Cases and Practices on Role of Community in Recovery
Mission Statement of International Recovery Platform (IRP)

As a thematic platform of the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) system, IRP is a key pillar for the implementation of the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) 2005-2015. The mission of IRP is to identify gaps and constraints currently experienced in the context of disaster recovery and to serve as a catalyst for the development of tools, resources, and capacity for resilient recovery.

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INTERNATIONAL RECOVERY PLATFORM

Cases and Practices on Role of Community in Recovery
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<thead>
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>3R</td>
<td>Respect, Responsibility and Redistribution</td>
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<td>3S</td>
<td>Solidarity, Sharing and Strengthening</td>
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<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<td>CSF</td>
<td>Common Service Facility</td>
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<td>CSRRP</td>
<td>Community-Based Settlement Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Project</td>
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<td>DMC</td>
<td>District Management Consultant</td>
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<td>DRR</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<td>EU</td>
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<td>GMU</td>
<td>Gadjah Mada University</td>
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<td>Gob</td>
<td>Government of Indonesia</td>
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<td>GSDMA</td>
<td>Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>IFRC</td>
<td>International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies</td>
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<td>IRP</td>
<td>International Recovery Platform</td>
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<td>JRF</td>
<td>Java Reconstruction Fund</td>
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<td>KUB</td>
<td>Koperasi Usaha Bersama (Union of Communal Businesses)</td>
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<td>LGA</td>
<td>Local Government Area</td>
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<td>MIS</td>
<td>Management Information System</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>NMC</td>
<td>National Management Consultant</td>
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<td>NPO</td>
<td>Non-profit organization</td>
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<td>ODR</td>
<td>Owner-Driven Reconstruction</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>POM</td>
<td>Project Operational Manual</td>
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<td>RI</td>
<td>Relief International</td>
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<td>SDC</td>
<td>Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation</td>
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<td>SIMS</td>
<td>SETU Information Management System</td>
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<td>SRSC</td>
<td>Setu Resource and Support Centre</td>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNISDR</td>
<td>United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction</td>
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Note to Readers

This compilation presents different cases of post disaster recovery highlighting the role of community. Involvement of community in the overall process of determining what is to be done, how it is to be done, who it is to benefit, and how to implement decisions to “build back better” are emphasized. Most of the cases are originally told in local languages, and IRP took the initiative of translating them to English to make them available to global audience. Additionally, this compilation addresses knowledge gaps in recovery, especially in the context of community involvement. Experiences and lessons presented in the case studies are intended for dissemination to various stakeholders to provide further guidance and options for replication. It complements other knowledge products developed by IRP accessible at www.recoveryplatform.org.
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CHAPTER 1
Introduction

Recurrent ‘natural’ disasters disrupt economic, political, and social systems and are contributing to a steady and increasing erosion of development gains in a growing number of countries (UNDP n.d.). In this context, it is crucial for governments to “build back better”.¹ The post-disaster recovery phase offers a “window of opportunity” for disaster risk reduction (DRR) where mistakes of past development policies and strategies are revealed and better understood.

To guide governments, case studies, lessons, experiences, tools, and guidance notes in recovery are important, as these provide wider options for sustainable recovery. In particular, case studies on the role of community in recovery are relevant because pre-existing governance structures are often overwhelmed during recovery phase. This compilation introduces different mechanisms of community involvement in recovery process, which to some extent provide insights for deeper understanding of the concept of “community governance” in the context of recovery.

1.1. Community Involvement in Recovery

The importance of community involvement in post-disaster recovery programs has been recognized.² The Code of Conduct for Disaster Relief adopted by the International Red Cross acknowledges the need to “strive to achieve full community participation in relief and rehabilitation programs.” Additionally, the UN Secretary-General’s Special Envoy for Tsunami Recovery, former US President Bill Clinton, states that “disaster’s survivors are best placed to design the recovery strategy that best meets their needs [and] should be the ultimate judges of a recovery effort’s success or failure.” Current literature in post-disaster recovery shows that a high level of community involvement can achieve more positive recovery outcomes. The underlying premise is that the more the recovery relies upon local resources, the quicker the community will be able to move toward self-sustainability, and thus from recovery to normalcy (IFRC 2006). According to Sullivan (2003), “community involvement alters their status from passive pawns in the process to once again active and contributing directors of their own destiny in the context of post-disaster recovery.” This observation implies that community involvement is an important element in terms of promoting a positive outlook. By contrast, a reliance on external resources hinders recovery by diminishing the use of local markets, thus prolonging recovery (UNISDR 2010).

The contributions of community involvement are numerous. First of all, it is important in assessing overall impact of recovery programs as it assesses benefit to the recipients rather than outputs (e.g., the number of houses constructed). Secondly, it empowers individuals and groups to take greater control over decisions that may profoundly affect their ability to recover. Thirdly, it aligns the program with the actual needs and priorities of those they intend to serve. Some studies (Barakat 2003, Barenstein 2008, Thwala 2005, and Fallahi 2007) have identified the advantages of community-

¹ “Build Back Better” approaches not only restore what existed previously, but also set communities on a better and safer development path and support development of enhanced recovery capacity at the regional, national, and sub-national levels with particular focus on high-risk low-capacity countries (www.recoveryplatform.org, Accessed May 11, 2010).
driven recovery as offering greater cost effectiveness, a potentially better product quality where technical and supervision skills are available, restoration of confidence among those traumatized by their disaster experience, local capacity building and employment, and preservation of the local cultural heritage through land use planning and locally appropriate housing styles. These advantages seem to offer long-term community recovery and sustainability as opposed to contractor-driven approaches.

With considerations to the potential contributions of community involvement, the UNISDR’s Guidelines for the National Platforms for Disaster Risk Reduction encourages “participatory process” which implies full involvement of relevant groups, including government, private sector, NGOs, and academic organizations to make the platforms more effective. Additionally, “participatory process” is becoming a widely accepted methodology in disaster rehabilitation and recovery.3

1.2. Community Involvement in the Context of Governance

For purposes of this compilation, community governance deals with community management and decision-making.4 It is generally associated with participation and responsiveness of affected communities in recovery operations.5 This field of interest is growing because some disaster-affected countries take advantage of existing community decision-making arrangements to enhance recovery operations.

The following arguments emphasize the importance of community involvement and how it can provide deeper understanding of community governance in the context of recovery. When community is involved in the development of local policies, this signifies that community governance spreads decision-making among local organizations (Jalali 2002, Post 1997). When community is involved, “people are able to articulate strategies for recovery and reconstruction which responded to their real needs through community-based organizations” (Maskrey 1989, 84). In terms of funding recovery activities, community involvement is usually considered as important component (Davidson 2006). Where community is involved, “the projects are not only about bricks and mortar but also increasing the capacity of communities, NGOs, worker unions, local governments, and the private sector” (Federation of Canadian Municipalities 2001, 19). UNDP (2006) documented several experiences and lessons on recovery at the local government levels after the Indian Ocean Tsunami of December 2004, where lessons and emerging principles on the functioning of community governance in disaster recovery were drawn from the experiences of five countries most seriously affected by the tsunami: India, Indonesia, the Maldives, Thailand, and Sri Lanka.6 A review of these experiences provides further insights on community governance.

1.3. Issues of Community Involvement in Recovery

Although the importance of community involvement in post-disaster recovery process is generally recognized, there has been no common framework to guide practitioners and policymakers along this area. In most cases, community involvement has different forms in terms of management and decision-making depending on the contexts in which it is promoted. This poses a dilemma

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5 Detailed discussion on community governance is presented in Chapter 2.
whether community involvement can be viewed as situational approach or as a universal approach to achieve resilient recovery. Sometimes, the community to be involved is simply not there because they perished at the time of disaster (e.g., Aceh Tsunami) or because pre-existing factors (e.g., HIV/AIDS in parts of Africa) prevent them from meaningful involvement. Aside from these factors, Davidson (2007) has enumerated the following issues of community involvements: (i) difficulties in involving the community in the design and management of the recovery project, (ii) difficulties in building up mutual trust between agencies and communities, (iii) reluctance on the part of governments to give power to low-income groups in the community, and (iv) the reduction of community involvement to sweat equity instead of active involvement in decision making. Furthermore, the notion that community involvement takes longer time in deciding recovery program has made community involvement approach less attractive. Considering these issues, community involvement approach should be graded in accordance with specific contexts that exist within any given post-disaster recovery environment.

1.4. Objectives

The main objective of this compilation is to highlight the role of community in recovery process. It attempts to plainly highlight unique experiences and lessons without making comprehensive comparison and analysis of cases. The specific objectives are:

1) To describe the context of community by looking at relevant factors such as ethnicity, traditions, language, and local socio-political conditions
2) To describe the extent of community involvement in a given context
3) To clarify the roles of stakeholders by looking at the interaction of NGOs, experts, local authorities, and donor institutions, if manifested

This compilation is expected to (i) promote a greater understanding of community involvement in the context of enhancing recovery operations and strengthening of social capital for building community’s resilience to disaster; (ii) present different community involvement perspectives in recovery operations, which regard recovery and sustainable development as one seamless and continuous process to ensure community sustainability; (iii) facilitate an understanding of how experts should be involved in revitalizing the existing community involvement approaches or setting up new ones; and (iv) suggest community involvement programs in recovery to be carried out by public and private sectors.

1.5. Community Involvement: A Working Framework

The “spectrum of responsibilities” (Figure 1.1) is utilized to compare different levels of community involvement in recovery process.7

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As indicated in Figure 1.1, the level of community involvement ranges from “information” to “service control” in addressing recovery issues that may change over time. In particular, the levels of community involvement may deal with setting priorities for a range of services reflecting the views of community organizations and bodies (Level 1); consulting with community members in order to influence the decisions of the council, including services that have been contracted out (Level 2); making devolved decisions about certain services (Level 3); having direct responsibility for certain budgets (Level 4); and managing the delivery of some services (Level 5) (Home Office 2005).

Four case studies will be presented to illustrate community involvement in recovery process. Each case presents unique context and mechanism of involving community in managing and decision-making. The cases of Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (Japan 1995), Gujarat Earthquake (India 2001), Central Java Earthquake (Indonesia 2005), and Sichuan Earthquake (China 2008) shall be observed using this working framework. Supplementary information on the disaster management systems of the countries, where the cases are drawn, is presented in Annex 1. Additionally, related resources and case studies on these cases are available IRP Website (www.recoveryplatform.org), hence, providing relevant information for technical analysis.

References


Cases and Practices on Community in Recovery


Office of the UN Secretary-General’s Special Envoy for Tsunami Recovery. “Lessons learned from tsunami recovery - key propositions for building back better: A Report by the UN Secretary-General’s Special Envoy for Tsunami Recovery, Clinton, W.J., December 2006". http://www.preventionweb.net/files/2054 VL108301.pdf (Accessed March 12, 2010).


CHAPTER 2  Community Involvement and Governance

In post-disaster situation, pre-existing governance structures are often overwhelmed by the demands of managing recovery and the urgency to show visual progress. Under this situation, existing community arrangements and practices can be helpful in recovery operations. In fact, some disaster-affected countries take advantage of community governance to enhance recovery operations.

2.1. Community Governance

Recent literature shows that community involvement can be gleaned in the context of community governance. Community involvement encourages sustainable development as it puts a number of tasks and responsibilities to local organizations and members of community (Keivani and Werna 2001, Wegelin and Borgman 1995). It also encourages self-help, where the local people (who, over the years, have already developed technical solutions well adapted to their own context) can exploit local knowhow and traditional solutions, and therefore imported solutions (usually inadequate according to this approach) are not required (Pugh 1997). These examples illustrate the contributions of involving community in recovery.

2.1.1. The Concept of Community Governance

Community governance is sometimes used to refer to community participation, engagement, and decision making in public matters. It is sometimes associated with terms such as local governance, social governance, network governance, and participatory governance. For purposes of this compilation, community governance refers to “community level management and decision-making that is undertaken by, with, or on behalf of a community, by a group of community stakeholders” (Totikidis, Armstrong, and Francis 2005).

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Source: Totikidis et.al 2005

Figure 2.1 Community Governance Continuum

Figure 2.1 illustrates the definition of community governance. In the context of community involvement in recovery, the degree of involvement in decision-making process can be categorized into three: First, decision-making is undertaken independently by community members at the “grassroots” level. Second, decision-making is undertaken with assistance from some community or government agency. Thirdly, decision-making is undertaken for or on behalf of the community by those who have the power and authority to do so.

2.1.2. Decision-making “with” the Community

The boundaries between the government sector and the community sector largely overlap, as both sectors shared common aim for social, environmental, and economic improvement. This is one of the reasons why decision-making “with” the community is actively practiced by many governments through “collaboration” (CEFRIO 2000). While decisions for public services delivery have been traditionally viewed as the sole function of the local government, these days, some decisions are made...
in collaboration with community organizations. Over the last two decades, there has been an emphasis, particularly in Europe, on improving the decision-making process by promoting collaboration between the government and nonprofit sectors representing the communities (Rhodes 1997, Stoker 2004). In fact, such collaborative decision-making practices are gaining momentum and have been escalating across the globe (Salamon 1999).

Collaboration, as used in this compilation, happens when local government or government agency “works together” with communities or neighborhoods to improve post-disaster recovery operations. This definition implies the “process through which parties, who see different aspects of a problem, can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible” (Gray 1989). It also refers to the “process that enables independent individuals and organizations to combine their human and material resources so that they can accomplish the objectives they are unable to bring about alone (Kanter 1994), the “very positive form of working in association with others for some form of mutual benefit” (Huxham 1996), and the general idea of “working together in building social capital, sustaining a democratic society, and transforming the civic culture of a community or region” (Chrislip 2002). Collaboration essentially implies that in today’s local environment, the delivery of efficient services cannot be achieved by any single person, organization, or sector working alone. While collaboration is not entirely a new approach to improving services delivery, recently this has been widely adopted by many local governments in advanced nations through legislation, financial incentives, and support infrastructures (Huxham and Vangen 2005).

Collaborative decision-making has wide potential. In Europe, where collaboration with communities is highly encouraged by the European Union (EU), the OECD (2001) found that collaboration improves the delivery of public services for at least three main reasons. First, collaboration stimulates the adoption of government measures that are in line with local priorities. It promotes the use of public programs that can help meet the goals assigned to local governments. Second, collaboration draws public programs closer to locally-identified priorities. It gives civil society and other partners the opportunity to influence the implementation of policies. Finally, collaboration combines and enhances the effect of public programs and local initiatives. It encourages local governments to seek synergies that could maximize the local impact of various activities carried out in line with local priorities. Other studies conducted in advanced nations like the UK (Marcussen 2007, Stoker 2004, Rhodes 1997), the US (Salamon 1999), Australia (Aulich 2004), Canada (Knopff 2002), New Zealand (Craig 2004), and Japan (Yamamoto 1999) showed similar findings. Empirical evidence drawn from these studies suggests that collaboration has great potential for improving social services delivery and governance, including during recovery operations. In view of these potential advantages, the World Bank and other international development organizations such as the United Nations have adopted collaboration as part of their new reform objectives for the Third World (Batley 2004, CEFRO 2000, Chrislip 2002, Pierre 2000). Collaboration between local governments and communities came into the picture in many developing countries during the 1990s, as many embraced decentralization. Local governments have been granted greater autonomy but are expected to do more with less.

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8 Decentralization provides greater autonomy. From the standpoint of politics, decentralization is typically viewed as an important element of participatory democracy that allows citizens to have an opportunity to communicate their preferences and views to elected officials, who are subsequently rendered accountable for their performance to citizens. See Pranab Bardhan and Dilip Mookherjee, eds., Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries: Comparative Perspective (London: The MIT Press, 2006). According to the World Bank, there are three variants of decentralization: deconcentration, delegation, and devolution. Deconcentration refers to decentralization of central government ministers and arrangements, whereby subnational governments act as agents of the center. Delegation refers to decentralization whereby subnational governments rather than branches of central government are responsible for delivering certain services, subject to some supervision by the central government. Devolution is the most complete form of decentralization. Independent or semi-independent and, typically,
2.2. Principles of Community Governance

Clarke and Stewart (1998) proposed six principles for community governance: (i) the concern of the local authority should extend beyond the services provided to the overall welfare of the area, (ii) the local authority’s role in community governance is only justified if it is close to and empowers the communities within and the citizens which constitute them, (iii) the local authority must recognize the contribution of other organizations - public, private and voluntary - and see its task as enabling (not controlling) that contribution, (iv) the local authority should ensure that the whole range of resources in the community is used to the full for the good of its area, (v) to make best use of those resources, the local authorities will need to review rigorously how needs are best met and to be prepared to act in many different ways, and (vi) in showing leadership, the local authority must seek to reconcile, to balance, and in the final resort to judge the diversity of use and interests.

In this respect, the notion of decision-making “with” community through collaboration could also be generally viewed as community governance (McKieran, Kim and Lasker 2000). Community governance, they explain, is based on the recognition that the complex issues facing communities cannot be solved by any one person or sector alone but requires collaboration. As such, it brings together a broad range of stakeholders – community residents, elected officials, businesses, civic and faith-based organizations, health and human service providers, and professional services. Similarly, Bowles and Gintis (2002) use the term community governance as an alternative to social capital, claiming that it better captures aspects of good governance and focuses attention on what groups do rather than what people own.

In some cases, community involvement is encouraged by local governments as it promises greater citizen participation and empowerment, greater social capital and solutions to community problems, including recovery issues. At the same time, community-led initiatives by NGO’s are likewise encouraged as these can hold the key to underlying community problems and their solutions. Edwards (2001), for instance, discussed the relationship between the government sector and the community or voluntary sector in both Australia and Canada through a participatory governance framework. Under such framework, the community sector is allowed to move beyond service delivery to a greater role in policy development in partnership with government. The framework indicates that community sector is involved in problem identification at the initial stage, followed by decision-making, implementation, and evaluation. In addition, Stanley (2004), claimed that community organizations play a vital role in social governance and the development of social policies and programs. Community organizations, which are closely in touch with the needs and strengths of the community, can provide support to increase community capacity and can provide a formal structure to give feedback from the community to the government. Some studies (Shannon and Hendriks 2004) stress the need for a high level of community control and attention to addressing the needs of disadvantaged groups. Governance and capacity building are seen as crucial precursors to addressing entrenched social and economic disadvantage (Martin 2005).

2.3. Key Messages

The following messages can be drawn from this chapter. First, community involvement in recovery can be analyzed in the context of community governance, specifically looking into the decision-making process. Second, decision-making “with” the community is manifested in many collaboration arrangements between local governments and community organizations. Finally,
community governance implies that power should be exercised as close as possible to citizens and local communities, emphasizing the importance of the devolution of power from the central government to the local level in resolving local issues.

References


CHAPTER 3 YOGYAKARTA: “Gotong-Royong” in the Recovery Process

This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the background of gotong royong and how it has been practiced in Indonesia. In particular, it discusses how the concept of gotong royong is adopted in governance to facilitate not only economic empowerment but also post-earthquake recovery. Primarily highlighting the case of the Yogyakarta Earthquake of 2006, this chapter reviews and analyzes the lessons learned and challenges of community governance in post-disaster recovery.


On 27 May 2006, an earthquake registering 5.8 on the Richter scale damaged Yogyakarta and Central Java and their surrounding areas (Figure 3.1). The official figures indicate that 5,749 people were killed and more than 38,000 were injured. More than 127,000 houses were completely destroyed and more than 450,000 were damaged. It is estimated that 1,173,742 people were rendered homeless. The earthquake’s epicenter was located about 20 km southeast of Yogyakarta city at a depth of 10 km. Remote villages such as Bantul and its surrounding areas in South Yogyakarta were the most severely affected. Societal coping mechanisms were severely disrupted with widespread cases of trauma reported, particularly among women and children. The means of earning a living in the area were buried beneath the rubble (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.1 Affected Area of Yogyakarta and Central Java Earthquake 2006
To fast track recovery efforts, the community extended mutual support, traditionally known in the villages of Yogyakarta as gotong royong. The traditional spirit of Gotong royong is commonly practiced as reciprocal labor exchange, whereby people offer their time and labor voluntarily to support others in need and can claim support in return. In the context of a disaster, this practice offers victims a significant emotional boost, helping them cope with the destructive impact of the disaster on their lives. In the early phases of recovery from the Yogyakarta earthquake, people took the initiative in empowering their own communities. For instance, in terms of shelter, people developed strategies to ensure that all families would be able to support themselves in making the transition from tarpaulins or tents to permanent housing arrangements within a three-month period. This mutual support allowed community groups and other village volunteers to maximize available resources to achieve better recovery.

3.2. “Gotong-Royong”: A Mutual Help System

The concept of gotong royong is rooted in rural Javanese culture. It refers to the principle of mutual help among neighbors in a community. It is usually associated with deep-rooted values such as respect, responsibility, and redistribution (3Rs): solidarity, sharing, and strengthening (3Ss); and teposeliro (tolerance) as reflected in the motto “Bhinika Tunggal Ika” (“unity in diversity”). Mutual help as manifested in gotong royong is basically a voluntary process of sharing ideas, organizing people, collecting materials, contributing finances, and mobilizing manpower in order to implement social and cultural activities. The application of gotong royong can be observed at two levels. On one hand, it can be manifested in household level activities such as in housing reconstruction and family ceremonies (e.g., giving birth, weddings, and funerals), which require the help of neighbors. On the other hand, it can be manifested in community level activities such as in the rehabilitation of the public infrastructure (e.g., roads, irrigation systems, public facilities (Bintarto 1983, cited in IRP Recovery Status Report 2009).

When capitalist modes of production and modernization were introduced in Indonesia, gotong royong began declining to the point that it now seems to have been neglected as a mode of development. The decline was most notable in the 1970s to 1990s, especially during the adoption of the “top-down approach” to development. In view of this, many government projects and business activities were based on principles and practices that were not compatible with the local wisdom of gotong royong. This does not mean, however, that gotong royong is obsolete or irrelevant. In many social and political activities, the principle of gotong royong is still exhibited. The most apparent example of this is the community cooperative.

In the context of rural development, elements of cooperation have been identified in local traditions. Villagers in Indonesia, particularly in rural Java, have been practicing the traditional norm of mutual cooperation and support as a form of “gotong royong.” According to Grootaert (1999), community-based groups in Indonesia have long been formed at the village level, but because they are not formally recognized, they are not reflected in the literature. Since the positive results of their

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9 See Annex 1 for details of cooperative and pertinent laws.
practices have been observed, there has been growing interest in formalizing the groups. This caught the attention of the government with a passage of a law formalizing these groups at the villages.\textsuperscript{10} However, not all community-based groups were formalized. Thus, both community-based and government-sponsored associations can be found across the functional spectrum of associations (e.g., social service groups, production and occupational groups, and finance and credit groups) in contemporary Indonesia. It can be said that the spirit of gotong royong has been somewhat institutionalized through the legal provisions of this law as they apply to government-sponsored associations. This is one of the reasons why Subejo and Iwamoto (2003) have referred to the wide variety of mutual cooperation practices in rural Java as “institutionalized stabilizers.” As a result of the government’s initiative to support community groups, cooperation activities have been institutionalized as a social custom in the rural community.

In recent cultural and social activities in Indonesian society, principles and ideas such as koperasi (cooperation) and musyawarah (consensus) are among the many that are manifested in various household and community activities indicating that the spirit of gotong royong (mutual assistance) is still alive and well. These principles and ideas connote obligations of the individual toward their community, local government, state, and society.

### 3.3. Application of “Gotong-Royong” in Recovery

*Gotong Royong*, as adopted in this paper, means working together (voluntarily) to facilitate better recovery from disaster and to enjoy the results of mutual support, such as a more disaster-resilient community. It is viewed as a form of local wisdom conducive to promoting resilience. *Gotong royong* is still manifested in contemporary Indonesian society in the cultural, social, and political spheres as well as in post-disaster recovery (as highlighted in this report). Since gotong royong is generally perceived as a rural practice, its manifestation in urban areas is seldom recognized because of the proliferation of new technologies and modern ideas. However, when a big earthquake hit Yogyakarta in 2006, people were reminded of gotong royong and it was immediately manifested in emergency and recovery efforts (see Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4). People voluntary extended support to address gaps and difficulties related to evacuation, temporary shelter, the provision of relief goods, and even in rehabilitation and reconstruction. Such shows of concern and voluntary cooperation are manifestations of the principles of solidarity and mutual help that are inherent in Indonesia’s

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\textsuperscript{10} In mainland Java the formal community in the village is called ‘dusun’ or ‘dukuh’ meanwhile in the city the formal community was initially called ‘rukun kampung’ (RK). It was later changed to ‘rukun tetangga’ (RT) and ‘rukun warga’ (RW), which consists of 3 RTs. Usually the ‘dusun’ and RW consist 50-90 families. See T. Yoyok Wahyu Subroto, 2010.
traditional social system. To further understand the spirit of gotong royong, specifically where it might be adopted in governance, two practical case studies in Yogyakarta are presented.

Case 1: Gotong Royong in Pottery Rehabilitation in Kasongan

Background

The village of Kasongan is located in the southern part of Yogyakarta, about 7km from the capital city. As one of the handicraft centers in Yogyakarta, this village is famous for its handmade terra cotta pottery industry. Kasongan was one of the villages most severely affected by the Yogyakarta earthquake of 2006. Most people in the village lost their homes and livelihoods. It was reported that 40% of houses there were heavily damaged while 22% were moderately damaged (Narotama, 2009). Pottery production was paralyzed because the craftsmen’s homes had functioned as their production sites and showrooms. Craftsmen lost essential production assets, including their equipment, showrooms, and pottery products. The earthquake exacerbated the decline in ceramic sales, which had already begun prior to the disaster due to an absence of skills training for artisans, low quality production, and a lack of variety and innovation in pottery products. In addition, there had been little connection between the products developed by the artisans and the needs of the market, an issue compounded by a general lack of access to outside markets.

Mutual-help and neighborhood cooperation in efforts to recover livelihoods and income were seen as opportunities to give new hope to families for a better life and increased self-reliance.

The Project

Given that people in the village were highly dependent on the pottery industry, the most practical intervention was to recover this main source of income. It is within this context that the “Developing Livelihoods through Common Service Facility” (CSF) project was established. This project was initiated by Relief International (RI) under the Yogyakarta Central Java Assistance Program and with additional funding support from the Australia-Indonesia Partnership. The facility (CSF) is a local meeting place where artisans and producers can come together to solve problems and find solutions to everyday issues facing their industries.

A community-based approach was adopted in the project to facilitate community involvement in planning and implementation. As a first step, a preliminary needs assessment was performed, where initial information on local needs and potential beneficiaries for livelihood rehabilitation in the pottery industry were collected. After the needs were assessed, RI facilitated the creation of a Cooperative of Artisans. The cooperative was expected to adhere to the principles of gotong royong in their operations. After the cooperative was organized, four key support activities were extended by RI to beneficiaries of CSF. First of all, together with members of the cooperatives, RI built a new village infrastructure. This included 800 meters of village pathways, 22 artisan workspaces (Figure 3.5), and 7 sanitation/porous wells. The intention of this new infrastructure was to help attract larger numbers of tourists to Kasongan. Secondly, RI provided artisans with training activities in business management, marketing, product diversification, ceramics finishing techniques, and quality control. Thirdly, RI introduced new systems to all cooperative members concerning access to local and international markets, and rebuilt artisans’ workspaces and showrooms. Finally, RI shared new tools, technologies, and materials for pottery production such as a high-heat kiln for ensuring better product quality.

Currently, the cooperative employs 66 individuals who benefit from a reliable source of income. There is no doubt that the Common Service Facility (CSF) helped restore livelihoods and contributed to the local development of Yogyakarta.

How is Gotong Royong Applied?

Organizing artisans into a cooperative is the key element of applying the spirit of gotong royong.
This approach encourages mutual cooperation and greater community involvement. Understanding the legacy of gotong royong, RI, in close collaboration with Gadjah Mada University (GMU), sought the support of local government in livelihood recovery. RI mobilized local community leaders, as they were important resources in identifying and organizing prospective beneficiaries. As RI approached the local community leaders, those leaders in turn were empowered, especially in identifying and verifying beneficiaries, even if some local leaders used some degree of this power to recommend their relatives and friends as beneficiaries. To further promote mutual support, RI and GMU devised a strategy for facilitating greater community involvement among local people by involving a youth group called “Karang Taruna,” which was comprised of the children of artisans in the village. Youths were tapped to support the activities and programs of the CSF.

In general, mutual cooperation was observed during the implementation phase of CSF. It was evident in efforts to restore workshop showrooms, in which beneficiaries were actively mobilized, as well as in making a traditional house serve as a common service facility for artisans.

All of the beneficiaries were actively involved in the reconstruction of the workshop showrooms, clearly reflecting the gotong royong spirit. Beneficiaries succeeded in building 22 temporary workshop showrooms as well as the previously mentioned 800 meters of village pathways and seven sanitation/porous wells. Artisans and craftsmen were involved not only in building but also in evaluating the workshop showrooms and products. That approach helped maintain the quality of products supplied. To ensure that local products would be promoted, the community was also involved in designing the tourist route. The local tourism industry promoted Kasongan as a key destination for pottery crafts. The pathways constructed in the earthquake-affected village facilitated easy access for tourists and the easy transport of pottery products and materials. In addition to the infrastructure built in the village, toilets and garbage facilities were also installed. Such efforts encouraged tourists to come back and at the same time reduced litter. Daily maintenance of the workshop showroom is done individually by the homeowner where the workshop was built. For the sake of maintaining the tourist route, the showrooms are maintained periodically by the community based on the gotong royong spirit through an activity called kerja bakti (voluntary work).

Another clear indication of gotong royong was the organization of Koperasi Usaha Bersama (KUB), translated as the Union of Communal Businesses. The KUB is comprised of 34 small business groups of low-income artisans in Kasongan. Most members of each small group have already received training in technical skills, marketing, and sales. RI adopted a traditional house as a common service facility in order to facilitate the extension of mutual support to these small groups. This facility is also the focal point for the establishment of an artisan/producer cooperative as well as for the identification of other community needs. With RI active support, groups that come to the facility are not only members of the KUB but also youth groups (e.g., Karang Taruna). Youth groups play an important role in assisting craftsmen in receiving and delivering orders as well as in assisting with quality control and promoting local exhibitions of products. The KUB focused primarily on expediting the production and marketing of high quality locally-produced items based on a market-driven demand for terra cotta and bamboo products. The KUB also received periodic assistance from RI for capacity building and participatory planning. RI gradually reduced their financial contribution and support to KUB as the skills and competence of its members grew. In fact, for almost a year as of this writing, KUB has been fully run by its members with the assistance of youth organizations. The assets of the KUB were reported to be about 200 million rupiah (20,000 USD) as of 2009. As part of its governance, KUB members and others involved meet once a month to work out issues and problems as well as to discuss prospects for development. This facilitates transparency and accountability to all
beneficiaries regarding the operations of the business.

**How is Gotong royong Manifested in Governance?**

The key actors in managing the cooperatives are community members, including community leaders, craftsmen, families, and youth. The CSF project has facilitated community involvement since the beginning, particularly in the planning and investing phases.

During the planning phase, beneficiaries were involved in discussions regarding the development of an action plan. Community members were consulted and mobilized in planning the workshop showrooms. In turn, they shared ideas regarding how and when to implement the program, and with whose involvement. They shared opinions on how to distribute clay materials and workshop showroom reconstruction materials, and how to share roles in building the workshop showrooms. The planning process was lively because the community knew its own needs well. The community also played a key role in planning the tourism route such that local products would be promoted. The project was planned in response to problems regarding the inequitable access of buyers to the local pottery craftsmen who reside inside the village. Since they were negatively impacted by having to compete with larger pottery industry competitors stretched along the main road, the community was keen to address the problem. The planning process involved all beneficiaries (including the youth) through *musyawarah mufakat* (or group consensus) facilitated by RI. During this phase, some planning decisions were made regarding such issues as the layout of the village tourism pathways, providing public space for tourists, and ensuring public sanitation. The KUB also played a key role in developing plans to sustain the livelihood activities of low-income craftsmen and youth. Although the idea of institutionalizing a business cooperative at the local level came from RI, detailed plans and designs were developed by beneficiaries and the youth association based on their needs. These were done through local discussion or *musyawarah mufakat* with support and assistance from RI. The youth were also empowered because of their key role in the planning and implementation of the project. Once a week, RI facilitated an internal meeting to evaluate the program. To improve the capabilities of the youth association, RI provided training in basic skills for pottery production. An annual evaluation meeting was facilitated by RI. It provided a venue for further innovating and diversifying local pottery products.

Resource mobilization and fund management are promoted by the cooperative. Each member is encouraged to invest a certain amount in the business. The investments of members are used to initiate and sustain business operations. Funds invested in the project are utilized for microfinance loans and the purchase and maintenance of the cooperative’s assets to promote business. Depending on the profits and gains from the cooperative’s business activities, at the end of the year members receive dividends based on their investments. Moreover, as members of the cooperative, craftsmen have the advantage of facilitating orders through the cooperative.
Outcomes

The CSF project significantly helped mobilize the community to participate in livelihood recovery activities. It facilitated greater community involvement in the planning process as well as in the implementation of local recovery programs, promoting the involvement not only of craftsmen but also of youth groups and other small business groups of low-income artisans. The project, which promoted the spirit of gotong royong, encouraged mutual support among community members, the local government of Bantul, Gadjah Mada University, and RI. The active involvement of KUB members and youth associations in the planning and implementation stages of the project promoted transparency and accountability. The support provided by the local government suggests that the public sector is also open to collaborative recovery efforts with NGOs and local cooperatives.

Moreover, the concept of investing in a cooperative provides a way for the CSF project to be maintained. Since members invest in the cooperative, craftsmen can refrain from taking support in the form of hand-outs. Instead, they are inspired to work harder to achieve a return on their investment. Regular meetings and discussions among project members and stakeholders also indicate that efforts are being made to ensure transparency and accountability in business operations. The cooperative has been maintained and the villagers of Kasongan are enjoying greater livelihood security.

Another case in which gotong royong was promoted was in a housing reconstruction program implemented in Yogyakarta following the earthquake of 2006.

Case 2 Gotong royong in Housing Reconstruction

Background

Following the Yogyakarta Earthquake of 2006, housing recovery was one of the key pillars of the overall reconstruction process. During recovery, housing and settlements should be built to meet seismic-resistance standards so that a community’s previous vulnerabilities are not rebuilt into their new structures. The Preliminary Damage and Loss Assessment conducted weeks after the earthquake estimated that a total of 358,693 houses had been damaged or destroyed. Subsequently, the
provincial governments confirmed that more than 280,000 of these houses were uninhabitable. Of these, 177,469 were located in Yogyakarta and 104,084 were in Central Java (JRF 2008 cited in IRP Recovery Status Report 2009).

At the time of the earthquake, the population density in Yogyakarta was around 1,018/km2 with a growth rate of less than 1%. Most households consisted of parents and two children. As reported by Baiquni (2009), sometimes grandparents and relatives lived in the same house, creating an extended family structure. Male-headed households were dominant while female-headed households were limited to cases of either divorce or the death of the husband. In some cases, extended families can be found to be living in traditional rural Javanese households. Such households consist of extended family members that live in one house and share a kitchen. When the homes of such households were destroyed, the reconstruction strategy tended to focus on building separate houses for each family. This is one of the cultural considerations that is often overlooked by external agencies helping in reconstruction. Housing reconstruction in Yogyakarta is somewhat unique. It was “community-driven,” with community members rather than contractors playing the main role (as opposed to reconstruction in Aceh after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami). It promoted the reuse of some materials, such that most houses were not totally built out of new materials (as opposed to the case of Ambon, following a disastrous social conflict in the area). In Yogyakarta, most houses were rebuilt by their owners using a combination of new materials and earthquake debris, such as bricks, wooden windows and doors, wood structures, and roofing materials. Some of these materials were strong and fit enough to be used for housing reconstruction. During the recovery process, the demand for bamboo increased to such an extent in Yogyakarta that residents had to procure bamboo from other districts.

In shelter recovery, a community-based approach was adopted. Community members were involved in both the planning and implementation processes. Such involvement made it possible to effectively target beneficiaries and to distribute resources to the most vulnerable community members. Mutual help within the community was promoted by revitalizing the spirit of gotong royong that was already present in the hearts and minds of every community member. In recognition of the role of gotong royong, the local government of Yogyakarta, with funding from the Java Reconstruction Fund (JRF), introduced the Community-Based Settlement Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Project (CSRRP) to further strengthen shelter recovery.

The Project

The CSRR project was designed to hasten housing reconstruction in Yogyakarta. US$60 million of the $84 million managed by JRF was allocated to the project. It facilitated community involvement in the selection and prioritization of beneficiaries as well as in the development of community resettlement and reconstruction plans.

One of the key features of CSRRP was the promotion of community governance in the recovery process. The main objective of CSRRP was to meet the needs of targeted households for seismic-resistant housing and community infrastructure in disaster-affected villages. In view of those objectives, the project had four major components. The first was housing reconstruction support grants which supported communities in the reconstruction of approximately 18,000 homes, ensuring that they would be built according to improved seismic standards through a community-based approach using existing networks. The second component was block grants for priority infrastructure and hazard risk reduction investments. The third component was community education and quality assurance, which was comprised of the following: (1) the hiring of 70 Housing Task Force teams to oversee project implementation, construction standards, and quality, (2) capacity building efforts in project management at the community level, and (3) community education for emergency preparedness and mitigation of future disasters. The fourth component was project implementation support, monitoring, and evaluation, which was comprised of: (1) the National Management Consultant (NMC) team for the entire project, (2) two District Management Consultant (DMC) teams to
guide the efforts of the Housing Task Force teams and to track implementation on the ground, (3) a public communications program, a Management Information System (MIS), and a complaints handling structure, and (4) an internal and external monitoring and evaluation framework.

In general, beneficiaries received block grants based on their expressed needs and funds were disbursed in installments based on reconstruction progress. This encouraged the effective targeting of beneficiaries as well as transparency and social accountability in project implementation.

**How is Gotong Royong Applied?**

Reconstruction work was performed through contributions and mutual support from communities – usually in the form of labor and contributions of materials. For contributions of labor, the communities could choose to include all or part of the labor costs in their proposals and/or to pay salaries for work done on the project. Construction using a labor-intensive arrangement with community members was subject to the following provisions:

- The architectural plans and engineering designs should conform to government regulations and standards.
- The implementation of subcontracting agreements covering the work should include the following: (1) specified lump-sum, fixed-price amounts based on written estimates of work to be rendered by laborers identified by the community; and (2) descriptions of the work to be performed, in reasonable detail, including basic specifications, estimated completion date, and relevant drawings where applicable.

In areas where the community did not have the capacity to perform the work themselves, the community was allowed to choose (with Government of Indonesia (GoI) prior agreement as established in the subcontracting implementation agreement) to hire contractors. In this case, simplified shopping procedures (as defined in the Project Operational Manual (POM)) should be followed. Contracts under this scheme were to be lump-sum, fixed-price contracts awarded on the basis of estimates obtained from three qualified contractors in response to a written invitation for proposals. The invitation included basic specifications, required start and completion dates, an agreement format acceptable to the designated bank, and relevant drawings. The contracts were usually awarded to the contractors who quoted the lowest price for the work to be performed. There were no restrictions on participation in the bidding process. To enhance transparency, the list of vendors and their corresponding committed/paid amounts were disclosed to the public, at least on the information board and in the public accountability meetings. In this way, the community was aware of the “what and where” aspects of the project implementation.

**How is Gotong royong Manifested in Governance?**

On behalf of the Ministry of Public Works of the government of Indonesia, the District Management Consultants (DMCs) and through the community facilitators, community members were consulted to ensure smooth on-site construction. The consultation topics included, but were not limited to, (1) simple hazard-resistant housing engineering design and layout, (2) decisions regarding the hiring or not hiring of contractors, (3) determination of the housing contract packages to be built by particular contractors, and (4) the hazard-resistant construction methods to be implemented in the field. The POM provided additional detailed procedures regarding this matter. The CSRRP project flow is shown in Figure 3.8.
In Kembang Hamlet for example, the community organized themselves to access support from outside, and redistributed that support to its members. This program was started by conducting detailed assessments of housing damage in order to select beneficiaries. During this process, some of the households wanted priority access to support. Competition and social friction therefore emerged during the chaos of the early days. But then the community held meetings and engaged in a process of consensus building known as *musyawarah mufakat*. In this process, the leader shared information with the community and then opened the meeting up to critical debate and discussion to facilitate the achievement of a consensus among community members. During the implementation process, the beneficiaries formed a group comprised of 8-10 households in order to organize and distribute aid from the donor. Three members of this group were elected by the other members to serve as the group's leader, accountant, and secretary in order to perform the administrative and accounting tasks. These three individuals tried to reach a consensus (*musyawarah mufakat*) regarding the approach to be used to deliver support to other members. The donor required that the aid be distributed to members in the form of building material instead of cash. The other members performed the roles of supervisor/controller of the delivery of services. The internal management by this group of households facilitated efficient project control and communication among the members.

The government and other stakeholders took advantage of the local principle of *gotong royong*, where community members extend help to others most affected by the disaster. As shown in Figure 3.8, community members did not rebuild their houses alone. Instead the work was done out of a spirit of cooperation and mutual help. As result, the government and support agencies were able to spend less on reconstruction. In most cases, local masons gave their services voluntarily, as part of their contributions to their community.
Outcomes

Ownership of decisions in shelter recovery was one of the key outcomes of the CSRRP project. Government and donor agencies encouraged community members to be actively involved in the recovery process. This was made possible by taking advantage of the gotong royong spirit that is traditionally part of village culture. With the support of donors and local governments, CSRRP was able to promote mutual help and cooperation within affected communities during the reconstruction process. People’s willingness to help others, such as the refusal of masons to accept payment for their work, contributed to lower housing reconstruction costs.

3.4. Challenges and Lessons

In the early stage of the recovery process, assessing housing damage can be very challenging. Some owners may want to be given priority access to support from government and donor agencies. Competition and social friction can emerge and chaos can sometimes ensue, as shown in the case studies. However, involving the community in some of the governance mechanisms by holding consultations, meetings, and public discussions to achieve consensus (musyawarah mufakat), can help address those challenges. Tapping local community leaders, masons, youth, craftsmen and other relevant parties can also be challenging. The case studies showed how these challenges were addressed.

3.4.1. Leadership, Motivation, and Media

As shown in the case studies, the recovery process can take advantage of the gotong royong spirit where it is traditionally practiced. To do this, leadership is needed to mobilize community members. To take advantage of gotong royong, leaders must have the power to organize and motivate communities to help one another in the post-disaster recovery process. Strong leadership, enlightened motivation, and widespread use of the media are elements that can be used to steer social movement and empower communities to cooperate and work from the ruins.

3.4.2. Lessons Learned

Satisfaction with the recovery program in Yogyakarta has been expressed by many donor agencies. The community-based development approach has certainly been the right choice for building a sense of ownership and motivation for reconstruction efforts among community members. It is very rewarding to see beneficiaries now living in their homes and returning to normal life and work. The lessons of taking advantage of gotong royong tradition include the following:

- Mutual support and partnership with government teams and other foreign and local NGOs promoted transparency and accountability in the implementation of recovery programs.
- It is important to involve community members, particularly local leaders (e.g. hamlet leader, religious figures, crafters leaders, etc) and local associations (e.g. youth association, neighborhood unit, women association, etc), in the selection of recovery program beneficiaries and the public verifications (in the case of a housing program, the list of applicants and reasons they received or did not receive support was announced openly on various official notice boards).
- Community-based recovery, however, does not proceed as quickly as contract-based or wholesale-based reconstruction by private companies. Community involvement, although it

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takes longer, can produce better results. For instance, in the case of Kasongan, the youth involved, who were exposed to local planning and project implementation activities, received corresponding training to improve their skills and capacities. Such an approach provided an advantage in terms of sustaining the recovery project as well as the craft industry.

- A community-based approach, especially when taking advantage of the *gotong royong* tradition, can be a beneficial approach to recovery in terms of cost efficiency, as some community members may work voluntarily in post-disaster housing reconstruction.13

### 3.5. Key Messages

Taking advantage of *gotong royong* in recovery programs can provide momentum for fast-track recovery efforts. Such local traditions may be used as an approach to community development, thereby allowing communities to seize the “window of opportunity” afforded by the post-disaster recovery phase. The strengthening of existing community-based organizations is an important investment as these groups play key roles not only in recovery, but also in the overall development process. Musyawarah Mufakat, a common manifestation of *gotong royong*, is an approach that helps promote mutual understanding and greater cooperation among community members. In other words, active community involvement in governance contributed to Yogyakarta’s recovery.

### References


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CHAPTER 4 GUJARAT:
Transparency and Accountability in Recovery through “setus”

In Gujarat, India, setus have been utilized to facilitate resilient recovery from the 2001 earthquake. Two case studies are presented to highlight how communities are involved in setus.

4.1. The Gujarat Earthquake of 26 January 2001

The earthquake that struck Gujarat on 26 January 2001 was one of the most destructive earthquakes ever recorded on Indian soil. The natural catastrophe inflicted enormous damage on life and property in Kutch and some other districts of Gujarat State (Figure 4.1). The massive earthquake, measured 6.9 on the Richter scale (7.7 on the Mw scale), was felt across most of India. The epicenter was in Kutch, where the towns of Bhuj and Bachau were flattened and the towns of Anjar and Rapar were severely damaged. As many as 7,900 villages were affected, and more than 400 of those were completely destroyed. The earthquake and its many aftershocks affected more than 10 million people. The reported number of lives lost was 13,805. About 167,000 people were injured and over 1 million homes were destroyed. The United Nations Children’s Fund has estimated that as many as 5 million children were directly affected through the loss of family, home, or school. Authorities have estimated that 15,000 schools were damaged or destroyed, along with more than 300 hospitals. Massive damage was also inflicted on water and sanitation systems.

Figure 4.1 The affected Area of Gujarat earthquake 2001

More than 10,000 small and medium-sized industrial units went out of production, and 50,000 artisans lost their livelihoods. In financial terms, the region is reported to have suffered an estimated USD3.3 billion in direct losses (human lives, livestock and other animals, private property, municipal infrastructure, power and telecommunications infrastructure, health care, and education assets),
USD635 million in indirect losses (exports and imports; agriculture, industry, and services output; remittance income; lost earning potential due to disability, trauma, etc.; unemployment, health hazards) and USD2.1 billion in tertiary losses (long-term development, overall investment climate, funds reallocation, community migration and relocation). How did Gujarat recover from 2001 earthquake?

A unique feature of the recovery process is the community involvement through setus.14 See this link for details http://www.abhiyan.communicationcrafts.com/AboutUs.php.

4.2. Setus: Sub-centers for coordination

A setu (lit. “bridge”) is a mechanism to facilitate recovery process. It works as a facilitation center, establishing a link between the community, government administration, and non-governmental sector for a defined geographical cluster of 15-20 villages. In Gujarat, the setus evolved from a project initiated by Abhiyan, which received funding from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).15 The overall goal of the project was to reduce the physical and economic vulnerability of the populace and ensure a sustainable recovery in the earthquake-stricken region of Kutch. The project was implemented by harnessing and maximizing local capacities and synergizing the efforts of all stakeholders in the recovery process with setus acting as sub-centers for coordination. Each Setu is managed by a member NGO of Abhiyan. The application of the Setu concept during the recovery process resulted in positive impact that it has been replicated in other states such as Maharashtra to improve local governance and public services delivery (Singh 2002) not only during disaster recovery but also under everyday conditions.

4.2.1. Establishment

While the setu concept was officially adopted after the 2001 Gujarat earthquake, the network of NGOs that established the setus had already been formed in 1998. After the 1998 cyclone in Kutch, 14 local NGOs formed a network called Abhiyan to assist in emergency response efforts. After the emergency response phase, each member NGO continued to work in its specialized field while remaining active in network activities. When the earthquake hit Gujarat in 2001, response efforts were extremely complicated. To facilitate better response, the Abhiyan expanded the network into 29 NGOs spread across Kutch.16 Abhiyan became the coordinating point between NGOs, a forum for advocacy and policy recommendations to the Government, a platform for collective implementation, and facilitator between affected communities, donors, NGOs, and Government. The objective of the network is to synergize human knowledge, physical and financial resources and to collaborate towards a Kutch, which is governed by community initiatives, encourages self-help development, especially with marginalized sectors, integrates traditional wisdom with new technologies, and balances issues of human rights with human responsibilities (Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan 2005). While a great deal of aid and support came to Kutch during the response phase, it was not properly distributed. Thus, the

15 The Kutch Nav Nirman Abhiyan is a network of grassroots NGOs that was founded in response to the devastating cyclone that hit Kutch in May 1998. Abhiyan galvanized highly effective disaster relief operations by facilitating close coordination between NGOs, the district administration, health services, donor agencies, and those affected by the disaster. Eighty trained social workers of Abhiyan conducted a detailed survey of 197 villages in Kutch, which was later legitimized by the government for their rehabilitation and compensation schemes. Through its grassroots NGO members, Abhiyan operates in over 400 villages of Kutch district. Abhiyan is now a network of 29 NGOs actively working on a range of development concerns. For details see http://www.abhiyan.communicationcrafts.com/AboutUs.php (Accessed August 18, 2010).
members of Abhiyan realized that there was a need for more effective coordination. To address the problem, Abhiyan instituted a cluster level “sub-center” for every fifteen to twenty villages across the district. Each of these centers is now called a *setu*. The institutional structure of each *setu* is focused on facilitating coordination between villages and government or aid agencies. *Setus* also focus on information management, aiming to bring the most needed support to their communities during the relief and recovery process.\(^\text{17}\)

Member NGOs of Abhiyan follow the following approaches in operating a *setu*: (i) developing a cluster approach for capacity building of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), (ii) building capacities of the PRIs in both governance and development functions, (iii) ensure the use of information communication technology (ICT) not only for improving governance but also for smooth implementation of Panchayati Raj, (iv) building public private partnerships for sustainability, and (v) ICT is not a technological end in itself but as enabling intervention. These approaches are in line the following principles governing *setus*:

- *Setus* function only as facilitation centers
- *Setus* are managed by professional and trained personnel
- *Setus* are positioned as centers in a cluster of 15-20 villages
- *Setus* are neutral centers
- *Setus* response entirely to the needs and issues of its clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTS ON SETUS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Set up three days after the January 26, 2001 Earthquake</td>
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<tr>
<td>- 33 setus were set up across 468 affected villages as facilitating centers covering a total of about 90,000 people</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Each setu is a low cost center with operations expenses of less than USD2,000 per month</td>
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<tr>
<td>- At least 4 professionally qualified and trained persons run each setu</td>
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4.2.2. Areas of Work

*Setus* reflect a dynamic concept of improving governance, and their areas of work evolve over time. From serving as “bridges” (the literal meaning of *setu*) between the government, NGOs, and the community during the relief and response phase, their areas of work have expanded to cover the recovery phase. In other words, *Setus* grew from serving as “material banks” or “sub-centers” during the relief phase to meeting greater needs during the recovery and reconstruction phase. In the area of recovery, *Setus* grew into partnerships between the local community, local organizations, and the government. As the role of the *setus* evolved, their objectives also changed. Having adopted a recovery agenda, the objectives of the *Setus*, as sub-centers, are as follows: (i) identify representatives of communities in a village, (ii) form a village-level recovery committee, (iii) set up a coordination

system, (iv) assess the needs of the village and match them with relief supplies sent by different agencies, as well as with recovery programs, and (v) hold regular meetings with the setus at village committee. Given these objectives, the Setus are primarily involved in information management, stakeholder coordination, redress of grievances, advocacy, and other proactive activities. As shown in the case studies, the setus are pursuing recovery activities, coordinating and facilitating development interventions, and promoting community-based disaster preparedness in their geographical domains.

4.2.3. Innovative Features

Setus, which promote community awareness and involvement in governance for a resilient recovery, have the following innovative characteristics: they are institutionalized efforts that take a bottom-up approach, and are electronically linked.¹⁸

**Institutionalized Efforts**

One of the strengths of a setu is that it is institutionalized. The setus in Gujarat have evolved from having a “project” status to being a more “stable system” of responding to community needs, in response to the changing demands of the local community. As an institution, a setu evolves and grows by learning from its experiences and responding to the changing context. It is one of the best mechanisms for providing information to communities for their empowerment.

**Bottom-up Approach**

Setus reflect a bottom-up approach, as information is collected at ground level. NGOs seek to collect information for their clients, academic researchers, governments, and other stakeholders. With a bottom-up approach, accountability lies with the community. The process of collecting information is shown in Figure 4.4.

**Electrically linked**

Another salient feature of the setu system is that it is an electronically linked network. Setus are being computerized using specially developed software called “K-Link,” an innovative system of providing information to unreached communities through e-technology. K-Link provides comprehensive, reliable, and updated socioeconomic information on Kutch in order to serve the needs of three major stakeholders: the village community, the government, and the NGOs.

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Information collected from each village are demographic and social information, status of crafts, people, vocational status, animal husbandry, agricultural status, individual status of the disabled, handicraft damage assessment, and shelter reconstruction progress. Connectivity between the district, the taluka, and the village nodes is pyramidal. Specialized Managing Information Software (MIS) has been designed to handle the vast multi-sectoral base of information created. Each Setu is intended to be linked to the center and to one another. Abhiyan used professionals, usually from member NGOs, to manage the functioning of the Setus. These included social workers, gram preraks, accountants, and engineers. Each team has a team leader, two project coordinators, a community organizer, an information coordinator, and two village volunteers. This team is supported by a Training and Capacity Building Team at the main Setu Resource and Support Centre (SRSC).

4.2.4. Setu Process

Setus function in such a way that the end beneficiary, the villagers, are able to come directly to the setu and gather relevant information concerning benefit schemes and other village-level systems. Similarly, the government and other agencies will be able to collect village-level information from the district hub (Figure 4.5).
Information collection and management is one of the core functions of a setu. It provides a two-way information flow between the government and NGOs, and the community. The database set up by the setus provides information on damage assessments, government policies, resolutions, and other schemes, and information about NGO expertise/operations to the villagers and district administration. The Kutch Rehabilitation and Information Cell of Abhiyan assists setus and NGOs in the collection of information by developing the best ways to conduct primary surveys effectively. The database has been posted on the UNDP website and is available to the public. On the basis of the information collected, setus analyze the community needs in each village. Based on its analysis, each setu formulates its own strategy. The areas of focus often include the panchayat (village councils), education, and health. Special focus is placed on groups of farmers, salt pan workers, fish workers, and artisan groups such as potters and block printers. The system for collecting information is dynamic and it is being updated monthly or as required by the type of information needed.

Since information is a key aspect of the Setu system, efforts have been launched to promote better e-governance through rural connectivity. Abhiyan entered into an understanding with TATA Consultancy Services to develop a software application called the “Setu Information Management System (SIMS).” SIMS serves as a tool for compiling and analyzing multi-sectoral information collected by the setus from the villages. Village-level information is then provided to relevant government agencies and NGOs. While SIMS has been installed in most of the setus, in some areas installation has been delayed due to a lack of infrastructure, such as electricity and telephone lines.

4.3. Applications of Setus

By functioning as information centers, setus have helped ensure community participation in earthquake reconstruction efforts in Kutch, as described in the following case study. Each case highlights an example of community involvement in governance to enhance recovery operations and build back better.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case 1 Ensuring Community Participation in Kutch Earthquake Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As observed in Kutch district, a key lesson learned following the Gujarat earthquake was the need for people to be involved in the reconstruction and rehabilitation process. The entire process had to be people-centered and participatory. In order to create awareness as well as to obtain acceptance and cooperation, policies and actions had to be comprehensible and transparent, and the Setus played an important role in this regard. In addition, an extensive system of internal and external audits for reviewing and, where necessary, revising procedures or decisions were used. This case describes how corruption (a key governance issue) was prevented in the Kutch earthquake reconstruction process by community involvement in governance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formulation of Policies</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A state-level advisory committee comprised of representatives of the government, academic institutions, NGOs, and concerned industries was formed to assist and offer advice on policy formulation in Gujarat. An operations manual for project implementation was prepared in consultation with the funding agencies, clearly spelling out the powers and responsibilities of various stakeholders. In shelter recovery, for instance, two mechanisms were designed. One was an owner-driven reconstruction (ODR) program to ensure homeowners’ participation while the other was a public-private partnership (PPP) program to further secure public participation by involving concerned NGOs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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and enhancing transparency.

**Creating Awareness of Policies**

To create awareness not only of the recovery project as a whole, but also of ongoing processes and applicable procedures, the state government published advertisements in relevant newspapers at regular intervals on individual rehabilitation packages. Government resolutions were translated into the Gujarati language and made available to the public and to NGOs. They were also published on the website of the Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA, www.gsdma.org) and updated regularly. Furthermore, a booklet containing a list of frequently asked questions and corresponding answers about the assistance available and the procedures for disbursing that assistance was prepared and distributed to the public and to NGOs. In addition, video presentations were given in two phases in the affected villages to inform people about the assistance packages available, and to educate them about earthquake-resistant construction methods. The Gujarat State Legal Aid Services conducted legal literacy camps in 1,800 villages to educate people about their eligibility for assistance, legal rights, and existing mechanisms for the redress of grievances. Information kiosks were also installed in various locations to provide information about assistance schemes and financial resources available to victims. The Setus played a very important role in creating awareness of the recovery policies. The Anhiyan network of NGOs, which established the Setus, provides guidance on policies and acted as an interface between the affected people and the administration.

**Damage Assessment**

Damage assessment was another area in which public participation was crucial in order to provide equal treatment to the affected population and ensure that aid was disbursed in a fair, effective, and appropriate manner. Each damage assessment team consisted of an engineer, a revenue department official, and a local schoolteacher or member of a local NGO. Each evaluation was based on objective criteria and followed clear and predefined guidelines for damage assessment. To avoid inconsistencies, damaged houses were assessed and photographed and this information was archived. A system for reviewing decisions on rebuilding damaged structures was put into place.

**Project Implementation**

In addition to promoting public participation in damage assessment and increasing awareness about the rights of affected people, the state government of Gujarat further sought to integrate local people into a number of other crucial areas of concern. Decisions on relocation, for instance, if applicable, were made by local governing institutions at the village level. Debris removal was conducted by a village-level committee. Village civil works committees accomplished the repair of classrooms. Furthermore, town planning schemes were prepared in consultation with those affected, and development plans, especially for the four worst-hit towns, were prepared in consultation with all stakeholders. Moreover, housing assistance was linked to physical progress in reconstruction and was offered and paid in installments. Those installments were released only upon the issuance of a quality certification by government engineers and were issued as direct payments—in most cases through bank accounts—to the homeowners. At the same time, third-party quality audits of all the houses being reconstructed were conducted by various agencies involved in the rehabilitation and reconstruction program.

**Monitoring**

The implementation of the program was monitored by a state-level advisory committee consisting of eminent public persons, NGO representatives, and other experts. In addition, a central implementation review group assessed and monitored implementation. Further, periodic reviews were conducted by institutions such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank as well as state level review groups. GSDMA submitted monthly, quarterly, and annual reports to all concerned. National commissions for minorities, the more vulnerable groups of society, and women were also involved in the implementation review. Social impact assessments were conducted to ensure the
provision of real-time feedback by those affected. Benefit monitoring and evaluation measures were put into place to ascertain whether benefits were being delivered, especially to the socially and economically weaker groups of society, women, and other vulnerable groups.

**Redress of Grievances**

As for the redress of grievances, the reconstruction and rehabilitation program foresaw two types of committees, one at the village level and the other at the district level. The village-level committee included one member each from a socially vulnerable group of society, a women’s organization, and a minority community. The district-level committee was comprised of five NGO representatives, a social welfare officer, the president of the local governing council, and all elected members of the legislative assembly and parliament. The district judge acted as ombudsman to inquire into any complaint and direct the district administration to follow up, if needed.

In general, community involvement has been considered an important element in the reconstruction and rehabilitation process in Gujarat.

The Setu concept is also being replicated in other states of India such as in Maharashtra. The next case study illustrates how Setus have helped improve governance in the city of Aurangabad. This particular case is presented because the Setu, which evolved to facilitate better recovery, was also able to be used to improve the delivery of public services.

**Case 2 Setu: A Citizen Facilitation Center**

In the city of Aurangabad in the state of Maharashtra, a Setu was set up in October 2001 as a one-stop service center for citizens who have to visit government offices to obtain certificates, permits, authentications, affidavits, and other documents. In most cases, citizens spend a lot of time moving from one office to another or from one table to another in the same office to submit their application and documents, make enquiries about their case, and complete other related formalities. At times, they enlist the help of local agents, who operate without any legal authority and charge a fee, to help them fill in and submit their applications. To address this problem, the Setu uses information and communication technologies to inject greater transparency, accessibility, and efficiency into the decision-making process. It also makes use of the Internet to make information available to its clients. The Setu has 15 computers, 10 printers, and a staff of 28 persons including technical personnel, assistants, and clerks. There are 10 counters where citizens can present their applications.

In India, the District Collector heads the government administration in a district and acts as the nodal agency for most government schemes and programs. The general public comes to the Office of the District Collector and subordinate offices to obtain a variety of certificates, permits, and other important documents. There are 34 types of certificates that are issued by the district and sub-district offices. The most important and frequently issued certificates are those related to domicile, nationality, caste, age verification, solvency, character verification, income, and occupation. The applicant submits his/her application at the counter, where the operator enters key data and conducts an initial screening. If the information is complete, the applicant is given a token bearing a unique number and the date of response. Requested certificates are issued after the application has been scrutinized and reviewed. Service charges are likely to be refunded if the certificate is delayed.

Apulki Seva Sanstha, an NGO, has been given the job of running the Setu, charging a small fee for its services. This NGO spent US$14,500 of its own funds to purchase computers and related peripheral equipment. The Setu is open on holidays and after business hours on a two-shift basis. The main objective of such an arrangement is to facilitate the provision of important public services to

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citizens under a common platform with more efficiency in a “non-hostile and user-friendly environment.” Another objective is to ensure greater transparency in official procedures. Faster decision-making and processing of files for the general public is necessary to increase the productivity of public offices. Indirect employment generation has been cited as another goal.

The general public, especially farmers, laborers, small entrepreneurs, and students who require certificates and permits are the target stakeholders of the Setu. They want hassle-free services with minimum delay, and fewer visits to government offices. Other stakeholders include the NGO that runs the Setu and government officials.

The establishment of this Setu resulted in improved working conditions at the Collector’s Office and increased efficiency of the government machinery, as follows:

- The time it takes to receive a certificate after the submission of a complete application has been reduced by 50 to 60 percent.
- Applicants can learn the status of their application over the phone without having to visit the office in person.
- The Setu has facilitated the submission of applications by bringing together relevant officials and services in one location.
- The involvement of middlemen, solicitors, and agents has been reduced significantly.
- The direct financial cost of the project (around US$41,000) has been shared by the government and the NGO.

The Setu case in Maharashtra can be judged to be a partial success at present. It has been successful in introducing transparency into official procedures and in increasing the efficiency of delivery mechanisms after the submission of complete applications. However, a complete application requires many documents issued by other offices at the sub-district, block, or village level. The procedures for securing these supporting documents have remained unchanged, and it can take a great deal of time to get some of these documents if bribe money is not paid. There can be no comments about the sustainability or replication of this Setu project at this stage.

4.4. Challenges and Lessons

At present, the Setus in Gujarat are continuing their process of experimentation in their services and sustainability. Some have limited independent capacity, as Abhiyan is providing all of the required inputs for their operations. To develop Setus into independent organizations, Setu personnel are being trained in MIS software, micro planning, leadership development, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), and working with local communities. High priority has been placed on various capacity-building initiatives such as perspective building, skills development, and the creation of strong values among Setu staff. Sustainability of Setus is important to take stock of community involvement in decision-making process facilitated through exchange of information at the sub-centers.

The sustainability of a Setu depends primarily on its ability to generate funds. This can be done in three ways: (i) the receipt of continuous funds from donor agencies to support its activities, (ii) the generation of funds by charging for Setu services, and (iii) a government takeover and absorption of Setu services into its systems. While these are all the possible options, in reality it is very difficult to secure continuous funding. Hence, the only way to make the initiative sustainable is by developing a strategy whereby resources are generated from the services provided. A distinction can be made between free information and types of information that could be provided for a fee. There are important issues related to the sustainability of the Setus. First, the strategy for resource generation is not yet clear. Second, it is still unclear how the relevance of Setu information systems will be maintained after
the recovery phase. Finally, a Setu is not a project-implementing body, thus making it more difficult to sustain. Addressing these challenges is important for sustaining the Setus into the future.

4.4.1. Replication

One advantage of the Setu initiative is its potential for replication. It should be noted that GSDMA facilitated the replication of the Setu concept outside the Kutch district. Three NGOs, Anandi, SEWA, and Jeewan initiated Setus in the Rajkot, Surendranagar, Patan, and Jamnagar districts of Gujarat. The UNDP supported the creation of these Setus and assigned experienced National United Nations Volunteers to help the NGOs set them up. This suggests that the Setu concept has the potential to be replicated in other regions. Although Gujarat does have the advantage of a rich history with NGOs and volunteer organizations, the Setu initiative need not remain tied only to the NGO sector, once its financial viability has been proven. This is possible only when information provision services are of economic value along with its use for developmental issues.

Given the fact that the ‘Setu’ concept is already being replicated in other parts of India (Maharashtra), and even in Kazakhstan, and plus a wide range of interested institutions, persons, interfacing or wanting to interface with the Setus, it would be in the interest of the programme for it to function more autonomously than it has so far. It is equally important to appreciate that the Abhiyan is first and foremost a network of NGOs, who through their collective strength gave birth to programs, such as Setus. Programs, such as this, will gradually develop their own identity. However, it would be Abhiyan which will continue to be the main sponsor and nurturer of the Setus, and be responsible for their gradual move towards autonomy.

4.4.2. Community Governance Features of the Setus

Undoubtedly, the establishment of setus has not only contributed to better recovery but also has helped strengthen the governance system by promoting community involvement. The setus play a role in the following:

- Helping promote better governance (at the district, block, and panchayat levels) by functioning as information centers.
- Nurturing and enabling village panchayat, or village/caas (hamlet) committees, to prioritize, develop, plan, and implement programs to meet their developmental needs, under the mandate and ownership of the village communities. They redefine the role of the village panchayat/community and the NGOs, such that the village becomes the main implementing agency while the NGO participates in the effort by offering their training and technical expertise. The social processes in the village are undertaken by the trained staff of the setus.
- Identifying needs and organizing specific capacity building activities for the villages within a setu.
- Supporting and servicing the NGOs working on developmental issues in their area by meeting their needs for specific information.
- Creating a platform whereby perspectives on issues pertaining to the development of the area are shared.

4.5. Key Messages

Setus have a unique structure and can work closely with local communities located over a large area, as well as with outside organizations such as governments and NGOs. As in most rural villages of India, the village community is the basic social system in Kutch. Each village community has a decision-making body called a panchayat which makes various decisions related to the village economy and its government. Traditionally, the panchayat has been dominated by people with power, which sometimes causes inequality or corruption. However, because of the setus, the panchayat has been reestablished as a fair decision-making body which takes the needs of more vulnerable
populations into consideration. Setus help local communities identify their needs, but do not give support unless they are asked. This prevents a sense of dependency among villagers in the community, which often becomes a problem when excess support is provided by outside organizations. Although they work to provide the support necessary for local people and their communities, the ultimate goal of a setu is to establish self-sustaining mechanisms in local communities.

References


CHAPTER 5 SICHUAN: Government-Led Recovery and Community Partnerships

5.1. Damage Caused by the Sichuan Earthquake

On May 12, 2008, at 2:28 p.m. (Beijing time), an earthquake with the epicenter in Wenchuan County, Sichuan Province struck China. Registering a magnitude 8.0 on the richer scale (State Seismological Bureau of China, May 2008), this was the world’s largest inland (intra-plate) earthquake. The total affected districts have reached 417 counties, 4,667 towns, and 48,810 villages (includes Sichuan, Gansu, Sha’anxi Provinces) and an area of 500 thousand km2, resulting in the collapse of 6.5 million homes and leaving 69,227 dead and 17,923 missing.

Lifelines including electricity, water, and communication services were interrupted by the quake. Many factories and business were either destroyed or closed due to the damage. Farmland, crops and agricultural facilities were destroyed in large numbers. Many office, school and hospital buildings collapsed or were damaged beyond repair. The earthquake caused a tremendous amount of damage, with the total value of direct damage at about 845 billion Yuan.

The damage extended from high-mountain villages to hilly and mountainous areas, with cities as well as farming and mountain villages sustaining significant damage. In addition to the high magnitude and intensity of the earthquake, the disaster-affected areas in Sichuan share four features:

![Figure 5.1 Affected Area of China Earthquake 2008, Relief Web](image-url)
a) high population density, b) large territories, c) fragile geologic features with large mountains (steep slopes and deep valleys) and rivers in between, and d) limited over land accessibility for relief operations.

This chapter will analyze and draw lessons from the experience in Sichuan, looking at how the Chinese governance is working to achieve recovery from this enormous disaster, and how local communities have been involved in the recovery process.

### 5.2. Governance in China and Government-Led Earthquake Recovery

#### 5.2.1. Chinese Government and Non-Governmental Organizations

1. **Local Government**

   Chinese local governments are divided into four levels: the province, prefecture, county, and township levels. These are the executive organizations of the National People's Congress and are responsible for the Local People's Congress at their level and for government organizations one level above their own. There are centralized hierarchical relationships between each level of government. The chairman and vice-chairman of each local government body are not directly elected by their constituencies, but are selected by the People's Congress. The Communist Party mechanisms are on equal footing with state mechanisms from the central to the local governments, and at every level, the party committee or other party organization directs state mechanisms.

2. **Non-Governmental Organizations**

   On the other hand, the autonomous organizations in the urban areas of China are "communities," and residents' committees, which are committees organized at the community level, play the role of a town council. Rural areas, consist of "villages" and villagers' committees, are formed to manage the villages. These committees play the combined role of a Japanese town council and village office, and are positioned as intermediaries between the residents and the village/town governments. In addition to performing the necessary administrative services under the leadership of the village/town government, they also present the ideas, requests, and proposals of local residents to the government. A villagers' committee is comprised of between three and seven people, including the chairman (village head), vice-chairman, and other committee members, and its members are elected. The representative of the villagers’ committee is the village head, but the Communist Party secretary appointed from a higher level of government is also said to possess a great deal of power.

   On the other hand, NGOs must register through the government, and the Ministry of Civil Affairs in each province is the department in charge of NGOs in that province. Organizations with

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21 Article 3, Clause 4 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China states "The division of functions and powers between the central and local state organs is guided by the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities" (enacted 1982, revised 2004).

22 See Annex 1 for detailed description of the villagers’ committees, including its legal basis.
deep ties to the government tend to be those that are registered. Because of this registration system, NGO activities are carried out under indirect government control.\(^{23}\)

The next section discusses the way these organizations functioned after the earthquake and the specific efforts they pursued.

### 5.2.2. Recovery Efforts by the Government

The key characteristic of the Chinese government’s recovery efforts was early recovery through “Twinning Assistance.” “Twinning Assistance Program for Wenchuan Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction” was proposed in June 2008, and was implemented upon approval by the State Council. “The State Overall Planning for Post-Wenchuan Earthquake Restoration and Reconstruction” states that “Earthquake recovery and reconstruction are urgent and long-term obligations and the first-stage reconstruction will be completed over a period of about three years.” “Twinning Assistance” was highlighted as part of this process.\(^{24}\)

1. Twinning Assistance

Twinning Assistance is the concept of “a province outside the disaster area is paired with and designated to assist a hard-hit county.” 19 provinces and municipalities, including Beijing and Guangdong are paired with 20 counties and cities in Sichuan and hard-hit areas in Gansu and Sha’anxi provinces. (See Appendix 1). For a period of three years, the planned assistance in quantities of actual works to be provided by the support provinces (cities) shall not be less than 1% of their fiscal revenues of the previous year. The nature of the support to be provided extends from short-term to long-term support, and priority was to be given to efforts aimed at the restoration of people’s livelihoods. In addition to physical infrastructure, such as the development of housing, hospitals, and welfare facilities, and the restoration of water, gas, and sewerage treatment services, support is being provided to help with agricultural recovery, the provision of mental health care for victims, support for students, and human resource cultivation, as well as support aimed at attracting businesses to the region to promote economic development. Recovery through Twinning Assistance has facilitated the early recovery of housing and infrastructure due to a sense of competition between the provinces.\(^{25}\)

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\(^{23}\) There are about 340,000 NGOs approved by the government, but it is estimated that more than 2 million NGOs are active in China without government authorization. These unregistered NGOs do not receive government support (as a result of hearings with the NGO).

\(^{24}\) The State Council Report on Earthquake Relief and Earthquake Restoration and Reconstruction, Section 4, “Speedy Earthquake Restoration and Reconstruction,” states that “Earthquake recovery and reconstruction are urgent and long-term obligations and the first-stage reconstruction will be completed during the 11-5 term (that is, the 11th Five-Year Plan) over a period of about three years.” Robust development will be continued in the 12-5 term (that is, during the course of the 12th Five-Year Plan). The implementation of “Twinning Assistance” is mentioned in clause 4.

\(^{25}\) There were already plans in place for the more developed cities along the coast to provide support to rural areas in the interior, but the earthquake provided the impetus to implement this program more systematically. Twinning Assistance is a system that enables governments to help one another (Sichuan Province Department of Civil Affairs). To correct the economic development imbalances between the east and west in China, the government has been promoting the Great Western Development Strategy since 2000. The New Socialist Countryside Construction plan has also been promoted to develop a modern agricultural industry, to achieve the stable development of food production, and to facilitate a continuous increase in incomes among farmers.
2. Uniform Housing Reconstruction and Support

The housing reconstruction plan created by the government refers to a method called “uniform reconstruction,” which means that after the region to be targeted for reconstruction is selected, housing units with the standard area per person \(^{26}\) will be uniformly built according to a uniform plan, uniform design, and uniform quality. Also, when victims rebuild their homes, they receive financial aid from the government based on the number of people in their family and their poverty level.\(^{27}\)

3. Relocation of Entire Communities

A project is being promoted in which those towns that were most severely damaged are being rebuilt in new locations through the construction large-scale new towns. One of the hardest hit areas, Beichuan Qiang, saw its urban functions paralyzed by landslides and collapsed buildings. Under instruction of the government, the entire community was relocated to a new town (Yongchang Town) to the south. The new town extends across an area of 7 km\(^2\).\(^{28}\) The former Beichuan Qiang is to be preserved through the Beichuan Earthquake Memorial Museum. The residents that moved to the new town have moved into uniformly constructed homes\(^{29}\) and are likely to experience significant changes in their employment patterns due to the presence of the Beichuan-Shandong Industrial Park (1.4 km\(^2\)), an industrial complex that has been built nearby. (Government of Beichuan County)

Like the former Beichuan Qiang, the town of Hanwang Town also sustained serious damage, forcing the entire community to be moved to a newly built town.

As suggested by the above, through the strong coordination of China’s central government, the recovery is proceeding swiftly through the use of Twinning Assistance, housing reconstruction assistance, and the relocation of entire communities.

As of 30 April 2010, 97.2% of the 29,704 recovery projects had been launched, while 72.2% had been completed.\(^{30}\) The central government has coordinated the entire effort, and various sectors are going along with the government’s plans to promote recovery.

\(^{26}\) The standard area (floor area) per person is 30 m\(^2\) in Chengdu City, 35 m\(^2\) in Dujiangyan City, 20-30 m\(^2\) in Mianyang, and 30 m\(^2\) in Jina Village.

\(^{27}\) Financial aid from the government available to registered families (farm families)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Ordinary Farm Families</th>
<th>Impoverished Farm Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>16,000 yuan</td>
<td>20,000 yuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>19,000 yuan</td>
<td>23,000 yuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>22,000 yuan</td>
<td>26,000 yuan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eligibility for financial aid depends on whether a family’s home has been destroyed (or is still habitable).

\(^{28}\) The planned population for this new town is 40,000 in 2010, and 70,000 by 2020 (Mianyang City Government). In conjunction with the construction of this new town, the towns of Yong’an, Anchang, Huangtu, and Yongchang, which are situated along the Shandong Highway, were transferred from the jurisdiction of An County to that of Beichuan County.

\(^{29}\) The price of the new homes was 2,500 yuan/m\(^2\), but that amount was reduced to 500 yuan/m\(^2\) for earthquake victims. The former community of Beichuan Qiang is expected to re-emerge in the same shape as its former self in this new location.

\(^{30}\) The term “recovery” as it is used here refers to reconstruction, or infrastructural development. The word “recovery” in China, however, means “sustainable development,” or recovery in an extremely broad sense that includes continuous development.
5.2.3. Recovery Efforts by Local Organizations

This section reviews the roles played by the communities, volunteers, NGOs, local universities, and other local organizations while the government was leading the recovery.

1. Local Community

China has a traditional approach to mutual aid that is embodied in the phrase "one problem, support from eight helping hands." In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, nearby farmers helped one another in many different ways, including assistance with emergency rescue and first aid, following a pattern typical of the "mutual aid groups" of the past. Since then and until now, there has been considerable emphasis on the government-led, physical infrastructure developments, but the earthquake presented an opportunity for villagers to come together and discuss village recovery and development in the context of the villagers’ committee, and in some cases, to develop their own village policies. In rural disaster-stricken regions, some victims have no choice but to rely on income from migrant work, leaving only senior citizens and children in the village. This then becomes one factor that limits the ability of the community to fully exercise its capabilities.

2. Volunteers

The Sichuan Earthquake is being called the first year of civil society in China. In the month after the earthquake struck, as many as 1.3 million volunteers mobilized to help. Volunteers and NGO activities were virtually unknown in the disaster-stricken region prior to the Sichuan Earthquake, and many disaster victims heard these very words for the first time only after the disaster. Volunteers came from diverse backgrounds, and included individuals organized through the Internet, company volunteers, specialists, people from Chinese and international NGOs, and Communist Party youth group members.

After the earthquake, large amounts of donations also poured in for the recovery effort. However, virtually all of these were handed over to the government or relevant agencies. As of the end of September 2009, the donations that had been received were valued at 79,703 million yuan (or 1,195.5 billion yen at an exchange rate of 1 yuan to 15 yen). (Based on the results of an Examination of Social Contributions to the Wenchuan Earthquake).

3. NGOs

After the earthquake, NGOs in all different fields and regions throughout the country swiftly amassed their resources in the disaster-stricken regions, and conducted activities by forming a diverse network with local governments, government institutions, and other NGOs. Because NGOs can acquire outside information, create horizontal linkages across fields, and act swiftly because of their independence from the government, they were extremely effective after the quake, and heralded the arrival of a new civil society in China. However, because of the difficulty in collecting donations and amassing other financial resources, many of the numerous NGOs that were

31 "Mutual Aid Groups" were groups of four to seven families that shared the use of work animals, farm tools, and household furnishings. They were organized to help the many small-scale farmers that were created out of the land reforms of the 1950s to engage in more efficient agricultural production. Later, larger groups were formed and these eventually developed into what became the "neighborhood's communities".

32 When traditional wooden houses were built, the community members would help with the construction. This is evident in the fact that the traditional custom of performing a ceremony celebrating the raising of the ridge beam at the completion of the framework is still a deeply rooted part of society (UNCRD Disaster Management Planning Hyogo Office, 2009).

33 For example, in Mianzhu City, a welfare center (senior welfare facility) was constructed using 10 million yuan in donations from employees of the Standard Bank Shanghai Branch. The Mianzhu City Civic Affairs Bureau also contributed 2.6 million yuan to secure land for the construction of the facility. This senior welfare facility was able to be built thanks to donations from citizens and the cooperation of the city government (Mianzhu City Civic Affairs Bureau).
engaged in recovery support activities on the ground immediately after the earthquake ended up stopping their activities due to a lack of funding. Within six months after the quake, many had been dissolved.  

Few of the international NGOs were newly established, however, with most of them having been operating in China since Footnote before the quake and thus having existing connections to the government. These organizations simply added recovery support to the menu of activities they had been performing prior to the disaster. There had been little interaction between international NGOs, with each conducting its own activities in this outlying region since before the quake, and there were considerable inefficiencies due to redundancies in their activities and service areas.  

4. Local universities

The central government established a recovery plan for the entire disaster-stricken region, but the local universities were left in charge of several components of that plan, including the building reconstruction plan and the road reconstruction plan. The government established planning points for the creation of the village reconstruction plans, and then held a layout and design competition among the universities. Because the selection of the winners was based on the strength of the university's plan, however, there was no guarantee that the local universities would be able to participate.

Southwest University of Science and Technology (SWUST), which is located in the disaster-stricken region, used its expertise to make a local contribution to recovery efforts by performing seismic resistance assessments immediately after the quake, creating a plan for the re-use of rubble, and developing technologies for creating lightweight steel structures.  

5. Corporations

After the earthquake, companies made contributions (relief funds), and engaged in various types of support activities. Changhong TV Company, whose headquarters is in Sichuan Province, established a scholarship fund in 2008 for students of the heavily damaged Beichuan Junior High School, and also provided classrooms, dormitories, a TV education system, and fitness facilities. China Vanke, the largest real estate company in China, provided support to the disaster-stricken

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Footnote 35: One government-affiliated NGO whose activities were particularly remarkable after the earthquake was the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC). The RCSC launched many projects to support communities in the disaster-stricken areas, using a new means of financial procurement. Projects were set up by the RCSC in partnership with the Jet Li Foundation to help ethnic minority women to create and market their embroidery, and to support the breeding of rabbits by local residents. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), meanwhile, undertook programs that provided livelihood support over several months to families who had moved into to newly reconstructed homes in the Qiang Autonomous Region. Livelihood support focused on helping the more socially vulnerable whose lives were thrown into turmoil by the earthquake to start or restart their livelihoods.


Footnote 36: Located in the disaster-stricken area of Mianyang, SWUST itself also sustained serious damage in the earthquake, but after the school reopened in September 2008, it provided emergency support to the community in the form of seismic resistance assessments and health assessments. SWUST also created a plan for re-using the large amounts of rubble generated by the earthquake. A joint project was undertaken between the university and a company involving the re-use of rubble in making blocks. The techniques and skills were provided by the university, while the actual activities were performed by the company (Xi Shu Xing Zhong Cai). The university (a former associate professor of SWUST) also provided technological support for the recovery, including an effort to develop an earthquake-resistant lightweight steel frame in cooperation with a corporate partner (Ecological Earthquake Resistant Company, Beichuan Branch).

Footnote 37: The amounts donated by each company were ranked by the size of company and industry, and published on the Internet. As a result, boycotts were apparently waged against companies whose contributions were deemed to be too small.
region of Zundao Town by supplying tents and temporary housing, and building schools. The earthquake created a heightened awareness of corporate social contributions.

5.2.4. Results and Challenges Involved in Government-Led Recovery

As is evident from the information above, the government-led recovery, which centered on counterpart support, was particularly remarkable in terms of the speed of physical recovery, that is, housing and infrastructure reconstruction, and it also appeared that the people's standard of living has been gradually improving. Just one year after the quake, it seemed that the recovery plan that had been established for the first three years would be completed ahead of schedule, in just two years.\(^38\)

On the other hand, recovery efforts by local residents, volunteers, NGOs, local universities, and businesses were small in scale, but highly diverse, and those activities played a complementary role that closed the gaps in the government-led recovery program. Due to the breadth of the disaster-stricken area and the size of the population affected, the government was not able to achieve a complete recovery in all sectors on its own. The Wenchuan Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction Ordinance links self-regeneration and self-contained production to state support and counterpart support, and indicates that as the recovery emphasis shifts from physical reconstruction to livelihood recovery going forward,\(^39\) there is going to be an increased need for regions and communities to take on greater roles and responsibilities in their own sustainable development. The various actors in the communities of the disaster-stricken region, including the villagers' committees, NGOs, and local universities, need to join hands and work together toward a new stage of development.

Amidst all this, there are examples in which the government's support was put to good use from the initial stages of the recovery process, and relevant organizations have banded together to cultivate the seeds of sustainable development. The next section introduces these seedlings of community governance.

5.3. Community Partnerships and Recovery Efforts

This section presents the recovery stories of three specific villages to show in detail how local residents, communities, local governments, and local businesses formed partnerships in their pursuit of recovery activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case 1: Penghua Village, Mianzhu City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Background</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Penghua is a beautiful village located in the foothills about a 30-minute drive northwest of the center of Mianzhu City. Surrounded by the traditional homes often seen in pictures of Chinese nianhua (Spring Festival Pictures),\(^40\) as well as pear, loquat, and other fruit trees, this village has become known in recent years for its "nongjiale", "Enjoy the Village Life", that is, country homes that Chinese tourists can visit to experience life in a rural setting. However, this village sustained major damage as a result of the earthquake, which destroyed...

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\(^38\) On March 27, 2009, at a General Meeting of the 5-12 Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction Committee held in Sichuan Province, leaders announced that “the three-year goals will be mostly complete within two years.”

\(^39\) Even Jina Village in Beichuan County has adopted slogans that are indicative of an approach to recovery that involves collaboration between the people and the government: “Government, self-financing, bank loans,” and “Government supports housing reconstruction. Residents think of ways to raise capital.”

\(^40\) Chinese nianhua are pictures that people use to decorate doorways or interiors of their homes in the spring, as a petition for good fortune and to repel bad fortune, and are often found in the form of wood-block prints. They were particularly popular from the late Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty.
all its homes. Using Twinning Assistance Support, the destroyed homes in the village have been rebuilt as reinforced concrete structures that incorporate traditional styles. Each family received 16,000 yuan from the government, but the cost of rebuilding one home was about 80,000 yuan. The villagers have been helping one another to shoulder this burden in various ways.

In Penghua Village, the relationships between the villagers have become more cohesive as a result of the earthquake. “Cunguimingyue” (the village rules and regulations for nongjiale, fire fighting, relationships between neighbors, and security) were discussed and decided upon by all the village residents, and today, the village is striving to develop by focusing on tourism (Appendix 2).

Neighboring farmers work together to allocate lodging space to visiting tourists, and the farmers get to enjoy a lifestyle of hosting visitors while also earning an income.

According to Village Head Shaoping Fu, Penghua Village has a population of 1,667 people and 468 households. It is geographically divided into 12 associations (each association is comprised of about 100 residents). Three associations produce rice, six produce pears, and three produce kiwis. Many of the villagers are age 40 or older, and there is an especially large number of senior citizens. The village head wants to promote nongjiale tourism to try to attract young people. Ten years ago, Penghua Village did not have a name, but it came to be known as a nongjiale tourist destination around 2006. In the future, the villagers would like to see the village develop even further as a tourist destination.

In most years, an event called the “Mianzhu Nianhua Festival” is held for the one-month during which the pear trees are in bloom (from late March to late April). This year, which was the second anniversary of the quake, marks the 9th of these festivals. It was cooperatively hosted by the Mianzhu City Bureau of Cultural and Sports and Shansui Company (a company that sells nianhua in Mianzhu City).

Recovery Using Nianhua (Chinese Spring Festival Pictures)

Mianzhu City has the “Mianzhu Nianhua,” one of the four most famous Spring Festival Pictures in China.41 Before the earthquake, brightly colored pictures were drawn on the white walls and gates of the homes in Penghua Village.42 When it was decided that counterpart support for Penghua Village would be provided by Changzhou in Jiangsu Province, Mianzhu City wanted to be able to effectively use these Spring Festival Pictures as a local resource. Mianzhu City (Mianzhu City Bureau of Cultural and Sports) mobilized a nianhua company in the city (Nianhua products selling company in Mianzhu), and the government and company worked together to provide support for Penghua Village and to cultivate the nianhua as a tourism industry (Figure 5.4). After the quake, in addition to this support provided by the government and corporate sectors, nianhua experts with 20 or more years of experience in Mianzhu City voluntarily taught their craft to the villagers of Penghua.

In Penghua Village, they had opportunities to practice their nianhua techniques, and the Mianzhu Nianhua Training Center was built using Twinning Assistance Support from Changzhou city, to broadly publicize the local nianhua art. Construction began in September 2008 and the facility opened in May 2009. Today, it is being managed by the marketing department of a company. Because nianhua and embroidered products are made by many women at this center, its activities are helping to empower women by facilitating their acquisition of new techniques. The hearth of the center is also

41 The four great nianhua of China are located in Mianzhu (Sichuan), the Suzhou Taohuawu (Jiangsu), Tianjin Yangliuqing (Tianjin), and Shandong Huaifang (Shandong). The Mianzhu Nianhua is known for being a “cixiu nianhua” (embroidery New Year picture).
42 The famous nianhua wall paintings on homes in Penghua Village are said to have been created by a group of nianhua artisans who were invited to Penghua by the director of the Mianzhu Cultural Center (located in Mianzhu Danan Road), Minggui Hu.
serving as a venue for communication among local residents. This center has therefore helped revive a greater sense of emotional well being since the earthquake.\textsuperscript{43}

If the people working at this center sell their nianhua, a portion of the sales goes to the producer because the sale is made through the company that manages the center. The villagers had previously been farmers, but today, they are beginning to produce nianhua and to earn an income from the tourism industry through the nongjiale and their efforts to pick and sell fruit, such as kiwis and pears. However, tourism is a very seasonal industry, with many unstable elements. Today, many of the people who visit the nianhua training center are from Jiangsu Province, which is providing the village with Twinning Assistance Support. Thus, attention needs to be paid to whether tourism can establish a real foothold and become a permanent industry in the region even once counterpart support has ended.

According to an assistant at the Feng Chun Nianhua Training Center, this center has both short-term and long-term part-time workers. The more talented artisans earn incomes of 1,000 to 3,000 yuan per month (with overtime pay), while those still in training earn 100 to 300 yuan. The amount of time needed to acquire skills in this field is several months in the case of painting, but several years for those who want to become talented embroidery artists. Many of the people in training are in their 40s. Young people do not stay in this field, while senior citizens tend to have problems with this precision work due to the strain it puts on the eyes. Normal work hours are 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

\textsuperscript{43} Some long-term part-time workers are working here to heal from the pain of losing their children in a kindergarten that collapsed in the quake.
Following are examples of the recovery of two villages that are deeply colored by the cultures of their ethnic minorities.

**Case 2: Jina Village, Beichuan Qiang**

**Background**

Beichuan Qiang Autonomous county is the county where the ethnic Qiang group live. Jina Village, which is located in this autonomous region, is home to 71 households, 69 of which saw their homes completely destroyed by the earthquake. The village lost 26 lives. The “emphasis on the production and livelihood patterns of ethnic minorities” was identified as an important priority in the Sichuan Earthquake Comprehensive Recovery and Reconstruction Plan. Under that plan, a recovery plan was established with the aim of using the culture of the ethnic minority to create a tourism destination out of Jina Village. This plan was supported by the government.

A Crow’s Nest, a famous traditional pattern of the Qiang ethnic group, has been placed at the entrance to Jina Village, and the restored houses do a good job of evoking the distinctive character of this rich culture. The Crow’s Nest was originally made of stone, but it now has a reinforced concrete structure, and the interiors of the houses are also of modern construction. The housing construction was performed by the military based on the concept of uniform reconstruction, and the villagers supplied only the raw materials. The floor area of the homes meets the standard 30 m² per person, with the size being determined based on the number of people in the household. The housing design, which is based on the traditions of this ethnic group, was planned by the government (Chengdu Design Institute).

**Tourism Recovery That Takes Advantage of the Local Ethnic Heritage**

Jina Village, which was rebuilt in the traditional layout of the Qiang people, has become a destination for tourists. The village is aiming to attract overnight tourism by establishing nongjiale in its residential areas, and is also striving to cultivate the tourism industry through the production of traditional embroidery handicrafts. The village had been producing embroidery products for its own use, but now it is striving to create an industry of this traditional handicraft. With the support of a local company (Sichuan Beichuan County Qiangxiu Park Cultural Tourism Co., Ltd.), embroidery classes and training are being provided to the villagers (Figure 5.6). As a result of these efforts, most of the women in Jina have learned how to do embroidery. If the company finds this to be a potentially lucrative business model, these activities could be accelerated with more aggressive contributions from the private sector.

However, the reduction in the number of tourists in recent years has become a greater challenge. Because Jina Village is located relatively far away from the nearest provincial capital city (Chengdu City), as memories of the earthquake subside, tourists may begin to start going to other more easily accessible villages. Also, though it costs about 100,000 yuan to build an ordinary house, it...
cost between 200,000 and 300,000 yuan to reconstruct a seismically sound Qiang-style houses. The houses are spacious and comfortable, but mortgages on the homes have placed a considerable burden on many villagers. Today 30% of the villagers in Jina are merchants while 70% are migrant workers. The village has a villagers’ committee and party members’ committee, both of which generally hold their meetings at the same time and perform functions similar to those of a Japanese town council. The villagers’ committee consists of two associations and two teams. Because the village is not very large, the committees discuss a variety of issues. The residents even discuss commerce amongst themselves. However, there is very little interaction with the people of other villages.

The increased opportunities to earn income from embroidery has been a major step forward for the village, but to continue to attract tourists and to promote sales of embroidery, there is a need to support villagers in the creation of a structured and professional business perspective for future sustainable livelihood, and there is need of ongoing support provided from the government.

One resident, Yuhua Zhu, used to be a farmer, but lost her farmland in the earthquake. Today she operates a souvenir shop located in the village plaza, where she sells folk crafts. She rebuilt and is living in a restored home made using the ethnic traditions of the village, and it is both spacious and comfortable. She is repaying a mortgage, but her life now is much better than the life she had before the earthquake. Of the 200,000 yuan she spent on home construction costs, 16,000 yuan was provided in the form of a government grant, 50,000 yuan was borrowed from a financial institution, and the remainder came from his own funds and in the form of loans from relatives.

Sales of folk crafts are good during extended holidays and weekends, but they tend to be constrained at other times. The arrival of tourists does not necessarily mean that they will buy souvenirs. Of the goods sold at the store, the embroidered products are made in her own home, while the other folk crafts are purchased from the market. The embroidered products she makes herself take both time and effort, such that in a month she is only able to make about 400 yuan worth of embroidered goods. The ability to sell goods she makes herself allows her to sell them at a higher price. She could also sell her products to companies, but that would cut into her take-home pay. She

Figure 5.7 Relationships of recovery actors in Jina village

Sales of folk crafts are good during extended holidays and weekends, but they tend to be constrained at other times. The arrival of tourists does not necessarily mean that they will buy souvenirs. Of the goods sold at the store, the embroidered products are made in her own home, while the other folk crafts are purchased from the market. The embroidered products she makes herself take both time and effort, such that in a month she is only able to make about 400 yuan worth of embroidered goods. The ability to sell goods she makes herself allows her to sell them at a higher price. She could also sell her products to companies, but that would cut into her take-home pay. She

45 Many residents take home loans from agricultural trust companies. Since September 2008, the interest on home loans has been subsidized by the government. Borrowers pay back 15% of the loan in the first year, 35% in the second year, and 50% in the third year.
Case 3: Shiyi Village, Beichuan County

Background

Shiyi Village is an ethnic Qiang village located on the steep slopes of a mountain. The ethnic minority Qiang people have always viewed the upper and middle slopes of tall mountains as the ideal place to live because they prevent enemy invasions. These particular geographical conditions have produced an architectural culture unique to the Qiang that includes stone watchtowers and stone-walled houses. As a result of the Sichuan Earthquake, all of the homes of the 91 Qiang households living in Shiyi Village were damaged, with 70% of them having been completely destroyed. Today, new watchtowers and houses are being built alongside one another, using the old traditional architectural styles (China Internet Information Center).

After the earthquake, five families banded together to form a company in Shiyi Village (Beichuan Shiyi Qiangzhai Qiangsu Tourism Co., Ltd.). It was designed to operate some nongjiale and attract tourists to the area (Figure 5.8). Shiyi Village Head, Mu Guang Yuan speaks of the history and appeal of the village in a spirit of "guan’ai" (hospitality), and feels that opening restaurants and lodging facilities, and allowing visitors to get a glimpse of the life of Qiang farmers will be a compelling attraction to many people all year round. The village women are employed by this company to create the embroidery and other folk handicrafts that convey the traditions of this ethnic group, and this business model is proving successful. The kinds of efforts being undertaken in this village require a strong leader. Future efforts will focus on the question of whether the role of the leader can be handed down successively and whether this will remain a sustainable independent activity.

These efforts were evaluated by the Mianyang City Tourism Board and the village was approved as a model village in Sichuan Province.

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47 "guan’ai" means take care each other in English.
5.4. Conclusions

Since the sections above described the recovery efforts taken in three villages, this section will touch on the recovery lessons that can be gleaned from these cases, and will summarize the conclusions.

5.4.1. Lessons and Challenges

In China, the central government has played a central role in disaster recovery. Nonetheless, to pursue the efforts undertaken in the villages that were mentioned in the cases above, the local governments, companies, and villagers devised creative strategies to take full advantage of the support provided by the central government, and were able to steadily promote recovery efforts. Recovery efforts that depend on community initiative have the potential to take more time because of the need to form a consensus among residents, but because the residents have a sense of ownership of the outcome, they also tend to offer higher levels of satisfaction to residents and to be linked to sustainable development. It is therefore important to get the community involved in the very early stages of the recovery process.

In Penghua Village, the local government made good use of a local resource (i.e., nianhua art), got a company involved, and worked to cultivate human resources in the process of leading the recovery of that area. Whether or not these projects will become established as sustainable local efforts after the counterpart support ends will depend on the pursuit of mutual cooperation among the Penghua villagers, the development of partnerships with municipal governments and other external organizations, the ongoing support of the national government, the number of tourists who visit, and related to that, the ongoing sales of embroidery products.

In Jina Village, government support for the reconstruction of traditional houses and the corporate commercialization of folk handicrafts are being linked together to promote tourism. However, there are still serious concerns about whether the momentum behind this tourism promotion will continue even after the government-led recovery has ended. The reason that the
people were so sure they had escaped from the instability of migrant work was because they were confident that the tourism industry would continue to provide stable or increasing incomes. It remains to be seen if that assessment is accurate.

In Shiyi Village, outstanding leaders were able to organize the villagers, effectively utilize local resources, and have the village approved by the local government as a model nongjiale village. The importance of the presence of a strong leader in community development was highlighted in many of the successful cases. However, the qualities needed in a leader when thinking about the continuity of a project are different from the qualities needed when launching a project. To achieve continued development in the future, efforts should be made to track the development of autonomous village governance.

5.4.2. Conclusion

The rapid recovery that has been achieved in the two years since the Sichuan Earthquake is undeniably due to the strong government leadership in the recovery process. However, it is important to note that in some disaster-stricken regions, this disaster has been used as an opportunity by local governments, village communities, local companies, volunteers, and other relevant individuals and organizations to form partnerships, to promote cooperative projects at the community level that can form the foundations for sustainable development, to make effective use of local resources, and to improve the capacities of residents. At present, the infrastructure recovery stage is complete, and the region is entering the stage of full-scale recovery that includes the recovery of the disaster victims' livelihoods.\(^{49}\) Going forward, it will be important for communities to try to cultivate the seeds of community governance that have been sown, for the purpose of achieving further autonomous development. To do this, it will be important to try to leverage the strength that already exists within the community, and that is well rooted in the local lifestyle and culture. In this sense, it will be particularly important to have the views of diverse actors represented\(^{49}\) and to promote activities that link those diverse players together.

Though change does not happen quickly, a disaster can be used as an opportunity to promote the penetration of these kinds of activities, and the circle of cooperation can be expected to expand outward starting with the levels closest to the community.

Finally, in remote rural areas located far away from urban centers, even today there are few jobs available that produce a steady income, leaving many people with no choice but to become migrant workers. Investigations need to be conducted on how communities can play a major role in post-earthquake recovery against a backdrop of rural lifestyles characterized by migrant work and the departure of individuals of junior high school age and older to work in other places.\(^{50}\)

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\(^{48}\) According to “Wenchuan Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction Ordinance”, the period from 2008 to 2010 is regarded as the first phase of the plan, which is to reach the goal of taking immediate measures to help the victims to recover themselves to the pre-earthquake level, and the period from 2011 to 2015 is regarded as the second phase of the plan, which completes overall recovery and reconstruction activities. (Disaster Report 2008) http://www.bousai.go.jp/kouhou/h20/07/repo_01.html (Accessed 1 July 2010)

\(^{49}\) For example, NGOs sometimes play the role of linking the region with various outside entities horizontally and bring the outside perspectives to the region.

In a certain village, for the reconstruction of traditional style houses, NGOs played a role of coordinating the general public ideas with the village committees plans.

\(^{50}\) Chinese government also recognizes those problems and starts tackling the employment issues, such as reducing the burden of the companies in the affected areas to stabilize the local employment system and setting up the post-disaster reconstruction projects, etc.
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Appendix 1

Table 5.1 Twinning Assistance for the Sichuan Earthquake in China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support provider</th>
<th>Support recipient</th>
<th>Support provider</th>
<th>Support recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shandong Province - Beichuan County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Shanxi Province - Mao County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Guangdong Province - Wenchuan County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Hunan Province - Li County, Sichuan Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang Province - Qingchuan County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Jilin Province - Heishui County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Jiangsu Province - Mianzhu City, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Anhui Province - Songpan County, Sichuan Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing City - Shifang City, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Jiangxi Province - Xiaojin County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Shanghai City - Dujiangyan City, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Hubei Province - Hanyuan City, Sichuan Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei Province - Santai County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Chongqing City - Chongzhou City, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Liaoning Province - An County, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Heilongjiang Province - Jiange County, Sichuan Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan Province - Jiangyou City, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Guangdong Province (Shenzhen City) - Heavily damaged areas of Gansu Province</td>
<td>Fujian Province - Pengzhou City, Sichuan Province</td>
<td>Tianjin City - Heavily damaged parts of Shanxi Province</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Damaged areas not listed above have been assigned by the Sichuan provincial government to receive counterpart support from other areas within the province.)

Source: “Twinning Assistance Program for Wenchuan Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction”

Appendix 2: Penghua Village Policies (Excerpts)

These Village Policies have been enacted based on discussions among all villagers to ensure democratic legislative processes in the village, maintain social stability, create a positive village environment and an environment where residents can live comfortably and pursue work, to promote the economic development of tourist destinations, and to rebuild a new agricultural village characterized by good discipline, sanitation, and respect for the natural environment.

1. Regulations Regarding the Operation of a Nongjiale

Farm families that operate a nongjiale shall provide services that meet the tourism industry management regulations and other standards established by that industry, such as providing a sanitary environment for guests, including rooms for stay and serving meals, and managing the safety of tourist facilities. The services for the local families who run nongjiale business for the guests should meet public health standards, and must hold a health and sanitation certificate issued by related bureau. The food served shall meet national standards. Business activities outside the scope of designated activities, fraud, or other illegal activities shall be eradicated. Nongjiale operators shall install and prepare fire prevention equipment and facilities. Fire extinguishers or water sources for extinguishing fires shall be provided, as necessary. Workers shall receive training in fire fighting techniques, and in the use of fire fighting equipment. Operators shall also take measures to combat flies, mosquitoes, rats, and cockroaches.
2. Fire Fighting and Safety (omitted)
3. Village Folk Culture (omitted)
4. Relationships Between Neighbors (omitted)
5. Households Related by Marriage (omitted)
6. Public Security (omitted)

Those who violate the Public Security regulations or break the law shall be punished through the judicial system. Individuals who do not break the law, but who doesn't meet these conditions, shall be educated and reprimanded by the villagers’ committee.
CHAPTER 6 HANSHIN-AWAJI: The Activities of Intermediary Support Organizations in the Recovery Process

It has been 15 years since the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. The region has moved through the initial phases of emergency, restoration, and recovery, and today memories of the earthquake are starting to fade. Still, this disaster was the starting point for efforts to rethink local governance in Japan. Since the Meiji Period, Japanese society has not adequately recognized the formation of specialized civic organizations established independently of the government. Rather, financial assistance has flowed in a vertical pattern from central government agencies to local organizations, primarily consisting of local town councils. In spite of the small number of civil servants per capita, big government (an influential central government) has developed in Japan through the exercise of control over and development of subcontractor-style relationships with these organizations. However, the existence of small-scale community groups that do not have these kinds of specialized organizations lack the specialization that allows them to stand up against large bureaucracies, and this has resulted in the emergence of a dual-layered civil society structure that includes a small number of specialized groups and a large number of non-specialized groups (Pekkanen, 2008).

Many volunteers and NPOs participated in relief efforts after the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake of 1995, a vivid contrast against the administrative workings of government that were constrained by a chain-of-command structure, rigid impartiality, and complex bureaucratic systems. This raised awareness of the importance of civic activities independent of the government. It also served as the impetus for the enactment of the NPO law in 1998, after which a large number of NPOs were established. As a result, as Pekkanen stated, January 17, 1995 can surely be viewed as the first year of civil society in Japan.

This chapter presents an overview of the damage caused by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake and the current status of recovery, focusing on the intermediary support organizations, particularly NPOs, that emerged during the recovery process, and offering specific examples of the activities conducted by these organizations, and the role they played in the community. Next, it considers the foundations and structures in place to support intermediary support organizations from the perspective of government policy, and shows how their sustainable development is being supported.
6.1. Damage Caused by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake

Fatalities : 6,434  
Missing persons : 3  
Injured : 43,792  
Homes damaged : 639,686 buildings  
   Of these, 104,004 were completely destroyed (affecting 182,751 households) and 136,952 were half destroyed (affecting 256,857 households).  
Buildings burned : 7,574  
   Of these, 7,035 were completely burned and 89 were half burned.  
Evacuees : 316,678 people in 1,153 shelters (at the peak on Jan. 23, 1995)

At 5:46 a.m. on January 17, 1995, a massive magnitude 7.3 earthquake (with a maximum seismic intensity of 7 on the Japanese scale) with the epicenter in the northern part of Awaji Island in Hyogo Prefecture, struck directly beneath a major urban area, instantly taking many precious lives and destroying the urban infrastructure in the region. In addition to causing homes and buildings to collapse, the earthquake sparked fires in many locations. This enormous tragedy left more than 6,400 people dead or missing.

The transportation network consisting of roads, railways, and port facilities sustained catastrophic damage, as did the lifeline network, including water, electricity, and gas services. The direct damage caused by the quake was valued as high as ¥10 trillion. At the peak, more than 320,000 victims who had lost their homes evacuated to public parks and schools, and had to endure the challenges of shelter life, including shortages of food and water.

Even under these difficult conditions, with roads severed and urban functions paralyzed, restoration efforts moved forward at a feverish pitch thanks to the valiant efforts of everyone involved and the support of many people from all over Japan and abroad. Emergency electrical power transmission was achieved on the sixth day after the earthquake, and water and gas services were restored three months later. Railway service on all JR lines was resumed in April. Even the private railways, which had also been severely damaged, resumed full service in August. The Hanshin Expressway was reopened one section at a time, but all sections were fully operational by September 1996. The Port of Kobe completed its restoration work at the end of March 1997, and in May of that year, issued the Declaration of the Recovery of the Port of Kobe. The demolition of 108,126 destroyed homes and buildings was more than 90% complete within a year after the quake. The removal of
14,300,000 tons of rubble was completed by the end of March 1998. The rubble was used as landfill and for other purposes. On the other hand, 48,300 temporary housing units were built after the quake, and the transition of residents to permanent housing was completed by January 2000. By March of that same year, all of the temporary housing units had been removed.

6.2. Brief Description of the Voluntary Activities after the Disaster

In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, as many as 1.38 million volunteers from other parts of Hyogo Prefecture, all over Japan, and around the world, came flooding into the disaster-stricken area to engage in a wide variety of relief activities and support services, including the delivery of relief supplies, management of evacuation shelters, confirmation of the status of victims, preparation of meals, drawing of water, provision of medical and nursing services to the injured, and the provision of nursing care to the elderly. As a result, 1995 was named the “first year of volunteerism” in Japan, with the Cabinet later proclaiming January 17 to be Disaster Management and Volunteer Day, and the week around January 17 to be Disaster Management and Volunteer Week.

As a result of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, volunteer activities spread across Japan, and the momentum toward the incorporation of volunteer activities grew. In March 1998, the Act to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (NPO Act) was enacted, and this was followed by the enactment in Hyogo Prefecture of the Ordinance to Promote Volunteer Activities Among Prefectural Citizens (September 1998) and the Ordinance to Promote Participation and Collaboration Among Prefectural Citizens (December 2002).

It is commonly believed that the earthquake experience was a major driver behind the development of NPOs in Hyogo Prefecture, but a review of the number of organizations that became incorporated NPOs as a result of volunteer activities stimulated by the earthquake reveals that only 49 organizations were launched as a result of the quake. No small number of organizations that had been active prior to the quake ended up redirecting the course of their activities based on the needs of the earthquake disaster, but it would be inaccurate to say that a large number of NPOs developed out of the post-quake volunteer activities.

Of course, support for volunteer activities had been actively promoted by Hyogo Prefecture even before the quake. Nonetheless, it must be noted that after the earthquake, which was proclaimed to be “the first year of volunteerism,” the awareness of the importance of volunteer activities grew, and the development of genuine support policies promoted an increase in the number of incorporated NPOs. When the earthquake struck, the slowing of economic growth following the collapse of the bubble economy, and the bloating of government in what had previously been a high-growth society were all putting pressure on government finances. In an era marked by the aging of the population, internationalization, and the information technology revolution, the needs of citizens were growing remarkably diversified and many of the problems that had been brewing were difficult...
for the government to address. This was a time when people's interests were shifting from "material prosperity" to "emotional prosperity," and there was a nationwide emergence of a trend toward wanting to find personal meaning by engaging in activities to help other people or society as a whole. It was under these conditions that this earthquake struck directly beneath a major urban area, thus highlighting the limitations of the government to respond to the situation in the earthquake-stricken area. On the other hand, people were inspired by stories of neighbors rescuing one another and disaster victims helping and supporting one another while living at the evacuation shelters. As young people from all over the country began to realize that there was something that ordinary people could do to help, they were motivated to go to the disaster-stricken area. Volunteer activities conducted by individuals and organizations grew, creating the impetus for the expansion of a "new public."

After the earthquake, a large amount of financial aid was supplied to the disaster-stricken area to support volunteer activities, from resources including the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund and the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Restoration Fund, and these resources allowed for the dramatic expansion of NPO activities in Hyogo Prefecture. However, the special earthquake reserves offered by support organizations across the nation began to run out about five years after the earthquake, and even the aid provided by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Restoration Fund ran out 10 years after the quake. This marked a major turning point for the NPOs active in the disaster-stricken region.

To provide a prefecture-wide base of support for NPOs/NGOs and local organizations, separate from the volunteer activities of any individual NPO, Hyogo Prefecture decided to establish a facility that would be managed by the Council on Social Welfare (reflecting the "public establishment, private management" model), which has experience managing civic activities and volunteer centers and which also has its own network of relationships with various municipalities. In June 2006, the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza was established to provide support for the volunteer activities of prefectural residents and to serve as a disaster relief volunteer center that would be able to coordinate organizations throughout the prefecture in the event of an emergency. The Hyogo Volunteer Plaza also implements disaster restoration volunteer activity support programs for volunteer activities in disaster-stricken regions.

6.3. The Differentiation and Development of Intermediary Support Organizations

There are few currently active NPOs that were launched as a result of the earthquake, but some intermediary support organizations have developed as a result of the needs of the community.

If we look back over the 15 years that have passed since the earthquake, we find that these organizations were all engaged in post-disaster volunteer activities immediately after the earthquake. That is, they were providing direct support for earthquake victims or essentially were working to address victims' concerns. They initially started by working to address the need for recovery. At some point, however, once recovery had reached a certain phase, the NPOs began to go beyond the recovery framework to begin implementing other programs related to welfare or facility management. They dramatically shifted their action plans toward community development and sustainable development goals.

Their change of direction largely came between five and ten years after the quake, and their chosen paths can be divided into three categories: (1) specialization (ex: NGO Collaboration Center for Hanshin Quake Rehabilitation (Kobe), Kobe Community Development Research Institute (Kobe), Toshiseikatsu Community Center (Nishinomiya), Brain Humanity (Nishinomiya)), (2) localization (ex: CS
Kobe (Kobe), Takarazuka NPO Center (Takarazuka), Symphony (Amagasaki), and (3) advocacy (ex: Kobe Empowerment Center (KEC, Kobe)).

The local nature of those NPOs, which were launched as a result of the earthquake, was naturally strengthened when recovery was achieved because they had been working to address the needs of individual communities. They therefore developed into intermediary support organizations, retaining their local nature while playing the role of providing intermediary support for NPOs in the surrounding area.

Intermediary support organizations are generally NPOs that fulfill either function of (2) localization or (3) advocacy, as mentioned above, but the management of grass-roots intermediary support organizations, unlike NPO centers or intermediary support organizations that cover all of Hyogo Prefecture, requires a certain level of unification of the population or region. For example, an organization that serves a group of 150,000 to 200,000 people is suitably sized to assemble its membership and provide services, and several such intermediary support organizations tailored to individual communities have emerged in Hyogo Prefecture (for example, Sharaku (Kobe), Komu Salon 21 (Himeji), Citizen's Office Kawanishi (Kawanishi), Kita Harima Citizen's Activity Support Center (Ono)). Intermediary support organizations share information with one another, and utilize their networks to support NPO activities throughout Hyogo Prefecture.

6.4. Examples of Intermediary Support Organizations

Case 1. Community Support Center Kobe (CS Kobe, in Higashinada, Kobe)

Activity Outline

• **Support Programs**

Since its inception, CS Kobe has been an intermediary support organization that serves an incubation function (support for new activities until they get established) to support individuals and groups that want to establish NPOs or volunteer groups or that require consultation services on management issues. Using funding that initially came from the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund, and later from contributions from Japanese foundations, the organization has provided aid packages ranging from ¥2.5 million to ¥5.0 million annually to local NPOs and volunteer organizations. However, with funding from other organizations having dried up in FY 2002, CS Kobe has continued to provide aid in the amount of about ¥1 million annually using its own citizen’s activities support fund. Support is provided in the form of (1) venue provision (covering the costs of activity locations or office space), (2) financial support (up to a max. of ¥500,000 per year per organization, for up to two years), and (3) consultation services (the provision of information on surveys, project planning, management consultations, financial audits, and other issues). In FY 2007 (ending March 2008), CS Kobe provided support to 75 different groups. A breakdown of its support services shows diversity across a wide range of activity sectors: welfare activities (including support for the handicapped) are predominant, followed by educational activities (children’s education, computer lessons), cultural activities (music, dance), and human rights advocacy (support for victims of domestic violence and other crimes).

• **Directly Managed Programs (Contracted and Independent)**

CS Kobe conducts research and surveys, and holds meetings and lectures to help NPOs strengthen their organizational base, and offers know-how related to management and other topics. The organization directly manages many programs that are contracted out to it by the government, including the "Refreshing Street Corner Revitalization Support Program" (survey regarding the collection of litter) which is aimed at rescuing and promoting the independence of earthquake victims, management of the Kobe Fureai Workshop, which sells merchandise produced by handicapped individuals, management of the "Rewarding Job Support Program," which is called a free job placement service for community business, management of gathering places for seniors outside the framework of long-term care insurance, management of community centers, the implementation of
trainings and lectures, studies regarding the dispatch of citizen buses to hard-to-reach residential areas, the dispatch of lecturers, the publication of a newsletter, and everyday consultation services. Stimulated by these activities, various NPOs, local organizations, shopping districts, companies, co-ops, social welfare associations, universities, and city hall are cooperating and working with one another in various ways in the Higashinada neighborhood, ensuring that activities are undertaken in such a way that local resources are reinvested back into the community.

History of the Organization

This organization first started as the Higashinada Neighborhood Mutual Support Network, a volunteer group that emerged out of citizens’ voluntary efforts to help victims of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. About a year and a half after the quake, in October 1996, it was launched as a new intermediary support organization that would support community development based on the principles of “independence and interdependence,” enabling people who had been helped to at the same time become people who helped others. As an organization that supports civic activities and programs enacted by community members for their communities, and that aims to achieve better living environments and local communities, CS Kobe applied for recognition under the Act to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (NPO Act) for engaging in "community development" and "consultation and advisory services" (two of the 12 activity categories identified in the act). It was recognized as a level 1 NPO under Hyogo Prefecture, and thus established the basis for its activities.

In May 1996, nearly a year and a half after the earthquake, CS Kobe received a grant totaling about ¥66 million from the large Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund (representative: Makoto Imada), established by the Nippon Foundation using private funds, with initial funding of ¥800 million coming from part of the earnings of a special motorboat race. Utilizing the network it had developed over the course of its activities up to that point, CS Kobe transitioned into an intermediary support organization. CS Kobe Director Junko Nakamura, following the advice of Makoto Imada, participated in a study tour to England as the member of a research association. After seeing for herself that many different small groups had been able to become established in a particular area thanks to the presence of intermediary support organizations, she decided to turn CS Kobe into a community-grounded support center modeled after the Wolverhampton City Support Center, located in a suburb of Birmingham in England. In addition to providing funding to 46 NPOs by April 2004 (maximum grant of ¥1 million, with all grants totaling approximately ¥25 million), CS Kobe has played the role of an intermediary support organization by providing a base for activities by providing a place for the use of NPOs and consultations regarding programs. It has also implemented 89 programs, including those contracted out to it by public agencies, training events, lectures, and collaborative programs with local community groups.

Ties to the Community

CS Kobe has a particularly rich community network that includes local companies and shopping districts (Mikage Shisuikan, Konan Shopping District), medical associations, social welfare associations, case workers, and neighborhood associations (such as the Public Restoration Housing residents’ association and the Uozaki Zaishikun in Higashinada). Among the NPOs and NGOs that were active in Kobe after the earthquake, many came into Kobe from the outside and were unable to develop relationships within the region. CS Kobe, whose leader was a local resident, however, had established connections with organizations such as social welfare associations, medical associations, and the Japan Trade Union Confederation (known as Rengo) through the activities of Junko Nakamura’s Kobe Life Care Association. Thus, Rengo was able to establish centers modeled after the Higashinada Neighborhood Mutual Support Network in five locations in the disaster-stricken area, to equip them with paid staff, and to use them to disseminate information throughout and beyond the disaster-stricken area. CS Kobe has now given support to as many as 150 organizations located across a wide area, in locations throughout Kobe, Ashiya, Nishinomiya, Amagasaki, and Takarazuka. The area with the largest number of supported organization is Higashinada in Kobe, where the CS Kobe office
CS Kobe has formed a non-profit cluster that includes as many as 60 NPOs in its neighborhood of Higashinada. The organization hopes to create a better community by creating ways for people to discuss and address the challenges that face the community.

**Case 2. Kobe Community Development Research Institute (Chuo-ku, Kobe)**

**Activity Outline**

The research institute engages in the following three specific activities:

- **Surveys, research, training, and policy proposals**
  Including programs to accept and train researchers, surveys on long-term livelihood reconstruction among earthquake victims, grass parking lot promotion programs, CSR seminars, and exchanges with overseas community development experts.

- **Civic activities and community development support programs**
  Including collective office programs, NPO support advisor service programs, program supporter systems, tasks involved in holding Sasayama City Workshops, and consultation services for NPOs.

- **Necessary programs for achieving community development and revitalization**
  Including programs to accept study tours, Meimai housing complex revitalization efforts (such as activities to bolster intermediary support organization functions by establishing a permanent community development coordinator, and tasks involved in the investigation of policies to promote area management in the Meimai district).

The research institute is distinctive in the following three ways:

- Having grown out of the Kobe Fukko Juku (an community development organization), the research institute fulfills the functions of a self-reliant think tank with robust human resources.

- As an intermediary, it can support activities of NPOs and support for community development efforts (particularly for community building after the earthquake).

- Because it does not regularly engage in activities that require large numbers of personnel, it has only three permanent staff, but it also has a network of volunteers that it can tap into when necessary.

**History of the Organization**

Kobe Community Development Research Institute was established in July 1999 to share the human resources cultivated by the Kobe Fukko Juku and to take advantage of its functions as a network hub, for the purposes of engaging in systematic and sustainable restoration-oriented community development and serving as a self-reliant, community-grounded think tank. The Institute was born from Kobe Fukko Juku which was a voluntary organization established in April 1996 by about 30 experts in fields related to disaster victim relief and disaster area community development. In March of 2000, the institute was recognized as a nonprofit organization, and in June it moved into the Center for the Support of Civic Activities. Using this as its base for further development, the organization developed support activities to promote civic activities and community development.

**Ties to the Community**

The Kobe Community Development Research Institute moved into the Center for the Support of Civic Activities, which had been set up at the former Azuma Elementary School site, which had since been taken out of use as a school. It managed this site as a collective office space, providing a central

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venue and facilities for individuals wanting to launch nonprofit activities and for individuals and
groups that had launched activities but were still trying to get them better established. To create a
central location for community activities and to support the activities conducted there, it is important
to make real efforts to collectively identify information regarding the challenges facing a community,
to form a consensus around solutions, and to achieve sustainable organizational management. Thus,
the Kobe Community Development Research Institute conducted trainings in the form of workshops
to help achieve these goals. The institute trains individuals from overseas as well as individuals from
companies, government agencies, NPOs, universities, legislative bodies, and chambers of commerce
and industry who want to learn how the areas that had experienced the earthquake fared later and
how they had gone about achieving recovery, as measured by interpersonal ties and community
activities with interchange between them and the local community.

6.5. Foundations and Structures That Support Intermediary Support
Organizations

6.5.1. Disaster Recovery and Funding

Many NPOs contributed to disaster restoration efforts, but it was the large amounts of money
that came in from various sources that allowed those efforts to be sustained and developed. These
funds can generally be classified as either government funds or private funds. The following section
provides a brief analysis of these two types, to better understand the various funds flowing into the
NPOs.

**Public Funds**

1. Restoration Fund

The Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Restoration Fund was established with funds
provided by Hyogo Prefecture and the City of Kobe, as well as loans provided by the national
government (April 3, 1995) totaling ¥900 billion, and was used for the restoration of the region over
the course of 10 years (through the end of March 2005, though some of the funds were carried over
for use through 2009). Hyogo Prefecture and the City of Kobe established the Hanshin-Awaji
Earthquake Restoration Fund, provided funds to it in the form of interest-free loans, and managed
the fund. By the end of March 2009, a total of ¥358.9 billion had been used for support.51

The funds were used for housing, industrial, and livelihood recovery and financial
assistance was provided through partnerships with NPOs for volunteer activities to help people
living in shelters in the disaster-stricken area and to help them regain their independence via
Disaster Restoration Volunteer Activity Assistance (¥30,000 to 60,000 based on the number of days
of activity to cover general activity expenses; up to ¥150,000 for special activity expenses). This
system was launched in April 1995, and was initially only intended to provide assistance for
grassroots volunteer activities, but the scope of activities for which assistance was available was
gradually expanded, and came to include funding for the basic NPO projects. The number of grants
issued at the peak was 2,463 in 1999, with a cumulative total of grants issued (as of March 31, 2005)
of 20,336 (Konishi, p. 19, Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Restoration Fund, 2006, p.50).

This fund was used for various restoration projects that aimed to empower local
communities. It was also used for Community Business Support Programs in the Disaster-Stricken
Area (Restoration Fund, 2006, p.48).

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The Comprehensive Report on the Restoration Fund indicated that (1) the total project expenses over 10 years accounted for 2.15% of the total amount spent on restoration projects, indicating that the fund quantitatively supplemented public restoration capital; (2) the fund made it possible to make progress on projects that the administration could not move forward on; and (3) the fund made it possible to implement projects swiftly and fairly (Restoration Fund, 2006, pp. 101-102).

The grants given to volunteer organizations, issued through the Hyogo Community Welfare Foundation Volunteer Fund Grants (required registration with a city, town, or county volunteer center), were first made available in 1991. These grants were limited to welfare-related activities undertaken in the prefecture, with individual groups eligible for ¥30,000 and grants to prefectural or rural district social welfare associations of up to ¥300,000.

2. Hyogo Volunteer Fund

The Restoration Fund and Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund (discussed below) were established in the disaster-stricken areas of Hyogo Prefecture, and were used to support NPO activities. However, the Restoration Fund was expected to be used for projects up until the end of March 2005, and Hyogo Prefecture began to recognize the need several years before that to prepare for what would come after that point.

Thus, prior to the opening of the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza (discussed below), in April 2002, the prefecture established the Hyogo Volunteer Fund, which would be used to fund the Hyogo Council of Social Welfare, with starting capital of about ¥10 billion. With this, the Hyogo Community Welfare Foundation, which had been comprised of the Volunteer Fund, the Community Welfare Fund, and the Friendship Fund, was formally dissolved, and all of its components reintegrated into the new Hyogo Volunteer Fund (Konishi, 2004, p.33). A menu of support options for each stage of activity was established for organizations involved in the 17 fields of endeavor stipulated in the NPO Act. That is, a support menu of 11 items was established covering four themes: (1) support for volunteer groups, (2) strengthening the base of NPOs, (3) collaboration with other sectors, and (4) intermediary support. The total amount of support provided is now up to about ¥140 million.

When an individual NPO applies for a grant, that organization may request funds to cover the costs of obtaining expert advice, and in some cases, the intermediary support organizations operated by the prefecture provide those consulting services and thus receive those funds. Thus the structure is set up to indirectly provide support to intermediary support organizations.

An investigative committee comprised of experts is convened to make decisions about the issuance of grants, but when applicants request more than a certain amount of money, the Plaza expects to play a significant role, such as visiting the offices of the applicant, conducting interviews, helping the NPO grow, and ensuring that their limited funds are being used effectively.

Funds are available due to the transfer of funds from the Hyogo Community Welfare Foundation to the Council of Social Welfare (Hyogo Council of Social Welfare Volunteer Activity Fund). However, due to financial difficulties, Hyogo Prefecture has in recent years switched to a framework in which it raises money and then uses that money, which is prefectural funding, to provide grant funding to the Hyogo Council of Social Welfare.

Because the management policy of the Volunteer Fund stipulated that it not be used for activities conducted by privately established intermediary support organizations, and that funds be provided through the Council of Social Welfare, no active efforts were made to pursue contributions in conjunction with the red feather fundraising campaign.

Since advocacy activities are an important function of NPOs, the fund could be used to provide support to organizations engaged in advocacy work, but there currently have not been any very effective or specific proposals in this area.\(^{52}\)

This process began as support was provided to intermediary support organizations, and those organizations began to present project proposals. In the beginning, many different themes emerged,\(^{52}\)

\(^{52}\) From an interview with Hyogo Volunteer Plaza Director Komori on March 2, 2010.
but presenting a different theme each year puts a considerable burden on intermediary support organizations. Thus, since 2009, the focus shifted to providing assistance to help intermediary support organizations support grassroots NPOs in their efforts to formulate mid-term plans. This kind of support was the first of its kind to be offered anywhere in Japan.

Many of the organizations that were active during the earthquake are still operating, but in recent years, Sharaku, the Citizen’s Secretariat Kawanishi, the Kita-Harima Civic Activity Support Center, and other intermediary support organizations that were not yet active at the time of the disaster have taken center stage.

Also, NPOs are not very active in more rural areas, like Tajima, Tanba, and Awaji, and those that are tend to be welfare-related NPOs. Hyogo Prefecture’s Citizens’ regional branch offers development assistance to local organizations, and the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza feels that this is adequately covering these areas.

No clear standards have been set with regard to the outcomes or evaluation of the Volunteer Fund (with the exception of the steering committee or board of directors that includes third-party members), and thus the Plaza, like a bank, has a strong tendency to provide support to places that it has supported in the past and that have produced good results. It does provide support to new organizations, but the most important factor in its decisions is whether the recipient organizations will be able to use the aid provided to expand and develop their programs.53

3. Management Assistance for the Rewarding Work Support Center

Providing funding to the Rewarding Work Support Center was an employment-promoting measure and established the concept of cultivating community businesses in the regions that sustained damage during the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, under the premise that those businesses would contribute to recovery in the region by stimulating job growth. In the year 2000, the City of Kobe used the Restoration Fund to establish the first center, but later centers were established in six locations throughout Hyogo, including two in the Hanshin region, two in the City of Kobe, and two in Harima.

They were managed by NPO intermediary support organizations in each region, and served as a stable source of income for privately established intermediary support organizations. There are many examples in other prefectures of prefectural governments creating intermediary support organizations, but in most cases, they establish at most only one location in the prefecture. With the employment situation growing more challenging, the idea of providing capital in the name of job security became more compelling, such that a structure was established in Hyogo Prefecture that allowed government funds to be directed to many intermediary support organizations.

Intermediary support organizations are difficult to operate, and even in Hyogo Prefecture, now that the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund has been dissolved, the prefectural capital being directed to the intermediary support organizations basically consists of the assistance provided by the Hyogo Volunteer Fund. Support is also received in the form of income earned in consultancy fees from individual NPOs that included such fees in their grant requests (for the Challenge Project Grants awarded in 2005-2009) to the same fund. For this reason, the opinion of multiple interviewers was that the management assistance fees of the Rewarding Job Support Center are the greatest source of funding for an intermediary support organization, and the same can be surmised from the financial structure of CS Kobe, discussed below.

53 From an interview with Hyogo Volunteer Plaza Director Komori on March 2, 2010.
Figure 6.7 The flow of government funding to intermediary support organizations in Hyogo Prefecture (as of 2009)

**Private Funds**

1. **Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund**

   Centered around the Nippon Foundation, the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund was established from a mid-term perspective in May 1996 as a three-year limited-term organization that would provide support for grass-roots volunteer activities at the community level. Launched with ¥800 million yen to be used up within a three-year time period, this fund provided grants for 182 projects implemented by volunteers and NPOs before it was dissolved in 1999 (Konishi, 2005, p.21).

   These were comprised of (1) community restoration programs, (2) private services programs, and (3) programs to support private and public activities. A breakdown of the allocation is as follows:

   1. Community restoration programs: 10 programs, ¥32 million
   2. Private services programs: 48 programs, ¥230 million
   3. Programs to support private and public activities: 28 programs, ¥261 million
   4. Other equipment and material support programs: 14 programs, ¥6 million

   Makoto. Imada, a representative of the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund, pointed out that this fund was intended to (1) avoid funding short-term events, (2) put priority on intermediary support organizations that support NPOs through individual programs, (3) provide funds to organizations that have tried to partner with public financial aid or other private funds, but were unable to obtain the funding required, (4) provide large amounts of money to specific organizations, including advance funding under the three-year limit scheme, and (5) ensure that many of the organizations receiving the largest grants will be able to grow later into intermediary support organizations.54

The large grant recipients include CS Kobe at ¥66 million, Project Yufu at ¥51 million, and the Disaster-Region NGO Collaboration Center at ¥39 million. Of these, CS Kobe pooled ¥30 million into a fund and the Disaster-Region NGO Collaboration Center used ¥30 million to continue the Shimin Fund Kobe Fund to provide support to local civic organizations using investment profits.

At the time of the investigation, applicants were asked to give request funding in the form of a live presentation, but it was noted that this may have been the first time for Kobe's NPOs to have to give a presentation as part of the application process.55

2. Hanshin-Awaji Renaissance Fund (HAR)

The Hanshin-Awaji Renaissance Fund (HAR) Fund was established in September 1995. Established as the special fund of the Machizukuri Shimin Foundation, it collected donations of about ¥50 million over five years, and provided support to more than 96 organizations (Hiromichi Shiramasa, et al., 2000). This fund targeted was intended to play a complementary role to government funding by targeting the completely barren disaster restoration areas, excluding those that were part of urban planning decisions and others that were receiving funds through other government systems. Specifically, it funded the community development activities of local residents and the support services of community development experts involved in disaster restoration. Applications were open to the public, but the recipients were selected by a selections committee. The fund’s headquarters was located in Tokyo, but it had a local office in the Kobe area. It was unique in that proposal presentations were open to the public, as were the deliberations of the selection committee. However, initially it had the goal of raising ¥2 billion over five years, but it was unable to collect enough to be able to deliver that amount (Machizukuri Shimin Foundation, 1995).

3. Co-Op Tomoshibi Foundation

The Co-Op Tomoshibi Foundation was established in February 1996 and provides small-scale assistance packages to support volunteer activities (up to ¥300,000 for organizations, with individual activities also approved), research activities, and public lectures in the fields of welfare and the environment. Donations are accepted throughout the year, the total amount donated is unclear, but the amount contributed to the foundation in the intensive fundraising period from October to November FY 2009 was ¥3.4 million56. This was also established to meet the growth in civic activities that was triggered by the earthquake. Because Co-Op Kobe is a lifestyle cooperative operated for the benefit of its members, it had to adopt a foundation format to provide support more broadly for general volunteer activities.

4. Shimin Fund Kobe

This is a community fund that supports grassroots activities and was launched as a result of the earthquake. This fund was established in July 1999 by people who were concerned that the dissolution of the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund in 1999 was going to hinder the provision of private support for civic activities beyond that time. Some of the initial funding came from the ¥30 million provided by the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund to the Disaster-Region NGO Collaboration Center, and every year it collects donations from citizens and corporations and issues small-scale grants. Its financial data for FY 2008 was as follows. The fund collected membership dues of ¥780,000 and donations of ¥6.42 million, and issued ¥3.81 million in financial aid.

Over the past 10 years, it has awarded a total of ¥42,365,800 to 116 organizations, aside from its basic fund of ¥30 million, it has collected ¥77,003,239 in donations from more than 300 donors. Small-scale grants of up to ¥100,000 are awarded via a paper application, but larger grant applicants must give formal presentations of their proposals. A special framework has been established based on the preferred activity fields and other specifications designated by contributors.57

55 Based on a meeting with Director Kazufumi Yamaguchi of the Hyogo Machi Kurashi Institute (February 22, 2010).
56 From the foundation’s website (http://www.tomoshibi-found.or.jp/support/report/. Accessed May 19, 2010.)
5. **CS Kobe**

CS Kobe initially received a grant from the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund and provided support to grassroots NPOs, but after the Fund was dissolved, it was able to continue its activities with a grant from the Nippon Foundation. When that grant ran out in 2002, the organization used part of the income from its own projects to provide financial support to NPOs. When the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund was dissolved, CS Kobe received ¥30 million in the form of an advance payment with the stipulation that it would use those funds to support individual NPOs. It still retains those funds in the form of a Civic Activity Support Fund even today (CS Kobe 2003).

6. **Kiguchi Foundation**

Mamoru Kiguchi, founder of World Co., Ltd., was motivated by the earthquake to invest his own private funds into this foundation, which was established in September 1998. It provides grants to pioneering welfare activities that emphasize citizen involvement. The fund is quite large, with annual grants valued at an estimated ¥36 million.58

**Flow of Funds to NPOs**

A survey of NPOs in Hyogo Prefecture was conducted in March 2008. The results showed that there were 1,072 organizations active up until 2006, and that they recorded a combined income of ¥13.3 billion. The number of approved NPOs in Hyogo Prefecture as of March 31, 2010 was up to 1,490, suggesting that this number has since increased. The average income per organization is about ¥14 million, with a breakdown by income as follows. Project income accounts for the largest portion of revenues at ¥8.9 million, followed by grant income at ¥1.11 million, and donations at ¥1.08 million. Contract program fees, at an average of ¥420,000, are not very high. Because these organizations include NPOs that are engaged in nursing care insurance programs, and because those organizations have such large revenues, it is important to think about the numbers exclusive of those programs (Hyogo Council of Social Welfare, Hyogo Volunteer Plaza, 2008).

Figure 6.7 shows the intermediary support organizations/NPOs that have been discussed above, and summarizes the flow of funds to individual NPOs. Since the earthquake, the Restoration Fund has accounted for the majority of government funding available. Today, the employment and industry-related funding consists of support for community businesses (or social businesses), and a large percentage of that funding flows through to intermediary support organizations. Financial support (funds for the purpose of empowering grassroots NPOs) for intermediary support organizations also comes from funds available related to emergency employment, program contract funds, and the Hyogo Volunteer Fund. And with the start of the designated manager system, intermediary support organizations are able to secure considerable project funds through their management of government-owned facilities.

Next let’s talk about private funds. This figure does not cover all sources of private funding. For example, CS Kobe obtained large sums from the Japanese Trade Union Confederation (JTUC) during the stage of the Higashi Nada Rescue Network, and used that money to establish four bases operated by paid staff members in the disaster-stricken region.

However, because it faced the same challenges as other organizations in terms of being able to collect private donations, these amounts were very small in comparison to its corporate donations and government grants. Since the funds of the Nippon Foundation largely come from the revenues from motorboats, there is a need to expand the system for deducting charitable contributions so that NPOs have access to other funds beyond those provided by the government, and to create a third sector in the truest sense.

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58 From the foundation’s website (http://www.warp.or.jp/~ikiguchi/. Accessed May 19, 2010.)
6.5.2. Financial Structures of Intermediary Support Organizations: The Case of CS Kobe

CS Kobe is intermediary support organization for NPOs typical of the disaster-stricken region and Hyogo Prefecture. This section looks at the financial situation of intermediary support organizations by looking at the example of CS Kobe mentioned above.

Junko Nakamura launched a mutual support network in the Higashinada neighborhood immediately after the quake, but CS Kobe was established separately in 1996 as an intermediary support organization for NPOs. Nakamura had for many years been involved in the management of the Kobe Life Care Association, which offers long-term care services. Later, immediately after the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, she launched the Higashinada mutual support network to provide support for victims.
In an interview, Nakamura indicated that CS Kobe was established as an intermediary support organization because (1) there was a perceived need for intermediaries (NPO intermediary support organizations) in society, and (2) it was possible to obtain support from the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund. The perceived need for intermediaries arose when Makoto Imada introduced the intermediary approach used in England and obtained expert opinions about it. The Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund made it possible to establish the organization because those funds could be used to support the organization's mission as an intermediary organization.

CS Kobe provided support using funds obtained from outside sources and focused on helping organizations that had developed the ability to become independent to stand on their own. From 1996 to 2010, it distributed financial aid to about 100 organizations. According to CS Kobe Director Junko Nakamura, the goal was for organizations to become independent within about two years. Those were unable to do so in that time would no longer receive support.

This financial structure shows that it was difficult for intermediary support organizations to earn compensation for their programs and thus had to rely largely on sources of funding with no direct relationship to their intermediary support, such as facility management fees or fees from government-contracted programs. It also shows that the management grant from the Rewarding Job Support Center, which was funded by the prefecture's employment creation department, has been a major source of direct funding to intermediary support organizations. Of course, even a seemingly unrelated project, such as the management of a commercial parking lot, has added value when run by an NPO, and the lot is being managed to promote CS Kobe's mission. Contracted programs also are not viewed in a negative light, but rather are seen as opportunities to network with various government departments. The designated manager system is derided by some as making the organization a virtual subcontractor of the government, but others argue that it is a system that can be utilized by NPOs to their own advantage. Today, the contract programs accepted from the government are selected based on the mission of the organization and the program's profitability. CS Kobe engages in activities that are closely connected to local communities, and covers a population of about 300,000 people. In the beginning, the basis for calculating the costs of contract projects was extremely conservative, but today the organization is willing to ask boldly for the amounts needed, including planning fees. There are many employees involved in various contract projects and support programs, but these are all contract-based workers. The CS Kobe office itself has three employees. To increase the size, the organization would have to engage in support or contract programs just to pay the salaries of its staff, and there are concerns that this might cause the organization to lose sight of its mission.59

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59 From an interview with CS Kobe Director Junko Nakamura on March 2, 2010.
It is generally said that it is difficult for intermediary support organizations to obtain funding. For example, it is difficult for them to earn large sums from their consulting services. The government provides free consultations in some cases, leaving little added-value for intermediary organizations to provide. For this reason, there are some organizations that are serving as a secretariat for members, like Komu Salon 21 in Himeji, and others that are earning a large percentage of their income from membership dues (HYOGON, 2005, pp. 67-70). The percentage that rely on facility management (as designated managers) and contract projects from the government (survey projects or events, for example) can only grow. A report by HYOGON, discussed below, points to a need to increase the level of specialization of the organizations that are accepting contract projects and providing support (HYOGON, 2005, p. 21).

6.5.3. Changes in the NPO Policies of Local Governments

After the earthquake, Hyogo Prefecture directed resources toward the promotion of NPO activities. The key components of those efforts are outlined below.

1. **Ordinance Regarding the Promotion of Volunteer Activities by Citizens of Hyogo Prefecture (1998)**

   Following the enactment of the NPO Act in 1998, an NPO Act enforcement ordinance was needed. However, the ordinance adopted in Hyogo Prefecture went beyond a mere enforcement ordinance, and aimed to mobilize all kinds of volunteer activities, including individual activities and corporate CSR activities, as well as NPO activities.

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60 This organization was selected among the top 50 social businesses by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. However, in recent years, an increasing proportion of funds is coming from government sources, such as the management of the Rewarding Job Support Center, a program of Hyogo Prefecture, and the Local Young People Support Station Program, a contract program under the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (http://www.com21.or.jp/index.html).

Source: Materials provided by CS Kobe

Figure 6.9 Financial structure of CS Kobe
2. **Livelihood Recovery Kenmin Network**

The Livelihood Recovery Kenmin Network was launched in October 1996 to serve as a networking organization for various community groups. The network was comprised of about 56 organizations connected to governments, communities, industrial associations, and housewives associations, but the office was staffed by prefectural employees, and its funds were managed by the prefecture and the Restoration Fund.\(^{61}\)

This network provided up to ¥300,000 in a Phoenix Activity Grant to organizations involved in restoration activities (FY 1996-1999), managed the Meeting Place Hiroba, through which it coordinated and matched volunteers to disaster restoration programs, operated the Relocation Volunteer Support Program (a coordination program), and in April 1998, opened the Livelihood Recovery NPO Information Plaza, designed to provide information and consultation services to NPOs. In November of the same year, it was able to create a place where registered user organizations (today, many organizations that are active intermediary support organizations are members) and the Kenmin Network could come together to share ideas and opinions, and in May 1999, a steering committee was formally established. In this way, the Kenmin Network served largely as an NPO support center, though focused on the disaster-stricken area, and its activities would largely end up being transferred to the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza that was launched in 2002. Fortunately, the know-how cultivated by the Network proved useful to the management of the Plaza as well (Livelihood Recovery Kenmin Network, 2003).

3. **Establishment of the Livelihood Recovery Conference for NPOs and Government Agencies**

The Livelihood Recovery Conference Round Table was first held in July 1997 as a groundbreaking effort to promote discussions between NPOs and government agencies. This was a place where government agencies and NPOs could meet once a month to share ideas, but in June 1999, the name was changed to the Livelihood Recovery Conference for NPOs and Government Agencies. At the conference, NPOs and government agencies in the disaster-stricken area would discuss NPO proposals regarding livelihood recovery in the region (Konishi, 2004, p.23).

4. **Hyogo Volunteer Plaza**

The need for an NPO support center was recognized at the prefectural level, and in August 1997, the Volunteer Activity Support Center (tentative name) Concept was formulated. Pursuant to the above-mentioned Ordinance Regarding the Promotion of Volunteer Activities by Citizens of Hyogo Prefecture, a prefecture-wide investigation of NPO support organizations was conducted, and in March 1999, the Volunteer Activity Support Center Basic Plan was formulated. The Hyogo Volunteer Plaza was then established in June 2002. It was established as a publicly-established-semi-privately-managed partnership that was funded by Hyogo Prefecture and managed by the Hyogo Council of Social Welfare. However, the secretariat was comprised of many people who had been sent by the prefectural government to work for the Hyogo Council of Social Welfare, making it more of a publicly-established-semi-privately-managed organization. A steering committee comprised of experienced scholars, government representatives, and local NPOs was established, allowing access to outside opinions in the organization's management.

6.6. **Local Governance and NPOs**

6.6.1. **Relationships between NPOs and Other Organizations**

**Councils of Social Welfare**

What kinds of roles are played by the volunteer centers of the Councils of Social Welfare that are set up by virtually every local government as intermediary support organizations? According to a

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\(^{61}\) This organization did not include independent NPOs as members.
publication of the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza entitled *Promoting Volunteer Activities in Urban Areas* (2005), some of the strengths of the volunteer centers are their ability to undertake activities in partnership with social workers, their access to stable sources of funding, and their close connection to their communities by virtue of their role in coordinating volunteers. By contrast, their activities are skewed toward welfare activities, and they do not fully understand organizations like NPOs, which are independent from the government. They do not pursue partnerships with organizations in fields other than welfare. In addition, local residents tend to see the volunteer centers as organizations dedicated to the welfare of senior citizens. The Councils of Social Welfare have systems that are suitable for promoting small-scale welfare services that are rooted in the local community, but the councils as a whole are strongly influenced by the bureaucracy, and are not entirely independent private organizations. Also, their access to stable sources of funding, they tend to be somewhat unstable, as the nature of their activities relies too heavily on the government’s budget. The issues they have that are relevant to this report are as follows: (1) They are limited in scope to welfare activities; (2) They have close ties to government, making it difficult to classify them as completely independent organizations; (3) Because they depend on volunteers, it is difficult to maintain relationships with organized groups, such as NPOs; and (4) They have only loose ties with organizations that have paid volunteers.

In areas where NPO intermediary support organizations do not exist, the volunteer centers of the Councils of Social Welfare fulfill that role, and in recent years, there have been an increasing number of examples nationwide of Councils of Social Welfare changing their names to volunteer or civic activity support centers. A recent challenge, given the cuts in government funding, is that Councils are shifting to nursing care insurance service programs, leaving them no resources to support volunteers or NPOs.

**Relationships with Community Organizations**

The relationship between NPOs and community organizations in Japan is a unique one. In the City of Kobe, round-table discussions are held between NPOs and community organizations, and compilations of good practices are being created. However, since community organizations (1) are mutual-aid (common benefit) organizations (such as town councils) in which the members of a community help one another, (2) are highly averse to accepting labor fees for civic activities, and (3) have vertical ties to relevant sections of the local government, there is very little room in the context of that relationship for third-party NPOs. However, if they gradually build relationships in independent programs, such as welfare, the environment, or community development, then they are able to develop relationships of trust, and to build relationships with individual NPOs. This is a similar relationship as that which exists between corporations and local communities.

In the disaster-stricken region, the City of Kobe is not currently implementing any policies for NPOs. The general view is that the NPOs that were funded by the Restoration Fund are handled through that channel, and that the volunteer centers of the Councils for Social Welfare in each neighborhood fulfill the role of NPO centers. Also, because the prefecture has established the Volunteer Plaza in Kobe, and several private intermediary support organizations are active in the area, the city feels it can leave NPO activities to those organizations.

The City of Kobe has established a federation of community organizations known as the Fureai Community Development Council, and is striving to revitalize existing community organizations, such as its women’s organizations.62 The city has created various aid systems for each neighborhood. For example, in the Higashinada neighborhood, the city is offering grants of up to ¥300,000, as “komikomi grants” (community grants) to either NPOs or community organizations for activities related to community development in that neighborhood. Hyogo Prefecture is also putting efforts

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62 From an interview with Director Kazufumi Yamaguchi of the Hyogo Machi Kurashi Institute (February 22, 2010).
into supporting local NPOs, and is providing support for community organizations through its disaster management communities, and general community sports clubs, and citizens’ exchange plazas.

Community organizations, which primarily consist of town councils, collect a minimum of about ¥10 million, including membership dues, from each elementary school district. In Kobe, after the earthquake, many community development councils were established to take the lead in restoration planning. However, now that more than 10 years have passed since the earthquake, and those plans have largely been implemented, the councils are left without any activities to perform. The City of Kobe established Fureai Community Development Councils in each elementary school district, and subsidizes the creation of facilities and their activity fees. Generally speaking, these community organizations tend to perform administrative functions as arms of the local government, and they are afforded de facto legitimacy by the government as organizations that represent their communities. Through their council members, communities can petition the government to address their needs. However, the funding available for these activities is not enough to cover the salaries of paid staff members, leaving local volunteers to carry the load of engaging in these activities.

Nonetheless, community organizations are facing a shortage of willing volunteers due to the aging of society, and from the perspective of community governance, it appears that NPOs and community organizations are following two separate but parallel paths. While community organizations have access to the political process through their council members, NPOs lack this access and are still in the stage of trying to find a way to influence the local government.

The local government, meanwhile, has established an NPO framework through its investigative councils, and there is certainly more interest now than there once was in ensuring that the opinions of NPOs are reflected in government policies. In this sense, it may be that the two streams (community organizations and NPOs) balance one another out, and are entering a period of transition toward a new type of framework.

6.6.2. Advocacy Activities and NPOs

In the Kobe-Hanshin region, a basis is being built for NPOs through various government and private projects. For example, there is support for lectures on management, lectures on accounting and taxes, and other kinds of symposia and programs.

This section will look at how the sector as a whole is taking concerted action with local governments and developing advocacy activities.

After the earthquake, the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Local NGO Support and Liaison Council, led largely by the efforts of the late Kenichi Kusachi, was a networking organization for local NPOs. Efforts included the Nishinomiya Volunteer Network (NVN) in Nishinomiya and the Citizen Activity Plaza established by CS Kobe as its secretariat (April 1998–July 2000). Pursuant to the NPO Act, Hyogo Prefecture launched the Plaza in response to the demand for citizen involvement in the enactment of the Ordinance Regarding the Promotion of Volunteer Activities by Citizens of Hyogo Prefecture. However, because this was a network-style of council for NPOs in the disaster-stricken region, it faced such problems as the inability to publish a newsletter to develop its own key projects, and thus was dissolved after a short time (CS Kobe, 2003, pp. 119-24). In 1999, organizations involved in activities for the public good in the prefecture identified the need for a network that extended beyond a particular field, and after various discussions, in 2002, the Hyogo Civic Activities Network

63 This is a policy of the country. Hyogo Prefecture made the taxing at an excessive rate of the corporate inhabitants of the prefecture tax fiscal resources, as the project name “support club 21 Hyogo”, and invested 10.8 billion yen, and constructed Nautilus room in each all elementary school district.

64 Hyogo Prefecture made the taxing at an excessive rate of the corporate inhabitants of the prefecture tax fiscal resources, has been promoting a roughly useful hard maintenance (within 10 million yen) and soft projects (within three million yen) for the local revitalization for the elementary school district based on application since fiscal year 2006. The projects are established the regional promotion committee composed of the group that represents the region and is executed, as the execution parent body, most community organizations such like residents’ associations. (Hyogo Prefecture inhabitants’ life of council, 2005, pp.25-26)
HYOGON was launched. Its activities include attendance at council meetings and policy proposals, and today its secretariat is housed in the Civic Activity Center Kobe. This network has triggered spin-offs like HYOGON Tech, an organization to promote the more effective use of computers, and HYOGON Welfare, which provides services that fall outside the framework of nursing care insurance.

CS Kobe, wants to create a network of community-grounded NPOs primarily in the Higashi-Nada neighborhood and wants to improve the ability of NPOs to represent their communities.

The government, meanwhile, has established venues for regular collaboration with NPOs, including the Livelihood Recovery Conference for NPOs and Government Agencies (established January 1997), and the Collaborative Council for NPOs and Government Agencies (a renamed version of the organization above, established October 2001). At present, the formal venues for regular collaboration between NPOs and Hyogo Prefecture are limited to these. The opinions expressed at these forums, even those by the government, reflect certain limitations. One example of this is the NPO loan program that was added to the Plaza’s menu of programs in FY 2005 (Hyogo Volunteer Plaza, p.30).

According to the Report on the Practical Survey for Strengthening the Basic of Civic Activities conducted by the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza, the intermediary support organizations in Hyogo Prefecture that are primarily involved in making policy proposals are the Civic Activity Center Kobe, for whom policy proposals are a central function, CS Kobe, which suggests ways to improve specific programs among those it is hired by the government to implement and makes policy proposals, and the Kobe Community Development Research Institute, which primarily conducts research and proposes policies, but also implements pilot projects, when necessary (HYOGON, 2005, p. 16).

In many cities, NPOs are generally connected with one another, but the City of Kobe has been promoting collaboration between local organizations and NPOs since FY 2007 by holding the Kobe Resident Round-Table Discussion. NPOs in Nishinomiya have been active since about 2000 through the Nishinomiya NPO Liaison Council. This council discussed the need for intermediary support organizations in Nishinomiya, and what kinds of functions should be performed by the Citizen Exchange Center established by the city in 2002 to act as an NPO support center. This was the predecessor to the current Nishinomiya NPO Association. The Citizen Exchange Center is directly managed by the city government, and it is primarily involved in venue rental activities, but since 2006, the Nishinomiya NPO Association became a designated manager, allowing the organization to direct some of its energies toward soft projects such as providing events and courses.

In addition, the Hanshin NPO Liaison Council was launched in April 2000. This was established as a loose network organization to provide a place where NPOs with activity bases in the Hanshin region could build relationships while sharing information and brainstorming ideas. Once a year, it holds the Hanshin NPO Summit, and every month meetings are held in different cities on a rotating basis, allowing NPOs in the Hanshin region to gather for training and information sharing. The Takarazuka NPO Center serves as the secretariat.

Creating a network organization in this sector is advantageous for the government in that it provides a central point of contact and thus eases communication. It would likely be advantageous to NPOs as well, but due to concerns that such groups can turn into industrial organizations, differences

65 It took some time to launch this organizations because of the time involved in coordinating opinions regarding whether it should be established as a formal organization or more loosely as an association. Today, however, this is the only federation of NPOs in different fields that covers all of Hyogo Prefecture (from an interview with President Ryuichi Nozaki). February 22, 2010.


67 From an interview with Director Nakamura on March 2, 2010.

68 From an interview with Kazuo Yamaguchi on February 22, 2010.


in the approaches espoused by various NPOs, and an aversion to the notion of engaging in "civic activities," it is impossible to create a network in which all organizations will participate. In this sense, it would be difficult to say that HYOGON is actively engaged in developing proposals or holding events. Indeed, it does not hold very much political power. However, in Hyogo Prefecture, HYOGON is at least known as an organization that represents NPOs, and its representatives can attend government assembly meetings as NPO representatives.

In any case, advocacy efforts are not very active in Hyogo Prefecture. In fact, local NPOs, with few exceptions, are doing little work on such problems as tax reform and accounting standard unification.

There is a relationship between local intermediary organizations and nationwide intermediary support organizations, but participating in a national organization can be an advantage to an NPO's future development by offering easy access to information and, related to that, the ability to confirm one's own standing within the community.\textsuperscript{71}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure6.10.png}
\caption{NPOs in Hyogo Prefecture and their advocacy activities}
\end{figure}

\section*{6.7. Conclusions}

There are several reasons that so many private intermediary support organizations have sprung up in the areas that were affected by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. With the emergence of numerous volunteer groups after the quake, there emerged the compelling idea of the need to create an organization to support these organizations.\textsuperscript{72} Also, the Hanshin-Awaji Community Fund actively supported intermediary support organizations, and there were experts offering advice regarding the need for intermediaries and the functions they should perform.

\textsuperscript{71} From an interview with Director Nakamura of CS Kobe on March 2, 2010.
\textsuperscript{72} From an interview with Director Nakamura on March 2, 2010.
Intermediary support organizations can be classified into three types: (1) organizations with close ties to their communities (e.g., CS Kobe, Takarazuka NPO Center, Symphony, Kakogawa NPO Center, Komu Salon 21), (2) organizations focused on advocacy activities (civic activity associations), and (3) organizations that specialize in functions like urban planning and welfare activities (e.g. the Disaster-Region NGO Collaboration Center specializing in disaster management; the Urban Living Community Center specializing in welfare; and the Kobe Community Development Research Institute specializing in community development). They can also be divided by their sources of funding, into (1) organizations that carry out a lot of contract projects that include designated managers, and (2) organizations that earn membership revenues because they actively serve an administrative function for their members.

Advocacy activities towards the government are an important role played by intermediary support organizations. However, such activities lack impact when they are not accompanied by expertise and a strong record of performance. In some cases, an organization that actively accepts program contracts from the government might use the organizational competence and know-how it has accumulated to develop policy proposals over the course of its activities. For example, CS Kobe developed several policy proposals that were ultimately accepted by the government.

HYOGON has tried to create a network out of the multiple intermediary support organizations that exist in the community, and to solidify those NPOs as a sector, but it is not overall a very active organization.

Hyogo Prefecture, meanwhile, has several opportunities for holding regular discussions, such as meetings of the steering committee whose members include the user organizations of the Livelihood Recovery Kenmin Network, and the Livelihood Recovery Conference for NPOs and Government Agencies, whose secretariat is the Hyogo Volunteer Plaza. The City of Kobe likewise held Round-Table Discussions for Citizens of Kobe, comprised of citizens, NPOs, community organizations, and social welfare councils, in 2007 to 2009. These discussions focused on the theme of collaboration between community organizations and NPOs. However, while it is important that these ongoing and regularly scheduled meetings take place, there are several issues to be addressed. (1) NPOs have limited time to spend on everyday activities, and lack manpower; (2) NPOs need relevant expert knowledge; (3) It is not at all clear how far the issues discussed will be taken by the government. Since it is the civic activity support department that is primarily involved in addressing issues related to NPOs, it is difficult to implement an adequate response to larger issues that span all departments; and (4) There are many suggestions that cannot be responded to by the local government on its own.

In any case, when issues arose in the prompt activities of the government with regard to disaster restoration, organizations that lacked independence ended up merely passing along government instructions, and were unable to take prompt action. By contrast, it was the volunteer organizations and NPOs that performed the most remarkable activities. This made the public aware of the need to ensure that this sector has a permanent place in society. The reason these NPOs were able to be so active was the influx of numerous volunteers from all over the country, and the inflow of large sums of capital to the disaster-stricken region from corporations, foundations, and individuals. However, this was a temporary situation, and a new framework was needed for long-term recovery efforts. These were made possible by the funding from the Nippon Foundation, discussed above, and the Restoration Fund. Even disaster-stricken Hyogo Prefecture has a new level of respect for NPOs based on its disaster experience, and it has prepared a large fund, in addition to the Restoration Fund, that is used to provide more generous financial support to NPOs than is provided in other prefectures. This is one of the reasons that even today, 15 years after the earthquake, NPOs are still relatively active in the disaster-stricken region.

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73 For example, when the Rewarding Job Support Center was closed after a year and a half, in 2002, it sent some suggestions to Hyogo Prefecture and the director of an investigative committee regarding many improvements that could be made in the interactions between NPOs and the government in the context of the designated management system. The NPO University has been incorporated into the programs of the prefecture.

74 From the website of the Livelihood Recovery Conference for NPOs and Government Agencies (http://www.hyogovplaza.jp/enterprise/1_kouryu/kyoudou/zentai.html)
To the question of whether the governance structure in the disaster-stricken region changed as a result of the earthquake, no adequate answer has yet to emerge. The NPO Act was established in 1998, and as of 2010, approximately 40,000 NPOs have been established throughout Japan. For providers of services, these organizations offer special expertise; for the government, they can act as service providers on a contract basis. NPOs cannot be ignored if the goal is to achieve smaller government. At the same time, the expertise of these NPOs means that the voices of the NPOs cannot be ignored by the government. However, we continue to feel that there is quite a large difference in the number of staff and the level of expertise of NPOs in Japan as compared with those in the US and the UK. The NPOs that evolved in the disaster-stricken region following the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake are no exception within the overall landscape of NPOs. Nonetheless, as has been discussed above, we seem to be entering a transition stage in which the fate of Japan’s “two-tiered structure of Japanese civil society” remains unclear.

Japan voted in a new administration in 2009, ending the long period of single-party dominance by the Liberal Democratic Party, but there is still confusion about the direction in which Japan should go. Organizations that are pursuing social goals independent of the government, whether for-profit or non-profit, must be recognized as a third sector, and must be nurtured as organizations of experts. It is experts such as these, in organizations that are actively pursuing social innovations, that must be cultivated and supported across generations.

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CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

As described in Chapter 1, recovery is referred to as “window of opportunity” not only for disaster reduction but also for sustainable development. It is also reported elsewhere that greater community involvement from the early stage of the recovery process would likely lead to more resilient and better recovery outcomes. As opposed to donor-driven or external resource-dependent recovery, community-based recovery tends to reflect grassroots voices. It facilitates consensus-building and effective use of local resources, resulting in more efficient recovery. Furthermore, community-based recovery contributes to the succession and development of local culture and assets as well as the capacity building of human resources.

7.1. Lessons and Implications Drawn from Each Case

Each case presented in this report, at one level or another, provides anecdotal evidence to support the positive side of such a community-based approach.

Case 1: The Yogyakarta/Central Java case (Chapter 3) is regarded as a typical successful example of community-based recovery. Some key elements for developing community governance such as setting the locus of consensus building, mutual help for housing reconstruction and livelihood recovery, leadership shown by community leaders, local residents’ voluntary works, and active involvement from diverse strata of community including the youth are clearly illustrated in this case.

One interesting observation about the Yogyakarta case is that community governance developed and matured along with the spectrum of responsibilities (shown in Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1) as the recovery process proceeded. Community engagement developed from information provision, consultation, response, choice to community control. In particular, community governance has gradually expanded in the recovery process from voluntary works (e.g. maintenance of pathways) to the organization of Community Business Union through the activities of Cooperative, which was originally set up under the donor scheme.

Community governance in this case is essentially triggered by the cultural and historical tradition of “gotong royong.” In most cases, gotong royong is strongly associated with a unique characteristic of mutual-help (i.e. independence of mind and countervailing power) such that some communities declined external assistance for housing reconstruction. In view of this, the idea of whether the gotong royong experience, as described in the Yogyakarta case, is applicable to other localities remains questionable. It would be difficult to adopt such an approach in the area where there is no established community similar to Yogyakarta. However, some generic lessons could be drawn from such cases that may be helpful for recovery in other areas. First, the Yogyakarta case has shown that while decision making in community governance is time-consuming, it is also rewarding in terms of implementing recovery programs. The case showed that collegial and democratic decision making on individual property rights in housing reconstruction took more time to ensure consensus and mutual agreements. However, enduring such a process had facilitated a more cost-efficient approach in housing reconstruction. This lesson implies that once goals are shared and ownership is fully forged among stakeholders through a consensus building process, recovery could be expedited. Mutual help through gotong royong ensures mobilization, allocation, and utilization of local resources.
Additionally, mutual understanding of directions about reconstruction as well as the mobilization of community volunteers made it possible to reconstruct housing in a cost-efficient manner. Second, the Yogyakarta case has shown that expert intervention could be an important factor in recovery. Experts including academe and students from Gadjah Mada University took the leadership role in facilitating project implementation in recovery of Yogyakarta. Experts contributed to realizing what communities could not do by alone themselves such as safer reconstruction of housing that abides by earthquake-resistant building code, product development, and marketing of local industries. This implies that an external network as well as internal cohesion should be vital for making community governance mechanism fully functional and that a closed network never brings new information and necessary expertise within the community. Therefore, proper involvement of external stakeholders including experts could definitely be an important element for any recovery in any area.

**Case 2: The Gujarat case** (Chapter 4) examines the function and role of the Setu in the post-earthquake phase. The Setu functions as an information hub for a cluster of villages. It has been transformed from a material management node just after the occurrence of the Earthquake to a system for providing information and coordinating institution in the recovery phase and eventually to a close partnership among the local community, local organizations, and government at ordinary times. As the recovery progresses, the Setus have evolved from a plain initiative status to a more stable system, responding to the changing demands of the local community. As a hub or node of information, a Setu transmits the grassroots' voices to the government and donors. It is also the node that conveys government policy to the community. In other words, the Setu functions as a neutral platform that every stakeholder can utilize for information provision, consultation, dialogue and problem solving. It generally promotes an interactive flow of information among stakeholders. What makes the Setu neutral platform is the fact that it is not a project-implementing body nor it is directly involved in community stakes. Instead, a Setu is a coordinating institution. Thus, a Setu fulfills its upward and downward accountability in both directions. On one hand, it is accountable to the government and donors. One the other hand, it is accountable to the villages. The neutral nature of Setus could be one of the reasons why it is sustained until today.

One interesting thing about the Setu is that it has been a catalyst for the transformation of traditional community governance. The usually perceived weak Panchayat, which is a decision making body for a village, has been transformed into a relatively strong body through the Setu's role in providing useful information for decisions that ensure social inclusion and fairness on behalf of the weak in the community. The Setus also utilize Information Communication Technology (ICT) as a tool for decision-making and Panchayat benefited from this intervention. In fact, the Setu provides ICT not only as a tool for facilitating communication among stakeholders but also as a mechanism for enhancing efficiency and transparency around community governance to promote informed decision making. This implies that e-governance could be one of the interventions that can restructure traditional community governance.

The Setu model is highly appreciated because of its application potential. Setus have been replicated not only in other districts within Gujarat state or other Indian states (e.g. Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Maharashtra) but also outside India (e.g. Kazakhstan). With its application potential, UNDP has supported the dissemination of the Setu model to various areas. In view of this, the Setu has a high possibility of further replication in other areas in the future. Its neutral characteristic would make it generally acceptable for every stakeholder and its functional aspect could be generally applicable regardless of cultural and traditional background. Replication of Setus should be seriously considered in strengthening governance, particularly in areas where fragile local governance exists.

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75 This kind of development and transformation resembles the “intermediaries”, which evolved during the recovery phase of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. See Chapter 6 for detailed discussion on this topic.
**Case 3:** The Sichuan case (Chapter 5) observes the recovery experience of a rural village affected by the Sichuan Earthquake. It looks into the development of government-led community recovery projects. As reported in Chapter 5, the recovery projects were completed and consequently recovery focus has shifted from reconstruction of infrastructure to restoration of livelihoods. It is in this context that ‘self help’ becomes one of recovery focuses on the ground.

Generally, reconstruction of infrastructure ends with the project termination. However, restoration of livelihoods requires long lasting effort and livelihood activities to continue perpetually. Therefore, while reconstruction of infrastructure could be done basically by the public sector in any country, restoration of livelihoods is basically promoted through the capacity of the locality itself. As pointed out in many recovery cases, long-term assistance by the public sector in livelihood may result in forging a dependent culture within the area instead of developing self-reliant communities. In the case of Sichuan, as well as in any other cases, it would be vital to establish community governance as a mechanism for self and mutual help.

In all villages covered in this study, the recovery projects are followed by livelihood recovery efforts such as the production and sales of crafts (e.g. traditional wall painting and embroidery) and the promotion of tourism (e.g. green tourism). Consequently, there is a possibility that the villages would compete as areas of production or as destinations for tourism. To ensure sustainable livelihoods, each village is expected to add its character or charm as a tourism site and pursue the indigenous value of the crafts that they are producing.

While recovery projects are generally implemented under the strong leadership of the central government, collaborative engagements can be observed in the villages, where they evolved as a basis for sustainable community development. In addition, embryonic community governance symbolized by “Cunguimingyue” (the village rules and regulations) seems to be also observed in some villages. Even if such an undertaking is small, it would complement the role of the public sector by making considerable contribution to adding original and cultural aspects of livelihood recovery to the village activities. The Sichuan case gives us a lesson that the role of the community, in the long run, becomes important for managing the use of local resources as well as other issues regardless of the approach taken in the recovery phase.

In this regard, the villages are expected to further develop community governance mechanism by maintaining and extending internal and external ties toward future livelihood recovery and cultural resurgence. In other words, it is desirable to develop both the mutual cooperation among villagers and the alliances or collaborations between businesses and municipal governments, forged during the recovery phase. Furthermore, it is desirable to establish a system of building an attractive community through diverse actors’ involvements. Outsiders’ viewpoints would be useful to identify visitor needs and rediscover the original local value. As such, it is important to establish a mechanism for supporting the community from the outside. Continuous exchanges through business and other activities with other areas, including the cities that provided assistance in the recovery phase, would bring various advantages to the community. Therefore, how the villages get external stakeholders involved in establishing self and mutual help is one area that needs to be given enough attention to get a greater understanding of community governance in the Sichuan context.

**Case 4:** The Hanshin-Awaji case (Chapter 6) focuses on the activities of “intermediaries” in recovery process. Just after the Earthquake, over a million volunteers came in a hurry to help in relief and rescue activities. Many voluntary organizations, which were designated for refugee assistance, came into existence. “Intermediaries” were also established as organizations to take the lead role in coordinating activities of voluntary organizations. The activities of intermediaries started with support for refugee livelihood and rehabilitation of affected areas, subsequently extending to provision of social care services, incubation of social enterprises, and assistance in town development. With these

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77 See for instance the case of Yogyakarta in Chapter 3.
roles, the intermediaries have become indispensable entities for communities even as recovery reached the sustainable development phase. Some of them have developed a more enhanced and sophisticated professional expertise and kept high profiles in the field of knowledge management and advocacy.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, what allowed intermediaries to engage in various recovery activities was primarily support from different funding streams from both public and private sources. Various public assistance programs for the voluntary sector yielded substantial benefits for sustaining and even developing the intermediaries. Prior to the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, there had been no substantial entity in the voluntary sector—not only in Hanshin-Awaji area but also through the entire country. However, as the post disaster phase went on, the voluntary sector has been firmly embedded in the communities through policy support and social assistance. For local people, this implies not only shared understanding that voluntary organizations and their intermediaries played significant roles in the recovery process but also social consensus that they should be fostered at ordinary times in preparation for emergency cases.

The Hanshin-Awaji experience showcases the potential of community governance to countries where community associations and voluntary organizations are fragile. That experience offers a lesson that community governance could be built even without social tradition like gotong royong of Yogyakarta as long as social consensus and strong political will are manifested.

One important thing to note is that the intermediaries have transformed their roles and functions in response to the needs of affected people, communities, and voluntary organizations. In that process, the intermediaries could extend networks and facilitate the interaction within communities, usually resulting in forging social capital and realizing social inclusion. Currently, most of the intermediaries are not directly involved in disaster prevention and rescue activities. However, the community governance framework that was established through their activities would considerably contribute to building resilient communities in preparation for future disasters.

It should also be noted that few voluntary organizations which were set up in the post-disaster phase have survived until today. While some voluntary organizations survived, their current missions are not the original ones. As such the legacies of post-earthquake energetic voluntary activities are the intermediaries and mechanisms that support them. A handful of voluntary organizations have shifted their missions from prevention to other concerns like welfare and education at ordinary times. However, there is no need to be pessimistic about this fact because a mission-oriented voluntary organization is essentially destined to disappear once its mission is completed. As long as the intermediary and its entrenched community governance mechanism are sustained, communities could take appropriate actions where necessary against emergency issues like disaster, including the mobilization of volunteers, resources and the organization of a network or association.

7.2. General Lessons on Good Governance

The four cases have disparate recovery phases and community arrangements. Sichuan is still in the early recovery phase and Yogyakarta is in the mid-term recovery phase. Gujarat is already entering the long-term recovery phase while Hanshin-Awaji has reached the sustainable development phase of recovery. In terms of community arrangements, the Yogyakarta model enhances community governance by focusing on social bonds and neighborhood relationships. The Gujarat model is one that is functional, administrative, and managerial, which works as an arm of local governance, situated between community and local authority (district government). The Sichuan model is a government-led cooperative for community recovery and development in the rural area. Meanwhile, the Hanshin Awaji
model is citizen-led co-governance. In addition, each case has a different emphasis regarding social capital formation.78

While it is difficult to make a detailed comparison and analysis among the four cases with different conditions, general lessons about community governance in the recovery phase can be drawn.

Adaptation to change: adjustment of mechanism

It is generally recognized that the needs of affected people and the community change in every phase of the recovery process. Correspondingly, it is necessary to adjust the mechanism of community governance depending on the phase of recovery. In other words, the mechanism should respond to the community’s needs during a particular recovery phase by changing its missions and revamping its system. It is at the community’s discretion to transform the mechanism by judging whether particular goals and roles have been completed.

Secured diversity: collaboration of multi-stakeholders

Recovery is a cross-cutting issue. Holistic recovery needs a holistic problem solving approach. Therefore, stakeholders with different backgrounds are expected to adhere to consensus building and decision making for resource mobilization and distribution. Community governance is a mechanism for having diverse stakeholders involved in the early phase of recovery.

Resource integration: best mix of knowledge, human resources, and funding

Better recovery cannot be achieved by funding alone. It is also crucial for the locality to have local indigenous wisdom and highly specialized knowledge and expertise as well as appropriate human resources so that optimum problem solving could be facilitated. The community governance mechanism is expected to effectively combine knowledge, human resources, and funding to produce the best outcome.

Interface between inside and outside: self-governance model and open model

As mentioned earlier, it is important to create innovative institutions and foundations in the early phase of recovery by gaining new knowledge and information from outside if the community could not incubate by itself. As such, the community governance mechanism should be designed not only as a self-governance model to pursue sustainability inside through residents’ capacity building and social capital formation but also as an open system model which connects to the outside, flexibly adaptable to change (Newman 2001). In other words, the mechanism functions as an interface between the inside and the outside. The goal is to simultaneously attain both the promotion of social cohesion in the community and the creation of innovation through the interaction with the outside.

7.3. Challenge and Way Forward

The original intention of this report is to review successful cases of community governance in the recovery process in a systematic manner. However, this modeling exercise still has a long way to

78 The Yogyakarta case is seen to have forged “bonding social capital” which strengthens homogenous ties inside the group and internally enhances trust and cohesion. The association and network which were established based on the resurrected and reinforced tradition of “Gotong Royong” revitalized mutual help function within the community. The Gujarat case seems to facilitate the formation of “linking social capital” which promotes connection between the community and authority institutions. The Setu plays an important role in drawing service provisions that fit to local needs from the State Government and international donor institutions by conveying community voices to them. Meanwhile, Hanshin-Awaji case seems to contribute to forming “bridging social capital” which ties disparate groups each other. That is, the intermediary makes a contribution to bridge various stakeholders such as community association, voluntary organizations, governmental organization and so on, facilitates exchange of information and solves problems in a holistic manner. However, as expected from the fact that Yogyakarta case showed the importance of ties with experts as bridging social capital, any case never concentrates on forging a particular type of social capital. This observation simply points out the salient feature of each case in comparison with the three cases. Investigation of possible formation of social capital in Sichuan villages will be further explored in future studies. For detailed discussions, see Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan, Social Capital: In Search for Better Human Relationships and Positive Growth Cycle of Citizen Activities (Tokyo: National Printing Bureau, 2003).
be fully completed and unfortunately not in time for publishing this report. In view of this, the IRP Secretariat will continuously focus on governance as one of the recovery research themes and more case studies in this area will be developed. Through more in-depth analyses for the cases studied here as well as the compilation of new case studies, the exercise of developing a generic model of community governance in the recovery process will be completed in the near future. Through this study the similarities of mechanisms and approaches in the livelihood recovery process as well as in other areas of recovery were identified beyond those specific to local areas only. In particular, the cases of Yogyakarta, Gujarat, and Sichuan have commonly shown craft production and tourism promotion as key aspects of livelihood recovery and provided some clues on how to create a universal recovery model in rural villages. This observation provides the basis for pursuing further study in this area to complete the modeling exercise for community governance.

Past studies on governance in the recovery process are primarily focused on the vertical relationship between international donor agency, central government, local authority and community. In particular, the focus on the relationship between international donor agency and central government or between central government and local authority seems dominant. Contrary to past studies on governance in the recovery process, this report reviews the norm of governance by looking into the horizontal relationship dimension in full perspective, particularly among residents’ organizations, community associations, non-profit organizations (NPOs), and cooperatives. This report hopes to bring a new perspective to governance studies and recovery, especially for IRP Secretariat and relevant bodies.

Needless to say, consensus building and decision making are done under the influence of complicated power relationships in the site of real community governance. Thus, it is vital to review how the interwoven structural relationships among multiple stakeholders are untangled and figured out. This report has provided opportunity for the IRP Secretariat to be familiar with diverse local views by conducting field surveys in cooperation with many actors, including local governments, NGOs, and universities. By absorbing different voices, the IRP Secretariat is able to grasp the complex reality of the recovery process and find out what are the essence aspects of community governance. In view of this, future research will also be conducted by listening to a wide range of stakeholders’ opinions in close collaboration with relevant agencies and actors on disaster prevention and recovery.

References


Annex 1: Disaster Management Systems and Related Laws on Involving Community

Descriptions of disaster management systems of countries covered are supplemented in this compilation to provide readers with broad background of the contexts where the cases were drawn. All descriptions of disaster management systems are obtained from the Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC) website. Pertinent laws on community involvement are also presented in the relation to disaster management.

Indonesia

a. Disaster Management System

- Legal System
  
  Disaster Management Law No. 24 was enacted in April 2007.

- Organization

Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana (National Disaster Management Agency, BNPB) was established in 2008. BNPB consists of the president of the BNPB, the Management and Operational Committee, and the Policy Implementation Agency.

Being composed of ten ministries (Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Police and Armed Forces) and other nine experts, the Management and Operational Committee is in charge of advisory and consultation with the BNPB’s president. The Policy Implementation Agency is in charge of increasing preparedness, emergency response, and relief and reconstruction.

Also, the Indonesian Government is planning to establish the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD). In November 2008, National Platform was established to expand the cooperation among sectors.

- **Plan**

b. **Pertinent Laws on Community Involvement**

Community involvement as manifested in *gotong royong* is somewhat institutionalized in Indonesia through Law No. 12, highlighting the role of cooperatives. A cooperative is an association owned and operated by a group of individuals for their mutual benefit generally based on the principle of kinship. Cooperatives are autonomous associations of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprises. The law regarded cooperative as tool for empowering community and contributing to strengthen Indonesian economy.

In the context of rural development, elements of cooperation in *gotong royong* have been identified in local traditional groups. Considering this, the government passed the Village Governance Law in 1979, which identified these groups as new structures of local government at the neighborhood level. On the basis of the law, some groups became government-sponsored organizations and were formalized, hence, having legal identity and formal membership system.

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### India

a. **Disaster Management System**

- **Legal System**

• Organization

The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), headed by the Prime Minister of India, is in charge of creating and implementing disaster management policies, DM plans and guidelines. State level DM bodies are the State Disaster Management Authorities (SDMAs). Under the umbrella of the NDMA, there is an institution promoting capacity building for disaster mitigation and emergency response which is called the National Institute of Disaster Management, NIDM, and emergency disaster response force which is called the National Disaster Response Force (NDRF).

• Plan

Although there is no sector-specific disaster management plans, there is a clear statement that emphasizes the need for the development plans safe from disasters in the chapter on environment and climate change in the 11th national five-year national plan period (2007-2012). Since the Disaster Management Act requires the formulation of disaster management plan, the NDMA published the National Disaster Management Guidelines: Preparation of State Disaster Management Plans in July, 2007.
b. Pertinent Laws on Community Involvement

Community participation in India is provided under the passage of the 1992 Constitution (73rd Amendment Act) which provided constitutional status to Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs). “Panchayat” literally means assembly of five wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by village community. “Panchayat Raj” literally means system of governance in which the village is responsible for its own affairs. The Panchayat has three levels: village, block, and district. Following the 73rd Amendment Act, there are about 232,278 Panchayats at the village level, 6,022 Panchayats at the block level, and 535 Panchayats at the district level. This is the broadest representative base that exists in any country of the world. Panchayats have been the backbone of the Indian villages, ensuring people’s participation in rural reconstruction.

In view of the reconstruction from the Gujarat Earthquake of 2001, the Gujarat State Disaster Management Authority (GSDMA) issued an earthquake reconstruction and rehabilitation policy which specifically advocated for community participation in recovery efforts. Highlighting community participation in the policy, it encompasses all the measures and institutional initiatives taken by the government. The reconstruction and rehabilitation policy represents a framework of entitlements and a prospectus of development, regarded as the important step in communicating with the people of Gujarat.

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China

a. Disaster Management System

• Legal System

More than 30 laws and regulations have been promulgated and implemented on disaster reduction, which include the Law on Water and Soil Conservation, the Law on Earthquake Prevention and Disaster Reduction, the Law on Fire-Fighting, the Meteorological Law and the Law on Production Safety.

• Organization

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR DISASTER REDUCTION

34 MINISTRIES AND BUREAUS

• General Office of the State Council
• Ministry of Civil Affairs
• Ministry of Foreign Affairs
• Ministry of Science and Technology
• Ministry of Commerce
• Ministry of Education
• Ministry of Health
• Ministry of Industry
• Ministry of National Defense
• Ministry of Public Security
• Ministry of Finance
• Ministry of Land and Resources
• Ministry of Construction
• Ministry of Railways
• Ministry of Communications
• Ministry of Information Industry
• Ministry of Water Resources
• Ministry of Agriculture
• Ministry of Public Health
• Etc....

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China National Commission for the International Decade on Natural Disaster Reduction was established in 1989. In 2000, it was renamed China Commission for International Disaster Reduction. In January of 2005, it was renamed China National Committee for Disaster Reduction (NCDR), headed by a Vice Premier of the State Council. It is composed of 34 ministries and departments, including relevant military agencies and social groups. It functions as an inter-agency coordination body under the State Council, which is responsible for studying and formulating principles, policies and plans for disaster reduction, coordinating major disaster activities, giving guidance to local governments in their disaster reduction work, and promoting international exchanges and cooperation.

- **Plan**

In April 1998, the Chinese Government promulgated the National Natural Disaster Reduction Plan of the People's Republic of China (1998 -2010), the first national disaster reduction plan formulated in accordance with the Ninth Five-Year National Economic and Social Development Plan and the 2010 Long-term Objective. The Disaster Reduction Plan identified includes: disaster reduction should be deeply considered in national economic and social development; prevention should be taken as the priority in combination with resistance and relief; The role of science, technology, and education should be incorporated in disaster reduction; the central and local governments as well as all social sectors should be to reduce disasters; and international exchange and cooperation should be strengthened.

**b. Pertinent Laws on Community Involvement**

The Organic Law of the Villagers Committee of the Peoples Republic of China was enacted November 4, 1998. The villagers' committee is the basic organization of self-government. Although not a government organization like the village/town or county, these committees manage land and businesses owned by groups of villagers, build and manage elementary schools and roads, implement projects for the public good, mediate conflicts between residents, maintain public sanitation and security, and perform a variety of tasks related to the everyday life of residents. They also collect the funds necessary for carrying out these tasks. Building on the natural and spontaneous establishment of autonomous organizations convened through direct elections in several villages in Guangxi Autonomous Region, the Communist Party Central Committee began to focus on this innovative model of farm village government. Amidst the dissolution of the people's communes and the reconstruction of villages that began in 1983, many villagers' committees emerged, and after the implementation of the 10-year villagers' committee system, the Organic Law of the Villagers Committee of the Peoples Republic of China was enacted in November 1998. The establishment of a villagers' committee is proposed by a village government, discussed at a meeting of villagers comprised of powerful people in the village, and if approved at that meeting, is reported and recommended to the county government.  

**Japan**

**a. Disaster Management System**

- **Legal System**

In order to applying to all of the disaster phases of prevention, mitigation and preparedness, emergency response as well as recovery and rehabilitation, relevant laws and regulations were enacted. They include DisasterCountermeasuresBasicAct (1961), Erosion Control Act (1897), Disaster Relief Act

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- **Organization**

Under the Disaster Countermeasures Basic Act, the Central Disaster Management Council was formed, its brief being to ensure the comprehensiveness of disaster risk management and to discuss matters of importance with regard to disaster management. The council consists of the Prime Minister, who is the chairperson, Minister of State for Disaster Management, all ministers, heads of major public institutions and experts.

Within the Cabinet Office, which is the secretariat for this Council, the Minister of State for Disaster Management has been assigned as the Minister State for Special Missions for this issue. This Minister is assisted by the department of the Cabinet Office Director-General for Disaster Management his mandate being to handle planning and central coordination with regard to matters relating to basic policy on disaster risk reduction, and matters concerning disaster countermeasures in the event of a large-scale disaster.

In prefectures and local municipalities, the prefectural and municipal Disaster Management Councils are established with the members of representatives of local government organizations including police and fire management department, and designated local public corporations. Implementation of disaster risk management measures is based on the Local Disaster Management Plans drafted by the Councils.

- **Plan**

Basic Disaster Management Plan is the master plan and a basis for disaster reduction activities in Japan. Disaster Management Operation Plan is a plan made by each designated government organization and designated public corporation, and Local Disaster Management Plan is a plan made by each prefectural and municipal disaster management council, based on the Basic Disaster Management Plan.

Basic Disaster Management Plan is prepared by the Central Disaster Management Council in accordance with Article 34 of the Disaster Countermeasures Basic Act. The plan clarifies the duties assigned to the Government, public corporations and the local government in implementing measures. For easy reference to countermeasures, the plan also describes the sequence of disaster...
countermeasures such as preparation, emergency response, recovery and reconstruction according to the type of disaster.

b. Pertinent Laws on Community Involvement

The “NPO Law” or the “Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities”, enacted on March 19, 1998, is landmark legislation in Japan that encourages some forms of community participation through the voluntary organizations. The law provides corporate status to voluntary organizations that “contribute to the advancement of the interest of many people”. Since then, the Japanese society has witnessed a rapid proliferation of NPOs. As of June 2005 alone, the number of volunteer-based NPOs had reached more than 20,000 groups, and this number has been increasing at relatively constant pace. Through the NPO Law, ordinary people can be engaged in setting the public agenda, which is previously regarded as the exclusive territory of the bureaucrats.

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Annex 2: Related Resources on Community Involvement


FEMA. “Long term community planning process: Self help guide 2005”.  

GFDRR. “Safer Homes, Stronger Community, Chapter 12 Community Organizing and Participation”  


International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. “Community Participation in Rebuilding Maldives, 2007”  

Hummel Rebecca and Douglas Ahlers Belfer. “Lessons from Katrina: How a Community Can Spearhead Successful Disaster Recovery”  


Twigg, J. et al. “Guidance Notes on Participation and Accountability”  

UNISDR. “Learning from disaster recovery: Guidance for decision maker 2007”  
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