can be effective in short- as well as long term perspectives and provide for urgent needs as well as improve long term development
- The participatory discourse in general have been exposed to criticism opening for the possibility to direct the mainstreamed empowerment hegemony in a more constructive direction

Limitations

- Existing channels and stakeholders are stuck in top-down hierarchies and don't include communities into the process in reality but rather in their rhetoric's
- To technical and formulaic participatory approaches with materialist orientation dominates the humanitarian and development oriented sectors
- Low application of rights oriented participation linked to more complex economical, political, cultural and social patterns
- Confusion within the participation and empowerment "paradigm" that without a strong holistic theoretical frame leads to unclear roles of different approaches and creates dichotomised relations between them
- The discourse needs to be better interlinked to other disciplines that evolves around resilience and vulnerability oriented matters
- Uncoordinated action from the international humanitarian community with to many actors in certain contexts
- Low inclusion of communities and local/national authorities
- Brain drain from CBOs to NGOs

Except from providing fish and the fishing rod, using a worn saying, the only sustainable way to provide long term sustainable development is if there is a lake with fish accessible to the individual, groups and communities in order to provide the proper circumstances that give incentives for the participants to make their own rods to fish. The question of incentives is crucial and has to be taken seriously when dealing with empowerment at all levels. If there's valid incentives, the participation will come natural and not be artificial, segmented or forced and as poor and marginalised people categorically are politically disadvantaged, providing incentives in order to get organised is essential (Moore 2001: 325,326).

Another problem is the gaps between different phases or processes and could be seen as for example the early recovery framework emphasized participation and empowerment while the UN concept paper on transition didn't. This gap

reveals contradictions in their policies that are evidently clear in reality as well (Sheper 2006:49,50). It is important that these large institutions and other important and influential stakeholders diminish the gap between their rhetoric's and the reality of their interventions so that the ruling empowerment hegemony can be transformed into a more genuine development concept no matter what it's called. There where severe problems in Aceh concerning the efforts from NGOs and international stakeholders and these problems where manifested in the lack of inclusion of vulnerable groups, failed relief interventions, transitional and permanent housing projects, livelihood and so on. But it also has to be said that there where positive outcomes from the interventions, strengthen peace processes to mention one aspect, and it is important to have in mind that the Aceh tsunami disaster was quite extreme, and not all emergencies are this complex or extensive.

The topics discussed in this study depend on so much more than just participatory or empowerment concepts just as the transitional stage in it self can't be addressed without seeing to the whole picture. Still much can be improved and achieved if these topics are properly addressed and more profound understanding of their role within the bigger picture is achieved.

There are restrictions on what participation and empowerment can achieve and there have been to high expectations on the formulaic techniques and approaches, at least in comparison to what they've been claimed to do and this have contributed to the weakened credibility the general concepts now have. However, participation and empowerment perspectives have potential to be used for sustainable development where less rhetoric's and taken for granted assumptions in favour of more research and proper action is needed where the inclusion of the affected populations always must be the core issue.

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