

Government's role in supporting community–led approaches to recovery

Literature Review

Governance is more than government. It is about making social choices and raises the question: How should key actors in government work together with key actors in the private sector and civil society to resolve societal problems?... What constitutes appropriate modalities of recovery governance will vary from place to place. The challenge is to construct an architecture of recovery governance that engages and empowers those in recovery; this is a monumental but crucial challenge for all in pressure cooker situations.

Glavovic, 2014

Government's role in supporting community-led approaches to recovery

Project Team

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Summary of Findings from the Literature Review

The case for using community-led approaches is clear in the research, what is less clear is how government might best foster and enable these approaches. The following summary of findings presents the **two key ideas** explored in terms of how government can foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while maintaining effective coordination:

1. Firstly, by enabling and supporting collective self-efficacy and capacity (in what is a dynamic recovery that changes over time) through:
 - a. Knowing if, when and how to act – with caution; engaging with community; creating trust; holding the space for communities to take time to consider next steps.
 - b. Acting with local leaders – who may take time to emerge; will require assistance to lead effectively in this new context.
 - c. Acting with community organisations – to draw on their pre-existing relationship with community; sensitively attune to community needs and strengths and increase the provision of their core services. Care needs to be taken in regard to the requirements tied to funding.
 - d. Acting collaboratively within the organisations involved (government at all levels and all sectors, NGO's, CBO's) to support coordinated services. This area requires further investigation of the literature.
 - e. Building government capacity to act collaboratively with community - to support and work with community leadership; giving field officers and local decision makers higher level organisational support aligned to the goals of collaboration with the community; building the broad skill sets required.
2. Secondly, by understanding and acting on government's ability to share responsibility and power through:
 - a. Partnering with community after disaster to determine processes for decision making about their future, including the timing and support required– creating opportunities for people to come together will contribute to 'collective sense making' as a step towards deeper engagement when the community is ready for it; engagement is critical and failure to engage will have greater adverse consequences than engaging earlier than appropriate; the availability of individuals and communities for participation in collective decision making processes cannot be assumed and will vary from community to community and from event to event; those undertaking the engagement process (which is every worker) need to be sensitive and responsive to the actual needs and capacities of the community; and recognition of existing community capacity and the systems and resources able to contribute to recovery;
 - b. Approaching community engagement – with sound, strategic and contextual application at the local community level, knowing that speed does not preclude input and deliberation; aware of the impact of the event on local workers and assessing the support they may require to do this engagement.

Government's role in supporting community-led approaches to recovery

Summary of findings from the Literature Review continued

- c. Constructing an architecture of governance – that is adaptive and continually reviewed for the changes in community systems during the recovery; reflective of the circumstances and the community and looking out for potentially marginalised and under-resourced groups; inclusive of operational and strategic aspects such as effective and equitable financial management, gathering and disseminating information to enhance decision-making, building collaboration among local groups and government, and balancing meeting immediate needs with opportunities for long-term planning. Asking – who is not represented in our processes? Whose voice are we not hearing and how will we seek to?
- d. Using participation mechanisms – that mobilise the community to provide information about views and needs, discuss ideas and make shared decisions; such as Community Recovery Committee's or other forms (for example quality assurance or community accountability frameworks) responsive to the current nature as well as the history of the community¹.
- e. Ensuring representation, inclusion and authorisation - to mobilise the community's capacity to discuss ideas and make shared decisions.
- f. Constructing funding processes with care – being cognisant of the impact of tight timelines on the pace of recovery and the connection of decisions to community priorities; considering both the capacity of the community organisation and their links to the community; and recognising the impact of government funding and accountability requirements on smaller community groups.
- g. Measuring progress collectively – community involvement in continuous improvement will strengthen the sustainability and resilience of communities. This means finding representation to collaboratively develop indicators for M&E for Recovery.

¹ Refer to IAP2 Engaging in Disaster Recovery, and the National Community Engagement Framework.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

This literature review has been commissioned to support the work of the jurisdictional members of the Social Recovery Reference Group (SRRG). It is one part of a broader report examining the primary question:

How can government foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while still maintaining effective coordination?

The case for community-led recovery has been identified clearly in the literature for many decades both domestically and internationally, as well as in the field of humanitarian aid and development. Olshansky (2005) states that the most important issues to arise since disaster recovery research in the 1970s is the importance of citizen participation in decision-making. In *Future Proofing the State: Managing Risks, Responding to Crises and Building Resilience*, (Australian National University, 2014). Glavovic (2014) proposes that ‘It is constructive to think about ‘a *political* ecology of recovery, which recognises the politics of recovery, the connection between people and places and the socioeconomic power relationships that are fundamental to understanding recovery as a process to empower local communities in the aftermath of disasters.’¹ (pp 209-10).

The Handbook of Disaster Research (Smith and Wegner, 2006) written by US researchers, identified self-reliance and self-determination as one of the facilitators of sustainable disaster recovery. In Australia ‘using community-led approaches’ has been clearly identified by practitioners, researchers, and consulted communities, as one of the six core principles that need to be considered together for successful recovery (SRRG Group, 2018). The six principles are described in greater detail in the Australian Disaster Resilience Community Recovery Handbook (AIDR, 2018).

What is less clear in the literature is **how** government might best foster and enable community-led recovery while maintaining their role and responsibilities in coordination after a disaster.

1.2 Scope and method

Disaster recovery is a multi-disciplinary domain involving actions taken across multiple environments (social, economic, built and natural). This review is prepared within the scope of the SRRG which is established to drive the human services perspective in emergency management, promoting the centrality of community in all recovery efforts following a disaster event. SRRG takes a strategic interest in processes and approaches that are used to engage communities in decisions and actions that affect them, including the foundations of these approaches, such as working as a ‘whole government’ and indeed ‘whole of community’ to enable community strengths.

Effective recovery is dependent upon how society supports the complex and protracted processes of recovery. While the support comes from sources broader than government, the focus here is specifically on government’s role.

¹ A political ecology of recovery is the study of the politics of recovery that shape post-disaster socioeconomic power relationships impacted by natural hazard events and recovery interventions.

The review is not a systematic literature review but an integrative review based on the analysis of peer reviewed journals, government guides, grey literature and other reputable resources. Peer reviewed journals were sourced through journals databases using a combination of search terms including community-led, community, recovery, disaster, emergency, extreme event, public participation, deliberative democracy, social capital, collaboration, coordination, adaptation, systems practice, and governance. SRRG member agencies also provided grey literature and other reports, guides and resources. Sources were limited to those in English.

Additional papers were included by the project team by identifying key research cited in the more recent or significant papers. A number sources were considered by the project team to be of note in this area and are listed in Appendix A of this paper. Appendix A also includes an audit of a small selection of resources specifically addressing community-led approaches.

An iterative process involving the project team and project reference group was used to unpack the primary question, eliciting a complex systems framing, two broad areas of focus and the themes relating to each of these.

1.3 Review structure

The body of the literature review starts with section 2 by setting out the context for the review, including government's broad role, a model for considering the complex system onto which disaster imposes itself and the process of recovery that requires leadership and coordination.

The review goes on in section 3 to address how can government foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while still maintaining effective coordination by examining how it can:

- enable and support collective self-efficacy and capacity; and
- understand and act on government's ability to share responsibility with communities.

Section 4 provides the summary of findings and potential areas for further investigation.

Section 5 provides reflections arising from the literature intended to prompt further consideration and discussion.

2. Context

2.1 Government role in disaster recovery

Broadly speaking, government across its three tiers in Australia, has a dual role in its contribution to the collective action of responding to and recovering from disaster. This dual role identified by Hoggett (2006) in terms of routine societal functioning can be considered for the post-disaster setting:

- Firstly, the provision to the community of appropriate government social interactions, which can be considered as a psychosocial intervention contributing to individual and community wellbeing and confidence in the future; and,
- Secondly the provision of necessary goods and services, until the time when a viable level of functioning within that community system returns.

Many government agencies operate in the disaster recovery environment, including national, state and local governments (or their equivalents). In Australia this includes Canberra-based and state-based Australian Government departments and on-the-ground federal resources; state capital-based and regionally-based state government resources: and local government executive, management and direct service resources. Depending upon the size and impact of the disaster, coordination, and/or governance structures will be set up at local, regional or district or state level and may interface with Australian Government assistance.

Under Australia's constitutional arrangements, primary responsibility for the protection of life, property and the environment rests with the states and territories in their capacity as first responders. In Australia, each state and territory has legislation that governs its emergency management arrangements (which include recovery). In regard to recovery, across Australia, current policy ensures local governments have primary responsibility for coordination unless the scale of the disaster requires escalation to regional or district and then state level coordination. The arrangements supporting local government through regional or district and state level support differ across the jurisdictions.

Regardless of legislated roles, and particularly in larger disasters, 'coordination' has been challenging in recovery, in what is an environment of flux. The most typical challenge has been the establishment of clarity of role and responsibility for different aspects of the recovery (Glavovic 2014, McLennan & Handmer, 2014, Taylor and Goodman, 2015).

At the state level there has been a shift in some states, towards the creation of overarching permanent state bodies responsible for state level policy and/or state coordination of recovery, for example Emergency Management Victoria, the Queensland Reconstruction Authority, and the State Recovery Office in South Australia.

Summary - Section 2.1

- Government's role in recovery might be considered as in routine societal functioning to be two-fold: the provision of social interactions with the potential for building relational trust and confidence in the future; and, the provision of the necessary goods and services, which in the recovery context are to enable a viable level of functioning to return.

2.2 What does it mean to use community-led approaches and yet still fulfil the coordination role in recovery?

The Australian Community Recovery Handbook (AIDR, 2018) highlights the following features of a community-led approach to disaster recovery:

- *It strives to achieve strong community participation and leadership in all levels of planning, implementation and evaluation of recovery processes.*
- *Processes support self-help and strengthen the resources, capacity and resilience already present within individuals and communities.*
- *It requires effective community engagement and strong facilitation processes so that communities can determine their own needs and shape the recovery programs and activities.*

It is critical to note that the features above are not divorced from the community processes, visioning and planning work that occurs in communities prior to disasters, whereby governments share responsibility with communities to tackle a myriad of community challenges. Disasters impose themselves onto the pre-existing social and political culture of a community to become catalysts for change.

For a period of time after the disaster, the coordinating structures in this environment may not be the same as the pre-disaster decision making structures for the community. There are important qualitative changes to the coordination and decision-making environment associated with disasters that cannot be accommodated by a linear scaling up of the processes used with 'normal' crises (Drabek, 1994). The catalytic environment involves many more interactions and decisions among all the players normally involved in enabling a community to function and more. Coordination in this recovery phase provides a mechanism for planning what needs to be done, who will do it and when. This all takes place with a focus on the community and in partnership with agencies and organisations who hold responsibility to ensure the coordination.

The fact that disasters are 'non-routine social problems' (Drabek, 2010 and Kreps, 1996²) means there is an interaction between the physical and social problems caused. Furthermore, Drabek points to four principal risks complicating recovery after disaster. (1) There is a greater interdependence among social problems; (2) the socially powerful have a greater influence in defining what is and is not a social problem; (3) definitions of what is and is not a social problem change over the course of recovery; (4) sociological analyses of social problems preclude blaming the victims (pp. 211-213). Drabek describes a complex, non-linear situation, since it is not possible to project simple relationships among factors and predict even relatively near-future states; it is temporal in that the progress of recovery causes new issues, changes in services, and even changes in who is involved as people come and go from the environment.

This literature review therefore uses a complexity model to frame an understanding of the systems onto which a disaster imposes itself. This model provides insight into how governments and communities interact and share responsibility in the everyday environment

² Kreps (1996) defines disasters as non-routine events, in societies or their larger subsystems that involve conjunctions of historical conditions and social definitions of physical harm and social disruption.

(the routine) and provides a platform to examine what the literature says regarding how this might be adapted when a community finds itself amid the ‘non-routine’³ consequences of a disaster event.

Summary - Section 2.2

- The literature defines disasters as ‘non-routine social problems’ and identifies principle risks that complicate recovery after disasters, including issues of interdependence, social power’s influence in defining the issues and how this changes over the course of recovery.

2.3 The social system and disaster recovery

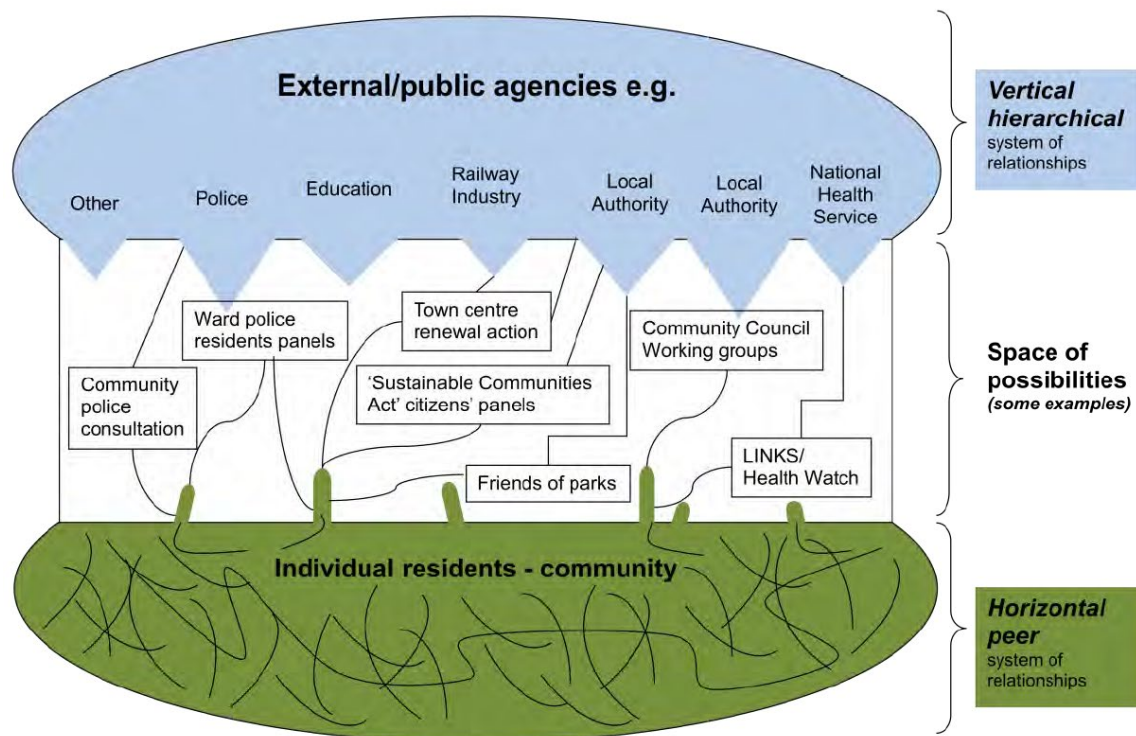
2.3.1 A model, from complexity theory, for viewing the relationship between government and communities

Conn (2011) provides a model depicting routine times that demonstrates well the complexity of the interactions between the parties that will become involved in disaster recovery. In particular, the model highlights the ordered authority and hierarchical nature of public agencies serving communities and the organic, interwoven network of free association relationships that are bound more by social norms and reciprocity in communities (See Figure 1). Drawing on complexity theory, Conn (2011) describes the interactive space between the vertical formal system in government and the horizontal informal system in communities as the *space of possibilities*. It is in this space that we already find government agencies interacting and sharing responsibility with communities to varying degrees on routine but complex matters, such as, community safety, environmental management, health and wellbeing and many more.

Routine interactions evolve over time and individuals often carry the history as knowledge, which is expressed in the norms, customs and implicit rules evolved to regulate and manage these interactions and tasks (Elliott and Turner, 2012). A history of working together with government and other agencies to co-create their community, gives individuals a sense of ‘ownership’ of their community (Read, 1996). This ownership is embodied in the routine relationships, responsibilities and accountability (Block, 2008) and as long as there is no disruption does not need to be made explicit and remains taken for granted (Gordon, 2004).

Research into social capital describes circumstances in which such approaches consistently operate in communities as ‘linking social capital’. As distinct from the bonding and bridging social capital that acts within and between communities, ‘linking social capital’ acknowledges the power differences between partners as a conscious part of the relationship and describes the respectful and trusting relationships between people who are ‘interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalized power or authority gradients in society’ (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Bonding and bridging social capital are also highly relevant to recovery, particularly in their influence on community capacity, however further discussion on this is outside the immediate scope of this paper.

Figure 1: The Space of Possibilities



From Conn, 2011.

In his work on the psychosocial processes that occur in communities post disaster, Gordon (2004, 2005, 2006, 2009) describes the likelihood that individuals will disconnect from their routine associations with ordered authority and rely more heavily on the personal, informal relationships that operate in their immediate community. This will change from a hyper-connected euphoria in the immediate aftermath back to a more differentiated state of complexity over time as disaster experiences and impacts separating members from each other soon reappear. Nonetheless, the disaster experience can embed communities in their relationship-based, informal community networks and depending upon their experience with government and recovery agencies, can strain confidence in ordered authority.

Drawing on their examination of community capacity following the Canberra fires in 2003, Winkworth et al. (2009) describe a community for whom 'a lack of linking to decision makers and intercommunity bridging capital led to feelings of isolation from surrounding communities, a sense of fatalism, and lack of a sense of control' (p 9). They go on to state that 'communities feel greater trust in decision-making when 'linking' social capital exists, where members of the community are personally involved or have access to the decision-making processes of organisations such as government and recovery agencies.' (p 9). Such engagement respects the implicit ownership of community members and their attachment to those aspects of their community which fell outside the formal relationship managed by government (Read, 1996).

It can be anticipated that governments wanting to foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while still maintaining effective coordination would look to use mechanisms and approaches suited to the Conn model's *space of possibilities*. This review

uses the Conn (2011) model as a lens through which to view the additional stresses on both the community and the public agency systems during non-routine circumstances and to explore what the literature says about how government can work collaboratively with community and the many community based organisations that will be involved.

Now that a model of the social system onto which a disaster imposes itself has been introduced, it is important to describe how the literature views recovery so that a fuller understanding can be gained of the implications for government in their role of coordinating recovery and at the same time supporting community-led approaches.

2.3.2 The process of recovery

Post-disaster action is broadly framed in terms of response and recovery phases, with relief operations occurring at the intersection of the two - though terminology may differ across states and territories, and nationally. (AIDR, 2018, p 9). However, **how** response and relief operations are carried out will also affect the likelihood of successful recovery. (AIDR, 2018, p 2). This review does not investigate response and relief per se, except to the extent that there is a direct implication for the coordination of recovery⁴. This is consistent with the National Principle for Disaster Recovery of 'Coordination' which includes the expectation that recovery activities will: 'Be part of an emergency management approach that integrates with response operations and contributes to future prevention and preparedness.' (SRRG, 2018).

Towards a new context

The past few decades have seen a significant shift in how recovery is viewed, from a functional approach with a quick return to the routine as the proposed outcome, to viewing recovery not as an outcome but as processes with multiple outcomes. For example, Alesch et al. (2009) describe recovery as a self-organising process within a complex community system in which the 'community repairs or develops social, political, and economic processes, institutions, and relationships that enable it to function in the new context within which it finds itself' (p.36).

Hence, recovery is not simply a return to a previous state but, by its very nature, entails the movement to a new future state and context. This idea of moving towards a new context, or 'new normal' (Gordon, 2004) and 'renewal' (Leadbeater, 2013), is now common in the disaster recovery literature.

A dynamic and complex process

A key change in the understanding of disaster recovery in more recent years has been a move away from thinking of recovery as a uniform and linear process, to regarding it as a fluid and dynamic process (Pettersen, 1999, Berke and Beatley, 1997, Rubin, 2009).

Other authors go further to clarify that not only are recovery processes not linear, they may also be iterative, stall, or go backwards (Whittle et al., 2012; Tierney & Oliver-Smith, 2012;

⁴ There are problems inherent in the boundaries around 'preparedness', 'response', 'relief' and 'recovery' and the functional responsibilities held by different agencies as they interface with communities in both routine and non-routine situations that are beyond the scope of this paper to explore.

Daniels et al., 2006). It is also clear in the literature that different sectors of the community will recover at different rates and some may never recover at all, challenging any notion of a steady progress towards an inevitable recovery (Alesch et al., 2009).

In addition, as a collective experience, recovery is complex, involving a multitude of stakeholders whereby any action creates a ripple effect across the entire community (Aldrich and Meyer, 2014).

This complexity has led some authors to comment that disaster recovery is best described as a 'wicked problem' as no technical solution exists or society is presented with 'wicked choices' (Glavovic, 2014). Glavovic states that:

'An empowering recovery process is compelling but complex; it is a wicked problem that compels us to rethink how we make social choices in pressure-cooker situations.' (p 206).

Conn (2011) in her model of the routine, offers insights into how government and communities can come together to tackle complex challenges. While Caniglia and Trotman (2011) remind us that 'The strength of local communities identifying local needs from a bottom up perspective reaching out to government and larger institutions with large-scale capacity to harness and provide resources is a good example of why top-down and bottom up processes need not be seen as binary opposites.'(p 37).

Summary - Section 2.3

- The literature offers a view of community as a complex social system, which, when impacted by disaster undergoes rapid change that is fluid, dynamic, variable within the community and between communities, has different trajectories, a multitude of actors and multiple potential outcomes. The disaster disrupts the implicit social order which is maintained by the common values and activities of the community members and normal routines are replaced by improvised responses to immediate needs.
- The intersection of the vertical formal system of government and the horizontal informal system of communities is a *space of possibilities*, where government agencies interact and share responsibility with communities in routine circumstances. However, since it is only the community members who carry the collective knowledge and understand what the community was and could be it is a potential space in which community-led recovery can occur in the 'non-routine' circumstances of disaster recovery.
- The theory and practice of 'linking social capital,' which is a resource deriving from the knowledge and relationships held by community members, is directly applicable to government using community-led approaches, with the power differences between partners requiring conscious recognition as part of the relationship.

Further questions – Section 2.3

- How do complexity models provide a basis to capture and understand the multiple interests and needs of a disrupted community in recovery?
- How does government as a whole invest in social capital and in particular, strengthening 'linking social capital'?
- What are the essential structures and supports that are central to maintaining social capital? Are they informal social relationships or can they be formalised and if so how?

3. How can government foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while maintaining effective coordination?

Given the support in the research for using approaches that involve community (Olshansky, 2005, Norris et al., 2008) and the expectations community has of government in the disaster context (Barton, 2017, Moreton, 2018 and Taylor and Goodman, 2015), it would appear that a combination of community-led and government supported recovery action is beneficial in most disaster recovery circumstances.

Owen (2017) in investigating this very question found that ‘Government’s primary role is to provide scaffolding within which communities can lead.’ (p 67).

The next two sections (3.1 and 3.2) explore what the literature says that might inform the extent of government scaffolding needed to make recovery work for a community. Each section explores a distinct strategic theme that would assist government in supporting community-led recovery while still maintaining coordination. They are:

1. enabling and supporting collective self-efficacy and capacity; and
2. understanding and acting on government’s ability to share responsibility and power with communities.

The specific areas that will be examined under these two themes are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: How can government best foster and support community-led recovery while maintaining effective coordination?

3.1 By enabling and supporting collective self-efficacy and capacity, in the dynamic recovery that changes over time	3.2 By understanding and acting on government’s ability to share responsibility and power
<p>3.1.1 If, when and how to act</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The pressure to act – Political pressure – Proceeding with caution <p>3.1.2 Acting with local leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Identifying local leaders – Supporting local leaders <p>3.1.3 Acting with community organisations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Legitimacy – Emergent groups – Capacity <p>3.1.4 Acting collaboratively</p> <p>3.1.5 Building government capacity to act collaboratively</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Challenges for government – Skills development for government 	<p>3.2.1 Is there a right time to engage with community after disaster?</p> <p>3.2.2 Approaches to community engagement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – IAP2 spectrum and deliberative processes – Asset Based Community Development applied to disaster recovery – Building engagement capacity <p>3.2.3 Constructing an architecture of recovery governance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Engaging and empowering those in recovery – Participation versus rhetoric – Equity and inclusion <p>3.2.4 Participation mechanisms</p> <p>3.2.5 Representation and Authorisation</p> <p>3.2.6 Funding processes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The financial paradox – Implications of funding, donations and other assistance for communities <p>3.2.7 Measuring progress collectively</p>

Note: These areas and themes are artificially separated for the purposes of exploring the question but in practical terms are all inextricably connected.

3.1 Government enabling and supporting collective self-efficacy and community capacity

The literature is clear that government supporting self-help and the strengthening of community capacity have been shown to be important in successful recovery programs and in addition this provides the opportunity to build community resilience (Kenny, 2010, Hettige, 2007).

3.1.1 *If, when and how to act*

The pressure to act

The literature suggests that for government and response agencies, immediate relief priorities might obscure a specific focus on self-efficacy and capacity. In a case study from India, Mulligan (2017) argues that ‘speed and efficiency are critical in the immediate aftermath of a major disaster’ (p176) with the relief phase primarily focussing on transparent assessment of, and response to, complex and sometimes competing needs. He goes on to suggest that when the focus starts to shift beyond the immediate relief to a future focus, ‘more patient and inclusive forms of consultation and engagement are needed’ and a more deliberative approach is required for this transition (Mulligan, 2017).

Blackman et al. (2017), in a study of earthquake recovery in Japan and Christchurch in New Zealand, talk about this in terms of the distinction between the immediate response, (trying to control the system by responding to the immediate needs) and the transition to recovery (needing to work with the system in its complexity to support long-term recovery of the community). They propose that there is a transition between the short term responses and long term disaster recovery and that one of the three system elements influencing this transition is a move to greater co-production with community.

Under the circumstances after the disaster, the imperative for government officials to act in their service provision or coordination role can bring with it a pressure to ‘do something’. Owen (2018) in her study including community members affected by a range of disaster events in Australia and New Zealand, observes that many government participants in her survey ‘reported feeling a sense of responsibility to “get the ball rolling” by drawing on experience and knowledge of previous recovery efforts and establishing structures and services that communities were likely to need’ (p 67).

So while government officials can feel an urgency to act, according to the community focused literature, the communities they purport to help might not want their help – at least in the form it is offered. (Barton, 2017, McLennan, 2011, 2014, 2018, Moreton, 2018, Taylor and Goodman, 2015).

Some participants interviewed in Owen (2018) suggested that recovery worked best when governments led from behind or as one participant said, ‘sidled up alongside the community’ (p 68).

Political pressure

An important feature of the government role in disaster recovery is the acknowledgement that all three levels of government have elected members who invariably take a keen

interest in developments. Whether they are in power or not, they are likely to be actively representing their constituents.

Conn (2011) points out that the political sector with a combination of numerous political organisations intertwined alongside very large numbers of volunteers, constitutes a hybrid system⁵. That is, it is a combination of vertical, hierarchical organisations and horizontally organised peer groupings with neither dominant.

In this hybrid position, elected members will experience both personal and political pressure to respond to disaster recovery situations with the risk they press for action prematurely or make promises they cannot keep. Gordon (2004) observes that the exposure of elected members to highly emotional, high profile or tragic community circumstances can cause them to go into what he describes as 'high arousal' themselves. This can influence their immediate response in the media, compromise their decision making capacity and make them unduly focussed on their own view and needs (including political survival) - at the expense of considered expert advice, offering more strategic, 'common good' approaches. (Gordon, 2007).

Proceeding with caution

Effective relief responses, delivered by a wide range of government and non-government agencies, of themselves, increase the ability of community members to move beyond immediate concerns and to start addressing recovery matters, as well as building a level of trust and confidence within the affected community (Tierney and Oliver-Smith, 2012). Norris et al. (2008) add to this by observing that the immediate post-disaster interventions help to restore individual, group and community functioning and therefore contribute to more positive recovery outcomes.

Nonetheless, the literature suggests that intervening in a post-disaster community should be done with caution. Owen (2018) in her study including community members affected by a range of disaster events in Australia and New Zealand reported that: 'Several community participants were of the view that the arrival of 'help' from government can actually be a hindrance and that government 'interference' can sometimes fracture relationships and harm communities, albeit inadvertently. Interestingly, some government respondents recounted similar experiences'. (p 67).

In exploring the role of community leadership following the 2009 fires in Strathewen, Leadbeater (2013) *reinforces* the need to take time from the very beginning to a re-establish community connections, revisit local priorities and aspirations and to support inclusive processes. 'Recovery started badly is almost impossible to reclaim given its longer-term impacts on the structure, relationships and functioning of the community. Creating space and time for the community to come together and for the 'right' answers to emerge is an investment in meaningful, sustainable recovery.' (p 46).

In her article, *We needed help, but we weren't helpless': the community experience of community recovery after natural disaster in Australia*, Moreton (2018) reported on a study

⁵ Conn (2011) also describes some community organisations and faith based organisations as hybrid, which has implications for their role in the space of possibilities.

covering a variety of Australian disasters, including bushfires in NSW and Tasmania in 2013, floods in Qld in 2011 and 2013, and cyclones in Qld in 2006 and 2011. The study, which included interviews with 112 affected community members and 10 high-profile leaders of community recovery processes, reported clear messages from community members involved in disaster recovery that they wanted to help themselves. She suggests that affected communities be allowed to ‘travel through the process according to their needs and circumstances. These communities demonstrated they are able to define what they need and when they need it.’ (Morton, 2018, p 22)

In their reflections on residential rebuilding after the Victorian Black Saturday bushfires, Ireton, Ahmed and Charlesworth (2014) recognised that importance of providing time and support to affected communities so that they could consider their options away from the immediate pressures to rebuild. This became known as ‘holding the space’.

Summary - Section 3.1.1

- Government can feel pressure to intervene quickly but should be cautious to act without thorough engagement with the community
- Affected communities should be given the opportunity, time and support to determine when and how they make decisions about their future.
- When government has to step in immediately to respond to, provide relief for and begin recovery from a disaster, it must ensure that its early presence and engagement is positive and builds a foundation of trust.
- ‘Holding the space’ allows communities to ease the immediate pressures of decision making and take time to consider information and options.

Further questions – Section 3.1.1

- How does government assure itself that ‘not intervening’ is acting in the best interests of the affected community as a whole?
- How does government convey this message to affected communities and the broader community?
- What can government do to assist in the revisiting and re-development of cohesive and inclusive community visions and support these process in fractured communities?

3.1.2 Acting with local leaders

IAP2 and Leadbeater (2018) state that ‘The community’s ability to return to ‘pre-disaster’ functioning will be best supported by identifying and working with legitimate community leaders and champions.’ (p 9)

Brandsen (2016) commenting on governments getting involved in community–led initiatives in general, emphasises that local leadership can protect grassroots community initiatives, stating that ‘a capable community leadership may be more important than is currently recognised for protecting community initiatives against the risk that government involvement will “kill or mutate” them’.(p. 349).

Identifying local level leaders

Local leadership might come from many of the partners involved in disaster recovery including community members, local community groups, as well as government and recovery agencies. However, as Moreton comments ‘High-profile leaders of recovery processes do not necessarily share the same perspective as community members’.(Moreton, 2018).

Leadbeater (2013) underscores that it is this grounding in the community that is most important to the community when she writes that: ‘One particular ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault 1980a, pp. 131-3) regarding community leadership is that it is generic or non-specific; that any variety or combination of perspectives and opinions is as good as another, as long as it has been generated ‘by the community’. Conn (2011) in her depiction of the difference between government and community implies that local government officers, locally posted state or federal government officers or recovery agency managers or coordinators would rarely be regarded as ‘community leaders’ from a community perspective.

Leadership is often found in the many and varied existing networks and organisations within an affected community and existing leaders can offer a sound starting point. However, ruptures to the social structures can mean that functions no longer suited to the emergency situation cease or are suspended, and new groups, organisations and new leaders can emerge to fill the new needs (Drabek, 1986, 2010). Roles that emerge in these situations are filled because of people’s experience, skills or other relevant qualities not simply based on any pre-existing formal position. (Gordon, 2004).

Leadbeater (2013) advises patience in identifying the leaders observing that it is more important to have local leadership skills and experience that suit the particular needs of the community, and that ‘Provided the community has a chance to regroup and begin to self-organise, it will be able to recognise its existing and emerging leaders.’ (p 45). Leadbeater also reinforces that ultimately it is the role of leaders, however expert, to connect with, and seek the endorsement of, other community groups and the community more broadly. In concluding her comments on the role of local leadership in disaster recovery, she states that: ‘it is not a question of who gets to speak on behalf of the community, but rather, who has the skill, patience, empathy and courage to restore to the community its own voice’. (p 47).

In addition to these leadership qualities described by Leadbeater (2013), Rubin (2009) in a paper reflecting on her experience researching long-term recovery in the US over 30 years, identifies **personal leadership** as one of three key elements necessary for disaster recovery⁶. She includes in the skills of personal leadership:

- the capacity for including local decision making;
- intergovernmental relations;
- having a long range view; and
- an ability to marshal resources.

⁶ The other two elements necessary to recovery are an ability to act decisively and knowing what to do. Rubin 2009, p 2

Supporting local leaders

In their report looking at long-term disaster resilience encompassing interviews with people affected by the 2009 Black Saturday bushfires through to earlier fires and floods in Victoria back to a 1943 Tarrawingee fire, Parkinson, Duncan and Kaur (2018) identify the particular stress experienced by community leaders. They reported that their role took a heavy toll as they juggled personal, family and community responsibilities to help with recovery. 'There was a lack of practical and moral support for these leaders at a time of wholesale community disruption. As a result, they tended to withdraw and re-emerge in line with their capacity to contribute, and the ebbs and flows of their own resilience. Leaders were faced with community members' grief, anger and other heightened emotions, and were frequently blamed. Their standing within community relied on their empathy, availability, support – and their own resilience. In the years that followed, some faced ill-health and unemployment.' (p 7). In fact it has been stated that at some point each prominent person is at risk of having their own personal breakdown or need to withdraw at the risk of a personal crisis (Kenworthy, 2007).

Summary - Section 3.1.2

- Local leaders are critical to positive recovery outcomes. They provide energy, inspiration and a buffer/bridge between government and the community. Ultimately the role of leaders is to restore to the community its own voice.
- Legitimate, authentic and capable local leadership is likely to emerge from local communities following a disaster and communities might need time for these leaders to be identified.
- Leaders might be found in diverse existing social structures and networks or might be new to this role.
- Leaders will require assistance to lead effectively, including information, logistical support and knowledge of service systems.
- Leaders might be under considerable stress as they deal with the demands of leadership. Their contribution may come at considerable cost to themselves, personally, emotionally and socially. Care is needed to consider their welfare as part of the role.

Further questions – Section 3.1.2

- How does Government work with communities in the early days as community leaders are identified and community governance arrangements emerge?
- What might the literature on routine community governance have to contribute to this inquiry?
- Who determines the standing and accountability of leaders in the community and how can government link into this to know who the legitimate leaders or representatives are, of either formal or informal groups?
- How can we better understand the personal toll of disaster recovery on community leaders?
- What sources of support are needed and are most appropriate to sustain community leaders and who might provide it?

-
- What and how can leadership in disaster recovery learn from generic theories of leadership and leadership development?

3.1.3 Acting with community organisations

Olshansky and Johnson (2014) suggest that bureaucratic organisations are limited in what they can achieve amidst the ‘time compression’ of the recovery period. ‘The many small non-government agencies and emergent organisations are much better suited to providing adaptive support services post-disaster as long as they are supported with the technical and financial resources that they require.

Legitimacy of community organisations with the community

Community organisations do not have guaranteed legitimacy with affected communities post-disaster. Bach et al. (2010) observes, in a study involving San Diego, USA and Birmingham, UK, ‘in each location, residents, local activists, and institutional leaders pointed out the difficulties of relationships between local communities and larger organizational partners, regardless of whether they are state-run or established civic organizations. This is consistent with Conn (2011) who describes some community organisations and faith based organisations as hybrid, potentially appearing to communities more bureaucratic than personal.

Cretney (2018) offers a depiction of what she sees as the three broad categories of community recovery groups that operated following the Christchurch earthquakes (p127).

1. Locally Based Neighbourhood Social Support (supporting neighbours, participating in school, sports and faith groups, holding gatherings)
2. Pre-existing NGO’s [non-government organisations] and Social Service Organisations (Pre-existing community gardens and currencies, Social Service providers such as the Council for Social Services, Environmental and Social Justice Organisations)
3. Grassroots Organisations and Projects (Public Art and Performances, Urban Agriculture, Transitional Architecture, Democracy and Participation Projects)

Cretney emphasises the importance of fostering ‘a diverse landscape of avenues for residents to engage with disaster recovery’ thereby providing alternative pathways for participation that facilitate connection, ownership and engagement - though not to reduce emphasis on the need for genuine formal participation or government led action. She concludes that it is valuable to conceptualise participation following disaster within the lens of both formal and informal avenues’. (p 128).

Johnston et al. (2012) reporting on international research report that ‘International research on recovery highlights the importance of not only strong local government capacity, but also of a cohesive system of public, private and volunteer groups integrated into the community (Mileti, 1999; Rubin, 1991, 2009; Norman and Coles, 2002; Dynes, 2003; Coles and Buckle, 2004; Gordon, 2004; Smith and Wenger, 2006; Hayashi, 2007; Johnson, 2009; Siembieda, 2010)’.

Capacity of community organisations

Based on their review of evidence of effectiveness following disasters in the United States, Acosta and Chandra (2013) assert that there is limited evidence of the efficacy of community organisations of whatever origin delivering services *outside of their core business* in the aftermath of disasters. They warn that community organisations often have very limited involvement in disaster recovery and, even those that are experienced, still face significant challenges in coordinating with other community organisations and government. They also note that these partnerships are limited by the community organisations financial constraints which significantly limit the pre-disaster preparedness that can be undertaken.

As part of their review they propose a model in which such organisations 'are not asked to conduct new services or assume new responsibilities but to increase their efforts by providing more services faster and to a broader population. During disaster recovery, NGOs [for purpose organisations] continue providing services and begin transitioning families back into the routine service delivery system' (p.363). They argue that the strong network of local contacts that these organisations maintain during routine service delivery enable them to activate and empower a range of groups to work collaboratively and effectively use community resources. Local community organisations that concentrate on delivering their core business will have a greater ability to remain adaptable and flexible in response to changing needs. They can also provide insight into community problems significantly improving the quality of the recovery process.

Telford et al. (2004) state that place-based community organisations that were permanently part of the community prior to Hurricane Mitch in 1998, were found to be more focused on community development and resilience building during both the response and recovery.

An example of this from the Australian context is the Blue Mountains Step by Step Program which saw Gateway Family Services (an existing local agency), funded to establish and deliver a support service following the 2013 bushfires in the area. In a report on their response, the following comment was made: 'Having a service that was set up, managed and resourced by an established local service assisted in terms of acceptance and take up of the service. Resources and administrative infrastructure were already established and available. When time is limited and immediate response is required, this aspect of service set-up was critical. (*Lessons Learned in Recovery: 2013 Blue Mountains Bush-fire Sub-Committee*, Mountains Community Resource Network, 2015, p 35)

Caniglia and Trotman (2011) exploring community development responses to recovery processes following the 2011 Brisbane floods, describe community organisations with traditional community development functions and with a history of employed specialist staff in designated community development roles, as quickly applying community development methods to the recovery task.

By way of example, the prompt and effective disaster risk management approach implemented by Māori in rebuilding Christchurch 'has acted as the genesis for increased engagement and collaboration between local Māori, regional civil authorities, government and private stakeholders who are engaged in civil/disaster preparedness planning and urban rebuilding in Christchurch.' (Kenney & Phibbs, 2015).

Emergent groups

US research has identified that despite the effort put into emergency planning, recovery planning lags in its response to unexpected community needs with the consequence that ad hoc processes are improvised. The disaster tends to disable normal bureaucratic structures and relationships and the established arrangements do not anticipate the full range of issues, or the diverse groups which existed in the community. It is inevitable that spontaneously generated organisations will emerge alongside the formal agencies and authorities. (McEntire, 2007, Phillips, 2009). This has been referred to as the 'Emergent Human Resources Model;' which posits that if emergent groups are integrated into the official management, they are likely to complement and compensate for the gaps in services owing to inadequate planning or preparation. 'New behaviours and organisational structures are likely to appear during the recovery period. Good planners, then, would be advised to do several things. First, they should draw in underrepresented groups and populations to reduce the number of unmet needs. Second, they should anticipate that emergence will occur and decide early on how to use those newly appearing entities as resources rather than as foes' (Phillips, 2009, p. 43). Further, engaging the community in recovery management brings social capital to the process and 'accumulates assets that can be directed towards recovery' (p. 406).

Their effectiveness of emergent groups however, is by no means a given. Simo and Bies (2007) in their examination of three areas that were severely affected by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in 2005 report that: 'Although some of these new entities proved to be innovative and filled important gaps, a number of respondents reported wariness and conflict in their interactions with the new agencies, viewing them with suspicion and questioning their motivation.'(p135).

Australian literature bringing a community perspective to the topic of emergent groups generally regards them as a positive feature of the recovery landscape, but they also report they can be regarded as an irritation by government authorities. (Barton, 2017, Leadbeater, 2013, McLennan, 2011, 2014, 2018, Moreton, 2018 and Taylor and Goodman, 2015).

Summary - Section 3.1.3

- There is a risk that government and recovery agencies will intervene with services not sensitively attuned to actual community needs but driven instead by policy and organisational considerations. They are at risk for being seen by the community as 'another problem' with consequent loss of credibility.
- Community organisations of all kinds will be important contributors to disaster recovery in terms of the services they provide and their relationships with community. This includes welfare and community development organisations as well as progress and business associations. Existing community-based organisations are best placed concentrating on their core business. Place-based organisations with a pre-existing community development mandate will be critical in working with communities using developmental approaches.
- Informal, spontaneous community groups are expected to emerge following the disaster. Unless they are engaged, supported and coordinated, they may become a complicating factor for recovery.
- The positive generative features of community networks should be nurtured and mobilised rather than diverted or blunted by bureaucratic demands.

Further questions – Section 3.1.3

- How can policy and planning more adequately reflect the critical role of liaison and establishing credibility and trust in the initial phase of the response?
- What approaches to organisational and community dynamics can be used to form durable working relationships between the various agencies, their personnel and community leaders?
- What sources of support are needed and are most appropriate to sustain place-based community organisations?
- How does government work with private/for profit organisations?
- How does government switch away from a normal business model of service delivery to one which is more collaborative, consultative and flexible?

3.1.4 Acting collaboratively

Cross-sector collaboration

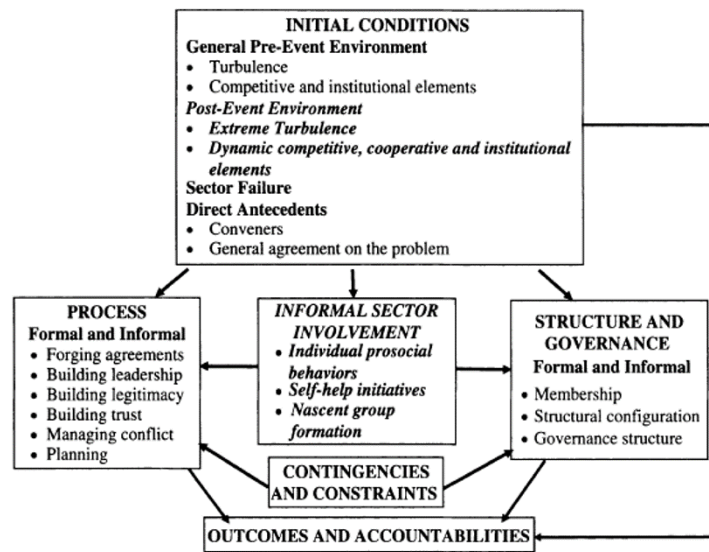
In their paper Simo and Bies (2007) apply a model of cross-sector collaboration developed by Bryson, Crosby, and Middleton Stone (2006). The model proposes that the formation of collaborations between formal sectors and informal groups is associated with the existence of one or more linking mechanisms, such as powerful sponsors, general agreement on the problem, or existing networks, combined with initial agreement on the problem definition.

The model outlines process aspects within collaborations: forging initial agreements; building leadership, legitimacy, and trust; managing conflict; and planning. The model emphasises formal and informal arrangements, albeit favouring formal agreements as ‘more helpful in fostering agreement purpose, resources, formal leadership, and decision making all of which lead naturally to the articulation of next steps and longer-term implementation strategies. (Bryson et al., in Simo and Bies, 2007, p134). A key point is the notion of informal and formal agreements that proactively move with needs and intentions.

A repertoire of formal and informal mechanisms is central to the effectiveness of Conn’s ‘space of possibilities’ and described by McLennan (2018) to suit the changing contexts, communities and circumstances as recovery progresses.

A corollary of this mix of formality and informality is the proposition that collaborations are ‘more likely to be successful if they are led by committed sponsors and champions who play both formal and informal leadership roles at multiple levels within the collaboration. (Bryson et al., in Simo and Bies, 2007, p134). Simo and Bies (2007) present case studies that demonstrate the soundness of the model as a starting point in approaching recovery and provides an in-depth understanding of collaboration during extreme events. See Figure 4.

Figure 4. An expanded framework for understanding cross-sector collaborations during extreme events



Source: Simo & Bies (2007) Adapted from Byson et al., (2006) author adaptations in italics.

Much might be learned by governments at all levels in Australia in relation to the context of relationships, negotiating partnerships and establishing and maintaining relational trust. However, Robinson and Gaddis (2012) caution that 'The literature on collaboration has not clearly distinguished between different types of collaboration'. There is a sense that "parallel play" represented by mere communication, information provision, or contact is not enough—even if frequent. It is much less clear what behaviours would constitute sufficiently close relationships to qualify as coproduction or joint decision making. Similarly, there is a sense that any collaborative relationship must be stable over time to be truly collaborative.' (p 260). They go on to suggest that disaster recovery networks may be too short-lived to qualify as collaboration.

Summary - Section 3.1.4

- Proactive collaboration models offer a greater likelihood of coordinated interventions to support the use of community-led approaches to disaster recovery.
- What constitutes collaboration is not clearly distinguished. Organisations may simply exhibit 'parallel play'.
- The literature on non-profit collaboration, collaboration under conditions of extreme events, and cross-sector collaboration might be linked to better inform collaboration in post disaster recovery.

Further questions – Section 3.1.4

- How is collaboration defined in terms of coproduction or joint decision making that can form the basis for effective government-community organisation-community cooperation?
- What pre-disaster preparatory work can be done to build cross-sector collaboration capacity?
- What structures are required to fast-track cross-sector collaboration once a disaster strikes?

-
- Do organisations have insufficient time working together to properly establish collaboration?

3.1.5 Building government capacity to act collaboratively

Challenges for government

While there is more to explore in terms of building government capacity to collaborate across government departments and tiers as well as with non-government organisations in the recovery context, this section will focus on government capacity building for community engagement and public participation.

The public policy literature describes considerable challenges for government officers implementing community engagement, even in routine times. These include reluctance to compromise their expertise by sharing power with individuals and communities (whose behaviours and analysis they may not trust) and anxiety arising from not meeting professional norms, breaching ethical standards or legal requirements of duty-of-care. (Holmes, 2011, Bovaird, 2007). Conn (2011) provides a sense of hope here in regard to routine functioning, citing USA research by Cooper et al. (2006) that supports the view that ‘active listening by bureaucrats’ and ‘deliberative approaches’ are needed to develop citizen trust in government which in turn can develop government trust in citizens. Bogdan (2017) quotes Weintrobe (2013) who ‘argues that it is critically important that people feel supported by those responsible for leading and shaping the communities in which they live’.

Holmes goes on to suggest however, that even those working in government, who take community engagement very seriously, may be uncertain of the support behind them. ‘They know that ‘gone pear-shaped’ is anathema to departmental heads and their political masters. Ministers are typically risk-averse and senior public officials are often cautious as a result.’ (Holmes, 2011, p 25).

This is echoed in disaster recovery literature, for example, Taylor and Goodman (2015) in their report on interviews with local government officers note that: ‘Several commented on the importance of Senior Leadership – having a supportive CEO and Council – ‘having hierarchy, structures and the key decision makers behind you’.(p 49)

Skill sets needed by government officers to enable and support collective self-efficacy and capacity

In her research which included the experience of government officials, Owen (2018) observes that ‘The majority of participants in this research, aside from those employed in emergency management, said ... Their understanding of recovery developed as they were immersed in the process. This included government participants who had been brought into a unit or taskforce from other government services after a disaster. (p 67).

Pagram (2011) in considering approaches to Australia’s recovery workforce suggested a list of common skill-sets and competencies matched to the National Recovery Principles and therefore pertinent to making the judgements and exercising the necessary flexibility to enable collaborative approaches. They are:

- Understanding broad context and strategy
- Complex thinking
- Leadership methods

- Coordination and planning
- Communication
- Capacity building and forward thinking (p28)

The need for a broad perspective and effective leadership skills is not radically different from other public administration activities, but the hazards faced are often far more dire and consequential.(Waugh and Streib, 2006).

O'Neill (2015) states that 'Government recovery personnel have to learn how not to be 'all knowing' and how to engage with communities as equal partners' (p.135). In a case study from India post the 2004 tsunami, Mulligan (2017) found the aptitudes on the part of 'external' relief and aid workers included above all 'patience and acute sensitivity to local circumstances'(Mulligan, 2017, p3).

Exploring beyond this to collaboration and engagement skills, the disaster recovery literature is relatively sparse on the detail.

Holmes (2011) states that the successful, citizen-focussed public servant will be one who 'can deploy the kind of relational and navigational skills and emotional intelligence that keeps engagement on track.' (p 31).

This is not just a matter of how personally savvy or professionally competent a public servant might be. The case studies described by Stewart (2009) in his work on routine community engagement, suggest that Australian public managers are not often in a situation in which they are able to choose their engagement strategy. 'The mandate and powers of their agency shape purpose and practice.'(p 61). Stewart goes on to reinforce the importance of dedicated and well skilled staff stating that 'Importantly, case studies have revealed that the skills and perseverance of on-the-ground public officials have been vital to achieving successful engagement outcomes. (p18).

Simo and Bies (2007) comment that 'While collaborative public management is recognised as a common and widespread practice, research on the skills necessary to manage and operate in collaborative settings lags practice. (p126). Nonetheless, there are well-established skills and techniques in achieving just these goals common to creative group processes (Block, 2008) - though they are not from the government service delivery sector.

In *The Skill Set of the Successful Collaborator* (O'Leary, Choi and Gerard 2012) which included a survey of 417 county emergency managers across the United States, conducted by McGuire and Silvia (2009, 2010) and Silvia and McGuire (2010), it was noted that among their most important findings that leaders in collaborative networks focus more on people-oriented behaviours and less on task-oriented behaviours when compared with traditional management or leadership. The attributes and skills they found to be key were:

Individual attributes	Open minded, patient, self-confident and risk-oriented, flexible, unselfish, persistent and diligent
Interpersonal skills	a good communicator, an excellent listener, and adept at working with people

Group process skills	facilitation, negotiation, collaborative problem solving, skills in group dynamics, compromise, conflict resolution, consensus building and mediation
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Conn (2011), speaking on the ‘routine’, suggests similar skills and reinforces that training ‘should reflect the distinct natures of the two systems, and their interactions’ and offers a *Starter Checklist for Policy and Training Development*. (p 11).

Summary - Section 3.1.5

- Government will need to build its own capacity to engage with the community in ways that maximise community leadership.
- Effective field officers and local decision makers need to be supported by managers, directors and CEO’s who understand and support the goals of collaboration with the community.
- The skill sets required are very broad as they need to support flexible and adaptive approaches that convey community self-efficacy.
- The generic fields of collaboration and community engagement offer a rich knowledge base for skill development.

Further questions – Section 3.1.5

- What are the pivotal aspects of the disaster recovery environment that government officers need to understand in order to adapt their ‘*business-as-usual*’ approach and be effective in community and stakeholder engagement during disaster recovery?
- Should skill development be differentiated by level of government or differentiated by recovery function?
- How can the goals and values, techniques of community collaboration be sufficiently conveyed to senior government managers and elected representatives for whom the disaster is only one of a number of competing demands on their time?
- Where local staff have the skills to do the engagement, how can the stress and time demands be managed to allow them to use the cognitive and emotional skills necessary to practice these in a creative manner?
- To what extent would generic skills in collaboration and community engagement require adaptation to the circumstances disaster recovery?

3.2 Government sharing responsibility and power

Leadbeater (2013) asserts that ‘the role of recovery agencies or government should not be to take over, but to address any gaps if required’. (p 45). This suggests that government’s role extends to sharing responsibility and power when supporting collective self-efficacy and community capacity alone is insufficient to coordinate recovery.

Ostrom (1996) describes sharing responsibility as occurring ‘when multiple parties have obligations with respect to the same goal, outcome or field of action. Another way to say this is that responsibility is shared any time there is collective action. Broadly speaking, collective action occurs when a group, whether of individuals or organisations, works together to achieve a mutual goal’.

The following sections consider what the literature says about:

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- the impact of disaster on communities and their ability to share responsibility
 - approaches to community engagement
 - what recovery governance looks like and how it's constructed
 - how funding impacts recovery
 - the contributions that governments can make in evaluating their role in recovery.

3.2.1 *Is there a right time to engage with community after disaster?*

In her recount of the community recovery from the 1983 Ash Wednesday Bushfires, Morna Kenworthy, a survivor and community leader in the local area, reflected: '...no-one can take away our right to make our own decisions or to interfere with those we have made...we don't need everything done for us, as we are neither useless nor helpless. We want to help ourselves and play a part in helping the community. All we need is a bit of a hand to kick us off and some support along the way...A chance to tell you our problems before you come up with your solution.' (Kenworthy, 2007).

Johnson et al (2012) and Bogdan (2017) point out the work of Ward et al. (2008), and of Gordon (2008) and Spee (2008) and recommend caution in engaging the community in recovery decisions when they are under stress: 'While authorities are under immense pressure to start community engagement processes immediately, research indicates that involving communities in complex decision-making processes immediately after a disaster event can be problematic, because those most impacted may have the least capacity (in terms of time, energy, finances, and emotional reserves) to participate in constructive ongoing dialogue about long-term solutions' (Bogdan, 2017). In addition, negative interaction can trigger further trauma. (Gordon, 2004)

However, Millen (2011) specifically suggests that deliberative decision-making might help communities to 'devolve efficiently from the hyperconnected, hyperaware emergency response state' and might 'serve as a protective mechanism against conflict and division in recovery'.

Johnston et al. (2012) in examining the role of reducing anxiety and trauma in communities during two New Zealand earthquakes describe the role of psychologists' meetings with communities as early interventions with the purpose of supporting people to get their own experiences in perspective; to talk over techniques for helping others; and to enquire about the kind of personal reactions – that might arise among survivors in the near future for which they might have to prepare themselves. 'The meetings were not lectures or presentations, but open-ended question and answer sessions where people could ask anything they liked.' 'The meetings were found to be most useful immediately after the event itself, when people had the most unanswered questions.'

Taylor and Goodman (2015) also highlight the importance of 'collective sense making' in the post-disaster environment through community gathering and opportunities for conversations and discourse.

In determining local capabilities, consideration of the community's experience of participatory decision-making processes prior to an event is an integral part of the social infrastructure mapping process. For example, Johnson et al (2012) suggest that

communities are more likely to find post-disaster processes less stressful where experience of similar participatory decision making processes exist.

Love and Vallance (2014) found in their research regarding the earthquake recovery process in New Zealand that communities are not always willing or able to participate. Their research suggests that different communities may wish to participate in decision making at different levels. Community members typically indicated that the organisation with the responsibility for the implementation and long term sustainability of projects should be responsible for decision making but that community have a vital role to play in the planning.

Davidson et al. (2007), in looking at the involvement of community members in post-disaster rebuilding internationally also warn that, although there is often a desire and intent to engage with the community, 'this level of participation is rarely obtained and the capabilities of the users are often significantly wasted.'

Cox and Perry (2011) state that their research indicated the need for work to be done at the policy level on how to better develop and utilise an intentional and deliberate engagement process with affected individuals that is mindful of the disorienting effects of the disaster as well as the influx of both workers and resources.

Summary - Section 3.2.1

- Individuals and communities affected by disaster will be potentially sensitive to engagement processes. Their availability for participation cannot be assumed and will vary from community to community and from event to event.
- Failure to engage is likely to have greater adverse consequences than premature engagement, provided those undertaking the process are sensitive and responsive to the actual needs and capacities of the community.
- Creating opportunities for people to come together will contribute to 'collective sense making' as a step towards deeper engagement when the community is ready for it.
- Experience to date suggests there is still a need to develop policies, techniques and skills for engagement of affected community members.
- Engagement needs to be based on a recognition of existing community capacity and the systems and resources able to contribute to recovery.

Further questions – Section 3.2.1

- What techniques are available to manage early engagement?
- How do we better understand the decisions that must be made now and the decisions that can wait until the community is more ready?
- Can support techniques be integrated with engagement processes so that community members feel the engagement is an asset for recovery rather than another burden?

3.2.2 Approaches to community engagement

This review found little research into the effectiveness of community engagement methodologies applied to disaster recovery, a finding echoed in Johnson & Mamula-Seadon, (2014). There has been consideration more generally of the potential application of deliberative processes to post-disaster community engagement (Millen, 2011), discussed below.

The non-disaster literature describes various community engagement models, some of which are designed to tackle the most intractable of social problems. Many of these, such as collective impact (Cabaj & Weaver, 2016), asset or strengths based community development (ABCD) ((Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) and the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) spectrum each have detailed processes that claim to deliver genuine participation and sustainable community outcomes.

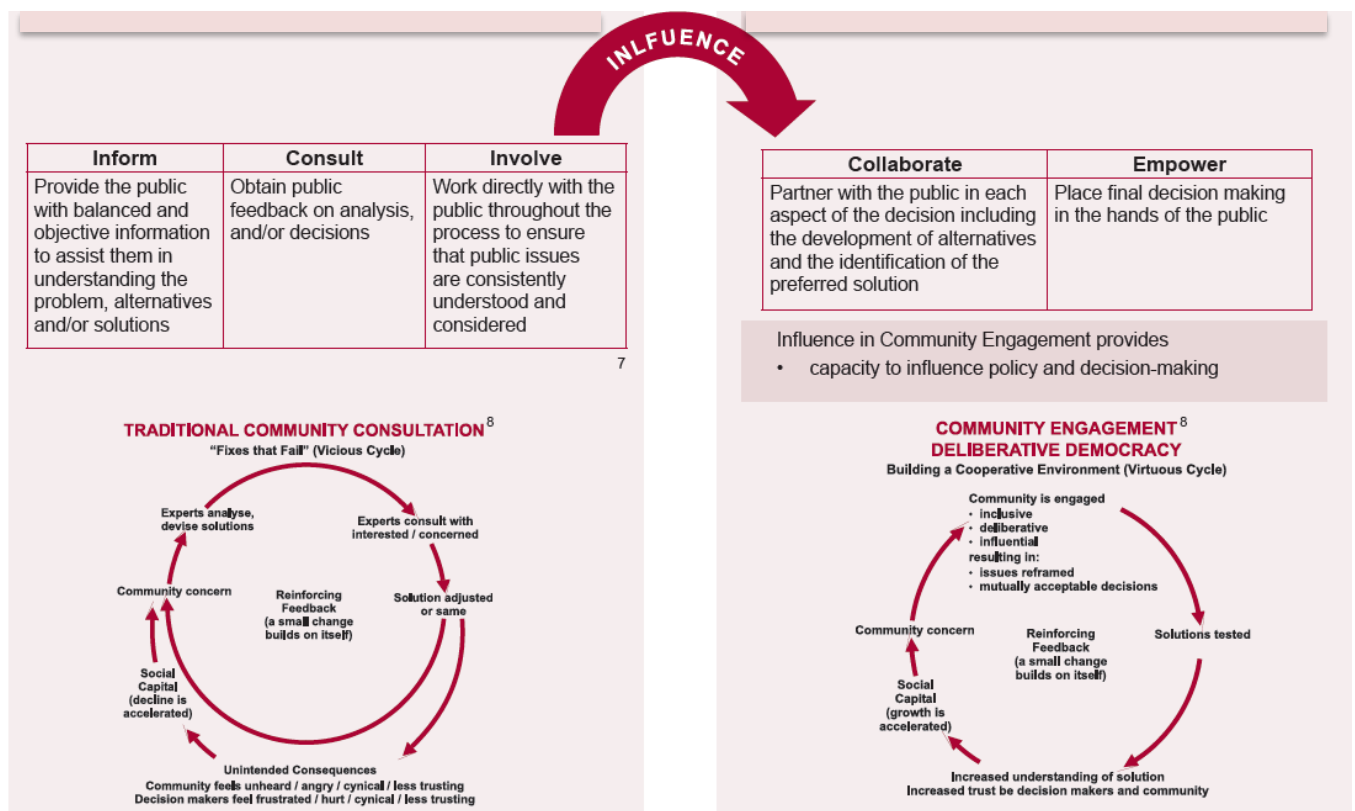
IAP2 spectrum and deliberative processes

The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) spectrum is a model used commonly in Australia in routine times that provides different levels of engagement relevant to ‘using community-led approaches’. Elements of IAP2 that influence from the public are

- Collaborate: To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.
- Empower: Place the final decision making in the hands of the public.

The IAP2 levels are depicted in Figure 4 with particular emphasis on Collaborate and Empower as bringing stronger deliberative methods to community engagement. (Note, in routine times all levels are considered legitimate, as long as they are fit for purpose for the circumstances.)

Figure 4. IAP2 components associated with successful deliberative processes



Extract from: *Building Bridges; From Community Consultation to Community Engagement*, Hartz-Karp, 2013). Available at <http://21stcenturydeliberation.com/> (last accessed 30 December 2018)

This work is underpinned by the view that successful deliberative processes depend on three elements:

- **influence** - the process should have the genuine ability to influence policy and decision-making;
- **inclusion** - the process should be representative, inclusive and encourage equal opportunity to participate; and
- **deliberation** - the process should provide open discussion, access to information and movement towards consensus. (Carson and Hartz-Karp, 2005)

Millen (2011) in his literature review exploring the potential for deliberative methods to be used in managing disaster recovery, including consideration of the work of Carson and Hartz-Karp (2005), concluded that deliberative methods provide an effective mechanism for strengthening communities through engagement in decision making. He describes deliberative methods as a non-political means for facilitating long-term planning for sustainability and disaster resilience, in a manner that best serves the community. Deliberative methods support the building of community resilience in terms of strengthening social networks and partnerships, knowledge sharing, and understanding risk and vulnerability. (p 16).

Millen provides a case study of deliberative process exhibited in Cedar Rapids (USA) Neighbourhood Reinvestment Action Plans, which were developed following severe flooding to the city in 2008. He describes the city hosting three 'open house' meetings to commence planning attended by 2,860 people, just four days after the peak of the flood. Subsequent planning involved 1,400 residents in eight community meetings and workshops developing ideas and plans to guide redevelopment over the following 10 to 15 years. (p 13).

Millen (2011) also uses as a case study a paper by Wilson (2009) which is a report on, Community Congress II, a deliberative engagement event designed and conducted by America Speaks over 12 months after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. The event brought together over 2500 New Orleanians linked electronically across five different cities plus smaller satellite sites in 15 diaspora communities across the US. Through her direct observations at the event; pre- and/or post-event interviews with key stakeholders; exit surveys with attendees and post-event focus group, Wilson was able to resoundingly acknowledge the value of the day. She observed that public deliberation 'does more than provide reasoned public input into difficult policy decisions. It does more than legitimate new public initiatives. It can foster social trust and social healing across the divides of race, culture, and wealth.' (Wilson, 2009, pp 20-21).

However, Wilson also reported that the benefits would only be sustained if they were reinforced by an institutional infrastructure of civic engagement. This did not occur in a timely manner prompting her to comment that 'A civic engagement strategy for long term disaster recovery is as necessary as an investment strategy. With a strategic framework, an institutional infrastructure for civic engagement can evolve gradually through city-launched prototypes. Deliberative democracy is not a series of ad hoc events. It is a way of governance'. ((Wilson, 2009, p 22).

Asset Based Community Development applied to disaster recovery

In a review of the recovery following East Gippsland bushfires in 2014, Scott et al commenting on an attempt to apply the ABCD model, reported the 'project developed differently in each of the fire-affected communities and was modified from the generic ABCD approach' and 'The traditional asset mapping that underpins ABCD was not undertaken.' They cite Handmer (2003) who notes that while assets such as networks and linkages can be mapped under routine conditions, during a crisis, emergent networks may be more critical, but are not easily mapped.

Instead, Scott et al. (2018) describe 'an iterative process of identifying assets emerging. For example, in Glenaladale, as ideas emerged to move the community forward, the facilitator worked with the project group to identify specific tasks and the skills and assets that were needed. The project group members identified where those skills and assets might be sourced, with the facilitator encouraging the group to enhance their own capacities and skills. Nonetheless, in concluding the authors express the view that the application of the ABCD approach to post- disaster recovery and community resilience-building demonstrates a promising method for community-directed recovery.

Building engagement capacity

Graham (2011) argues that 'empowering community organisations that exist to serve the community all the time (not just in times of disasters) is the most effective sustainable platform for disaster resilient communities.' However, although they have already existing community linkages, credibility and local knowledge, they may need support and guidance to move beyond their traditional roles. In this case consistent with Olshansky and Johnson (2014), government can be best served facilitating access to consultation, training and logistical support rather than deliver services.

At the practice level, these studies show the importance of identifying knowledge to be developed to understand the highly focussed and perhaps distressed state of mind of affected community members. It needs to be balanced by recognising distress is alleviated by constructive initiatives addressing the causes of the distress and being active rather than passive. Timing is critical and engagement might focus on immediate needs and developing a community consultation structure and when possible broader issues can be tackled. These are issues of technique in engagement rather than simple questions of whether it should happen or not. Bogdan (2017) warns that 'the types of engagement formats and tools used, and when, should be given special consideration'. (p 5).

Summary - Section 3.2.2

- There is a body of knowledge about specific models of community engagement that have been developed and applied in specific instances of social problems but they are largely untested in post-disaster circumstances.
- There is some evidence of the successful application of deliberative processes during recovery where community participated in decision making about recovery.
- At the same time there is plentiful evidence of the persisting stress, resentment and disempowerment felt when some form of deliberative process is not applied.

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- Models of community engagement need to be adapted to fit the particular circumstances of disaster affected communities. Even in the same event, different communities require adaptation of any general strategies to their specific circumstances.
 - While empowering existing community organisations is found to be effective, the impact of the event on local workers needs to be sensitively evaluated and they may need support to carry out their work.

Further questions – Section 3.2.2

- What and how can community engagement with communities affected by disaster learn from generic community engagement and social participation models be adapted to the disaster recovery context?
- What are the possible pitfalls of applying generic models that assume intact social systems to communities where these are in a state of disruption?
- What are the relative advantages of applying a conceptual model with which local people may not be familiar, versus prioritising the establishment of trusting, credible relationships between affected community members and government representatives?
- How can the demands for urgent decisions be balanced with the need to take time to inform long-term decisions?
- Can a strategic model be developed that allows for individualised approaches for each community and an iterative process whereby decisions can be reviewed and adjusted to changing circumstances?

3.2.3 Constructing an architecture of governance

Engaging and empowering those in recovery

Glavovic (2014) describes governance as more than government. 'It is about making social choices and raises the question: How should key actors in government work together with key actors in the private sector and civil society to resolve societal problems?... What constitutes appropriate modalities of recovery governance will vary from place to place. The challenge is to construct an architecture of recovery governance that engages and empowers those in recovery; this is a monumental but crucial challenge for all in pressure cooker situations.' (p 208).

Smart (2012) argues that good recovery institutions will provide the 'adaptive capacity' that enables communities to recover. This is achieved by having flexible governance arrangements, institutional learning before and after disasters, strong community engagement and building good relationships between the institution and local government and community.

During the large and complex recovery processes in New Zealand following the Canterbury earthquakes, the Canterbury Earthquake Reconstruction Authority (CERA) responded flexibly to criticism of a lack of engagement by increasing the number of local workshops and broadening the community consultation process (Johnson and Mamula-Seadon, 2014).

In her 2017 report on CERA to the New Zealand Parliament, Controller and Auditor General, Provost responds to the need for flexibility and adaptation expressing the view that:

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- Governance arrangements need to be reviewed for each phase of the recovery and when activities change. This will ensure that governance arrangements are fit for purpose to deliver the recovery agency's outputs and outcomes in the most effective and efficient way. Particular attention needs to be given to the clarity of role definition between the responsibilities of governance and management at both an organisational and project level.
 - To ensure that decisions are made at the right level, there needs to be an agreed process for making timely decisions about the recovery. For example, strategic decision-making should be separate from operational decision-making.
 - Skills and capabilities need to be regularly assessed during the different phases of the recovery so that the recovery agency has the right skills for the tasks at hand. It is important that a recovery agency has strong programme management and commercial skills, particularly in the reconstruction and regeneration phases of recovery. (Office of the Controller and Auditor-General (OAG), 2017, p61).

In examining the role and success of recovery management organisations created by national and state governments in nine different countries, Johnson and Olshansky (2013) found that the most successful 'focus on:

- managing financial flows efficiently, effectively, and equitably;
- gathering and disseminating information so as to enhance decision making by all the recovery actors;
- building capacity for long-term recovery through collaboration and coordination among local groups and multiple levels of government; and
- balancing time constraints by meeting immediate needs while also capitalising on opportunities for long-term betterment' (Olshansky and Johnson, 2014, p.295).

Participation vs rhetoric

There has been a rising emphasis in the theory and practice of public administration over the last few decades in Australia, with placing individuals and communities at the centre of policymaking and service design, 'not just as target, but also as agent' (Holmes, 2011).

This is reflected in statements of commitment to community engagement found throughout all tiers of government in Australia, including explicitly within the disaster recovery domain. Indeed, the community-led principle and the emergence of the idea of 'shared responsibility' in the disaster recovery field can be understood as manifestations of these influences - alongside a recognition that government actually cannot do it all and do it without the community itself (see the 2011 National Strategy for Disaster Resilience).

However, according to public policy literature and specifically disaster recovery literature there is considerable variation in the extent to which the rhetoric of community engagement matches the reality (Head, 2011). McLennan and Handmer (2012) talk about the historical propensity for communities to be seen as targets of agency-led campaigns 'rather than co-implementers or goal-setters', while Leadbeater (2013), Barton (2017) and Taylor and Goodman (2015) all describe wide gaps between government policy on community engagement and actual events as they unfolded.

Equity and inclusion

A critical element of 'community' is an appreciation of the inherent diversity and complexity of the people and groups who are likely to find themselves in the geographical footprint of a disaster event. Those who are most disadvantaged and vulnerable prior to the disaster are typically impacted to a greater extent and for a longer period of time (Mutch and Marlowe, 2013, Hawkins and Maurer, 2010, Jacob et al., 2008, Berke and Beatley, 1997, Peacock et al., 1997).

Park and Miller (2006) assert that responding to disaster in a neutral fashion not only leaves the pre-existing social inequality undisturbed but it will be further reinforced. For example, lower income groups typically have less say in recovery decision making unless explicitly included in decision making processes (Olshansky, 2006).

Inclusion in community engagement therefore needs to take into account the span of people affected and allow for the potential diversity. Johnson et al. (2012) state that '... community diversity (e.g. demographics, experience, community characteristics) has a significant influence on how communities confront recovery issues, their ability to use resources to meet their own needs and their ability to use their experience to develop future resilience (Paton, 2006).

The emphasis on complexity in this review brings challenges to conceptualising an architecture of governance. This is because models of governance might normally suggest linear models based on the assumption of rational communication processes, which may not reflect the actual phenomena in disrupted communities. (Gordon, 2004, 2005, 2006). Therefore, engagement and deliberative approaches need to reflect the complexity of the social constructs in the way they are designed and planned.

This review did not encounter research in disaster recovery applying these concepts. However there is a growing literature applying complexity non-linear dynamics and chaos theory to family systems (Bütz, 1997, Kossman and Bullrich, 1998), group processes (Burlingame, Furhiman and Barnum, 1995, Bütz, 1997, Brabender 1998, Stacey, 2006) and organisational processes (Guestello, Dooley and Gledstein, 1995, Bütz, 1997, Kerr, 2014) and communities (Bütz, 1997).

Summary - Section 3.2.3

- If recovery engagement is not done with a view to reaching the appropriate community systems, it is ineffective and evokes criticism. The appropriate community systems to engage with continue to change during the recovery and need constant review.
- A foundation for community confidence to engage with approaches will be found in the adaptive governance arrangements implemented, including operational and strategic aspects such as effective and equitable financial management, gathering and disseminating information to enhance decision-making, building collaboration among local groups and government, and balancing meeting immediate needs with opportunities for long-term planning.
- Governance must reflect the complexity of the circumstances and the community and be alert to maximising participation for potentially marginalised or under-resourced groups.

Further questions – Section 3.2.3

- Are there specific approaches that might be adapted from generic participation resources that can facilitate the participation of hard to reach or other potentially marginalised groups?
- In particular, are there concepts and models from non-linear dynamics in complex systems that will help manage the complexity and instability of disaster recovery and meet the crucial need for information and coordination?
- What are the critical social systems and community structures that need to be engaged in governance?

3.2.4 Participation mechanisms

Many states and territories in Australia have set up structures for recovery, some of which are called Community Recovery Committees or Community Resilience Committees (CRC). The structure, membership and authority of these vary by jurisdiction and in the following example from Victoria, the CRC's have a history starting from Ash Wednesday (1983) and were a separate entity to the Local Government Recovery Committee. In describing the effectiveness of CRCs in relation to the Victoria 2009 bushfires, Taylor and Goodman (2015) note that considerable variation exists among local governments, and within communities, regarding views as to how well CRCs were established, recognised, resourced and worked with. Along with more constructive experiences, they report conflict on many issues between local governments and CRCs, including struggles for fundamental legitimacy and certainty over functions, roles, authority and accountability.

In addition, some CRCs were advisory only, while others had formal 'sign off' roles on many recovery projects. For advisory only CRCs this status reinforced a chasm between the government rhetoric of community-led recovery and the reality of few, if any, real decision-making opportunities. For genuine decision making CRCs the power this conferred was mixed, for example, chairpersons and members had unprecedented access to senior ministers and department heads, which many others experienced as unfair or harmful to their interests. They go on to describe onerous process and project timelines imposed on CRCs by state authorities which had a disproportionately high impact on ethical and conscientious CRC members, determined to operate as a 'good steward of community resources' but profoundly vulnerable to exhaustion and disillusionment.

This is consistent with the challenges Holmes (2012) describes for government officers attempting to broker outcomes between community and government agendas.

O'Neill (2015) commenting on the 2009 bushfires in Victoria observed that collaborative planning between government and community members was an effective mechanism to build a shared community vision but that there was resentment from those who felt that they had not been included in the process. O'Neill goes on to comment that it took up to five months to create the structures for effective engagement at the local level due to lack of policy and guidelines for this process prior to the fires. These 'improvised' mechanisms struggled to meet the necessary transparency and public accountability that was needed by the broader community.

These challenges are well known with some advocating for pre-disaster planning to be undertaken that will ultimately assist in managing post-disaster recovery (Leonard and Howitt, 2010, Ahlers et al., 2011). O'Neill (2015) lists some key areas worthy of

development prior to a disaster which include

- clear guidance and timelines on the establishment and structure of community recovery committees, including their term (interim or long term)
- guidance on the selection and deliberation on recovery projects
- clear guidance on how replacement and new infrastructure should be located post-disaster
- how to work with and strengthen community leadership
- the building of knowledge of psycho-social recovery processes amongst emergency management agencies, local government and other key professions.

CRC's are by no means the only mechanisms to be considered by government in enabling community participation in decision making. Section 2.2.2 describes other approaches implemented in other places, such as Cedar Rapids and New Orleans.

Practice from the humanitarian sector, which may be applicable to the Australian context, includes the use of community accountability frameworks. These are considered best practice in development programs. They consider all domains and involve community in the determination of process, boundaries and scope of projects that directly affect them. An example, is the Core Humanitarian Standard (CHS) Guidance Notes and Indicators, which sets out nine commitments and associated performance indicators, key actions and guidance notes. Commitment 6 is: *Communities and people affected by crisis receive coordinated, complementary assistance.* (p23)

International research on recovery also highlighted that effective recovery planning must consider in advance issues around community involvement, the provision of information and procedures for making recovery decisions. (Johnston et al., 2012).

Summary - Section 3.2.4

- Community Recovery Committees, in their various forms, provide examples of participation mechanisms, and importantly the form needs to be responsive to the current nature as well as the history of the community.
- The effectiveness of participation mechanisms depends on their capacity to mobilise the community to provide information about views and needs, discuss ideas and make shared decisions.
- Quality assurance or community accountability frameworks designed to support international aid programs may provide useful mechanisms for partnerships with the community.

Further questions – Section 3.2.4

- Are there other governance models that might be better suited to the dynamic environment and broad participation requirement in post disaster circumstances?
- How can the community members supporting engagement structures be aided in their activities?

3.2.5 Representation and authorisation

Government agencies play a key role in authorising and influencing inclusive representation (Aldrich and Meyer, 2014). 'Decision makers need to recognise the potential 'dark side' of social capital which can manifest as strong in-group cohesion during and after disasters' (p.9). There are a number of examples where particular groups controlled the access to aid or involvement in decision making.

Government's most tangible expressions of authorisation are often through the imprimatur it confers on mechanisms such as community recovery committees discussed above and through funding discussed at 3.2.6.

In approaches that share power, it is particularly important that authorisation is visible and that the community are genuinely engaged in transparent collaborative decision making and leadership that shapes, rather than just reacts to, citizens' preferences. For example, Taylor and Goodman (2015) observe that one of the issues that arose from their work was that of establishing authorising environments, that is, the formal or informal mechanisms that clarified role scope and accountability. They observe that 'whatever authorising environments were, or should be, they needed to be as close to the ground and as local and inclusive as possible' (Taylor and Goodman 2015, p 6).

Approaches to authorisation and representation from the community perspective can vary, for example, looking at case studies following the 2009 Victorian bushfires there are contrasting approaches:

- Strathewen's Community Renewal Association used a participatory model that put together rules for their newly incorporated association. Strathewen residents decided that criteria for membership should encompass 'whoever feels affected and gets some comfort'; that 'the connection is with "understanding" rather than with "geography"'. In relation to authorisation this group made the distinction between 'being a group that represents a community and an association that is responsible and accountable to its members'.(Leadbeater, 2013)
- The Nillumbik Bushfire Social and Health Alliance group in Victoria brought together a group of formal and informal programs and agencies, and community members, to explore concerns and craft mutually reinforcing actions.

In Tasmania, with their response to the 2006 East Coast Tasmanian Bushfires, jointly agreed criteria for community projects and initiatives and the skill of the independent broker (Community Recovery Officer) enabled the collaborative governance of the available funding for community projects (Australia Red Cross, 2007).

Summary - Section 3.2.5

- Community Recovery Committees provide an example of participation mechanisms, but the form is less critical than the mechanisms ability to mobilise the community's capacity to discuss ideas and make shared decisions.
- Sound governance includes as a critical element the need for wide community participation in idea generation and decision making.

Further questions – Section 3.2.5

- Are there governance frameworks that work in different socio-cultural contexts?
- How can governance frameworks provide multiple entry points and options for people to engage in different degrees about different issues to reflect the complexity of the community and the circumstances?

3.2.6 Funding processes

Recovery funding is typically seen as crucial to recovery but is most effective when it allows for local flexibility (Olshansky, 2006). The recovery strategy that community members will tend to adopt will depend on the resources that they can access (Chamlee-Wright & Storr, 2011). This reinforces the importance of having resources and implies that the sharing of power and using community-led approaches in decisions regarding the allocation of funding are critical aspects of recovery.

The financial paradox

One of the challenges that face governments in relation to disaster recovery funding is the 'financial paradox' in that 'money is most readily available during the first six months, but it is needed later on, once needs become clear' (Olshansky, 2005, p.10).

In Australia, the presence of community foundations and philanthropic organisations such as the Foundation for Rural & Regional Renewal (FRRR) and Australian Red Cross through their appeal fund involvement, not to mention many church based organisations or unaffiliated community based organisations, offer mechanisms that might enable community voice and agency in the allocation of funding over the longer term.

This can be perceived as a risk to government accountability as it operates between government and community in the space of possibilities. (Conn, 2011). Setting up sound governance frameworks that involve community representation or leadership, and ongoing support for the capacity and capabilities required in communities, is critical to the management of this type of funding for community purposes. (FRRR, 2015).

Implications of funding, donations and other assistance for communities

In studying the effectiveness of local recovery following Hurricane Katrina, Weil found that the bureaucratic reporting requirements of government funding increased the burden to local organisations and reduced their effectiveness (Weil, 2013). Some community groups may not have the accounting and project management infrastructure or the capacity to enable the level of accountability for the significant funds that may be involved in recovery.

Wells et al. (2013) in their work on community engagement for improving mental health services, disaster recovery, and preparedness in Los Angeles County and the City of New Orleans observed that government often preferred to provide funding to large organisations with a solid financial track record. However, this may not always align with the good practice of funding local organisations with existing relationships within the community. They go on to comment though that funding can be supported by building capacity and capability in local organisations, as was done successfully in some communities during the Hurricane Katrina recovery process.

Simo and Bies (2007) commenting also on recovery following Hurricane Katrina, note that organisations that emerged as key linking mechanisms, enjoyed both legitimacy and a strong existing network. For example, one organisation received funding from federal and private sources and offered technical support, strategic planning assistance, and mini-grants to the nine neighbourhood projects they supported prior to the disaster event.

Graham (2015) in her Churchill Fellowship Report visiting the UK, USA, Canada and New Zealand, notes that both government and non-government agencies tend to focus funding on top down approaches that are focussed on a faster recovery. This can provide political leaders and media in particular with unhelpful expectations of recovering communities, and counter the ability to implement mechanisms for community to lead.

The recent update to government funding arrangements, the Disaster Recovery Funding Arrangements, that are shared through Australian Government and State government cost sharing arrangements for eligible disasters, appear on face value to be able to provide greater near term financial certainty and forward prediction of 'estimates' to the federal and state governments. (Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs, 2018). However, the implications of this new policy in terms of the speed of recovery, sharing responsibility and its impact on supporting government to use community-led approaches is yet to be revealed.

Summary - Section 3.2.6

- Funding policies with tight timelines can force the pace of recovery and a top down approach to decision-making and prioritising.
- Funding community organisations because they are larger with well-established financial management systems is problematic if they are not close to the community and aware of its needs.
- Government policy about funding and accountability can seriously overburden community groups that have inadequate time and expertise to meet the demands and timelines.

Further questions – Section 3.2.6

- Can policies be developed that make funding responsive to recovery processes rather than forcing recovery pace to meet financial deadlines?
- What are the most appropriate arrangements for financial governance and accountability in a complex environment where the current situation is not necessarily a good guide to what will be needed in a future time?

3.2.7 Measuring progress collectively

The rather large questions regarding 'how well was recovery done?', 'how efficient?', 'how effective?' 'is the community recovered?' 'what does recovery mean and in which areas' and 'who can legitimately assess this?' is of particular relevance to the effectiveness of governments role in recovery coordination while using community led approaches.

The case for measuring progress towards recovery is clear (Berke et al 2015, Abramson et al 2010, Garnet and Moore 2010) and Australia has recently developed and piloted a national Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Framework for Recovery (Agyrous and Verlin,

2018). This framework is being used to evaluate and collect data on government run or initiated recovery programs.

In relation to supporting the use of community-led approaches to recovery, the M&E Framework is based on the National Principles for Disaster Recovery (Social Recovery Reference Group 2018) and the principles in Community Development in Recovery from Disaster (Emergency Management Australia 2003). Therefore at the core of the program logic depicting what it takes to achieve 'successful' recovery community-led processes feature prominently (see p19 of the M&E Framework). The framework details the broad overarching outcomes of any recovery program as achieving a sustainable and a resilient community. These terms are defined as follows:

1. A sustainable community has the capability to manage its own recovery, without government disaster-related assistance. In other words, if government disaster-related programs are withdrawn, the recovery process in a sustainable community will continue; the gains achieved during the government-assisted phase will not stop or reverse.
2. A resilient community is better able to withstand future disaster. A successful recovery process 'promotes practices that minimise the community's risk to all hazards and strengthens its ability to withstand and recovery from future disaster, which constitutes a community's resilience' (FEMA, 2011, National Disaster Recovery Framework, p11).

It should be noted that within the framework, under the suggested social domain, resilience outcomes include social connection and capacity but do not specifically mention active participation in decision-making. This would arguably strengthen the focus.

On the other hand, the framework articulates governance arrangements that are understood as critical activities for achieving community-led recovery. *Section 5.2.2 Community Engagement* describes how affected communities must be involved in the governance of the recovery programs and suggest as a key evaluation questions: '*How appropriately did the engagement process draw from the community to ensure the community was integral to the recovery process?*' (p 34).

In summary, the national Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Recovery provides a sound framework for indicating the extent to which the community-led principle is being actively pursued by disaster recovery programs. An architecture for capturing these lessons at a national level has been built and jurisdictions are working to develop capability to use this as a way of capturing learnings for continuous improvement.

Summary - Section 3.2.7

- The literature and reports surveyed for this report strongly argue for sound governance processes that include using community-led approaches, supporting the sustainability and resilience of communities as defined in the national Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Recovery.
- The national Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Recovery provides a sound framework for indicating the extent to which the community-led principle is being actively pursued by disaster recovery programs.

Further questions – Section 3.2.7

- What sort of investment will be required to enable the lessons from disaster recovery experiences and evaluation findings to be captured and disseminated to improve future disaster recovery?
- How can the process of evaluation reflect a collaborative ‘whole of community’ approach and be integrated at the local level to involve community based organisations that might be working with government agencies from the beginning of recovery?
- When is the right time to work on setting up evaluation of recovery: in the routine environment in preparation for disaster, and/or in the initial stages after disaster?

4. Summary of findings from this review of the literature and areas for further investigation

4.1 Summary of findings

The case for using community-led approaches is clear in the research, what is less clear is how government might best foster and enable these approaches. The following summary of findings is drawn from the key summary points in each section of the review.

2.1 Government role in disaster recovery

- Government's role in recovery can be considered as it is in routine societal functioning to be two-fold: the provision of social interactions with the potential for building relational trust and confidence in the future; and, the provision of the necessary goods and services to enable a viable level of functioning to return.

2.2 Using community-led approaches and coordinating recovery

- The literature defines disasters as 'non-routine social problems' and identifies principle risks that complicate recovery after disasters including issues of interdependence, social power's influence in defining the issues and how this changes over the course of recovery..

2.3 The social system and disaster recovery

- The literature offers a view of community as a complex social system, which, when impacted by disaster undergoes rapid change that is fluid, dynamic, variable within the community and between communities, has different trajectories, a multitude of actors and multiple potential outcomes. The disaster disrupts the implicit social order which is maintained by the common values and activities of the community members and normal routines are replaced by improvised responses to immediate needs.
- The intersection of the vertical formal system of government and the horizontal informal system of communities is a *space of possibilities*, where government agencies interact and share responsibility with communities in routine circumstances. However, since it is only the community members who carry the collective knowledge and understand what the community was and could be it is a potential space in which community-led recovery can occur in the 'non-routine' circumstances of disaster recovery.
- The theory and practice of 'linking social capital,' which is a resource deriving from the knowledge and relationships held by community members, is directly applicable to government using community-led approaches, with the power differences between partners requiring conscious recognition as part of the relationship.

How can government foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while maintaining effective coordination?

3.1.1 If, when and how to act

- Government can feel pressure to intervene quickly but should be cautious to act without thorough engagement with the community
- Affected communities should be given the opportunity, time and support to determine when and how they make decisions about their future.

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- When government has to step in immediately to respond to, provide relief for and begin recovery from a disaster, it must ensure that its early presence and engagement is positive and builds a foundation of trust.
 - ‘Holding the space’ allows communities to ease the immediate pressures of decision making and take time to consider information and options.

3.1.2 Acting with local leaders

- Local leaders are critical to positive recovery outcomes. They provide energy, inspiration and a buffer/bridge between government and the community. Ultimately the role of leaders is to restore to the community its own voice.
- Legitimate, authentic and capable local leadership is likely to emerge from local communities following a disaster and communities might need time for these leaders to be identified.
- Leaders might be found in diverse existing social structures and networks or might be new to this role.
- Leaders will require assistance to lead effectively, including information, logistical support and knowledge of service systems.
- Leaders might be under considerable stress as they deal with the demands of leadership. Their contribution may come at considerable cost to themselves, personally, emotionally and socially. Care is needed to consider their welfare as part of the role.

3.1.3 Acting with community organisations

- There is a risk that government and recovery agencies will intervene with services not sensitively attuned to actual community needs but driven instead by policy and organisational considerations. They are at risk for being seen by the community as ‘another problem’ with consequent loss of credibility.
- Community organisations of all kinds will be important contributors to disaster recovery in terms of the services they provide and their relationships with community. This includes welfare and community development organisations as well as progress and business associations. Existing community-based organisations are best placed concentrating on their core business. Place-based organisations with a pre-existing community development mandate will be critical in working with communities using developmental approaches.
- Informal, spontaneous community groups are expected to emerge following the disaster. Unless they are engaged, supported and coordinated, they may become a complicating factor for recovery.
- The positive generative features of community networks should be nurtured and mobilised rather than diverted or blunted by bureaucratic demands.

3.1.4 Acting collaboratively

- Proactive collaboration models offer a greater likelihood of coordinated interventions to support the use of community-led approaches to the coordination of disaster recovery.
- What constitutes collaboration is not clearly distinguished. Organisations may simply exhibit ‘parallel play’.

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- The literature on non-profit collaboration, collaboration under conditions of extreme events, and cross-sector collaboration might be linked to better inform collaboration in post disaster recovery.

3.1.5 Building government capacity to act collaboratively

- Government will need to build its own capacity to engage with the community in ways that maximise community leadership.
- Effective field officers and local decision makers need to be supported by managers, directors and CEO's who understand and support the goals of collaboration with the community.
- The skill sets required are very broad as they need to support flexible and adaptive approaches that convey community self-efficacy.
- The generic fields of collaboration and community engagement offer a rich knowledge base for skill development.

Government sharing responsibility and power

3.2.1 Is there a right time to engage with community after disaster?

- Individuals and communities affected by disaster will be potentially sensitive to engagement processes. Their availability for participation cannot be assumed and will vary from community to community and from event to event.
- Failure to engage is likely to have greater adverse consequences than premature engagement, provided those undertaking the process are sensitive and responsive to the actual needs and capacities of the community.
- Creating opportunities for people to come together will contribute to 'collective sense making' as a step towards deeper engagement when the community is ready for it.
- Experience to date suggests there is still a need to develop policies, techniques and skills for engagement of affected community members.
- Engagement needs to be based on a recognition of existing community capacity and the systems and resources able to contribute to recovery.

3.2.2 Approaches to community engagement

- There is a body of knowledge about specific models of community engagement that have been developed and applied in specific instances of social problems but they are largely untested in post-disaster circumstances.
- There is some evidence of the successful application of deliberative processes during recovery where community participated in decision making about recovery.
- At the same time there is plentiful evidence of the persisting stress, resentment and disempowerment felt when some form of deliberative process is not applied.
- Models of community engagement need to be adapted to fit the particular circumstances of disaster affected communities. Even in the same event, different communities require adaptation of any general strategies to their specific circumstances.
- While empowering existing community organisations is found to be effective, the impact of the event on local workers needs to be sensitively evaluated and they may need support to carry out their work.

3.2.3 Constructing an architecture of governance

- If recovery engagement is not done with a view to reaching the appropriate community systems, it is ineffective and evokes criticism. The appropriate community systems to engage with continue to change during the recovery and need constant review.
- A foundation for community confidence to engage with approaches will be found in the adaptive governance arrangements implemented, including operational and strategic aspects such as effective and equitable financial management, gathering and disseminating information to enhance decision-making, building collaboration among local groups and government, and balancing meeting immediate needs with opportunities for long-term planning.
- Governance must reflect the complexity of the circumstances and the community and be alert to maximising participation for potentially marginalised or under-resourced groups.

3.2.4 Participation mechanisms

- Community Recovery Committee's in their various forms provide examples of participation mechanisms, and importantly the form needs to be responsive to the current nature as well as the history of the community.
- The effectiveness of participation mechanisms depends on its capacity to mobilise the community to provide information about views and needs, discuss ideas and make shared decisions.
- Quality assurance or community accountability frameworks designed to support international aid programs may provide useful mechanisms for partnerships with the community.

3.2.5 Representation and authorisation

- Community Recovery Committees provide an example of participation mechanisms, but the form is less critical than the mechanisms ability to mobilise the community's capacity to discuss ideas and make shared decisions.
- Sound governance structures do not replace the need for wide community participation in idea generation and decision making.

3.2.6 Funding processes

- Funding policies with tight timelines can force the pace of recovery and a top down approach to decision-making and prioritising.
- Funding community organisations because they are larger with well-established financial management systems is problematic if they are not close to the community and aware of its needs.
- Government policy about funding and accountability can seriously overburden community groups that have inadequate time and expertise to meet the demands and timelines.

3.2.7 Measuring progress collectively

- The literature and reports surveyed for this report strongly argue for sound governance processes that include using community-led approaches, supporting the sustainability and resilience of communities as defined in the national Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Recovery.
- The national Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Recovery provides a sound framework for indicating the extent to which the community-led principle is being actively pursued by government in disaster recovery programs.

4.2 Areas for further investigation

The following questions arose in response to the findings from each section of the review.

The social system and disaster recovery

- How do complexity models provide a basis to capture and understand the multiple interests and needs of a disrupted community in recovery?
- How does government as a whole invest in social capital and in particular, strengthening 'linking social capital'?
- What are the essential structures and supports that are central to maintaining social capital? Are they informal social relationships or can they be formalised and if so how?
- How can government foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while maintaining effective coordination?

How can government foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while maintaining effective coordination?

3.1.1 If, when and how to act

- How does government assure itself that 'not intervening' is acting in the best interests of the affected community as a whole?
- How does government convey this message to affected communities and the broader community?
- What can government do to assist in the revisiting and re-development of cohesive and inclusive community visions and support these process in fractured communities?

3.1.2 Acting with local leaders

- How does Government work with communities in the early days as community leaders are identified and community governance arrangements emerge?
- What might the literature on routine community governance have to contribute to this inquiry?
- Who determines the standing and accountability of leaders in the community and how can government link in to this to know who the legitimate leaders or representatives are, of either formal or informal groups?

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- How can we better understand the personal toll of disaster recovery on community leaders?
 - What sources of support are needed and are most appropriate to sustain community leaders and who might provide it?
 - What and how can leadership in disaster recovery learn from generic theories of leadership and leadership development?

3.1.3 Acting with community organisations

- How can policy and planning more adequately reflect the critical role of liaison and establishing credibility and trust in the initial phase of the response?
- What approaches to organisational and community dynamics can be used to form durable working relationships between the various agencies, their personnel and community leaders?
- What sources of support are needed and are most appropriate to sustain place-based community organisations?
- How does government work with private/for profit organisations?
- How does government switch away from a normal business model of service delivery to one which is more collaborative, consultative and flexible?

3.1.4 Acting collaboratively

- How is collaboration defined in terms of coproduction or joint decision making that can form the basis for effective government-community organisation-community cooperation?
- What pre-disaster preparatory work can be done to build cross-sector collaboration capacity?
- What structures are required to fast-track cross-sector collaboration once a disaster strikes?
- Do organisations have insufficient time working together to properly establish collaboration?

3.1.5 Building government capacity to act collaboratively

- What are the pivotal aspects of the disaster recovery environment that government officers need to understand in order to adapt their '*business-as-usual*' approach and be effective in community and stakeholder engagement during disaster recovery?
- Should skill development be differentiated by level of government or differentiated by recovery function?
- How can the goals and values, techniques of community collaboration be sufficiently conveyed to senior government managers and elected representatives for whom the disaster is only one of a number of competing demands on their time?
- Where local staff have the skills to do the engagement, how can the stress and time demands be managed to allow them to use the cognitive and emotional skills necessary to practice these in a creative manner?
- To what extent would generic skills in collaboration and community engagement require adaptation to the circumstances disaster recovery?

Government sharing responsibility and power

3.2.1 Is there a right time to engage with community after disaster

- What techniques are available to manage early engagement?
- How do we better understand the decisions that must be made now and the decisions that can wait until the community is more ready?
- Can support techniques be integrated with engagement processes so that community members feel the engagement is an asset for recovery rather than another burden?

3.2.2 Approaches to community engagement

- What and how can community engagement with communities affected by disaster learn from generic community engagement and social participation models be adapted to the disaster recovery context?
- What are the possible pitfalls of applying generic models that assume intact social systems to communities where these are in a state of disruption?
- What are the relative advantages of applying a conceptual model with which local people may not be familiar, versus prioritising the establishment of trusting, credible relationships between affected community members and government representatives?
- How can the demands for urgent decisions be balanced with the need to take time to inform long-term decisions?
- Can a strategic model be developed that allows for individualised approaches for each community and an iterative process whereby decisions can be reviewed and adjusted to changing circumstances?

3.2.3 Constructing an architecture of governance

- Are there specific tools that might be adapted from generic participation resources that can facilitate the participation of hard to reach or other potentially marginalised groups?
- In particular, are there concepts and models from non-linear dynamics in complex systems that will help manage the complexity and instability of disaster recovery and meet the crucial need for information and coordination?
- What are the critical social systems and community structures that need to be engaged in governance?

3.2.4 Participation mechanisms

- Are there other governance models that might be better suited to the dynamic environment and broad participation requirement in post disaster circumstances?
- How can the community members supporting engagement structures be aided in their activities?

3.2.5 Representation and authorisation

- Are there governance frameworks that work in different socio-cultural contexts?
- How can governance frameworks provide multiple entry points and options for people to engage in different degrees about different issues to reflect the complexity of the community and the circumstances?

3.2.6 Funding processes

- Can policies be developed that make funding responsive to recovery processes rather than forcing recovery pace to meet financial deadlines?
- What are the most appropriate arrangements for financial governance and accountability in a complex environment where the current situation is not necessarily a good guide to what will be needed in a future time?

3.2.7 Measuring progress collectively

- What sort of investment will be required to enable the lessons from disaster recovery experiences and evaluation findings to be captured and disseminated to improve future disaster recovery?
- How can the process of evaluation reflect a collaborative 'whole of community' approach and be integrated at the local level to involve community based organisations that might be working with government agencies from the beginning of recovery?
- When is the right time to work on setting up evaluation of recovery: in the routine environment in preparation for disaster, and/or in the initial stages after disaster?

4.3 Reflections on applying lessons from the literature to the Australian context

The following reflection is provided based on a study of the literature in this review. It is intended to prompt reflection and discussion and is not framed as advice.

While much is written extolling community-led approaches to disaster recovery, the literature suggests that the experience for communities remains variable at best.

A new relationship

This review explores disaster recovery as a non-linear, chaotic process that disrupts communities, which are already complex systems. This new complexity demands recovery policies that adapt to the fact that routine systems based on established relationships and ways of doing business will not be able to respond with sufficient sensitivity and flexibility to community needs. Consequently, if government is to foster and support community-led approaches while still maintaining effective coordination, it needs to establish its competence in this environment and a new relationship with the community that is distinguished from the pre-disaster relationship. This relationship needs to be formed in the early weeks and become the basis for future relationships.

The following features of this new relationship emerge from the literature:

- Early engagement is open, promotes trusting relationships that are responsive to community strengths and views and provide opportunities for government to explain its actions.
- Personnel deployed to communities require appropriate training in engagement and personal attributes suited to engagement.
- The community requires frequent and open updates on government actions and must be shown that not only are they listened to but that where possible their requests will be responded to.
- Discussion on any processes for establishing recovery governance should occur at a rate that accords with community readiness. Ideally this is planned for in the routine environment (prior to the chaos of disaster).
- It is important that emergent groups are engaged, supported and treated with respect.
- Priorities for coordination in recovery must be responsive to community priorities and linked with the community being or becoming sustainable and resilient.
- Inclusive community engagement and effective representation in idea generation and planning is particularly critical over issues of central concern relating to community history, identity and future.
- As well as planning, decision-making and governance, a variety of other community engagement activities are needed that allow informal interaction for communities to process information and working through what is happening to them.

A way forward

The literature found a bounty of evidence of inadequate alignment between community expectations and government interventions. This accords with the paucity of clearly documented models that articulate how government might support community-led approaches while still maintaining effective coordination.

This suggests two potential ways forward:

1. Firstly, to acknowledge that the complexity and uniqueness of each community and the nature of the disaster itself, means that formulating a purpose-built recovery model might lack the sensitivity to place, time and people to be useful.

Applying a pre-conceived model may put greater demands on the understanding of government managers, response agencies and communities when the model is actually applied.

What might be more important is to establish a suite of broad policy imperatives that capture the values highlighted in the literature, that are also reflected also in the nationally agreed principles for disaster recovery. These might be translated into a set of strategies that guide the early process and that can be tailored to the specifics of the community, event and circumstances over time.

2. The second option is to more extensively explore the work on complexity, collaboration and community engagement being undertaken in other disciplines and

to refine a model suited to the disaster recovery environment. Such a model or models will need to be adequately monitored and evaluated in multiple recovery scenarios.

In the meantime, deeper engagement with complementary theories is well warranted. Three key areas include:

- **Leadership** – deliberative processes and operating within the space of possibilities needs to engage more deeply with theories of leadership
- **Collaboration** - linking the literatures on non-profit collaboration, collaboration under conditions of extreme events, and cross-sector collaboration.
- **Complexity theory** – moving beyond the description of scenarios to its practical application to decision-making.

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Appendix A

Analysis of the literature

This analysis complements the literature findings by providing a snapshot of notable national work being done on community-led approaches and providing a brief audit of relevant frameworks, policy and practice guides on recent community-led approaches throughout Australia or internationally as revealed by the literature review.

Research into community-led **approaches** to recovery appears significantly less common than the literature **making the case for** community-led recovery.

Disaster recovery literature includes considerable research over recent decades expressed through peer reviewed disaster and emergency management journals and across a number of peer reviewed journals in relevant disciplines (see Table A1 for examples of journals.)

Most specific papers on community-led or community engagement approaches to disaster recovery are generally observational case studies that do not evaluate the engagement approach so much as describe actions taken and stakeholder perceptions (including those of government, recovery agencies and communities). While these offer valuable insights into community-led recovery and highlight interesting associations and potential hypotheses, they do not provide evidence of efficacy of specific frameworks or models. A small number of papers have attempted to appraise community engagement or deliberative models against case studies. These have largely demonstrated the value in such approaches being trialled and tested more thoroughly in disaster recovery scenarios.

Literature of note

The following Table A1 provides a snapshot of the most notable disaster recovery work (listed alphabetically by author), contributing to an understanding of how government can foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while still maintaining effective coordination.

Table A1: Recent community-led literature of particular relevance

Literature	Comment
Barton, D. B. (2017). Disaster in Relation to Attachment, Loss, Grief and Recovery : The Marysville Experience.	Barton's PhD thesis is a qualitative case study incorporating his own personal narrative alongside interviews with individuals from the affected community following the 2009 Victorian Black Saturday Bushfires. He sets these personal perspectives against the psychosocial implications of disaster and a conceptual framework of attachment trauma.

<p>Cretney, R. M. (2018). Beyond public meetings: Diverse forms of community led recovery following disaster. <i>International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction</i>, 28(February), 122–130. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2018.02.035</p>	<p>Cretney's peer reviewed journal article is a case study disaster recovery following the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 The paper provides a useful insights into the differentiation between the roles and functions of different levels of community organisations.</p>
<p>Leadbeater, A. (2013) Community leadership in disaster recovery: a case study. <i>Australian Journal of Emergency Management Volume 28, No. 3.</i></p>	<p>Leadbeater's peer reviewed journal article reflects on her own experience in Strathewen following the 2009 Black Saturday fire and provides insights into the particular importance and nature of local leadership.</p>
<p>McLennan, B., & Handmer, J. (2014). <i>Sharing responsibility in Australian disaster management. Bushfire CRC, East Melbourne</i>, Retrieved from http://bushfirecrc.com/sites/default/files/managed/resource/sharingresponsibilityfinal_report.pdf</p>	<p>This is the final report of the Sharing responsibility Project. The project involved a concept review, stakeholder engagement, a policy review, case studies and synthesis workshops provide some answers to: <i>what is Shared Responsibility and how do we do it?</i>.</p>
<p>McLennan, B. J. (2018). Conditions for Effective Coproduction in Community-Led Disaster Risk Management. <i>Voluntas</i>, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-9957-2</p>	<p>This paper reports on a case study of collective coproduction in an Australian community-based disaster risk management project called 'Be ReadyWarrandyte'. The case study describes interactions and power-sharing between citizens and government in disaster preparation planning.</p>
<p>Marsh G., Ahmed I., Mulligan M., Donovan J., Barton S, (eds) <i>Community Engagement in Post-Disaster Recovery</i>, Routledge, 2017</p>	<p>This book consists of empirical studies of community engagement in disaster events and post-disaster actions by a range of highly credentialed authors (listed independently in this review's reference list). The studies include Australian and international case studies.</p>
<p>Millen, D. (2011). <i>Deliberative Democracy: Reframing community engagement for sustainable outcomes</i>, (1).</p>	<p>Millen's literature review explores how deliberative methods of community engagement might apply to disaster recovery. He examines (1) the nature of deliberative methods, (2) how current recovery policy frames community engagement, (3) how deliberative methods can support notions of betterment, sustainability and resilience, and (4) how deliberative processes sit within the recovery social setting.</p>

<p>Moreton, M. (2016). A study of four natural disasters in Australia : how the human response to fire, flood and cyclone contributes to community resilience and recovery. Retrieved from https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/110384</p> <p>See also: Moreton, M. (2018). ‘ We needed help , but we weren’t helpless ’: the community experience of community recovery after natural disaster in Australia. <i>Australian Journal of Emergency Management</i>, 33(1), 19–22.</p>	<p>Morton’s PhD thesis researches the experience of disaster response and recovery in Australia focusing on rural and regional communities affected by natural disasters including fire, flood or cyclone.</p> <p>It examines the extent to which people within affected communities lead their community recovery process, the key factors influencing that process and the lessons learned by listening to the lived experience of community members.</p> <p>It provides significant insight into community and community leadership perspectives, having included interviews with ten high-profile leaders of community recovery processes and 112 affected community members.</p>
<p>Owen, C. (2018). How can governments enable and support community-led disaster recovery? <i>Australian Journal of Emergency Management</i>.</p>	<p>Owen’s peer reviewed journal article is a ‘work in progress’ report on her PhD thesis addressing a questions very close to that of the literature review. It offers case study insights into a breadth of stakeholder perspectives.</p>
<p>Scott, H., Smith, B., Schaedler, B., Gippsland, E., & Health, M. (2018). Disaster recovery towards resilience : Contributions of an assets-based community development approach. <i>American Journal of Emergency Management</i>, 33(1), 55–60.</p>	<p>Scott et al.’s peer reviewed journal article presents one of the few examples of a well-established community engagement method (ABCD) being applied (albeit adapted) to support disaster recovery.</p>
<p>Taylor & Goodman. (2009). Place-Based and Community-Led. Towards Place-based and Community-led Disaster Preparedness, Responsiveness, Recovery and Renewal</p>	<p>Taylor & Goodman undertook an extensive ‘cross-sectorial conversation’ about the recovery challenges in the aftermath of the 2009 Black Saturday fires. The case study provides unique insights and reflections on government – community relationships in disaster recovery.</p>

Frameworks, guides and policy documents

A range of resources came to light in the review that include community-led recovery as a specific component. These tend to proceed quickly from establishing why community-led is an important feature of disaster recovery to providing guidance at a principles, steps and tips level. These draw on a similar body of evidence as described under ‘Literature of note’ above and are augmented with practitioner experience and ideas.

Some, but not all, are cited in the body of the review. Each provides useful contextual information and different degrees of guidance in relation to how government can foster and support community-led approaches to recovery while still maintaining effective coordination.

These resources are described in more detail in Table A2.

. Table A2: National and Jurisdictional Resources relevant to community-led recovery and coordination.

Resource	Description	Community-led features	Comments
<p>National Principles for Disaster Recovery, 2018</p> <p>Social Recovery Reference Group</p> <p>Available from: Australian Emergency Management Knowledge Hub here (www.emknowledge.gov.au)</p>	<p>Designed to be used by communities, governments and recovery agencies to guide collective efforts, approach, planning and decision-making.</p> <p>Australian and New Zealand government departments, recovery support agencies and two Australian communities impacted by major disasters worked in partnership to revise and update the principles published in 2018. As providers of recovery services, SRRG member agencies commit to using and upholding these principles.</p>	<p>One of the six integrated principles is Use Community-Led Approaches.</p> <p>While all the principles are equally critical to ensure effective recovery, understanding the local and broader context and recognising complexity are foundational.</p> <p>The description beneath the Use Community-led Approaches principle provides further guidance (see next row).</p>	<p>The SRRG member agencies recognize the need for a ‘how to’ to provide practical guidance on one of the key challenges to agencies – using community-led approaches – knowing that this is integrated with the other five principles (understand the context, recognize complexity, coordinate all activities, communicate effectively, recognize and build capacity).</p>
<p>Use Community-led Approaches: Successful recovery is community-centred, responsive and flexible, engaging with community and supporting them to move forward. Recovery should:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist and enable individuals, families and the community to actively participate in their own recovery; • Recognise that individuals and the community may need different levels of support at various times; • Be guided by the community’s priorities; • Channel effort through pre-identified and existing community assets, including local knowledge, existing community strengths and resilience; • Build collaborative partnerships between the community and those involved in the recovery process; • Recognise that new community leaders often emerge during and after a disaster, who may not hold formal positions of authority; and • Recognise that different communities may choose different paths to recovery. 			

Resource	Description	Community-led features	Comments
<p>Australian Disaster Resilience Handbook Collection Handbook 2 National Strategy for Disaster Resilience: Community Recovery</p> <p>2018 Third edition Australian Institute for Disaster Resilience</p> <p>Available from: Australian Emergency Management Knowledge Hub (www.emknowledge.gov.au)</p>	<p>This handbook aims to provide a comprehensive guide to community recovery in Australia across all four environments: social, economic, natural and built.</p> <p>It is intended for use by planners, managers and those involved in working with communities to design and deliver recovery processes, services, programs and activities.</p> <p>The <i>National Principles for Disaster Recovery</i> advocate a community-led approach to empower individuals and communities to manage their own recovery.</p>	<p>This handbook approaches community-led from a community development perspective</p> <p>Community development is a method of working with people and communities. It starts from the needs and aspirations of individuals and groups and moves to articulate and organise action around those needs and aspirations—placing them at the forefront. p33</p> <p>Coordination challenges and opportunities are explained.</p>	<p>The handbook references toolkits that are available separately. Toolkit 2-1 includes Checklist 3 - Community development worker role statement</p> <p>Toolkit 2.2 and 2.3 are relevant further resources and case studies.</p>
<p>Australian Disaster Resilience Handbook Collection Handbook 6 National Strategy for Disaster Resilience: Community Engagement Framework</p> <p>2013</p> <p>Australian Institute for Disaster Resilience</p> <p>Available from: Australian Emergency Management Knowledge Hub (www.emknowledge.gov.au)</p>	<p>The purpose of this Framework is to provide guidance for those working in emergency management to effectively engage with the community.</p> <p>It is intended that the Framework will be used by state, territory and local government agencies with a role in emergency management, as well as non-government emergency management practitioners.</p> <p>This Framework was developed by the Community Engagement Sub-committee of the Australia-New Zealand Emergency Management Committee and has been informed by a national workshop of senior emergency management and community engagement professionals held at the Australian Emergency Management Institute, Mount Macedon, in September 2012, as part of a formal consultation process.</p>	<p>The focus of this handbook is on a community engagement model for emergency management. It draws on the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) components of Information, Participation, Consultation, Collaboration and Empowerment.</p> <p>The model suggests the following principles:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understand the community: its capacity, strengths and priorities 2. Recognise complexity 3. Partner with the community to support existing networks and resources 	<p>Engagement goals are proposed for each IAP2 component along with suggested success factors.</p>

Resource	Descriptor	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>A Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Disaster Recovery Programs</p> <p>2018 Version 2</p> <p>Dr George Argyrous Australia and New Zealand School of Government</p> <p>Available from:</p> <p>Australian Emergency Management Knowledge Hub (www.emknowledge.gov.au)</p>	<p>This Framework provides a consistent approach to the evaluation of any individual disaster recovery program that will allow the lessons learned from each program evaluation to feed into an evidence base to improve subsequent disaster recovery programs. To achieve this, the Framework provides:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a common understanding of the meaning of ‘disaster recovery’ • a common understanding of what successful disaster recovery ‘looks like’ • a high-level program logic for how successful recovery can be achieved • an evidence base to support disaster recovery planning and evaluation • a list of key evaluation questions that can be addressed in any disaster recovery evaluation • a guide to source, collect, and use data to assess recovery • a guide for disseminating the findings from recovery program evaluations. 	<p>Community-led features prominently at the core of the program logic depicting what it takes to achieve ‘successful’ recovery. (See p19 of the M&E Framework).</p> <p>The framework details the broad overarching outcomes of any recovery program, being to achieve a sustainable and a resilient community.</p>	<p>The framework acknowledges the value of qualitative methods in eliciting community perspectives on recovery. For example, promoting Most Significant Change as a particular example of a qualitative approach to evaluation.</p> <p>Tools:</p> <p>Appendix 3: Example of a flyer for community engagement in evaluation</p> <p>Appendix 4: Disaster recovery data collection plan template</p> <p>Appendix 5: Developing an evaluation plan</p> <p>Appendix 6: Monitoring and evaluation summary sheet</p>

Resource	Description	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>A Guide to Engaging in Disaster Recovery 2015</p> <p>IAP2 Australasia in conjunction with Anne Leadbeater OAM</p> <p>Available from:</p> <p>https://www.iap2.org.au/Tenant/C0000004/00000001/files/IAP2_Guide_to_Engaging_in_Disaster_Recovery_2015.pdf</p>	<p>This resource explores some of the challenges likely to be encountered by community leaders and practitioners working to engage and support communities in recovery. It offers a series of helpful recommendations or ‘principles’ for effective engagement that draw on the experience and expertise of emergency management and community engagement professionals from around Australia and New Zealand.</p> <p>This guide is intended for anyone involved in a disaster recovery situation; community leaders, politicians, engagement practitioners, workers from specialised agencies, those without prior recovery experience, or for recovery engagement professionals who have experience in this work but who may be working in a new community that they are unfamiliar with.</p>	<p>Guidance is framed around 11 principles:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Any emergency management process should begin with a thorough understanding of the drivers and values of a community. 2. Emergency management plans should include an ‘engagement plan’ that reinforces the importance of effective community engagement before, during and after emergencies. 3. Strive for continuous improvement for the sake of affected communities 4. Identify, recognise and support vulnerable members of the community. 5. Consult broadly to identify legitimate local leaders and influencers. 6. Adopt a community responsive approach. 7. Be mindful of the political implications. 8. Adopt an ‘assets based’ approach to recovery. 9. Identify and utilise the most effective ways to communicate 10. Manage expectations 11. Have a holistic view of progress. 	<p>The principles provide a practical blueprint for approaching communities in post-disaster circumstances.</p> <p>While it is not a step by step guide, it does include practical suggestions such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the idea of developing a community profile comprising hard facts (e.g. demographic data, lists of local service providers and resources) and soft facts (e.g. values, drivers, tensions and aspirations). • Suggests a genuinely community responsive approach and the adoption in disaster recovery of the IAP2 Quality Assurance Standard for Community and Stakeholder Engagement.

Resource	Description	Community-led features	Comments
<p>Engaging the community in disaster recovery</p> <p>2014</p> <p>Department of State Development, Business and Innovation,</p> <p>Available from:</p> <p>https://www.emv.vic.gov.au/how-we-help/disaster-recovery-toolkit-for-local-government</p>	<p>This booklet is intended to support councils to prepare for and run processes that involve, collaborate with and engage communities in community recovery.</p> <p>Others engaging communities recovering from disasters, such as community organisations and government agencies, might also find the material useful in informing their approach.</p>	<p>The resource explores:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is community engagement? (applying an IAP2 approach) • Why is community engagement different following a disaster? • It then provides guidance along the following themes using a before, during and after: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support community-led decision-making structures • Build on the community's networks • Foster trust • Engage the whole community • Use effective engagement methods • Key council roles in community engagement 	<p>Local government focus that includes before, during and after guidance in the form of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • case studies drawn from 10 councils affected by the 2009 Victorian bushfires • tips drawn from disaster recovery experts and input from affected council staff • tools designed to facilitate engagement activities, such as planning meetings. (See Book 8)
<p>Disaster Recovery Guide for Councils</p> <p>2017</p> <p>LGA of SA DCSI, SA Australian Government</p> <p>Available from here.</p>	<p>This guide was developed as a joint project between the LGA of SA and the State Recovery Office in SA with funding from DRAP and the LG Research and Development Scheme.</p> <p>The guide provides an overview of the recovery context, SA arrangements, recovery planning principles and a seven step planning process for councils.</p>	<p>The resource:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cites the National Principles for Disaster Recovery • Highlights steps to profiling community to facilitate community-led recovery • Articulates council's role and relationship with local communities including engaging with community and stakeholders to support community-led recovery (Step 4) 	<p>Articulates why engaging with communities may be very different after disaster.</p> <p>Provides questions and case examples to prompt pre-planning for recovery by councils.</p>

Resource	Description	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>Community Development and Recovery Resource Kit – A Guide for Queensland Local Government Community Development Officers (Supporting communities to adapt and transform)</p> <p>2011</p> <p>Available from:</p> <p>https://test.lgaq.asn.au/cdei</p>	<p>In response to the natural disasters of 2010 and 2011 a Community Recovery and Wellbeing Package was established to assist Queensland communities with recovery. The Package was jointly funded by the Australian and Queensland Governments, through the Natural Disaster Relief and Recovery Arrangements (NDRRA). Part of this package included \$20 million dollars in targeted funding for local councils through the Community Development & Recovery Package over two years until June 2013 (funded under Category C of NDRRA). Funded components of the initiative included:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 26 Community Development Officers employed across the 17 targeted locations to work directly with the community to help them identify their recovery priorities, get projects going that will support their recovery and help them be more prepared for future disaster events. 2. A state-wide Community Development and Engagement (CDE) Coordinator to facilitate a coordinated approach to the community engagement and development efforts, and lead the development of a vibrant community of practice amongst Community Development Officers. 3. A legacy of Project Resources including this Guide. 	<p>Guidance is framed around seven activities and associated purpose, process, outputs and tools:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community engagement. 2. Community mapping 3. Planning 4. Community Development Activities and Strategies 5. Communication and Partnerships 6. Strategic Advocacy and Advice 7. Mobilising Resources and Funding Initiatives 	<p>The Guide for CDOs is a practical guide with accompanying toolkit situated in the context of the post 2011 Queensland disaster events and is an enabling resource to assist local level implementation of Community Development approaches to recovery.</p>
<p>Community Development in Recovery from Disaster</p> <p>2003 NOW ARCHIVED</p> <p>Emergency Management Australia</p> <p>Can be found here.</p>	<p>These Guidelines were developed to assist in developing effective post-disaster community development activities. They incorporated two previous EMA publications (AEM disaster recovery and Community and Personal Support Services Guidelines). The guidelines were produced by a national consultative committee through EMA sponsorship.</p>	<p>Community Development (CD) focus on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desired outcomes for CD in the disaster context • Indicators of need for resourcing • Funding and employment of CD Officers • Management and support of CD Officers • Initiatives and activities 	<p>These guidelines have been incorporated in the Community Recovery Handbook, 2018.</p> <p>There is still gold to mine in this (not included in the 2018 Handbook) in regard to ‘Vision for the future’ and other sections.</p>

Resource	Description	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>Community Recovery Toolkit</p> <p>2019</p> <p>Resource can be found here: https://www.emergency.nsw.gov.au/communityrecoverytoolkit</p>	<p>The Community Recovery Toolkit has been developed to assist local councils and agencies involved in the provision of recovery services following a disaster.</p> <p>The Toolkit is made up of a series of guidelines that provide information and templates that can be tailored to a recovery operation. The information aims to establish guidelines for recovery management and raise awareness of the likely issues that will arise. Each guideline is designed to be read independently.</p> <p>The material draws upon content from the <i>Australian Disaster Resilience Community Recovery Handbook (AIDR 2018)</i>, Inter-State Government policies and plans, NSW Government policies and plans and relevant legislation. Where applicable, each guideline contains a "Further Information Section" which provides links to these resources.</p>	<p>Includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Recovery Toolkit • Recovery Committees • Managing Recovery Centres • Recovery Action Plans • Communicating in Recovery • Recovery Needs and Capacity Assessment • Disaster Appeals • Donated Goods • Spontaneous Volunteers • Managing Spontaneous Memorials 	<p>Series of supporting documents for Local Government – in which is contained community-led/centred considerations and engagement.</p>

Resource	Description	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>Lessons Learned by Community Recovery Committees of the 2009 Victorian Bushfires, Advice for Government</p> <p>May 2011</p> <p>Available from: https://www.redcross.org.au/getmedia/7f796fb7-958f-4174-98da-00b6e0182856/Lessons-Learned-by-Community-Recovery-Committees-of-the-2009-Victorian-Bushfires-v1-0.pdf.aspx</p>	<p>Following the 2009 Victorian bushfires, over thirty communities established local Community Recovery Committees (CRCs) and many local people were involved in leading or participating in local recovery planning and activities. Just over two years later they had learned and experienced a great deal about community recovery from disaster. They considered the question: ‘what advice would you give to governments considering their approach to emergency management and community recovery and identified ten themes for further discussion to benefit communities into the future.</p> <p>Themes relevant to this toolkit include:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Empowering communities and supporting local decision-making ii. The role of Local Government in disaster response, relief and recovery iii. Coordination across all spheres, levels and areas of government iv. Working with unrealistic government timelines and deadlines v. Emergency Management arrangements / definitions / declarations vi. Government response to immediate post-disaster needs (relief) vii. Post-disaster accommodation options, temporary villages, and rebuilding options viii. Supporting community renewal and recovery programs into the long term ix. Supporting community preparedness for emergency, building community resilience and community regeneration x. Establishing a disaster recovery fund 	<p>Theme – Empowering local communities and supporting local decision making:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Empowered local communities and local decision-making by local people should be a fundamental principle for any disaster recovery. There is ample research to support the view that locally led recovery is essential to a community’s long term recovery 2. We applaud the concept of Community Recovery Committees. There needs to be much greater clarity for all spheres of government on the role of CRCs in disaster recovery. The Emergency Management ‘guidelines’ on establishing CRCs are too vague. 3. ‘Community engagement’ and ‘community development’ mean different things to different people. Governments should agree on a community engagement and development philosophy (such as the IAP2 spectrum) and apply it across all spheres of government. 4. People across all spheres of government need training in community development principles. The lack of understanding in this area by many people in various government spheres in 2009 has had obvious and lasting impact on our communities. 5. Identifying and drawing upon local capacity, local organisations and local leaders is an essential step in the disaster recovery process (and ideally would occur prior to any disaster) 6. Resourcing CRCs with an appropriate level of administrative, liaison or engagement support over an extended period of time is critical. The productivity, personal burden and recovery process for CRC members (and their families) is directly affected by a lack of such support. 	<p>This document is significant due to the process by which this was prepared... “we ask that our collective experience be recognised and that our voices be heard, and that we be invited to contribute in an ongoing capacity to the important conversations that need to continue...”</p> <p>There are many practical suggestions for supporting community-led recovery and maintaining coordination in this document.</p>

Resource	Description	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>Community recovery after the February 2009 Victorian bushfires: a rapid review</p> <p>2009</p> <p>Available from Department of Health and Human Services, Victoria.</p>	<p>An Evidence Check Review brokered by the Sax Institute for the Victorian Government Department of Health to inform a community resilience-based recovery strategy. The review found evidence to inform policy in the areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expected impact of the fires on health • What works in community recovery • Community-based recovery strategies • Role of government • Further research needs. 	<p>Community-based recovery strategies critical success factors (not in the Recovery Principles):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involving communities in all aspects of decision making • Providing resources to enable release of community members time to take part • Community-led processes appear to achieve larger effects and develop more sustainable processes than interventions designed externally that focus simply on individual health behaviours or risks <p>More broadly evidence suggested under the role of government recommended to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build on Victoria’s strong record in community development; and, • Enact the intersectoral policy framework that will not only better fire affected communities but provide a precedent for community strengthening and well-being across the state, as well as protecting the interests of the most vulnerable. 	<p>An excellent rapid review that identifies the case for a community focus and critical success factors to achieve this (p33) .</p>

Resource	Description	Community-led Features	Comments
<p>How to Help Your Community Recover from Disaster: A Manual for Planning and Action</p> <p>April 2010</p> <p>Available from The Society for community Research and Action (SCRA)</p>	<p>Written by a group of community psychologists and members of SCRA with a grant from the American Psychological Association with the belief that local communities hold key solutions to short-term and long-term disaster recovery.</p> <p>Purpose: To identify strategies and solutions toward real action, and to foster the strengths of natural and potential community leaders.</p>	<p>Resource to build community capacity to act before and during recovery. Chapters include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities, the Effects of Disasters, and Resilience • Working Together with Others in Your community • Assessing Community Needs and Assets • Making an Action Plan • Types of Communities and Outreach to Diverse Groups • Other Helpful Community-Based Approaches • How to Track Your Results • What Next? Preparing for the Next (or the First) Disaster • Enhancing Disaster Readiness through Public Education 	<p>US Document</p> <p>Clearly takes into account the psychosocial.</p> <p>Great framework, although dense – more visuals required.</p>
<p>Pre-Disaster Recovery Plan Template</p> <p>January 2019</p> <p>Available from Houston Urban Area Security Initiative UASI</p>	<p>This template may be used as the starting point for the development of a jurisdiction’s pre-disaster recovery plan. The content may be used, deleted, or modified to suit its jurisdiction. This document was developed by recovery subject matter experts representing different jurisdictions at different levels of government, as well as experts from other supporting organizations. Although this template includes Texas-specific references, it can be used by any jurisdiction.</p>	<p>Outlines Pre-disaster Recovery planning including</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What Recovery is • Strategies – short, intermediate, long • Organising and Responsibilities • Direction, Control and Coordination • Administration and Support • Authorities and References 	<p>US Document (funded by FEMA) and the impetus for Recovery Planning by communities sits under the National Disaster Recovery Framework.</p>