

Developmental Relief?

**An Issues Paper and an Annotated Bibliography
on Linking Relief and Development**

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**Department for Evaluation
and Internal Audit**

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ACRONYMS

DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Organisation
EU	European Union
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDS	Institute for Development Studies (UK)
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
LRD	Linking Relief to Development
ODA	Overseas Development Agency (UK)
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (UK)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SASDA	Secretariat for Analysis of Swedish Development Assistance
UN	United Nations
UNDHA	United Nations Department for Humanitarian Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WFP	World Food Programme

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the study

This report, prepared on behalf of Sida¹, was originally to serve as an input to a planned thematic study of emergency assistance in response to *complex disasters*, that is, disasters with multiple socio-economic, political and ethnic causes. Its purpose is to review the issues concerning *developmental disaster relief* or *linking disaster relief with development*, often described as LRD (Terms of Reference, Annex 1), and current international thinking on them. The report is based on a review of current literature, including policy and strategy papers by major relief and development agencies.

This study attempts to identify major trends in the LRD debate by focusing on those studies which have influenced much of the thinking on the subject. In addition to assessing the state of the debate in academia, the study draws on the current views of key players in disaster relief operations including the United Nations, the IFRC, the European Union (EU), leading bilateral donors and NGOs. The Swedish debate is also reviewed.

Part II of the report contains an annotated bibliography on some key documents.

1.2 The focus of the report

The LRD debate ranges from some of the most fundamental aspects of development and aid, to operational aspects and *best practices*. This report is not limited to any particular segment of the spectrum, but attempts to identify the range of issues. The LRD debate also increasingly concerns international security and peace, as human disasters in the post Cold War era tend to be related to conflict and civil wars. Hence, the LRD debate is widened in such a way that demarcation becomes difficult. Perhaps as a sign of the times, peace, peace-keeping and conflict management have tended to replace the 1980s focus of food security.

1.3 Sources of information

The international debate

The current debate on linking disaster relief and development stems from the mid 1980s and was triggered by the severe famines in Africa at that time. It became a subject for renewed interest in the aftermath of the Cold War, in response to the escalating post Cold War emergencies. While the literature and policy documents reviewed in this paper span the last decade, the emphasis is on what has been written in the last three years.

Recent conferences on LRD have provided a rich information resource on the subject. For example, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) arranged an international conference in 1994 entitled "Linking Relief with Development." A series of papers were produced by leading scholars and by representatives of major organisations involved in relief activities (Ross et al, 1994). An annotated bibliography on the subject was also prepared by IDS containing some 130 references (Campbell, 1994). The IFRC jointly with the Danish Red Cross and the EU, sponsored a conference on "Programmeing Relief for Development" in Copenhagen in 1995. The conference issued a number of practical recommendations, many of which have been adopted by the IFRC and other NGOs (IFRC, 1996). The United Nations Department for Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA), jointly with the British research organisation, the

¹Sida will be used throughout this report, also for the time when the acronym was SIDA.

Overseas Development Institute (ODI), ran a workshop entitled "Aid under Fire" in 1995 which focused on the need for a new paradigm in disaster relief and development in the post Cold War era. This resulted in a series of important papers on LRD (United Nations, 1995).

The IFRC is one of the leading participants in the debate on LRD, not least through the annual publication "World Disaster Report." The ICRC in Geneva is also an active participant as expressed in its publication "Challenges of the Nineties" (ICRC 1995). Amongst academic institutions ODI has specialised on disaster relief. Its journal, "Disasters: the Journal of Disaster Studies and Management", published since 1977, covers the debate. Many articles have directly or indirectly dealt with LRD, as do the papers and newsletters published by ODIs Relief and Rehabilitation Network. The Refugee Studies Programme of the University of Oxford is an important source for consideration of LRD issues related to refugees, and maintains an excellent reference library. The British Overseas Development Agency (ODA) is currently planning a three year USD 1.3 million research and development project on LRD called "Relief and Sustainable Development in Complex Political Emergencies."

In the USA, the International Relief/Development Project produced important work on LRD in the 1980s (Anderson & Woodrow, 1989). This work resulted in the Local Capacity for Peace Project which has produced a series of papers, reflecting a shift of attention from famine disasters to civil wars (Anderson 1994, 1995). As a part of President Clinton's Greater Horn of Africa Initiative, USAID has reviewed the organisational issues involved in linking relief and development (USAID 1996) and also produced policy papers on the subject.

Within the UN system UNDHA, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have undertaken work on LRD, not least through producing the *Relief-Rehabilitation-Development continuum model*. LRD is also a subject of the former UN Secretary Generals policy statements "An Agenda for Peace" and an "Agenda for Development" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, 1995). The European Community Humanitarian Organisation (ECHO) jointly with other departments of the EU, published a discussion paper in 1995 entitled "Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development" as a step towards a new policy integrating relief with development (ECHO, 1995). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Developments (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) has broached the issue of LRD, and is currently running a special task force working on development co-operation, peace and conflict.

The Swedish debate

In Sweden two studies by Wijkman and Linnér had important impacts on the debate in the mid-1980s (Wijkman, 1985; Linnér, 1986). While Swedish disaster relief was the subject of several official reviews in the early 1990s (Sida, 1990; Edström, 1992), linking relief with development did not feature as the main topic. Rather, those studies dealt with the organisational response to escalating relief operations. The former Secretariat for Analysis of Swedish Development Assistance (SASDA) initiated a review in 1993 on emergency relief operations as an input to Swedish policy formulation and organisation of relief work. A literature search on disasters was carried out by Johansson in 1993, and a preparatory study by Carlsson in 1994. The latter pointed to the need for looking at relief in the broader contexts of development, democracy, foreign and defence policies, and the need for Sida to establish a mechanism to link relief and development aid administratively.

Sida has been studying disaster relief since the early 1990s, partly through reviewing subject literature (Eduards, 1993), partly through a series of evaluation studies concerning Sida funded emergency relief operations in the Horn of Africa, Southern Africa and Cambodia (Apthorpe et al, 1994; Rundin et al, 1994; Bernander et al, 1995). The Africa Horn study was the basis for a workshop in Addis Ababa on the theme, "Beyond Relief?", with a number of recommendations focusing on the linkage between relief and development (Wood, 1995). Sida also participated in the multi-donor evaluation of emergency assistance to Rwanda (Eriksson et al, 1996). Although not an explicit subject for these evaluations, the linkage

between relief and development emerges as an issue, particularly in the context of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

1.4 Definition of some basic terms

A number of concepts are central to the LRD debate. As with most social phenomena these concepts rarely have stringent definitions and have many synonyms. The discussion in this paper is focused on *international disaster relief*, meaning activities of the international donor community focusing on disasters occurring in the third, and increasingly in the former second world (transition economies), with the objective of saving lives and reducing acute human suffering. In its most basic form disaster relief is often focused on providing the basics for survival: food, shelter, water and sanitation, basic medical services and protection against violence (IFRC, 1996). Disaster relief is a term with many synonyms. For the word *disaster* the concepts of *emergency* or *catastrophe* are often used, and the word *relief* might be substituted with *assistance*, *aid* or *action*. While it may be argued that these terms have different connotations, in practice they are used as synonyms. Any difference in usage reflects more the vocabulary of different writers and organisations than any substantive difference in meaning. *Humanitarian assistance*, *aid* or *action* is sometimes used with a connotation equivalent to disaster relief. This use of language is, for example, applied by the Red Cross system (IFRC, 1996).

The term *developmental relief* is used infrequently, and is as such more an expression of an idea rather than a phenomenon. In the current literature it is often used synonymously with the aspiration or effort to *link disaster relief with (long-term) development aid*. Sometimes this idea is expressed as *the interface between relief and development* or the *relief-development continuum* (Ross et al, 1994). The acronym LRD is increasingly used in discussions on linking relief with development.

Complex disaster is another loosely defined concept which is used to describe the increasingly common phenomenon of multi-causal emergencies often based in human conflict. The complex disasters are discussed in contrast to *natural disasters* which imply a single (natural) cause. However, as various writers have pointed out, natural disasters are also often man-made, and triggered by complex causes (Linnér, 1986; Duffield, 1994). The term *complex political disaster* has been used to denote the type of disaster that the events in Rwanda and Bosnia represent.

As human disasters and disaster relief often and increasingly are related to human conflicts and warfare, a number of concepts describing activities responding to that type of disaster have entered the vocabulary, such as *peace-keeping*, *conflict handling*, *peace making*, *preventive diplomacy* and so on, many of them introduced by the UN.

1.5 Conceptual issues

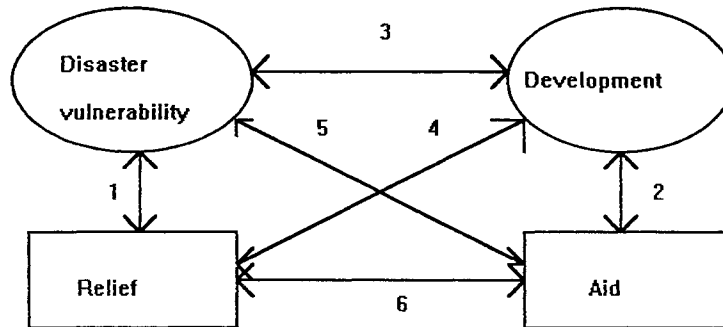
It is important to make a distinction between the *intervention* such as disaster relief, development aid, and the subject of the intervention, the *societal condition or process* the intervention is expected to influence such as the disaster or the development process. Thus, *(disaster) relief* and *(development) aid* comprise a set of tools to accomplish certain objectives defined by the external actors providing the intervention: relief to ameliorate suffering in an acute emergency and to save lives; development aid to promote certain socio-economic changes such as economic growth, improved human conditions, democracy, etc. While it might be considered a truism, the intervention and the societal condition are not the same. Relief does not necessarily reduce the effects of a disaster, and development aid might not necessarily create development. There might at times even be an inverse relationship.

The definition of the interventions as well as the objectives of the societal conditions are made by the external actors, namely the donor community and rarely by the victims of the disasters or even the recipients of development. It is the outsiders' perception that determines the nature of the intervention,

and in particular the perception of the organisational system that operates relief and development aid. It is also important to recognise that the type of interventions discussed here are neither the only factors influencing the societal conditions, nor always internally consistent. External actors might apply other types of direct and indirect interventions such as political, military, and economic influences which are at times contradictory to the objectives of the aid.

As a means to structure the discussion in this report the following model is applied:

Figure 1. A conceptual model for LRD



The model focuses on the *relationships* between the components above. None of them can be excluded from a discussion of linking relief and development. These relationships are complex, work in both directions and might be positive or negative. It could be argued that the very basic issue in the aid business is to understand how these relationships work, and how they may be manipulated. In simplistic terms the challenge in LRD is how to promote the positive relationships, but the actual debate today is almost the reverse: how to avoid the negative.

The relationships illustrated are discussed below.

Relief and disasters (1)

Disaster relief is designed to reduce the consequences of disasters, save human lives and reduce human suffering, etc. This is the justification for the USD 4 billion relief industry. To what extent the goals of disaster relief are achieved is not well known, only rarely evaluated, and the cost-effectiveness of interventions almost never assessed. Humanitarian aid is currently subject to much self-criticism. There is a vivid debate today that relief might sometimes have negative effects on reducing disasters; for example, by prolonging civil wars (Anderson, 1994; Africa Rights, 1994). Relief that neither perpetuates itself nor fuels disasters is obviously a pre-condition for anything that might be called *developmental relief*.

Aid and development (2)

The concept of *development* has shifted over time. Similarly, the tools for intervention have changed. To what extent *aid* in fact accomplishes *development* has been subject to much scrutiny, and the inverse relationship has sometimes been suggested. The concept of *sustainable development* has been introduced in order to qualify what development is all about, but sustainability can be subject to almost as much conceptual discussion as development itself. The relationship between aid and development is the important debate for LRD. Relief can be viewed as a sub-set in the aid intervention, hence subject to the same mechanisms, weaknesses and problems as aid (Duffield, 1995). The debate on what type of development aid is promoting, or should promote, applies to relief and subsequently to the LRD discussion.

Disasters and development (3)

It is a commonly held view in the donor community - in fact, almost a *credo* - that development reduces the risk of, and vulnerability to, disasters whether natural or man-made. This perception is the underlying belief in a number of aid strategies, including, for example, the UN Agendas for Peace and Development (Boutros-Ghali 1992, 1995). However, there is also a belief today that certain types of development can increase the risk for conflict and disasters. Some writers note that Western style development is inherently conflict ridden (Miller, 1992). An even more profound *critique* is that development of this kind is unsustainable in the long run and thus is destined for global disaster (von Wright, 1993). On a more practical note: are different development processes more or less disaster prone?

Alternatively, while disasters by implication are detrimental to development, there is also the potential positive relationship. Disasters and conflicts can create conditions for development and accomplish social changes necessary for development. This is a classic argument in the Marxist tradition, but the same views are also held by some neo-liberal development theorists, for instance in Mancur Olson's writings in 1982. Conflicts and social upheaval can create change in oppressive social patterns, and might be seen as windows of opportunity that the donor community should exploit (Ball & Halevy, 1996).

Relief and development (4)

This relationship is at the heart of the LRD debate. The debate has shifted from the position that relief is provided in exceptional circumstances until the development process can be resumed - a deviation on the continuous development process - to the realisation that there are various negative effects of relief aid. Examples of the latter include aid dependency, distortions of local food supply systems and blocking of necessary political changes. This has led to a quest to avoid activities that create negative effects such as certain types of food aid, and efforts to create positive linkages including using disaster relief as a tool for establishing a foundation for positive change, such as building local capacities and coping capabilities.

Aid and disasters (5)

In the positivist donor belief system, aid contributes to development and development reduces risk for disasters (Boutros - Ghali, 1992, 1995). Hence, development aid has an inherent positive relationship to reducing the risk of disasters. The more the aid, the lower the risk of disaster. A recent argument in the LRD debate is a qualification of this position: aid can more or less prevent disasters. Conventional development aid should be more explicit about the extent to which it is disaster preventive; for example, by taking disaster vulnerability into account through vulnerability analysis. The latter is an approach currently often proposed by aid organisations such as ECHO, UN and USAID.

A more critical issue in the LRD debate is to what extent development aid has the inherent positive relationship with disaster prevention mentioned above, and to what extent the inverse could also be true. For example, could donor triggered democratic reforms increase the risk for tribal or ethnic warfare; could the promotion of civil society fuel ethnic rivalry; could structural adjustment programmes create conditions leading to social conflicts; could donor support for commercial agricultural development increase the risk for famines by decreased local food security?

Relief and aid (6)

This relationship has to do with organisational and technocratic issues. The questions that emerge in this relationship are: who in the donor community should do what; how should activities under the different headings be linked technically; how should co-ordination be achieved? These are issues often discussed in evaluation reports on humanitarian aid. There is a debate on the division of labour amongst aid agencies, leading on the one hand to technical questions of comparative advantages amongst different

actors, and on the other, to the issues related to the political economy of aid and the competition for resources in the aid business (Duffield, 1996).

1.6 Why link relief to development?

What is the reason, it might be asked, for the recurrent interest in LRD? Several factors can be mentioned:

a. *The gap in resources:*

Disaster relief grew rapidly in the 1980s and early 1990s, absorbing increasingly larger volumes of international resources, while, at the same time, the international donor community had difficulties coping with needs. Recently official development aid has declined, while disaster relief continues to grow. (The box below gives some quantitative examples of the growth in demand and supply in disaster relief). Linking relief with development has been viewed as a means to increase efficiency. Efficiency considerations are a major justification for many donor agencies' current reviews of their operations in disaster relief.

THE BOOMING DISASTERS AND RELIEF SYSTEM	
The number of refugees and internally displaced persons increased from 22 million in 1985 to 37 million 10 years later; by year 2000 they are expected to be 50 million (IFRC);	
Disaster relief as share of the total official development assistance (excluding food aid) has grown from 2% 1990 to 6% by 1994 (IFRC);	
International disaster relief has a current annual budget of USD 3,5-4 billion, excluding food supplies, which, if included, would make the figure USD 7 billion;	
In 1995 the UN identified some 30 complex disasters affecting some 60 million people (UNDHA);	
The budget for the UN's peace keeping operations has increased from USD 2,4 billion in 1990 to USD 5,4 billion in 1994;	
Some 250 - 300 million people are subjected to disasters; a number growing by 10 million per year; (IFRC)	
Wars are increasingly affecting civilians. In the Second World War less than half of the victims were civilians; in the civil war in former Yugoslavia over 90% of the victims were civilians;	
The UNHCR's budget tripled from 1990 to 1995.	

b. *Increasingly complex and prolonged emergencies, more often than not involving prolonged human conflicts:*

As they are seemingly never solved, they compel a look at the causes for emergencies - what in the literature sometimes is referred to as *unresolved development problems*. It is increasingly recognized that it is not enough to go back to the pre-disaster situation and that there is a need to re-define development.

c. The long term impact of relief operations:

There is mounting evidence over the last decade that disaster relief, while often effective in addressing the immediate needs of the victims, has various types of unintended negative effects for the long-term development of the victimized societies (Linnér, 1986; Anderson & Woodrow, 1989). Awareness of such unintended effects has forced a discussion of the dynamics between relief and development.

d. The organisational issue:

Disaster relief and development aid have largely been undertaken by different organisations. The complexity of the tasks involved, and the need to find new solutions required a look into the linkages and demarcation of responsibility of these organisations. Whether the reason is a genuine concern for effectiveness, or more driven by competition and the political economy of aid, is an issue yet to be discussed (Bernander et al, 1995; IFRC, 1996; Duffield, 1995).

In summary, an underlying hypothesis is that the *sharp division between relief and development is unsustainable ... and linking relief and development finds itself forced onto the agenda* (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell, 1994). In a positive frame: *better development can reduce the need for emergency relief, and better relief can contribute to development* (Ross et al, 1994), or *better adapted relief and development can create synergy between the two* (UNDHA, 1995).

1.7 Developmental relief?

Agencies involved in disaster relief are searching for *best practice* in terms of relief operations that are developmental. Are there models of *developmental relief* available from past relief operations that readily could be replicated? Within the limits of this study it has not been possible to make an inventory of all relief operations over the last decades, let alone identify those that have had a clear developmental impact. This would amount to a research project in its own right. The literature certainly contains examples of *good developmental relief operations* - the study by Anderson & Woodrow (1989) is one such example. However, the cited operations are generally small scale relief interventions, carried out primarily by NGOs. Notwithstanding the importance of such operations, the focus of the current LRD debate is on the large scale complex disasters such as the disasters of the former Yugoslavia, the genocide in Rwanda, the civil war in Sudan, the civil war in Afghanistan, the chronic emergency in the Horn of Africa, and others. Within the context of such disasters it is more difficult to find models of successful developmental relief, not least due to the lack of practical information on the subject. While some of the relief operations of complex disasters have been evaluated - one or two with quite ambitious terms of reference - remarkably little has been said in these evaluations about the developmental impact (positive or negative) of the relief operations. A case in point is the recent evaluation of the disaster in Rwanda. The evaluation is a report in several volumes, but with only peripheral treatment of the long-term development aspects.

Several hypotheses can be drawn from the discussion above: First, the evaluations of the complex disasters had generally to deal with such an assortment of issues, most of them concerning assessment of the short terms achievements and operations, that the long term aspects tended to be given less priority or to be forgotten. Hence, it is difficult to judge from these ex-post reviews to what extent the large scale relief operations have been *developmental* or not. Second, the complex disasters are generally of such nature that the basic fabric of the society breaks down. Thus it is quite difficult for the relief agencies to balance the urgent need to rescue lives and deal with massive refugee populations with restoring some fundamental social prerequisites for development. Thus there is often a direct conflict of interest between rescuing lives in the short term and allowing a basis for long term development to be restored. In that conflict of interest, the life saving short-term objectives are given priority. Third, the complex disasters

tend to have structural causes of such a nature that relief operations, often aimed at restoring the *status quo* or pre-disaster situation and rarely dealing with the fundamental socio-political issues, act as a preserving force rather than as agents of change. In this regard relief operations may carry an in-built anti- developmental feature. However, the fact remains that there is limited knowledge of the longer term effects of relief on complex disasters. The literature on complex disasters provides more insight on what not to do in terms of developmental relief than models of what to do. As will be discussed below, the practice of large- scale interventions seems to be almost the reverse of what the features of developmental relief should be.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF THE LRD DISCUSSION

2.1 Pre-1980s

Linking relief with development is not a new topic. It is as old as emergency relief operations, for example, manifested in colonial policies in India in relation to famines, dating back to the 19th century. The origin of development aid emerged in the aftermath of World War II based on concepts underpinning the current debate on linking relief with development, that is, the relief - reconstruction - development continuum. The establishment of the World Bank after the War could be seen as an expression of these concepts, as reflected in the name International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In the 1960s the linking issue was discussed, amongst others, by UNHCR, and became the subject for international conferences (Kibream, 1991). Linking relief and development was also not an uncommon approach amongst NGOs with a background in disaster relief.

2.2 1980s: Prevention better than cure

LRD came high on the agenda in the mid 1980s as a result of the famines in Africa. Various writers broached the subject often in relation to the African disasters (Adams, 1986; Hay, 1986; Singer, 1985). *The old division, whether conceptual, administrative or resource allocative between emergency and non-emergency or development simply collapsed in the light of the African experience*, in the words of an observer (Singer, 1985). Influential inputs into the Swedish debate at that time were Wijkman et al in "Prevention better than cure" written for the Red Cross in 1985, and "Disaster Relief for Development", written by Linnér for the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1986.

While the debate focused upon famines and other natural disasters, there was an increased recognition that such emergencies are also often man-made - side effects of man's exploitation of nature - and that the hazards of a hostile natural environment play a rather limited role. The African debate argued the need to deal with the root causes of these emergencies rather than the symptoms, and recognized that such causes often can be found in ill-conceived policies and practices.

The debate of the mid-1980s had a strong impact on the understanding of and approach to famines and the importance of food security. It had been recognized by then that famines rarely were a matter of regional food shortages, but were rooted in deeper questions of poverty and structural problems. The important work of Sen et al since the early 1980s on famines contributed towards that understanding. Yet, the prevention better than cure debate had limited operational impact. Recommendations referred prevention to conventional development aid, in particular aid that focused on the poor such as rural development.

2.3 The concepts of vulnerability and capacity

In the mid-1980s a number of relief agencies participated in the "International Relief/Development Project" with the purpose of integrating relief activities with development. The focus was on famine related emergencies and other natural disasters. Andersons and Woodrow's "Rising from the Ashes" (1989) emerged out of this project. The report reiterated the increasingly well established notion that emergency aid - while often effective to solve urgent needs during crisis - not rarely has harmful longer term effects. Therefore the impact of such aid on the recipient sometimes can be as damaging as the original disaster. Two concepts were central to Anderson and Woodrow's approach: *vulnerability* which refers to structural factors making a community susceptible to disasters as well as their ability to respond to such disasters; and *capacity* which refers to a community's ability to prevent and cope with crisis and disasters. Vulnerability and capacity are related to physical and material aspects, social organisation, and cultural aspects and attitudes. The authors defined development as the process by which vulnerabilities are reduced and capacity increased. Anderson & Woodrow argued for local solutions and local responsibilities, as, in the view of the writers, large scale interventions tend to create long-term dependencies and short circuit local capabilities.

The report sets the agenda for much work on linking relief with development in the 1990s. Concepts such as vulnerability, capacity, coping ability etc. have become household words for most agencies dealing with relief. From the practitioner's point of view, the Anderson & Woodrow study contains many practical conclusions for both relief and development efforts. Annex 2 provides a summary of these recommendations.

2.4 Organisational response towards integration

In the early 1990s a process of selective integration of relief and development took place in the donor community. Relief organisations incorporated certain development activities, and development organisations moved more vigorously towards the fields in between: reconstruction and rehabilitation. For example, the UNHCR and the IFRC introduced policies and programmes focusing on development for disaster preparedness, and the UNHCR initiated its Quick Impact Projects. Another expression of this integration was the UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182 (1991), leading to the establishment of the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs in 1992. The UNDHA was given an explicit objective of linking relief with development.

2.5 Challenges of the post-Cold War situation

The end of the Cold War has had a profound impact on relief and aid, and in that context also on LRD. During the post Cold War era there has been an increasing focus on conflict-related disasters. While many conflicts which had been fuelled by the geopolitical competition of the superpowers ceased, others flared up, often in less expected places such as in Europe and in the former Soviet Union. These endemic conflicts were extremely virulent, difficult to contain and predict. Civil wars replaced wars between states, and conflicts became less related to the process of state formation, and more to state disintegration (Macrae, 1995). The concept of *permanent emergencies* entered the debate, while the hope for a new world order, in reality turned out to be what has been described as a *new world disorder* (Duffield, 1995).

The post Cold War era has also changed the working conditions for the donor community, and in particular for the UN and the humanitarian organisations. While many disaster areas in the past had been out of bounds due to superpower rivalry, borders opened for relief efforts, sometimes overriding the sovereignty of states. The end of superpower rivalry allowed a broader *repertoire* of aid interventions into disaster areas as compared to the past. Humanitarian relief was increasingly accompanied by other types of interventions such as peace keeping, military operations, diplomacy, and others. Finally, the post Cold

War era has meant a change in global politics which also has a bearing on aid and relief as instruments for broader political interests. While still difficult to assess, there seems to be a changing perception of aid and the outlook on the poor countries in a direction that some writers have called the marginalization of the South (Duffield, 1995), reinforced by ideological concepts such as multiculturalism. The concept of convergence which was an underlying model for much of aid in the past, appears to be replaced by theories of divergence.

The international relief and development aid system is realigning itself for the changed circumstances. This is reflected in organisational overhauls. The reorganisation of the UN system could be seen in this context (Childers & Urquhart 1994; Carlsson & Ramphal, 1995). Traditional roles of agencies involved in humanitarian relief are breaking down. In the words of UNDHA's head Peter Hansen:

The humanitarian boundaries of the international aid system are becoming increasingly blurred as they extend into areas of governance, peace-keeping and global environmental management (UNDHA 1995).

The change has also been translated into a new concept - *human security* - in which the international community increasingly sees individuals rather than nations as its clients (DAC, 1995). The change process has led to some strong criticism that humanitarian organisations are compromising themselves, and are becoming unknowing tools of Western political interests (Africa Right, 1994).

A plausible general conclusion is that the political changes resulting from the termination of the Cold War are not yet fully revealed, and their impact on relief and development aid can not yet be fully assessed .

3. SOME ISSUES IN THE CURRENT LRD DEBATE

3.1 Negative impact of relief

Distortions or the negative impact of emergency aid has been a leading theme since the mid-1980s. A reduction of the negative impact is also at the heart of the LRD discussion. The types of unintended negative effects of disaster relief noted in various studies are:

- food aid might distort the local food production system, and free food suppresses market prices and acts as a disincentive for local farmers (Linnér, 1986; Ericsson et al, 1996);
- dependency on aid becomes a coping mechanism for the local population, preventing, for example, restructuring of the local farming systems, and inhibiting relocation of people from marginalized land (Rundin et al, 1994);
- emergency relief might feed into on-going conflicts by adding resources to them, and act as a bipartisan external actor (Apthorpe et al, 1994; Anderson, 1995);
- top-down supply of emergency aid reduces local capacities to deal with crises, and inhibits the building of local coping capacities (Linnér, 1986; Anderson & Woodrow, 1989);
- relief activities might distort the overall function of government, and even weaken government; Mozambique is a cited case (Wilson, 1992);
- refugee camps in neighbouring countries have an adverse, sometimes devastating impact on the local ecology and local economy of those countries (UNHCR, 1995);

- refugee camps might allow conflicting parties to recuperate for continuous conflict as witnessed in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Rwanda (Lindahl, 1991, Bernander et al, 1995, Eriksson et al, 1996).

A lesson of the above is that relief policies increasingly stipulate that the risks of implementation should be assessed before the provision of such aid and monitored (USAID, 1995; ECHO, 1995). The lessons are also incorporated into methodologies for relief, for instance involving the local communities in relief, relying on local solutions, etc. (IFRC, 1995; Anderson & Woodrow, 1989). Yet, the issue of negative impact does not seem to have markedly influenced behaviour and priorities in international emergency response, neither has it been a central issue in reviews of emergency aid operations. It is noteworthy that the extensive multi-donor evaluation of the Rwanda crisis only in passing commented on the distorting effects of emergency aid (Eriksson et al, 1996).

3.2 The Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum

A conceptual model much discussed in disaster relief operations during the last decade is the *Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum* (RRD). The model was created for natural disasters but is increasingly also applied for man-made disasters. The model implies that relief operations responding to an acute crisis should, as soon as time permits, be followed by rehabilitation activities which in turn should lead to a situation where development activities can be resumed. The RRD model is based on an assumption that disasters are temporary breaks of an otherwise progressive development process (Hansen, 1995). Rehabilitation in this context is a transition stage in between relief and development, that is, activities that will set in motion longer term development. While the RRD model is currently used by many agencies involved in disaster relief, there is increased recognition that the RRD continuum might be too simplified a model for complex disasters. The critique is of several kinds. The linear concept needs to be replaced with a more dynamic model, allowing for simultaneous actions. This is the view, for example, of the UN:

Emergency relief and development should not be regarded as alternatives; one provides a starting point and a foundation for the other. Relief requirements must be met in a way which, from the outset, provides a foundation for lasting development... (Boutros-Ghali, 1995).

It has been suggested that the word *continuum* perhaps should be replaced with *contiguum* to reflect this dynamic aspect (ECHO, 1995). There is also a more profound critique of the RRD model, namely that it is a false description of today's reality of more or less permanent emergency situations (Duffield, 1994). Disasters are not unfortunate blips on the progressive development scale, but a more or less permanent state of affairs, a critique which has been named the *failure of developmentalism* (Duffield, 1994; IFRC, 1996).

3.3 Rehabilitation - the step child of relief and development

In the RRD continuum model, rehabilitation (and reconstruction) is the transition between disaster relief and development aid. As such, it has been called an *unserved limbo in development* (Green & Mavie, 1994), meaning that little theoretical thinking has gone into this stage of the aid process, and that it also is an often financially neglected area. For example, in the recent evaluation of the Rwanda emergency, the evaluators claimed that there was a *marked reluctance to provide resources to rebuild institutional capacities and to establish even rudimentary administrative structures* such as a judicial system, law enforcement, etc. This, according to the evaluation, created frustration in an already conflict-ridden society, and might threaten a fragile stability in a post-emergency situation (Kumar et al, 1996).

In a review of rehabilitation and reconstruction in some major conflict areas by Lake et al (1990), the writers concluded that:

- reconstruction might be a misnomer, and should be replaced with construction, as the pre-war situation often was far from the desired state;
- (re)construction can often, and should often, be initiated even during the disaster (conflict) as a means of changing the propensity for conflict. *Zones of tranquillity* is an example of such an approach, a concept introduced by the UN in Afghanistan;
- conditionality of aid in post-emergencies should take into account its impact on often extremely fragile political coalitions. For example too stringent criteria on economic policies can jeopardize such coalitions and revert a country back to war and conflict.

The Sida financed evaluation studies of disaster relief noted that the negative impact witnessed in many relief operations might be equally common in the rehabilitation stage. Rehabilitation aid might distort development through external resource flows which do not take absorptive capacity into account, impose development concepts on extremely weak governments, and distort local markets and salary scales by competition from donor agencies for very scarce human resources (Bernander et al, 1995). A special problem is the diffusion of various social ills by the massive influx of aid personnel in vulnerable societies (Utting, 1994).

3.4 LRD - an organisational issue?

The LRD debate is as much a reflection of the organisational structure of the interventions, as of the needs on the ground. For historical and other reasons, the relief system is organisationally quite distinct from that of development aid. That, in turn, is an explanation as to why, according to some observers, surprisingly little has happened in terms of linkage (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell 1994).

Organisational factors preventing linkage are of many kinds: Organisations have different cultures and perceptions (USAID, 1996). Relief organisations are sometimes seen by the development agencies as less professional, more driven by the *heart than by the brain* (Edström, 1992). There are differences in how the support is financed and administratively handled. Relief is not subject to rigorous appraisal, often quickly disbursed, and increasingly not requiring acceptance by the government in the recipient country, while development is a slow, planned process generally requiring a legitimate government as a counterpart. Relief is generally unconditional, development aid is increasingly conditioned. Countries might be excluded from development aid due to unfulfilled conditions, but simultaneously be massive recipients of humanitarian relief. Relief is often financed from extra budget allocations, not seldom given in response to intensive media exposure. Development has a different allocation system based on long-term commitments and regular programming in aid organisations, and development aid is less politically appealing for decision makers in the donor countries. *Relief is easy money, development is not* (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell, 1994; USAID, 1996), and sometimes emergency budgets might be used for aid which has little to do with emergency due to donor convenience (Bernander et al, 1995).

In summary, the way in which the international aid system often functions, that is, independently of what might be the most effective course of action, acts as a constraint in integrating relief and development. An important issue is whether these differences are purely arbitrary, driven by organisational factors unrelated to the effectiveness of the operation, or whether there is a rationale behind the system. Little discussion has taken place on this question.

3.5 The political economy of aid

Some writers argue that the LRD debate is not just an organisational issue, but also a reflection of the political economy of aid. As, to a large extent, disaster relief and development aid are provided for by different organisations, there is an in-built competition for resources (Duffield, 1995). As financial resources for aid in general have stagnated in recent years, the share allocated to disaster relief has grown, and players losing position on this aid market have initiated a debate questioning the effectiveness of disaster relief, demanding greater concern for development. This debate, the critics argue, is more driven by organisational concern than anything else. It could be argued that in the political economy of aid, disaster relief is quite successful, while development aid has much less of a successful record: disaster relief is generally effective in resource mobilisation, while the commitment to development aid is faltering; disaster relief is less subject for criticism by public opinion and more widely accepted in the financing countries than development aid; disaster relief attracts more media attention, not seldom as success stories of aid, while development aid generally gets attention for its failures; disaster relief often has a proven record in a narrow sense of rescuing lives and avoiding a greater disaster, while the record of development aid is more blurred, less easily identified. Thus, in the conspiracy theory of political economy there is clearly a case for questioning disaster relief.

3.6 Searching for the root causes of disasters

The relief-development debate touches on the most basic issues in international aid and international relations: what are the causes of disasters, in particular for the complex man-made disasters of today? What type of development would reduce the risks for such disasters? Can external agents promote development in that direction? The answers to these questions, whether explicit or implicit, are the foundations for relief and aid. Incorrect assumptions on these matters might have disastrous effects.

An underlying belief in aid circles is that disasters are products of *unresolved development problems* (Linnér 1985). Poverty is generally considered the most basic cause for disasters, both natural and man-made; societies and groups within societies are vulnerable to disasters due to poverty. Poverty limits the ability of a country to cope with change, it creates conflicts over resources, it frustrates aspirations, forces unsustainable economic practices and displaces people fleeing from misery. Added to poverty as a breeding ground for crises, is social injustice and political oppression. *If poverty persists or increases and there is neglect of the human condition, political and social strains will endanger stability over time* the Secretary General of UN writes in an "Agenda for Peace" (Boutros-Ghali 1995), summarising what might be called the modernization paradigm.

Since the end of the Cold War the concept of development has become both more holistic (adding dimensions such as civil society and democracy), but also more monolithic in the sense that the paradigm has narrowed in terms of alternatives for development. At the same time the influence over the paradigm by the industrialized countries has increased. Development assistance today is provided much less on recipient terms, as the ideology proposed in the 1970s. Instead it is increasingly subject to macro economic, democratic, and human rights policy conditionalities. The introduction of conditionalities in disaster relief and rehabilitation has also been proposed (Linnér, 1985; Lake et al, 1990). The changed perception of the development paradigm is partly a result of an empirical learning process, partly a result of theoretical development. For example, recent research by economic historians such as Douglass North concerning the long-term development process in the Western World and the role of institutions, governance, transaction costs, etc. in that process, has influenced perceptions also in development assistance. The paradigm is also ideological: development is a concept very much influenced by the Western industrialized countries, largely patterned on the social and economic organisation of those countries, and reflecting their basic values. As such it is at least in part controversial. Some of the principles of the paradigm are directly opposed by many states and societies (such as a vigorous civil society, popular participation and democracy).

3.7 The questioned modernization paradigm

A critique of the modernization paradigm as an avenue towards peace and harmonious social development, is that in itself it is inherently conflict ridden (Miller, 1992). Development is based on the notion of competition and rapid change, with underlying values derived from theories of evolution. The experience of the underlying model - the evolution of the Western capitalist world - is also a history of disasters in the form of extreme violence manifested not least during this century. What would guarantee, critics may ask, that the promotion of the same evolution globally would not be riddled by similar violent processes, reinforced by the rapidly shifting fortunes of winners and losers, among nations and within nations? The critique can be taken one step further: is the modernization paradigm sustainable from a long term global perspective, or will it lead to a situation of massive conflicts due to diminishing resources in a world with finite resources? (von Wright, 1993).

The critics also argue that to a large extent it is a myth to say that poor people instigate disasters and therefore poverty reducing strategies diminish conflicts (Miller, 1992; Anderson, 1995). The major wars of our time have not been fought by the poor nations. They have largely involved the rich nations, sometimes the richest, even after the Second World War.

Democracy and civil society development is often seen as a guarantee against conflict-related disasters. It is a common assertion that democracies do not fight wars amongst themselves (Wallensteen, 1994), and that democracy, civil society and institutions for social justice are means to solve social conflicts in a peaceful way. Yet some critics argue that external intervention to promote such development in fact might fuel conflict, at least in the short term:

In several of the African countries where we have worked in conflict, the insistence of major aid donors on multi-party politics has been directly linked to outbreaks of conflict (Dodd, 1995).

The state of the debate might be summarized as follows: the theory that poverty reduction leads to disaster reduction is not undisputed. Nor can the theory that development of civil society and democracy is a means for reducing human conflict be taken as proven. It could be argued that the development paradigm is more based on ideology than on facts, and in particular, that the debate on feasible alternative development models is largely missing.

4. SOME CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 An increasingly complex debate

The view on disasters has changed over the last decades from being seen as rather narrow, single-causal natural emergencies to increasingly complex political disasters: from the local floods, earthquakes, and droughts of the 1970s, to the prolonged famines in Africa in the 1980s, and to the current complex political, multi-causal disasters of which Rwanda, the Balkans and the Horn of Africa are examples. That change process has forced a widening of the debate on the appropriate response to these crises, of the underlying reasons for it, and the importance of see disaster relief in a wider context. The borders to other types of interventions, such as diplomatic/foreign policy, military intervention, peace-keeping and peace making, and the whole question of international security, have opened in a way which makes delineation of the subject increasingly difficult. As a result, the debate on linking disaster relief and development has many orientations. From, on the one hand a technical, best practice discussion, to a debate that touches upon the most fundamental issues in development and aid. The debate seems also

to have steered away to some extent from LRD to post-conflict transition. The practical conclusion for an aid agency like Sida would be to review current best practice as formulated in various circles, and to review to what extent Sida practices need to be revised. On the other hand, the broad issues brought out by the LRD debate are of such nature that they go further than relief *per se*. These issues could be used as the basis for an agency- wide discussion in which the interface between relief and development might be the focus. One feature of emergency relief is that such issues seems to surface more freely than in conventional aid.

4.2 Best practices

A synthesis of the state of the art in the practical application of LRD based on the current literature and recent workshops, is summarised in the box below. Further details are provided in Annexes 2 and 3, which summarise the conference on relief and development sponsored by the IFRC in Copenhagen, and the lessons from the Anderson & Woodrow study, "Rising from the Ashes".

SOME CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING OPERATIONALIZATION OF LRD

1. Humanitarian assistance and development are linked. There is a need of forward and backward linkage. Humanitarian relief and disaster planning are integral to sustainable development.
2. Prevention is essential. The cost of man-made and natural disasters are enormous, and investments in prevention and mitigation are bound to have high financial returns. Prevention is better than cure.
3. Disaster relief should be assessed for its impact on the long-term development process, avoiding activities that might have negative impact. In particular, the impact on local food markets and food production systems should be carefully assessed.
4. Community level programmes based on participatory involvement by local communities are essential for lasting impact and building local capacities.
5. Development programmes should be assessed to ensure that they do not contribute directly or indirectly to man-made or natural disasters.
6. Countries and local communities should be supported to strengthen their ability to withstand disasters.
7. Activities that are essential in order to restore a process towards development after a crisis are: demobilisation of soldiers; political and social reconciliation; reintegration of displaced populations; judicial reforms and setting up administration of justice; protection of human rights; democratic reforms, and strengthening of civil society;
8. Food security should be reestablished as a critical element in reconstruction and development.

4.3 Inherent conflicts of objectives?

The LRD debate has one major recurrent theme, the conflict between the short-term needs of an emergency and the longer term requirements of development. In other words, there is the conflict between saving lives and letting people take care of their own affairs and build local capacities. The conflict is particularly obvious in the large scale complex disasters that have preoccupied the donor community during the last decade. It is also evident that the conclusions of what constitutes developmental relief according to *best practices*, is to a large degree contrary to what the reality of most of these large scale emergency operations is. While it would be convenient if these differences were results of poor understanding of the issues or under-developed technologies in aid, they are probably to a large extent inherent features of emergency aid. Two examples of this are:

- the morale dilemma between accepting a certain degree of human suffering for the purpose of structural socio-political changes, and the humanitarian call based on fundamental Judeo-Christian values to help people in distress;
- the dynamics of the aid industry as a market driven by organisational interests, by needs defined by the funders rather than the recipients and by competition between different types of providers.

There are no optimal models for LRD, and aid organisations need to seek compromises between the different objectives.

4.4 An inventory of complex disasters

A useful point of departure for identification of best practices for developmental relief might be to undertake an inventory of all major disasters over the last two to three decades that have been the subject for international relief operations, emphasizing those that have been evaluated. Different aid organisations often undertake studies not always known to other agencies, and which often do not find their way to libraries and data bases. The suggested inventory might be used to identify the key issues addressed in the evaluations, and, in particular, to identify to what extent the evaluations assessed developmental impact.

4.5 The field perspective

The LRD debate is to a large extent driven by the organisations involved. It is almost exclusively the outsiders that determine the issues, not the victims of the disasters. As such, the LRD issue reflects as much organisational issues as reality on the ground. There are considerable risks in this debate: as organisations have an impetus to survive and thrive the debate is likely to be biased. Aid is a market determined by the suppliers rather than by the clients. It would be useful to have more information on perceptions and behavioural changes at the level of recipients, communities and local institutions; for example, by case studies in some *permanent disasters*. This type of knowledge is likely to shed considerable light on the issue of what effects disaster relief have in a longer perspective.

4.6 Cost-effectiveness - an issue rarely addressed

The debate on linking relief with development has a basic underlying rationale: relief is becoming unsustainable from a financial point of view. Linking is seen as a means to improve efficiency. However, the cost-effectiveness of relief activities is rarely or never assessed. It is noteworthy that neither the Sida financed evaluations, nor the multi-donor financed Rwanda evaluation have tried to assess the cost-effectiveness of emergency operations. Emergency aid is a budget driven process in which effectiveness

is generally described in rates of disbursement, rather than value for money. The lack of assessments of the relationships between inputs and outputs (and outcomes) in emergency operations and relief interventions makes it difficult to discuss comparative efficiency of alternative approaches.

There is an urgent need to make some economic judgement on the output of emergency operations. This would allow a more rational discussion on the effectiveness of alternative interventions; for example, the cost of prevention versus cure. Without a better economic analysis of disaster relief operations, the LRD discussion seems somewhat crippled. Sida might consider reviewing the cost-effectiveness of emergency aid on a case by case basis.

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PART II: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Africa Rights: "Humanitarianism Unbound?" Discussion paper No 5, London, 1994

The report, considered by many a key paper in the current disaster relief debate, deals with the humanitarian response to complex political emergencies, with specific reference to the crises in Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Somalia and Rwanda, but also Iraq, Haiti and Bosnia. It is a highly critical review of what the paper calls *the new political agenda* of many humanitarian organisations through their meddling into political interventions in emergencies, not seldom linked to military operations by the international community. The paper argues that the current operations of the international relief system are as much a problem in emergencies as a solution, that: *"relief aid delivered by international agencies have become integrated into processes of violence and oppression."* The aftermath of the Cold War has opened up opportunities for relief agencies to fill a void left by the super powers and collapsing governments. Relief agencies are taking on tasks such as human rights activities, conflict resolution, publicity, advocacy and lobbying. The argument of the paper is that such a void cannot be filled by these agencies, and by attempting to do so, they risk to compromise their basic mandate by becoming politicised.

The paper provides no solution to the dilemma of humanitarian aid in the new world (dis)order, but argues for opening up a debate on humanitarianism. Without such a self regulating debate, there is a great danger that humanitarianism

"... will be let loose on poor and vulnerable societies, particularly in Africa, at their hour of greatest need. Freed from the straitjacket of Cold War realpolitik, compassion will exercise a tyranny itself."

The Africa Rights group has become one of the leading critics of current relief operations.

Anderson, M: "Local Capacity for Peace Project", 1994-95

This project, with Mary Anderson as its lead person, is a collaborative effort of non-governmental organisations focusing on relief in conflict situations. The project started in 1993 with support from Sida, amongst others. It has produced a series of papers. The theme of the project was how humanitarian assistance can be provided in conflict situations without feeding the conflict, and how such aid can work towards conflict resolution, laying the ground for a more peaceful development process. The project was based on the experience that humanitarian relief operations - while effective in meeting their objectives of saving lives and avoiding mass deaths in the short term - often have a negative impact in terms of exacerbating the conflict and the underlying tensions that triggered the conflict. The reasons are, for example: humanitarian assistance adds resources in a conflict situation that might free existing resources for military purposes; aid might be hijacked by the conflicting parties for other purposes than those envisaged by the donors; aid might distort the local economy in a way that is biased for one of the warring factions and hence might play an unintended role in a conflict; aid might support existing oppressive regimes, or fuel militant opposition parties. By attaching military support to humanitarian efforts (as in the case of Somalia recently), it might also legitimize the use of force. Similar processes might be at hand also for development assistance. According to the project a certain type of socio-economic development might contribute to circumstances that lead to conflict:

"... in some cases there seems to be a fundamental contradiction between being effective in the primary objectives of relief and development assistance and promoting a more stable and secure future for those involved" (Anderson 1994).

Thus, the Project focuses upon an increasingly discussed dimension of the relief-development spectrum: the reasons for social and political conflict and the role external aid can play in that process, both in

fuelling it and in reducing it. The conflict dimension has, according to Anderson, both a short term perspective: what to do, or not to do in the acute emergency in terms of adding or reducing conflict; and a long term dimension: what type of development fuels potential conflict, and what type reduces it. Some of the conclusions are:

- humanitarian assistance should make a more careful assessment of its potential positive and negative impact on the conflict;
- relief groups could be more active in providing psychological and moral support to the "*anti-war, pro-justice*" segments of the society. This is based on the notion by Anderson that today's civil wars much less than yesterday's are based on reactions towards injustice, oppression, etc., and that these wars often lack "*just causes*";
- relief organisations could undertake activities which "create space in which people could reconnect rather than divide, communicate rather than pass rumours about one another, and co-operate rather than compete."

A theme of the project is that relief assistance might have to accept that there often is an inherent and unresolvable conflict between rescuing lives and inadvertently fuelling conflicts. This leads to the issue of whether to provide humanitarian assistance or not - a moral dilemma without any easy answers.

Anderson, M. & Woodrow, P.: "Rising from the Ashes", The International Relief/Development Project 1989

Mary Anderson and Peter Woodrow's classic, "Rising from the Ashes," published in 1989, was based on the notion that emergency aid, while often effective in solving the urgent needs during a crisis, might have harmful longer term effects, and the impact of such aid on the recipient sometimes, therefore, can be as damaging as the original disaster. The book, aimed mainly at practitioners in NGOs and building upon lessons from thirty case studies, had the objective that aid should meet immediate emergency needs and be supportive of long-term social and economic development. Anderson & Woodrow established an analytical framework building on two basic concepts: *vulnerability* and *capacity*. Vulnerability refers to the structural factors making a community susceptible to disasters and their ability to respond to such disasters. Capacity refers to a community's ability to prevent and cope with crises and disasters. Vulnerability and capacity have to do with physical and material aspects, social organisation, and cultural aspects and attitudes. For example, a poor society can have a high degree of coping capacity due to a strong and cohesive social system and a cultural outlook of coping with difficulties. The authors define development as the process by which vulnerabilities are reduced and capacity increased. Hence, emergency aid should not necessarily have as an objective "*to get things back to normal*" as that *normal* state might imply a high degree of vulnerability and/or low capacity to cope with crisis. Rather it should address these underlying factors. Anderson & Woodrow also strongly favour local solutions and local responsibilities, and argue, for example, against the large scale interventions as these tend to create long-term dependencies and short circuit local capabilities.

Although claimed not to be a manual, the book applies a how-to-do-it approach. It gives a framework by which various types of programme activities in emergency aid can be analysed using a decision tree. The basic concepts *vulnerability* and *capacity* have influenced thinking in emergency aid and they are currently widely applied in that context. The book is a strong plea that emergency aid should enable people to gain self-sustaining economic and social security, and that aid should be provided on the peoples' terms, and under their control.

The study - which to some extent has become a "paradigm case" - is limited in its approach to NGO operations. It does not deal with the issues of large scale international emergency operations, for which, it might be argued, the breakdown of existing social structures and the scope of the human suffering is of such magnitude that smaller projects, dependent on local resources and building local capability, might not be as the cost in lives might be too high.

Ball, N. & Halevy, T.: "Making Peace Work - The Role of the International Development Community", ODC, Washington DC, 1996

The study, undertaken by the US Overseas Development Council, reviews the experience of the recent peace building processes in Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and Nicaragua. Its purpose was to derive lessons for the international community for future peace building activities. As such, it is an example of the shift of attention in the donor community from the *linking relief and development* debate towards issues related to *post-conflict transition*. The study concluded that war-torn countries require a response from the donor community which generally falls outside the conventional development - relief continuum, an approach which the authors call *post conflict transition assistance*. As a preamble, the study argues that an immediate return to traditional development is neither desirable nor possible in post-conflict environments. Peace building should not be seen as a distraction from development efforts, but a critical precondition for development following conflicts. The study divides the peace process into four stages: negotiations, cessation of hostilities, transition and consolidation. It concludes that the role of the international donor community is important at each stage, but varies depending on the stage. During the first stage donors should focus on planning for the post-conflict era and create collaborative processes with the conflicting parties. The second phase should involve initial reconstruction activities that support the peace process such as mine clearing, facilitation of demobilisation, etc. The transition stage should focus on building a legitimate government, and economic and social revitalization. This stage places the strongest demand on the international community for assistance which will include activities such as creation of internal security, repatriation of refugees and internally displaced persons, rehabilitation of smallholder agriculture, and reconstruction of the physical and economic infrastructure, including the financial system. During the consolidation stage, when a representative government is established, the international donor community often needs to focus on long-term issues in the peace accord such as reforms that will reduce the risks of future hostilities, correction of social and economic imbalances, establishment of mechanisms that would prevent human rights abuse, etc.

The study points at the importance of reforming the security sector for a successful peace process, an area the donor community generally has paid too little attention to. This might initially entail cantonment of soldiers, weapon buybacks, and later separation of the external from the internal security, downsizing of the military forces, reforming the educational system of the military, developing and introducing procedures to put the security forces under democratic control, etc.

The authors argue that because the peace building activities are inherently political and implemented in highly politicised environments, programmes cannot be approached from a purely technical perspective, but must take political considerations into account. An important point emphasized by the study is that civil wars might create the conditions in which fundamental political and economic reconstruction can occur, an opportunity that the donor community should capitalize on. The study also argues that the post-conflict peace building period often is too short - one to two years - and if possible should be extended in order to give peace building a better chance.

Buchanan-Smith, M. & Maxwell, S.: "Linking relief and development: an introduction and overview", IDS Bulletin Vol. 24, 1994

The article discusses the concept of linking relief and development, why it has become popular and why the implementation of the concept is slow. The main constraints, according to the writers, are institutional and political, in particular in the donor community. The paper suggests a framework of analysis and identifies development interventions that reduce the frequency and intensity of shocks, relief measures that reinforce development, as well as approaches to rehabilitation. It contains various typologies for disasters, primarily focusing on famine and food security. The paper concludes that there are some circumstances when efforts to link relief and development are not justified.

Campbell, W.: "Linking Relief and Development - An Annotated Bibliography", IDS Development Bibliography, Sussex 1994

The bibliography was prepared in the context of the IDS conference on the same subject in 1994 (see IDS, 1994). It contains some 130 references, most of which concern famine related emergencies and issues such as food security.

DAC: "Development Cooperation 1994", OECD, Paris, 1994

The report discusses disaster relief and development in the context of the post Cold War era and the current instability in developing countries and countries in transition. DAC has adopted the concept of human security first coined by UNDP and suggesting a new paradigm for sustainable development focused upon human security. The report argues that both relief and development activities should have human security as an objective, and that activities under these headings should focus on making people more resilient to economic, political and environmental shocks.

Duffield, M.: "Complex Emergencies and the Crisis of Developmentalism", IDS bulletin, Vol. 25, 1994

Mark Duffield is one of the leading persons in the current debate on disaster relief in general and on the subject on LRD. In his writing he is usually applying a critical macro view of development, linking the changes in that system to broader ideological-political changes in the world. The paper, written in the context of an IDS conference on linking relief with development, has become an important input into the debate concerning developmental relief. The paper outlines the changes in the global political scene after the Cold War, identifying the regionalization of political and economic power, the increased instability and systemic crises in many countries. This is reflected in the increased number of wars - what Duffield calls resource wars (contrasted to the ideological wars), often with ethnic features. The paper is a critique of the conventional developmentalism theory on which most of development aid rests, i.e. an evolutionary process from poverty and vulnerability to prosperity and well-being. Duffield claims this is not a fair model for large parts of the world. The complex disasters of today must be fully understood on their own terms, and cannot be treated in the same manner as natural disasters for which the disaster relief system was set up. Disaster relief, dealing with complex (political) disasters, needs to be more attuned to social and political factors, and requires more understanding of root causes. Duffield is critical of the developmentalist approach to relief, manifested in much of the discussion on linking relief and development. He considers the debate more a struggle for dwindling financial resources in the aid community, than an effective approach to systematic crisis solution. Duffield sees some positive signs in how the development aid system is beginning to deal with what he calls permanent emergencies, and an increased professionalism in humanitarian organisations. However, the problem is partly a reflection of a broader ideological scenario: of a new economic world order with diminishing interests in the South, increasing gaps between the rich and the poor, and declining solidarity between nations. In Duffield's view, only a new political consensus with a collective international responsibility for poverty and violence could address the basic problems.

Duffield, M.: "The Symphony of the Damned - Racial Discourse, Complex Political Emergencies and Humanitarian Aid", University of Birmingham, memo, 1995

The paper concerns the manner in which the international community (the West) is changing in its response to complex political emergencies. It argues that there is change away from an underlying assumption of convergence between rich and poor nations, towards a post-modern acceptance of pluralistic and polarised development which Duffield calls "*the Cultural-Functionalist World View*" influenced by concepts such as *the new barbarism*. The aid industry is changing correspondingly. As a result relief programmes are increasingly accommodating political violence, and aiming at containment, rather than addressing causes. Relief has become a new political tool of the West, yet the international humanitarian aid organisations are generally unable to undertake a political analysis of what world they act in. Duffield argues that the change reflects the new dominance of the political right in the West after the end of the Cold War, the corresponding demise of the Social Democratic project, and the rolling back of the welfare state in the industrialized nations.

On the LRD debate, Duffield argues that it is more a reflection of the competition between aid organisations for shrinking resources than the nature of the external crisis.

ECHO: "Linking relief, rehabilitation and development", Brussels, 1995

This discussion paper was issued in 1995 by ECHO, the emergency department of EU, in co-operation with other EU departments such as DG VIII, after a series of seminars in the organisation. It forms an input into the EU's broader policy framework concerning humanitarian assistance. The purpose of the work was to increase the effectiveness and efficiency in view of the increasing demands on emergency aid in the world. The paper uses the Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum model while suggesting that *contiguum* might be more appropriate than *continuum* as these activities should often take place simultaneously. While the paper recognizes that there is often an inherent conflict between the need to rescue lives in emergencies and the needs of a broader long-term development process, there is, nevertheless, a need for a more holistic development approach than what is applied presently. For example, backward and forward linkages between relief and development should be established. Development aid should make assessments of risks for natural and man-made disasters as a matter of routine and include peace building as an element of development in countries prone to conflict. Relief actions should as a routine take into account the long-term development aspects and make impact analyses along these lines.

Country-specific impact analysis is a key tool suggested by ECHO for relief operations in order to ensure a sound long-term development impact. Such analysis should include political analysis and analysis of the impact of relief activities on local markets and prices, the environment (for example, around refugee camps), and local administration and NGOs, amongst other factors.

The key inputs in the post crisis situation, according to ECHO, include rebuilding civil society, re-establishment of the rule of law, development of political dialogue as a prerequisite to establishing democracy and public participation, establishment of independent media and demobilisation. These aspects will be the foundation for future long-term development efforts. Rehabilitation should not be seen as a return to the pre-crisis situation, but as a condition for resumption of sustainable development.

The discussion paper also deals with the organisational response to emergencies. It suggests, for example, that EU Task Forces should be established in crisis-ridden countries dealing both with emergency relief, reconstruction and long-term development, working both in the field and at organisational headquarters.

Edström, L.O.: Utredning om katastrofbiståndet, 1992 and Carlsson, T.: "Det svenska katastrofbiståndets nyckelfrågor", 1994, SASDA, Stockholm

The Swedish government has periodically reviewed emergency aid for the purpose of policy analysis since the 1970s. Recent examples of such reviews are L. O Edströms "A study on emergency aid" in 1992 (Utredning om Katastrofbiståndet) and "The key questions in Swedish emergency aid" by the Secretariat for Analysis of Swedish Development Assistance, SASDA in 1994 (Det svenska katastrofbiståndets nyckelfrågor). The official propositions by the Government also reflect the current thinking on policy issues. In terms of issues related to the linkage between emergency and development the following have been concluded in these studies:

- emergency aid is fast growing, the emergencies are becoming more complex and prolonged, and the international resources to meet them increasingly stretched. Hence there is a need for political and administrative adaptation and reforms to meet the new situation both internationally (through a reformed UN) and in Swedish aid;
- there is a need for an increasingly holistic view of the emergencies in which humanitarian aid is just one component;
- there is a need for greater professionalism in emergency aid than in development due to the rapid decision making processes required, and seriousness of such aid - the reality is the reverse.

IFRC: "Programming Relief for Development" - Copenhagen workshop, 1995

A workshop was arranged in February 1995 by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in co-operation with the Danish Red Cross on the theme "Programming Relief for Development" with participation of a large number of humanitarian practitioners from NGOs, governments, the UN and academia. The workshop concluded that relief aid is taking increasingly larger shares of development assistance, and that past relief programmes might have been effective in helping people to survive, but often have left people more vulnerable to the next disaster. The conclusions of the workshop on how relief could become more development oriented included the following:

- Build on the capacities of the local people rather than treating them as passive victims. In that context identify groups and their different capacities. Develop the methodology to assess local vulnerabilities and capacities;
- Involve the survivors in decision making to empower them to take charge of their lives;
- Be accountable to the victims of the disaster, not only to the funders;
- Adapt relief to the nature of the disaster, rather than using pre-packed models;
- Decentralize decision-making as much as possible;
- Provide assistance that complements rather than competes with the normal lives of the disaster victims;
- Donors should link and promote a dialogue between their relief and development programmes;
- Improve the evaluation and review of relief in terms of its development impact, for example, how relief programmes affect local institutions and capacities;

IFRC: "World Disaster Report", Geneva 1996

The 1996 issue of the World Disaster Report contains two chapters of interest for the debate linking relief with development. "Meeting more than basic needs", by Peter Walker, IFRC, and Siri Malchoir, Danish Red Cross, argues that the traditional Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum model based on the perception that *"disasters are temporary blips on the ascending development curve"* might be operational for many cyclical natural disasters, but is not a valid model for the complex disasters of today. The reasons are, according to the writers, that: the development paradigm underlying the RRD model appears not to be universally valid; and disasters are much more prolonged, if not permanent, hence requiring a different approach to deal with their semi-permanent character. Relief, according to the writers, has to be more developmental in its approach, going beyond the five basic needs defined by IFRC as food, water & sanitation, basic medical care and shelter. In terms of recommendations, the report refers to the IFRC sponsored Copenhagen workshop and suggests the same modalities for developmental relief as proposed by the workshop.

A somewhat different and contradictory approach is contained in "The state of the humanitarian system" written by Joanna Macrae and John Borton, ODI. The writers assess the changing conditions under which disaster relief has operated since the end of the Cold War and question the idea of linking development to relief in many complex emergencies. They argue that:

- development aid, when provided to governments prone to corruption, human abuse, etc., has in many cases contributed to the vulnerability of the populations. Thus development assistance might contribute to the hazards, rather than reducing them;
- development is an inherently turbulent business, requiring political analysis that in turn might jeopardise the neutrality of the humanitarian organisations; likewise conditionalities imposed on development assistance might place in doubt the neutrality of the humanitarian organisations.

The article also discusses the link between humanitarian relief and foreign policy, arguing that the linkage has been strengthened since the end of the Cold War. Relief is becoming politicized and also increasingly linked to military interventions; a risk for relief, according to the writers. An important conclusion reached is *"a clear need to preserve the ability of the humanitarian agencies to provide assistance and protection to all those in acute need, now and in the future."*

Lake, A.: "After the Wars - Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America, Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa", Washington DC, 1990

This book, sponsored by the Overseas Development Council in Washington DC, contains separate papers on various conflict areas. It is written with an American foreign policy perspective.

All the conflicts discussed are considered to be the "playing and killing fields" of the Cold War, but with long historical indigenous backgrounds of conflict, reinforced by the super power and regional power rivalry. The book compares the Marshall Plan in reconstructing Europe after the Second World War with the reconstruction of the war zones of the Cold War. It concludes that the success of the Marshall Plan was due to local planning by Europeans, a pragmatic approach involving little ideology and regional planning interlinking the former states of war. According to the book, the same lessons apply to the reconstruction of Third World war zones. However, the differences are probably more important than the similarities. For example, while the Marshall Plan included US aid in the order of USD 110 billion (in present value), 80-90% of the actual investment was European capital. No similarity could be drawn in the current reconstruction of the Third World war zones, neither in volume or in own fund contributions. There is also the matter of perception: *"In the late 1940s, a newly devastated Europe seemed an anomaly to be corrected, not a seemingly endless tragedy to be ameliorated."*

Another difference is that the Marshall Plan was carried out in a state of peace. In the Cold War zones wars are still raging and are often of an internal nature. Perhaps most importantly, the capacity to rebuild the societies is very different. It is not even a question of reconstruction, but *new* construction, as the colonial pre-war situation often is not an appropriate model to build on.

The book gives a certain number of recommendations on reconstruction. For instance, enhancing absorptive capacity through training (overseas if local conditions do not permit); rehabilitation of basic transport systems; a focus on rural rehabilitation, (mine clearance, agricultural development, land reforms, and enhancing the role of women in rural areas). The book also recommends that aid, focused on economic policies, can not look at economics alone, but has to take the political framework into account as well. Conditions on policies must not jeopardize fragile coalitions by being too dogmatic on the economics, but must give reconciliation a chance. In the view of the authors, the World Bank and IMF are too rigid in this context, too economically oriented, and not sufficiently politically sensitive.

Linnér, S.: "Emergency aid for Development" (Katastrofbistånd för Utveckling), Stockholm, 1986

The study, commissioned by the Swedish Foreign Department, became a centrepiece in Swedish official thinking about emergency aid at the time of its publication. Its conclusions are still valid today. While the study is primarily concerned with disasters related to famines, its conclusions are relevant also for other types of disasters. Its basic proposition is that emergency aid has limited effects, and sometimes even negative effects, if not seen in a broader development context. The artificial boundary between emergency aid and development aid should be removed. Development aid should be given an emergency dimension and emergency aid a development dimension. According to Linnér emergencies are often a result of unresolved development problems, i.e. structural social, political and economic conditions with poverty as a strong determining factor. Vulnerability is a key concept used by Linnér. Not rarely can the causes for a society's or a group's vulnerability be found in misconstrued economic and other policies. Hence, emergency aid should address such underlying causes. In most cases, the aim of emergency aid should not be to restore the pre-disaster situation, but to remove the reasons for the vulnerability. Aid, not taking these causes into account, might make things worse. Linnér reiterates the long-term negative effects of much emergency aid: a sudden inflow of large scale resources triggered by an acute emergency might destroy the coping mechanisms of the local population, trigger large scale corruption, and distort the local economy, in particular the local food markets.

Linnér also stresses that the local institutional and human resources are most important, and in most cases sufficient to cope with the disaster. A massive inflow of external aid organisations and personnel is often not necessary. Use of local resources is an objective in itself as it enhances self confidence and reduces passivity, important for long-term development. Linnér argues that emergency aid is often unprofessionally conducted by organisations more driven by the "*heart and less with the brain*", and applying methods and techniques short circuiting the local capacities, often ignorant of the local conditions and cultures.

While Linnér's main theme is the importance of linking emergency aid to development efforts, the concrete means to undertake such linking are rather vague in the study. Linnér makes a separation between *preventive aid* and *emergency preparedness*. The former category encompasses all types of development aid, from industrial development to family planning. Linnér claims that "*all good development assistance reducing poverty and vulnerability is good preventive aid for emergencies*," while, at the same time, reiterating that development aid rarely reaches the 20-30% of the poorest (those most vulnerable in emergencies). Rural development can be considered one form of emergency prevention. Targeting of aid is essential. Good preventive aid should analyse which groups/areas are particularly vulnerable to crises and design preventive inputs based on this. An important issue brought up by Linnér is whether donors can or should place conditions concerning government policies, for example economic and agricultural policies, in the context of emergency aid. While there is an obvious conflict of objectives

in acute emergencies, Linnér argues that policy issues should be addressed, in particular in the more or less *permanent emergencies*. If a government continues policies which create emergency situations, indirect support of such policies would mean poor utilisation of limited aid resources. The policy framework dialogue in emergencies requires co-operation between donors. Linnér argues that international organisations such as the World Bank should be in the lead, but that also that a bilateral donor such as Sweden should be involved, in particular in its programme countries.

Linnér's basic conclusion is that emergency aid and development aid should be brought into closer co-operation. In concrete terms development aid should - particularly in vulnerable countries - have an analysis of the emergency situation as a basis for all programme discussions, while an analysis of the emergency situation should form the basis for any programme discussion concerning development aid.

Macrae, J.: "A policy in transition: A preliminary analysis of post conflict rehabilitation of health sector", *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 4 1995

The article contains a critical analysis of the Relief-Rehabilitation-Development Continuum paradigm with specific reference to the health sector and to rehabilitation specifically. It argues that activities in post-conflict situations often are based on the assumption that there is a link between relief and development. Macrae questions that position, as: the objectives of and criteria for relief operations are quite different from those of development, hence rehabilitation can not easily reconcile them; the linear assumption between relief and development is false in many situations as emergencies tend to be permanent features, hence aid is not a continuum, but has to deal with relief, rehabilitation and development simultaneously; the distinction between relief and development is more a reflection of organisational structures in the aid community and does not necessarily capture the realities on the ground.

The transformation from relief to development via rehabilitation is also complicated in the complex emergency scenarios of today as these different stages of the RRD continuum assume different counterpart organisational arrangements. While relief increasingly is provided outside any government structure (because there is no legitimate government, political power is fragmented and institutions have collapsed), development activities assume a government counterpart system for legitimacy and political authority for resource allocation. Rehabilitation is an area in between, where it is more open for debate whether a government structure for legitimacy is required or not.

Some issues in rehabilitation raised in the article are:

- it is often unclear where rehabilitation falls in the international aid community: organisations tend to compete in this field, sometimes with conflicting objectives; the mandates are blurred leading to a fragmented approach, and as a result rehabilitation work is often of poor quality;
- rehabilitation in post-conflict situations tends to be focused on re-establishing the pre-conflict situation. As disasters/conflicts often are a result of a crisis of development, this approach is counterproductive; organisations involved in rehabilitation need to re-define developmental objectives and approaches;

Macrae argues, like many other thinkers focusing on the current complex emergencies of societies in conflict, that the present modalities and objectives of development assistance need to be re-appraised to deal with these situations.

Ross, J., Maxwell, S. & Buchanan-Smith, B.: "Linking Relief and Development" - IDS Discussion paper 344, Sussex 1994

A workshop on the theme linking relief and development was held at IDS, Sussex, in March 1994. The workshop was supported by a series of thematic papers written by IDS staff and researchers, and case studies from countries such as Mozambique, Ethiopia and Zambia. Participants were from various donor agencies (including Sida), the UN, NGOs, the IFRC, recipient governments and universities. Some of the papers were later included in a thematic issue of IDS Bulletin, Vol 25, 1994. (see above).

The workshop recognized that emergency relief is taking increasing amounts of aid resources, for some countries over 10%, and that there has been a rapid growth of agencies specializing in relief such as the WFP, the UNHCR and the IFRC, as well as many NGOs. Relief aid also accounts for a large share of some recipient government budgets, for instance, over a third in Ethiopia.

One theme of the workshop was the changed feature of emergencies, in particular how to deal with the emerging complex emergencies related to conflict in the post Cold War era. These new type of more or less permanent conflicts require new approaches in both relief and development, and how these are linked. The RRD continuum model is considered too simplistic, the current reality requiring more dynamic models. The workshop also recognised that it is difficult to generalize among emergencies, and that each type requires its special response. The workshop claimed that, while the RRD model is applicable to some cyclic natural disasters such as cyclones, it is an arbitrary and non-effective model for countries subjected to what was called "*development failure*" such as Somalia. The RRD, according to the workshop, more reflects the operational pattern of the development system than the needs on the ground. While the workshop at the outset saw linking relief and development as an attractive, necessary approach, this was qualified during its course. The RRD model should in many situations be replaced with a different approach, recognizing the erosive effect of repeated shocks, and the need for vulnerable households to plan for uncertainty and emergency. Relief and development should aim at reducing sensitivity to shock and increase reliance.

United Nations: "Aid under Fire: Relief and Development in Unstable World", Geneva 1995

A seminar was held in April 1995 co-convened by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the Overseas Development Institute and Action Aid, bringing together some 60 senior policy makers in the UN, donor agencies and NGOs to discuss the implications of conflict for the management and design of relief and development programmes. Inputs to the seminar were published by the UN in a booklet entitled "Aid under Fire", containing contributions by Peter Hansen, UNDHAs Under-Secretary General, and other UN staff, Peter Walker of the IFRC, representatives of NGOs, USAID and Mark Duffield of Birmingham University.

USAID: "Humanitarian response and post-crisis transition", Washington DC, 1995

This paper, issued in 1995, discusses USAID's strategic concept of humanitarian assistance. As such it also deals with the linkages to reconstruction and long-term development. The paper states that humanitarian assistance is an integral part of sustainable development. It outlines the new challenges for relief in the post-Cold War era, indicating that the disasters are taking new forms as a result of ethnic and religious rivalries, the fragility of the nations emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union, the problems associated with transitional states, and the process of collapsing African states - each type of disaster demanding its particular response. The paper notes that the cost of natural disasters alone is equal to all official development assistance, hence the investment in prevention and mitigation is indeed financially worthwhile. USAID's strategy in linking disaster relief to development is: an assessment of relief activities as to their potential negative long-term effects; assessment of all USAID development programmes to

ensure they are not contributing to natural or man-made disasters; and focus on participatory and community level activities to build local capacities for development and increase ability to sustain and avoid disasters. Examples of assistance that USAID might undertake in the stage between relief and development are demobilisation of soldiers; political reconciliation; reintegration of displaced populations; judicial reform and setting up administration of justice; means for protection of human rights; democratic reforms, and strengthening of civil society and NGOs.

USAID: "Linking Relief and Development in the Greater Horn of Africa - USAID Constraints and Recommendations", Washington DC, 1996 (memo)

This report was prepared by a USAID Inter Agency Team on Rapid Transition from Relief to Development under President Clinton's Greater Horn of Africa Initiative. The purpose of the study was to define effective means for USAID to respond to countries in transition, i.e. countries moving into or out of crisis. The report identified several key issues which needed to be addressed in order to enhance linkages. These were:

- 1) *USAID corporate culture* which divides staff working in development versus relief (different value systems, different offices and funding mechanisms etc.);
- 2) the *legislative and regulatory* requirements for development and relief. Various funding mechanisms are available with different requirements, not always compatible with linking and not always well known to staff. There are also various political constraints imposed on aid, and development and relief are to some extent handled by different organisations, such as USAID, the Department of Defence, the State Department etc.;
- 3) *financial and human resource* constraints which refers to the drastic curtailment of funding in recent years, affecting relief and development differently, with more generous allocations for relief. In the words of the team, this might indicate to the relief recipients that "it pays to be in chaos";
- 4) *programme planning* for development and relief. The formal long-term development programming system dominates overall country programming, and the integration of relief into that process is limited. The result is a dearth of understanding of crisis prevention in country programming;
- 5) *policies and procedures*. For example, rules applying to the allocation of funds for disasters cannot be used for rehabilitation. Many regulations contradict a smooth progression from relief to development.

The report gives a series of recommendations to eliminate or reduce the constraints indicated above. While many of these are tailor-made to the specific conditions prevailing within USAID, there are also recommendations that would apply to similar problems in other agencies. For example, the problems related to corporate culture are to be addressed by mixing staff careers in relief and development; by providing specific training in linking relief and development, and by introducing the topic in ongoing training courses, as well as promote cross issue team work. The country programming activities for countries at risk or in transition should as a matter of routine have assessments of crisis risks and crisis prevention in their strategic planning. Both staff involved in development and in relief should be involved in strategic country planning. USAID's Center for Evaluation should develop a methodology to assess how relief programmes promote or hinder development, and how development programmes are addressing potential root causes of conflict.

ANNEX 1.

Sida
Department for Evaluation
and Internal Audit (UTV)
C Bennedich

10 April 1996

File: UTV-1996-0012

Terms of Reference for a desk study on the state of knowledge regarding 'developmental disaster relief'

Background

In collaboration with Sida's Division for Humanitarian Assistance (SEKA), the evaluation department of Sida (UTV) intends to carry out a thematic study critically analysing the findings and recommendations made in recent evaluations of emergency assistance to complex disasters, notably evaluations solely or partly commissioned by Sida such as the evaluations of the DESA effort (drought operations in Southern Africa; 1993); Horn of Africa (1994); Cambodia (1995); and Yugoslavia (1995). The international joint evaluation of emergency assistance to Rwanda (1996), to which Sida has contributed, also contains findings important to the analysis.

The aim of this thematic study will be to identify and analyse general, recurring conclusions and lessons learned regarding such critical issues as measures for prevention and mitigation of disasters (complex disasters); problems and constraints in giving consideration to long-term effects when administering disaster relief, i.e. in making disaster relief more development oriented; possible strategies and means of dealing with these constraints; and linkages between the various forms of disaster relief and sustainable development.

Purpose and scope

The concept and implications of 'developmental relief' (or 'linking disaster relief with development') has, especially in recent years following the ever increasing number of disasters, been widely discussed and studied. Much has been written and documented on the subject, and there is a need for an overview of 'where issues stand'. A conceptual desk study on the *state of knowledge* of 'developmental relief' could contribute to the basis for determining the exact focus, scope and design of the planned thematic study by Sida.

The general purpose of this desk study is in other words to serve as an input to the final preparations for the planned thematic study based on earlier evaluations of disaster relief.

The assignment is twofold. The selected Consultant is asked to:

- (i) Review current literature and debate (books, reports, papers, articles, presentations etc), not least that produced within the UN

system, the European Commission and the Red Cross movement, dealing with the concept and practical implications of 'developmental disaster relief', and present an annotated bibliography (list) of the same;

(ii) Based on part (i), and any required complementary interviews,

- present a critical review of theories, approaches and issues raised in literature and debate, concerning 'developmental disaster relief';

This review should attempt to identify issues on which there is a consensus in terms of ambition or approach, and on which there is more of a disagreement, and in doing so separate existing theory from practise. The presentation may also include reflections or conclusions by the Consultant (made explicit).

- present examples of instances and forms of disaster relief assistance both with and, respectively, without linkages to sustainable development;
- attempt to define what should realistically be meant by 'developmental disaster relief'.

Methodology and Reporting

The study shall be carried out as a desk study, i.e. shall be based on documentary studies and any interviews seen as necessary. Any brief travel seen as required by the consultant (for interviews or research) is subject to agreement and approval by UTV.

The study shall be presented in a written report, in English, and in which part (ii) should not exceed 20 pages. The report must be delivered on a diskette using Word Perfect 6.1 (or a programme that can be directly converted to this) along with two printed copies.

Time and Resources

The study shall require no more than 15 working days, by one selected consultant, and be finalized by latest 31 May 1996.

ANNEX 2

Lessons from Anderson and Woodrow (1989) "Rising from the ashes; development strategies in times of disaster" based on 41 case studies.

ANALYSIS

1. Distinguish between slow-onset crisis and sudden onset crisis
2. Analyze vulnerabilities which refer to the long-term factors which affect the ability of a community to respond to events which make it susceptible to crisis, as opposed to (or in addition to) needs which refer to immediate requirements for survival or recovery from a crisis. (The authors argue that development is the process by which vulnerabilities are reduced and capacities increased).
3. Vulnerabilities precede disasters, contribute to their severity, impede response and continue after. Needs are short term and immediate.
4. Analyzing vulnerabilities can prevent arguing for a return to normalcy, because by raising awareness of the factors that contributed to the crisis, it shows that normalcy involved vulnerabilities that if not changed, may lead to future crises. In addition it alerts relief workers to the potential for unwittingly contributing to future vulnerabilities by their interventions.
5. To avoid increasing vulnerabilities also need to analyze capacities in order to know what strengths exist within a society on which the long-term can be built. When a crisis becomes a disaster (i.e. it outstrips the capacity of a society to cope with it) a society's vulnerabilities are more noticeable than its capacities. However we need to understand both.
6. Vulnerabilities and capacities relate not only to;
 - physical or material povertybut also to;
 - social/organisational factors
 - motivational/attitudinal factors
7. Such analysis needs to be disaggregated according to gender and other important cleavages as appropriate (ethnic, religious, class).
8. Such analysis needs to be analyzed over time and over space (at different levels - local through to international).
9. Once you choose to do something put the options through a vulnerability/capacity matrix.

PROGRAMMING DECISIONS

1. To do nothing is better than to do something badly. Agencies should not intervene in a crisis unless it is to support local capacities.
2. There is no such thing as relief projects that are neutral in terms of development. They either support it or undermine it.
3. Indigenous agencies are in a better position to respond developmentally than outside agencies. Outside agencies that are already present are better able to respond than those arriving to deal with the crisis.
4. Agencies that identify themselves as development agencies can provide creative relief in an emergency, especially in areas where they are already involved in long-term work.
5. Development agencies that work in areas prone to crisis should understand the need not only to anticipate the effects of disasters on their long-term work but also to address people's vulnerabilities through that work.

PRINCIPLES

1. Relief work should be held to development standards. Thus every disaster response should be based on an appreciation of local capacities and should be designed to support and increase these.
2. Development work should be concerned with long-term sustainability. Thus every development programme and project should anticipate and be designed to prevent or mitigate disasters. Thus, they should identify and address the vulnerabilities of the people with whom they work and ensure that these are reduced over time.
3. Both relief and development should be more concerned with increasing local capacities and reducing vulnerabilities than with providing goods, services or technical assistance. In fact goods, services etc should be provided only in so far as they support sustainable development by increasing local capacities and reducing vulnerabilities.
4. The way that such resources are transferred must be held to the same test.
5. Programming must not be solely pre-occupied with meeting urgent needs but must integrate such needs into efforts that address the social/organisational and motivational/attitudinal elements as well.

ANNEX 3

Programming Relief for Development

Recommendations from the Copenhagen workshop

(Transcript from the original document)

1. Introduction

Eighty five humanitarian practitioners from some fifteen countries, representing relief agencies, development agencies, government donors, UN bodies and academia came together in February 1995 in Copenhagen to address the issue of programming relief for development.

In the past decade humanitarian aid - emergency assistance - has risen five fold as a percentage of overseas development assistance (ODA) to the present all time high of 10% as compared with figures of 2-3% a decade ago. Many of today's relief programmes respond to complex and man-made disasters. Relief assistance today is far more complex and far more critical to the survival of tens of millions of people, than it has been in any past period of history. To cope with, let alone turn the tide of this increased load we have to find new ways of doing relief. Increased efforts must be made to forestall disaster and prepare for response.

We have to recognise that past relief programmes have helped people survive but have often failed to draw on local capacities and have left people equally, or even more vulnerable to the next disaster. We need ways of doing relief that build for the future.

II. Characteristics of a developmental relief programme

How should we recognise a relief programme that is carried out in a developmental way? What makes a "developmental" relief programme different from the norm that is practised today? Here are nine features which development relief programmes should exhibit.

A. Building on capacities as well as addressing vulnerabilities

The need to access vulnerabilities is recognised as being important, but relief programmes that deliberately seek out and work with capacities, skills, resources and organisational structures within the disaster survivors, will be more effective than those that assume the survivors are a passive, helpless, recipient community.

B. Identifying the needs and capacities of the diverse groupings of disaster survivors

Development relief programmes recognise that the survivor population is made up of many groups with different capacities, vulnerabilities and needs. The relief programme is shaped to address these diverse groups and their capacities as well as their different needs.

C. Participation

Developmental relief programmes deliberately involve disaster survivors in the decision making process which empower them to re-take charge of their lives. Even in particularly difficult situations, such as relief to large scale displaced populations a beginning may be made by engaging diverse community leaders in the assessment of the situation and identifying the resources that they have available to cope.

D. Accountability

In relief programmes, agencies traditionally see themselves as being accountable upwards, towards their headquarters and donors, but they should also practice accountability towards the disaster survivors. At the minimum, information on the planning, execution and expected duration of the relief programme should be openly shared with the programme beneficiaries.

E. Strategies based on the reality of the disaster faced

Relief programmes address many different types of disasters, those triggered by natural events, those which develop slowly over vast areas of a country, those caused by war and economic collapse. Developmental relief programmes adapt their strategies to suit the environment of the disaster rather than relying solely on pre-packaged delivery derived from a model of only one type of disaster.

F. Decentralised control

A developmental relief programme allows management decisions to be taken as close to the beneficiary population as possible.

G. Demonstrating a concern for sustaining livelihoods

Developmental relief programmes are concerned with what comes after relief as well as how the relief programmes is carried out. They provide assistance that complements rather than competes with the normal means of livelihood of the disaster survivors programmes annually to identify changes that progressively make more use of local leadership skills and capacities.

I Sharing experience with donors and the media

Agencies need to get better at sharing field experience of success and failure with donors and engage in a dialogue about needed policy change. Equally they need to work more effectively with the media to build understanding of the issues and to break down stereotypes such as those of "helpless disaster victims".

V. Recommendations to donors

A. Linking relief and development programming

The present organisational structure and funding mechanisms of many donor institutions reflects the view of relief and development as two divorced activities. We recommend that donor institutions seek ways of promoting dialogue between their relief and development divisions and seek ways of allowing a degree of development funding into relief programmes.

B. Accountability, measuring the quality of relief programmes

Measuring the quality of developmental relief programmes requires a different set of parameters and associated skills from evaluating simple relief delivery. We recommend that donor institutions explore new ways of evaluating and reporting in relation to relief programmes which reflect the attributes of a developmental approach.

C. Support for local structures in relief and disaster preparedness

Working through, enhancing and supporting local structures is central to the developmental approach to relief. We recommend that donor institutions recognise and support the legitimacy of funding local structure strengthening as part of disaster preparedness and relief programmes.

D. Supporting review activities

Promoting new ways of working require an enhanced learning process. We recommend that donor institutions support both national and international relief programme reviews with a view towards promoting developmental relief.

VI. Recommendations to research bodies

A Development of practical methods of capacity and vulnerability analysis for disaster situations

Developmental relief places greater emphasis on understanding local capacities and vulnerabilities than does needs-driven assistance delivery relief, yet few methodologies exist to help assess these features. We recommend that research bodies develop methods of capacity and vulnerability analysis which are appropriate for relief situations, by drawing upon existing experience.

B. Development of methods for evaluating the quality of the relief process

Measuring and evaluating the quality of developmental relief programmes requires a different set of parameters and associated skills from evaluating simple relief delivery. Few methodologies have been developed to allow such appropriate evaluations to take place. We recommend that research bodies develop such evaluation techniques, building on existing experiences and in close collaboration with implementing agencies and donor institutions.

C. Developing accountability systems

Present relief accountability systems stress financial reporting supported by process descriptive narrative. We recommend that research bodies assist in the development of more holistic reporting systems which provide information on features of relief programmes additional to quantitative delivery information, i.e. capacity building, participation, accountability to the disaster survivors.

D. Impact evaluation of international relief on local organisations

Many implementing agencies are concerned with the negative impact major relief programmes have on local institutions, yet little systematic documentation and research has been done in this area. We recommend that research bodies be commissioned to carry out such research.

E. Popularising the results of research

Good research only has effect if it gets into the hands of the implementors. We recommend that the results of the research mentioned above be popularised through publications, meetings and other methods targeted at the implementing and donor agencies.

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- 96/1 Evaluation and Participation - some lessons. Anders Rudqvist,
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- 96/2 Granskning av resultatanalyserna i Sidas landstrategiarbete. Göran
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