
**RAISING THE SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR RECOVERY PROCESS
AFTER TSUNAMI IN ACEH
Lesson Learned from Impacted Area in Eastern & Western Coastal**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Aceh or Indonesia language are called as Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) were located at the top of Sumatera Island, this area are treated as the province, along with other province in Sumatera, such as North Sumatera, Riau, Jambi, South Sumatera, etc. As the province with a lot of ethnicity, Aceh were unique, this area has many folklore, local wisdom, and tales. Geographically, Aceh has 2 biggest parts that called as 'Eastern Side' and 'Western Side' as showed below;

Image 1.1 Map of Aceh



Source: www.google.com

When you see the map, it will seen that eastern part of Aceh are on their top area, some of geographers are mistakenly called this part as north ones. While the western part, actually, are below of their area. Same with the eastern, geographers usually called this as a south part. Aceh is not just consisting of the main area that located on Sumatera Island, but other small islands surround this area, such as Wei Island, Simeuleu Island, and Banyak Island.

On the December 2004, Tsunami was massively destructing the province (almost 84% of this province hit by this disaster). It not just destroys the infrastructure, far then that;

the catastrophe was kills thousand of people and absolutely disrupts the social system that exists in Aceh society. At that time, Government of the Republic of Indonesia were sealed this phenomenon as national scale of disaster, aid are really welcome. One of the aids that sponsored by UN and other institution was raising the social capital to bringing back the structure and social life in Aceh. This process (research and application) were simultaneously conducted around 2006-2007, during the recovery from the massive tsunami in Aceh.

If we get a little flashback, Aceh were consisting of 2 biggest parts, eastern and western. The tsunami are hit both of the area. The unique is, as well as their social system, impact for those areas are totally different. The eastern side, moderately hit by the catastrophe. At that area, victim of the disasters was suffers much loss because of armed conflict that already happens since 50 years ago. Most districts in eastern side of Aceh are treated as military operation area (DOM)¹. On the other side, western part of Aceh are horribly hit by the tsunami, almost contrast with the eastern side, western part didn't sealed as DOM, they just a commoner who interact each other and live like normal people. When tsunami hit this area, social system and any other institution are truly isolated from outside. More ironically, infrastructures in western part also destruct in high scale level by the catastrophe (UN Report, 2007).

With a long term of observation and other research (either qualitative or quantitative), the focus of the study and application that will be explain in this paper are written below;

1. In eastern side, a resettlement program running by UN-Habitat at Geunteng Sub District, Pidie District.
2. In western side, a livelihood improvement program running by Action with Church Together (ACT) at Teunom Sub District, Aceh Jaya District.

2. DISASTER IMPACT IN EASTERN AND WESTERN

2.1 Geunteng Sub District, located at Pidie District

Geunteng or Indonesia language are called as '*genteng*' is the sub district that located at Pidie district, eastern area. This area means 'roof' or 'almost separated', because there are two rivers that seems cut off this area. The area itself placed on coastal line, but when the tsunami hits Aceh, this sub district only take a moderate impact. Even though it's still isolated because of the only bridge in Geunteng are totally destroy by the massive water. People in Geunteng are really depends to the bridge, because that infrastructure is the only way for them to go outside, such as Aceh Besar, central of the city or any other central point of the province (UN Report, 2007).

Geunteng, like any other eastern part of Aceh were also treated as DOM area. Aceh Paramilitary Force, who known well as GAM (*Liberty Movement of Aceh* – Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) are made their base camp in this sub district and some place in eastern side. By this point of view, Indonesia Government are sent their troops to the area and held a huge battle for years in there. When the tsunami hit Geunteng moderately, both of the Indonesia

¹ In Indonesia, Military Operation Area was called as 'Daerah Operasi Militer' (DOM). Most provinces in Indonesia that treated as DOM are consisting of several violence to human rights that absolutely criticize by international community. DOM of Aceh was terminated at august 2005, marked by Helsinki Agreement between GAM and Government of Indonesia.

troops, GAM, and people suffers many lost. GAM, as the paramilitary force in some case was forcing farmers to fulfill their needs rather than give it to their own family, even if the supply were really light. Indonesia troops on the other side, found many obstacle to protect peoples, the infrastructure in Geunteng are absolutely destruct after the tsunami, beside they still helping other citizen to fix their house of clean the city, including take off the corpse.

2.2 Teunom Sub District, located at Aceh Jaya District

Teunom in local language (Aceh language or Gayo language) are means 'sink below water surface'. This claim is given because most of sub district area was swamp. Like Geunteng Sub District, Teunom also located at coastal line of Aceh on western side, precisely at Aceh Jaya District. The tsunami give a huge impact to this area, some of geographers and researcher say that Teunom were totally isolated because of most of road and bridges along western coastal way had broken or lost (UN Report, 2007). This situation are forcing the people to live with the supply that they have on the broken home, dead body, and suffers many more loss. Contrast with the Geunteng, Teunom Sub District didn't seal as DOM area. They just a normal ones with people who live and becoming farmer, seller, entrepreneur, and teacher, etc.

The impact that absolutely feels in Teunom are consist of 3 types, economics, social, and physically. In economics, almost 95% of the citizen becoming an unemployment because of the tsunami (UN Report, 2007). Farmer's land was absolutely destroyed, fisherman can't go to sail, and seller cannot sell anything because the access were isolated and market are shrink with the land. Teunom's economy levels were really dropped at that time. In social, like other case of disaster, loss in family member, or neighbors were the ironic consequences that resulted by tsunami. Finally, in physically, house, road, bridge, market, store, and many more building for any kind of activity were totally destroyed by the catastrophe.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF DISASTER IN SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 SE – SC

The concept of SE - SC were originally created by Kreps in Quarantelli (1998). SE means 'systemic events' or dramatic historical happenings that have been socially constructed in people mind since human ancestors cope and survive from the disaster for the first time. SE terminology try to say that our ancestors already face the first type of any kind of disaster, and they has survive while generating many more defense mechanism that given to us, nowadays in modern era. The mechanism itself is called as 'cope', or tries with many possible ways to save as much as they can. This kind of hypothesis are included the way to predict some even, like weather. After several time hit by the disaster, they can make a classification of the type of the disaster and how to face it.

On the other hand, SC means 'social catalyst' or collective reaction on disruption and harmful event for human life. This reaction emerges in acceleration of social dynamics, that can be strengthening or -the other way- destructing the social structure. In this point, SC terminology say that disaster are a very serious event that potentially disrupt the human life and also harmful for many aspect of humanity. To defend our self or community, the social structures that already exist must dynamics and adapt as soon as possible the way to reinforce it. SC concept were straightly say that disaster can make a social system becoming

powerful, but if the system didn't prepared well, it will rapidly change to the degradation of the system because the catastrophe will be too powerful to face for.

The correlation between SE and SC were shown on their substantive point of how the system can reinforce the disaster. SE given a series number of adaptation that started by the cope of the ancestors in which to face a series disaster event on that era. SC on contrast, were force to learn, modify, and develop a newer concept from our ancestors, so the real purpose to save as many people or property can be done well. This effort was include a modern prediction and public participation. Modern prediction are totally needed because it can give more accurate point of view for some event, while public participation is one of the guarantee to keep the solidity for social system that becoming a basic of disaster reinforcement effort in modern times.

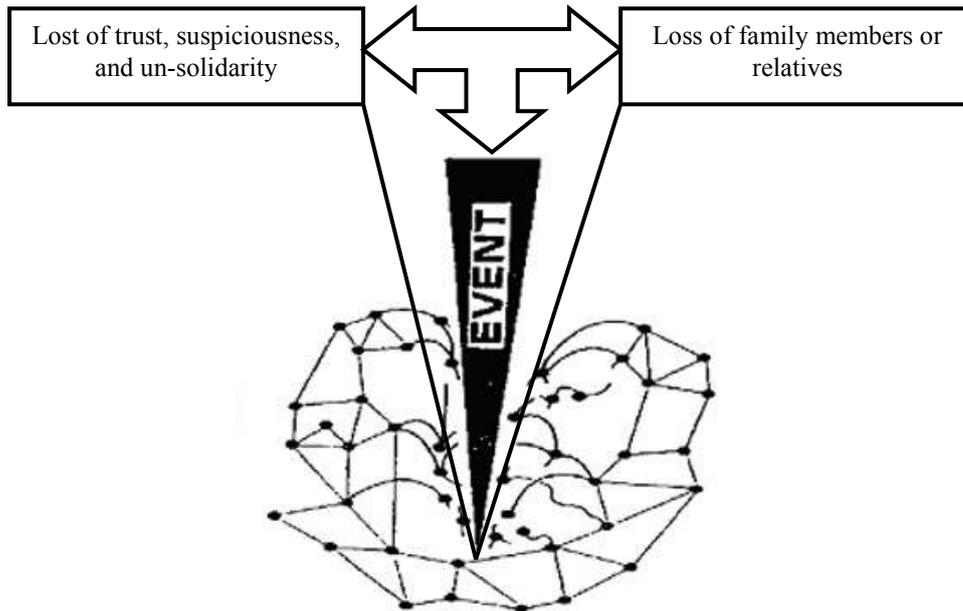
3.2 Impact of Disaster on Social Structure

Social structure or social system were look like two side of coins, it can't separated each other, the disaster impact of both of the structure and system are tremendously huge, Kreps in Quarantelli (1998) noted that there are two types of the impact, which is;

1. Explicit de-bonding of social structure. De-bonding of social structure means that when the disaster was hit some area, the real condition of the structure will be shaped. It's caused by the condition, such as lost of family members or relatives. The logic model that adapted by explicit de-bonding is, when the recovery process of the disaster were held, a family who loss their mother can't simply change that person or in other case, just 'rebuild' it again, there always a gap, and the differences, will give a contribution, either positive or negative, to the social structure.
2. De-bonding on hidden social structure / system / relation. This second type of de-bonding was mostly talk about personal level of people that can bring the changes to the system. The changes of personal level itself were triggered by the disaster. In many literatures, such as Marsella (2008) say that on the condition where many people safe, when you can eat or buy something more, that situation will not be a big deal. But when the condition are placed as the community who just suffers in lost that caused by huge disaster, buying a small part of chicken while most of your neighbors can't eat will be a very horribly problem that can lead to someone's death (Marsella, 2008). This complex de-bonding happens because the disaster disrupts a lot of aspect of social structure and degraded that structure. Usually it will started by the lost of trust in some people, they think that the system didn't fair in distribute the food, or other supply. After that, it will trigger emerge of suspiciousness that lead much more people into "hidden plundering" phenomenon in the name of solidarity to help. They didn't trust system anymore, they act by their own way, own perspective, and in some case on their group. The basic point is same, solidarity for the team who match enough with their view. This de-bonding can be the entrance of destruction of the diversity, tolerance view, and collectiveness.

In a simple way, the context between explicit de-bonding of social structure and De-bonding on hidden social structure/ system/ relation can be illustrated by the next graphic;

Image 3.1 Destruction of Social Structure



Source: Modify from Gordon, 1997

3.3 Social Structure = Social Capital

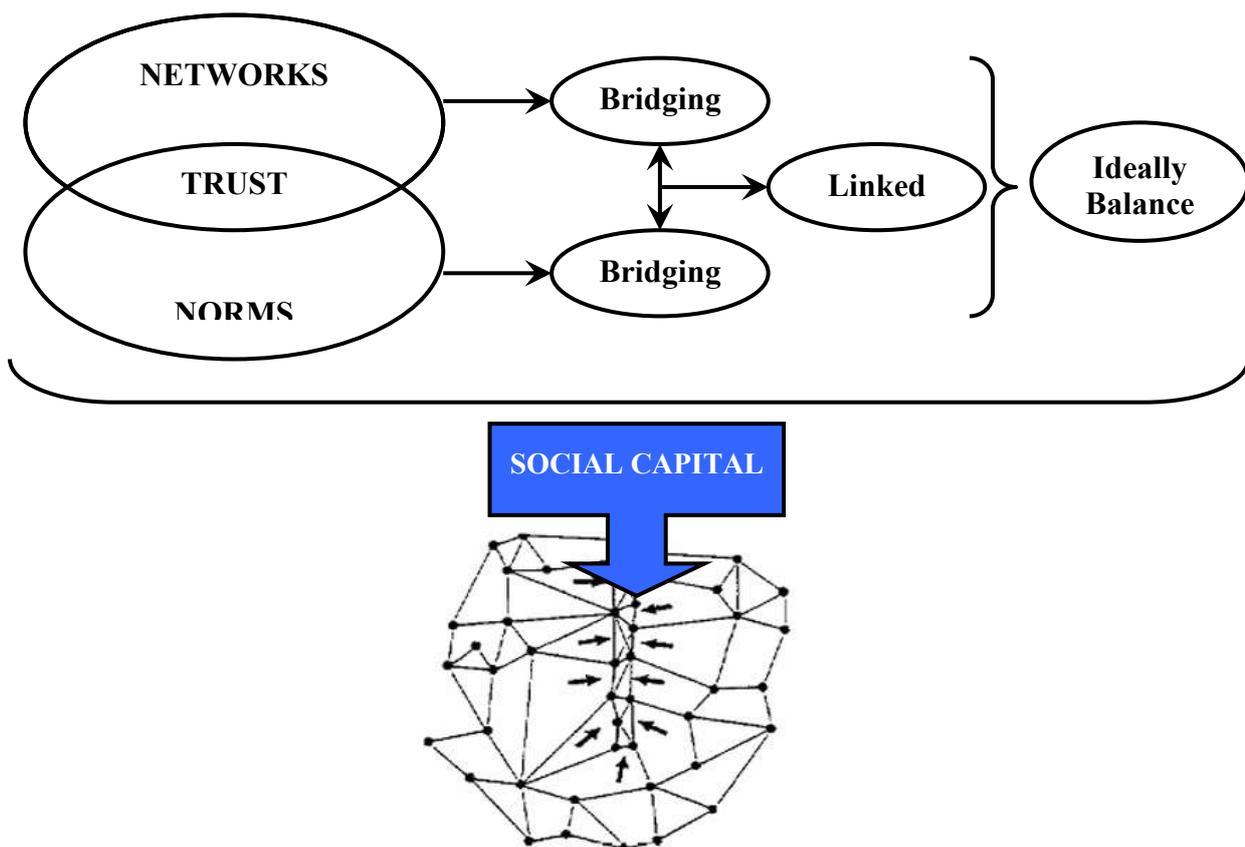
Social capital were defined as features of social organization, such as networks, norm and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital (Putnam, 1993). Putnam definition were show the aspect of social capital, such as network, norms, and trust that support the social system to a coordination and cooperation for collective interest. In some case, Putnam believes that social capital with this kind of type can increase in the form of physical and human capital. According to Putnam, there are two dimensions in social capital, which is bonding and bridging;

1. Bonding means the relation that perceptively treated as collective identity. Membership in some group was standardized by the conformity of idea, opinion, mission, and interpretation of the collective identity that developed. By that point of view, bonding were called as relation among individual in a group that relatively homogeny. Bonding usually consists of internal norms that hold by members and level of trust between them.
2. Bridging means that association networks where the different principals, such as background, ethnicity, or social status of someone doesn't give any contribution to membership selection. The participant or members of this group usually different, they join this group to get some advantage that they can't get in their bonded group. Bridging defined to be having networks, usually external, and trust among the member.

Putnam definition and classification about social capital were highly appreciated. Stressed point of 'trust' in both of the classification was seen as the vital part of social capital. Later, the point of bonding and bridging were combined with the 'third party', linking. Concept of linking were very important, it give the real place for other institution such as state or international NGO to play a role inside. Also, linking can keep bonding and bridging in balance situation, where this kind of situation is ideal ones and very rare to meet nowadays (Bordieu, 1986).

If we take a look again for each of the conceptual phase, the correlation between social capital and social structure were clearly explained. Both of the concepts needs trust one with other, structure on first hand seeing it by the context of participant. Social capital seeing it as the regards among member so that they can decide to put or not some person before bring that person to their group. Networks are treated a same in both of the concept, which is relation among the member with other different member from a different group. And the last, norms, seen as a set of principals that hold by both of member's from any group, it's treated as collective identity who standardized by some rules and 'protected' by high level of trust. Social structure that strong and capable in many condition can created a marvelous social capital asset that increase any other capital. On the other hand, if we start from social capital, it will create a strong social structure. Because the heavy correlation between both of the concept, social structure in some case were seen started from a good social capital or create it and vice versa. This explanation conclude that social structure in which to adapt the disaster were mostly have a same aspect of social capital.

Image 3.2 Re-bonding of Social Structure after Disaster Impact



4. CASE STUDY

4.1 *First Case Study: Settlement Recovery Program in Geunteng*

A study in Geunteng Sub District is consisting of 2 objectives, which is described on the pointers below;

1. Providing direct services/materials related to rebuild houses for tsunami survivors in Geunteng.
2. Building the capacity of community through community organization within housing development group (consist of 10 household, who received housing grand).

According to the objectives that created in the research, there are some activities that implement along the program were conducted. The first is providing financial support to build new house, for survivor recommended by village leaders. In this paper, financial support defined as the fund aid from UN that uses to rebuild the house by recommendation of village leader. Village leader or sometimes called 'RT', 'RW', and 'Lurah' in Indonesia language are choose to give a clear view of those villager that really need to build as soon as possible, for example a family with 5 child and lost their job because of disaster will get a privilege access for the fund. This activity already done when more then 55% house are rebuilds successfully (UN Report, 2007).

Image 4.1 One of the Rebuild House (Still in Process)



Source: Personal documentation

The second effort is based on series of community forum/ group discussion about topics on financial constraint issues. This kind of forum is really needed to keep a transparency aspect in program. With the forum that held by facilitator, society can speak up about anything that related to the topic. Most of the topic were related about the constrain in using the fund aid. Priority were given to build a house and fulfill their basic needs, but like explained before, there are some series time in Geunteng that fund were use for other interest, such as GAM needs. After Helsinki Agreement, the constrain of fund aid

usually happen because family has other priority, such as for jewelry or extra food. This activities can be traced thorough the image below;

Image 4.2 Community Forum



Source: Anchoring Homes UN-Habitat, 2007

The third activities that also conduct in Geunteng are quality control on rebuild houses process that conducted by professional engineers. During 2005-2007, Geunteng wasn't a kind place to build a house, the memory of destructed home and tsunami, plus the incompetent skills and knowledge of people made them feels lazy and nervous to rebuild their new settlement. Program give an intervention by invited many professional engineers to control the construction of a house. This process is also including the material, measurement, decoration, matching the combination among material, and modification of an unsafe house. This activity are tagged thorough the image below.

Image 4.3 Professional Engineers Checked a House Structure



4.2 Second Case Study: Livelihood Recovery Program in Teunom

Like a study in Geunteng Sub District, In Teunom Sub District, there are also 2 objectives:

1. Providing direct services/materials related to improve livelihood activities for tsunami survivor in Teunom.
2. Building the capacity of community through training activities, civic education and community organization.

The objective are translate well into the activities that conduct in the field. The first activities is providing financial support to certain economic activities, such as farming, fisherman, animal husbandry, home industry, small trader owned by women and coconut grater. Different with Geunteng Sub District, the main focus pf fund aid in Teunom were greatly shown to return their job, such as farm, cattle, or fishing. Even if this area were horribly hit by the tsunami, the house construction progress in this area was better than Geunteng. By that statement, program mainly focus are changed to keep economic sustainability in Teunom, based on community job, before the tsunami hit their 'kampung'². One of the most exciting jobs in Teunom Sub District is home industry that produces many things, such as bread, noodles, and cake. For the better image of this economic aid, you can see on the picture 4.5 below;

Image 4.5 A Packed stuff ready to deliver



Source: Personal documentation

The second effort that program do is a capacity building and encouraging gender mainstream through series of community forum/ group discussion about topics on livelihood management. A modern gender mainstreaming is a vital part that done well in this area. Many people in Aceh are fellow with patriarchy, they usually see woman as 'number 2 citizen', even though not all of them. The basic point of this forum and discussion also reach for live management, because the business inside home were well known by woman, and the patriarchy structure sometimes obstacle this effort, program try to deliver a

² 'Kampung' or 'Desa' is a local language, it's refer to village or small town.

mind set that both woman and man are equal. This statement purpose is tried to understand holistically which aid that Teunom's family need. To know it, both side of the home must be participating in fair and transparent, not just follow someone's opinion. Community forum are pretty dynamic, even though on the first, equal gender mainstreaming are quite hard to accepted by them, but later (and still continuous), slowly but sure, this equal gender perspective can be adapt well in society.

Image 4.6 Community Forum (Men and Women were sit together in one room)



Source: Personal documentation

The third effort that conducted in Teunom is training and civic education for community organizer and local leader. Training and civic education can be described as empowerment in several aspects that match enough with the talent or job of community organizer and local leader. The grand purpose of this training is increasing the welfare of people that they lead. Some of the training is including financial training, management education, clinical consultant, and disaster reinforcement effort, as you can see on the picture below;

Image 4.7 Management Education in Teunom



Source: Personal documentation

5. CONSTRAINTS

The program, like the other, has some constraints. This challenge must get full attention, so that it can solve successfully;

1. From government side, local government and also BRR (rehabilitation and reconstruction body for Aceh and Nias) were to slow in response on people needs in Teunom, especially to recover their livelihood activities. If this problem can't solve immediately, there are some worry form the team that people of Teunom will have no more patient and try to do some criminal way, such as stealing chicken or goat. The trust from people to government and BRR should be maintain well, one of the way to take care of this is progressive, both of government and BRR should more proactive and responsive.
2. There were so many NGO competing each other to seek community to be assisted. Ironically, their program sometimes miss-count, it makes community becomes dependent on them and potentially created a jealousy between community. Two major points that can disrupt a re-bonding of social structure in this constraint is dependency and jealousy. Community must have a high level of self reliance, they can't depend to NGO, either local or international, and it can cause a major change of structure especially to linking point between community and government. While on the other hand, jealousy can triggered into conflict among group in society.
3. Cash for Work program that conduct by NGO are shapely change the cultural context in society. In Teunom and Geunteng society were more pragmatists. This situation are need to assessed seriously, the problem is, when the local wisdom replaced by pragmatism, social structure that try to be established, will change rapidly and bring a negative effect to some society member that dislike pragmatism or did not ready for sudden change.
4. Late of budgeting. This includes unclear allocation and distribution of budget that planned. When the budgeting late, the implementation of many program will no work because they have no fund. If the program didn't work, in short term, people will lose their trust to structure, furthermore, it will fragmented them and in a long range, possibly they will do a physical conflict in which to get what are they think that they deserve to get.
5. Lack of human resources and the problem of salary. On the field, it's difficult to find someone with certain ability to match with the job that team try to provide/ implement for. Otherwise, if there are match enough, most of them will chose to work on other place with higher salary. If this situation can't solve well, there will be a high risk that people will feels that they are abandoned and triggered hatred. Again, structure will potentially loss high level of trust and in society, conflict will be happen at high scale level.

6. LESSON LEARNED

The programs don't just show the constraints on field, it also result many new lesson learned form both of the areas (Teunom and Geunteng);

1. To do a bottom up empowerment, such as community organization, people in Teunom and Geunteng still need more motivation, education, and time. Even though some of the particular topic are accepted, such as equal gender mainstreaming, but



still, in which to create and established strong network wit outside group, people from both village needs to empower their own community with forum or discussion.

2. There are many NGO with a same program that miss count and create a new problem in Aceh. By this point of view, it's really important to make an agreement to consolidate a role of both sides, so that NGO, government, and society can cooperate well and bring a wealth and prosperity in to Aceh. This concept can be shown in the strong form of social structure and self reliance of the society.
3. It's really important to understand that disaster recovery effort is not just a type of charity activity. Far than that, there are many factors that influencing inside. Cultural factor such as *peuseujuk* (local custom of a giving welcoming or farewell ceremony) and *meu'urup* (the same customs in most of Asian culture in working together within solidarity spirit) needs to be maintained. Because those activities are quite important to keep the bonded network among the group member.
4. The topography of village in Aceh was rapidly changed because of tsunami and earthquake. This affected to force a migration from village area to other place. There are 2 risks in this movement. First is their income in the new place are lower rather then when they live in village. The second, with their migration, social structure on the old place will loss their member (hidden de-bonding). Ironically, they move when the social structure already broken by the tsunami.
5. Local wisdom is very important for society in Aceh. It can give a new inspiration for people, so that they will look a new job, and directly feels the benefit. By the strong social structure, social capital formed will be giving real advantages. This will triggered society to defend their local wisdom.

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