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- the Case of Reconstruction in Nias, Indonesia"

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TABLE OF CONTENT

List of abbreviations and acronyms

ACTED	Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development (French NGO)
ADBI	Asian Development Bank Institute
AMDA	Association of Medical Doctors of Asia
ANALP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
Bakornas PBP	*Badan Koordinasi Nasional Penangguilangan Bencana Dan Penanganan Pengungsi* (National Coordinating Agency for Natural Disaster and Refugees Relief), Indonesia
BAPPEDA	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* (Regional Development Planning Agency) , Indonesia
BAPPENAS	*Badan Perencanaan Pembanguan Nasional* (Ministry of National Development Planning) , Indonesia
BPS	*Badan Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia* (Statistics Indonesia)
BRR	*Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi NAD-Nias* (Agency for the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Aceh-Nias)
CA	Caritas Austria
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
cf.	confer (compare)
CI	Caritas Internationalis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CKS	Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga
CRED	Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters
CRS	Catholic Relief Service
CONCORD	Confédération européenne des ONG d'urgence et de développement
CWS	Church World Service
EERI	Earthquake Engineering Research Institute
EM-DAT	Emergency events database
ERHAM	Earthquake Relief Housing Alasa Mandrehe (CKS reconstruction project)
DRR	Disaster risk reduction
GDP	Gross domestic product

GER	Gross enrolment rate
HRO	Humanitarian relief organisations
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah (national currency)
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
MFS	*Médecins Sans Frontièrs* (Doctors without borders)
NAD	*Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam* (Indonesian province in Northern Sumatra)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SIPA	School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University
SME	Small and medium enterprises
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNDRO	UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNISDR	UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
US	United States
YEL	*Yayasan Ekonomi Lestari* (NGO in Northern Sumatra, Indonesia)

1 INTRODUCTION

Natural catastrophes such as hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, flooding or earthquakes are happening all over the world; they cause huge infrastructural and economic damage, claim the lives of thousands and leave millions displaced. When catastrophes occur, there is an immediate need for the provision of food and drinking water, shelter and medical support, as these are essential for the multitude of affected people who are otherwise endangered. Particularly in developing countries prompt emergency response (the equivalent of disaster relief) is of utmost importance. The thesis at hand focuses primarily on reconstruction and rehabilitation in developing countries. Due to a lack of, or only poorly equipped national emergency agencies, inefficient or damaged communication systems and/or transportation infrastructure, international support has become indispensable to secure the survival of the people affected by catastrophes in these countries. The immediate emergency response after the occurrence of a natural disaster provides relief in form of a broad range of relief services such as mobile medical support, the provision of temporary shelter or food delivery as well as relief items such as blankets, health kits or water purification tablets. International and national humanitarian organisations are increasingly able to execute prompt and co-ordinated emergency response; however, medium and long-term oriented rehabilitation and reconstruction after natural disasters still face various challenges. One corresponding issue is discussed within the scope of this thesis - namely, how the affected people can participate in the ongoing reconstruction activities.

Since the beginnings of development cooperation in the early 1950s, the involvement of users or beneficiaries into (non-) governmental services and projects played a central role, although the implementing procedures differed in extent, form and purpose. Since the 1950s there have been enthusiastic supporters, praising participation as the longed *empowerment* [1] of the local people. Methods and tools have been elaborated to assist the

[1] "Empowerment is the process of increasing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Central to this process are actions which both

communities and enable them to actively participate in the ongoing development projects. However, this advocacy also raises critical voices, questioning the alleged panacea and denunciating tyrannic elements of participation, unmasking unequal power and knowledge relations between the institutions, politicians and practitioners engaged in development cooperation on one side, and the *beneficiaries*[2] on the other. According to Cornwall and Brock (2005: p. 1046), participation has ever since been "politically ambivalent and definitional vague" and "has historically been used both to enable ordinary people to gain political agency and as a means of maintaining relations of rule." Keeping this in mind, an ambiguous discussion on the notion of participation is run on two different levels: (1) technical; questioning the usage of techniques and tools on the ground and (2) systematic; discussing the embedment of participation in and its configuration by the pre-existing system of development discourse. On a more theoretical level, Jules Pretty (cf. 1995: p. 1251) subsumes two overlapping schools of thought and practice in the participation debate: one, focuses on the efficiency aspect of people's involvement in development projects and its likelihood to achieve better project results, the other "sees participation as a fundamental right", aiming to mobilize and empower people and to foster the building of community-based institutions. These approaches refer to the *transformational* power, which some authors attribute to participation. Regarding the structural level these are changes from "top-down bureaucratic planning systems" (Cooke/Kothari; 2001: p. 16) to more "people-friendly, bottom-up approaches" (Leal, 2010: p. 91). On an individual level, people involved in participatory working methods gain capacities, which can enable them to "improve or change their own lives [...]." (Cleaver; 2001: p. 37)

The definition of 'participation' varies depending on the context it was formulated in. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, *participation* is "the action of taking part in something" and therefore could be "either transitive or intransitive; moral, amoral or immoral; either forced or free; either manipulative or spontaneous." (Rahnema, 2010: p. 127) This indicates that the application of participatory approaches is flexible which eventually reveals elements of power and knowledge relations that are inherent to participation. In more detail these aspects are discussed in Chapter 3. In regard to the development

build individual and collective assets, and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organisational and institutional context which govern the use of these assets." (World Bank, nd.)

[2] "Recipients of funds or other benefits." (Aidflows, nd.)

cooperation and in reference to the involvement of beneficiaries into concrete projects, the World Bank respectively the Republic of Indonesia (Master Plan for the Reconstruction of Aceh and Nias) define participation as follows:

> *"Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them."*
> *(World Bank, 1996: p. xi)*

> *"Participation is a condition wherein an individual or a group of people jointly participate in an activity, develop activity measures and establish or strengthen local institutions. Participation is a right, and not a tool to achieve the objective of a development activity. The essence of participation is the involvement of all community elements in the decision-making process starting from the planning and implementation phases up to monitoring and evaluation phases."*
> *(Republic of Indonesia, 2006: p. 7-2)*

The first definition still represents the predominant understanding of participation in the development cooperation, where the latter is selected because of its link to the case study, which is discussed in a later part of this thesis. These definitions provide insights, how participation is understood in the development cooperation and post-disaster reconstruction: namely, to actively involve users or beneficiaries into projects and programmes which directly affect their lives and surrounding living and working conditions, with the objective that people can decide on their own or the community's future development. However, to quote Nelson and Wright: "Establishing an ideal definition is not the end of the matter. [...]. [T]he ideal definition of participation is only the start to exploring what meaning [sic!] are attached to it in any context, how they are contested and deployed, and who gains and who loses in the process." (1995: p. 1)

While the involvement of beneficiaries in projects and programmes is a central component in development cooperation, humanitarian organisations still face major challenges regarding the inclusion of affected people in project planning and implementation in reconstruction activities. Accounting for that, this thesis deals with the question of participation of affected people in reconstruction activities after natural disasters. The role of

the local population in rehabilitation and reconstruction activities is of fundamental significance for the ongoing development progress in the respective areas. The author queries that any reconstruction project - where the local population is not involved neither in the decision-making process nor the implementation phase - cannot improve living conditions on the ground. Therefore, the main thematic interest of the thesis lies in the depiction of the involvement of affected people (referred to as 'beneficiaries') in decision-making and implementation procedures in post-disaster reconstruction activities. These considerations are exemplified on the case of Nias (Indonesia), an island that was hit by a tsunami in December 2004 and a devastating earthquake three months later. The two disasters claimed the deaths of almost 1,000 people and caused massive infrastructural and economic damage. The humanitarian organisation, which is the subject for the case study of this thesis, Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga (CKS), started working in Nias in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami and was selected as a result of the author's volunteer deployment stay in Nias from June to October 2013.

As participation in development cooperation and rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes has become increasingly important to create a post-disaster environment worth living, a comprehensive understanding on the role of the beneficiaries in reconstruction and rehabilitation activities is needed. It reveals not only the implementing strategies of the operating organisation(s), but especially the experiences of the people affected by disasters. Therefore, the research question is articulated as follows:

What are the potentials, challenges and limitations of participatory approaches in reconstruction work, and further, what role do beneficiaries play in post-disaster situations?

Additional key questions form the theoretical framework and provide a basis for the further discussion and are formulated as follows:

- How is participation characterized in the rehabilitation and reconstruction work compared to projects in development cooperation?
- What is meant by disaster impact, who are humanitarian actors and what do they do in the disasters areas?
- How do affected people participate in the reconstruction work and what levels of participation can be identified within the humanitarian action?

- Regarding the work experience of Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga and its partner Caritas Austria: what level of beneficiaries' involvement can be identified in their housing projects in Nias, and further, what challenges and constraints did the organisations encounter?

Generally, studies about the role and relevance of participatory rehabilitation and reconstruction in disaster-affected regions are scarce. Consequently, there is a lack of scientific debate on the role of beneficiaries in humanitarian response, especially on individual recovery efforts or long-term effects of participatory reconstruction activities on the local population, to name only two. Relevant literature on the role of beneficiaries in reconstruction projects derived to a large part from international humanitarian organisations (such as the Red Cross or UN-agencies) and is presented in more detail in Chapter 3 and 4. The objective of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of participatory approaches in the reconstruction work after the occurrence of catastrophes. Naturally, reconstruction projects differ from one another because they are planned and implemented in different contexts and there are different stakeholders involved. Nevertheless, the thesis adds to an extended understanding of participatory emergency response and tries to unravel the allocation of task and responsibilities within these reconstruction projects. Therefore it contributes to the broad discussion on Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (known as the LRRD-approach).

Outline

This thesis starts with a discussion on the role and the changing understanding of participation in the development cooperation, which is especially noteworthy as there have been several paradigm shifts. Following these first remarks on the state of participation in the development discourse it is relevant to identify participatory approaches in the different development decades, followed by a theoretical discussion on its potentials, whether they are tyrannic or transformational. After this, participation methods and tools in humanitarian action are discussed. While local support in the aftermath of natural disasters is important for a swift and efficient assistance, it nevertheless has to be stressed that major catastrophes still require organisational guidance from experienced international and national humanitarian actors. A review of reports from engaged international and national humanitarian agencies is undertaken to get an overall picture of participatory

procedures and techniques in post-disaster contexts. By examining the documents, a fundamental point is revealed: the involvement of the affected population in reconstruction activities differs immensely, depending on type and extent of the disaster. It reaches from people transporting building material to the building spots where professional constructors are building the houses, to community-based initiatives where the affected people organise and conduct the reconstruction independently. Although, considering the limited resources of the affected local population (e.g. time, technical and organisational knowledge etc.), it is noticeable that there clearly are limitations in reconstruction activities; some of them are discussed in the case study.

In the course of the case study, the theoretical and practical inputs are discussed in the light of beneficiaries' involvement in reconstruction projects, implemented and executed by Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga. Before describing the three projects in detail it is necessary to set the ground and discuss the impact, the two disasters had on the small island and what efforts are made in the course of the reconstruction work.

By analysing the experiences made by the organisation and the affected people, the author draws conclusions on the role of beneficiaries in the reconstruction work and reveals challenges, limitations and potentials, humanitarian organisations face during the implementation phase. Therefore, this thesis points to explore the possibilities of including those people into rehabilitation and reconstruction projects, as it is their environment, humanitarian organisation and national emergency agencies are working in.

The following two chapters present the applied research methodology and working steps as well as the underlying theoretical framework for this thesis.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Before discussing participation in development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, the methodological approaches which underlie this thesis, are presented in the following. This section is divided into remarks on the author's research stay in Nias, the *Grounded Theory* as the basic research approach, the applied methodologies on the ground as well as some comments on methodological challenges and limitations are given, which the author faced during his research. Answers to the research question derive from a wide range of sources. To define the theoretical setting, relevant literature to participatory approaches in development cooperation and reconstruction work set the basis for the later discussion regarding the case study. Definitions on disaster relief, humanitarian assistance, LRRD and participation are taken from different authors and organisations, working in the broad field of development research and humanitarian practice. A review of evaluations and reports from CKS' activities in Nias provide information on the range of applied participatory methods in their emergency response and reconstruction.

From June to November 2013 the author spent 5 months in Indonesia, 4 of which on the island of Nias. In addition to his research activities, he was involved in the work of CKS and was supporting their ongoing projects in the headquarters, located in the city of Gunung Sitoli. Throughout this time there was a clear temporal separation between the research work and the support for CKS. Nevertheless, the author's volunteer employment helped him to challenge, specify and focus his research interest. By discussing the content of his thesis with the CKS' staff involved in the post-disaster humanitarian assistance and reconstruction, the author developed a coherent and comprehensive framework for his research. Furthermore, CKS' persons responsible supported the author to establish contacts to the beneficiaries in three selected villages, where the interviews were conducted. (cf. Annex 12)

However, as a result of the immediate work onsite, the author was able to deepen his insights through fieldwork, meeting local people and reading relevant reports and evalu-

ations. This enabled him to specify his research interest. Working and conducting research 'in the field' is always accompanied by thematic and methodological adaptations and changes, the researcher has to anticipate. This was also the case during the research phase for this thesis. Before leaving to Indonesia the author addressed the question of community-based rehabilitation, asking if participatory methods in the reconstruction work after natural disasters contribute to initiate or support the building of local community structures. *Do participatory reconstruction activities strengthen the communities by empowering them to implement their own projects and ideas?* was the question the author intended to answer within the project context of CKS. However, during the work in Nias it became evident that there was no direct connection between these community-based organisations and the CKS' reconstruction activities. Therefore, the research focus shifted from communities to individuals and their involvement in the reconstruction by analysing the beneficiaries' role in the construction of houses. This thematic shift enables the author to focus on the direct involvement of beneficiaries, asking for concrete contributions and experiences within the scope of the respective projects. Qualitative interviews with the responsible CKS-staff in post-2005 rehabilitation provide knowledge about the practice of aid-giving agencies on the ground. On the other side, results from interviews with beneficiaries in CKS' housing projects are presented, showing their experiences and level of participation in the reconstruction work. Their statements are consulted when the question of tyrannic, respectively transformational potentials in the CKS' housing projects is raised. Further, it is of interest what limitations and challenges of participatory approaches the different actors (implementing organisations, beneficiaries, and donor organisation) face during the course of reconstruction.

In order to classify and analyse the vast amount of data and insights obtained during fieldwork, a theoretical memo was used to document the decision-making process. The subsequent textualisation of the notes did not necessarily aim to be taken literally but represented a preliminary attempt to gather initial ideas that later, when they have proven to be useful, account for the theoretical content and are incorporated in the final text. (cf. Strübing 2008: p. 35)

By becoming acquainted with the reconstruction context in Nias, qualitative methods are chosen as appropriate research strategy, as the author addresses the concrete experiences of beneficiaries and implementing organisations in the reconstruction work. "Qualitative

research usually emphasises words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. As a research strategy it is inductivist[3], constructionist, and interpretivist […]." (Bryman, 2006: p. 697) Moreover, it is important to find a research setting, which supports an open but systemic procedure. This can be found in the *Grounded Theory*, which was mainly elaborated by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser in the 1960s. The methodological approaches within this research method allow the researcher "to be more flexible and adjust the methods and produce evidence as data come in […]" (Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 146). Therefore, this approach is particularly applicable when spending more time in the field. It provides a scientific and methodological openness, enabling the researcher to work with all the different input encountered. The *Grounded Theory* emphasises the temporal parallelism and mutual functional dependence of the processes of data collection, analysis and theory building.[4] (cf. Strübing, 2008: p. 14) During the research process, the constantly added data has to be assessed, classified and analysed, which eventually leads to the formulation of a theory, explaining social phenomena in the field of research. Furthermore, the researcher is nothing but a neutral observer, acting as an interpreter of the data and as decision-maker on the specific course of the theoretical reasoning. Therefore the researchers are always subjects of the research process.[5] (ibid.: p. 16) These arguments were of significant importance during the author's research stay in Nias. Due to his involvement in activities implemented by the CKS he had to be especially aware of the distance to the observed scientific subject(s). From the wide range of methodological approaches, Glaser and Strauss collected, the author worked with the following two:

During *theoretical sampling* the researcher simultaneously collects data, translates it into codes and analyses it as well as decides what data will be collected next and where it can be found. (cf. Glaser/Strauss, 1998: p. 53) The author of this thesis works according to this procedure, allowing to illustrate the progress of events in reconstruction work as well

[3] Inductivist: „An approach to the relationship between theory and research in which there former is generated out of the latter. […]" (Bryman, 2008: p. 694)

[4] "Stattdessen betont die Grounded Theory die *zeitliche Parallelität* und wechselseitige *funktionale Abhängigkeit* der Prozesse von Datenerhebung, -analyse und Theoriebildung." (Strübing, 2008: p. 14)

[5] "[...] die Forschenden seien nie allein neutrale Beobachter, sondern zwangsläufig als Interpreten ihrer Daten und als Entscheider über den konkreten Gang der theoretischen Argumentation immer auch Subjekte des Forschungsprozesses." (Strübing, 2008: p. 16)

as to present the involved stakeholders in a more accurate way. By dispensing with ready-made categories and models, categories are elaborated by gradually analysing the collected data. Besides, personal experiences during the field research are registered in theoretical memos, which help the author to decide what data is collected next. Furthermore it enables the author to portray his scientific examination of his research stay as well as his interactions with the interviewees and the local population in general. Within the *Grounded Theory* not all phenomena identified in the material have to be relevant for the research question. Therefore a systematic comparison is implemented, revealing their causes, circumstances and consequences. (cf. Strübing, 2008: p. 21)

To generate a theory, a systematic and structured analysis of the empirical data is crucial, meaning that the data (coming from qualitative and quantitative research, reports and theoretical memos) has to be reviewed critically. The method to classify data is named *coding*[6]. It enables the researcher to arrange and divide the data into concepts and categories. Strauss and Glaser distinguish between an open, axial and selective coding. (cf. Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 182) The author of this thesis works with *open coding* which is a "[…] process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data." (Strauss/Corbin, 1990 quoted by Bryman, 2006: p. 543)

In the relevant literature on *Grounded Theory* a wide range of other methodological approaches can be found. However, the two methods mentioned above are selected as most adequate for a systematic and comprehensible discussion of the data at hand and its results. In reference to this procedure, desk research on participation in development cooperation and humanitarian action in general is executed, following on which an interest in the role of beneficiaries in the reconstruction work develops. Prior to conducting the interviews, CKS' reports and evaluations are reviewed to generate a broad context insight. Subsequently, semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries within three Caritas housing projects are conducted. This procedure, which is introduced in the following paragraphs, provides the interviewees with the opportunity to set their own priorities, whereas in addition the interviewer introduces some topics and issues.

[6] „In qualitative research, coding is the process whereby data are broken down into component parts, which are given names." (Bryman, 2006: p. 692)

Semi-structured interview

"The researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide *[marked in the original text], but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply. Questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule. Questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees. But, by and large, all the questions will be asked and a similar wording will be used form interview to interviewee." (Bryman, 2006: p. 438)*

This interview style is directed towards an open answer/question format where other topics may arise in the course of the conversation. Therefore this technique allows to follow the interviewee's preferences and interests. For the research at hand, thematic blocks and guideline questions are prepared beforehand, although the interview schedule is adapted during the course of the conversations. Thematically the interviews are separated into general questions on the time after the occurrence of the disasters, the involvement of the respondents into the different phases of construction, the interviewee's general living situation and the changes the beneficiaries experience through participating in CKS' housing projects.

Additionally two expert interviews (in a semi-structured method) are completed with CKS' and Caritas Austria's person in charge during the implementation phase of the reconstruction activities. The interviews are conducted in order to receive 'first-hand' information from the perspective of representatives of the implementing and donor organisation. In line with the research focus, the main interest is laid on the interviewee's role in the reconstruction work, their perception of participation in the housing projects as well as challenges and limitations the organisations face during the implementation phases. In total, 12 interviews are realised ; 11 during the stay in Nias, one is held in Caritas Austria's headquarter in Vienna after the fieldwork. In a later step, the results coming from the interviews are cross-referenced to the reports and evaluations as well as to the relevant literature.

While the expert interviews are conducted in a familiar setting, the interviews with the beneficiaries in the three CKS housing projects are methodologically more demanding. Yusman Telaumbanua, who holds a bachelor's degree in English and was working as a

translator in several NGOs during the reconstruction phase in post-disaster Nias, supports the realisation of the aforementioned interviews. Despite the author's good knowledge of the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) a translator is indispensable, as the interviewees only have a basic understanding of Indonesian. The local rural population, especially its elderly members, only speaks Bahasa Nias, thus it is agreed on using this language during the interview sessions. Before starting the interviews it is very important to clarify the purpose of coming. In the immediate aftermath of the tsunami in December 2004 and the earthquake in March 2005 a myriad of international humanitarian organisations have been working in Nias. They conducted needs assessment, which formed the baseline of projects that were launched several months later. According to the translator's experiences, the local population still connects the coming of a Westerner (though he introduced himself as a student) with a potential project launch in their area. This might be the reason, why the answers to some questions are overemphasised. Before starting the interviews, the translator asks if the house owners are prepared to give an interview by simultaneously stressing that it is not 'bantuan' (aid) but exclusively 'penelitian' (research). Subsequently all of the intended interviewees are prepared to collaborate on the predefined setting. The author introduces himself and the purpose and interest of his study, while the translator defines the term 'participation' as it has a different meaning in the local language: 'participating' means to contribute to something financially so that the translator uses the words *helping, supporting* or *making* to express the people's involvement in the construction process. Another methodological challenge is to pose questions the interviewees could understand. Due to the lack of basic education (especially amongst the older population in rural areas), the interview questions have to be very precise and related to the people's daily life understanding. If this is not the case, additional examples are needed to exemplify the research interest. After the first interviews it became evident that questions which are intended to generate stories are inappropriate and less useful, whereon the methodology is adapted by posing more concrete questions related to the thematic blocks, which are prepared by the author beforehand, evidently improving the interview situation. The interviews are realised inside houses usually with a large number of attendants, especially children. The respondents show interest though they are more prepared to give answers to concrete questions rather than telling stories by themselves.

All interviews are recorded while the author further takes notes and remarks, which help him to transliterate the audio file and, in the following, to code the text. To manage and analyse the data, the software *ATLAS.ti* was used which offers technical support for arranging and coding "large bodies of textual, graphical, audio and video data". (www.atlasti.com) As it is developed in the context of the *Grounded Theory* it is specially suitable for qualitative research and aids in the reviewing of reports and evaluations as well as for the categorisation of the interview results.

Following the presentation of the methodological procedure applied during the research stay, the state of participation in the development discourse is discussed to identify participatory approaches in the different development decades. Hereafter these concepts are discussed, showing that the common understanding of participation and the applied methodologies on the ground highly depend on the pre-existing political thoughts and development motives at the respective time.

3 PARTICIPATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The form and extent of beneficiaries' involvement in development projects differ all over the development decades. The following section gives an overview of perceptions of participation since the beginning of the 1950s, revealing that "[s]everal approaches to participation emerged in an era of state failure, panic over top-down modernization approaches, proclamations of the end of grand explanations an a measure of post-colonial guilt." (Hickey/Mohan, 2004: p. 9) This indicates that the articulation of participatory definitions and working methods are influenced by the broader political and economic context.

The inaugural address of U.S. President Harry Truman to his second term in office in 1949 is generally considered as the initial document of development cooperation. In his four point 'Program for Peace and Freedom' he states, that by means of technological and capital transfer, the associated developing countries should benefit industrially and economically; which conclusively would further strengthen the US export. With the general objective of helping the poor people as their poverty "is a handicap and threat to both to them and to more prosperous areas" (Truman, 1949) this economically motivated support is accompanied by a political bond of the developing countries' governments to US geopolitical strategies, derived from the pre-existing depolarisation of the world in East and West. The connection to participatory elements in this speech is made by referring to "the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments." (ibid.) According to Nelson and Wright's identification of this early perception of participation, "people were not economically and politically active before development came along. In this construction of people as objects [...], their participation in projects often meant contributions in the form of labour, cash or kind." (Nelson/Wright, 1995: p. 2f.) This approach is found at the beginning of development cooperation and has been undergoing adaptions, redrafts and reinterpretations ever since.

The following timeline of participatory approaches in development cooperation is derived from Hickey and Mohan (2004), who emphasize that:

> *"[e]ach approach has its own trajectory and contextual specificities, and is characterized by particular debates and empirical experiences. Some have continued while others have petered out, and there has been a politics and a political economy surrounding the relative success of each approach [...]" (Hickey/Mohan, 2004: p. 5)*

This means, that the formulation and realisation of participatory methods are contextual, as they are embedded in a specific development decade. However, forms and approaches cannot be sharply assigned, owing that they were continued and/or had lasting influence on the formulation and introduction of those that followed. (cf. Chambers, 1997: p. 9) Hickey and Mohan (2004: p. 9) elaborate four approaches of how to compare and distinguish the different perceptions and forms of participation over time: (1) the *locus and level of engagement*: characterizes the structural level of participatory intervention (e.g. individual, institutional respectively micro/macro); (2) as *ideological/political project*: describes the ideological and institutional background of the time the participatory approaches were articulated and implemented; (3) the *conception of citizenship*: emphasizes the degree and forms of citizens' involvement; (4) *links to development theory*: relates approaches in participation to the development discourse at that time. In the following, an overview on the role and extent of participation in development cooperation since the early 1950s is given, uncovering the main concepts of each decade, which are embedded into the pre-existing ideological frames.

In contrast to the early US' perception of people's involvement mentioned above, the **1950s** are characterized by a colonial-driven support of *community development* actors (e.g. cooperatives and community-based organisations) aiming to "([r]e)produce stable rural communities to counteract processes of urbanization and sociopolitical change [...]" (Hickey/Mohan, 2004: 6) According to this understanding of participation, these approaches are aligned to a physical and mental control of (involuntarily) participants by a colonial sovereign. Participation is seen as an "obligation of citizenship" (ibid.) in which the community level represents the main locus of engagement. The **1960s** are characterized by the de-colonialisation of many African states, opening perspectives of involvement to the former suppressed into politics, economy and social affairs. Hickey and Mohan regard the concept of *political participation* as central in the 1960s, offering the citizens of newly formed states the right to vote, campaign and political party membership.

(cf. ibid.: p. 6) This new political stage serves as main area of engagement, in which participation is fundamental for "[...] securing stability, legitimacy for new states and strengthening the political system." (ibid.) Conceptually, these processes are accompanied by the theory of *'modernization'* – mainly formulated by Walt W. Rostow in his article '*The Stages of Economic Growth'* (1960). Post-colonial countries are able to catch up to developed countries when primarily focusing on industrialization. Sequentially profits out of economic growth could be invested in education, infrastructure, health and democracy. On a local level, the support of small community-based organisations is continued. Following the realisation of development actors that these "cooperatives had largely failed and government reform was difficult to implement and sustain [...]" (Mansuri & Rao, 2013: p. 3), the **1970s** experiences a policy shift to large-scale investments, mainly into agricultural systems and industrialization. (cf. ibid.) In this time, Hickey and Mohan identify the *emancipatory participation* as central, within which the "economic and civic sphere" is challenging forms of economic and social suppression and marginalization. (2004: p. 7) Since the pure focus on economic growth by means of industrialization could not bring the desired trickle-down effect, the concept of 'modernization' has become more frequently questioned by both, development scholars and practitioners. Against this background, the concept of *liberation theology* is articulated and implemented, with specific attention to Latin America, in which popular education set the ground for empowerment. (cf. ibid.) Paolo Freire's school of *Participatory Action Research (PAR)* play a central role, not directly oriented to development or poverty alleviation, but "the transformation of the cultural, political, and economic structures which reproduce poverty and marginalisation." (Leal, 2010: p. 91) Following the critiques, which denounce mainstreamed development approaches as "exclusionary, impoverishing and homogenizing" (Hickey/Mohan, 2004: p. 7) the concept of *alternative development* gains interest by formulating models "based around territorialism, cultural pluralism and sustainability". (ibid.) Participatory procedures are implemented on a multi-level stage, in which the locus of engagement is progressing from the community's to the state's level. (cf. ibid.)

On an economic level, the integration of the economies of developing countries into the world market is described as unjust, by reason that it has led to economic debilitation as well as to the exploitation of local human and natural resources. On a global level the incipient oil crisis of 1973 caused a significant increase in oil prices (1973-74; 1979-80), high interest rates and declining oil exports, leading to massive financial problems for

most of the developing countries, which consequently led to governmental debt. (cf. Ferraro & Rosser: 1994) Financial assistance was granted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank; institutions that request the liberalization of developing countries' industries by launching the *Structural Adjustment Programmes* (SAPs) and therefore taking direct political influence on the national political agenda setting. Leal notes that participation has been mainstreamed in development discourse at the very time when the SAPs hit the majority of the population in developing countries particularly hard: "Participation was originally conceived as part of a counter-hegemonic approach to radical social transformation and, as such, represented a challenge to the status quo." (2010: p. 89, 92) With regard to participation, the **1980s** are characterized by forms of *populist/participation in development* with broad usage of approaches in a wide range of programmes and projects, implemented by both national development agencies and non-governmental organisations. Hickey and Mohan emphasize the failure of top-down blueprint approaches, which are likely to lead to disempowerment and the weakening of the role and interests of the poor and marginalized. (cf. 2004: p. 7) Questioning thirty years of this concept, failures in development are traced back to the "alienation of 'beneficiaries'" (Nelson & Wright, 1995: 3; with quotation marks in the original text). In this understanding, participation's requirements are newly identified as to "empower people, capture indigenous people's knowledge, ensure sustainability and efficiency of interventions." (Hickey/Mohan, 2004: p. 7) People's involvement shifts from the political schemes over preceding decades to project-based involvement, where the locus of engagement can be set to development practitioners and the local participants. (cf. ibid.) The call for bottom-up approaches arises: the design and implementation of projects should be executed there, where the beneficiaries live; enabling them to be directly involved in all project phases. Sequentially, participation becomes applicable in a broad field of development areas by the introduction of the *Participatory Rural Appraisal* (PRA) family of methods (cf. Chambers, 1994) – now more commonly known as *Participatory Learning and Action (PLA)*, enabling "people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act." (Mikkelsen 2005: p. 57) Robert Chambers - who is commonly regarded as the pioneer of PRA-techniques in development cooperation – emphasizes the relevance of shifting the power to the local population. In his book *'Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last'* he demands for questioning the pre-existing unjust power and knowledge relations between the development actors and beneficiaries: to initiate change, it requires not only an allocation of decision-making

power to the beneficiaries, but it should include a critical reflexion on the *First's* supremacy: "The changes are radical. For they are not just to put the last first, which is altruism; they are to put the first last, which is disempowerment." (1997: p. 211) In the **1990s**, Hickey and Mohan view the concept of *social capital* as predominant model of participation in development practice. "Social capital [was] promoted as a basis for economic growth" (2004: p. 8), whereas local institutions, associations and networks are the central stakeholders. By the mid-1990s *partnership*, *ownership* and *empowerment* become frontier words in the development discourse, whereby the role of the target group rhetorically transforms from being a "beneficiary to [act as a] stakeholder and costumer." (Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 57) Also Chambers sees "[a] massive shift in priorities and thinking [...], from things and infrastructure to people and capacities." (1997: p. 9) For well over 15 years the operational strategies of development projects now focus on the empowerment of the local population, in which beneficiaries are trained to become facilitators, who afterwards can act as multiplicators on the local level. From **2000 to present** participation is lifted again from the project level to the macro policy environment, mainstreaming and institutionalizing participatory approaches to a wide range of activities. (cf. Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 58) This shift to the political stage is also discussed by Hickey and Mohan, who identify *participatory governance and citizenship participation* as a pivotal concept in this period, carried out by citizens, a strong civil society, state agencies and institutions, aiming to a "[c]onvergence of 'social' and 'political' participation, scaling-up of participatory methods, state-civic partnerships, decentralization [...]" (2004: p. 8; with quotation marks in the original text) achieved by "participatory budgeting, citizens' hearings, participatory poverty assessments, PRSP consultations" (ibid.). On a theoretical level, development actors in 2005 agree on five principles to *Aid Effectiveness* (OECD, 2005), orientating project objectives and implementation procedures to the need of the partners. *Ownership, alignment, harmonisation, managing for results* and *mutual accountability* become the new catchwords of the development system and relate to approaches that should be followed down to the project level. In recent years, direct budget support to sectoral or states' budgets of developing countries has become a common practice amongst donor countries, enabling the partner's government working on own national development agendas, whereas *good governance* practices are presupposed.

Participation has a long history. Embedded in different historical contexts, the concept was launched on different levels: this concerns both, the inclusion of the beneficiaries at

the project level as well as the broad participation of citizens into political agenda-setting and decision-making procedures.

In the following, the discussion extends to identify potentials of and interests in participatory approaches, which serve as basis for a deepening disquisition on the reconstruction activities in Nias.

To identify participatory approaches in development cooperation and emergency response, a set of analytical categories is needed, which provides a classification of the intensity of participation in concrete projects. These categories are consulted when discussing participatory approaches, assessing the degree of beneficiaries' involvement in humanitarian assistance in general and reconstruction activities in post-disaster Nias in particular. As reconstruction is a cost- and time-critical process, where people affected by disasters are in need of prompt housing solutions, some theoretical considerations deriving from the analysis of the relevant literature can and must be considered differentially or even be relativized. Though a comprehensive assessment of undertaken activities, decision-making processes and the different perceptions of participation in emergency responses will provide an insight in challenges, limitations and potentials of participation, may they be tyrannic or transformative. Hereinafter, the main theoretical inputs, deriving from relevant literature on power in/and participation, are reviewed:

3.1 Levels and categories of participation

According to Chambers, there are three ways in which the term of participation is used in the development context: (a) as *a cosmetic label*, "to make whatever is proposed appear good" while the rhetoric substance of participatory approaches in development projects exceeds the reality on the ground; (b) to describe a *co-opting practice*, "to mobilize local labour and reduce costs"; and (c) to describe an *empowering process* which "enables local people to do their own analysis, to take command, to gain in confidence, and to make their own decisions." (1995: p. 30).

Participation has ever since been discussed controversially: while some identify tyrannic elements in participatory approaches (e.g. Cooke/Kothari, 2001) others attribute transformative potentials to participation (e.g. Hickey/Mohan, 2004). It has to be stressed that these two forms are not mutually exclusive, as both can be present in a project setting. Moreover it hast to be emphasized that participation can be perceived and interpreted differently by each stakeholder involved. This process can certainly differ from project to project. Nevertheless, this ambiguous debate is united by the notion that both, opponents and proponents, emphasize the importance of locating participation not only at the local level but introducing a multi-stage perspective. (cf. Cleaver, 2004: p. 271) Participation occurs at different levels, is supported and guided by different actors with different perceptions, objectives and interests. "[...] [T]he aid model brings together different interests and social actors linked through the aid relationship and provides a forum for their interaction." (Wilson, 2004: p. 8)

Participation is certainly not the panacea for any project or programme in development cooperation or humanitarian assistance. Although, in general the broad aim of participatory development might be described as "to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalized peoples in decision-making over their own lives' [...]" (Gujit (1998) quoted by Cooke/Kothari 2001, p. 5), the methods to achieve these objectives may differ by type and usage, depending on the local circumstances, interests, needs and capacities of the local population as well as the implementing organisation's planning design. Dahl-Østergaard et al. (cf. 2003: p. 3) introduce 'community participation' as a continuum with four modes, which indicates the intensity of participatory approaches in development: (1) *gather information* from beneficiaries while the design and implementation of plans is exclusively run by the project agents; (2) *consultation* in which the community may comment on, rank and choose between different intervention alternatives, whereby these preferences may or may not be considered in the final project design; (3) *active participation* where community members are actively involved in the project planning and the execution of the planned intervention; (4) *empowerment* where community members are not only participating in the design and implementation phase, but also receive trainings which will enable them to act independently in their own future activities. This differentiation can be useful to uncover the particular form and dimension of participation in a project context. More elaborated differentiations of community involvement are "building on the instrumental-transformational dichotomy" (Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 59),

in which the first refers to participation as a *means* "to improve development activities, making development interventions more effective and sustainable by involving the users" (ibid.: p. 58) respectively the latter as and *end* (transformational participation) "ensuring people's influence on their own situation as *empowerment*" (Oakley/Marsden (1991) quoted by Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 59; emphasised by Mikkelsen).

In close connection to the above mentioned categorisation of community participation, Pretty (1995) introduces seven stages, commonly known and often-quoted as *level of participation*:

Table 1: Typology of participation: how people participate in development programs and projects

Typology		**Characteristics of each type**
1.	*Manipulative participation*	Participation is simply a pretence, with "people's" representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.
2.	*Passive participation*	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
3.	*Participation by consultation*	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and thus control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4.	*Participation for material incentives*	People participate by contributing resources, for example, labor, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labor, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.

Typology		Characteristics of each type
5.	*Functional participation*	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be coopted to serve external goals.
6.	*Interactive participation*	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7.	*Self-mobilization*	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

(Taken from Pretty, 1995: p. 1252)

Involving beneficiaries in external projects by selling their labour in exchange for food, money and goods only increases dependencies. Disregarding capacity building, "local people have no stake in maintaining structures or practices once the flow of incentives stops." (Pretty/Scoones, 1995: p. 159) As sustainability after the project's end becomes a crucial factor, some authors add the following two types, completing the scope of participation.

Table 2: Typology of people's participation in development

Typology		Characteristics of each type
8.	*Catalysing change*	The involvement and stakes of community members in influencing others in the environment to participate and initiate change. (IFAD, 2001)
9.	*'Optimum' participation*	'Optimum' participation indicates the need to focus closer attention on the different contexts and purposes in order to determine what form of participation makes sense. Paying closer attention to who actually participates in 'participatory' initiatives and who does not, either through exclusion or self-exclusion, may also help determine strategies to optimize the difference externally-initiated participation can make to the lives of the poor and excluded. (Cornwall, 2000)

(Taken from Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 60)

3.2 Power in/and participation

While there is clearly an optimum form of participation (cf. Table 2), why not starting with it, as it offers a sophisticated, user-orientated understanding of involvement? This differentiation reveals that power (relations) is inherent to the usage of participatory approaches in development. The formulation of project objectives and intervention procedures in development cooperation is influenced by power and knowledge relations between project agents (implementing organisation, facilitators, and donor) and the local population (beneficiaries, users). According to Nelson and Wright power does not exist as a "thing" one can possess, but can be described as relation between actors (cf. Nelson/Wright, 1994: p. 8) and therefore is articulated and perpetuated within these interactions. The authors identify three models of power: (a) the power *to* do something "within existing structural and institutional constraints" (ibid.: p. 17); (b) the power *over* somebody and (c) describing power as "subjectless and [...] an apparatus consisting of discourse, institutions, actors and a flow of events." (Ferguson (1990) quoted by Nelson/Wright, 1995: p. 10) Decision-making in a project setting therefore is a negotiation

process, where knowledge (systems), power and forms of representation meet. Briggs (2005: p. 102) – in reference to other authors – identifies a binary tension between Western science and practice and indigenous or local knowledge. While the first is seen as being "open, systematic and objective" (ibid.), the latter is labelled as being "closed, parochial, unintellectual, primitive and emotional". (ibid.) Grenier defines *indigenous knowledge* as: "[...] the unique, traditional, local knowledge existing within and developed around the specific conditions of women and men indigenous to a particular geographic area [...]." (Grenier, 1998: p. 6) The term indigenous knowledge is mostly referred to areas of agricultural science and the management of natural resources (such as local farming practices, irrigation methods and harvesting techniques), health, education and social networks. (cf. Briggs, 2005: 101) Diametrically opposed, *Western science* is positioned as a counterpoint which claims for itself a spatial and universal portability (ibid.: 104, 109ff). This therefore raises the notion that Western practice may be an instrument of power, with the 'experts' as dominant players. (Self-) declared experts and development agencies reproduce their position on the ground, based on rationales deriving from the Western understanding of science, knowledge and practice. To argue with Pretty and Scoones (1995): "Too often rural people, their knowledge and perceptions are seen as a nuisance whose unpredictable behaviour inhibits the success of carefully made strategic plans." (p. 165) The implementing organisations approach communities, offering projects, methodologies and skills, deriving from their experience in the field. In most of the cases it is not the local population, who demands these specific project contents. "[...] [T]hese planning negotiations are not between equals. Whatever their rhetoric, the reality is that people participate in agency programmes and not the other way round." (Mosse, 2001: p. 22) Therefore participatory endeavours do not occur in a vacuum, they are always embedded in specific knowledge and power systems. Mansuri and Rao (2013: p. 31f.) offer a distinction between *organic* and *induced* participation. While the first constitutes civic groups "acting independently of, and often in opposition to, government" the latter describes participation as "promoted through policy actions of the state and implemented by bureaucracies", which can vary in two forms: decentralization and community-driven development. While one comes along with procedures, described as being rather top-down, the other could be marked more bottom-up – although overlaps and contemporaneities may not be mutually exclusive. Leal – in reference to White (1996) – concludes that this latter form of imposed involvement by a national sovereign is justified by "incorporation, rather than exclusion [...] [as] the best form of control." (2010: p. 94)

Cornwall regards these negotiation procedures within the content of development projects located in so called *spaces of participation*: “Spaces come to be defined by those who are invited into them, as well as by those doing the inviting.” (2004: p. 80) These spaces are located on multi-level stages (local, regional, national, global) where different actors at different levels are related to each other. Gaventa (2004: p. 35), in reference to Cornwall (2002), further suggests a “continuum of spaces”, differentiating between (1) *closed spaces*, in which decisions are made “behind closed doors”, without possibilities of beneficiaries’ involvement in planning and implementation; (2) *invited spaces* where people “as users, as citizens, as beneficiaries” are invited by a superordinate actor to participate; and (3) *claimed/created spaces* produced by less powerful “from or against the power-holders, or created more autonomously by them”. This means that projects contents are negotiated between implementing organisations, the donor and the alleged homogeneous beneficiaries, while this negotiation procedure is determined by a hierarchy of knowledge and is shaped by the possibility to express oneself. Often local interests and objectives have to be reformulated to meet the organisations approaches and to fit into the project schemes. “In short, through project systems of participatory planning, ‘local knowledge’, ran from modifying project models, is articulated and structured by them.” (Mosse, 2001: p. 24; with quotation marks in the original text)

Since in development cooperation different actors are constantly collaborating, it might be apparent, that different strategies or interests accompany their acting. The table given below provides an overview of *forms of participation*, revealing interests of implementing agencies on the one hand and those of beneficiaries on the other. This categorisation is used in the case study to classify and analyse the different interests of the actors involved in the reconstruction process. On closer examination, this structure also reflects the *modes of participation* (cf. Dahl-Østergaard et al.) mentioned above.

Table 3: Typology of interests in participation

FORM OF PARTICIPATION	**What 'participation' means to the implementing agency**	**What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end**	**What 'participation' is for (the purpose)**
Nominal	Legitimization – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency – to limit funder's input and make projects more cost-effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and on other activities	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency	Leverage – to influence the shape of the project and its management	To give people a voice in determining their own development
Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions, work about what to do and take action	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves	Both as a means and end, a continuing dynamic

(Nilsson and Woodford-Berger, 2000; taken from Mikkelsen, 2005: p. 61)

3.3 Tyrannic potentials of participation

As discussed throughout this chapter, power and knowledge relations between unequal stakeholders shape participation. In the development context these immaterial trade-offs are mostly opened, designed and arranged by external actors. These development practitioners set the framework, choose and implement methods and tools, record the gathered information and evaluate. (cf. Cooke/Kothari, 2001: p. 19) It seems possible that these structures determine decision-making procedures and activity scheduling in the course of a project. While the main objective of projects in development cooperation is to improve the living conditions of the local population, these above-mentioned processes occur in village structures, which are very fragile and which are not as homogeneous as it is commonly understood. "Community is a concept often used by state and other organisations, rather than the people themselves, and it carries connotations of consensus and 'needs'

determined within parameters set by outsiders." (Nelson/Wright, 1995: p. 15; with quotation marks in the original text) Guijt and Shah in their book *The Myth of Community* reveal the "simplistic understandings of 'communities' [to] see them as homogeneous, static and harmonious units within which people share common interests and needs." (Guijt/Shah quoted by Cooke/Kothari, 2001: p. 6; with quotation marks in the original text) The community and, more precisely, community members represent one group of actors but are not one single actor. All the involved stakeholders perform different roles (e.g. facilitator, supervisor, beneficiary, community member) and are equipped with different resources (e.g. financial, knowledge, power) and functions (e.g. representative, advocate, mediator). Therefore a discussion on power and hierarchies of knowledge is central to make the concept of participation traceable. However, these arguments are theoretical, so that they must be interpreted, analysed and evaluated in the respective local context.

Calling participation tyrannic despite its bottom-up rhetoric is mainly derived from Cooke and Kothari, who identify potentials of tyranny within projects and programmes of development cooperation. According to the authors (2001: p. 7f.), tyranny is situated on three levels: (1) the *tyranny of decision-making and control* where the question is raised, whether participatory facilitators override "existing legitimate decision-making processes"; (2) the *tyranny of the group* whereby "group dynamics [might] lead to participatory decisions that reinforce the interests of the already powerful" and (3) the *tyranny of the method* in which participatory methods might drive out other advantageous approaches participation cannot provide. As not only operational procedures imply tyrannic elements, one might add the *tyranny of the topic* as a fourth category, as most of the implementing organisations are specialized and therefore offer and implement specific project themes and approaches. Mosse draws conclusions from an Indian project where "[v]illager 'needs' were significantly shaped by perceptions of what the agency was able to deliver." (2001: p. 20; with quotation marks in the original text)

Cooke and Kothari state that participatory approaches "had turned out to be manipulative [...] [harming] those who were supposed to be empowered." (ibid.: p. 1). These approaches are embedded in a development environment, in which tyrannic potentials are "systemic" (ibid.: p. 4) and strategies and concepts of beneficiaries' involvement are still

influenced and determined by “a cadre of development professionals” (ibid.: p. 15), operationally executed by project agents on the ground. Especially in post-disaster situations implementing organisations are under enormous time pressure and therefore apply known methods and technologies rather than adapting procedures, which are in line with the local circumstances, the interests, needs and skills of the affected population. The course of action and project’s milestones are predefined, leaving little space for adaptations, as progress has to be measured by pre-assigned indicators. “[…] [T]o meet expenditure targets and to maximize quantifiable achievements […] [organisations] may find themselves giving priority to familiar, conventional programmes over innovative initiatives where approval may be uncertain or delayed.” (Mosse, 2001: p. 24) Leaving tyrannic potentials found on a structural level, the practical experiences on the ground reveal a similar picture: according to Chambers (1997), there exist relationships between so called ‘uppers’ and ‘lowers’, which include moments of power hierarchies. This means that the identification of problems and the selection as well as the usage of tools underlies a negotiation process between these actors. In a further step the involvement of participants in the planning process offers another possibility of tyranny. Who chooses who is involved and who is not? (cf. Cornwall, 2004: p. 84; Waddington/Mohan, 2004: p. 221) As it becomes evident, working on the ground reveals some tyrannic potentials, development respectively humanitarian actors can face. Thus, how a project is designed, influences whether participating beneficiaries are enabled to transform their living situation.

3.4 Transformative potentials of participation

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, ‘transformation’ can be described as “a marked change in form, nature, or appearance”. With regards to the development discourse, Cleaver (2004, p. 271, 275.) differentiates between transformational processes on a technical and a structural level: while a “prosaic transformation of everyday life” (e.g. water and food supply, hygiene and health practices) in most of the developing countries is still needed, tackling “inequality through participatory governance and state action” on a structural level is as important. (cf. also Waddington/Mohan, 2004: p. 220) For the purpose of this thesis, transformational potentials in development and humanitarian assistance are located on the practical level, uncovering potential and real changes in people’s everyday lives after natural disasters. Transformation in this context means that those

applied participatory approaches can enable the population to take over development, by equipping them with tools; for example by founding institutions to manage and control their development strategies on their own. William offers a much more moderate understanding of transformation by seeing no "reversal of power relations but a strengthening of the bargaining power of the poor *within* these relations." (William (2003) quoted by Hickey/Mohan; 2004: p. 14; emphasised in the original text) The involvement of different stakeholders in the project design and implementation phase opens opportunities to learn from, support and positively influence each other. The potential of learning and gaining experience and insights is the essential element of participatory approaches, of which development actors and beneficiaries aim to benefit from.

Moreover, there are no blueprints to achieve transformation. It always depends on the project's context on the ground, as Cornwall (2004, p. 85) states:

> *"[...] [This strategies] are contextual and contingent, conditional on a host of complexities, from the nature of existing governance arrangements, the history of engagement with power, and the particularities of identities, locations and forms of activism in any given context."*

It can be assumed that tyrannic or transformative potentials in concrete projects can occur at different levels, and be expressed in many forms. Very subtle, well-intentioned practices can include a tyrannic momentum, although they are not applied that way. It therefore requires a conscious, self-critical attitude of external as well as internal actors in the field, to avoid misuse and aberration. Rhetorically, the concept of participation is well elaborated, though it has to be regarded in the local context: a functioning technology appropriate in one place might irritate and damage local structures in another. Criticizing the embeddedness of participation in the hierarchic development system, Lane states: "However, in the long-term there is a contradiction in an approach that only allows participation in externally determined projects." (1995, p. 191)

4 PARTICIPATION AND HUMANITARIAN ACTION[7]

The preceding chapter introduced categories on how to rate participatory approaches in development cooperation, may tyrannic or transformative potentials be inherent to them. In a next step these considerations are lifted to the area of emergency response and humanitarian assistance, where in later chapters they are discussed in the light of post-disaster reconstruction in Nias.

The involvement of people affected by natural disasters into emergency response and reconstruction activities has been experiencing a significant upturn in the past two decades. While the local population was previously considered as passive suppliant, it became increasingly important to the humanitarian actors on the ground to involve them. (cf. Batchelor, 2011: p. 8) People's capacities and resources are identified as being crucial in preventing any following adverse effects, linking disaster relief with long-term rehabilitation. People-orientated disaster relief therefore involves disaster victims in the planning and implementation process, although the form and extent of this involvement may differ in the respective projects.

Despite considerable know-how generated from emergency operations around the world, humanitarian organisations still face substantial difficulties while cooperating with the affected people. (cf. Smillie, 2006: p. 7f) This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the impact of disasters in general and participatory approaches in post-emergency situations in particular. After giving a general insight into types and occurrences of disasters, differentiating between phases in emergency response and main stakeholders involved, participation in humanitarian action is discussed.

[7] Parts of this section derive from the author's bachelor thesis on *The Role of Logistics in Disaster Response. Logistic Processes in Humanitarian Relief Organisations' Work.*

4.1 Exploring natural disasters

Natural disasters can be distinguished by type, extent of impact, the number of people reported who have been killed or affected, as well as by economic and environmental damage. They can be forecast or are occurring without notice, surprising the local population in their sleep. (cf. Rossi, 2000: p.5) Due to improved technical prognosis the number of deaths was reduced significantly in the past 100 years. At the same time, the number of natural disaster occurrences as well as the number of people affected by them increased dramatically. (cf. CRED, 2012) The former, particularly because of meteorological changes, the latter due to a rapidly raising population density in disaster prone urban areas. (cf. IFRC, 2012b; Rossi, 2000: p. 3)

Definition and classification of disasters

The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) defines a disaster as

> *"[a] sudden, calamitous event that seriously disrupts the functioning of a community or society and causes human, material, and economic or environmental losses that exceed the community's or society's ability to cope using its own resources. Though often caused by nature, disaster can have human origins." (IFRC, 2012)*

This definition emphasizes the multidimensionality disasters possess. As Oliver-Smith states: "Disasters exist as complex material events and, at the same time, as a multiplicity of interwoven, often conflicting, social constructions." (2002: p. 22) The magnitude of a disaster is most commonly specified by the death toll and infrastructural as well as economic damage. In addition, the definition of the IFRC further considers impacts on immaterial structures, such as 'community', 'society' and 'resources'. Operating in emergency response thus similarly implies working in fragile local structures where quickly performed assistance might result in long-lasting negative effects on the aforementioned.

The Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED) annually reports on the number and impacts of disasters. Their Emergency Events database (EM-DAT) provides relevant information on the frequency and locations of disasters. EM-DAT includes

all disasters, to which at least one of the following criteria applies, while figures are given afterwards:

- 10 or more people killed
- 100 or more people affected
- declaration of a state of emergency
- call for international assistance

(Taken from CRED, 2013: p. 7)

Figure 1: Typology of humanitarian situations

Type	Description	Speed of onset Predictability	Scale	Impact/ consequences
Natural disaster	Drought Earthquake Flood/landslide Volcanic eruption Hurricane Disease	Slow/rapid onset Predictable/ unpredictable Recurrent/rare	Localised Country-wide Region-wide	Displacement Loss of life and disability Loss of assets Famine Epidemics
Conflict	Ethnic Political Resource-based	Slow/rapid onset Predictable/ unpredictable Protracted/acute	Inter-/intra-state	Trauma Social crisis Etc.

(Taken from ANALP, 2003: p 28)

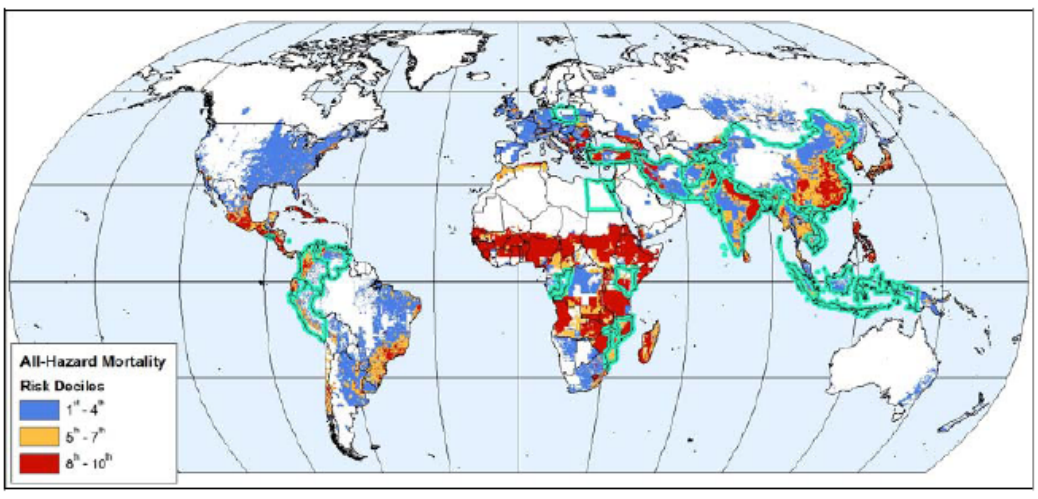
The figure shown above (cf. Figure 1) classifies disasters by its type, differentiating between natural disaster events and conflicts. This thesis exclusively focuses on natural disasters, thus anthropogenic caused emergencies are not discussed. As seen above natural disasters have different catalysts: in the case of earthquakes or landslides, these are tectonic movements within the Earth's crust. Volcanic eruptions are caused by massive geophysical activities, whereas heavy rain may lead to flooding or its absence over a prolonged period to drought and famine. Related to the speed of onset, Tatham and Houghton, with reference to Regnier (2008), emphasize the time component in disasters as follows: "In many cases the disaster unfolds with little warning - effectively zero in the case of earthquakes and 'perhaps' a maximum of 72 hours for wind events (i.e. cyclones, hurricanes or typhoons)" (2011: p. 16; with quotation marks in the original text). Moreover,

the scale of disasters varies: either small areas (e.g. in case of mudslides or volcanic eruptions) or major parts of a territory can be affected, as seen in the massive floods in Pakistan in summer 2010 or the devastating Haitian earthquake earlier the same year. On the level of disaster impacts, the classification reveals a broad range of possible consequences, reaching from displacement, over loss of life and assets to trauma and social crisis. Disaster impacts as well as the type of intervention differ in their form and extent. Humanitarian action ranges from emergency medical support, over temporary shelter to water and sanitation, whereas in the aftermath of a natural disaster the satisfaction of basic human needs is prioritised.

Disaster occurrences

For the period between 2005 and 2012 the CRED reports 3.129 natural disasters worldwide, with a total of 1,7 billion people being affected. The economic damages in 2012 are estimated to amount to US $ 157 billion. (cf. CRED, 2013: p. 1ff.) Dilley et al. establish a global risk analysis, identifying sensitive areas with regard to six major natural hazards: earthquakes, volcanic activities, landslides, floods, droughts and cyclones. The results are shown on a small-scale level.

Figure 2: Mortality risk hotspots and the top 20 recipients of humanitarian aid (1992- 2003)



(Taken from Dilley et al., 2005: p. 24)

Figure 2 demonstrates the findings on hazardous regions around the world. This map displays areas, where disasters may occur on a regular basis and/or in high intensity (red).

Additionally, countries outlined in turquoise represent the top 20 recipients of humanitarian aid in the years from 1992 to 2003. (cf. Dilley et al. 2005: p. 3)

Areas with a high probability of natural disasters are to be found in Africa – due to the frequent and prolonged periods of drought; in South-East Asia because of heavy persistent rainfall (especially in the monsoon seasons) and floods, and in the earthquake endangered regions alongside the South American coastline as well as in regions where the Eurasian plate encounters the Arabian and Indian plates. Over 40% of all natural disasters in 2012 (total of 357) were located in Asia, 22.2% in the Americas, followed by Europe (18.3%), Africa (15.7%) and Oceania (3.1%), whereas nearly two-thirds of all global disaster victims accounted in 2012 can be allocated to Asia, another 30.4% to Africa, showing the massive impact of disaster occurrences in these two world regions. (cf. CRED, 2013: p. 2)

4.2 Humanitarian action

Prior to the discussion about the main stakeholders in humanitarian operations and the involvement of the affected population into post-disaster activities, the following terms are introduced:

Disaster impacts: These are the physical and social disturbances that a hazard agent inflicts when it strikes a community. Physical impacts include casualties (deaths, injuries, and illnesses) and damage to agriculture, structures, infrastructure, and the natural environment. Social impacts comprise of psychological impacts, demographic impacts, economic impacts, and political impacts.
(Lindell, nd.: p. 1)

Disaster response: The primary aims of disaster response are rescue from immediate danger and stabilization of the physical and emotional condition of survivors. These prioritised aims correlate with the recovery of the dead and the restoration of essential services such as water and power. The duration of disaster response varies to the scale, type and context of the disaster but typically takes between one and six months and is composed of a search and rescue phase in the immediate aftermath of a disaster followed by a medium-term phase devoted to stabilizing the survivors' physical and emotional condition. (IFRC, nd. a)

Reconstruction: The definition of reconstruction encompasses the permanent replacement of severely damaged physical structures, the full restoration of all services and local infrastructure, and the revitalization of the economy (including agriculture).
Reconstruction must be fully integrated into ongoing long-term development plans considering future disaster risks and possibilities to reduce those risks by the incorporation of appropriate mitigation measures. Damaged structures and services may not necessarily be restored in their previous form or locations. It may include the replacement of any temporary arrangements established as a part of emergency response or rehabilitation. (Stephensen, 1994: p. 59)

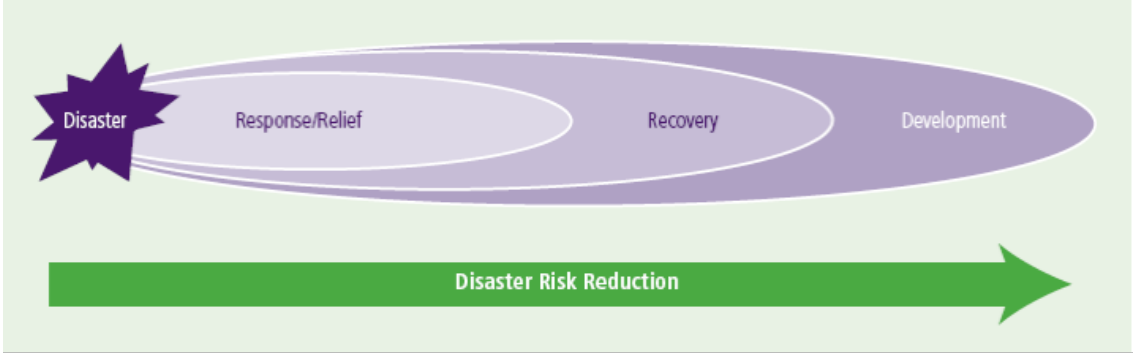
Recovery: The restoration, and improvement where appropriate, of facilities, livelihoods and living conditions of disaster-affected communities, including efforts to reduce disaster risk factors. (UNISDR, 2009: p. 23)

Disaster Risk Reduction: Disaster Risk Reduction refers to the concept and practice of reducing disaster risks through systematic efforts to analyse and manage the causal factors of disasters, including through reduced exposure to hazards, lessened vulnerability of people and property, efficient management of land and the environment, and improved preparedness for adverse events. (UNISDR, 2009: p. 10f.)

From disaster relief to development: the LRRD-approach

The responses to an emergency event are mostly short-term operations, aiming to alleviate the victims' immediate suffering in regard to nutrition, health and shelter. UNDRO categorises the time after an emergency event into four phases: (phase 0) – *Pre-disaster phase* (Preparedness/mitigation/risk reduction)*;* (phase 1) – *Immediate relief period* (impact to day 5); (phase 2) – *Rehabilitation period* (day 5 to 3 months); (phase 3) – *Reconstruction period* (3 months onward) (cf. UNDRO, 1982: p. 5) Looking at disaster management as a multi-dimensional process, starting with immediate emergency response and heading towards development cooperation, the LRRD-approach (*Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development*) seeks to satisfy the acute needs of the local population by simultaneously building-up local capacities and resources, while fostering awareness on and preparedness to future disaster occurrences. (cf. CONCORD/Voice, 2012: p. 6f.) The provision of relief items and services can be considered a necessity in the immediate aftermath of a disaster, as disaster victims lack internal (e.g. financial, social) and/or external (e.g. governmental support) coping resources. However, in the long term it is fundamental to consolidate the beneficiaries' life situation after a disaster impact. (cf. IFRC, nd. b) Various international humanitarian organisations, national and local aid agencies focus on immediate emergency response, frequently neglecting the long-term perspectives. These include questions such as: how to reinforce the livelihoods of the affected population in the long term or: how to facilitate their active inclusion in the development after the humanitarian organisation's exit. Moreover, disaster impacts may subsequently affect the victims.

Figure 3: The "Relief to Development Continuum"



(Taken from World Bank, 2008: p. 4)

Most people in developing countries are lacking formal insurance against damage from natural disasters; furthermore government support services are limited or non-existent. The affected population's ability of survival, weakened in material and immaterial forms is challenging. Figure 3 provides an impression of the *relief to development continuum*, which is closely related to the LRRD-approach.

LRRD can lay "the groundwork for sustainable development during humanitarian interventions" (CONCORD/Voice, 2012: p. 7) as emergency responses are merged with recovery and development strategies such as "improving well-being, reducing vulnerability and risk, and increasing resilience of communities [...]". (ibid.) Thus, the capacities of the affected people are reinforced still during the disaster relief phase, initiating discussions about "developmental relief". (cf. Lindahl, 1996) By involving beneficiaries in response activities, humanitarian agencies can uncover and augment people's skills and capacities. Fostering local impulses, such as the formation of community groups working on disaster risk reduction (DRR), or institutional and structural changes at a national level, e.g. the adoption of specific laws can be specifically beneficial. (cf. ibid.) As previously discussed, humanitarian action depends on the disaster type. Certain micro-level interventions have been mentioned above, while structural changes can be considered on a macro-level. An example of structural changes includes the introduction of *zones non aedificandi* in regions annually affected by heavy floods and/or landslides, identifying areas as subject to a building ban. In remote disaster-prone areas, reconstruction can be connected with the development of road and telecommunication infrastructure. Despite its natural origin, drought and the subsequent famine often reveal structural or political problems (e.g. a lack of storage structures and/or government interventions), so that policy-interventions on a regional or national level might be more effective than annually in-kind transfers (e.g. rice and grain). Rossi refers to cultural, economic and technological changes respectively adaptions after natural disasters, influencing transformational processes, though "[l]ong-term development after disasters can be either positive or negative in different societies as well as in different regions of the same society." (Rossi, 2000: p. 1) In the context of reconstruction the exclusive provision of residential houses – mostly executed by professional constructers on a large scale – may satisfy the victims' need for shelter. Many organisations working on post-disaster reconstruction have discovered local resources and labour force as essential, including people's knowledge and circumstances in project planning and implementation.

Some of these aspects are discussed later in the context of the reconstruction projects in post-disaster Nias, where it will becomes evident that linking reconstruction and development is an ambitious challenge humanitarian organisations face.

4.3 Phases in disaster management

According to the IFRC, disaster management is defined as

> *"the organisation and management of resources and responsibilities for dealing with all humanitarian aspects of emergencies, in particular preparedness, response and recovery in order to lessen the impact of disasters." (IFRC, nd.c)*

Disasters – particularly natural disasters – predominantly can cause enormous unanticipated infrastructural damage and human suffering. The immediate response to the occurrence of natural disasters and the timely start of recovery is crucial to minimize subsequent damage. However, the beginning especially is mostly characterized by a chaotic, because uncoordinated, local situation. A myriad of humanitarian actors is working on the ground, offering a broad range of relief items and services while implementing with different approaches. Since 2005 the coordination of international humanitarian assistance in major disaster is led by UN-agencies, formed in eleven thematic clusters to assist local and national emergency authorities. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) is responsible for the mobilization and coordination of "effective and principled humanitarian action in partnership with national and international actors in order to alleviate human suffering in disasters and emergencies." (UNOCHA, nd.)

As Figure 4 illustrates, the disaster management cycle can be divided into three major phases. The *disaster response phase* marks the immediate aftermath of an emergency event: relief items and services are provided to the population affected by the disaster. Amongst others, these are the distribution of food, the building of water treatment plants, the establishment of mobile medical services and the construction of temporary shelter.

Figure 4: Disaster management cycle

(taken from IFRC, 2011: p. 19)

Starting with a needs assessment, humanitarian actors evaluate the number of people affected, the quantity and quality of support needed. Generally, relief organisations are specialized in providing specific services, such as health, water and sanitation or shelter. (e.g. Red Cross, UNICEF, World Food Programme, UNHCR) The aggregated time for HROs' staff recruitment, loading and transhipping of relief material and establishing the required capacities on the ground (e.g. storage facilities, transportation routes, hiring distribution staff) may vary between the onset of a disaster, and the appearance of a HRO in the affected area, from a few days to even some weeks. (cf. Munz, 2007: p. 56) International HROs possess a large pool of staff and decentralized storage structures allowing them to be present sooner, although the first to help are the local people who have remained unharmed. Despite needing external medical or technical support, the local population executes the primary relief measures, such as searching for people entombed by collapsed buildings or providing temporary shelter for the homeless. Related to reconstruction they are "[t]he primary resource in the provision of post-disaster shelter." (UNDRO, 1982: p. 3) Subsequently, the *recovery phase* marks the period, when starting with rehabilitation operations, such as the reconstruction of the infrastructure and telecommunication networks and the provision of permanent housing. Tatham and Houghton describe the generic aim to 'build back better'. (ibid. 2011: p. 18) As mentioned above, recovery activities may imply improvements in existing material facilities and institutional frameworks. During the *preparedness and mitigation phase* strategies are developed aimed at to support the local population to "ensure [that] the impacts of any subsequent disasters are lessened." (ibid.) On the technical side, early-warning systems can be installed, especially in earthquake-prone areas or zones affected by flooding. However, to ensure effective and significant prevention strategies, it is crucial to involve the local people: disaster preparedness activities are included in many post-disaster follow-up projects, trying to strengthen people's risk awareness.

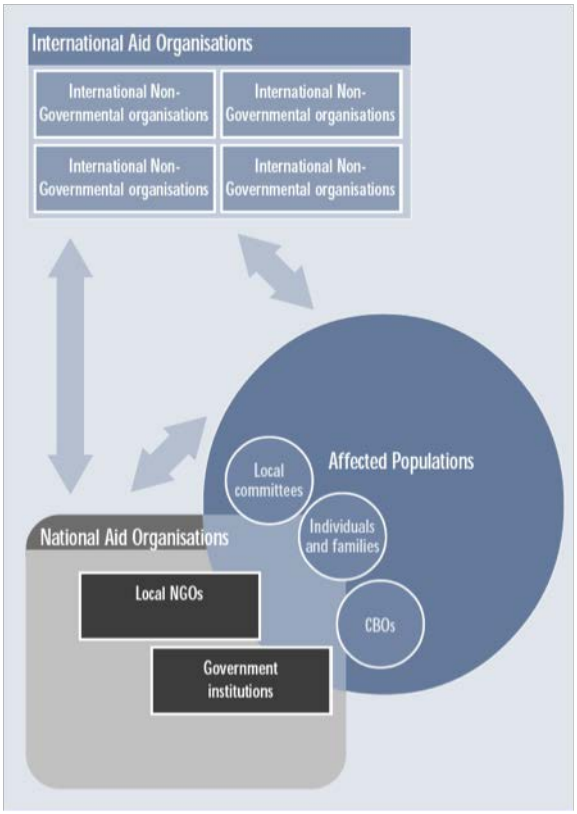
Humans cannot prevent the outbreak of natural disasters, but any possible occurrence may be anticipated. In the course of disaster risk reduction (DRR) activities, the awareness of local communities is directed to potential hazards and actions intensifying potential risks. As the entire Southeast Asian area is prone to earthquakes and flooding (cf. Figure 2), evacuation plans have a specific importance. In connection with disaster preparedness, the importance of local rescue plans for instance by the construction of evacuation roads or by training of local disaster relief volunteers should be accentuated. CKS has conducted some of these activities, as it is discussed in the following chapter. While actions like stone mining or logging do jeopardize the environment with lasting negative effects, these activities often bear great economic importance for the local population. Therefore, humanitarian and/or development organisations have to consider alternative forms of income generation, when executing DRR-projects.

The promptness of recovery from disaster losses depends largely on the resources available to the disaster victims. Lindell – in reference to Bolin and Trainer (1978) – differentiates between three sources of recovery assistance: (1) *autonomous*, relating to the "household's available human, material, and financial resources"; (2) *kinship*, which are "extended family resources" and (3) *institutional*, or governmental support. (cf. Lindell, 2013: p. 818). However, affected people rarely can recover with one individual source. In addition to restoring the pre-disaster conditions, available resources influence middle- and long-term disaster recovery as well as livelihood promotion activities, provided by external organisations.

4.4 Humanitarian actors

Before exploring beneficiaries' participation in humanitarian operations, the main relevant stakeholders are identified. However, it has to be stressed that corresponding stakeholders are rarely comprised of a concordantly acting, homogenous group.

Figure 5: Typology of stakeholders in humanitarian action



(Taken from ANALP, 2003: P. 27)

As Figure 5 reveals, there is a broad range of various interrelated actors involved in post-disaster recovery. Generally, these include multinational humanitarian agencies (such as the UN-agencies), international non-governmental organisations (such as CARE, Caritas, IFRC or MSF), national emergency agencies, host governmental facilities as well as local organisations and individuals. Figure 5 indicates their relationships and interexchange. These actors are specialized in providing specific individual services, thus, extensive coordination amongst and strong cooperation between those various stakeholders is imperative, to manage complex post-disaster situations. The aforementioned UN-clusters provide a platform for the coordination and harmonisation of humanitarian procedures on the ground. Mainly national emergency agencies as well as other host governmental facilities in developing countries will request international support in case of emergency, as their assistance may be restricted by limited equipment, personnel and/or funds. HROs are generally subject to national regulations; therefore the willingness of host governments to co-operate is crucial to any emergency response. Kovács and Spens (2009) note that the "humanitarian aid supply network consists of more

than just ‘humanitarian’ organisations.” (ibid.: p. 512; with quotation marks in the original text) Besides aid agencies and governments, the authors list the military, logistics service providers and suppliers as well as the increasing number of local actors as other important stakeholders in emergency response activities. Especially in the fields of infrastructural repair, reconstruction or the removal of damaged property, the military, whether national or foreign, can provide an efficient workforce and know-how. (cf. UNDRO, 1982: p. 12) Two points should be regarded critically: on the one hand, military activities may sometimes be used as an extension of geo-political interests of industrial countries. On the other hand, the strong military presence in conflict zones can blur the boundaries between governmental and non-governmental actors. (cf. Caritas Europa, 2011) Though, these aspects are not discussed any further within the scope of this thesis.

4.5 Levels of participation in humanitarian action

While participation in development cooperation has a long history, beneficiaries’ involvement in humanitarian operations gained importance in the last decade. Prior the description of the various forms and extent of participation in emergency response and recovery activities, the following definition is given:

> *“Participation in humanitarian action is understood as the **engagement** of affected populations in one or more phases of the project cycle: assessment; design; implementation; monitoring; and evaluation. [...] Far more than a set of tools, participation is first and foremost a **state of mind**, according to which members of affected populations are at the heart of humanitarian action, as social actors, with insights on their situation, and with competencies, energy and ideas of their own.” (ANALP, 2003: p. 20; emphasised in the original text)*

In 1995 the IFRC passed a *Code of Conduct* for organisations working in disaster relief. By July 2013, a total of 515 organisations (cf. IFRC, 2013) have signed the code, and committed themselves, on a voluntary basis, to follow the ten principles, seeking to “maintain the high standards of independence, effectiveness and impact” (IFRC, 1995: p. 1). Related to the research interest, the following two principles are of significance:

Principle 6: We shall attempt to build disaster response on local capacities

> *All people and communities - even in disaster - possess capacities as well as vulnerabilities. Where possible, we will strengthen these capacities by employing local staff, purchasing local materials and trading with local companies.*

Principle 7: Ways shall be found to involve programme beneficiaries in the management of relief aid

> *Disaster response assistance should never be imposed upon the beneficiaries. Effective relief and lasting rehabilitation can best be achieved where the intended beneficiaries are involved in the design, management and implementation of the assistance programme. will [sic!] strive to achieve full community participation in our relief and rehabilitation programmes.*

(Taken from IFRC, 1995: p. 2f.)

With this *Code of Conduct* the participating humanitarian organisations established a procedural method on how to operate in disaster relief. According to the two principles introduced above, the signing organisations commit themselves to a high level of beneficiaries' involvement into their emergency operations. As mentioned, the phase in the immediate aftermath of a disaster event is very time-critical, in which the population affected has to be provided with relief supplies in the shortest time possible. A quick and effective provision of these items requires an organized procedure of acquisition, storage and distribution. International humanitarian professionals mostly perform these organisational tasks, while locally recruited staff realises operational activities. As, among others, CARE – an international active HRO – reports, it might be necessary in the immediate emergency response to keep the level of participation low, simply due to the immense organisational and operational challenges in the immediate commencement of relief actions. "[I]n the very earliest phases of an emergency, it is not appropriate to employ a highly participatory style in that the operating environment is ambiguous and programming decisions need to be made efficiently and with authority. As an emergency situation stabilizes, a new operating environment emerges which should allow for increasing levels of 'community' involvement." (CARE, 1999: section 1.2; with quotation marks in the original text) Therefore the disaster victims' involvement always depends on the project context and course. Table 4 can be related to Pretty's *levels of participation*, discussed in

the previous chapter, but focuses exclusively on the involvement of beneficiaries in emergency response and recovery. It provides an analytical pattern, by which participatory elements in reconstruction activities can be identified.

Table 4: Typology of participation in humanitarian action

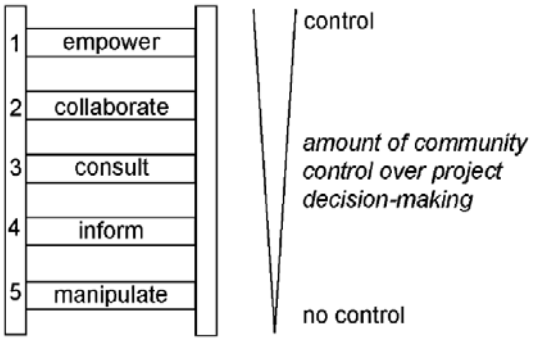
Type of participation	***Description***
Passive participation	The affected population is informed of what is going to happen or what has occurred. While this is a fundamental right of the people concerned, it is not one that is always respected.
Participation through the supply of information	The affected population provides information in response to questions, but it has no influence over the process, since survey results are not shared and their accuracy is not verified.
Participation through consultation	The affected population is asked for its perspective on a given subject, but it has no decision-making powers, and no guarantee that its views will be taken into consideration.
Participation through material incentives	The affected population supplies some of the materials and/or labour needed to operationalise an intervention, in exchange for a payment in cash or in kind from the aid organisation.
Participation through the supply of material, cash or labour	The affected population supplies some of the materials, cash and/ or labour needed to operationalise an intervention. This includes cost-recovery mechanisms.
Interactive participation	The affected population participates in the analysis of needs and in programme conception, and has decision-making powers.
Local initiatives	The affected population takes initiative, acting independently of external organisations or institutions. Although it may approach external bodies to support its initiatives, the project is conceived and run by the community; it is the aid organisation that participates in the population's projects.

(Taken from ANALP, 2003, p. 22)

The form and extent of beneficiaries' participation in reconstruction projects still depends mostly on the project design of the implementing relief agencies. To a certain extent, two

points can limit the victims' efforts to organize reconstruction by themselves: Since there is a great need for permanent shelter after the occurrence of natural disasters, the demand for (local) building material and professional workforce goes beyond its local availability. Besides, the transport of the material to the construction site requires enormous logistical efforts. In addition, there is the question of available financial and staff resources as well as needed technical know-how. (cf. UNDRO, 1982: p. 5f.) This inability of self-determined reconstruction relates to one of the various challenges faced by disaster victims. Another aspect is time: reconstruction is a very time-critical process.

Figure 6: Ladder of community participation



(Davidson et al., 2006: p. 4)

The *ladder of community participation,* first introduced by Arnstein in 1969 - and adapted to fit the context of development projects by Choguill in 1996 - is presented below. According to Davidson et al. (2006), who graphically modified the classification (cf. Figure 6), the control over decision-making (control) ranges from *manipulation* over *information & consultation* to *collaboration* and *empowerment.* In a similar classification these categories are discussed in Table 1 and, they provide the framework for a final analysis of the beneficiaries' involvement in CKS' housing projects.

As the case study deals with the (edificial) reconstruction of post-disaster Nias, in the following, beneficiaries' involvement in other areas such as health, water and sanitation or food are not discussed any further. The World Bank identifies opportunities for the community to participate in reconstruction (a pre-selection was taken by the author of this thesis). In terms of project planning and design, beneficiaries' involvement in the following areas is possible: (a) *prioritizing and planning projects;* (b) *executing participatory site planning and site evaluations;* (c) *identifying targeting criteria and qualifying households;* (d) *participating in training (DRR and construction methods)*; (e) *assisting in grievance procedures.* For the project development and implementation phase beneficiaries can participate in the following activities: (a) *executing and/or supervising housing*

reconstruction, infrastructure reconstruction and *reconstruction of public facilities;* (b) *managing financial disbursements* and *community warehouses.* (cf. World Bank, 2010: p. 186)

Studying different reconstruction projects, Smillie identifies some of the time-related challenges humanitarian actors face on the ground: "[T]here is often no time to identify, much less to strengthen, local capacities; no time to study local coping mechanisms; no time to work with local NGOs; and not much time to think about the longer-term requirements that will come with reconstruction and post-conflict attempts to rebuild normalcy." (2001: p. 19) The involvement of the beneficiaries in concrete reconstruction projects therefore often narrows to the transport of building material and provision of workforce. Furthermore they might choose between given housing designs, in which building type and/or used material is already predetermined. These aspects are discussed in the following, when the involvement of beneficiaries in reconstruction activities, conducted by CKS is identified.

5 CASE STUDY: REBUILDING NIAS

At the time when the tsunami hit Nias in December 2004, and the earthquake that followed three months later, the small island of Nias was amongst the poorest and most underdeveloped regions in Indonesia. (cf. Table 6) The two natural disasters had an immense impact on the island's development. Vast areas of Nias were destroyed, and an estimated hundred thousand persons were directly affected. Since then, various humanitarian organisations and individuals have become involved in the reconstruction process. Residential buildings and the infrastructure are rebuilt, as well as hospitals and schools. While the immediate emergency response satisfies the daily needs of the people in the aftermath of the event, medium and long-term reconstruction plans are made and implemented all over the island, with the aim to rebuild Nias better. (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2006: p. 22) By October 2013, there are only a few development organisations (such as SurfAID and World Vision) as well as some local NGOs still working in Nias. In cooperation with the local population they develop schemes to generate an alternative income that should contribute towards an improved standard of living, after the two earthquakes, which, at present, are amongst the strongest in recorded history. Although the location of this case study in Nias, an island particularly prone to natural disasters, offers a broad variety of research fields, this thesis focuses primarily on the participatory elements in reconstruction. With particular reference to the reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts of CKS, the research question presented above is answered.

This chapter presents the case study of this thesis. In the previous chapters the theoretical framework is constructed, by exploring the potential intensity of participation by the beneficiaries in development projects as well as in emergency response and reconstruction activities. This analytical pattern serves as a basis to discuss the realised reconstruction in post-disaster Nias. Initially, information on Indonesia in general and Nias in particular is given and the overall geographical, economic and historic context is explored. A discussion on the impact of the disasters on the island follows, in which the disaster relief activities in particular are emphasized. Due to the variation of humanitarian organisations and individuals acting in different operational areas, the discussion is limited to a general

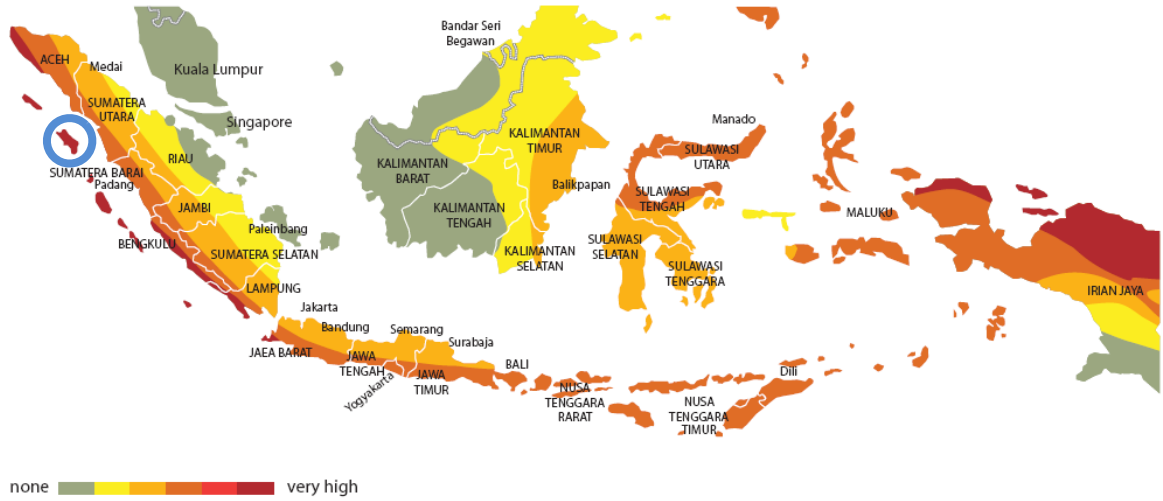
overview of these actions. As the involvement of the beneficiaries in the reconstruction work cannot be discussed on a general level, the specific project context of CKS is presented subsequently. In this connection, the history of the organisation is illustrated, owing to the fact that it can be directly associated with the two disasters mentioned below. The CKS's projects in reconstruction are then presented, three of which are analysed in further detail, as they are particularly relevant as an answer to the research question. Furthermore, the organisational development of CKS from a humanitarian to a development agency is outlined, as it allows interesting conclusions to be drawn as to how relief, rehabilitation and development can be linked (cf. LRRD-approach, Chapter 0). On the basis of this presentation, the participatory aspects of the three selected CKS projects are discussed in the following chapter, grounded on the information obtained from and analysis of the conducted interviews as well as the reports and evaluations that were reviewed.

5.1 Indonesia and natural disasters

With over 250 million inhabitants (July 2013), Indonesia hosts the world's fourth largest population. The total state territory of approximately 2 million km^2 consists of 17,508 islands, of which 6,000 are inhabited. The archipelago, which is located at the equator, has a coastline of 54,716 km, entirely surrounded by the Indian and the Pacific Ocean, thus possessing a tropical, hot and humid climate. Politically, Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945, which ended over three centuries of Dutch colonialisation and the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945. Since 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono of the Democrat Party, who is also Chief of State and Head of Government, rules the Presidential Representative Democratic Republic. Economically, the country focuses on industry (which contributes 47% to the GDP) by producing petroleum and natural gas, textiles, automotive and electrical appliances, and almost 40% of the country's labour force (118 million people) works in agriculture. Between 2010 and 2012 Indonesia had an annual economic growth of more than 6%. The GDP amounted to US $ 1.237 trillion in 2012, whereas the GDP per capita on purchasing power parity is estimated to be US $ 5,100, therefore holding place 158 amongst 229 countries. (cf. CIA Factbook, 2013) Administratively, the decentralization of January 1st in 2001 strengthened the role of regencies and municipalities, as they became the "key administrative units responsible for providing most government services." (ibid.) Today, Indonesia is

comprised of 31 provinces (*provinsi-provinsi*), two special regions (*daerah-daerah istimewa*: Aceh, Yogyakarta) and one special capital city district (*daerah khusus ibukota*: Jakarta). The provinces are sub-divided into 399 *kabupaten* (districts), 6,793 *kecamatan* (sub-districts), 79,075 *kelurahan/desa* (villages) and 98 *kota* (city districts). (cf. BPS, 2013: p. 38ff.) Economically and politically, Indonesia still "struggles with poverty and unemployment, inadequate infrastructure, corruption, a complex regulatory environment, and unequal resource distribution among regions." (CIA Factbook, 2013) Ongoing challenges include the labour unrest over wages, the development of an adequate road, electricity and telecommunication infrastructure, especially in the remote areas, and the ongoing retrenchments in the state's fuel subsidy program on account of the high oil prices. (cf. ibid) The life expectancy at birth is 72 years: in 2013 more than 40% of the population is younger than 24 years. According to the census in 2000, 86.1% of the citizens are Muslim, making Indonesia the country with the world's largest Muslim population.

Figure 7: Degree of exposure to natural hazards in Indonesia



(taken from UNDP Indonesia, 2007: p. 4: prepared by UNOCHA, 2006 – the island of Nias was highlighted in blue by the author of this thesis)

Geographically, Indonesia is located in the 'Ring of Fire', hosting some of the most active volcanoes in the world, making the country particularly prone to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. (cf. Pramano, nd.) Indonesia is further exposed to other natural risks, as well as climate-related hazards such as floods, droughts, storms, landslides and wild land fires. Owing to climate change these risks are likely to increase. (cf. UNDP Indonesia, 2007)

Figure 7 shows the disaster prone areas in Indonesia; the island of Nias is shown in a blue circle.

EM-DAT provides an overview of the ten biggest natural disasters in Indonesia in the last 30 years, classified by death toll, the number of people affected and extent of economic damage. Firstly, these figures reveal the wide range of natural hazards affecting the country. Secondly, they display the social and economic severity of the impact. The tsunami, as a consequence of the earthquake in December 2004 and the next earthquake in March 2005 are highlighted in light blue and red and are discussed in a later part of this chapter after introducing the location of the case study.

Table 5: Top 10 natural disasters in Indonesia for the period 1984 to 2013

By number of people killed			**By number of people affected**			**By costs caused (in million US $)**		
Disaster	**Date**	**Killed**	**Disaster**	**Date**	**Affected**	**Disaster**	**Date**	**Damage**
Earthquake	26-Dec-2004	165.708	Earthquake	27-May-2006	3.177.923	Wildfire	Sep-97	8.000.000
Earthquake	27-May-2006	5.778	Wildfire	Oct-1994	3.000.000	Earthquake	26-Dec-2004	4.451.600
Earthquake	12-Dec-1992	2.500	Earthquake	30-Sep-09	2.501.798	Earthquake	27-May-2006	3.100.000
Earthquake	30-Sep-2009	1.195	Drought	Sep-97	1.065.000	Flood	17-Jan-2013	3.000.000
Earthquake	28-Mar-2005	915	Flood	23-Dec-2006	618.486	Earthquake	30-Sep-09	2.200.000
Earthquake	17-Jul-2006	802	Flood	09-Feb-96	556.000	Wildfire	01-Mar-98	1.300.000
Epidemic	13-May-1998	777	Earthquake	26-Dec-2004	532.898	Flood	31-Jan-07	971.000
Drought	Sep-97	672	Flood	27-Jan-02	500.750	Earthquake	12-Sep-07	500.000
Epidemic	Jan-98	672	Epidemic	01-Jan-86	500.000	Flood	09-Feb-96	434.800
Epidemic	01-Jan-04	658	Earthquake	12-Sep-07	459.567	Flood	27-Jan-02	350000
			Earthquake	28-Mar-2005	387.102	Earthquake	28-Mar-2005	392.000

(Source: Em-DAT, 2013; created on October 3, 2013; data version v12.07
- the author's own adaptation for the earthquake on 28th March 2005)

5.2 Nias – an introduction

As can be seen in Figure 7, Nias is located in an area, particularly exposed to natural hazards; however, the negative consequences of widespread logging and quarrying also need to be taken into consideration. The Nias archipelago consists of one major and about 130 smaller islands and is located parallel to the west coast of Northern Sumatra. In 2007, there were 713,045 inhabitants, living in an area of 4,711 km^2. The island is part of the North Sumatra province (*Sumatra Utara).* In the course of the aforementioned decentralization process, Nias was divided into 2 kabupaten (Nias and Nias Selatan/South Nias): that was in 2003. Five years later a further division into 4 kabupaten (Nias Utara, Nias Barat, Nias Selatan, Nias[8]) and 1 kota (Kota Gunung Sitoli) was launched. Since 2007, the island of Nias consists of 22 sub-districts, 6 urban villages and 651 rural villages. (cf. World Bank, 2007: p. 2) The four kabupaten are ruled by the *bupati* (district leader), the capital city, named Gunung Sitoli by the *walikota* (mayor) and the kelurahan by the *kepala desa* (village leader). The most important income-generating activity in Nias is agriculture. The farmers produce mainly latex, coconuts and cacao in agroforestry besides rice. To a lesser extent, livestock, are also kept, mostly pigs and chickens. In 2007, the agricultural activities in Nias accounted for almost 45% of the regional BNP (cf. BPS, 2007: p. 325), with over 85% of the working population employed in this sector. (cf. World Bank, 2007: p. 3)

Construction, trade, transport and communication are other important sectors, though economically less significant. Local industrial production stagnated over the past years, resulting in considerable imports mainly from Sumatra. In contrary, the processing of locally derived raw material, such as rubber, cocoa and coconut poses a different problem. Due to a lack of local industrial processing facilities, the resource surplus cannot be stored in Nias and is exported to other parts of Indonesia. The non-existence of a production industry results in only temporary and socially insecure job opportunities for locals in construction or in the fishery. (cf. Hämmerle, 2007: p. 6) Particularly in remote rural areas, the production possibilities are constricted due to inadequate transport infrastructure, limited access to information and know-how as well as weakly developed local markets. The lack of technical (electricity, roads, water & sanitation) and social infrastructure

[8] Indonesian: Nias Utara = North Nias, Nias Barat = West Nias, Nias Selatan = South Nias

(secondary schools, health facilities) in rural areas contributes to a long-term deterioration of the quality of life leading to an enormous increase in the rate of migration from rural areas to the capital city, Gunung Sitoli, or North Sumatra in recent years. Especially in Sumatra many find temporal occupation in palm oil plantations. (cf. Nazara/Resosudarmo, 2007: p. 4; CKS, 2012: p. 3; Hämmerle, 2007: p. 6)

The following basic economic and social indicators were recorded from 2004 to 2005; hence they allow an insight in the pre-disaster situation in Nias. Table 6 shows that Nias (including the South/Nias Selatan) is among the least developed regions in Indonesia. Looking at the per capita income in 2005, the regional purchasing power lays more than a half below the country's average. In 2004, about a third of Niasans lived below the poverty line, defined as living below $1 a day.

Table 6: Economic and social indicators for Nias and Nias Selatan

	Nias	Nias Selatan	North Sumatra	Indonesia
GDP per capita 2005 (Rp)	4,888,905	5,060,626	11,106,258	12,627,167
Poverty rate 2004 (%)	31.6	32.2	14.9	16.7
Adult literacy rate, 2005 (% of people aged 15 and above)	85.8	62.5	95.6	91.7
GER junior secondary 2005 (%)	76.0	70.0	91.5	82.4
Human Development Index 2005	66.1	63.9	72.0	69.6
Life expectancy 2005 (years)	68.7	67.9	68.7	68.1
Infant mortality child < 5 years (per 1,000 population)	36.1	nA	33.5	32.8
Child age < 5 with poor nutrition (%) [1]	51.8	45.8	28.7	28.2
Households with access to clean water, 2005 (%)	16	8	51	53
Households with electricity, 2005 (%)	32	26	69	81

(World Bank, 2007: p. 3)

While the country's average adult literacy rate is nearly 92%, three out of four Niasan are able to read and write, though there are huge regional disparities between the Northern and Southern part of the island. The gross enrolment rate (GER) is well below the national average. Although the governmental primary schools cover the basic education all over Nias, around 70% of its youth (under 24 years) in 2005 did not graduate from secondary school. (cf. Nazara/Resosudarmo, 2007: p. 44). While the infant mortality equals the national average there are huge differences in children's nutrition rate. It has to be noted that Nias' figures on the households' access to clean water and electricity differ greatly from the national average. Aggregated numbers show that only 12% of all Niasan households in 2005 were provided with clean water supply; almost one third of them could not afford electricity connection. Differences between urban and rural areas, and especially remote rural areas, have to be considered particularly.

As mentioned earlier, prior to the occurrence of the two disasters, the island of Nias was among the least developed regions in Indonesia, characterized by its major infrastructural problems as well as by social and spatial inequalities. Below the effects and impacts of the two earthquakes are discussed and further, the (international) humanitarian response is illustrated.

5.3 Disaster impacts

Due to the conjuncture of the Chinese and Indian-Australian plate, earthquakes occur regularly and in some exceptional cases with a high intensity. In recent history there have been two major earthquakes that had an immense impact on Nias. (cf. Figure 8). On December 26, 2004 a devastating tsunami in the Indian Ocean hit the surrounding countries and islands and claimed the lives of over 225,000 people, leaving millions homeless. (cf. CRED, 2005) Not recovered from the massive water floods, less than 3 months later, a powerful earthquake destroyed huge parts of Nias (cf. Annex 1 for disaster affected areas in Nias). Residential and business premises collapsed, roads became impassable, the telecommunications and electricity infrastructure was destroyed completely. The death toll reached nearly 1,000 people, while hundred thousands were affected (cf. ibid). Since late 2004, a myriad of international aid organisations, UN-bodies and government agencies are active in emergency response and reconstruction.

In the following paragraphs, the two disasters as well as their impact on the island of Nias are discussed. Since the earthquake of December 2004 and the resulting tsunami had less impact on Nias, as compared to other coastal areas in Southeast Asia, this disaster event is only briefly illustrated. The earthquake of March 2005 is elaborated in more detail, due to the fact that almost the entire population of the island was affected and most of the reconstruction efforts can be attributed to the following emergency occurrence. It has to be emphasized that the present statistical material (in terms of Nias) cannot exclusively be assigned to one of the two disasters, as needs assessment after Boxing Day's tsunami was not yet completed, when the second earthquake occurred in March 2005. Most authors refer to BRR and World Bank reports, where the two disasters are discussed collectively (for a list of reconstruction achievements and efforts in Aceh and Nias see Annex 3 & 4).

5.3.1 Tsunami, December 2004

The figures in Table 5 show the devastating impact of the tsunami on Indonesia and surrounding countries (particularly Sri Lanka, Thailand, and India). Nearly 75% of a total of 225,000 casualties are recorded in Indonesia (cf. CRED, 2005), where particularly the Aceh province (Northern Sumatra) was affected. The Boxing Day's earthquake in 2004 was one of the most devastating earthquakes in recent South-East Asian history. On 26th December, at about 8.00 a.m. local time the earthquake with a magnitude of 9.1 on the Richter scale occurred around 150 kilometres off the west coast of Sumatra, triggering a tsunami that hit most parts of Aceh and North Sumatra, as well as other smaller islands around (cf. Figure 8). Waves, with the speed of around 800 km/h reached the surrounding coastlines, moving over seven kilometres inland, affecting mostly the Western part of the island. (cf. Nazara/Resosudarmo, 2007: p. 1) In a later part of this thesis a CKS project, which is located in Sirombu (West Nias), is discussed. The map, given below, shows the epicentres of the two earthquakes:

Figure 8: Epicentres of the two earthquakes - North Sumatra

(Taken from Nazara/Resosudarmo, 2007: p. 57)

According to BRR figures on Aceh and Nias over 500,000 people were displaced, around 110,000 houses and 3,000 km of roads were destroyed, sea- and airports damaged, 120 arterial and 1,500 minor bridges ruined. Relating to the destroyed social infrastructure, BRR reports of major damages on more than 2,000 school buildings, eight hospitals and 114 health centres and sub-centres. 60,000 ha of agricultural land were impaired, over 100,000 small business persons lost their income sources. (cf. BRR and International

Partners, 2005: p. 16) At that time the economic decline was estimated with 5% in Aceh Province and due to the earthquake in 2005, a 20% reduction in revenue was projected for Nias. (BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 126)

5.3.2 Earthquake, March 2005

As mentioned before, statistical material on the disaster's impact in the case of the tsunami 2004 is mostly referring to the Aceh province, while data on the earthquake three months later are almost exclusively referring to Nias and the island of Simeulue. Though, the data are mostly presented in an aggregated form by agencies and organisations working in emergency response after the two disasters. The earthquake with a magnitude of 8.6 on the Richter scale caused 900 casualties, 6,000 injured and 13,500 families, who are displaced and in need of houses. The BRR (a presentation of the agency and its role in reconstruction is given in a later part of this chapter) reports that out of 879 schools over 85% are damaged or destroyed, two hospitals are seriously damaged and more than 170 health facilities require repair (cf. Annex 3). Water distribution networks in almost all districts are affected, while damaged irrigations networks endanger 90% of people's livelihood. Additionally, 219 markets, shops and kiosks are destroyed. (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2006: p. 25) According to World Bank estimates the poverty rate increased significantly from a prior average of 20% to over 50% after the two disasters. (BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 100) Regarding the technical infrastructure, BRR reports on 403 destroyed bridges that are unusable, 1,000 km of impassable local and provincial roads and 11 destroyed ports. The earthquake's impacts further limited access to the affected zones, especially in rural areas with insufficient infrastructure.

The Nias population census of 2003 counted 122,652 housing units. Dercon assessed the damages caused to these units after the earthquake in March 2005 and provides the following classification by degree of destruction:

Table 7: Damage to housing units in Nias and Nias Selatan

Degree of destruction	Permanent	Not-permanent		Total
More than 50%	2,524	5,741	7,995 [sic!]	83,630
Less 50%	17,645	57,990	75,635	
Not affected	11,376	27,646	39,022	39,022
	31,545	91,107 [sic!]	122,652	122,652

(Dercon, 2006: p. 3; author's adaptations)

BRR figures report from 12,010 destroyed, 32,454 seriously damaged 39,437 partly damaged houses. This amounts to a total of 83,901 houses affected by the earthquake, equalling more than two thirds of all houses in Nias. (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2005: 31) In the capital city Gunung Sitoli around 70% of all buildings were damaged or collapsed. (cf. Nazara/ Resosudarmo 2007. p. 1f.) The assessment of damaged housing structures is based on criteria that can reach from broken windows, door locks and a cut from electricity or water supply (5-20% damage) over severe roof damage and wall impacts (20-40%) to damages beyond repair. While damages below 60% are repairable, damages above this level need complete reconstruction. (cf. Barakat, 2003: p. 9) When calculating the number of people living in a household (5,8) the above given calculation refers to a total of 46,476 people, who were in need of housing. The former number (5,8) may be imprecise, because many single houses may occupy more than one household, as it is the general practice in Nias. (cf. Dercon, 2006: p. 1) Consulting a number of 4,5 people/household still over 36,000 are in need of shelter. This corresponds with about 13,000 houses required, of which 72% need to be constructed in rural areas. (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 125) Notable is also the high number of not-permanent dwellings (cf. Table 7), which are mostly made of local timber. In relative numbers the earthquake, compared to permanent houses made of basic pig iron, had a lesser effect on these dwellings. (ibid.: p. 2) One form of dwellings has proven to be especially earthquake resistant: Nias' famous traditional houses (*Omo Hada*). While in the Northern part of the island, houses with an oval footprint, sloping walls, a grid of vertical pillars and diagonal bracings (x-form) and a converging roof can be found, the traditional houses in South

Nias are characterized by its rectangle footprint, its steeply pitched roofs and are exclusively found in housing composites. These traditional building techniques [9] proved to be very stable, due to their wooden bonds, balancing massive external influences like shakings. (cf. Gruber, 2007; Hämmerle, 2007: p. 4) However, nearly all new houses are now build by using concrete, bricks and steel, rather than traditional construction methods though they were more likely affected by the earthquake than timber structures (cf. Dercon, 2006: p. 2); this is accompanied by a "weak building regulation" (da Silva/Batchelor, 2010: p. 136). However, as many of the lightweight timber houses endured the earthquake impact, victims opt to reconstruct timber houses by themselves. This is especially the case in the construction of temporary shelter[10], but was limited by the shortage of local timber available, as discussed below. The resistance of timber houses can be ascribed to the building material's light weight and its ductility, "while poorly constructed brick and cement block houses with concrete components collapsed." (CKS, 2007: p. 2f) In addition to earthquake resistance, timber houses are further suited to the humid and tropical environment of the island.

In economic terms, the total impact of the earthquake amounts to US $ 392 million. Nearly 15% is damage in social infrastructure (health, education, community, culture and religion), this corresponds with US $ 56 million. Another 78% (or US $ 306 million) comprise of damage in technical infrastructure (housing, transport, electricity, water & sanitation and communication). Other losses derive from the productive sector and cross-sectoral areas such as governance and environment. (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 125)

[9] Vernacular architecture: The dwellings and other building that reflect people's environmental context and available resources, customarily owner- or community-built, utilizing traditional technologies. Vernacular architecture reflects the specific needs, values, economies, and ways of life of the culture that produces them. They may be adapted or developed over time as needs and circumstances change."
(World Bank, 2010: p. 366)

[10] Transitional or temporary shelter: "Shelter that provides a habitable covered living space and a secoure, healthy living environment with privacy and dignity for those within it during the period between a conflict or natural disaster and the achievement of a durable shelter solution." (World Bank, 2010: p. 366)

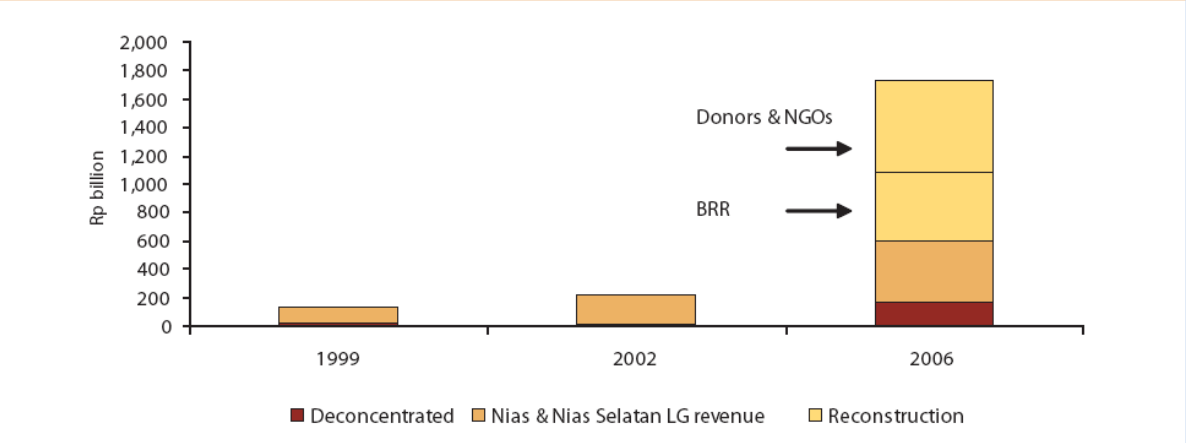
5.4 Emergency response and reconstruction in post-disaster Nias

For the time after the occurrence of the earthquakes, 42 international NGOs, 24 national NGOs, 13 United Nations agencies, 8 government agencies and local organisations were working on disaster recovery, while seeking to realise the goal of "Building Nias Back Better" (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2006: p. 22) As mentioned earlier, the thesis at hand refrains from providing a detailed list of the humanitarian actors, due to their large number and variety of different approaches implemented. The coordination of reconstruction activities in post-disaster Aceh and Nias, however, is of significant relevance and therefore discussed in more detail. The governmental master plan for rehabilitation and reconstruction covers an implementing period of five years (2004 to 2009). Projects and finance resources from other humanitarian organisations have a similar maximum time frame. In this time period, the humanitarian actors and government agencies execute more than 800 recovery and rehabilitation projects. They are classified as: (a) relief/transitional support; (b) reconstruction: "building back" and (c) broader development projects: "building back *better*". (cf. World Bank/BRR, 2005: p. 125; emphasised in the original text) The latter point refers to the Indonesian Government's approach "to rebuild much higher quality services and infrastructure then before the tsunami." (ibid.: p. xv) The reconstruction needs are estimated at US $ 5.1 billion, though excluding the Nias earthquake damages, which are estimated at US $ 392 million. Three main sources of funding should cover the reconstruction efforts: (1) domestic resources; (2) donor contributions and (3) voluntary contributions, mainly channelled through NGOs. (cf. ibid.) Amongst others, national Red Cross societies, ACTED, AMDA, Help, UNHCR, UN Habitat and CWS work on reconstruction in Nias. (cf. BRR, 2009: p. 118) An analysis of the type and extent of the financing sources can be found in the annex (cf. Annex 5 & 6). In Nias, these financial contributions (amounting to US $ 205 million) are mainly allocated to infrastructure such as housing, transport and electricity (60%) and the social sector (26%) for (re-) building schools and health facilities. These projects are implemented to a large part by government agencies (74%), to a lesser extent also by NGOs (20%) and directly by donor agencies (6%). (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 129; cf. Annex 7)

The Nias' reconstruction budget in 2006 amount to 1.1 billion IDR, which was more than four times the size of the aggregated regional government budget at that time. Figure 9 illustrates the finance resources from the Government of Indonesia, international NGOs

and donors. Moreover, the raise in district government budgets in 2006 can be ascribed to increased transfers from the central government following the decentralization (sub-districts of Nias and Nias Selatan) in 2003 (cf. Chapter 5.2).

Figure 9: Revenue of Nias pre- and post-decentralization, and after the earthquake



(World Bank, 2007: p. 8)

In early 2005, the Indonesian government appointed BAPPENAS (Ministry of National Development Planning) to develop a master plan for recovery and rehabilitation of the tsunami-hit areas in Aceh. In the immediate aftermath of the disaster the National Coordinating Agency for Natural Disaster and Refugees Relief (Bakornas PBP) coordinated the emergency response by (a) immediate help for disasters survivors; (b) immediate burying of victims' dead bodies; (c) immediate enhancement of basic facilities and infrastructure to enable the provision of adequate services for the victims. (cf. Republic of Indonesia, 2005: p. II-12) Nazara and Resosudarmo (2007) emphasize that the local population - especially in the case of the tsunami affected area of Aceh - depends on their own local resources during the first days after the disaster, while governmental agencies and international NGOs are still planning their response operations. According to the authors, this shows "the importance of establishing strong and resilient local communities" (ibid.: p. 9) which are able to be self-sufficient in the aftermath of an emergency. This first phase (*emergency response*), which last until three months after the disaster events, is followed by *short-term rehabilitation* from four months until two years after, targeting to "[e]nhance public services in a sufficient time" by the provision of basic infrastructure and facilities as well as legal adaptions and temporary housing. The third and last phase of *medium-term reconstruction* is oriented towards a five years perspective with the target

to “[r]edevelop the community and area” by economic, infrastructural (transportation, telecommunication), social and cultural improvements as well as the provision of permanent housing and the development of institutional capacities. (cf. Annex 2) Thematically the elaborated master plan includes four policy areas: the reconstruction of community, economy, infrastructure and housing as well as governance. These policies are translated into concrete projects during all of the aforementioned phases. (cf. Republic of Indonesia, 2005: III-3) Due to a lack of communication and coordination, these first recovery activities are of little effect, which leads to the establishment of a new agency responsible for coordination and monitoring. Prior to the start of the second phase (rehabilitation), the Agency for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation (BRR) is established to supervise and coordinate the reconstruction activities of humanitarian actors, operating in Aceh and Nias. (cf. da Silva/Batchelor, 2010: p. 135) The institutional set-up of BRR entails three bodies: (1) reconstruction agency – the operational and coordination body for all reconstruction activities and financial flows; (2) advisory board – develops the general policy directions for the reconstruction activities; (3) oversight board – monitoring and evaluation. (cf. World Bank/BRR, 2005: p. 21) The previously concluded master plan is, as a result of various criticism, used as a “reference document in a flexible way” (Nazara/Resosudarmo, 2007: p. 12), enabling affected communities to participate in the reconstruction process. Due to possible additional bureaucratic obstacles and centralized guidelines the formerly elaborated master plan is rejected by local authorities, private actors as well as by implementing NGOs in Aceh. “Local people and NGOs therefore pressed for a more decentralised approach.” (Nazara/Resosudarmo, 2007: p. 11) By July 2006, BRR is decentralized in means of the establishment of regional offices, amongst others in Nias, thus emphasizing participatory elements in project implementation. “The survivors of the natural disaster should not be treated merely as a source of data and information for planning rehabilitation and reconstruction. , [sic!] Rather than that, they must also be involved as the main actors of development activities.” (Republic of Indonesia, 2005: p. 7-1) Institutional and individual limitations, such as non-existent local decision-making facilities or adequate infrastructure to involve all development actors as well as the limited capacity of the latter are recorded in the master plan, regarding the cooperation with beneficiaries. (cf. ibid) However, these approaches are not elaborated any further in this thesis. The reconstruction progress in Nias (as by 2006) and the overall achievements until 2009 can be found in the annex (cf. Annex 3). BRR managed coordination, before by the end of 2005, it also received an additional mandate: the construction of around 120,000 houses

in Aceh, while starting to operate in Nias in early 2006. During the first months of implementation, BRR faces several challenges, amongst others: (1) cultural and language issues in coordinating the implementation of projects with communities, village heads and traditional cultural leaders; (2) complex land ownership and (3) access problems. (cf. BRR and International Partners, 2006: p . 22) da Silva and Batchelor add (4) limitations in local capacities and (5) availability of materials as other major barriers in the reconstruction process. (2010: p. 136) Coordination at the local level is central to ensure effective help. Dercon (cf. 2006: p. 1) emphasises three challenges humanitarian actors faces while operating in reconstruction in Nias: (1) the shortage of local timber resources; (2) the need of community-based approaches in rehabilitation and (3) the quantitative constraints in building housing whilst transportation infrastructure is damaged. Regarding the limited availability of local timber, the implementing partners required additional 50,000 m^3 of timber, less than initially planned, as urban areas favour non-timber structures in reconstruction using concrete. As the local supply cannot meet the demand from humanitarian actors and the disaster victims themselves, as "people also rebuild themselves", there is a net need for timber of the aforementioned 50,000m^3 to be transported onto the island, which is mainly organized by UNHCR, responsible for the distribution of building material to Nias. (ibid: p. 2ff.) On a long-term perspective, key requirements for infrastructure should emphasize: (1) enhancing the water resource system; (2) building rural roads supportive to the rural economy; (3) improving water and sanitation and building cell phone towers in support of the smallholder cash crop economy. (Dercon, 2006: p. 5) An emphasis on DRR is laid on the establishment of infrastructural and natural facilities for hazard mitigation, such as protective barriers in coastal areas, protective forests, reef barriers and mangroves. (cf. BRR, 2009: p. 207) While all the humanitarian organisations which were working in post-disaster Nias faced those challenges, one of those organisations is presented in the following chapter.

5.5 Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga (CKS)

This chapter addresses the main relevant humanitarian actor to this thesis and presents its activities in the reconstruction in Nias. In a first step, the organisation's history is discussed as it is directly related to the occurrence of the two disasters in 2004 and 2005. CKS was not active on the island previously and the entire organisational structure as well as operational procedures had to be created simultaneously to national and international emergency response. Secondly, CKS' reconstruction activities are presented, whereon three of the projects are analysed in more detail in a later section of this thesis (Chapter 6). Prior to this, the CKS' organisational development from a humanitarian actor to an agency working on rural livelihood promotion and disaster risk reduction is presented. This is examined in reference to the LRRD-approach, given in Chapter 0. This overall presentation of CKS sets the basis on which – referring to the established theoretical framework – the participatory elements in three chosen CKS' reconstruction projects are contextualized and analysed in the following chapter.

5.5.1 Organisational development

As mentioned above, CKS was not established in Nias prior to the occurrence of the two earthquakes. Nias is part of the Catholic diocese of Sibolga, which is a city on the mainland of Northern Sumatra, about 150 km from Gunung Sitoli. The name of the organisation therefore refers to the city's name, where the diocese is headquartered, while *keuskupan* is the Indonesian name for diocese. After the tsunami and the earthquake, the global network of local and national Caritas organisations, namely *Caritas Internationalis* (CI)[11], recognises the importance of participating in emergency response in Nias. With organisational accompaniment of Caritas Italy and the operational support in planning an implementation of the CRS and Caritas Austria, the first precursor of today's CKS started to work on the island in February 2005. In July, the same year, a field office opened in Gunung Sitoli, while the legal affirmation as well as the incorporation in CI's network was awarded 3 months later. (cf. CKS, 2009a) During the reconstruction phase an additional base camp is established in Sirombu, which is located on the West coast of Nias. In the beginning, response activities are organized by the *POSKO Kemanusiaan*

[11] CI is the Catholic Church's network of development and relief agencies.

Keuskupan Sibolga, which was the humanitarian body of the Diocese Sibolga at that time. However, before discussing the various reconstruction efforts conducted by CKS, the organisation's transition from a humanitarian agency to one, that implements on a long-term oriented perspective is presented. As humanitarian agencies work mostly with a short- or middle-term perspective and exit after finishing the implementation of their reconstruction and rehabilitation projects, the link to long-term oriented development co-operation is challenging. Nevertheless, CKS commits itself to the rural poor of Nias recognizing "the magnitude of the problems and the need for sustainable solutions." (ibid.) In the very beginnings until now the organisation could rely on the well-established local parish structures all over the island. The Christianisation of Nias under Dutch government towards the end of the 19th century resulted in a majority of Niasans being Catholic or Protestant, differing greatly from the rest of Indonesia, where the common belief is Islam. (cf. Hämmerle, 2007: p. 6) Built on this existing structure, CKS started to implement its projects. Furthermore, the role of the parish priest in reconstruction will be discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter.

CKS articulates its mission as follows: "to promote human development, social justice, gender equity and peace, with a particular attention given to the poorest and with a predominant pedagogic component." (cf. ibid.) The sectors listed below are emphasized to some extent in the ongoing reconstruction projects (cf. Table 8) but have become particular key areas in all CKS projects, which followed:

- *Disaster Risk Reduction:* Promoting DRR in rural communities by facilitating community-based organisations
- *Livelihood Promotion:* Establishment of income generation sources by facilitating rubber cultivation and secondary crops (vegetables) in rural communities
- *Social work:* Provision of scholarship programmes and foundation of the 'Caritas Centre' (youth vocational programmes)
- *Livelihood & Agriculture:* Establishment of the 'Resource Centre' as provider of high-quality rubber seedlings and agricultural know-how and training facility
- *Gende*r: gender-awareness promotion amongst pastoral workers and children in boarding schools run under the diocese
- *Health:* hygiene awareness, mother-infant health, water and sanitation
- Provision of *micro credits* (since March 2013)

- *Fundraising:* by operating a supermarket, coffee and book shop (Caritas Market – since April 2013) as well as a water supply company (Caritas Water)

As of October 2013 about 53 people (mainly Niasans) are employed in CKS. In its projects the organisation prioritises the promotion of livelihood security and income generating alternatives in rural areas, while emphasizing a "community empowerment approach" (ibid.). In the respective projects, CKS promotes the foundation of community organisations, which are facilitated by CKS' staff. However, they are operated independently by preparing community-based yearly action plans and local agenda-setting. (cf. CKS, 2009a) As these projects have been discussed in other documents (Brad, 2011; SIPA, 2009) they will not be reviewed further for the purpose of this thesis. By the end of 2013, the ongoing projects ('Community Managed Disaster Risk Reduction' and 'Community Managed Livelihood Promotion') will be terminated, thus programme conception was in progress during the time the author of this thesis was staying in Nias.

5.5.2 CKS' reconstruction projects in post-disaster Nias

In the time between February 2005 and August 2009, CKS implemented reconstruction projects all over Nias. These projects can be divided into housing (438 houses have been built) – which represents the largest part in CKS reconstruction – livelihood promotion and infrastructure development, the establishment of educational and child care facilities as well as parish rehabilitation. The table given below shows all reconstruction activities implemented by CKS:

Table 8: CKS' reconstruction projects (2005-2009)

Disaster	Location	Period	Project	Realisation
Tsunami	Sirombu & Mandrehe	Feb 2005 – Sept 2006	Sirombu Tsunami Housing	50 houses
Earthquake	Sisangge-Sangge	2005 - 2007	Bridge Rehabilitation	Bridge
Earthquake	Fodo	Aug – Sept 2005	Rehabilitation of a Centre for the Disabled (implemented by CKS and YEL)	Centre for the Disabled
Earthquake	Hilimbaruzo	March – Dec 2006	Road Opening	8,7 km road improvement
Earthquake	Hili'aurifa	March 2006 – March 2007	Bridge Rehabilitation	Bridge
Earthquake	Amandraya	March 2006 – June 2009	Reconstruction of the Parish Complex (3 implementation phases)	Parish Complex
Earthquake	Hilizamurugö	May 2006 – March 2007	Reconstruction of an Elementary School	School Building
Earthquake	Gunung Sitoli	Oct 2006 – Jan 2008	Housing Reconstruction	37 houses
Earthquake	Mandrehe	Nov 2006 – Oct 2007	ERHAM	150 houses
Earthquake	Gidö	Dec 2006 – March 2007	Building of an Orphanage (in cooperation with students from TU Vienna)	Orphanage
Earthquake	Moro'ö	Dec 2007 – June 2009	Moro'ö Housing - 1st & 2nd Phase	78 houses
Earthquake	Arolawölö, Lahewa	Dec 2007 – June 2009	School Reconstruction *(implemented by ACTED)*	School Building
Earthquake	Lawölö II	Dec 2007 – June 2009	Road improvement *(implemented by ACTED)*	9.7 km road
Earthquake	Hilimbaruzo	Apr 2008 – Aug 2009	Housing Reconstruction	123 houses & 6 water points

(Source: CKS; author's presentation)

The projects highlighted in blue are explored in more detail below as they set the basis for the discussion on beneficiaries' participation in reconstruction after natural disasters. The projects are chosen from those presented above due to several reasons: first, and most apparent, all three projects are focusing on housing, meaning that the beneficiaries are directly confronted with the reconstruction process. Second, the three projects differ in planning form and implementation procedures. The presumption can be made that different levels of involvement exist in each housing project. Third, the projects reflect the organisational development of CKS. While the first is implemented with little operational know-how on post-disaster reconstruction, CKS already employs long-term practice in the third project. Nevertheless, it becomes evident what kind of implementation strategies are applied, which challenges the organisation faces and what restrictions occur, during the projects' active phase.

In general, CKS' housing projects can be divided into four phases: Phase 1 starts in the aftermath of the tsunami of December 2004, with the provision of 50 houses to tsunami victims in Sirombu. Phase 2 represents the ERHAM project, where earthquake resistant houses are constructed in the Alasa and Mandrehe district. Phase 3 and 4 are implemented in the sub-district Moro'ö, where in total 78 houses are built. These four phases can be classified by two processes of home construction:

- Phase 1 and 4 are built by contractors hired by CKS
- Phases 2 and 3 are built by the beneficiaries who mostly hired builders

For the purpose of this thesis phases 1, 2 and 4 are described in detail below. Before going into detail, some general findings on the beneficiaries' situation on the ground provide a comprehensive overview of the post-disaster living environment. The data basis derives from an external evaluation on CKS reconstruction projects in 2010, where 29% of all beneficiaries are surveyed on their life situation after the disaster and changes experienced in their new houses. Following some overall findings the evaluation focuses on the shelter situation. It can be noted that both, the size of the household and the average literacy rarely changes in the evaluated time period (2005-2010). Slight increases can be observed in the gross enrolment rates, which is mainly a result of the construction of new elementary schools, close to or located directly in CKS' project areas. Regarding the health care situation, 40% of the respondents state that after the disasters, healthcare facilities are

established close to their home. No significant changes can be found concerning the physical access to local markets. On the housing projects related issues, 81% of the respondents indicated that they use the 'Rain Water Catching System' provided by CKS. Though, most of the households also have an active open well, which is used especially in drier periods. A major improvement in hygiene and sanitation is reached by the provision of integrated in-house toilets and septic tanks. Before the completion of the houses, only 6% of all respondents had a toilet in their old houses. After moving in, 90% use the provided sanitation and sewage facilities. Changes at the economic level are not observed: still the large part of the respondents, nearly 90%, is engaged in agriculture (rubber, rice, subsistence livestock) and unable to develop alternative income sources. In 2010, 92% of the surveyed households are not connected to the electricity network (CKS houses were provided without connection). Although the above-mentioned indicators do not directly lead to this conclusion, a large majority of the respondents state that their life situation improved since moving in. Mainly because the beneficiaries do not have to contribute financially to the construction of the houses, therefore saving money which they invest in other areas. For the most part (78%), respondents are very satisfied with the house provided by CKS. Another 13% are satisfied, while only 7% are neutral. For almost every respondent (99%) their current home is better than their old. Reasons named most often include the bigger house size and the solid architecture. Furthermore, water supply and the room arrangement are evaluated positively. Minor criticism includes the functionality of the windows, door locks and glass panels. According to Trummer's evaluation, only 5% of the entire sample builds the houses entirely by themselves, whereas in the other cases, CKS provides the constructor. The low degree of self-construction refers to a lack of technical skills and know-how. It is interesting that the evaluation of the beneficiaries shows that both, (mostly) passive recipients (phase 1 and 4) as well as people directly involved in the construction (phase 2 and 3) are satisfied with the building process they experience. "It is assumed that due to these high rates of satisfaction both Processes [sic!] were successful, and since these beneficiaries did not have the chance or opportunity to experience the other Process [sic!], they clearly expressed their preference for their respective home construction methodology." (Trummer, 2010: p. 34)

Reasons why a beneficiaries' led construction process is preferred, according to those involved respondents in phase 2 and 3, are as follows:

- Greater control of the building process, flexible time management and a reduction of construction errors
- More control over costs by directly paying the carpenters, who were hired by the beneficiaries
- Knowledge about the value of the houses, which enables the house owner to better assess their economic status

(cf. ibid.: 34)

The evaluation reveals that CKS' beneficiaries are mostly satisfied with both, implementation or construction procedure and the concrete output. Before discussing the housing projects visited by the author of this thesis, (namely Gawu Hao, Sisobambowo and Hayo) the needs assessment procedures and beneficiaries' selection criteria are presented as they are similar in all the three mentioned projects below.

In the immediate aftermath of the two disaster events, the Catholic priests of the *Holy Cross Parish of West Nias*[12] (hereafter referred to as parish priests) play an important role in CKS' project planning. The project team frequently consults Pastor Matthias local expertise of the area and its people. He and his colleagues are also the first to conduct a needs assessment on shelter in post-tsunami Nias. After their first review of the situation on the ground a list with possible beneficiaries is submitted to the project team, who are re-evaluating the actual needs of the families – proposed by the parish priest – in order to objectify the selection. According to the former member of CKS' project team in reconstruction and today's programme manager, Frans Esensiator, the needs assessment shows which families are in urgent need of housing. This and their non-existent economic potential to independently (re-) build a house are the most significant selection criteria in all three projects this thesis highlights. (cf. X1 – Esensiator) Additionally, the parish priests are mediating between the beneficiaries and the project team all over the implementation periods. Mainly because of communication difficulties (Bahasa Indonesia is mostly not spoken by the rural Niasan population) and a good acquaintance between the priests and the local people. *"Because the assumption is, they [the parish priests] know the area*

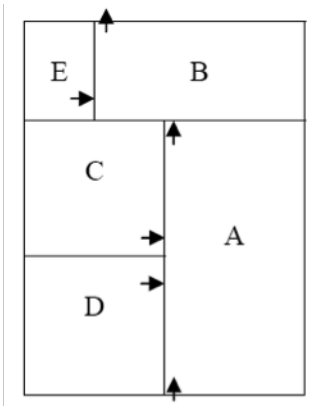
[12] All three project sites, visited by the author of this thesis, are located in the *Holy Cross Parish of West Nias*

better than us." (ibid.) Furthermore, the housing projects have the following procedure in common:

House use

The following descriptions derive from the evaluation of the tsunami housing project in Sirombu, but can be also translated to the other two reconstruction sites in Sisobambowo and Hayo as the room set-up is designed similarly in each project, based on the experiences and beneficiaries' feedback in Sirombu. The objective of this subsection is not to establish a representative study about the use of the rooms, but to elaborate in general how beneficiaries live in their houses. It shows how CKS' design and respondents' real use of the houses match respectively differ.

Figure 10: Room set-up in CKS' houses



(Burghardt/Hilbring, 2006: p. 3)

Room A is almost exclusively used as an open, public room where household members live during daytime and where guests are welcomed. It is the room for representation, usually equipped with family photos, decoration and in some cases with a television and/or radio. Due to a lack of space, it also used as sleeping room for the male members of the household. Room B was initially planned as a kitchen, but is used in most cases as a dining room. In rural areas the people still prefer to cook and eat outside, thus this rooms sometimes also functions as a study room for the children or a storage room. Cooking is performed outside, as house owners prefer to avoid polluting the houses by burning wood material inside, which causes a lot of smoke. In traditional houses, cooking in the house interior represents a smaller problem, as the smoke can escape through the roof covered by palm leaves. Furthermore, some of the respondents (also in the author's survey) mention that they still cook in their temporary shelter premises. Rooms C and D are designed as bedrooms and are also used this way. It is very common that, depending on the family size, more persons share one bedroom. Room E is planned and built as bathroom, while water supply is guaranteed by a rainwater harvesting system and external water tanks. In all houses built by CKS, both are provided. However, this room is not

used according to its actual function: mostly household members perform their personal hygiene outside. In most of the cases this room is also used as a storage room. In the author's interviews some respondents criticise the missing ceiling, which generally is used as an additional storage space. As it is described below, the general design of the houses is already predetermined by CKS, though edificial and/or functional adaptions, according to the actual household needs, are necessary in most of the cases. A constructional enlargement of the houses expresses the social position of a family, though they are not performed frequently due to a lack of financial resources.

For the purpose of this thesis, a survey is conducted over the period of September and October 2013 in three villages, which are affected by the disasters and are provided with houses by CKS. The homeowners are interviewed about their experiences with the building process, regarding the general course of construction and their involvement in the different building phases. However, the building process is not described in all detail due to the author's lack of knowledge about the technical aspects of construction.

The following chapter reveals and analyses the beneficiaries' participation in particular and its reference to the theoretical framework presented above.

6 PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES IN CKS' HOUSING PROJECTS

In the previous chapter the post-disaster situation in Nias is presented. The two catastrophes had an immense impact on the infrastructural, economic and social state of the small island. Prompt emergency response by means of food delivery, medical aid and temporary shelter is crucial in the immediate aftermath of the disasters, while extensive reconstruction in form of the creation of technical and social infrastructure as well as the building of permanent houses is needed to re-establish decent living and working conditions. The CKS' housing projects certainly contribute to the aim of "Building Nias Back Better". (BRR and International Partners, 2006: p. 22)

In the following, three selected CKS projects, located in Sirombu (Gawu Hao), Moro'ö (Hayo) and Sisobambowo (cf. Annex 12), are discussed in relation to the scientific debate on participation in development cooperation and humanitarian action presented in Chapter 3. By closely inspecting the housing projects, this section reveals three factors: (1) the course of CKS' planning and implementation process; (2) the form of beneficiaries' involvement in the respective housing projects and; (3) the intensity of the participatory approaches, applied by CKS. By correlating the working procedure in the respective projects with the theoretical framework, the degree of involvement of beneficiaries into the construction work can be uncovered.

Figure 11: Intensity of beneficiaries' participation in housing projects

low			medium			high
passive	information supply	consultation	material incentives	supply of material, cash or labour	interactive	local initiatives

As the level of participation is presented in written form (e.g. Pretty, 1995 or ANALP, 2003), a graphical classification, based on the analysis of the beneficiaries' involvement in the respective housing projects, is suggested, to present the intensity of beneficiaries' participation in the housing projects. This chart derives from ANALP's level of participation (2003, p. 22) and is highlighted in the presentation of the allocation of tasks in Table 9 - Table 11.

Generally, the analysis reveals that in all the housing projects, presented in this section, active and passive participation of affected people is applied. When consulting the four-stage *community participation continuum* introduced by Dahl-Østergaard et al. (2003), all of the CKS' housing projects are found between the levels of consultation (beneficiaries as passive source of information and commentators on predefined project components) and active participation (beneficiaries are actively involved in the project planning and implementation process). This rough classification provides an initial indication of the role and position of the beneficiaries in the project's context, although a closer investigation is needed:

The three projects differ in form and extent of participation of the beneficiaries in the respective project simultaneously as they differ in the used building materials used as well as construction procedures in general. While in one, the beneficiaries are almost completely responsible for the building process; other projects are nearly entirely executed by a constructor, hired by CKS. The involvement of beneficiaries in housing projects clearly has its certain advantages and disadvantages, as has the inclusion of a constructor. (cf. Annex 8 & 9) Nevertheless, these decisions depend on the specific project context. The purpose of this chapter is to identify this context by exploring the planning and implementation methods introduced by CKS, the role of beneficiaries in these processes as well as some restraints the stakeholder faced which influenced the course of realisation. By concentrating on the involvement of respectively the opportunities to participate by beneficiaries, this thesis seeks to locate and describe the role of the future house owners in post-disaster Nias reconstruction projects.

Before analysing the three housing projects in detail, some general findings on CKS' working methods during the implementation of their housing projects are discussed in reference to some analytic categories introduced in a previous part of this thesis. The 4

different *forms of participation*, discussed in Chapter 3, name some potential interests of implementing organisations and "those on the receiving end" as well as the underlying purpose to implement projects by using participatory methods. By closer investigation of the three CKS housing projects it is noticeable that the projects in Sirombu as well as in Moro'ö can be located on the instrumental level. The involvement of the beneficiaries into the construction work is grounded on the utilisation of local resources in form of work force, which eventually can be related to the factor 'cost-effectiveness'. Contrary to CKS' second housing project: the ERHAM project targets at strongly involving the beneficiaries in all the project phases, whereas the organisational responsibilities are still located in the CKS project team. Nevertheless, the beneficiaries realise most of the tasks, through what they could generate knowledge about construction methods as well as realisation procedures. Therefore, the form of participation applied in the ERHAM project, can be defined on the representative level. This means that by involving the affected people into the planning and implementation phases, the beneficiaries can actively influence the course of the project. Nevertheless, it has to be stressed that the implementing organisation (CKS) predetermines the project setting. This means that the beneficiaries are involved in a pre-defined framework where the project components, working methods and intervention possibilities are already established. In this regard, Gaventa (2004: p. 35), in reference to Cornwall (2002), discusses invited spaces as a framework where people "as users, as citizens, as beneficiaries" are invited by a superordinate actor to participate. In contrast to so called 'claimed or created spaces' where the ordinary people become the project owners and decide on the project components as well as on the course of realisation. In the aftermath of natural disasters humanitarian organisation face a challenging working environment, justifying the aforementioned involvement procedures. Owing the multitude of people endangered and the enormous need for support in most of the cases a pre-defined framework with specific working procedures is needed to ensure the reconstruction progress. (cf. Davidson et al., 2006: p. 2) Further challenges and limitations regarding the involvement of beneficiaries, exclusively relevant within the CKS' reconstruction context, are presented in the following chapter.

While the participatory approaches can be distinguished from one project to another, at least some of the construction procedures presented below are similar in all of CKS' housing projects:

Before the actual construction start, except for the housing project in Sirombu, a prototype of the respective house is built in the base camp's area. Thereby CKS, the beneficiaries and the constructor can agree on the final house design, while the beneficiaries' opportunities to adapt or influence respectively, the design varies in each project, as it is discussed below. After the construction start, an agreement is established, informing beneficiaries about the construction duration, building process and the different responsibilities. The building process itself can roughly be divided into the following phases: (1) the preparation of the construction site; (2) provision of local material; (3) its production and/or transportation and (4) construction. The beneficiaries, if directly participating in the construction process, have to fulfil the tasks required before the next phase. The progress on the respective construction sites is monitored and confirmed by Caritas Austria's[13] inspection officer.

Regarding to the location of the plot no restrictions are given by CKS, except that it has to be in the possession of the beneficiary, which has to be confirmed by a legitimate certification letter, issued by the village leader (*kepala desa*). Before the construction start, the entire foundation and floor, in all the housing projects, has to be fully prepared by the beneficiaries, while the upper construction is either completed in an assisted self-help or a constructor-based approach, depending on the respective project. In phase 2 and 3 of CKS' housing construction, the organisation and the beneficiaries agree on a step-by-step process, which, as mentioned above, is facilitated by the *Holy Cross Parish of West Nias.* An additional similarity of all housing projects includes that by the construction's end the beneficiaries are donated a certain amount of money from CKS to purchase furniture, as furniture and electricity are not provided. The amount varies in the different projects, ranging from 500,000 in Moro'ö 2nd phase to 2 million IDR in Sirombu (an equivalent to 42,9 respectively 171,6 Euro in November 2005[14]).

The localisation of the CKS housing projects in Sirombu (Gawu Hao), Sisobambowo (ERHAM) and Moro'ö (Hayo) can be found in the annex (cf. Annex 12) while the context and implementing procedures are discussed in the following.

[13] Caritas Austria was the main funder of CKS's housing reconstruction
[14] Historical Exchange Rates coming from www.oanda.com

PROJECT NAME: SIROMBU TSUNAMI HOUSING

(Photo by CKS)

Disaster event:	Tsunami, December 2004
Location:	Sirombu district
Period:	March 2005 – September 2006
Realisation:	50 bricks houses, sized 6 x 8m / built by constructors hired by CKS
Interview site:	Hawu Gao (sub-village)
Respondents:	4
Date:	September 29, 2013

In Nias, the Western coastal areas were mostly affected by the tsunami in December 2004. Owing the destructive waves, which swept kilometres inland, a large number of houses became uninhabitable. On behalf of the diocese of Sibolga and in close consultation to partner organisations within the CI-network, CKS decides to provide permanent shelter for the myriad of people affected by the tsunami. The project is completely funded by Caritas Austria and initiated by Pastor Mathias of the Holy Cross Parish of West Nias. Since, as mentioned above, at that time there is no institutionalised form of CKS, the project is initially guided by a cooperation of members of the diocese of Sibolga and a volunteering 5-member student group (majoring in civil engineering) from Yogyakarta (Java). These students provide technical advice to the diocese's persons in charge. According to today's CKS' program manager Frans Esensiator, who was one of those students, initially the project is planned differently: by January 2005 a project framework draft is created, in which temporary shelter for the tsunami affected people can be provided within a time-frame of three months. Owing the immense need for shelter, the major finding of the parish's needs assessment, the initial plan needs adaptions: the project area is extended, so the number of houses, which eventually have to be permanent not temporary. The students' initial design for a temporary shelter solution has to be withdrawn and is adapted to actual requirements on the ground. Therefore a second house model is prepared and designed by the diocesan building commission of Sibolga. As mentioned above, the project team was supported and accompanied by associated Caritas members from Austria and Italy. The construction starts in March 2005, lasts 16 months, but is interrupted by major challenges and operational re-orientation in the time the earthquake

hit Nias in March 2005, which not only causes damages to the construction efforts made so far but also puts enormous organisational pressure on the young project team.

Figure 12: Construction progress in Sirombu

(Photo by CKS)

Initially, the project plan aims to build houses using concrete pillars with iron reinforcement and wooden walls, because of the availability of local timber. Due to the shortage of timber in all of Nias, reasons of which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.4, the proportion of timber is reduced and eventually the walls are built using bricks. As the provision of bricks is limited, the beneficiaries are asked to participate in the bricks production, located in the parish of Sirombu next to CKS' base camp. Furthermore, they support the constructor on the sites. Therefore, the beneficiaries are actively involved in the provision of building materials and the construction work, although their contribution is limited. *"We contributed with our work power. We were supporting to build this house. For example we were taking gravel and sand from the river. We were making the bricks." (S2 - Sirombu)* According to the *Typology of participation in humanitarian action* presented in Chapter 3, the beneficiaries' involvement in the building process in Sirombu is confined to the provision of work force, which is participation through the supply of material, cash or labour. As stated above, labour is a relevant expense factor in reconstruction projects. Therefore the involvement of the beneficiaries in technically simple working steps seems reasonable. "*We have been involved in digging land in order to prepare the fundament for the houses. Besides we fetched water and were participating in the production of bricks." (S1 - Sirombu)* The project team establishes deadlines and quantities for the bricks production and supervises the process, thereby guaranteeing the quality and continuation of the building process. Generally, a constructer recruited by CKS executes the construction of the house.

Davidson et al. classifies the community participation in post-disaster housing projects by separating the project activities into program- and project initiation, project financing, design, construction and post-project modifications-additions. (cf. 2006: p. 5) As this grouping proved inapplicable in regard to the involvement of beneficiaries into the CKS'

housing projects, the classification to reproduce the specific project context properly is adapted for the purpose of this thesis:

Table 9: Task allocation in Tsunami Housing Sirombu

ACTOR / ACTIVITIES	Beneficiaries	CKS' project team	Parish	Constructor / carpenter
Needs assessment			x	
Selection of beneficiaries		x	x	
Project planning		x		
House design	x	x	x	
Site selection	x	x		
Land preparation	x			
Building material	x	x		
Construction work				x
INTENSITY	low > medium			

(Scheme adapted from Davidson et al., 2006)

The findings, presented in Table 9, derive from an analysis of CKS's reports as well as from interviews with beneficiaries and CKS' persons in charge during the reconstruction work. The project planning, activity scheduling and task allocation are exclusively organized by the project team, while the beneficiaries are only involved by providing their work force.

While the beneficiaries are indispensable for the labour-intensive project components, possibilities to decide or influence the project planning in general are scarce. As stated in the previous chapter the Holy Cross Parish of West Nias executes the needs assessment and the selection of the beneficiaries. While the findings are re-evaluated by CKS, the project team exclusively operates the project planning: "*Our difficulties at that time were that we did not have enough experiences and we were really project-team-driven oriented. So, we paid no respect to the participation of the beneficiaries. Not all in all, but we did not consider the methodology like we implemented within the ERHAM project.*"

(X1 - Esensiator) By closely investigating the task allocations in Table 9 it becomes evident that the housing project in Sirombu is controlled to a large part by the project team, which sets the framework and working procedures. Nevertheless, the beneficiaries re able to influence some project phases:

Although there exists no prototype as in the following housing projects, the future house owners are able to influence the house design, although only some minor changes re approved:

- *"During the mass meeting in the parish we suggested, to scale up the size of the houses to have additional space for the kitchen and the toilet. That is why there is now more space." (S4 - Sirombu)*
- *"Initially the floor was planned without iron reinforcement. After asking for it, it was provided." (S1 - Sirombu)*
- *"Before the earthquake there was a different design. But after the earthquake they adapted to an earthquake-resistant structure." (S1 - Sirombu)*
- *"We have not been involved in designing this house. Caritas already designed it. We were only following the design. We were not involved when the Caritas drew and designed this house." (S2 - Sirombu)*

Additionally, some changes the beneficiaries request, such as the implementation of a ceiling or kitchen facilities, are not provided. Others, such as some minor adaptions regarding the arrangement of the rooms or the location of windows, are not addressed by the interviewees though approved by CKS. (cf. Burghardt/Hilbring, 2006) Two project components where the beneficiaries obtain full responsibility, although being supported in technical questions by CKS, are the site selection and the land preparation. These two procedures are applied identical in all housing projects. After being selected as a project beneficiary, the prospective house owner has to provide a land where the property situation is resolved, proven by a confirmation letter issued by the village leader. "*We decided by ourselves and we bought it with the money coming from the government." (S4 - Sirombu)* "*Yes, we chose the location. But Caritas and the pastor checked if the land was good or not." (S1 - Sirombu)* After assessing the accessibility of the site, the probability of disaster impacts (such as flooding, tsunami effects in coastal areas) and the character of the soil, CKS approved the construction site. The beneficiaries can start immediately

with the land preparation by flattening the land and consolidating the construction site, whereon the transport of the building material starts.

The 'Sirombu Tsunami Housing' evaluation conducted in 2006 reveals that some parts of the houses are not completed (unfinished septic tanks, door frames), while other respondents criticise that insufficient building material is used. (cf. Burghardt/Hilbring, 2006) Nevertheless, the acceptance of the beneficiaries of their houses is very high. The respondents report that they experienced the situation after the two earthquakes as hopeless; therefore the houses from CKS are regarded as a gift. Given their weak economic situation after the occurrence of the disasters this seems more than plausible. The evaluation concludes that most of the responding beneficiaries are satisfied with the house design, the arrangement of the rooms as well as with the used building materials. Though minor changes have been made or are considered for the future. The rooms are partially used differently but mainly in order to adapt them to current family needs. Most families prefer a large living room (Room A) and large bedrooms (Room C and D) while the kitchen and bathrooms are mostly not used according to CKS' house design. Household members prefer to cook next to or behind the home using log fire. Because the kitchen equipment is not provided by CKS and financial resources are scarce, this option is the only possible.

The analysis of the tsunami housing project in Sirombu reveals that this first project is managed and controlled by the project team, working procedures are pre-defined, responsibilities and task are allocated, which weakens the role of the beneficiaries in the construction process. Even if the beneficiaries are only involved in labour-intensive project phases and lack measurable influence on the design or course of the housing project they are satisfied with the result:

- *"We are really happy with this house, because first we did not have a house here, only the one near the beach. So, when Caritas came to build this house, we are really happy to stay here." (S2 - Sirombu)*
- *"We are very satisfied with the house, as it is. We feel happy staying in this house, more than in the wooden, small house in the beach side. Now we have a concrete, a permanent one." (S3 - Sirombu)*

- *"I am very satisfied and happy. Because at that time we did not have any source of income to build a house." (S4 - Sirombu)*

Evidently these statements have to be analysed critically: first of all because of the deprived situation the people lived in after the occurrence of these two devastating disasters, unable to (re-) build a house by themselves. Secondly, by answering questions of a white researcher, who might share the interview's output with potential implementing organisations, some of the responds cannot be taken as indisputable. This is also the case for the answers from the interviews conducted in the following two projects.

To summarise, the possibilities to influence the house design are very limited and moreover, scarce financial resources reduce the possibilities to undertake adaptations after the finalisation. Although the beneficiaries are responsible for preparing the construction site, CKS' project staff issues the approval. Nevertheless, these procedures are justified by the lack of technical know-how of the beneficiaries, as accessibility and risk assessment are crucial when building a house.

PROJECT NAME: EARTHQUAKE RELIEF HOUSING ALASA MANDREHE (ERHAM)

(Photo by CKS)

Disaster event:	Earthquake, March 2005
Location:	Alasa and Mandrehe district
Period:	Nov 2006 – October 2007
Realisation:	150 houses with a wooden structure with calciplank walls, sized 6,25 x 7,25m / built by beneficiaries or carpenters hired by beneficiaries
Interview site:	Sisombambowo (sub-village)
Respondents:	3
Date:	September 29th, 2013

The occurrence of the earthquake on March 28th, 2005 left nearly 10% of the total Niasan population homeless. According to a World Bank estimate, a total of 13,500 houses were needed to satisfy peoples' needs for permanent shelter. (cf. World Bank, 2007: p. 69) While CKS construct the tsunami a house using a contractor-based approach, the organisation decides to base the following second phase of reconstruction on an assisted self-help construction. From November 2006 until October 2007 150 houses are constructed in the district of Alasa and Mandrehe, West Nias. Basically the project process is divided into six building phases, from the preparation of the construction site over the provision of building material to the actual construction work. The beneficiaries are able to determine their building preferences. According to the evaluation on CKS' reconstruction activities, 81% of the respondents in phase 2 (ERHAM) and phase 3 (Moro'ö 1st phase) recruit carpenters by themselves, 7% are constructing the house entirely on their own, while another 5% use a combination of hiring workers and building alone. (cf. Trummer, 2010: p. 40f.) Initially, the model is planned to be entirely from timber (like the prototype). Owing to a limited timber supply in Nias, the project team decides to adapt the building material by using calciplanks, an asbestos-free fibre-cement board. (cf. CKS, 2009: p. 3) Esensiator describes the building process as *"very easy to build"* as a team of carpenters already pre-manufacture the building components, such as wall boards (calciplank), door and window frames. Besides, an illustrated construction manual is provided

(produced by Caritas Austria's delegate). The manual consists of a series of detailed colour photographs and with a description in the local language (Bahasa Nias) next to the pictures. "The photo series can be used as a step-by-step guide for the carpenter, the self-help house builder or a contractor in getting the construction details right." (CKS, 2007: p. 4) Though, the report (CKS 2007) also reveals that the manual is rarely used in practice, due to several textual reasons which are not discussed any further here.

Table 10: Task allocation in ERHAM project

ACTOR / ACTIVITIES	Beneficiaries	CKS' project team	Parish	Constructor / carpenter
Needs assessment			x	
Selection of beneficiaries		x	x	
Project planning		x		
House design		x	x	
Site selection	x	x		
Land preparation	x			
Building material	x	x		
Construction work	x			x
INTENSITY	medium > high			

(Scheme Adapted from Davidson et al., 2006)

The main building skeleton is made of timber, thus being locally provided and processed. The materials are supplied per phase, though not until the previous phase is executed properly. Before the beneficiaries at the CKS base camp are able to collect the materials, the construction site requires preparation. The height of the foundation depends on the construction site's location and the respective exposure to yearly floods, whereas Caritas provides funds for a foundation level of up to 40 cm, which is calculated in cooperation of CKS's technical advisors. Above this level the beneficiaries have to cover the costs themselves and are additionally responsible for the financial compensation of the hired workers/carpenters. The payment is provided from CKS but has to be obtained from its base camp by the future house owners.

Figure 13: Construction progress in Alasa and Mandrehe

(Photo by CKS)

Prior the project start a demonstration prototype of the houses is constructed in the parish of Sirombu. The selected beneficiaries are invited and asked for feedback on the design and informed about the construction process. After viewing the prototype a construction agreement has to be signed. According to CKS' reports, the beneficiaries have influence on the house design, though house owners' responds in the ERHAM project area reveal a different picture: *"Already at the mass meeting they showed us the design of this house. But we could not give suggestions for a new design or adaptations. It was already fixed by Caritas." (E1 - Sisobambowo)* Other interviewees stated: *"The design was already fixed. I could not influence this." (E2 - Sisobambowo) "No, we used the fixed design. We could not move or change it. That was the design that was used by the carpenter." (E3 - Sisobambowo)* Besides different building materials and construction procedures, the house design in the ERHAM-project resembles those in the Sirombu reconstruction work due to the similar room arrangement, provided facilities and sizes. To enable the beneficiaries to actively participate in the construction work a simple knock-down system is implemented, whereat the pillars are made out of timber and the wall boards were pre-manufactured calciplanks, providing certain advantages: *"There are enough people, who can work with timber. We could have worked with a knock-down system using bricks but we did not follow this construction approach, as it is outside the local knowledge." (X1 - Esensiator)* This resulted in efficient involvement of the beneficiaries in all of the construction phases, where, as mentioned above, the people individually decide what they are able to contribute in building the houses:

- *"When we got this house, we got a short education how to build it and we got a carpenter toolkit. We also got some sort of approval to buy sand, gravel and timber for the construction work." (E1 - Sisobambowo)*
- *"We, the beneficiaries were looking for the carpenters, but they were paid by CKS."(E1 - Sisobambowo)*

- *"We selected the three carpenters by ourselves. One of those was my husband, who was also involved in the construction work. And he got paid. He got salary from CKS." (E2 - Sisobambowo)*
- *"It was our task to find the carpenters. […] The pastor already scheduled the transport of the building material. It was brought from the parish to our construction site by car. We just had to prepare the land, by making it even." (E3 - Sisobambowo)*

With reference to the *Typology of participation in humanitarian action*, the beneficiaries' participation in the construction process in the ERHAM project in Sisobambowo can be ascribed to 3 different levels of involvement. Similar to the housing project in Sirombu, the beneficiaries are included in the labour-intensive construction phases (= Participation through the supply of material, cash or labour). As timber resources are in some cases provided by the beneficiaries, this project can be located further on the level of participation through material incentives, meaning supply of building material "in exchange for a payment in cash or in kind from the aid organisation." (ANALP, 2003: p. 22) Again, the beneficiaries select different extents of involvement depending on their own time resources and technical know-how. Therefore the form of participation might vary from one beneficiary to another. Nevertheless, CKS' design and implementation procedures in the ERHAM project differ from those executed in the 1st phase in Sirombu. By including the beneficiaries in all the construction phases, the former disaster victims become active in the construction site preparation, transport and production of building material, employing carpenters or they are even building by themselves. Although interactive participation refers to possibilities for the beneficiaries to actively influence the decision-making processes (which is not the case in the housing project in Sisobambowo), the implementation procedure surpasses an exclusive participation approach through the supply of material, cash or labour. ERHAM beneficiaries hold responsibility over a range of tasks, among others the self-assessment of their construction capabilities. Nevertheless, they are confined within the scope of a pre-defined project setting by CKS.

PROJECT NAME: MORO'Ö HOUSING FOR THE DEPRIVED COMMUNITY (2ND PHASE)

(Photo by Yusman Telaumbanua)

Disaster event:	Earthquake, March 2005
Location:	Moro'ö and Tugala Oyo Sub- district
Period:	February – June 2009
Realisation:	30 houses: light gauge steel structure with calciplank walls, sized 6 x 7m / built by contractros hired by CKS
Interview site:	Hayo (sub-village)
Respondents:	3
Date:	October 5th, 2013

Before discussing the 2nd phase in the Moro'ö reconstruction project, a description of the 1st phase is given below in order to understand CKS' intervention logic on one hand and the methodology changes on the other.

In the initial planning phase, the sub-district of Moro'ö is included in the ERHAM project, as the area is severely damaged by the earthquake and its largely poor rural population. However, due to access difficulties the plan is re-designed: so that the reconstruction started within the scope of the new established Moro'ö project. During the project's first phase (December 2007 – January 2009) a total of 48 houses are erected in an assisted self-help construction (similar to ERHAM). Additionally, a livelihood approach is included, which, however, will not be examined further in this thesis; mainly owing to the fact that this approach is operationally implemented by the French NGO ACTED, which is improving the village roads and building a school in consultation with CKS. (cf. CKS, 2009b) As the project area is difficult to access, the building material consists mainly of local timber. The houses are "technically-friendly" (ibid.: p. 1) designed, thus simplifying the building process, while an earthquake-resistant architecture complies with the CA's building safety standards. Water and sanitation facilities are integrated in each house with

a rainwater harvesting system as main supply source. As in the previous project (ERHAM) a prototype is erected in the Sirombu parish, enabling the beneficiaries the inspection of their future houses.

Similar to the ERHAM project, the beneficiaries supervise the main tasks of the construction process. Collection and transport of timber and the processing to wooden boards, the organisation of workers and carpenters as well as their payment is among their responsibilities. At the same time CKS provides financial and technical support and advice. Besides, the quality monitoring on the construction sites as well as the provision of building material which is not available in the surrounding area such as zinc roofs, nails and water tanks is organized by CKS' project team. The beneficiaries mostly accept these working procedures as it "helped to motivate [...] [them] to take on responsibility for the project and helped to manage the schedule of the project activities." (ibid: p. 3) By independently constructing their houses, the beneficiaries are motivated to efficient and quick work. As already discussed above, the main challenges are the shortage of timber and chainsaw operators in the region. Another problem is the limited number of local carpenters, although they are sought also in other districts. These are the main reasons why the construction start of all houses needs to be re-scheduled by the project team. Though, the largest part of construction is organized and executed by the beneficiaries, the project management of CKS is still required to set deadlines and place building priorities, guaranteeing a smooth construction procedure. (cf. CKS, 2009c: p. 5)

While the first phase of the Moro'ö housing project is conducted with a deep involvement of the beneficiaries in the construction process, the following second phase is implemented in a different manner:

As mentioned above, the scarcity of timber, the difficult accessibility of the area by road and available workforce represent the biggest limitations throughout the project process. Nevertheless, in October 2008 the planning for Moro'ö second phase (February to June 2009) starts. By end of 2008, a considerable number of families are in urgent need of permanent housing, as they are still living in temporary shelter. Additionally, their scarce income hinders an improvement of their current housing situation. While in the first phase the selection criteria are emphasizing those whose houses were destroyed by the earthquake, the second additionally selected those who were in a critical economic or social

situation. According to the report, the project focuses "on marginalized people [...] [such as] widows, handicapped people and very poor families that cannot afford to build them [the houses] by themselves." (CKS, 2009c: p. 2) The parish priests again conduct the needs assessment, but the total of 30 houses is built in different villages as those of the first phase.

Table 11: Task allocation in Moro'ö 2nd phase

ACTOR / ACTIVITIES	Beneficiaries	CKS' project team	Parish	Constructor / carpenter
Needs assessment			x	
Selection of beneficiaries		x	x	
Project planning		x		
House design		x	x	
Site selection	x	x		
Land preparation	x			
Building material		x		x
Construction work				x
INTENSITY	low			

(Scheme adapted from Davidson et al., 2006)

The entire construction process lasts 10 weeks and a completion before July 2009 is essential, as the earmarked funds for post-tsunami and earthquake reconstruction in Aceh and Nias are phased out. Owing to these circumstances, CKS implements with a constructor-based approach by recruiting a professional constructor from Java. While timber is still scarce, CKS decides on using the identical house design as in the ERHAM project, but to replace the timber with light steel for the house frames. (cf. Figure 14) This change in building material and the time pressure leads to in the decision to shift to a contractor-based approach, where the beneficiaries, in consultation with the project team, prepare the foundation and build the floor, bathroom and water tank, while the contractor is responsible for transporting and fitting the complete upper structure. (cf. CKS, 2009c: p. 3) The overall process is monitored and coordinated by a delegate from Caritas Austria.

Figure 14: Construction progress in Moro'ö

(Photo by CKS)

While the beneficiaries are involved in land provision and foundation preparation, constructors execute the general construction. Therefore participation through material incentives is applied in the project's course, though only in the early beginning of the construction process. In the ongoing construction work, the beneficiaries are informed about the progress, thus, according to ANALP's *typology of participation in humanitarian action* (2003: p. 22), they are only marginally involved - Passive participation. Due to mere observation of the construction process, the learning effects are lacking, as stated by the interviewed beneficiaries.

- *"The owner of these houses, like us; we were supporting the carpenters by bringing material, for example to make the roof. Yes, to support them. Just small things. Like power helper." (M1 - Moro'ö)*
- *"For foundation, we contributed. But for walling and roofing, we only observed. But when the material came, we took it from the car and stored it. We only observed, because the carpenters already set everything. Around 7 people were working here." (M3 - Moro'ö)*

Moro'ö second phase's design and implementation approach differs from the two presented above. Due to the short time span of 4 months, CKS decides to build the houses based on a contractor approach. A contractor, recruited by CKS, executes all activities, except the preparation of the foundation and floor. Nevertheless, by signing the contract in March 2009 and after 10 weeks construction work, 30 families in need are provided with permanent shelter.

7 CONCLUSION: PARTICIPATION IN RECONSTRUCTION

Subsequent to the description and analysis of the three housing projects, this last section aims to review the research question, by comparing CKS' housing projects as well as the beneficiaries' perception of their involvement in the construction process. Furthermore, the main challenges and limitations of participatory approaches in reconstruction, CKS faced during the implementation phase, are discussed. Additionally, advantages and disadvantages of involving beneficiaries in the housing projects are presented in the annex. (cf. Annex 8 & 9)

The aim of this thesis is to identify the relevance of participation in reconstruction in post-disaster areas. Throughout the thesis, different aspects of beneficiaries' involvement in reconstruction projects in general and in the CKS' housing projects in particular are discussed, and it is argued that involving affected people is essential to secure a middle and long-term improvement of their living situation. A number of theoretical approaches consulted within the presentation of the case study are introduced. A special geographical emphasis is laid on Nias, an island that was struck by two devastating earthquakes in late 2004 and early 2005. With Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga, an implementing organisation is selected, which is still active in development cooperation in Nias.

Before exploring the CKS' project contexts and implementation strategies as well as the participatory approaches applied, the underlying theory on participation in development cooperation and reconstruction is presented. It is important to explore Indonesia due to its vulnerability to natural disasters. Following that, a comprehensive view on Nias and the impact of the two disasters on the small island is given. On these grounds, an ample presentation of reconstruction efforts is included in this thesis, supplemented by an extensive overview on the activities of CKS in post-disaster Nias. Eventually, the case study reveals that working in reconstruction is an immense challenge for the implementing organisation; it is an even bigger challenge when involving beneficiaries in the planning and construction process.

Participation in emergency response or reconstruction and rehabilitation activities cannot be compared to projects and programmes in development cooperation. While in emergency response participatory approaches are scarce, besides the support in distributing relief items, the involvement of beneficiaries in reconstruction is relatively more common though limited by several aspects, which are discussed in the context of CKS housing projects.

Table 12: Summary of the spread of responsibilities between project participants in the three CKS housing projects

PROJECT / ACTIVITIES	Sirombu Tsunami Housing	ERHAM Housing	Moro'ö Housing
Needs assessment	PA	PA	PA
Selection of beneficiaries	PT - PA	PT - PA	PT - PA
Project planning	PT	PT	PT
House design	BEN - PT - PA	PT - PA	PT - PA
Site selection	BEN - PT	BEN - PT	BEN - PT
Land preparation	BEN	BEN	BEN
Building material	BEN - PT	BEN - PT	PT - CON
Construction work	CON	BEN - CON	CON
Position of the project in the *ladder of participation* proposed in Chapter 3	**consult > collaborate**	**collaborate > empower**	**inform**

(Scheme adapted from Davidson et al., 2006)[15]

The analysis of the three housing projects shows that the provision of houses to the affected people is important for the beneficiaries, although their daily life remains severely challenging. Based on the interviews, some major findings are presented in the following.

[15] BEN … Beneficiaries
PT … Project Team
PA … Holy Cross Parish of West Nias
CON … Contractor / Carpenters

By close investigation of Arnstein's and Choguill's *ladder of community participation* (cf. Chapter 4.5), adapted by Davidson et al. (2006) and applied to the context of reconstruction in post-disaster situations, the three projects can be compared, revealing the intensity of beneficiaries' participation in each project (cf. Table 12).

The three housing projects differ in the course of realisation, design and used building materials as well as in possibilities to contribute to the decision-making. As Table 12 shows, the intensity of participation varies from one project to another. The Tsunami housing project in Sirombu is project-management driven where the beneficiaries are asked to participate within strictly organized working procedures and organisational structures. They participate physically to a small extent; however, they are consulted about their needs and wants, which have some minor influence on the construction progress. Learning from these first experiences in reconstruction, CKS implements the following two housing projects (ERHAM and Moro'ö 1st phase) with an assisted self-help construction approach by involving the beneficiaries in almost all project phases. The beneficiaries decide if they feel able to work and organise the construction independently. A majority, however, cooperates with professional carpenters.[16] Although this approach is rather efficient, the last 30 houses in the sub-district of Moro'ö (2nd phase) are realised with a contractor-based approach, offering effectively no possibilities for the beneficiaries to influence the project's course, except for more information about the course of construction.

Regarding the technical limitations and the lack of know-how on the part of the beneficiaries, the participation in CKS' housing projects rarely provides additional technical knowledge - though with some minor exceptions in ERHAM and Moro'ö 1st phase. Nevertheless, the beneficiaries appreciate the support from Caritas despite their limited contribution. In relation to the transformational potential introduced in Chapter 3, the reconstruction projects implemented by CKS in Nias hardly induce change, neither on the individual nor the community level. Furthermore, there exist no significant learning effects

[16] According to the evaluation on CKS' reconstruction activities, 81% of the respondents in phase 2 (ERHAM) and phase 3 (Moro'ö 1st phase) hired carpenters by themselves, 7% were constructing the house entirely on their own, while another 5% used a combination of hiring workers and building alone. (cf. Trummer, 2010: p. 40f.)

from the participation in the construction work. In general, people more or less observe the construction process, with some more intense involvement and responsibility regarding site selection and land preparation. Nevertheless, it has to be stressed that the projects and especially the involvement of the beneficiaries in the projects do not initiate major transformation in their living conditions. This is valid for CKS' housing projects; in the livelihood projects, which are implemented simultaneously to the reconstruction activities, the project approaches are different. The beneficiaries are directly involved in the project planning but as this includes activities it needs to be stressed that the subsequent projects are applied with a high level of participation but are implemented in areas not directly affected by the two disasters in 2004 and 2005. These are projects with emphasis on income-generating activities in forestry (rubber cultivation) and awareness raising activities strengthening the disaster risk reduction within communities in areas prone to natural disasters (such as flooding, earthquakes, tsunami) as well as anthropogenic causes (such as deforestation or stone mining). The spatial focus lies on areas, which are not supported in the reconstruction projects.

Within the CKS' housing projects, the project design and the implementation procedure are predefined by the project team which, to a large part, predetermines the house design, the facilities provided as well as the working steps. In general there are little major learning effects for the beneficiaries who participate in the reconstruction activities. At the same time no significant changes in their life situation can be observed, though all the respondents are very grateful about the houses from CKS. Owing to pre-defined timeframes, the project team adopt the main implementation tasks, which can be described as tyrannic, despite the technical nature of reconstruction, where certain top-down decisions are needed in order to guarantee a smooth and effective project course. Nevertheless it has to be mentioned that the possibilities for the affected people to actively contribute and discuss external ideas are negligible when they are not articulated within a given framework, e.g. the regular meetings which are held in the parish. Planning and implementing projects in post-disaster situations is a demanding task for humanitarian organisations. It has to be considered that there exists not only a lack of infrastructural access but also the affected population is in a vulnerable situation thus aggravating the possibility to mobilise resources such as time, knowledge or work force.
One notable aspect is revealed in the course of the interviews: providing affected people

with houses in the aftermath of natural disasters is important, although not the priority. The houses are received as a gift, therefore the beneficiaries will gladly accept it, however, there are no crucial changes in their overall living situation. They benefit from having a safe and healthy housing environment but will still struggle to earn a daily income, as almost all of the respondents are farmers, working in rubber cultivation or pig breeding. *"I am grateful for all the houses we got, but the problem is our economic situation. There is no source of income for us now." (Sirombu - S3)* The houses cannot improve their sources of income, however it further has to be stressed that this is not a designated project objective of CKS and therefore not directly followed by the project team. The beneficiaries are involved in the housing project differently. By investigating the levels of participation it becomes evident that although the people participate in the construction process, they do not benefit by gaining additional know-how on building procedures. Nevertheless, all of the projects are influenced by technical aspects (such as construction procedures), which necessitate having experienced carpenters and / or engineers involved. Therefore, the beneficiaries are unable to control the house construction on their own due to of a lack of technical knowledge. *"We were the ones receiving this house. We were just observing the carpenters and supported them a little bit to bring the material. Not technically. Technically seen, we did not know how to build this house. The Java people already knew everything. So we were not involved to construct this house." (M2 - Moro'ö)*

Housing projects in post-disaster reconstruction are accompanied by several challenges, among others: (1) adherence to construction codes and building standards, which complicates beneficiaries' independent work on the construction site; (2) compliance to start- and finish dates of the projects, resulting in time-critical implementation phases for humanitarian organisations and (3) after the occurrence of a natural disaster, the affected people are in a vulnerable situation, leaving little resources and capacities to actively participate in the reconstruction process. (cf. Davidson et al., 2006: p. 1f) Regarding the case study and reconstruction work relevant to this thesis, CA delegate Holzer regards the challenges as natural: the destruction of roads hampers the access to the field, especially to remote areas. This affects the cooperation with the beneficiaries as mainly the implementing organisation provides the available building material and organise the transport. Another point Holzer mentions are the priorities of affected people. The survivors are the first to build temporary shelter; they are engaged in the rice fields or rubber plantations

again, which eventually leads to a lack of time for participating in the construction process. Income-generating activities are prioritised while self-constructed temporary shelter (timber houses) satisfies the people's housing needs in the following years after the tsunami. Nevertheless, the people are happy to be selected as beneficiaries, though their motivation decreases in the course of the construction as they are engaged elsewhere leaving little time on the construction site. The communication with the beneficiaries is supported by the local parish priests, who represent very important mediators due to their intense knowledge about the people and culture of the Niasan people. For the project staff, which is Indonesian but did not speak the local language, as well as the delegates from Caritas Austria and Caritas Italy, the communicators are the main source of information.

To come back to the research question: participation in reconstruction after the occurrence of natural disasters is applied by humanitarian organisations but it does not reach the intensity of participatory approaches in projects of development cooperation. Though, the involvement of the affected people into reconstruction activities gains importance. Nevertheless, these approaches are severely limited by technical, organisational and temporal aspects. Therefore projects in reconstruction follow strict implementation procedures, set and realised by the humanitarian organisations.

Reconstruction is an important working area, as there always will be a need for permanent shelter after the occurrence of natural disasters, especially in developing countries. The support of international humanitarian organisations in reconstruction and rehabilitation can compensate limited national personnel and financial resources. Nevertheless, providing houses only, cannot improve the general living and working conditions of the people. Therefore accompanying actions such as capacity building in technical aspects, support in the formation of a small enterprise etc. is needed to improve the living conditions of the affected people in the long run.

The people directly affected by disasters are the most important actors in rehabilitation and reconstruction. They are the first to search for survivors, build temporary houses and to shelter displaced people. They are working intensively days and weeks before the (inter-) national emergency response even reaches the disaster hit areas. When humanitarian agencies start to plan and to implement their reconstruction projects, the beneficiaries still

have the role as suppliants, it is still the organisation's project the affected people are participating in or, precisely, are involved in as there is a pre-defined project framework given. Reconstruction does not raise a claim for being participatory. Though, as natural disasters will keep happening, the humanitarian organisations are challenged to reconsider their planning and implementing procedures, strengthening the beneficiary's role in the reconstruction process.

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List of interviewees

Tsunami Housing Sirombu - (all interviews held on September, 28th 2013)

S1 Ama Ari (man), 35 min

S2 Ama & Ina Faa (man and woman), 20 min

S3 Ina Fili (woman), 36 min

S4 Ama Fama (man) - 21 min

Earthquake-resistant Housing in Alasa and Mandrehe (ERHAM) –

(all interviews held on September, 28th 2013)

E1 Ama NN (man), 30 min

E2 Ina NN (woman), 24 min

E3 Ina NN (woman), 20 min

Moro'ö Housing for the Deprived Community (2nd phase) –

(all interviews held on October, 5th 2013)

M1 Ama Leli, (man), 16 min

M2 Ama & Ina Ria (man and woman), 24 min

M3 Ama NN (man), 26 min

Expert Interviews

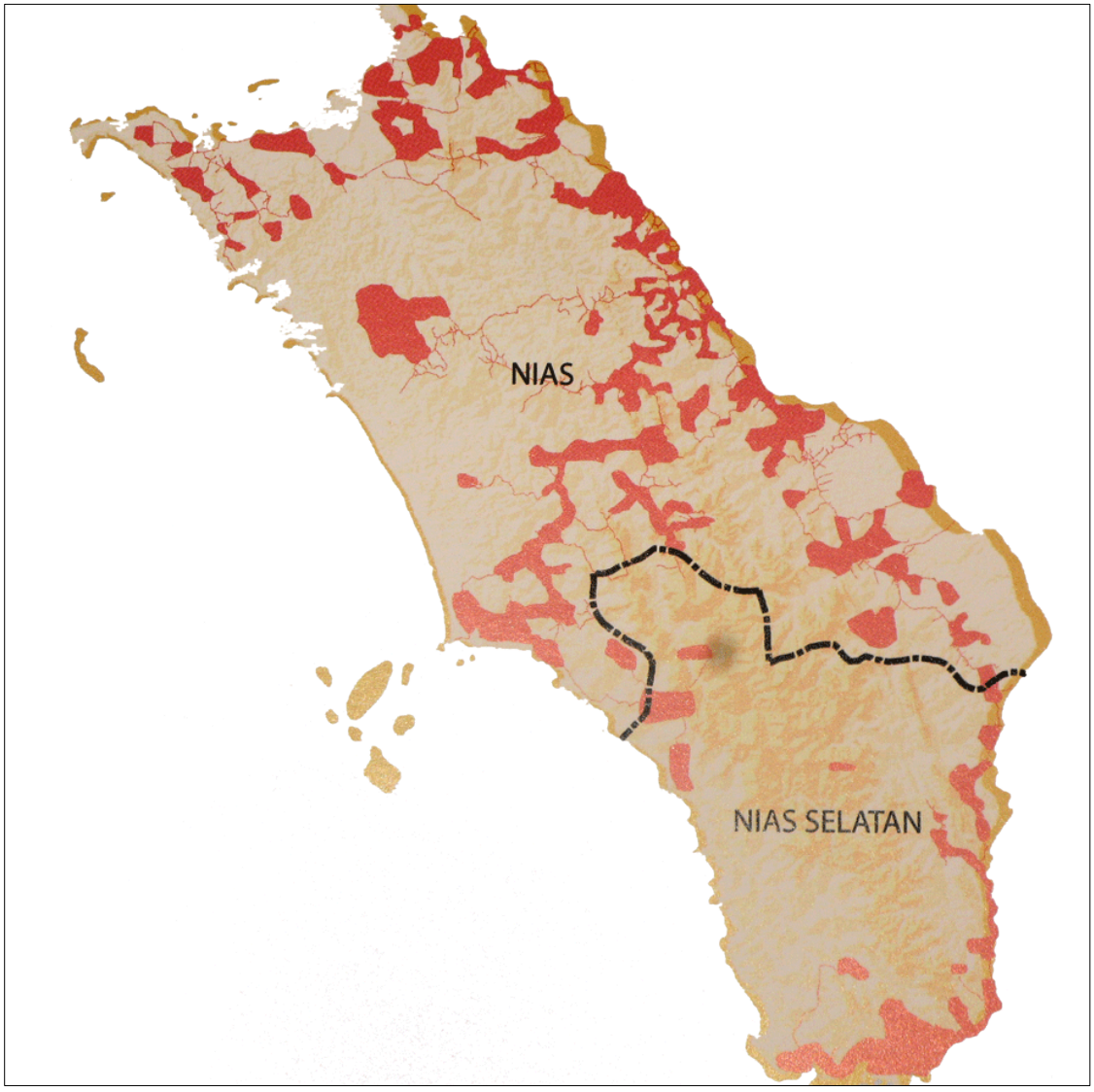
X1 Frans Esensiator, CKS Reconstruction Project Manager,
Interview held on September, 30th 2013, 65 min

X2 Silvia Holzer, CA Delegate in Nias,
Interview held on November, 23rd 2013, 62 min

ANNEX

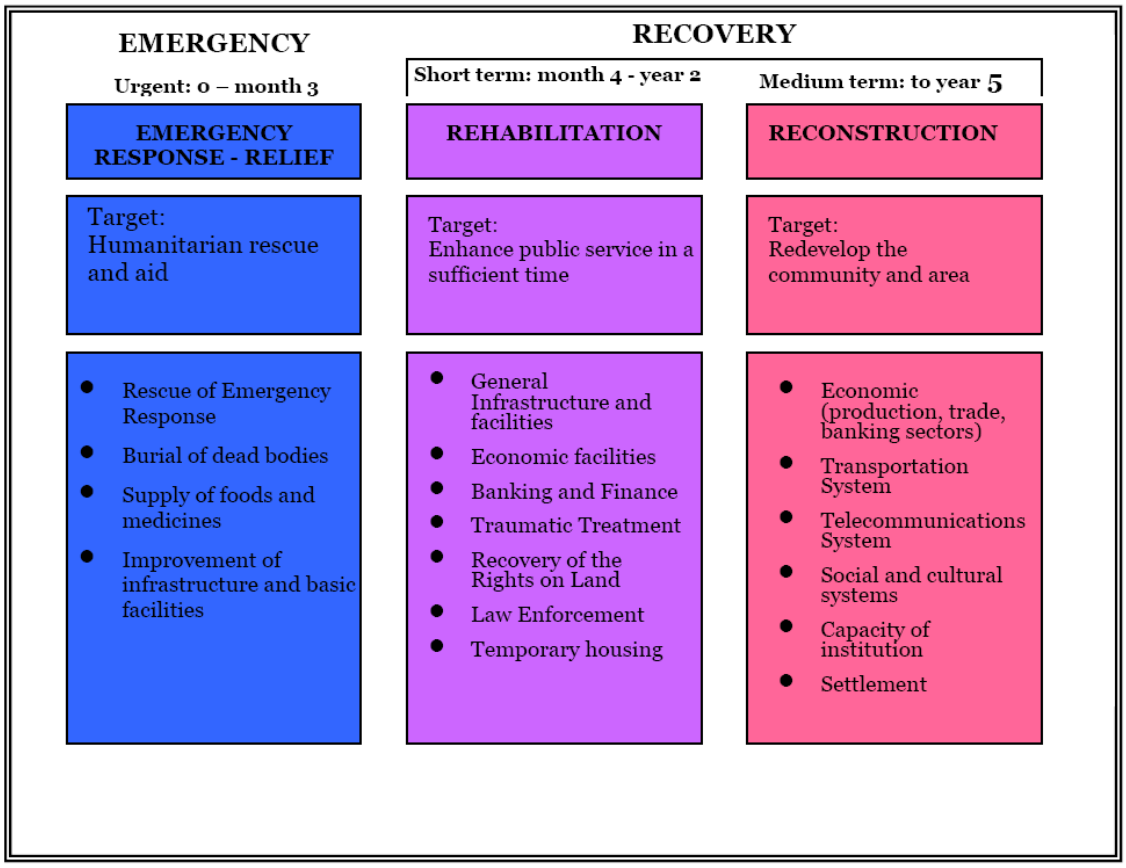
Spatial and statistical material

Annex 1: Tsunami & earthquake affected areas in Nias



(BRR, 2009: p. 13; adapted by the author of this thesis) - Disaster affected areas in red

Annex 2: Plan for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Aceh and Nias by the Government of Indonesia



(Republic of Indonesia, 2005: p. II-13)

Annex 3: Nias: Reconstruction progress

Sectors	Damage/Needs	Progress by March 2006	Progress by December 2006
Housing	• 13,500 unit houses	• 1,448 permanent house	• 5,440 permanent houses built/ repaired • 350 non-permanent houses/ transitional house
Education	• 755 out of 879 schools damaged/destroyed	• 12 new schools built, 98 under construction • 200 schools tents	• 124 permanent schools built/ repaired • 214 temporary schools
Health	• 2 hospitals • 170 health facilities required repair	• Revitalization of Gunung Sitoli hospital • 16,000 children immunized against measles	• 1 hospital rebuilt • 19 health facilities repaired
Infrastructure	• 3 bridges. • 800km district roads damaged • 266km provincial roads damaged • 12 large and small ports/ jetties destroyed	• Upgrading 130km provincial road and 126km district roads • Preparation 12 ports	• 37 bridges built • 309km road built, 250km under repaired • 3 ports/jetties and 2 airports under development

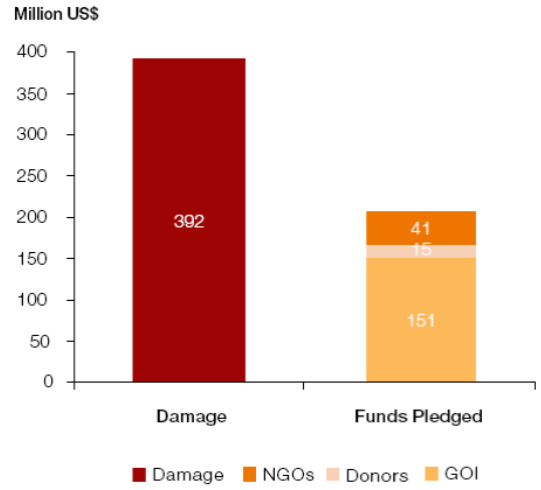
(World Bank, 2007: p. 69)

Annex 4: BRR 4-Years reconstruction efforts after tsunami and earthquake in Nias and Aceh

Disaster	Reconstruction efforts
635,384 People displaced	
127,720 People killed and 93,285 missing	
	155,182 laborers trained
	195,726 SMEs received assistance
139,195 Houses destroyed	**140,304** permanent houses built
73,869 Hectares of agricultural land destroyed	**69,979** hectares of agricultural land reclaimed
1,927 teachers killed	**39,663** teachers trained
13,828 fishing boats destroyed	**7,109** fishing boats built or provided
1,089 religious facilities destroyed	**3,781** religious facilities built or repaired
2,618 kilometers of road destroyed	**3,696** kilometers of road constructed
3,415 school destroyed	**1,759** schools built
517 health facilities destroyed	**1,115** health facilities constructed
669 government buildings destroyed	**996** government buildings constructed
119 bridges destroyed	**363** bridges constructed
22 ports destroyed	**23** ports constructed
8 airports or airstrips destroyed	**13** airports or airstrips constructed

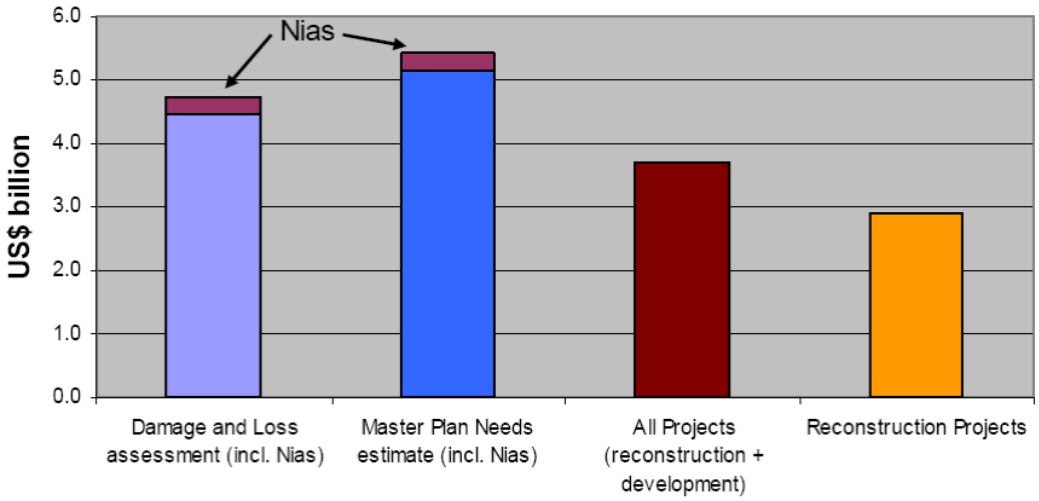
(Taken from BRR, 2009: p. xiii)

Annex 5: Nias – Comparison of Damage and Funds Pledged



(BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 130)

Annex 6: Reconstruction needs compared to existing projects (by end-September 2005)



(World Bank/BRR, 2005: p. xv)

Annex 7: Summary of all reconstruction and rehabilitation in Nias (in million US $)

	Government	Donors	Private NGOs	TOTAL
Social sector	28	9	16	53
Education	14	0	8	22
Health	8	0	9	17
Community, culture, religion	6	9	0	15
Infrastructure	98	1	24	123
Housing	51	1	21	73
Transport	30	0	0	30
Electricity, water and sanitation, irrigation	17	0	2	19
Productive sectors	7	2	1	11
Cross-sectoral (governance and environment)	19	0	0	19
TOTAL	**152**	**12**	**41**	**205**

(BRR and International Partners, 2005: p. 129)

Annex 8: Advantages and disadvantages using a contractor-approach in reconstruction

Advantages	Disadvantages
➢ Competent & prompt construction ➢ Project team can focus on its monitoring role ➢ High quality material and ➢ Contractor takes over procurement and logistics of the building material ➢ Appropriate for beneficiaries who cannot build their house by themselves (widows, the elderly, people with disabilities)	- Higher costs - No training effect for the beneficiaries - Maintenance

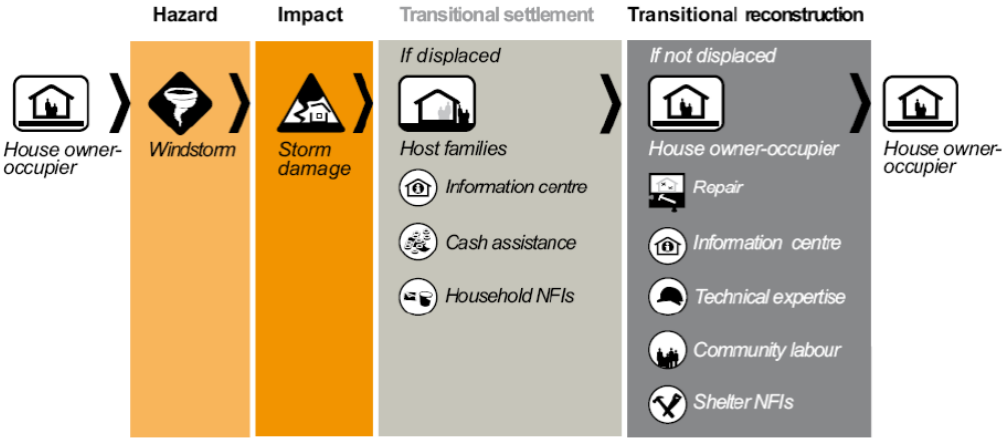
(cf. CKS, 2009c: p. 3; interpreted by the author of this thesis)

Annex 9: Advantages and disadvantages by involving the beneficiaries in reconstruction

Advantages (Umformulierung)	Disadvantages
➢ bigger sense of ownership ➢ working steps are negotiated ➢ adaption to local circumstances ➢ set priorities and activities together ➢ higher maintenance after the construction's end ➢ working on parallel construction sites	- time consuming - technical aspects - takes more coordination and supervision - need of qualified field staff for communication with beneficiaries

(cf. Holzer, Esensiator (expert interviews): interpreted by the author of this thesis)

Annex 10: Temporary shelter to permanent housing after a disaster event



Annex 11: Transitional shelter timeline

(Taken from Batchelor, 2011: p. 25)

Annex 12: Interview sites in Nias

(World Bank, 2007: p. 69; adapted by the author of this thesis)

Abstract

The impacts of natural disasters are challenging people all over the world. Emergency response in form of medical support, food delivery and temporary shelter is a crucial need in the immediate aftermath of a disaster. While these relief services are realised within the first three months, reconstruction activities have a medium and long-term perspective. The inclusion of beneficiaries in planning and decision-making processes in projects and programmes of development cooperation is the key element for a project to initiate social and structural transformation. Though, in rehabilitation and reconstruction the role of the beneficiary is different.

This thesis deals with the potentials, challenges and limitations of participation in reconstruction projects after natural disasters and follows the question if these participatory approaches can have transformative moments on the post-disaster living situation of the affected people. By consulting and correlating different approaches for the intensity of participation in a project context, the author of this thesis seeks to identify the role of the beneficiaries in three housing projects of Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga in Nias, Northern Sumatra (Indonesia), a small island affected by a tsunami in December 2004 and a devastating earthquake three months later, which left ten thousands homeless and in need of permanent shelter.

Semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries and Caritas persons in charge in reconstruction were conducted to explore the project context and implementation procedures. It became clear that the opportunities of beneficiaries to participate highly depend on the project setting, the implementing organisation provides. Furthermore, the adherence to building standards, limited local technical knowledge and the availability of building material influence the involvement procedures. That means that participatory approaches in reconstruction activities are limited to some labour-intensive project steps, which eventually leads to limited possibilities to influence the course and outcome of the housing projects.

Zusammenfassung

Die Auswirkungen von Naturkatastrophen stellen Menschen überall auf der Welt vor Herausforderungen. Katastrophenhilfe in Form von medizinischer Versorgung, Nahrungsmittelverteilung und Notunterkünften wird in den ersten drei Monaten nach dem Eintreten der Katastrophe durchgeführt. Anschließend wird mit dem Wiederaufbau begonnen, der eine mittel- und langfristige zeitliche Ausrichtung hat. Während die Einbindung der Projektbegünstigten (beneficiaries) im Rahmen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit schon seit vielen Jahrzehnten eine wichtige Projektkomponente darstellt, zeigt sich in der Wiederaufbauhilfe ein anderes Bild.

Diese Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich mit Potentialen, Herausforderungen und Einschränkungen partizipativer Ansätze im Wiederaufbau nach Naturkatastrophen und stellt die Frage, in wie weit diese, transformative Auswirkungen auf das Leben der betroffenen Bevölkerungen haben können. Unter Bezugnahme auf verschiedene theoretische und praktische Modelle, beleuchtet der Autor die Rolle der Begünstigten in drei Wiederaufbauprojekten der Caritas Keuskupan Sibolga auf der Insel Nias, Nord-Sumatra (Indonesien). Die Insel wurde im Dezember 2004 von einem Tsunami getroffen sowie drei Monate von einem Erdbeben zu einem Großteil zerstört - zwei Katastrophen, die Zehntausende ohne Dach über dem Kopf ließen.

Halb-strukturierte Interviews mit Begünstigten und Caritas-Verantwortlichen im Wiederaufbau wurden durchgeführt, um den Projektkontext und die Implementierungsphase zu beleuchten. Es stellte sich heraus, dass die Möglichkeiten der Partizipation und Mitgestaltung sehr stark vom Projektsetting abhängen, der von der durchführenden Organisation vorgegeben wird. Außerdem beeinflussen die Einhaltung von Baustandards, eingeschränktes technisches Wissen der Begünstigten sowie die Verfügbarkeit von lokalen Ressourcen den Einbindungsgrad. Das heißt, dass partizipative Ansätze in der Wiederaufbauarbeit sehr stark auf arbeitsintensive Projektschritte beschränkt sind, was letztendlich die Möglichkeiten der Einflussnahme auf Projektverlauf und -ergebnis minimieren.

Curriculum Vitae

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AUSBILDUNG

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